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Abstract

Scholarship has frequently explored how people in medieval England engaged the concept of nation. Scholarship has also investigated the manners in which book production participated in and enacted cultural phenomena. Hitherto, there has been limited consideration of these two concerns together. This is problematic because the manuscripts which carry medieval texts to modern scholars offer the best evidence of contemporary reception of these texts. This dissertation fills this void. It unites questions of compilation and nation in the study of medieval England from 1270 to 1500. It explores the manner in which the collection of works in one manuscript – the manuscript matrix – engages, shapes, denies, or ignores the discourses of the English nation. The dissertation opens with consideration of the textual network of those manuscripts containing one or two tales of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. It further argues that such study reveals a political interpretation at the heart of the *Clerk's Tale*. This dissertation's attention to the manuscript matrix also challenges longstanding proto-nationalist readings of Layamon's *Brut* and Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* and replaces these with more complicated interpretations of their engagement with nation. Ultimately, the manuscript matrix proves a powerful tool for demonstrating the pluralistic and paradoxical engagements with concepts of nation within late medieval England.

Introduction

Nation and Compilation

In 1392, during the reign of Richard II, John Gower revised the "Prologue" to his *Confessio Amantis*, and in doing so, he brought together questions of how the act of compilation engages the discourses of nation. His second recension lacks references to Richard and the dedication to Chaucer and adds a dedication to Henry Bolingbroke.¹ Since Macaulay's 1901 edition, the political possibilities of such a recasting have tantalized researchers.² Scholars have speculated that Gower aligned with Henry's party around the time of the second recension and that, by the later 1390s, wrote fervently against Richard's rule.³ The language of the second recension might indicate a shift in Gower's

¹ This dedication was added to the "Prologue." As John Fisher, *John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), p. 123, notes "Henry had shared with Richard the dedication of the first version [i.e., the 1st recension] by being named in the explicit of at least eight manuscripts." It is the "Prologue" that changes.

² For discussion of recensions, see G.C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899-1901), 2: xxii-xxviii. All quotations from Gower's *Confessio* come from these volumes. See also Peter Nicholson's series on the topic. Nicholson, "Gower's Revisions in the *Confessio Amantis*," *The Chaucer Review* 19.2 (1984), 123-43; Nicholson, "Poet and Scribe in the Manuscripts of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," in Derek Pearsall (ed.), *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 130-142; and, Nicholson, "Gower's Manuscript of the 'Confessio Amantis'," in R.F. Yeager and Toshiyuki Takamiya (eds.), *The Medieval Python: The Purposive and Provocative Work of Terry Jones* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 75-86; and, Joel Fredell, "The Gower Manuscripts: Some Inconvenient Truths," *Viator* 41.1 (2010), 231-50.

³ For this political reading, see John Hines, *Voices in the Past: English Literature and Archaeology* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), p. 127. There has been some

attitude, which strengthened over the years. Nevertheless, the second recension's "Prologue" does not replace Richard with Henry. In the twenty-four line of the original recension, Gower explicitly mentions Richard II: "A book for King Richardes sake" (l. 24). In the second recension, Gower replaces Richard with the English nation: "A bok for Englelondes sake."⁴ While it is easy to grasp how a "book" might speak to an individual(s), especially a king, understanding the complexities of how a book might speak, even metaphorically, to a nation, national identity, or national concerns requires greater care. By naming Richard as part of the audience, the first recension engages the discourses surrounding kingship, and thus, it raises questions of how the presentation of Gower's book participates with and shapes the sense of contemporary English kingship.⁵ In the second recension, the basic nexus of Gower's book has shifted to nation-ness. It is not that Gower intended to link nation and compilation. Nevertheless,

doubt cast on Gower's transition to the Lancastrian camp. Terry Jones, "Did John Gower Rededicate his *Confessio Amantis* before Henry IV's Usurpation?" in Simon Horobin and Linne Mooney (eds.), *Middle English Texts in Transition: A Festschrift dedicated to Toshiyuki Takamiya on his 70th Birthday* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2014), p. 74, suggests that there is no evidence of Gower's abandonment of Richard's camp prior to 1400.

⁴ Macaulay (ed.), *Complete Works*, 2:2.

⁵ Although an original work, the *Confessio Amantis* is a collection of other stories. Michael W. Irwin, *The Poetic Voices of John Gower: Politics and Personae in the Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), p. 48, argues that Latin Marginalia in several *Confessio* manuscripts call the work a compilation. Given that the *Confessio* is a collection of smaller units joined into a larger tale, seeing Gower's composition as a compilation is usefully provocative.

Gower's change unites these two preoccupations and invites consideration of their interaction.

This work picks up the connection in Gower's *Confessio* and brings together questions of medieval English nationalism and questions of manuscript compilation. It studies how the concept of "nation" emerges in manuscripts that compile different texts or which have paratextual elements added to a pre-existing text. Both the conception of nation and the creation of a compilation can affect or create community. This is not to suggest an inherent compilation-nation link. Compilations do not always participate in the discourses of nation, and vice versa, but they can. In this project, I have selected texts that have been read, in many ways, as participating in the discourses surrounding medieval English nationhood, and I have turned to the manuscript witnesses in order to inquire whether the compilation of these promotes, ignores, and/or undermines the manner in which the texts participate in these discourses. Such an investigation provides a better perspective on how medieval people viewed these artifacts and how these artifacts shaped and were shaped by the contemporary discourse of nation.

The concepts of nation and compilation have received significant scholarly attention. However, these investigations have not overlapped. Thorlac Turville-Petre, Geraldine Heng, Kathy Lavezzo, Kenneth Hodges, and others have explored how a medieval sense of nation manifests itself amid the

complex matrix of regional, religious, and guild identities.⁶ In these investigations, the scholars disembody the medieval texts – with notable exceptions.⁷ Most studies remove texts from their material realizations, i.e. manuscripts, which contextualized, arranged, presented, and transmitted them to modern scholars. The new vessel of most of these texts is the modern critical edition, which in and of itself has a variety of extratextual material that contextualizes the contents in a different manner.⁸ Apart from these studies, investigations of manuscript contexts have turned attention to scribal practices, scribal networks, and textual communities.⁹ London, as the seat of literary

⁶ Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England, the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia, 2003); Kenneth Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory's Le Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave, 2005); Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). These are only a few of many works.

⁷ One exception is Siobhain Bly Calkin's study of the Auchinleck MS (NLS Adv. 19.2.1) in which she examines how Saracen identity functions as an Other to English identity; see Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁸ Attacks against "critical editions" have been launched on theoretical and practical grounds. Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p. 78, argues modern critical editions remove textual variations, which are fundamental to medieval literary culture. While these editions have value and purpose, the point on (re)contextualization stands.

⁹ Two recent examples are Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (eds.), *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2008); Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of Books in England 1350-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

culture from the late fourteenth century, has been the subject of investigations.¹⁰ How manuscript compilation might engage, confirm, deny, affect, or be affected by discourses of English nationhood in medieval England has received virtually no extended attention.¹¹ This dissertation seeks to fill this void. I argue that the study of medieval English nationhood and manuscript compilations together aid our understanding of both.

Medieval National Identity

Defining Nation

It will be helpful to start with a definition of nation, and it is worth beginning with the 800-pound gorilla. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson provided a "workable definition" of nation: a nation is "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."¹² These two modes of imagining (limitation and sovereignty) distinguish nations from other communities. By selecting these two aspects of national imagining, Anderson also believed his definition limited the concept of nation to the post-Enlightenment era. In the years since the publication of

¹⁰ Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300-1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Arthur Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

¹¹ The study of how individual manuscripts might relate to discourses of nation has sometimes been undertaken, cf. Calkin, *Saracens*. But, no systematic effort to investigate this has been undertaken.

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 1991 [1983]), pp. 5-6.

Imagined Communities, however, medievalists have utilized the flexibility of Anderson's definition to build their own cases for the emergence of national community in the medieval period. Although Anderson says there are no medieval nations, his definition proved useful in showing otherwise.

Throughout this dissertation, I will utilize Anderson's definition as a baseline (as many medieval scholars have), but at the outset, this study will situate that definition within the current scholarly environment and will argue that previous discussion has ignored the pluralism and paradoxical sense of nation in individual expressions.

Anderson's definition is not the only scholarly definition. Scholars have continually debated the meaning of nation and its related terms – nationalism, nationhood, national identity. One alternative example has emerged in the work of Anthony D. Smith. He defined nation as "a named human population occupying a historic territory, and sharing common myths and memories, a distinctive public culture, common laws and customs."¹³ His definition is certainly not as pithy as Anderson's. Nonetheless, these are only two of the many efforts at defining nation. Moreover, the antagonism between dissimilar parties complicates any discussion of medieval national identity. In *The Nation in History*, Smith tries to elucidate the scholarly landscape. He builds a complex analysis of the historiography of nation and nationalism, and by his account,

¹³ Anthony D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Wiley, 2004), p. 245.

the effort to define nation follows four paradigms, two of which are temporal, two of which are elemental:¹⁴

- (1) *Perennialist*, a position that argues for the antiquity of nations¹⁵
- (2) *Modernist*, a position that defends the modernity of nations
- (3) *Primordialist*, a position that emphasizes geography, race, culture, and other related phenomenon in the formation of nations
- (4) *Instrumentalist*, a position that contends elite members of society cultivate the formation of nations in order to enhance their power

Medievalists tend to be perennialists, and this is where the majority of scholarship has focused. Yet, Smith's taxonomy continues beyond temporal concerns. It also draws attention to the methods by which nations are constituted – achieve nationhood. In this manner, Smith provides a fruitful way of understanding the field.

The dominant paradigms since the 1940s have been *modernist* and *instrumentalist*. Prior to World War II, nationalist movements turned to the quasi-scientific conception of race to trace the origins of specific peoples beyond

¹⁴ See either Anthony D. Smith, "National Identities: Modern and Medieval?" in Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray (eds.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995), pp. 21-22, or Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000).

¹⁵ For further examples, see Claus Bjorn, Alexander Grant, and K.J. Stringer (eds.), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen: Academic Press, 1994); Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (eds.) *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995); Kathy Lavezzo (ed.), *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer (eds.), *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

the modern age.¹⁶ These origins in the distant past provided a historical justification for nations. The intellectual coupling of race and the Whiggish progressivism of history inhered in the *primordialist* understandings of nations. Some scholars argued this understanding of nations precipitated the horrors of the Second World War. In the aftermath, intellectuals fled from the *primordialist* conception. In contrast to earlier times when scholars and “the educated public assumed that nations were, if not primordial, at least perennial,” the post-1945 world living with the horrors of nationalist agenda, represented best in Germany, Italy, and Spain, rejected the antiquity of the nation and tied the formation of nations to modernity.¹⁷ Nations become an Enlightenment concept. Eric Hobsbawn, John Breuilly, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, and many others exemplify the *modernist* perspective.¹⁸ The prevalence of the

¹⁶ Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 19

¹⁷ Smith, *The Nation*, pp. 27-28; Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 2-8.

¹⁸ Eric Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 9-10; John Breuilly, “Approaches to Nationalism,” in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 146-74; Brian Jenkins and Spyros A. Sofos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (London: Routledge, 1996); Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 93-97. See also Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Hagen Schulze (ed.), *States, Nations and Nationalism from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Wiley, 1996), pp. 137-58; Stuart Joseph Woolf (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to Present: A Reader* (London: Psychology Press, 1996), p. 1; Daniel Chernilo, *A Social Theory of the Nation State: The Political Forms of Modernity Beyond Methodological Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

modernist paradigm and its acceptance prompt Smith to elevate its status to that of “orthodoxy” in a post-World War II world.¹⁹ This is not to say that *primordialist* understandings have vanished. Instead, I suggest that the *instrumentalist* (or political) aspects of nation have risen much more clearly to the fore. Hobsbawn, for example, claims “Nations only exist as a function of a particular kind of territorial state.”²⁰ This position echoes Gellner's critique of nations as self-conscious awakenings of people. Nationalism, Gellner asserts, “invents nations where they do not exist.”²¹ In this model, nations are a concept for exerting power. A special kind of state, a modern state, must exercise this function. *Primordialist* aspects may find their way into that state's formation, but nation and state are not one and the same. Both Hobsbawn and Gellner see nation as a tool for the development of state sovereignty and unity. In these schemas, nations and nationalisms are tied to modernity and its critiques.²² The nation-state – the state which deploys the concept of nation – includes and envelops nation.

¹⁹ Smith, *The Nation*, p. 27.

²⁰ Hobsbawn, *Nations*, pp. 9-10.

²¹ Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 169

²² Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 33, argues that the connection of modernity and nation is even deeper and suggests that concerns with defining and uncovering "nation" may, in fact, be modern preoccupations, which the post-national world has left in the past. I will discuss Butterfield's argument below.

Anderson's position in *Imagined Communities* endeavors to bridge the gap between *primordialist* and *instrumentalist*, while still insisting on the modernity of the nation. The brilliance of his definition is the infusion of perception. Whereas in Hobsbawm's and Gellner's conceptions the term 'nation' minimizes *primordialist* aspects in favor of those *instrumentalist* ones, Anderson integrates both positions, rejecting the purely ideological definitions. In his mind, nation cannot be pure ideology, and in order to demonstrate this, he analyzes the non-instrumentalist aspects of nation. He admits that nations become symbolic entities for which people give their lives, and he also admits that similar sacrifices can be witnessed in service to other political ideologies, such as Marxism. However, he exemplifies the inability to make nation purely a political construct through the tangible examples of the tombs of Unknown Soldiers around the world.²³ These tombs represent the soldiers who gave their lives for their respective nations. They serve as powerful focal points for shared identity. Anderson, then, highlights that no similar veneration occurs for other political ideologies. In fact, he says that a sense of absurdity is unavoidable if "one tries to imagine, say, a Tomb of the Unknown Marxist or a cenotaph for fallen Liberals."²⁴ Nations and nationalism are unique, and this uniqueness suggests that nations are more than *instrumentalist* constructions. Nations have both *primordialist* aspects (they are limited geographically, culturally, and

²³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 9-10.

²⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 10.

ethnically) and *instrumentalist* aspects (they possess political sovereignty and are imagined constructions). Anderson's fusion remains, for him, a modern phenomenon. Only in the eighteenth century does "the spontaneous distillation of a complex 'crossing' of discrete historical forces" bring "national-ness" into being.²⁵ In other words, Anderson maintains a modernist position.

In his definition, Anderson has already lost his grasp on his temporal position, but he endeavors to prove his point through an incomplete analysis of the Middle Ages. Firstly, Anderson eliminates the period before 1700 from study by citing an abundance of transnational cultural forces. Prior to the advent of mass culture, Anderson argues, the identities of peoples were shaped by the "great sacral cultures" and "dynastic realms."²⁶ The medieval era thus possessed a universalism that superseded the formation of national identities. In the West, the Catholic Church exercised transnational power over its subjects, who are obligated to join in the community or face consequences, e.g. excommunication. In the Middle East, the Islamic Caliphate extended its power over a wide range, and while in some regions conversion was not compulsory, maintaining non-communal status in Islamic territory had fiscal obligations. Moreover, these communities sought to stretch their power over the entire world. There were no limits on who might join. In this environment, the state lacked absolute sovereignty. Since Anderson believed that national

²⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 4.

²⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 12.

communities were restricted, the fact that anyone could join a sacral community precluded the formation of national identities.

At the same time Anderson observes universal Christian culture in the West, he notes that the political structure of the medieval period encouraged the formation of a wide variety of geographic, social categories. We might take the Angevin rulers of England as an example. The Angevin Empire of the Plantagenet kings of England included modern England, parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and at its peak many regions in western France, including Bretagne, Basse-Normandie, Haute-Normandie, Pays de la Loire, Poitou-Charentes, Limousin, and Aquitaine. The Angevins ruled peoples that today consider themselves Welsh, English, Scotch, French, et cetera, but the application of their rule was not exercised equally in all regions. Where modern sovereignty is deployed "fully, flatly, and evenly" over the entire geographic space of the nation, medieval "borders were porous and indistinct."²⁷ Thus, the medieval period's values, ideas, and sense of community prevent national identity formation. Only the decline of these, Anderson argues, allows the nation to emerge as an intellectual concept.

In contrast to Anderson's goals, the appearance of *Imagined Communities* proved helpful to medieval scholars examining the concept of nation before modernity. In some cases, these scholars positioned their argument directly

²⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 19.

against him. In *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, the editors place Anderson on the opposite platform and assault his position.²⁸ Of course, the opening foray addresses Anderson's mischaracterizations of the medieval period. It is odd that the Middle Ages in Anderson's book are at once too universal in their adherence to sacral culture to have nations and too fragmented in their composition of political territories to have nations. More unfortunate, these characterizations are not valid. Many examples of failure to conform to the Church's authority exist.²⁹ The universal Christian culture Anderson places in the era never existed in the way he says. Certainly, the Church exercised power. At times excommunication proved effective. Latin was a wide-spread language with religious import. But, the universalism is too broadly applied. Furthermore, Anderson's definition is powerfully adaptable and can easily be removed from this modernist context. Throughout history, individuals in a variety of ethnic communities have imagined their communities with limitations and believed in their sovereignty. This realization opens the possibility of a *perennialist* position,³⁰ and I argue that this position

²⁸ Forde, Johnson, and Murray (eds.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, especially pp. 4-5, which establishes the books opposition to Anderson's thesis.

²⁹ Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture*, pp. 2-15, provides an overarching examination of these discussions in historiography.

³⁰ Smith, *The Nation*, p. 41, breaks the *perennialist* approaches into two positions, continualist and recurrent. Continualists argue that nations always existed, while recurrent perennialists argue that the potential for nations existed and, at times, emerged. The distinction matters little for our study.

holds validity if it is understood that the secular nation-state is a modern entity and that when *modernists* speak of the nation they are speaking of the nation-state specifically. For my part, I will continue to use nation to speak of medieval England as an imagined political community, but medieval England and modern England are distinct.

Plurality and Paradox

What the previous section on the definition of nation has revealed is a complex scholarly discourse. Indeed, there is no standard agreement on how to define the concept of nation. In his review of *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, R.R. Davies stated that definitions of nation were "rarely" satisfactory, though always tantalizing.³¹ Eve Sedgwick extended this judgment, suggesting, more cynically, that there was likely "no normal way" to define nation,³² and Smith saw the whole field as one of "nuance" and "variation."³³ The brilliance of Anderson's definition is the flexibility. Since nations are "imagined," what they represent can shift based on the context. However, Anderson locked the definition in place by declaring that they must be imagined as sovereign and limited. For Anderson, nations are essentially autonomous, self-governing entities. While this may provide guidance to other

³¹ R.R. Davies, "Review of *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, Alan V. Murray," *ELH* 112:449 (Nov. 1997), 97.

³² Cited in Davies, "Review," p. 97.

³³ Smith, "National Identities," p. 39.

scholars, it fails to capture the situation on the ground. Individuals throughout a nation often hold pluralistic and/or paradoxical understandings of the entity of which they are a part. In order to demonstrate these understandings, I will focus on the problem surrounding the use of the term "sovereign." In this section, I will demonstrate that Anderson's conception of sovereignty is not flexible enough to capture the pluralities and paradoxes of national discourse in the pre-modern world or accurately represent the attitudes of the post-modern world.

In recent years, financial and political globalization has exacerbated the problems of asserting national sovereignty.³⁴ In 2000, one of the more provocative critiques of sovereignty appeared in Hardt and Negri's *Empire*. In their discussion of the modern nation-state and its current position in the world, Hardt and Negri argued that sovereignty and the nation are detaching from each other: "*The decline in sovereignty of nation-states, however, does not mean that sovereignty as such has declined.*"³⁵ The separation of sovereignty and

³⁴ For recent discussion of the trouble of global governance in relationship to the nation-state, see Stephen Gill (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on the Crisis of Global Governance: Reimagining the Future* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Andrew Cumbers, "Constructing a Global Commons in, against and beyond the State," *Space and Polity* 19:1 (2015), 62-75; and, Rainer Baumann and Klaus Dingwerth, "Global Governance vs Empire: Why World Order Moves towards Heterarchy and Hierarchy," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 18 (2015), 104-28.

³⁵ Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, p. xi. The italics are their emphasis. For a short critique, see Slavoj Žižek, "Have Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri Rewritten the Communist manifesto for the Twenty-First Century?" *Rethinking Marxism* 13.3/4 (2001), which focuses on the problematic lack of class antagonism in the

nationhood prompted their further argument that transnational forces were superceding national forces. In terms of politics both sovereignty and the nation-state continue to exist; a divide is simply separating the two. The rise of global governing entities, such as the United Nations, has removed some of the traditional powers of nations and placed them under international control. Similar movements away from national sovereignty appear in the expansion of the European Union. Throughout the world, transnational forces are pressuring the traditional identity of the nation-state. But these political forces are not alone. While Hardt and Negri are concerned with transnational global economic powers and political organizations, there are also modern religions exercising power beyond the bounds of nation.

Christianity's and Islam's universalizing, transnational power remains in effect today. In his book, Anderson raised the two large, universalizing religions. Yet he treated them as though their power died in the advent of the modern age. Anderson argued that no longer in the modern age was Christianity the principle manner in which one defined oneself. However, this is not entirely valid. In campaign coverage of the Republican primary, Katie Glueck reports that Presidential hopeful Ted Cruz identified himself in a manner contrary to Anderson's analysis; Cruz declared that he was "a Christian

book. For an extended and varied critique, see the essays collected in Paul Andrew Passavant and Jodi Dean (eds.), *Empire's New Clothes: Reading Hardt and Negri* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

first, American second, conservative third and Republican fourth."³⁶ Cruz's conception of his identity places the transnational, universalizing Christian identity before his national identity.³⁷ This individual example is not an isolated case. A grander (more centralized) example is the Catholic Church, a political entity itself since the Lateran Treaty of 1929. The Catholic Church has not renounced its universality and willingness to include all members of humanity, even while acknowledging the individual characters of people and diocese within that universal structure.³⁸ Although Islam remains more segmented, there are movements within the religion that emphasize its transnational character. The current rise of *ad-Dawlah al-Islāmīyah fī al-'Irāq wash-Shām*, known in the United States as ISIS or ISIL, emphasizes that conceptions of transnational community remain a powerful intellectual and political element today.³⁹ In the twenty-first century, the nation-state, whose sovereignty was an identifying aspect of its nationhood, has been disrupted.

³⁶ Katie Glueck, "Cruz: 'Washington Establishment' Backs Trump, has Abandoned Rubio," *Politico.com* (Web: Politico, LLC., 20 Jan. 2016), accessed on 15 Feb. 2016 at <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/01/ted-cruz-establishment-trump-rubio-218047>

³⁷ Of course, his "conception" of Christianity is open to debate. Nevertheless, it is key that he is not proposing his understanding of his identity in a manner that aligns with Anderson's.

³⁸ This topic was addressed in Pope Francis's "General Audience" at St. Peter's Square on Wednesday, 9 October 2013. The Vatican's English translation is available online: accessed on 15 Feb. 2016 at http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/audiences/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20131009_udienza-generale.html

³⁹ President Obama and many others have emphasized that ISIS/ISIL are not representative of Islam, and it is not my intention here to argue whether or not

The disruption of national sovereignty has prompted some scholars to reject the importance of national discourse altogether. In *The Familiar Enemy*, Ardis Butterfield evokes a movement in scholarship that argues that concerns over "nation" are "part of a twentieth-century perspective that we have now post-dated."⁴⁰ She builds on the work of William H. McNeill, who suggested the premodern and the postmodern show many similarities and remain separated by "the age of Western modernity (c. 1789-1945)."⁴¹ The tie of modernity to the nation-state becomes a historical issue. Nations arise at a "specific historic moment," and disconnecting nation "from this imprisoning historical narrative" provides the opportunity to explore how the "competing or contradictory" modes of alliance were negotiated.⁴² The decoupling of modernity and nation indeed creates space for alternative investigations.⁴³ Yet, it does not erase

they are or are not. The fact remains that ISIS/ISIL uses their religious identity in the argument that national identity is inferior to the transnational religious identity they hold. For a discussion of ISIS that does justice to the complexity it possesses, see Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants?" *The Atlantic* 3 (Web: The Atlantic Monthly Group, March 2015) Accessed on 15 Feb. 2016 at <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>.

⁴⁰ Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, p. 33.

⁴¹ Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, p. 33, cites W.H. McNeill, *Polyethnicity and National Unity in World History, The Donald G. Creighton Lectures, 1985* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

⁴² Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, p. 33

⁴³ Such a powerful separation of modernity from a theoretical concept occurs in Lee Patterson's discussion of individuality. See Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 3-13, esp. p. 5. Patterson proposes that the autonomous individual (the sovereign individual) is a form of "false consciousness" derived from modernity.

nations. As Hardt and Negri have shown, nations still exist in the post-modern world, and it is not beyond conception that one of the "multiple, parallel" identities in Butterfield's modes is nation.

In the pre- and post-national world, the discourses of nation and national identity exist beside other discourses of identity. This pluralism emerges in individuals' acceptance, rejection, and modification of concepts of national sovereignty. A modern example of this can be found from a quick Google search of "America is." The Google auto-complete feature provided four potential completions to this phrase on Christmas day 2014: (1) "America is book;" (2) "America is a christian nation"; (3) "America is not a christian nation"; and (4) "America is not the greatest country in the world." While the first response makes me weep for the people completing Google searches incorrectly and the fourth might make some 'patriots' furious, the second and third searches provide insight into the plurality of national discourses. There is no shortage of debate surrounding this issue. Adherents on both sides exist, live, breathe, side-by-side, and these adherents hold diametrically opposing views of what the U.S. nation is. These polarized views point towards a problem in academic discourses of "nation" and "nationhood" and confirm Sedgewick's astute observation — there is no "normal." Broad, overarching conceptions become complicated on the level of individual examples. This plurality of discourse in the United States parallels the plurality in the Middle Ages. There

was not one definition of England during the Middle Ages, but there were discourses of what it meant to be English at that time.

Robert Mannyng's *Story of England* provides evidence of this individualistic potentiality in medieval texts.⁴⁴ In an analysis of *Story of England*, Thorlac Turville-Petre locates Mannyng's attitude about Englishness and nationality in general within ethnic, i.e. racialized, paradigms. "Nationality was acquired by birth alone," he concludes after discussion.⁴⁵ This *primordial* perception of Englishness demands an anti-Norman attitude. The Normans after all are not born English. They are invaders. Robert's work exposes these facts to a survivalist Saxon peasantry of Lincolnshire, who are anti-Norman and anti-Scottish.⁴⁶ In his analysis, Turville-Petre has disembodied Mannyng's work and situated it within a wider discourse of nation in his contemporary England. Yet, examination of Mannyng's *Story* in context reveals striking problems with this reading. In "Strange Prosody," Joyce Coleman resituates Mannyng's *Story* within its patronal and manuscript context. From this emerges a more nuanced

⁴⁴ Joyce Coleman, "Strange Rhyme: Prosody and Nationhood in Robert Mannyng's *Story of England*," *Speculum* 78.4 (Oct. 2003), 1214-38.

⁴⁵ Turville-Petre, *England, the Nation*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Turville-Petre, *England, the Nation*, esp. pp. 77-79. That Mannyng's *Story* translates the Latin source and the Anglo-Norman *Roman de Brut* of Wace plays an important role in this schema—the English language serves as an exceptional focal point for *primordial* nationhood. Interestingly, the early *Brut* by Layamon is also a translation of the *Roman de Brut*, and it too is subjected to the same readings of linguistic nationhood and Saxon survivalist readings. Similar survivalist readings are attached to the Alliterative Revival. See Randy Schiff, *Revivalist Fantasies: Alliterative Verse and Nationalist Literary History* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2011), pp. 1-18.

reading of nationhood. Rather than following the Saxon survivalist, anti-Norman mentality, Mannyng expresses a wider "sense of ethnic identity and nationality" that includes the Norman conquerors.⁴⁷ The critique of the practice of "seruage," feudal duties, exposes the inclusiveness. Although Mannyng indicates that "seruage" came to England via the Normans, he shows the practice applies equally to both the Anglo-Norman gentry and the local population.⁴⁸ Rather than drawing harsh ethnic lines, Mannyng's use of language builds nationhood differently. Additionally, the anti-Scottish sentiment perceived in Mannyng's work proves more complicated than the general anti-Scottish sentiment of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries allows.⁴⁹ These realizations must remind scholars that categories of identity are "not inescapable determinants of individual attitudes."⁵⁰ Coleman's analysis shows that the existence of a medieval discourse of nation does not evenly apply this concept over all the inhabitants of medieval England. We are better off thinking of discourses of nation in medieval England rather than a single discourse. Furthermore, these discourses need not be perfectly logical.

Individuals hold in mind paradoxical ideas about nation. The Palestinian situation serves as a modern example. The struggles of Palestine for acceptance

⁴⁷ Coleman, "Strange Prosody," p. 1230.

⁴⁸ Coleman, "Strange Prosody," p. 1229.

⁴⁹ Coleman, "Strange Prosody," p. 1234. What emerges in these instances, Coleman argues, is conflict between "patronal script and authorial inclination."

⁵⁰ Coleman, "Strange Prosody," p. 1238.

in the United Nations has been well-documented, and while the international situation is complicated,⁵¹ the focus here is not on how the Palestinian people relate to other nations but how they perceive themselves. The nation building project in Palestine has attracted scholars, and their research uncovers the paradoxical understanding of identity. In his study on Hamas, Mark Juergensmeyer interviewed Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the leader of Hamas, at his home. Juergensmeyer was struck by the bareness of decoration except for two pictures. As he relates the story, the first was a picture of the Qur'an "superimposed" over the world and "stretching from Algeria to Indonesia," and the second was a picture of the Dome of the Rock.⁵² What struck Juergensmeyer was the coexistence of a highly infused national picture, the Dome of the Rock being an important Palestinian symbol, and a transnational picture, the Qur'an over the world.⁵³ This is a poignant example of an individual's paradoxical

⁵¹ The history of Palestinian statehood in the United Nations is a complex one. The most recent developments, on 29 November 2012, saw the United Nations General Assembly elevate Palestine to "non-member observer state" status [United Nations General Assembly, *Resolution 67/19. Status of Palestine in the United Nations* (Web: UN, 4 December 2012). Access on 21 January 2016 at http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/67/19]. In spite of this resolution, the United States does not currently recognize the Palestinian state.

⁵² Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Paradox of Nationalism in a Global World," in Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort (eds.), *The Postnational Self* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 3.

⁵³ The matter might further be complicated by considering the polyvalence of the Dome of the Rock, which sits on the site of the Second Temple, a potent and more antique Jewish symbol. Furthermore, Hamas (the political group Juergensmeyer visited) is financed by surrounding sovereign states, e.g. Saudi Arabia. For our purposes, it is important to realize that no matter the

assertion of national sovereignty, while accepting a transnational sovereign. But we need not travel to the Near East to find this position. The Knights of Columbus serve as an example in the United States political system. This transnational religious and fraternal order holds patriotism as a fundamental value, and it does so without any hint of contrasting loyalties to the United States and the Papacy.

The similarities between the postnational and prenational period are striking. Postnationalists assert that the modern secular nation-state no longer exists as it did, and prenationalists argue that concepts of national identity existed before the modern secular nation-state. Understandably, the two positions have similar concerns. Both groups claim that "nation" exists in a more pluralist and complex manner than previously imagined. Moreover, individuals hold paradoxical ideas about what their "nation" is. These ideas about what constitutes "nation" emerge in discourses (plural). "Nation" can encompass many things, even contradictory things, and recognition of the plurality and paradox of "nation" helps alleviate some of the tensions that have surrounded scholarly definitions. Rather than seeking to investigate "nation" as a singular, monolithic entity, this dissertation searches out deployments of "nation" and "national discourses," using Anderson's definition to prompt

international political situation Palestinians hold their national identity alongside these international ties, and they do not hold that these international connections weaken their national identity.

discussion. I prefer the term deployment because it speaks to a specific moment and is bound to a particular space and time. The space in which these deployments are investigated are the codices in which the texts are carried, and the time is the period in which they were compiled.

Compilation and Community

What does Compilation Mean?

Throughout this dissertation, I employ the term compilation to refer to any manuscript in which more than one text has been combined with another text(s) or paratext(s), such as a "Prologue." My use of compilation creates some difficulties as it shifts from typical scholarly usage. In modern and middle English, "compilation" can mean the act of compiling (that is, the act of producing something by assembling parts) or "that which is compiled," i.e. the artifact created by compilation.⁵⁴ As it applies to medieval manuscripts, the word can denote the process an individual (referred to as a compiler) enacts in the creation of the manuscript, or it can denote the finished product. This linguistic doubleness has appeared throughout modern scholarship. In this section, as with the section on nation, I will open by highlighting the flexibility of "compilation" in modern scholarship and explore the limitations of this conception. I will argue whatever we call these medieval books the

⁵⁴ "Compilation, n." *OED Online* (Web: Oxford University Press, December 2015), accessed 22 January 2016.

juxtaposition of texts within them provides valuable clues about the textual communities in which they circulated and their interaction with contemporary discourses.

Much previous investigation of compilation in English literary and codicological study commences with consideration of Malcolm Parkes's invaluable "The Influence of Concepts of *Ordinatio and Compilatio* on the Development of the Book." In this essay, Parkes investigates the development of book design in medieval Europe as it relates to the intellectual developments of scholasticism.⁵⁵ In order to explain the material practices he saw in medieval culture, Parkes selected two Latin concepts to denote the wider processes of textual presentation—*ordinatio* and *compilatio*. Although *ordinatio* and *compilatio* are related, *ordinatio* encompasses the visual presentation of a text, the way the text is ordered. *Compilatio* is more difficult. The term does not denote a book but an intellectual enterprise caught between book production and composition. *Compilatio* can describe the scribal process of selecting, excerpting, and providing a new *ordinatio* to a text in a manuscript, and it can describe the authorial process of composition, where the author selects source materials and fashions a new narrative. As Parkes explains, the habits and methods of book production slowly diffused into medieval literary consciousness. What started

⁵⁵ Malcolm Parkes, "The Influence of Concepts of *Ordinatio and Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 115-141.

as a manner of preparing and organizing books at universities and in bookshops around universities permeated the cultural fabric of medieval Europe and, eventually, spread to vernacular authors, who used this organizational paradigm in their writings. Geoffrey Chaucer becomes the quintessential authorial compiler.⁵⁶ The similarity between author and scribe is that both excise smaller works and combine them into a larger one. Throughout Parkes's analysis, he underscores the process of excerpting or dividing material into smaller textual portions, yet the use of Chaucer's work demonstrates that *compilatio* also includes the 'act' of bringing together material.⁵⁷ Parkes's use of *compilatio* leans away from the materiality of compilation in that it concentrates on action (and not the book). Like the power of Anderson's definition of nation, the theoretical force of Parkes's concept derived from its flexibility, though it has proved problematic for some.

In "Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited," Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse critique Parkes's terminology. In the first place, they suggest that the physical layout of book design did not develop *ex nihilo* in the High Middle Ages.

⁵⁶ Parkes, "The Influence of Concepts of *Ordinatio and Compilatio*," pp. 127-30, highlights that several scribes refer to the *Canterbury Tales* as a compilation.

⁵⁷ Carol M. Meale, "The Compiler at Work: John Colyns and BL MS Harley 2252," in Derek Pearsall (ed.), *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), p. 93; John J. Thompson, "The Compiler in Action: Robert Thornton and the 'Thornton Romances' in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91," in Pearsall (ed.), *Manuscripts and Readers*, p. 114, n. 3; Murray J. Evans, *Rereading Middle English Romance: Manuscript Layout, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structure* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p. 4.

Medieval book production was rooted in earlier practices and developed organically. Parkes's formulation that modes of thinking led to the popularization of these terms is consequently rooted in a misconception. This incorrect understanding extends to the use of the terminology itself. Citing several medieval authors' use of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*, Rouse and Rouse show that, while these were Medieval Latin terms, Parkes's usages would have been foreign to medieval writers, scholars, and scribes. Beyond the issue with the medieval applicability of the terms, Rouse and Rouse suggest that Parkes adds an unnecessary difficulty to manuscript studies. They direct attention to the explosion of the terms' usage in the wake of Parkes's article. Various scholars, they argue, use *ordinatio* to mean a variety of things, such as a level of "searchability,"⁵⁸ the "layout" of a text,⁵⁹ or the "mise-en-page" of a manuscript.⁶⁰ *Ordinatio* seems to have multiple competing meanings. In contrast, "*compilatio* seems almost devoid of meaning," and they cite the usage of several prominent medieval scholars to demonstrate this fact.⁶¹ The loss of meaning stems from a

⁵⁸ Erwin Rauner, *Konrads von Halberstadt, O.P., "Tripartitus moralium": Studien zum Nachleben antiker Literatur im späteren Mittelalter* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Lang, 1989), 1.37-40.

⁵⁹ Norman Blake, *The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), p. 55.

⁶⁰ For full discussion, see R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, "Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited," in Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery Jr. (eds.), *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), pp. 114-17.

⁶¹ Rouse and Rouse, "Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited," p. 115. Included in their citations are works by Alastair Minnis, Martin Stevens, M.C. Seymour, C.P. Christianson, and I doubt that adding others would be difficult.

failure to differentiate two discrete practices – literary activity and book production:

Literary creation and the physical layout of surviving manuscripts are not results of the same actions...They are not brought into being by the same agents; their presence or absence is not under the control of the same persons; and it is imprudent even to take for granted that their purposes are identical, without a case-by-case inquiry.⁶²

The contemporary developments of book production are "not the result of authorial theory" but the various "needs of those who used th[ese] text[s]."⁶³

Ultimately, Rouse and Rouse agree that the physical presentation of a manuscript can shape reception, but they say nothing is gained by collapsing authorial and scribal concerns together.

Another angle scholars have taken on the subject of compilation is to focus on the books themselves, to search for some method to distinguish different types of manuscripts and to categorize them. In "The Whole Book," Derek Pearsall takes on this issue and creates four types of compilations:

- Type 1, an "anthology" or a manuscript with a high degree of continuity,
- Type 2, UMWELAs or an "Unorganized manuscripts with an element of local anthologizing,"
- Type 3, an UMRISC or an "unorganized manuscript reflecting the interest of a single compiler"; and,
- Type 4, "household miscellanies."⁶⁴

⁶² Rouse and Rouse, "Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited," p. 124.

⁶³ Rouse and Rouse, "Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited," p. 126.

⁶⁴ Derek Pearsall, "The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters," in Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (eds.), *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 22, 24-25.

The distinction between these manuscripts relies on the reader's perception of unity. Whereas an "anthology" has unity (perhaps, collecting the works of one author or having a theme), a UMRISC manuscript is idiosyncratic, and a "household miscellany" is a mishmash of random elements. This taxonomy distinguishes types of compilations, though in a thoroughly subjective way. Pearsall hopes to avoid depending too much on a "guiding intelligence," akin to an author, to distinguish these books and hence the categorization.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, this dependence cannot be helped in some ways, and these taxonomies (Pearsall's taxonomy is not alone) add a level of debate to the study of these that may not be necessary.⁶⁶ A scholar might uncover an unknown unity in an UMWELA manuscript, thereby prompting its reclassification.

Rather than becoming bogged down in what is and is not a compilation, I have utilized the term "compilation" to denote any manuscript in which more than one complete text has been presented with another complete text or had an extra-text added to a pre-existing text. The term means nothing more than a medieval book that includes more than one text; that is, a book that was compiled. That these books exist in their current state invites consideration of how their texts interact. Indeed while medieval books are not equivalent to

⁶⁵ Pearsall, "The Whole Book," p. 29, discusses the dangers of this replacement (author for scribal-author).

⁶⁶ For an example on this topic, see Julia Boffey and J. J. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 279–315.

modern books either in form or function, I cannot call the contents of such manuscripts 'accidental,' as though the texts tripped and fell in glue and have been stuck together since that unplanned fall, or that once they were combined that the texts remain locked to their authorial frames. On the contrary, the selection, arrangement, and presentation of the materials inscribe those texts within an interpretive matrix, whether intended or not.

Compilations and Medieval Reading Practices

Manuscripts are a privileged subject of study — "un sujet d'étude privilégié"⁶⁷—because they can elucidate contemporary intellectual discourses. Interrelationships between the texts are an inherent consequence of the format and reading process. The pleasure of reading, Virginia Woolf noted, arises from comparison across time, language, and genre. "To make up our own minds," she writes, we take our impression of a book and compare "this impression with the impressions that we have formulated in the past. There they hang in the wardrobe of the mind;" this comparative process, this intertextuality, is natural, fluid, and limitless — "there is no end to the questions that at once suggest themselves as we place the books together."⁶⁸ In a compilation, texts have already been brought together. The consequences are cultural, political,

⁶⁷ Tania Van Hemelryck and Stefania Marzano (eds.), *Le recueil au Moyen âge: La fin du Moyen âge* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), p. 9

⁶⁸ Virginia Woolf, "The Love of Reading," in S.N. Clarke (ed.), *The Essays of Virginia Woolf, Vol. 5 1929-1932* (London: The Hogarth Press, 2009), pp. 271-75.

social, and artistic. Each manuscript rests at the crosscurrents of a variety of forces and possesses a unique individuality.⁶⁹ In manuscripts, like modern anthologies, collections of essays, and so forth, an intertextual matrix already exists, and while this by no means closes the potential reference field, it is foolish to deny the meaningfulness of these combinations.

The treatment of the manuscript as a matrix in which meaning is created is not new. I found "manuscript matrix" most recently in the work of Martha Dana Rust. In her *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books*, Rust develops the concept of the manuscript matrix from the earlier work of Stephen G. Nichols. In "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," Nichols argues that a manuscript's physical pages contain a series of mingling representations — textual, visual, paratextual, et cetera.⁷⁰ For Nichols, the "manuscript matrix" is a material object. Rust raises the stakes, saying that the manuscript's presentation of the text calls to mind another world:

But while Nichols uses the term "manuscript matrix" to refer to the medieval book as a material object, I use it to evoke a liminal dimension: one associated with books but constituted by a reader's cognitive realization of the interplay among diverse semiotic systems that is only *in potentia* on the physical page.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Van Hemelryck and Marzano (eds.), *Le recueil*, p. 13, "Qu'il soit organique, cumulatif ou composite, le recueil procède toujours d'une volonté particulière, celle d'un individu transcendé par un projet esthétique, culturel et idéologique, voire politique."

⁷⁰ Stephen G. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 60 (1990), 1-10.

⁷¹ Martha Dana Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 9.

Rather than the text holding "traditional preeminence," the manuscript matrix comes to dominate as the form of presentation (the *mise-en-texte*, *mise-en-page*, and *mise-en-recueil*) establishes "dialectical reciprocity."⁷² The manuscript matrix is able to create these new worlds because it is grounded in medieval reading practices.⁷³

Other scholars have sought to avoid entanglements over the viability of this approach by turning to theoretical approaches developed in New Criticism. Eschewing the questions about how manuscripts were combined or why, Arthur Bahr argues that "compilation" signifies a reading method. He argues compilation refers less to "an objective quality" of act or artifact and more "a mode of perceiving."⁷⁴ Reading in the manner of *compilatio* involves considering the context/content matrices that manuscripts produce. Bahr's analysis depends upon a New Critical framework, which reads each of the texts as composed to be read as a modern book. Bahr takes exceeding care in language and phrasing to avoid some of the pitfalls that can arise from this style of reading. He then builds a case for how the particular manuscripts he examines interact with, reflect, and extend the polymorphous nature of London in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His awareness of the limitations of his aesthetic approach lead him, early in his project, to articulate the care he needs

⁷² Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, p. 9.

⁷³ Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, pp. 10-16, discusses these reading practices in detail.

⁷⁴ Bahr, *Fragments and Assemblages*, p. 3.

to take. The danger is that the unearthing of medieval readings, he suggests, may actually be a process of unearthing his own particular reading(s). Bahr's infusion of New Critical approaches affects a return to the texts, but the texts in a manuscript matrix.

Such an approach proves a useful means of circumventing the problems surrounding the varying arguments over compilation, but Ralph Hanna argues that Bahr misrepresents medieval reading practices and book production.

Hanna's trenchant but fair review argues that in two chapters Bahr treats the manuscripts as though they are books from "Blackwells," that is, modern books read cover to cover.⁷⁵ Hanna's concern is that Bahr needs to consider medieval reading practices, which are complex as they relate to book production.

Medieval books were sometimes created over time, in different places, and involved a variety of figures, i.e. patron, scribe, illuminator.⁷⁶ Additionally, medieval books were not always intended for silent reading. In the standard account, the early medieval habit of orality slowly died in the face of growing literacy, the technologizing of the word, and the development of silent

⁷⁵ For a critique of this reading, see Ralph Hanna, "Review of *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London*," *Medium Aevum* 83.2 (2014).

⁷⁶ For a discussion of the complexities of this, see the second section of Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 163-256, for essays by Kate Harris, Carol Meale, and R.J. Lyall. See also Margaret Connolly, "Compiling the Book," in Gillespie and Wakelin (eds.), *The Production of the Book in England*, pp. 129-49.

reading.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, reading practices were more complex. Public reading and oral performance remained common practice into the Late Middle Ages,⁷⁸ and if the widely variant contents of manuscripts can be any indication, medieval books sometimes held material for quick reference, rather than extended reading.⁷⁹ Hanna's position is a valid concern. Treatments of medieval manuscripts must not rob them of their historical context and must be attuned to medieval reading practices.⁸⁰

In fact, medieval reading habits support studies of the intertextuality of compilations as matrices of meaning. In her "Introduction," Rust identifies three "aspects of late-medieval manuscript culture" that support the reading of medieval manuscripts as matrices of meaning: medieval readers practiced "involved reading," had a "preoccupation with books" and their production, and employed "double literacy."⁸¹ It is this involved reading that clarifies why manuscript intertextuality is so vital.

⁷⁷ The standard account of this is Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, 2nd. Ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), although medieval scholars have also advanced this theory – see Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

⁷⁸ See Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁷⁹ See, for example, Ralph Hanna, "The Production of Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.6," *Studies in Bibliography* 40 (1987), 62-70.

⁸⁰ Indeed, is this not the fundamental opposition between formalism and contextualism in the prefaces of many Introduction to Humanities textbooks?

⁸¹ Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, p. 9. By "double literacy," Rust means that words and images construct meanings simultaneously. This last aspect of manuscript culture, while vital, will not be addressed here.

As Rust explains, medieval readers were actively involved with written texts. Such a position of active involvement emerges from reading directions found in the monastic tradition. In *The Book of Memory*, Martha Carruthers underscores this vital difference between medieval and modern reading processes. She cites Gregory the Great and Hugh of St. Victor, both of whom make statements about readers participating in the process of making meaning of a text. Focusing on how the reader changes the text in their mind in order to elucidate truth, Gregory declares, "We ought to transform what we read within our very selves."⁸² Here, Carruthers notes that written texts and the reader are locked together and change in tandem. Carruthers finds the works of Hugh of St. Victor taking the same line, evoking interaction to produce meaning: Hugh finds that mankind is "walking through the forest (*silva*) of Scripture, 'whose ideas [*sententias*] like so many sweetest fruits, we pick as we read and chew [*ruminamus*] as we consider them.'" Ultimately, the point of both medieval thinkers is that reading requires "making one's reading one's own."⁸³ Building on this scholarship on devotional monastic reading, Rust argues that this concept of reading permeates medieval manuscript culture.⁸⁴ She cites Nicholas Love's instructions within *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* to lay readers

⁸² Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 [1990]), p. 205.

⁸³ Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 205. This phrase is also cited in Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, p. 10.

⁸⁴ Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, p. 10.

as the best example of asking readers "to see themselves as participants in [the texts]," and she finds similarities in the works of Chaucer and Gower.⁸⁵ All of this material, Rust argues calls upon "an imaginative, personally invested encounter with a text."⁸⁶ The practice of involved reading makes the potential interactions within a manuscript matrix appealing because these interactions are what the manuscript presented to its readers. Whether the construction of a manuscript occurred over fifty years or not, the manuscript's texts can engage, disrupt, or promote similar themes, even where no interaction was intended, because of their juxtaposition.

Juxtaposition of disparate elements to create new meaning was a common device of medieval literature. One kind of juxtaposition has been commonly recognized in medieval romance. In romances, authors reflect "the central theme or intrigue of the work in numerous other episodes," a technique Norris Lacy calls "thematic analogy."⁸⁷ Although many scholars have recognized the juxtaposition of themes in medieval French romance, A.C. Spearing notes similar narrative patterns in medieval English romance, and he even suggests that the audience plays a part in the creation of meaning.⁸⁸ An example from *Le Morte Darthur* might be the love triangles of Arthur-

⁸⁵ Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Rust, *Imaginary Worlds*, p. 10.

⁸⁷ Norris J. Lacy, "Thematic Structure in the Charrette," *L'Esprit Createur* 12:1 (1972), 13.

⁸⁸ A.C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 130.

Guinevere-Lancelot and Mark-Isolde-Tristram. The interactions of each triangle encourage comparison and contrast, and when the text has these two groups interacting most closely, these disparities and similarities are most noticeable. Other modes of medieval literature utilize this principle. Describing the structure of the medieval *dit*, Jacqueline Cerquiglini argues that the *dit* expresses a literary montage that layers competing ideas within the same poetic structure.⁸⁹ Moreover, Geoffrey Chaucer models the importance of these crosstextual interactions in his *Canterbury Tales*. At the conclusion to the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer writes that the Host asks the Monk to "quite" the *Knight's Tale*. Lee Patterson has shown that the medieval use of "quit" demonstrates a fundamental "medieval narrative structure."⁹⁰ As Patterson explains, this moment is merely part of the binarism of the *Canterbury Tales* tale-telling (two-by-two) – the *Friar's Tale* and the *Summoner's Tale*, the *Shipman's Tale* and the *Prioress's Tale*, et cetera. "Tied to each other," these textual pairs "look inward."⁹¹ The Monk plans to do just this, but he is thwarted by the Miller. When much later the Monk offers his response, the moment is lost, and the impact is lessened. Chaucer's use of juxtaposition in his tale-telling conforms to the

⁸⁹ Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Le clerc et l'écriture: le voir dit de Guillaume de Machaut et la définition du dit," in Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (ed.), *Literatur in der Gesellschaft des Spätmittelalters*, Begleitreihe zum Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1980), pp. 151-168.

⁹⁰ Lee Patterson, "The 'Parson's Tale' And The Quitting Of The 'Canterbury Tales'," *Traditio* 34 (1978), 375-76.

⁹¹ Patterson, "The 'Parson's Tale'," p. 376.

patterns common in medieval literature. That manuscripts, which convey these texts, allow for similar interactions is not a grand leap. Indeed, the potentiality of these readings is encouraged by the involved reading process that invites the reader to participate in building meaning.

Over the last few decades, scholars have seized on the manuscript matrix as a potential trove of information about medieval literary and cultural activity.⁹² Scholars have seen some manuscripts as contextualizing their texts within textual communities, i.e. groups of readers. These textual communities shape the selection of texts in compilations and are shaped by them. For these reasons medieval manuscripts are the perfect context to explore the pluralities and paradoxes associated with contemporary discourses of nation and national identity. Reading across the texts contained within medieval manuscript compilations provides a better understanding of what the contemporary discourses are and how understandings of them vary in time and place.

Chapters Overview

In the following chapters, I concentrate on various texts and manuscripts, which have purported importance to the discourse of *nation* and *nationhood* in medieval England. I limit this study to the time period from the

⁹² See Meale, "The Compiler at Work," p. 93; Thompson, "The Compiler in Action," pp. 113-24; Evans, *Rereading Middle English Romance*, p. 4; Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscripts*, Faux Titre 221-222, 2 vols. (New York: Rodopi, 2002); Van Hemelryck and Marzano (eds.), *Le recueil au Moyen âge*.

ascension of Edward I in 1272 to 1500. This period has received significant attention from scholars investigating the sense of English *nationhood* for a variety of reasons.⁹³ In this period, English history is marked by conflicts: Edward's conquest of Wales, the Scottish Campaign, the Hundred Years' War, the regicides of Edward II and Richard II, and the War of the Roses. What it meant to be English, who the English were, the limits and conceptions of their political sovereignty, and what it meant to be their ruler were all undergoing complex changes at this time. Three of the chapters will concentrate on individual manuscripts, tracing the manner in which they participate in the discourses related to English national identity. The resulting analysis complicates assertions of an overall growth of a nascent sense of English national sentiment or even an oscillating growth and disappearance. While these manuscripts evince a sense of Englishness, that sense arises from a multitude of responses, including the promotion, rejection, or minimization of the discourse.

In my first chapter, I consider Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in a manner that most scholars have not. Chaucer has generally been regarded as the well-spring of a distinctive English literary culture,⁹⁴ and his *Canterbury Tales* has stood as his grand effort to capture the "new nationalism" that was emerging in

⁹³ Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, pp. 3-35, provides an overview of these concerns.

⁹⁴ James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

his contemporary England.⁹⁵ Chaucer's importance as a figure in English literary history and the aforementioned orientations of traditional manuscript studies towards an authorial text have meant that scholarship on those manuscripts containing *Canterbury Tales* as a whole has been directed towards the author and his authorial texts. Yet, envisioning an authorial *Canterbury Tales* is particularly elusive; there are several sequences in which the tales might appear.⁹⁶ Almost disregarded are the seventeen manuscripts where no authorial context is possible. In these manuscripts, one or more of the *Tales* has been lifted from its frame-narrative and placed amongst other works. This chapter seeks to envision this textual network. After opening with consideration of how the application of data visualization techniques to past and current studies of the *Canterbury Tales* ignores the excerpted tales in favor of elucidating authorial concerns, I turn to how network analysis might help isolate and understand the relationship of various textual networks of Chaucer's *Tales*. The chapter considers what the broad implications of these textual networks might be and how they might reinforce or diverge from traditional conceptions. Furthermore, the chapter concludes with consideration of how extracting these tales from the *Canterbury Tales* context might

⁹⁵ Donald Howard, *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), p. 315.

⁹⁶ For an astute study of this issue and how medieval writers often added to or continued Chaucer's incomplete work, see Andrew Higgl, *Playing the Canterbury Tales: The Continuations and Additions* (New York: Ashgate, 2012).

demonstrate alternative understandings of the community reflected in Chaucer's frame narrative.

Chapter Two considers one of the excerpted *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts: Bath, Longleat House MS 257. In this chapter, I argue that the texts of the Longleat MS respond to the particular discourses of kingship during the period of the War of the Roses. Throughout the manuscript, readers find a variety of rulers negotiating the conflict between their individual will and the collective will. In these texts, regal power derives from this collective will. The concern with how the king serves as a focus for collective will connects concerns with kingship in the manuscript and concerns with nation generally. The king's role as a central figure for the formation of national identity arose from the theory of the two bodies, which saw the king as possessing an individual and political body. This latter body was political, communal, and imagined, all characteristics which parallel Anderson's definition of nation. For this reason, it is unsurprising to find discourses of nation intertwining with kingship.⁹⁷ Moreover, the preoccupation with collective will has a particularly English tenor. Political theorists in contemporary England, especially John Forescue, carefully delineated the English and the French systems, and I argue that the model of governance in the texts of the Longleat MS emphasize the

⁹⁷ See Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 253-56, where she discusses the interaction of kings and realms.

English model. What the Longleat MS presents is a principle concern with the English political circumstances during the War of the Roses. Although it contains depictions of a wider transnational community and history, it reduces these to their contemporary political resonances.

The complexity of national identity amongst transnational forces emerges in Chapter Three's examination of London, British Library MS Caligula A.ix. Caligula A.ix is one of only two manuscripts transmitting Layamon's *Brut* to modern scholars, and because of extensive damage to its counterpart, it has been the preferred witness. The *Brut* is an English translation of Wace's Anglo-Norman *Roman de Brut*, which relates the history of Britain from the legendary founding by Brutus to the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon tribes in approximately the sixth or seventh centuries. Dated to the early thirteenth century, the *Brut* is an early, extant Middle English text, and the fact that the purported author has a name, Layamon, which clearly has no Norman affiliations has led to widespread nationalist readings of the poem. Scholars have read the *Brut* as a resistance narrative, its author an Englishman writing of his country in the language of his people against the invading hordes. Certainly, such positions are provocative. Nevertheless, the contents of Caligula, organized at the end of the thirteenth century, reflect a different position. If Layamon launched an ideological assault, this attack by the end of the thirteenth century had lost enough force to be included with an Anglo-Norman history extending the story of England and a variety of religiously

focused material. This chapter considers how the religious and French texts interact with the *Brut* in order to produce meaning. The intertextuality of these works builds on an Augustinian sense of history and a transnational communalism that situates England as a distinct but connected part of contemporary European culture. The manuscript's concerns do not appear to align with those nationalistic readings that modern scholars have found. The discourses of Englishness found in the Caligula manuscript are closely aligned with discourses of Christianity and Frenchness.

Chapter Four positions the two earliest witnesses of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* against each other, one of which seems to emphasize the discourses of nation in the text and one of which shrinks from this potential. While many scholars might not regard Caxton's edition or the Winchester MS as compilations, Caxton's printed edition at least engages in the compilatory practices. Caxton adds a text, his "Preface," in order to shape the meaning of the subsequent narrative of Arthur. Written in the mid-fifteenth century, Malory's *Morte* arrives at the end of the Middle Ages. The date and the tight focus on Arthur have prompted scholars (as with Layamon) to focus on the national readings that emerge from the story. However, understanding the impact of Caxton's "Preface" was hardly possible before the rediscovery of the Winchester MS in the 1930s. Before this time, Caxton's edition was the only witness to Malory's work. The rediscovery of the Winchester MS opened the door for comparative analysis. Ink stains on one of Winchester's folios indicate that it

was in Caxton's workshop shortly before he decided (or began) to print his edition. Thus, the two witnesses have a relationship. Two differences in the presentation are immediately apparent. One, the Winchester MS lacks Caxton's "Preface," and two, the Winchester MS utilizes red ink to highlight the names of knights, key words, and place names. Yet, the rubrication of placenames in Winchester reveals patterns that deemphasize the "real" geography of England and promote associations of the texts with romance. If the story is romance and not history, how does this affect the national message? Caxton reads the effects of Winchester's presentation as minimizing the national import of Malory's oeuvre, and throughout the text and in his "Preface," he enacts a dynamic reclamation of the history of Arthur and isolates him geographically to England. The juxtaposition of these two witnesses reveals how a text might be presented in different lights in accordance with the desired interaction with the discourses of nation. Such consideration of how a manuscript's texts form a community that enacts meaning provides valuable evidence of contemporary readings.

Chapter One: Network Analysis of Non-Complete *Canterbury*

Tales Manuscripts

Introduction

Nations are one imagined community, but another type, in the realm of scholarship, is the "textual community" – a community of readers. Scholars often consider to what extent particular texts circulate together and/or whether these texts constitute or shape communal concerns of readers?¹ In later chapters, I will consider how texts within an individual manuscript engage the discourses surrounding nation. In this chapter, I consider a larger field, those manuscripts containing *Canterbury Tales* outside of the authorial frame story. Instead of focusing on readers, I will treat the texts and their manuscripts as the objects of inquiry and develop a "textual network" – a visualization of shared textual contents among the manuscripts. Such a move will reveal interconnections and concerns that may not at once be apparent, and what will emerge will only be a part of the cultural context of these manuscripts. However, it is a part that has been largely ignored. In an influential chapter, A.S.G Edwards and Derek Pearsall observe that the majority of manuscripts that contain Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or other large works contain

¹ Pascale Bourgain, "The Circulation of Texts in Manuscript Culture," in Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 140-159.

no significant companions or only shorter texts attached as an afterthought.²

But their examination excludes those manuscripts that contain a portion or two of Chaucer's larger work. That is, it ignores those manuscripts that contain excerpted tales. Of the over eighty manuscripts containing Chaucer's works, twenty-eight fit this category, and for years, the interpretative possibilities of these extracts as a group have been overlooked.³ The reason for such neglect is understandable. Chaucer meant for these texts to form part of his larger work, and the manuscripts do not present them in this context. In other words, these texts circulate in a non-authorial frame. The lack of authorial context has equated to a lack of authority.⁴

² A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall, "The Manuscripts of the Major English Poetic Texts," in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 257.

³ Edward and Pearsall are not alone in this. Catalogues of extant manuscripts have been quick to list them, but the vision of them has been apathetic or focused on what they might tell scholars about the circulation of Chaucer's masterpiece. For listing, see John Manly and Edith Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, 8 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940); M.C. Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, Eng., and Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar Press, 1995, 1997). Online catalogues of the manuscripts are available at several locations. See Linne Mooney, Simon Horobin, and Estelle Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes* <<http://www.medievalscribes.com>>, 17 November 2015; Daniel W. Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue of Pre-1500 Manuscripts and Incunables of the Canterbury Tales*, 2nd Ed. (Birmingham, UK: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2010).

⁴ The only studies of this nature are: Daniel Silva, "Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*," in Beryl Rowland (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, (London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1974), pp. 153-63; Lori Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies: A Contextual Study of Manuscript Anthologizing Individual Canterbury Tales* (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Delaware, 1995); and, Heather Blurton and Hannah

What if instead of orienting these texts toward Chaucer or his work, we considered how the manuscripts' texts form their own textual network? What if we accept that many tales circulated as singlets, and rather than reintroducing the *Canterbury Tales'* context, we examined the interpretative potential of the manuscripts containing any excerpt? Might these singlets be part of disparate textual networks that engage different concerns and preoccupations? This chapter turns to modern network analysis techniques in order to better understand the textual networks in which the singlets circulate. Rather than considering how the texts within an individual manuscript interact, I explore whether particular tales circulate in unique communities. What this chapter shows is that network analysis of the circulation of medieval texts highlights groups of texts that commonly circulate together (i.e. the textual network), which actually leads back to traditional analysis of individual manuscripts and groups. My project will demonstrate how computer visualization technologies and network analysis might aid in establishing textual networks generally and broaden the range of interpretive possibilities for the manuscripts containing excerpted texts from Chaucer's *Tales*.

Before proceeding, I must address the nomenclature used in this chapter. In order to designate a tale or tales that appear in a manuscript but are outside of the Chaucerian frame, I employ the term "excerpt." Although the normal

Johnson, "Reading the *Prioress's Tale* in the Fifteenth Century: Lydgate, Hoccleve, and Marian Devotion," *The Chaucer Review* 50.1 and 2 (2015), 136-37.

terms to use here are "fragment," both terms present difficulty in the Chaucerian context because both have already been coopted to refer to specific predetermined portions of the *Canterbury Tales*. Since Thomas Tyrwhitt, scholars have divided Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* into ten portions of texts that have Chaucerian links. These portions of text have either been called "Fragments 1-10" or "Groups A-I."⁵ Each contains ten textual divisions and corresponds to the same portion of text. Tyrwhitt divided the *Tales* into "fragmentary" pieces, and the Chaucer Society called these same fragments "Groups," although Group B is split in two, B¹ and B².⁶ For example, scholarly use of "Group A" and "Fragment I" denotes the same sequences of tales from the *General Prologue (GP)* to the *Cook's Tale (CkT)*, including the *GP*, the *Knight's Tale (KnT)*, the *Miller's Tale (MiT)*, the *Reeve's Tale (ReT)*, and the *CkT*. This labeling practice for textual divisions is not universal to all medieval-manuscript studies

⁵ Larry Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), p. 5, relates the historical choice of Fragment or Group in editions of the *Tales*.

⁶ The terminology of "Group" and "Fragment" developed from the work of Thomas Tyrwhitt. Tyrwhitt (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Geoff. Chaucer*, 14 vols. (Edinburg: Apollo Press, 1782 [1775]), 4: 124-126, asserts the *Tales* (as it exists today) is "imperfect" in nature; he cites the fact portions of the *Tales* have authorial links and others don't (indicating in his mind the unfinished nature of the *Tales*). Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), *A Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part I, Attempting to Show the True Order of the Tales* (London: Chaucer Society, 1868), pp. 10-12, notes that Tyrwhitt's "arrangement" collects the *Tales* into ten "fragmentary" parts. He proposes that, without links between the Fragments, these are also textual groups, e.g. "Group A." Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 5, notes that subsequent editions have adopted one, the other, or both terms when speaking of the order of the *Tales*.

or texts. For example, there is no shorthand for establishing what portion of text is meant by "a fragment of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*." Conversely, suggesting a manuscript contains a fragment of the *Canterbury Tales*, necessitates the consideration of which fragment, and to call the *KnT* a fragment creates issues since that text is a piece of another portion of text commonly referred to as a fragment. Charles A. Owen escaped this conundrum by calling them "single tales" and "small groups."⁷ I find it easier to employ "excerpts" to avoid any confusion.

The Value of Visualization

In order to detect these textual networks, I used force-direct nodal graphing. A graph consists of nodes – in this chapter, representing individual texts within manuscripts – and edges connecting nodes, representing that the nodes share some property. These edges' lengths are determined (forced) by how much the nodes that the edge connects have in common. This process visualizes textual relationships and highlights the convergences of particular texts. Data visualizations condense a wide array of information and render it in such a manner that a larger audience can access that data. These visualizations are nothing new in Chaucer studies. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* survives in over eighty manuscripts, and scholars have built complex family trees of

⁷ Charles A. Owens, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1991), p. 105.

manuscripts, *stemma codicum*, to visualize the relationship between various witnesses of medieval texts, with the nodes being individual manuscripts and the edges drawn between nodes when one manuscript was copied from the other. These are *directed edges*: if Manuscript A is the original and Manuscript B is the copy, the relationship is not symmetric, and the edge needs to go from A to B and not the other way 'round. However, these visualizations orient towards the author, whose original is the base of the tree. The purpose is to demonstrate the diffusion of the authorial text in (and thus reconstruct it from) the extant manuscripts. By collecting and analyzing shared readings and errors, scholars visualize the descendants and ancestors of an authorial (disembodied) text, establish the proximity of witnesses (the text embodied in a manuscript) to the putative authorial text, and organize the manuscripts into families.

These analyses devalue the twenty-eight manuscripts that contain nowhere near a complete 'authorial' version of Chaucer's *Tales*. Instead, these manuscripts have served as evidence of the circulation of single tales (or groups of tales),⁸ helped build evidence of family relationships,⁹ or have been worthy of cataloging.¹⁰ While stemmatic criticism values these manuscripts far less than complete (or near-complete) manuscripts, other visualizations reveal new interpretive possibilities.

⁸ Owens, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, pp. 109-28.

⁹ See Manly and Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, especially Vol. I.

¹⁰ For a listing of and for descriptions of these texts, see Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*, I: 131-55.

At the outset, it will be helpful to consider how stemmatic data visualization orients itself towards the author and to consider what the benefits and limitations of these approaches are. Stemmatic criticism derives from the early nineteenth-century work of Karl Lachmann.¹¹ Working with Biblical material, Lachmann utilized a biological approach to explain the various readings found in the manuscript tradition. In his conception, the perfect text is the authorial holograph, the copy of that text written in the author's hand. From this copy, the first scribal copy is made. This copy is the "Archetypus" or archetype, represented as O¹ in stemma visualizations. In familial terms, it is the father or fountainhead from which all subsequent generations, i.e. copies, descend. In the process of copying, errors are made. When further copies are made from the first set, the errors in the first set transmit to the second set and are unique to the family from which they descend. Descendants from one branch will share errors; descendants from another branch will share different errors, and so forth for each separate branch. In other words, where all witnesses agree on a reading we can be sure that the text is closest to the authorial holograph. In conception, these *stemmata* share the singular descent pattern found in the royal genealogies of the Middle Ages. The illumination of the Genealogical Roll-Chronicles of the Kings of England, such as in British Library Royal MS 14 B VI (for discussion see Chapter Three), shows each king

¹¹ For fuller discussion, see E.J. Kenny, *The Classical Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 101-10 and 130-142.

descending from a father but no mother, and if one traces the line backwards, one eventually reaches a singular point of origin. The underlying principle is that, since scribes strive for accuracy, shared errors show shared descent or a shared ancestor. By collecting and analyzing these errors, Lachmann believed that scholars might reconstruct the authorial text. The assumptions and development of stemmatic criticism are complex and have been much critiqued,¹² but the potential for data visualization of a manuscript relationship remains a powerful element of textual criticism.

For *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, the *tour de force* of stemmatic criticism remains John M. Manly and Edith Rickert's *The Texts of the Canterbury Tales*, and the potential for data visualization within their eight volume work is vast. The massive work describes all extant witnesses, catalogues variants, and (re)constructs an archetypal text. In order to build this archetype, they meticulously traced all lines in every extant manuscript and built a series of constant groups. The major constant groups are named for the non-extant exemplar: a, b, c, and d.¹³ The size of these groups varies. The a-group contains five manuscripts: *Dd*, *En*¹, *Ds*, *Cn*, and *Ma*. The c-group holds three: *Cp*, *La*, and

¹² For a critique of the application of stemmatic criticism to medieval texts and culture, see Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris : Seuil, 1989). Cerquiglini's analysis suggests that, in the effort to remove scholarly subjectivity, philological critical approaches force itself anachronistically upon the pre-modern texts.

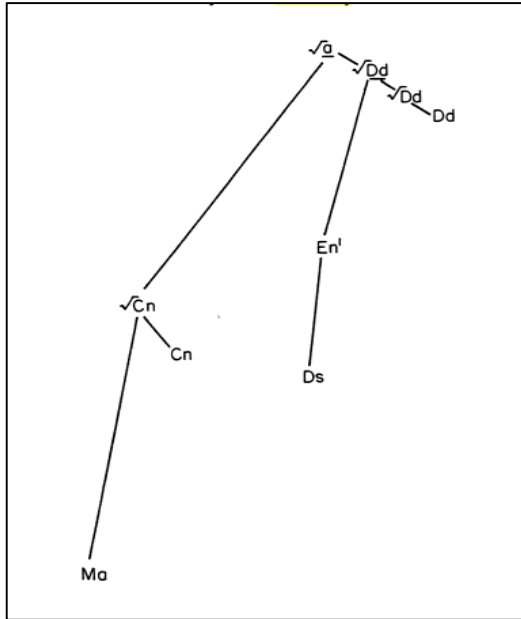
¹³ The abbreviations of Chaucerian Manuscripts and groups can become incredibly complex. In order to guide the reader, Appendix I provides a list of all abbreviations and sigla used in the study.

*Sl*². Beneath these constant groups, they discerned several constant subgroups, e.g. the b group contains *He* and also *Ne*, which includes *Ne*, *Cx*¹, and *Tc*². Since its publication, responses have ranged from praise to censure, but I doubt the work will ever be repeated in the same manner.¹⁴ The substantial time and energy Manly and Rickert put into the work almost assures that the project will never be centrally completed again. Consequently, Manly and Rickert's analysis will continue to form the basis of textual criticism of the *Canterbury Tales*. For all the work, though, they never visualized their stemma. Instead, attentive scholars must peruse their text in order to apprehend what moves, additions, and relationships are being made.

The steep learning curve required to understand and visualize Manly and Rickert's work emerges in Charles A. Owen's masterful monograph *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*. By not drawing their stemma, Manly and Rickert missed the opportunity for simplification. In his book, Owen's first task is to draw Manly and Rickert's stemma, and he begins by focusing on the a-constant group. This constant group collects together several manuscripts that share variants and are consequently descended from the same family. Figure

¹⁴ For a history of the Manly and Rickert Edition, see George Kane, "John M. Manly and Edith Rickert," in Paul G. Ruggiers (ed.), *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1984), pp. 207-29, and Ron Vance Ramsey, *The Manly-Rickert Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellon Press, 1994). For a recent critique, see A.S.G. Edwards, "Manly and Rickert and the Failure of Method," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 32 (2010), 337-44.

Figure 1.1 - Owen's Visualization of M-R a-Constant



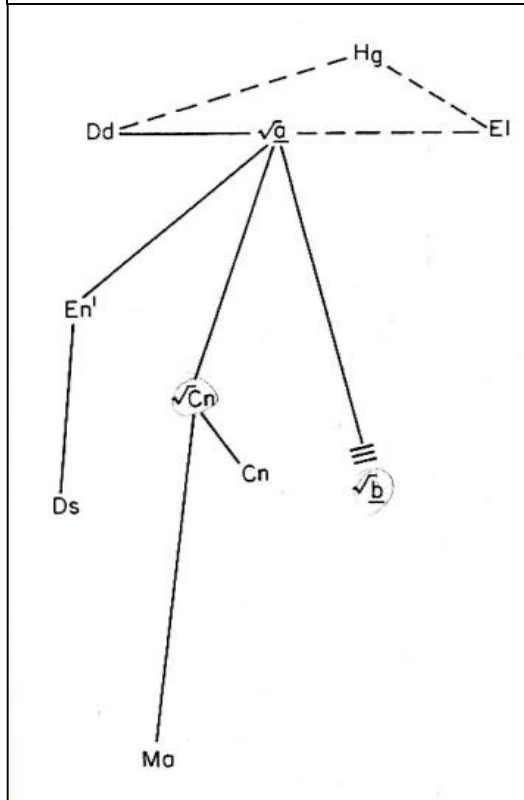
1.1 copies Owen's visualization of the a-constant group, which he builds from Manly and Rickert's analysis.¹⁵ In this group, Manly and Rickert included five manuscripts, which they broke into two subgroups. Each manuscript is represented by a two letter siglum, and the subgroup by an underlined two letter subgroup siglum: Dd (Dd-En¹-Ds) and Cn (Cn-Ma). In accordance with

stemmatic criticism, Manly and Rickert declare that, at each point of divergence between families, there must have existed an exemplar that we do not possess today.¹⁶ This is represented by the $\sqrt{\quad}$ symbol. These non-extant exemplars are represented as \sqrt{a} , $\sqrt{\underline{Dd}}$, and $\sqrt{\underline{Cn}}$; the first to establish the constant group (\sqrt{a}), the latter two establish the divergences at the sub-constant group levels. Having visualized the subgroups, Owen finds that the two scholars' evidence demands another non-extant exemplar, $\sqrt{\underline{Dd}}$ which exists between $\sqrt{\underline{Dd}}$ and Dd. This is

¹⁵ Owens, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, p. 16.

¹⁶ This is because scribes always (inevitably) introduce changes on their own, whether inadvertent or deliberate. In those cases where the frequency of agreement between a group of extant manuscript is high enough, these changes evince a previous copy-text.

Figure 1.2 - Owen's Revised Stemma for the a-constant Group



because Manly and Rickert declared that *Dd* and *En*¹ possess different exemplars.¹⁷ The verbal complexity is wonderfully simplified by Owen's visualization. In addition to the nodes and the edges, he uses spacing to reveal how close or distant relationships are, so we can easily see the separation of the five extant manuscripts *Dd-En*¹-*Ds-Cn-Ma* into the two subgroups, and the reader can see how far from the non-extant group exemplar each manuscript

was.

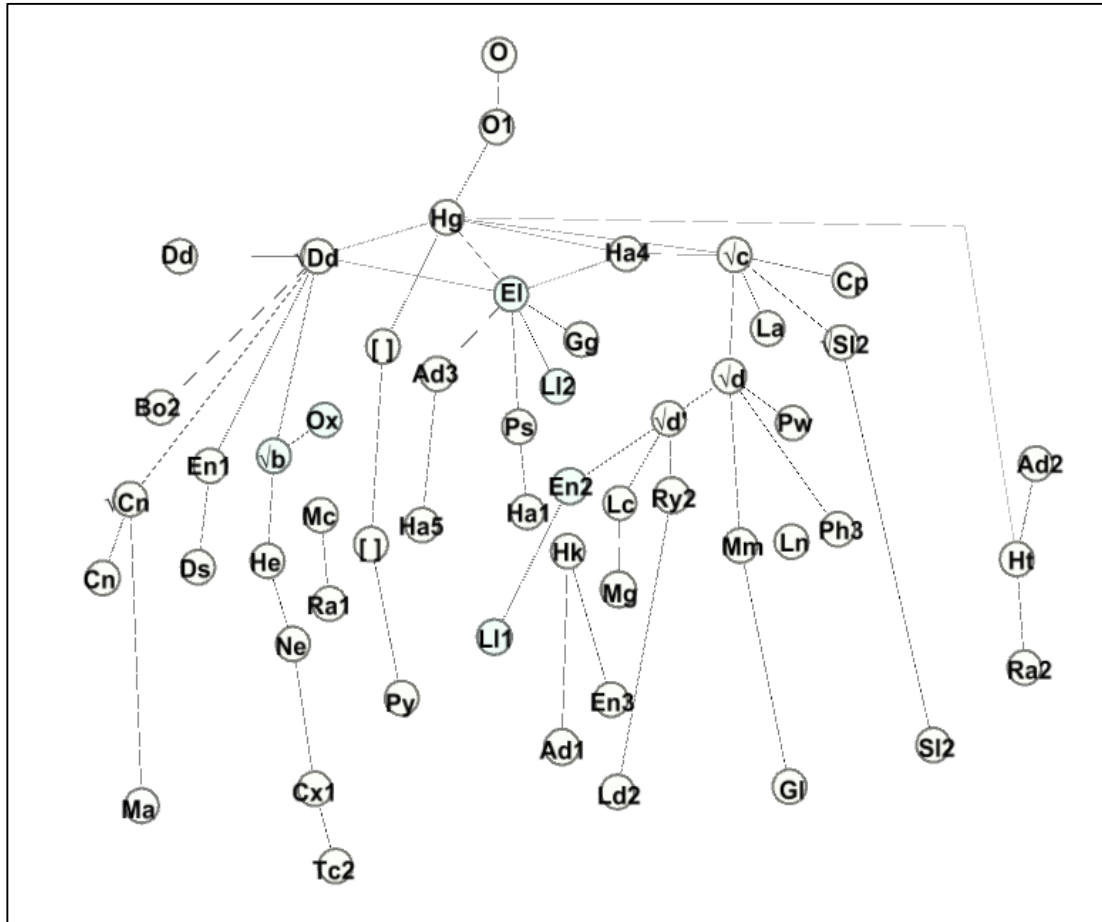
Having visualized Manly and Rickert's stemma, Owen is able to form a simplified hypothesis about the a-constant group. Since *Dd* shows much unique divergence from other a-group manuscripts, Owen concludes that it must have

¹⁷ Owen, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, p. 15. The section under discussion is Manly and Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, I: 132. Here, Professor Daniel Ransom (personal correspondence) indicates that the situation is more complicated. Manly and Rickert do not present stemma for the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole but for the individual tales in the *Tales*. While most of the stemmata are similar for each tales in a given manuscript family (a procedure that allows for generalized stemma of the manuscript), this is not a universal position. In fact, Manly and Rickert limit *Dd*'s usage of different exemplars to specific portions of the *Canterbury Tales*.

served as one of the primary exemplars for \sqrt{a} . This conclusion alters the form of the stemma Owen's draws from his reading of Manly and Rickert. The benefits of Owen's observation are striking. If Owen is correct, Dd is the ancestor of the \underline{a} -group rather than a member of it. His visualization of this new relationship reveals that he eliminates two non-extant exemplars — \sqrt{Dd} and \sqrt{Dd} (See Figure 1.2). Neither of these are needed to explain Dd 's uniqueness anymore, since it is an exemplar and not a descendant. En^1 and \sqrt{Cn} descend from \sqrt{a} . Owen's work reveals the power that visualizing the stemma provides and the complexity of the information that goes into creating it. Admittedly, much of the nuance of the arguments and the details are lost in the visualization, but the gain is profound.

All of this stemmatic work, however, focuses on Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and pays no attention to excerpts. Consider the stemma created in Figure 1.3. This stemma is a reproduction of Owen's final stemma of relationships of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* with O (the authorial holograph) and O^1 (the first scribal copy) added. The reproduction accounts for forty-six extant manuscripts, which contain Chaucer's work (Ox is currently two manuscripts); forty-two of these manuscripts are complete or near complete versions of Chaucer's work. In other words, this diagram visually represents 75% of extant complete manuscripts. In contrast, only four of these are non-complete manuscripts; that is, 24% of extant non-complete manuscripts are represented. The neglect of the non-complete manuscripts is not without good reason. The

Figure 1.3 - Owen's Stemma for Extant Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*



number of lines available for analysis is limited, and since the sequence in which the pilgrims tell their tales helps identify groups, the excerpts prove difficult to classify. Recent work using computers, compatibility matrices, and bootstrap analyses (a statistical method of assigning a measure of accuracy to a random sample in order to make observations on a larger population) has worked to improve stemmata.¹⁸ These still fail to account for the non-complete

¹⁸ See, for example, Matthew Spencer, Barbara Bordalejo, Peter Robinson, and Christopher J. Howe, "How Reliable is a Stemma? An Analysis of Chaucer's Miller's Tale," *Lit Linguist Computing* 18.4 (2003), pp. 407-22.

manuscripts because the orientation remains directed towards the authorial *Canterbury Tales*. The goal is to elucidate the relationship to the original version. In this paradigm, the non-complete manuscripts are treated as outsiders. This is troubling since it ignores important textual practices. Lori Dixon observes, "The miscellany group is not typical of the main textual tradition, either in the selection of texts or in the use of materials."¹⁹ Thus, the miscellany group calls for a different kind of analysis.

The Forgotten Manuscripts

Unlike stemmatic criticism, network analysis provides a non-hierarchical method for considering the wealth of texts and witnesses and thus incorporating the excerpts/fragments. It builds on the visualization techniques of stemmatic scholars and visualizes the interrelationships within a textual network. Network analysis places all texts and witnesses on an equal playing field. Thus, it escapes the typical pattern of stemmatic criticism, which acknowledges and then disregards the non-complete manuscripts. Moreover, network analysis resituates these forgotten manuscripts outside that of the complete *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. Even while the arrangement and selection of texts remains debatable, the set of manuscripts that we can reasonably identify as complete is clear and provides a body of study.

¹⁹ Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies*, p. 60.

The set of manuscripts based not on the complete *Canterbury Tales* but on excerpts needs to be approached differently. Within the twenty-eight excerpt manuscripts, fourteen of the pilgrims' stories are included: the *Knight's Tale*, the *Man of Law's Tale*, the *Clerk's Tale*, the *Merchant's Tale*, the *Franklin's Tale*, the *Monk's Tale*, the *Tale of Melibee*, the *Second Nun's Tale*, the *Prioress's Tale*, the *Parson's Tale*, the *Shipman's Tale*, the *Tale of Sir Thopas*, the *Pardoner's Tale*, and the *Wife of Bath's Tale*.²⁰ In other words, half of the tales exist outside of the *Canterbury Tales* context, but some of these are miraculous survivals, e.g. the survival of a single leaf or two. The excerpts exist outside the standard body of Chaucerian study, but the exact body of study within which they exist remains only generally known. We know the manuscripts in which they exist and what texts exist in those manuscripts. Thus, what we need to do is focus attention upon the three categories into which these manuscripts fall: *remnants*, *pieces*, and *excerpts*.

Remnants

By *remnant*, I am referring to manuscripts which appear to contain what was at one point in time a complete set of tales. An example of this classification of manuscript appears in the Plimpton bifolium (*Pl*) (New York, Columbia

²⁰ The *General Prologue* also appears among the forgotten manuscripts, but the value of these pieces is virtually nothing. *Ad⁴* has a scattered leaf with the Parson's verbal portrait written (apparently from memory) and nothing else. *Do* contains a single sheet of the *General Prologue* with portions of the Clerk's and Franklin's portraits.

University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Plimpton MS 253). This bifolium contains the end of the *Merchant's Tale* (MeT) and a link to the *Franklin's Prologue and Tale* (FrPT). The particular sequence of tale-tellers might indicate association with a formally complete manuscript. This sequence appears in other complete *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, notably the Hengwrt MS. In total, four manuscripts appear to be *remnants* of formally complete manuscripts:

- 1) *Ox* (*Ox*¹, Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 63; and *Ox*², Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/2)
- 2) *Ph*¹ (Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center MS 46).
- 3) *Pl*
- 4) *Si* (New Haven, Takamiya Deposit, Beinecke Library MS 22)

Pieces

By *pieces*, I am referring to manuscripts that contain a section of a single tale (as opposed to excerpts, which contain one or more tale). An example of this is the "Devonshire Fragment" (*Ds*²), c. 1425-50, Derbyshire, Chatsworth House (Home of the Duke of Devonshire).²¹ The "Devonshire Fragment" contains approximately one hundred and forty lines of the *Man of Law's Tale* on a single bifolium. The single bifolium is not attached to any other folios, and no other texts appear along with the tale. Consequently, the term *piece* denotes

²¹ The date of the "Devonshire Fragment" comes from Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*. It is discussed in Manly and Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, I: 122-23, and Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*, II: 250.

those manuscripts that contain only a portion of one tale. The seven manuscripts included in this classification are:

- 1) *Ad*⁴ (London, British Library Additional MS 10340)
- 2) *Do* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce d.4)
- 3) *Ds*²
- 4) *Hl*⁴ (London, British Library MS Harley 5908)
- 5) *Me* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21972 D)
- 6) *To*² (Oxford, Bodleian Library Trinity College MS D 29)²²
- 7) *Kk* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Kk.1.3 (20))

Excerpts

The seventeen remaining manuscripts are classified as containing *excerpts*. These contain one or more of the tales (or part of a tale) and include other non-Chaucerian texts alongside them. Moreover, these must also not include an obvious sequence or piece of a complete *Canterbury Tales* manuscript that suggests that the *Canterbury Tales* section was once complete. Longleat MS 257 (*Ll*¹) is an example of a manuscript that contains tales from the Canterbury collection and presents these in a format that was never intended to be complete. As will be discussed in the next chapter, *Ll*¹ contains the *Knight's Tale* and *Clerk's Tale* along with an *Old Testament Paraphrase*, the *Siege of Thebes*, and *Ipomedon-C*. There is no effort to make the manuscript complete, and there is

²² This witness does not appear in Manly and Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* or in Seymour's *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*. It does appear in Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*; Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies*, pp. 74-76, 369-371.

enough to determine this fact. The seventeen manuscripts that contain *excerpts*,
are:

- 1) *Ar* (London, British Library MS Arundel 140)
- 2) *Ct* (Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun. A.4.104)
- 3) *Ee* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ee.2.15)
- 4) *Ha*¹ (London, British Library Harley MS 1239)
- 5) *Hl*¹ (London, British Library MS Harley 1704)
- 6) *Hl*² (London, British Library MS Harley 2251)
- 7) *Hl*³ (London, British Library MS Harley 2382)
- 8) *Hn* (San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 144)
- 9) *Ll*¹ (Wiltshire, Longleat House (Marquess of Bath) Longleat MS 257)
- 10) *Ll*² (Wiltshire, Longleat House (Marquess of Bath) Longleat MS 29)
- 11) *Np* (Naples, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli MS Naples XIII.B.29)
- 12) *Ph*⁴ (San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 140)
- 13) *Pp* (Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006)
- 14) *Ra*⁴ (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.86 [s.c. 11951])
- 15) *Sl*³ (London, British Library Sloane MS 1009)
- 16) *St* (Stonyhurst, Clitheroe, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College MS B.XXIII [HMC 26])
- 17) *Tc*³ (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19)

To do a network analysis of these texts, we will link them on the basis of shared texts and disregard copying (and thus implicitly the concept of originality as a means of valorizing those texts); there is no privileging of any witness as more authorial, authentic, or better. Thus, network analysis and visualization provides new interpretative frameworks that go beyond a single manuscript but without being oriented towards the author.

Prior Analysis

Hitherto, efforts at analyzing and categorizing these non-complete manuscripts have utilized the binary of secular and sacred or which of the *Tales* they contain. These studies are to be applauded for bringing these manuscripts

under consideration. Nevertheless, the differences in the way that these studies group the manuscripts are surprising and reveal the dangers of trying to force these manuscripts into pre-determined categories.

In the earliest effort to analyze these tales, Daniel Silva focuses on what the manuscripts can tell scholars about how audiences viewed Lydgate and Chaucer in the fifteenth century, specifically "how Lydgate was viewed in relation to Chaucer."²³ His analysis highlights that the majority of those tales that appears outside the *Tales* are generally perceived as "moral" tales. Moreover, he observes that the *Tales* are not central to the miscellanies in which they exist. That is, unlike the *Canterbury Tales*, which occupies hundreds of folio leaves, the individual tales do not dominate the contents of the manuscripts. Having established these facts, he argues that the non-complete manuscripts fit into either "moral" or "courtly" categories.²⁴ At this point, his attention turns towards two particular manuscripts, *Hn* and *Ph*⁴, and the relationship of Chaucer's and Lydgate's texts within them. He argues, for example, that in *Ph*⁴ Lydgate's texts dominate Chaucer's. The *Clerk's Tale* appears without "any sort of division" and "no mention of Chaucer."²⁵ Silva has little to add about what the specific manuscript tells the reader or the context of this manuscript among

²³ Silva, "Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," p. 157.

²⁴ Silva, "Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," pp. 153-63.

²⁵ Silva, "Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," p. 159.

the field of the other manuscripts, other than the fact that "the name and fame of Chaucer are either irrelevant or lost to the MS maker."²⁶

In her analysis, Lori Dixon critiques the simplicity of Silva's taxonomy, offering a more complex one, and she provides extended analysis of the contents. She divides the non-complete manuscripts into the two major categories, "clerical" and "secular," and subdivides the latter into three sub-categories: "standard," "abnormal," and "courtly."²⁷ Each of the manuscripts falls into one of these categories:

- 1) Clerical – *Ct*, *Hl*³, *Hn*, *Sl*³, and *To*²;
- 2) Secular
 - a) Standard – *Hl*², *Ph*⁴, *Pp*, *Ra*⁴, and *Tc*³;²⁸
 - b) Abnormal – *Ll*¹ and *Ll*²; and
 - c) Courtly – *Ee*, *Hl*¹, *Np*, and *St*.

While Dixon's categories are broader, she has maintained the secular/sacred divide among the manuscripts. Her method of division relies upon ownership or audience. While acknowledging the limitations of her approach, she proceeds to argue that the "clerical" manuscripts were "compiled for clerical uses" and that the secular manuscripts were "used by the laity."²⁹

²⁶ Silva, "Some Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," p. 160.

²⁷ Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies*, pp. 73-74, 106.

²⁸ Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies*, p. 106, defines her categories. The standard group is "similar to the clerical miscellanies in composition and execution; they appear to have been compiled for modest mercantile or gentry owners." She defines abnormal manuscripts as failing to have similarities to other miscellanies and executed "under special circumstances." Courtly manuscripts share "textual relationship[s] among the other contents" and are "suggestive of the relationships among professional scribes."

²⁹ Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies*, pp. 73-74.

Utilizing a different organizational methodology, Heather Blurton and Hannah Johnson consider the manuscripts containing excerpts of the *Prioress's Tale*. Rather than using authorial or audience concerns, they build up a grouping through the *Prioress's Tale's* religious tenor and seek out similarities in accompanying works. They argue that the circulation of the *Prioress's Tale* occurs in "devotional miscellanies or anthologies" and is "characteristic" of Marian miracles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁰ In their analysis, they detect particular shifts indicative of devotional materials, e.g. in Harley MS 1704 the tale's perspective shifts from third- to first-person voice, "a voice more conducive to the devotional aims of the manuscript collection."³¹

In all three cases, the groupings of the manuscripts are different. Blurton and Johnson grouped together *Ct*, *HI¹*, *HI²*, *HI³*, and *Ra⁴*. Their grouping contrasts with that of Dixon. Whereas Dixon grouped *Ct* and *HI³* in the "clerical" category, *HI²* and *Ra⁴* in the "standard" category, and *HI¹* in the "courtly" category, Blurton and Johnson collapse these into a single group. The reason for these differences involves readers' interests. Blurton and Johnson are interested in the *Prioress's Tale*, and so they see connections across those manuscripts. Dixon is interested in a wider grouping, and thus she sees alternative similarities and differences. Silva is interested in what the manuscripts can say about Chaucer's and Lydgate's relationship in the fifteenth

³⁰ Blurton and Johnson, "Reading the *Prioress's Tale*," pp. 136-37.

³¹ Blurton and Johnson, "Reading the *Prioress's Tale*," p. 143.

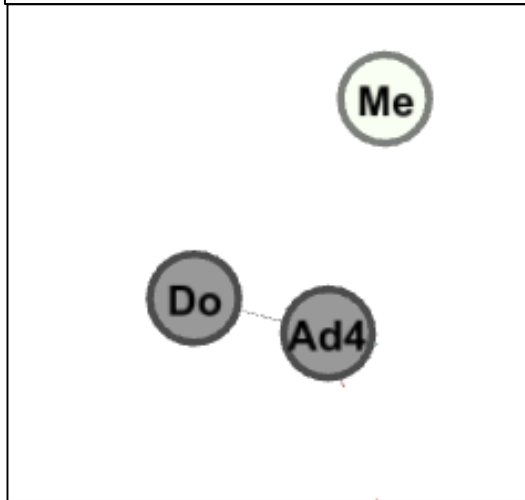
century. Network grouping offers a way to let categories emerge from a neutral analysis of the texts; this may reveal unexpected patterns and rationales for compiling manuscripts.

Force-Directed Graphs and Network Analysis of Manuscripts

In order to analyze the textual networks of the non-complete manuscripts, I will use force-direct graphing programs. This type of graph uses "nodes" and "edges" to create two- and three-dimensional representations of a network. In Figure 1.4, there appears an enlarged portion of a force directed graph. It contains three circles "*Do*," "*Me*," and "*Ad⁴*." Each circle is called a "node." In this case, each "node" represents one manuscript, and each "node" is labelled with a siglum from Manly and Rickert's massive work. In this enlargement, a line connects the nodes *Do* and *Ad⁴*; this line is called an "edge." The edge represents a connection between the two nodes. In this graph, the "edge" represents the fact that the two manuscripts share one text – Chaucer's *General Prologue*. No edges connect *Me* to either *Do* and *Ad⁴* because the manuscripts have no texts in common.

Each node and edge can be assigned a "weight" or value. The higher the value of an edge between two nodes, the more tightly connected the two nodes are and the more strongly it will pull two nodes closer together; in this case, the weight will correspond to the number of texts the two manuscripts share. The weight of a node represents the number of texts a given manuscript contains.

Figure 1.4 – Force-Directed Graph of Three Chaucerian MSS



For instance, if Manuscript A contains 6 texts, and Manuscript B contains 9 texts, and two of the texts are shared, then node A has a weight of 6, node B has a weight of 9, and the edge connecting them has a weight of 2. In this case, each node and edge has been assigned a default value of "1." With these values

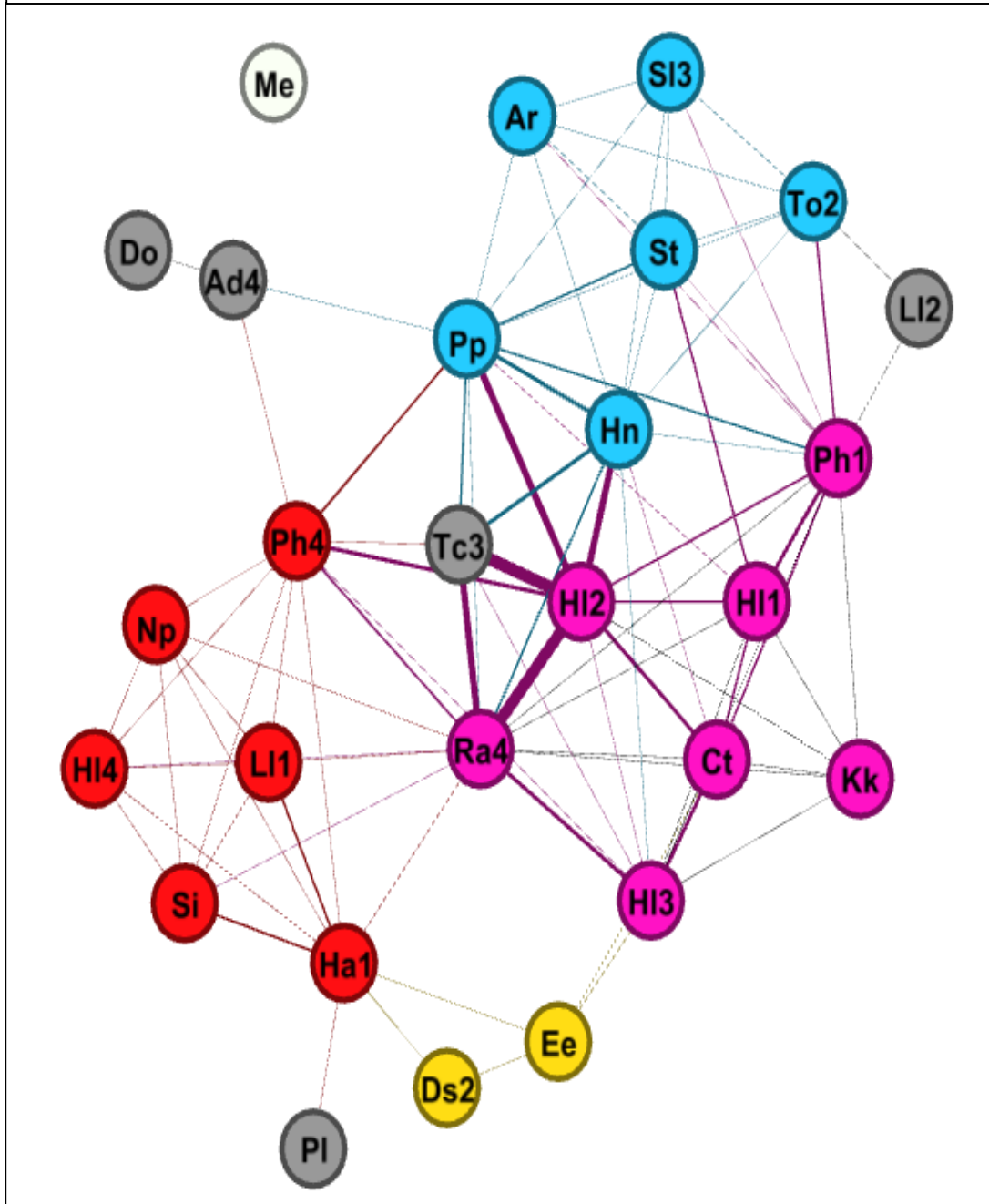
assigned, force-directed graphing can distribute the nodes and edges throughout the visual field using a variety of algorithms. I have used a "Force Atlas 2" algorithm. This complex algorithm utilizes the assigned weight of each node and edge in order to calculate how closely related (or unrelated) each node is to all other nodes on the field. It then disperses the "nodes" throughout the two-dimensional space and visualizes how closely related the nodes are.³² The more weight a given edge is assigned, the closer together the two nodes connected by that edge will be. Conversely, the more weight a node is given, the more it will resist being pulled toward other nodes. So, for instance,

³² This type of algorithm brings together various other network spatialization algorithms, such as "Barnes Hut simulation, degree-dependent repulsive force, and local and global adaptive temperatures." See Mathieu Jacomy, Tommaso Venturini, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Bastian, "ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software," *PLoS ONE* 9.6 (10 June 2014). Available at <<http://www.plosone.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0098679>>.

suppose two manuscripts contain four texts, three of them in common; the edge will pull the two nodes representing the manuscripts closer together. However, if each manuscript contained twenty texts and only three texts were in common, the nodes representing the manuscripts will more strongly resist the pull and be placed farther apart. The result is a graph where more closely associated nodes appear to be physically closer to each other and nodes that are not as closely linked are repulsed from each other. In Figure 1.4, the "Force Atlas 2" algorithm places *Do* and *Ad⁴* in close proximity to each other because they have greater affinity to each other than either does to *Me*. This visualization declares that *Do* and *Ad⁴* form a community and that *Me* is the outsider. This simple network analysis can be extended to a much larger community of manuscripts.

The complexity of these representations emerges through the introduction of "weight" to the edges and nodes. Figure 1.5 visualizes all non-complete manuscripts containing *Canterbury Tales*, using Force Atlas 2 algorithms. In the upper left quadrant, the portion that was present in Figure 1.4 is present, but to this field, all other non-complete manuscripts of Chaucer's *Tales* have been added. In this visualization (as in the previous figure), manuscript *Me* proves to be unique. *Me* contains fragments of the *Nun's Priest's Prologue* and *Tale (NPPT)* on three folios, but no other non-complete manuscripts share this text, and since *Me* has no other texts in it, the node

Figure 1.5 - Extant Non-Complete Manuscripts of Canterbury Tales

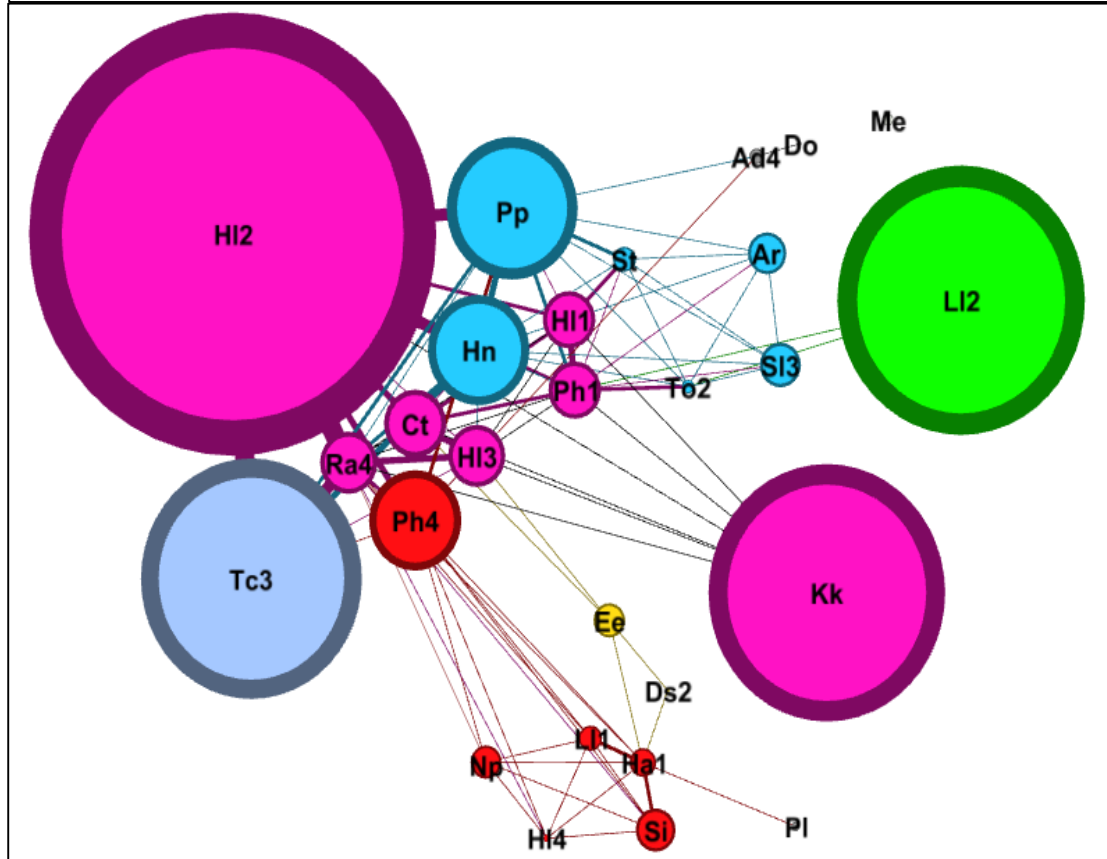


representing it floats detached from all the other nodes. The network analysis thus demonstrates that *Me* has no textual network, and in the manuscript's current state, nothing more can be said about it. It cannot be known whether it is a fragment of a 'once-complete' *Canterbury Tales* or not. Similar concerns

surround *Do* and *Pl*. Both of these are attached via an edge (weight of "1") to one other manuscript. Hence, the algorithm places the nodes on the outer edges of the graph. In the center of the graph, the thickness of the edges indicates that manuscripts share more than one text. *Ra⁴* and *Hl²*, for example, share eight texts, and the edge between their nodes has been given a mathematical weight of "8" in order to attract the nodes more closely together and form a closer relationship between them. Consider the edge weight of *Ra⁴-Hl²*, *Tc³-Ra⁴*, *Tc³-Hl²*, *Hl²-Pp*, and *Hl²-Hn*. In the algorithm, the greater the edges's weight the stronger the attraction between the two nodes. The importance of this is that it allows the visualization to reveal more relationship networks between various nodes and shifts those nodes with the greatest concentration of shared materials to the center.

The complexity of the force directed graph can further be augmented by adjusting the weight of the nodes. Figure 1.6 adds weight to the "nodes." For example, *Me*'s node is represented as an exceptionally small dot, barely visible in the graph. This is because *Me* contains only a single text. The weight of *Me* can be compared to *Ar*, which appears near *Me* and the much larger *Ll²*. *Ar* contains six texts, and thus its node had been given a weight of "6." Of course, the largest node in Figure 1.6 is *Hl²*, which contains 89 texts and has been assigned a weight of "89." The larger the weight of a node, the more space the algorithm will assign it; that is, the larger the weight of the node, the more it will resist getting pulled into the proximity of other nodes. The effect of

Figure 1.6 - Weighted Non-Complete Manuscripts of Canterbury Tales

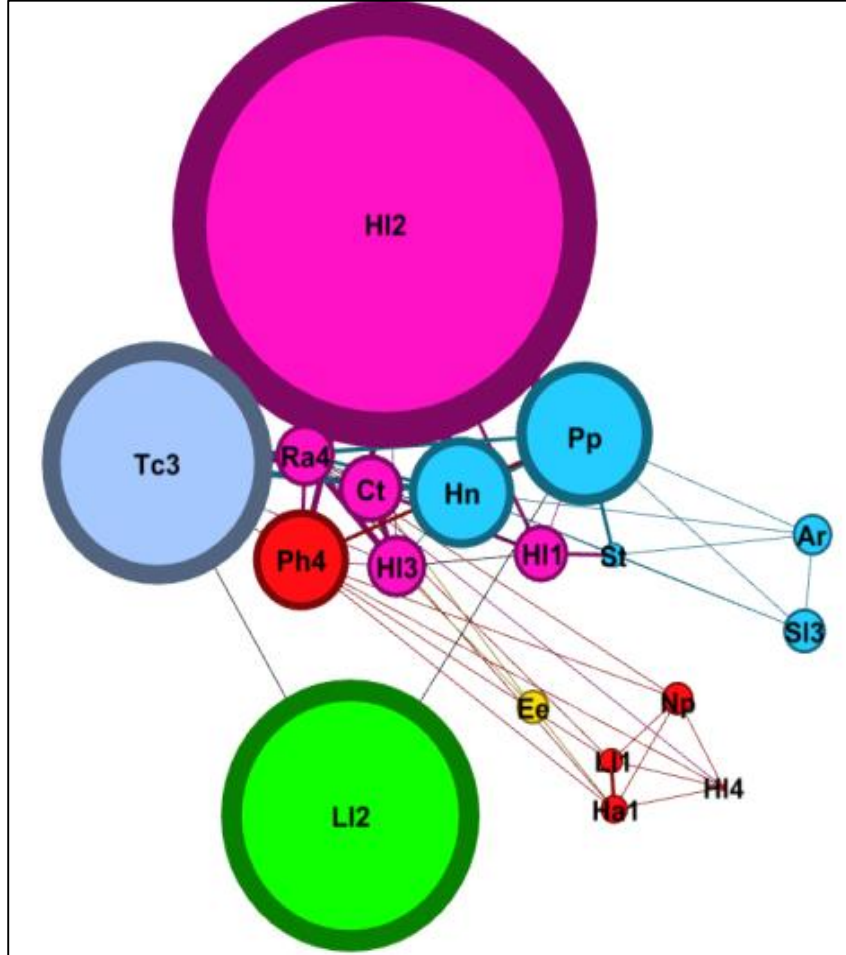


assigning HI^2 the massive weight is that it compounds the repulsion between those nodes connected via edges. That is to say, HI^2 's mass is so great that it wants to create its own community. An excellent case in point is consideration of HI^2 and its relationship to Kk . Because HI^2 and Kk share a single text, the "edge" serves to pull them together. However, the weight of each "node" demands space in the algorithm and repulses each other. Consequently, the attraction between them is minimal, and the two appear slightly farther apart than in Figure 1.5. However, Tc^3 , which is roughly comparable in weight to Kk , appears much closer to HI^2 . This is because the weight of the edge increases the

attraction between the two, and in Figure 1.6, Tc^3 and Hl^2 appear closer than in Figure 1.5 due to the number of shared texts.

An additional advantage of the force-directed graph is that color can be added. This permit us to visualize and to track another data point. Following Blurton and Johnson's example, this graph colors the nodes according to which individual tales from the *Canterbury Tales* exist in the manuscript: the *Clerk's Tale* (red), the *Tale of Melibee* (blue), the *Prioress's Tale* (pink), the *Monk's Tale* (green), and the *Man of Law's Tale* (yellow). In the case of some manuscripts, a choice was necessary. For example, Ra^4 contains both the *Clerk's Tale* and the *Prioress's Tale*. In this case, Ra^4 appears closer to other manuscripts containing the *Prioress's Tale* (than those with the *Clerk's Tale*), so pink was chosen. Ha^1 contains a collection of *Canterbury Tales*, but the *Clerk's Tale* is the most frequently represented text it contains, e.g. *The Wife of Bath's Tale* appears in no other non-complete manuscripts. Thus, the red of the *Clerk's Tale* controls the coloring. With this layer added into the image, the network visualization condenses an exceptional amount of information. In Figure 1.6, the algorithm with the weighted edges produces some division between those manuscripts containing the *Clerk's Tale*, those containing the *Tale of Melibee*, and those containing the *Prioress's Tale*. In Figure 1.6, the algorithm with weighted edges and nodes complicates the structure. Although the manuscripts containing the *Clerk's Tale* appears to remain grouped, the others are roughly distributed throughout the graph.

Figure 1.7 - Seventeen Manuscript (weighted nodes)



The force-directed graph shows some texts have little in common with others. Consider *Me*, *Pl*, *Do*, *Ad*⁴, and *Kk*. They are pulling away from the other groupings. Unsurprisingly, many of these manuscripts

share only portions of a single tale of Chaucer's work (that is, the "pieces"), and they prove the least helpful for seeking textual networks: *Ad*⁴, *Do*, *Ds*², and *Me*. *To*² and *Kk* only contain tiny portions of text (a folio or two of the Chaucerian tales), and they do not share any other contents with other manuscripts under consideration here. They therefore might easily be excluded from analysis here. Likewise, the "pieces" of formerly complete manuscripts are not helpful to analysis. Although the manuscripts contain multiple texts, each one seeks to contextualize its texts within Chaucer's frame narrative. That is, *Ox*, *Ph*¹, *Pl*, and

Si contain "pieces" of Chaucer's *Tales* and nothing else. To study alternate frameworks, these ten manuscripts can be removed from the force-directed graph in order to clarify the visual field. When these manuscripts are removed, the Force Atlas 2 algorithm recalculates and produces a clearer revised graph.

Figure 1.7 provides a visualization of this new field of manuscripts and clarifies the clusters. In Figure 1.7, asserting that the particular Chaucerian tale is an organizing principle proves impossible. The blue-*Melibee* manuscripts are collected together on the right center side of the graph. Immediately below this group the red-*Clerk* manuscripts (except for *Ph*⁴) are grouped. This cluster, the red grouping, shows some spreading; it is unclear whether *Ee* containing *The Man of Law's Tale* ought to be included, and *Ph*⁴ and *Ra*⁴ – both of which contain the *Clerk's Tale* – are pushed out; *Ra*⁴ obviously is associated with the Prioress Cluster. Interestingly, *Ph*⁴ links with the Prioress Cluster as well, in spite of the fact it does not contain that text, because other texts in the manuscript are more commonly shared with manuscripts that have the *Prioress's Tale*. The algorithm does not privilege Chaucer the way critics do. The pink-*Prioress* group sits in the top and wraps around the blue-*Melibee* group. The one larger outlier is *Ll*². No two manuscripts share more than eight texts (*Hl*²-*Tc*³ and *Hl*²-*Ra*⁴). At most, *Tc*³ shares 17% of its items with *Hl*².

By weighting the nodes equally, we can see a better picture of what is happening. In Figure 1.8, I have laid out unweighted nodes representing the remaining manuscripts and colored them by dominant tale (as described

above). I have circled Dixon's "Courtly" grouping. Immediately, we can see a conflict between Dixon's grouping and Blurton and Johnson's grouping. Blurton and Johnson link the pink nodes in Figure 1.8, and Dixon groups the nodes that are circled. In both cases, the network analysis suggests that some of the groupings need shifting (or further analysis). For example, Dixon's "courtly" category excludes *Hn*, although the algorithm places *Hn* in closer proximity to the "courtly" manuscripts than *Ph*⁴. In terms of sheer subject matter of texts, the content of *Hn* supports its exclusion from the "courtly" manuscripts. Many of the items are religious: for example, Item 1, William Lychefelde's "Complaint of God," and Item 5, "The Gospel of Nicodemus." However, the algorithm shows us that *Hn* shares more content with *Hl*² than *Ph*⁴ shares with *Hl*². This is not to suggest that that *Hn* should be part of the "courtly" grouping or that *Ph*⁴ should not be. What it does suggest is that the secular and sacred binary should be reconsidered, as the volume of shared contents in the network analysis (at the least) problematizes these connections.

Instead of utilizing my eyes to select groups, I employ another feature of network analysis – "modularity" analysis. Originally designed to make sense of smaller communities within social networks and mobile phone networks (with upwards of a billion nodes), modularity algorithms are more than capable of organizing the small number of nodes with which we are dealing. Moreover,

Figure 1.8 - Seventeen Manuscripts (unweighted)

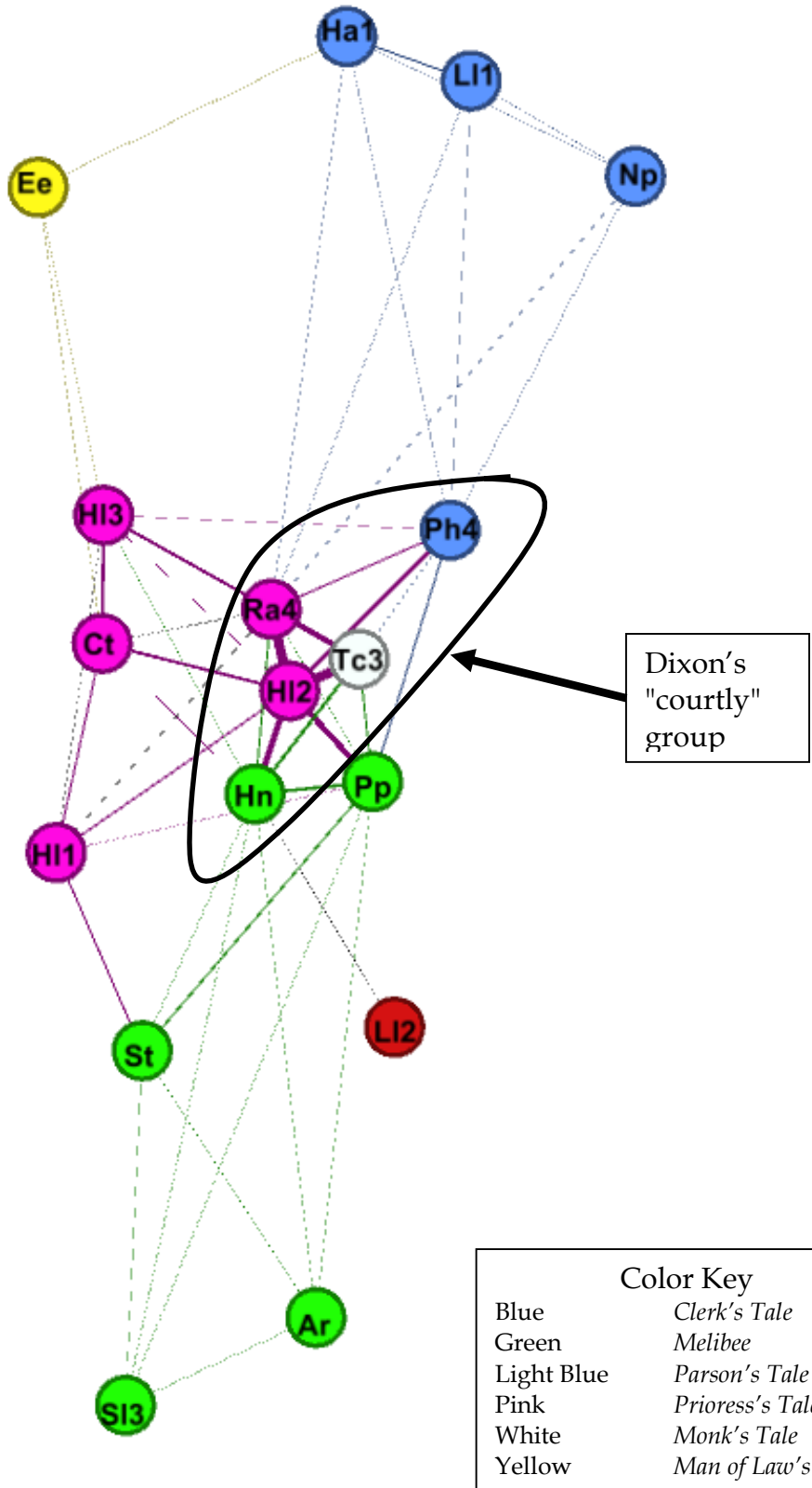
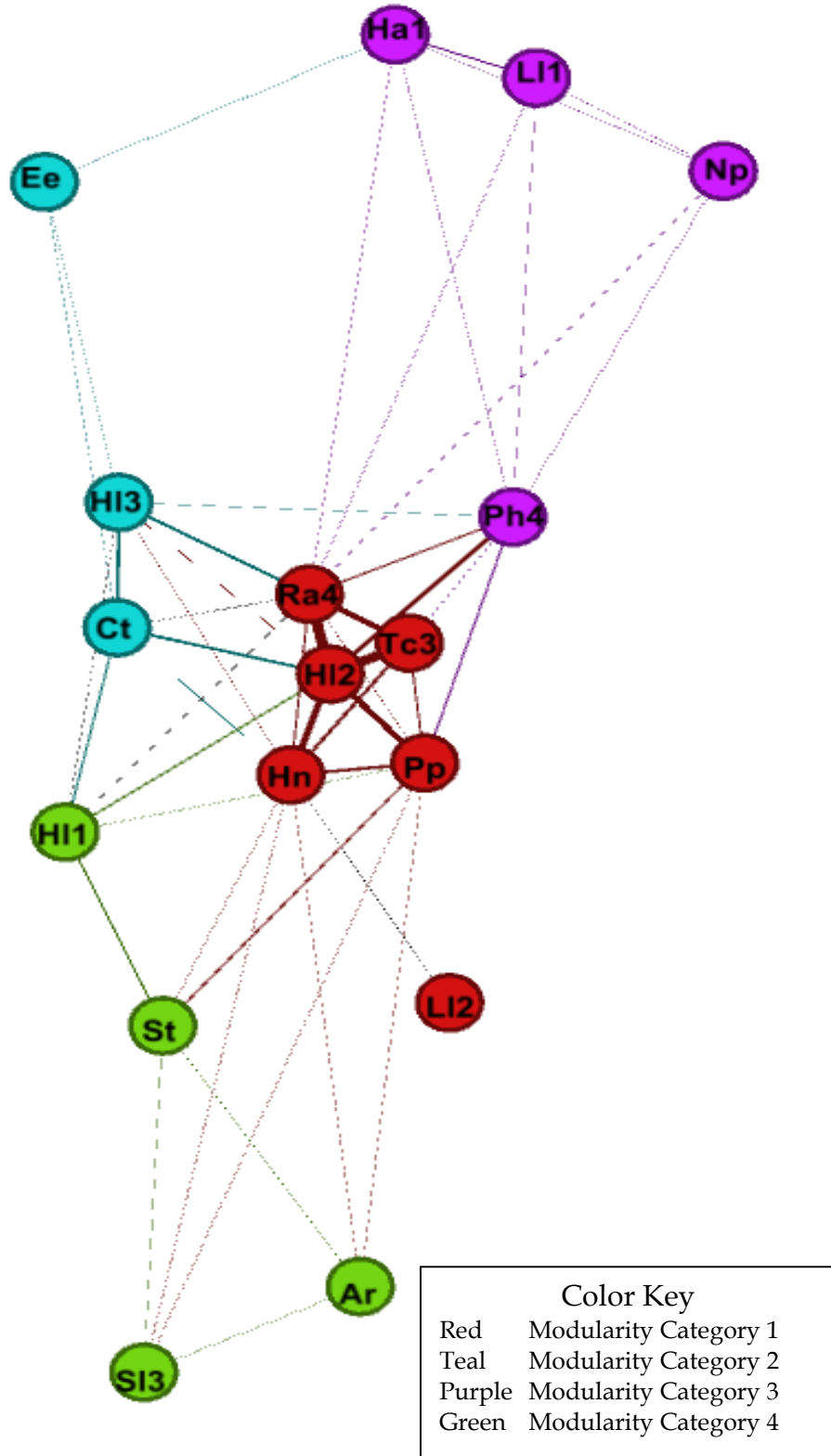


Figure 1.9 - Seventeen Manuscripts (Modularity Algorithm)



the manner in which modularity algorithms work helps to overcome what is perhaps a strong objection to the community analysis that depends entirely on visualizing the community.³³ As M.E.J. Newman explains, "simply counting edges" shared between nodes "is not a good way to quantify the intuitive concept of community structure" since communities are not about sheer numbers but are relational.³⁴ Modularity considers not simply how nodes and edges are related via weight, but it also considers a normalized relationship between nodes and highlights where divergences occur. What this means is that the modularity algorithm considers how the total edge and node weights establish a normal relationship. In the case of larger manuscripts, this means the algorithm expects a normal relationship to have many edge connections. A node that has few edge connections would be abnormal. This normalization is a key feature of establishing the smaller communities within the larger framework and can help clarify relationships in the field.

The modularity algorithm categorizes the manuscripts into the following four groups:

1. MS Modularity Category 1 - Ha^1, Ll^1, Np, Ph^4
2. MS Modularity Category 2 - Ct, Ee, Hl^3
3. MS Modularity Category 3 - $Hl^2, Hn, Ll^2 Pp, Ra^4, Tc^3$

³³ Vincent D. Blondel, Jean-Loup Guillaume, Renaud Lambiotte, and Etienne Lefebvre, "Fast unfolding of communities in large networks," *Journal of Statistical Mechanics: Theory and Experiment* 10 (2008), available at <http://arxiv.org/pdf/0803.0476v2.pdf>

³⁴ M.E.J. Newman, "Modularity and Community Structure in Networks," *PNAS* 103:23 (Feb. 2006), 2.

4. MS Modularity Category 4 – *Ar, Hl¹, Sl³, St*

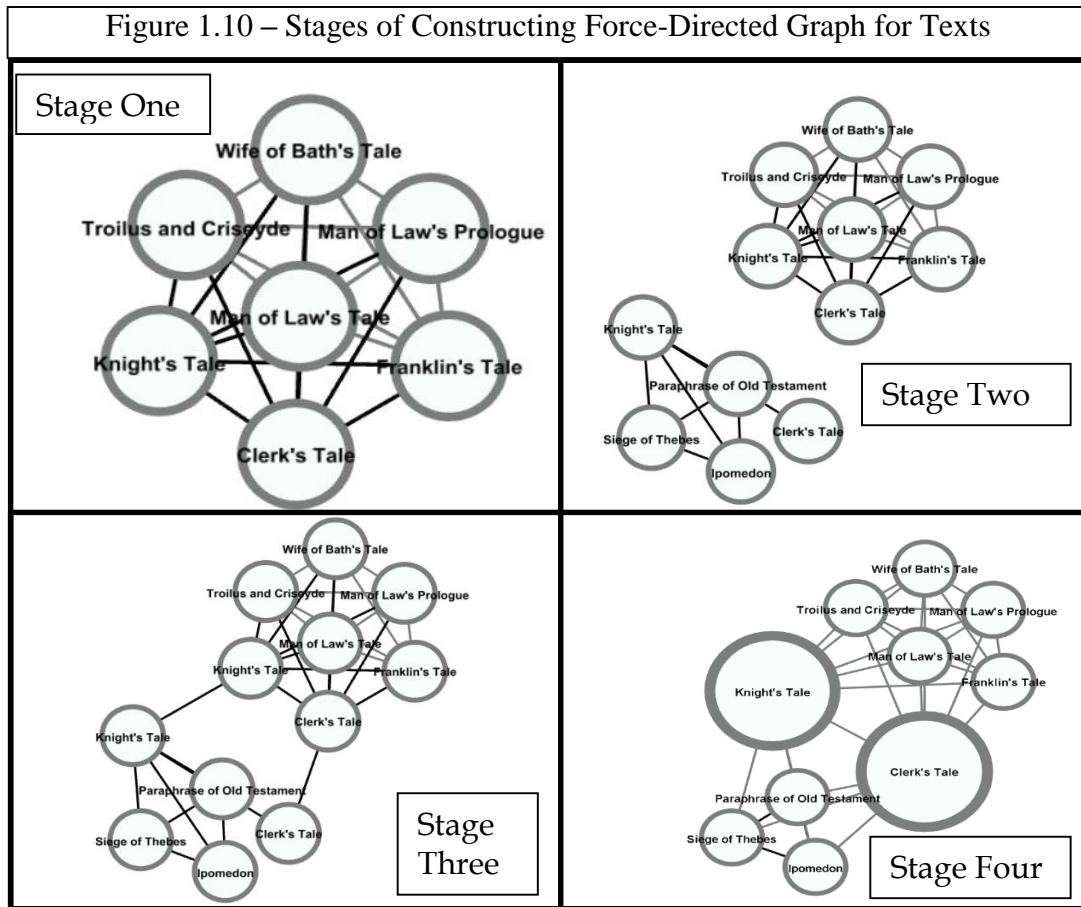
Immediately, the modularity categories paint a different portrait from that of the aforementioned scholars. Blurton and Johnson's collection of *Prioress* MSS has been split in the modularity algorithm, and Dixon's "courtly" grouping has been shifted to include *Ll²* and *Hn* and exclude *Ph⁴*. This inclusion of *Ll¹* and *Ll²* in groups also runs counter to Dixon's analysis. The superiority of such analysis stems from its ability to overcome scholarly presuppositions about what might should be connected and unconnected. The formula determines the convergences based simply on the number and pattern of shared texts. In addition, modularity analysis allows for previous unidentified communities to emerge. For example, the members of "Modularity Group 2," for which hitherto no one has suggested a close relationship, I did not envision as connected until the modularity algorithm suggested it.

What this analysis shows is that there is difficulty establishing textual networks when the focus is upon manuscripts. The force directed graphing helps visualize the manuscript network, and the modularity algorithm helps to detect minor variations that are not immediately apparent. Even so, this manuscript focus does not reveal the subtleties of the textual network. For example, what texts are shared is not apparent in this visualization. Consequently, it is here that I leave my discussion of manuscripts and turn my attention to the texts.

Texts over Manuscripts

Networks in which individual texts, not manuscripts, are the nodes, and edges are drawn between nodes if the texts appear together in a manuscript (and the weight of the edge being the number of manuscripts in which the two texts jointly appear) offer a different perspective on textual groupings. Utilizing similar graphing techniques for the texts (as for the manuscripts), Figure 1.10 lays out how the textual network graph is constructed in four stages. In Stage One, Figure 1.10 shows Ha^1 broken into its content: *Troilus and Criseyde* and six parts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Instead of a node representing Ha^1 , each of the texts has a node, and these nodes are connected to each other via edges. Since there is one instance of each text and they coexist in one manuscript, the nodes and edges are weighted "1." Since each of these nodes and edges is given equal weight, the algorithm distributes them in a cluster. In Stage Two, the contents of Ll^1 have been added to Ha^1 . Because of the different number of texts in each manuscript, the algorithm balances those texts differently. The same principles for node and edge weight are followed. Stage Three begins the process of joining these texts together; both the *Clerk's Tale* and the *Knight's Tale* are joined via an edge since they occur in both manuscripts. If nothing else was done at this point, the visualization of text would directly reflect the manuscripts. Each manuscript would have self-contained references to each

Figure 1.10 – Stages of Constructing Force-Directed Graph for Texts



text within it and link to the outside via only a few texts occurring in other manuscripts. But there is a better way.

Stage Four, the most important step, involves a simplification of the node and edge structures and a complication of the visualization. Rather than having two nodes for the *Clerk's Tale* and *Knight's Tale*, the duplicate nodes are merged and doubled in size as their weight is increased from "1" to "2" to represent the fact that these texts occur in two manuscripts. In the merger process, the edges remain intact, and we must increase the edge weight between the *Clerk's Tale* and *Knight's Tale* from "1" to "2." The edge weight increase between these two nodes indicates that they occur together in two

manuscripts. Stage Four then recalculates the relationship between the two manuscripts and visualizes the new textual network that the texts of the two manuscripts forms. As with the manuscripts, this small scale representation can be scaled up to include all of the aforementioned manuscripts and their texts.

In Figure 1.11, I have conducted this process on all seventeen non-complete manuscripts. In this graph, each node represents a single text. The nodes are weighted. The more manuscripts containing a particular text, the larger its node appears. For example, I have pointed to the nodes for the *Clerk's Tale*, the *Parson's Tale*, and the short poem "The Wise man said to his Son." The smallest of these nodes is the *Parson's Tale*, which occurs in two manuscripts. The "Wise Man said to his Son" occurs in three manuscripts, and the *Clerk's Tale* appears in five. The edges between nodes indicate that the two texts occur in the same manuscript. Take the *Parson's Tale* as the first example. It occurs in *Ll²* and *Hn*. So, a cluster of edges stretches downward towards the collection of texts that are *Ll²* and upwards towards *Hn*'s texts. In contrast, the edges around the *Clerk's Tale* appear as a web stretching out to multiple texts from the five manuscripts in which it occurs that are spread throughout the field. Like the nodes, Figure 1.11's edges are weighted. The thicker the edge, the greater the number of manuscripts in which those two texts appear together (at this level,

Figure 1.11 – Force-Direct Graph of Texts within the Seventeen Non-Complete Manuscripts

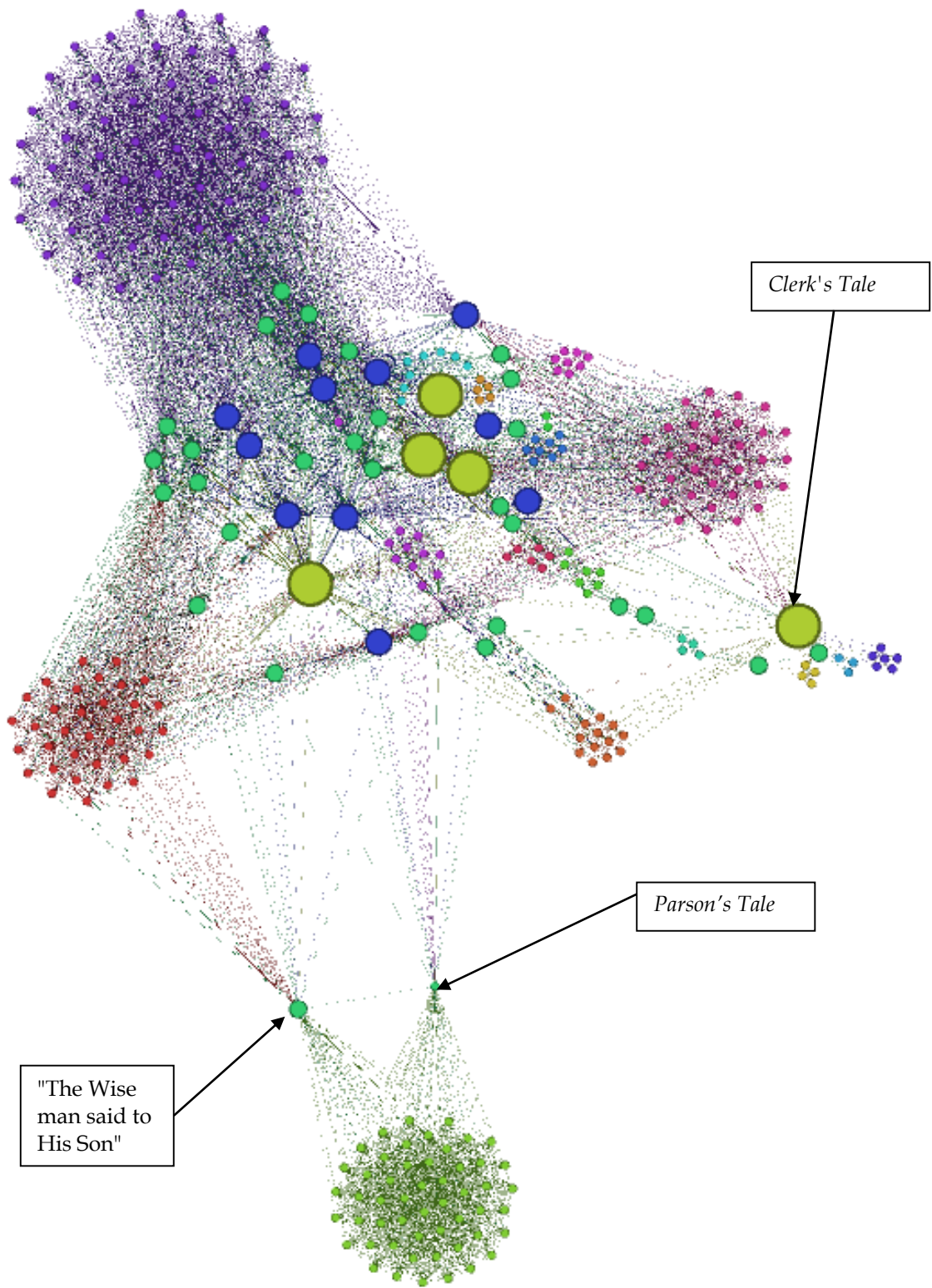
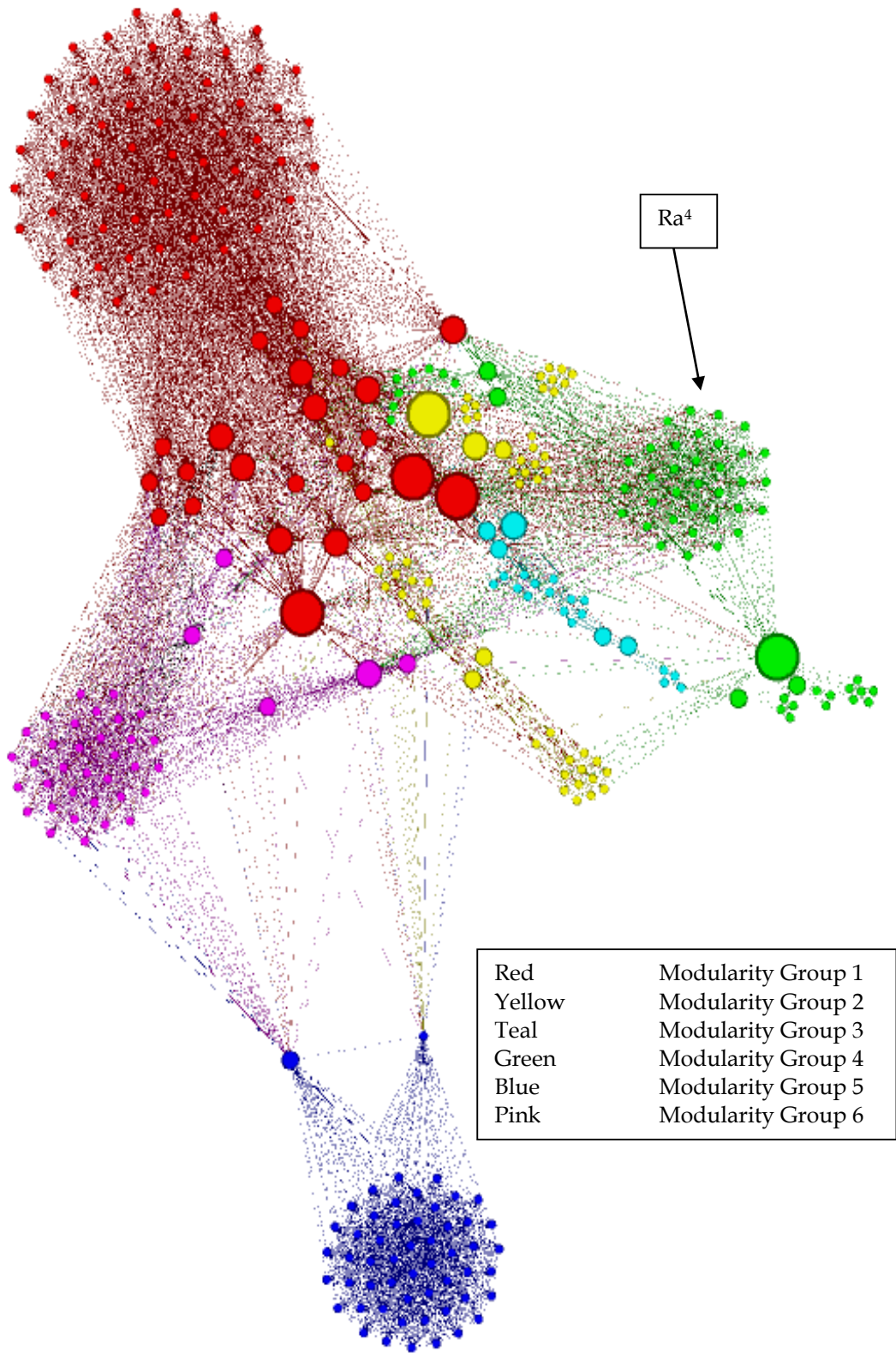


Figure 1.12 – Modularity Groups of Figure 1.10



Red	Modularity Group 1
Yellow	Modularity Group 2
Teal	Modularity Group 3
Green	Modularity Group 4
Blue	Modularity Group 5
Pink	Modularity Group 6

the weight of the edges is difficult to see).³⁵ The visualization contains all texts from the seventeen manuscripts, and in order to see how particular texts from a manuscript group are dispersed throughout the field, each of the manuscripts has been assigned a different color. For those texts that occur in multiple manuscripts, the color of its primary manuscript (alphabetically determined) controls the representation of that node. Several locations have tightly packed nodes and dense overlaps of edges. Essentially, this is an expansion of the phenomenon that appears in Stage One of Figure 1.10. When a significant number of unique texts occur in a manuscript, the algorithm concentrates these together. Several clusters of manuscripts are visible. The Force Atlas 2 algorithm also removes nodes from the center of groupings when multiple manuscripts share these texts.

Analysis of Communities

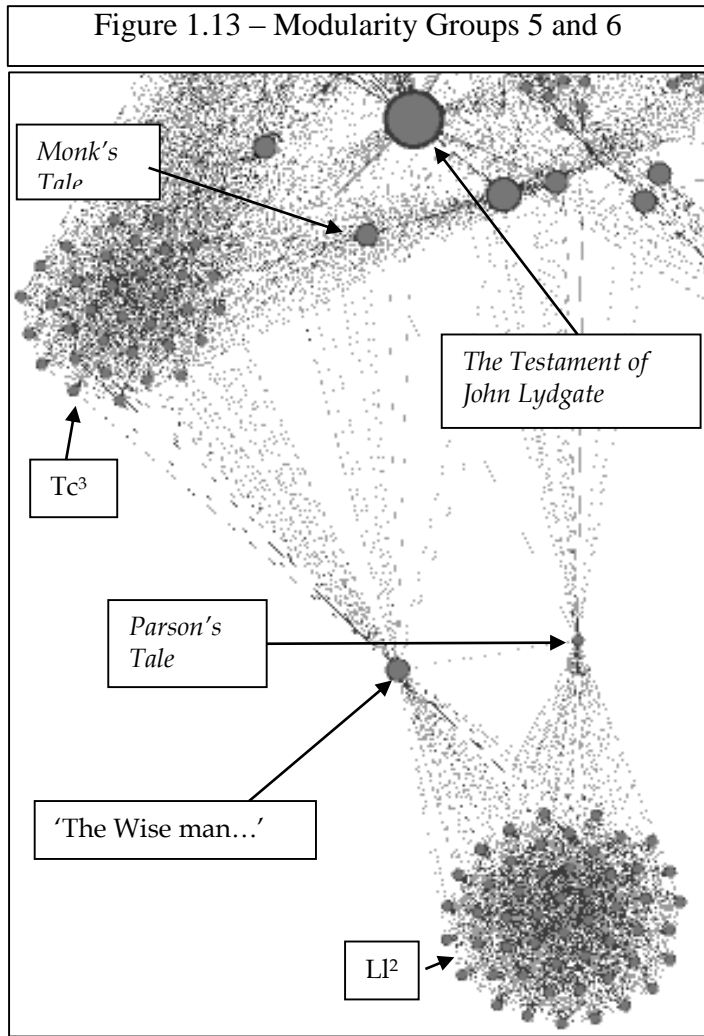
In Figure 1.12, "Modular" analysis has been applied to the texts as with the manuscripts in Figure 1.9. Unlike the manuscripts, which were divided into four groups. Modularity analysis detects six "modularity groups" of texts. In all the manuscripts being analyzed, there are 314 discrete texts. Modularity Group

³⁵ The visualization published herein does not fully demonstrate the value of the graph. Within Gephi (the network visualization program), the view of the network is zoomable. The level of view can be adjusted to concentrate on one node or a group of nodes. Furthermore, "modality" algorithms and other such network analysis tools can be deployed on the data.

1 is the largest containing 86 texts (or 27.39% of all texts under study). The breakdown in the number of texts in each Modularity Group is as follows:

- (1) Modularity Group 1 - 27.39%(86 texts),
- (2) Modularity Group 2 - 16.88%(53 texts)
- (3) Modularity Group 3 - 7.01%,(22 texts)
- (4) Modularity Group 4 - 19.11%, (60 texts)
- (5) Modularity Group 5 - 17.2%, and (54 texts)
- (6) Modularity Group 6 - 12.42%. (39 texts)

There are two more groups of texts than categories of manuscripts. When Figure 1.12 is considered, one cannot help returning to Dixon's analysis of the "abnormal" manuscripts. In her work, she labels Ll^1 and Ll^2 (Modularity Group 5) abnormalities and suggests that they be treated as wholly unique. While the texts of Ll^1 do not appear disconnected from the textual network, "Modularity Group 5" is comprised entirely of the texts from Ll^2 , and it is on the outer edge. In fact, the four largest manuscripts dominate four of the modularity groups— Hl^2 , Ll^1 , Ra^4 , and Tc^3 . The volume of texts that these manuscripts contain is substantial enough that the normalized relationships between texts forces the algorithm to group them individually. That is to say, the modularity algorithm detects their normal communal rate at a much higher level internally than externally (to those texts contained in other manuscripts). Modularity analysis skews towards isolating larger textual networks. Yet, this visualization also



detects several features of the textual networks that are worth noting. These are the isolation of Modularity Groups 5 and 6, the unifying effect of Modularity Group 4, and the comingling of Modularity Groups 1-3.

Modularity Groups 5 and 6 appear to be textual outliers (Figure 1.13). The size contributes to the modularity

assignment, and the danger is that the modularity assignment will disrupt the analysis of textual networks. Since network analysis considers how closely related the nodes are via their edges, high volume manuscripts (which demand a large number of edge connections between texts within them) can skew analysis. They might attract texts that have connections elsewhere closer to their gravitation mass. This is a result of the high frequency of edge overlaps.

Consider the unquestionable outlier, LI^2 . In spite of its large number of texts, this manuscript possesses only two texts that appear in any other

manuscript in the community: the *Parson's Tale* and "The Wise man said to his Son." Besides these two texts, *Ll²* is unique. In Gephi, the Force Atlas 2 algorithm runs continuously until it stabilizes. Thus, the fields that appear in this chapter are moments in time extracted from this algorithm. While the field is relatively stable in most cases, *Ll²*'s nodes are not. If Gephi is allowed to run the Force Atlas 2 algorithm continuously, the nodes representative of *Ll²* drift away from the other nodes in the network. The application of this algorithm to the textual network thus confirms Dixon's observation that *Ll²* is an "abnormal" manuscript and differs markedly from the other non-complete manuscripts. The peculiarity of *Ll²* may have historical significance. While no other manuscript in which an individual tale or tales appear has been dated prior to c. 1450, *Ll²* dates to around c. 1430. It is the earliest excerpt manuscript, preceding all others in this textual network by approximately a quarter century or more. Consequently, its early status correlates with a distinctive grouping of texts. In the case of *Ll²*, lack of coexistent compilations of similar kind drives it from the center.

Tc³, while still an outlier, holds closer to the main communal body. The majority of texts in *Tc³* are unique within this community, hence its own modularity group, but what prevents *Tc³* from being placed too far from the other textual clusters is the appearance of several high frequency items by Lydgate. In fact, *Tc³* contains the most frequently appearing texts in this entire textual network, *The Testament of John Lydgate*. Written in autobiographical

form, *The Testament* recounts Lydgate's conversion and dedication to God. Its fullest form contains one hundred and eighteen stanzas. The inclusion of Lydgate's *Testament* suggests a devotional interest. It is, therefore, unusual in *Tc*³, which has a secular tenor.³⁶ Most of the remaining texts in *Tc*³, such as the *Fall of Princes* and even Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*, have a courtly appeal.

Nevertheless, the booklet manner in which the manuscript was compiled makes it difficult to deduce any overarching meaning in its structure.³⁷ Furthermore, the manuscript in its current condition appears rather later than most of the other non-complete manuscripts. Mooney and others note that the *Siege of Thebes* was copied from Wynkyn de Word's 1497 printed edition.³⁸

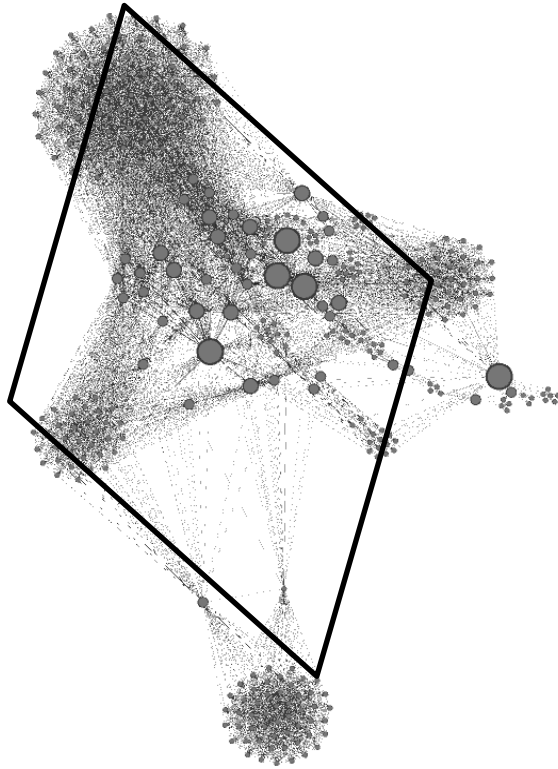
The remaining communal body in the upper part of Figures 1.11 and 1.12 seems to form a loose grouping. Modularity Groups 1, 2, and 3 are closely connected in the webs around the top. The only unusual feature is that the *Clerk's Tale* and its closely related texts are flung out to the edge of the graph's right-hand side. This is an abnormal feature in relation to the rest of the graph. The graph creates the visual impression of a diamond – with *HL*² at the top, *LI*²

³⁶ Bradford Fletcher (ed.), *Manuscript Trinity R.3.19: a facsimile / Trinity College, Cambridge University, The Facsimile Series of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer 5* (Norman, Ok.: Pilgrim Books, 1987), p. xv; Dixon, *The Canterbury Tales Miscellanies*, p. 190.

³⁷ Linne R. Mooney, "Scribes and Booklets of Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS R.3.19 and R.3.21," in Alastair Minner (ed.), *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), pp. 241-66.

³⁸ For full discussion of booklet design and composition, see Mooney, "Scribes and Booklets," pp. 252-64.

Figure 1.14 – Diamond Overlap



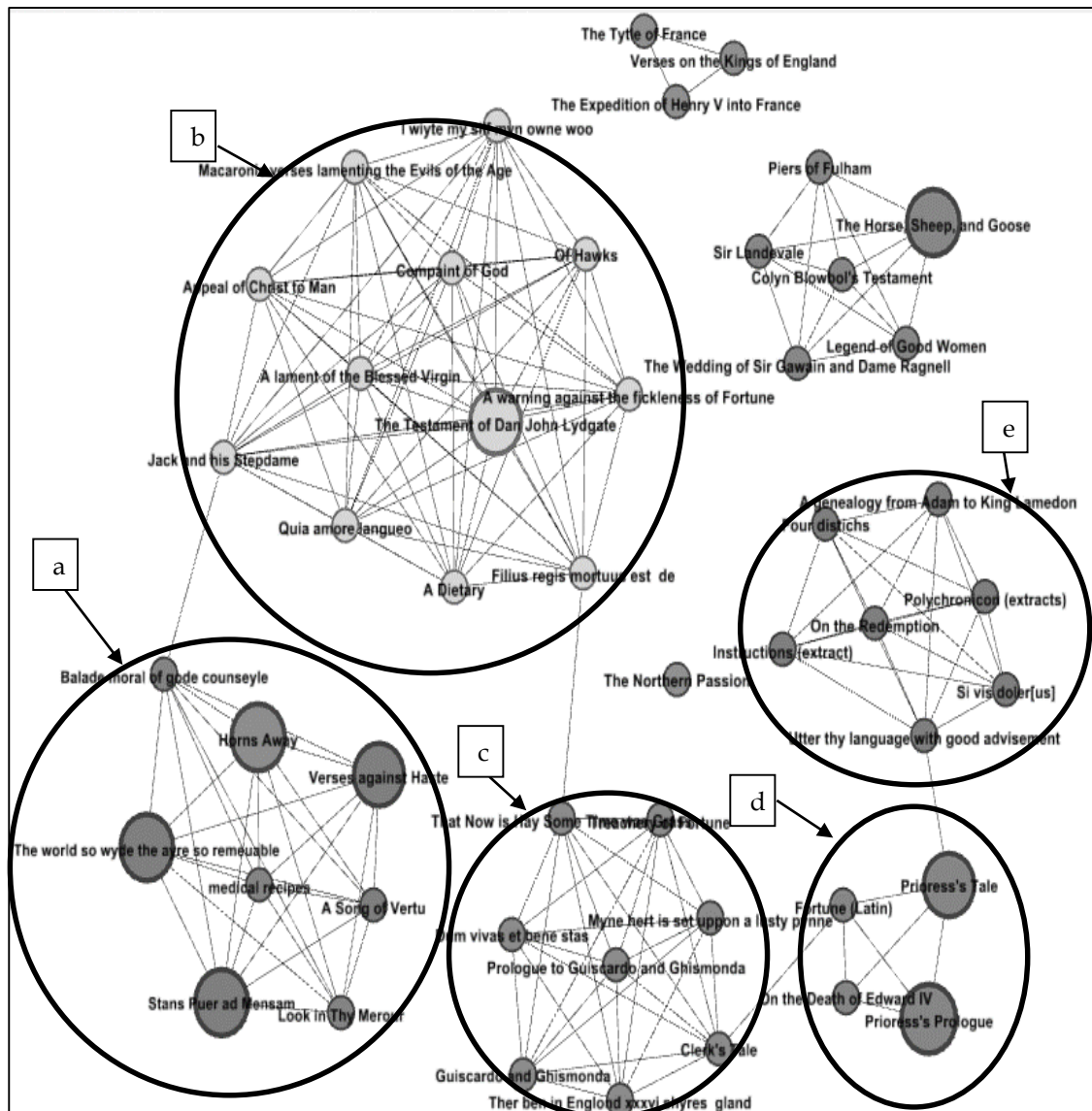
at the bottom and Ra^4 and Tc^3 at the middle points (See Figure 1.14). The *Clerk's Tale's* associated texts fall outside of this diamond. In fact, Modularity Group 4 consisting mainly of Ra^4 holds the *Clerk's Tale* to the communal body.

Besides Ra^4 , Modularity Group 4 consists of those texts in manuscripts, Ll^1 , Ha^1 , and Np . This actually runs against the modularity

analysis of the manuscripts (cf. Figure 1.8), and it is worth asking what is occurring with Ra^4 . The answer lies in the fact that Ra^4 contains not only the *Clerk's Tale* but the *Prioress's Tale* as well. In fact the internal structure of Ra^4 provides evidence of a long compilation. In its current state, Ra^4 consists of four sections, section II being broken into five parts labeled a-e (See Figure 1.15).

This is further complicated by the current state of the manuscript. In its current condition, Ra^4 has Sections I and IV in the correct place, but the remaining sections and quires are disordered. Figure 1.15 visualizes the internal structure of Ra^4 . Each grouping represents a quire. Two of these, Parts III and IV at the top, are detached. Part I, containing only the Northern Passion, is also detached and is the single node without edges in the center. The quires are connected

Figure 1.15 - Internal Structure of Ra⁴



via edges between the nodes representing the last item in the earlier quire and the node representing the first item in the later quire. Scholars have long discussed the composition of the remaining quires and their order.³⁹ There does

³⁹ Julia Boffey and Carol Meale, "Selecting the Text: Rawlinson C. 86 and Some Other Books for London Readers," in Felicity Riddy (ed), *Regionalism in Late Mediaeval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 143-69; Jeremy J. Griffiths, "A Re-examination of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS

appear to be a general consensus that the manuscript was created over a series of decades from 1462-1510. The pieces, including different quires, were combined at different times. Mosser dates Part II, containing both Canterbury tales, to 1460-84 and suggests that these sections were joined by 1510. In other words, the development of Ra^4 was drawn out, and like Tc^3 and Ll^2 , the shared contents are a bit deceptive.

In fact, Ra^4 aligns more properly with those manuscripts including the *Prioress Tale* than the *Clerk's Tale*. In fact, the only text that Np , Ll^1 , Ha^1 , and Ra^4 share is the *Clerk's Tale*. By contrast, Figure 1.15 visualizes the relationship to the *Prioress Tale* by increasing in size those texts that coexist with the *Prioress's Tale* in HI^2 (in addition to Ra^4). These four texts are: "The Horse, the Sheep, and Goose," *Horns Away*, *Verses against Hate*, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, and "The World so Wyde...." The nearer association with HI^2 makes it curious that Ra^4 becomes more closely associated with the manuscripts containing the *Clerk's Tale*. Ultimately, the reason for this is mathematical. The algorithm's modularity analysis places Ra^4 on the outside with its connection to the *Clerk's Tale*, and it simultaneously seeks to differentiate it from HI^2 because of the large volume of unique material within it.

Rawlinson C.86," *Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen und Literaturen* 219 (1982), 381-88.

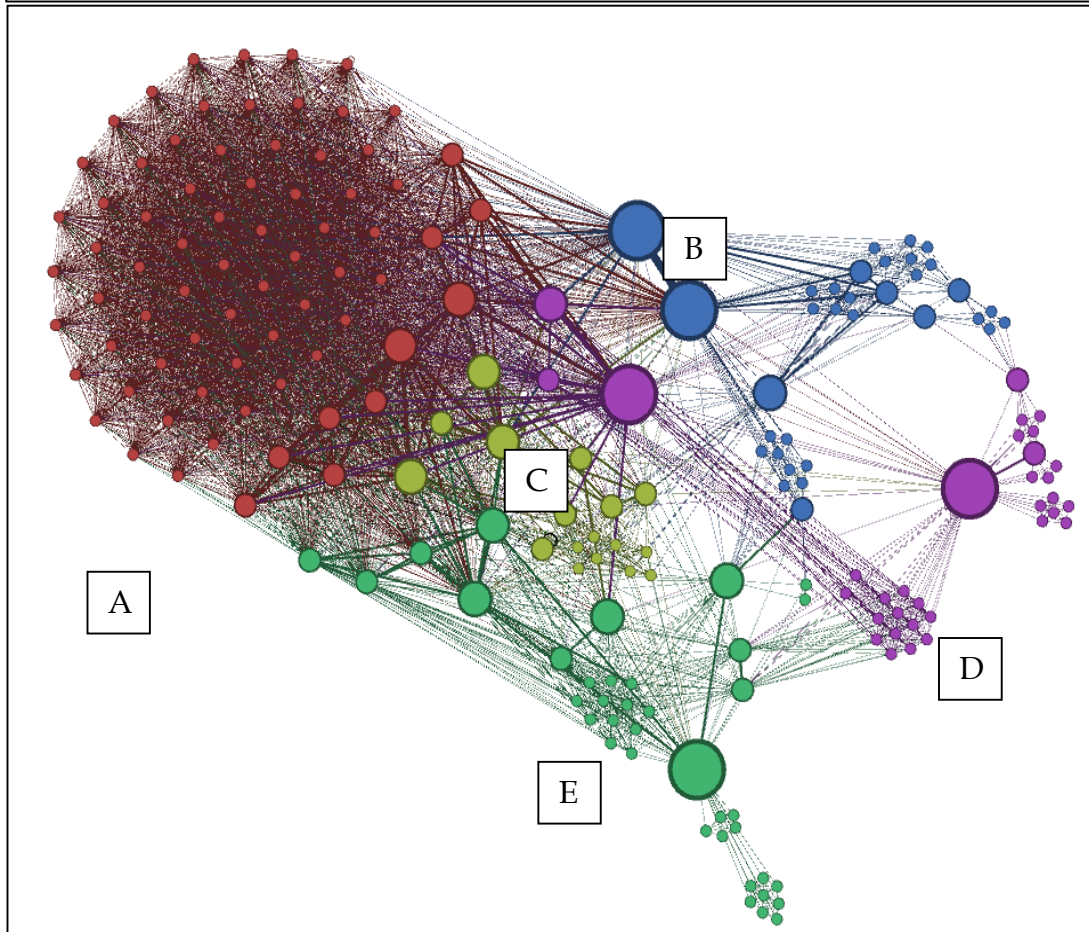
A final point of note is that Ra^4 's inclusion of the *Clerk's Tale* helps bring temporal issues into consideration. The five manuscripts containing the *Clerk's Tale* date to between 1450 and 1500:

1. Ha^1 – c. 1450-70
2. Ll^1 – c. 1450-67
3. Np – c. 1457
4. Ph^4 – c. 1475-1500
5. Ra^4 – c. 1479-1500

The last two date to after 1470, while the previous three date firmly to before 1470. When we return to Figure 1.9 (the modularity analysis of manuscripts), the dates of manuscripts clarify the textual network. The two later manuscripts are more closely aligned with the larger community of texts from non-complete *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts because they were written as this group began to form a network. In this case, Ha^1 , Ll^1 , and Np (like Ll^2) are the oddities.

A clearer image of this emerges when Ll^2 , Tc^3 , and Ra^4 are removed from the graph (See Figure 1.16). When this is done, the Force Atlas 2 algorithm divide the texts into five different modularity groups, which more accurately correspond to the manuscript modularities in Figure 1.8 (though they do not repeat them). Two of these new groups (Figure 1.16) are dominated by one tale—D by the *Clerk's Tale* and E by *Melibee*. These groups include the manuscripts associated with modularity categories 1 (D) and 4 (E) respectively. The *Clerk's Tale* remains on the outer edge without the strong connection. The *Melibee* associated texts are linked to the Groups A-C though they show some

Figure 1.16 – Modularity Groups 1 – 4 Clarified



divergence. Groups A-C are smaller groupings of texts associated with the *Prioress's Tale*.

Conclusion

This chapter had two aims. First, it sought to reveal how computer aided network analysis can offer alternative methods of considering and organizing medieval texts and manuscripts. Throughout the analysis, I have demonstrated that network analysis reveals smaller collections of texts that are often overlooked or classified with other texts for alternative reasons. Laying the manuscripts and texts bare and analyzing them without reader bias allows for

alternative textual relationships to emerge. Yet, there are limitations on this analysis. The imagined textual networks do not present a unified whole. They often speak in disjointed manners. Sometimes, they reveal overlapping concerns with seemingly unrelated texts, and at other times, they appear to offer no meaning. What emerges is a pluralistic engagement with Chaucer's texts. Modularity analysis reveals that there are shared connections between texts that supercede manuscripts. Smaller networks emerge. This is most apparent in the second aim of the chapter – to consider the non-complete manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. I have shown that smaller textual networks emerge in these seventeen manuscripts that are different from those of the larger authorial context. These networks can aid our understanding of how Chaucer's texts and other texts were understood to interact with various thematic, generic, or discursive preoccupations of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They should not be ignored. In particular, the manuscripts containing the *Clerk's Tale* prove to be rather unusual. Having established the peculiarity of those manuscripts, I will in the next chapter turn to a consideration of one of those manuscripts, Longleat MS 257.

Chapter Two: Common Will and Kingship: Bath, Longleat MS 257

Introduction

Among the rare books at Longleat House in Bath is Longleat House MS 257 (Hereafter, the Longleat MS or Longleat MS 257), a fifteenth-century manuscript containing four Middle English romances and a Middle English paraphrase of the Old Testament. The manuscript's unique codicology is significant, but it is even more important for the fact that Richard III possessed the manuscript while he was a youth and for how Richard's possession invites consideration of the manuscript as a "Mirror for Princes." While various concerns (gender, love, chivalry) exist in the individual texts of the manuscripts, the collected texts produce a cumulative effect that is not reducible to the individual components. The Longleat MS engages political discourse, and the particular effect of the manuscript is to direct attention towards the king as a vehicle for the common will, the symbolic center of the national community. Although the manuscript offers no explicit answer, the collective texts of the Longleat MS challenge the reader to consider the formation of the common voice and how the king is created by this voice and is responsible for its expression.

Published research on the Longleat MS has increased recently, yet scholars have not analyzed this manuscript and its relationship to the

discourses surrounding the common will. Hitherto, scholars have generally been interested in extracting individual texts from the manuscript for discussion,¹ or they have sought to explain the book's relationship to Richard III in his youth.² No one has of course missed the frequent representations of kings and subjects in the Longleat MS; some of these the narrative focuses on, some of these underpin the action, and some are marginalized (though their presence is undeniable). Scholars have simply not suggested that reading across these texts enhances the examples of rulers' relationships with their people and brings the manuscript into contact with discourses on kingship and nation during the volatile War of the Roses, especially the conception of the "common will" and the king's relationship to it.

Study of these interactions across texts challenges our perception of textual limits in the Longleat MS. The modern conception of an author-centered, complete text encounters difficulty in a manuscript culture where scribes and patrons often excerpt and/or recombine materials. Moreover, the intersection of visual and textual features in medieval manuscripts has revealed a remarkable level of complicity in the medieval reading process. In her study of the Yale Law School's *Nova statuta Angliae*, Rosamarie McGerr argues that its

¹ See, for example, Jordi Sanchez Martí, "Reading Romance in Late Medieval England: The Case of the Middle English Ipomedon," *Philological Quarterly* 83 (2004), 20-21.

² See, for example, Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997).

texts must be read "in terms of dialogue, both within the individual codex and within the culture that produced and consumed" them.³ Where evidence exists that the readership took something from a manuscript, we should consider how that artifact engages that contemporary topic.

In the case of the Longleat MS, the concerns with kingship and nation are particularly apropos. The political discourses of the War of the Roses (1455-85) were significant for their use of "popular support."⁴ The election scene in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* demonstrates the importance of popular support to the monarch's rule.⁵ Although based in the land of fiction, Arthur's inability to secure support for his rule without the commons finds parallels in the political propaganda and pamphlets printed in England. According to A.J. Pollard, the War of the Roses made politics "a public matter" through its "call for the crown to act for the common good."⁶ This intellectual posturing of Lancastrian and Yorkist supporters emerged in various guides for princes and

³ Rosemarie McGerr, *A Lancastrian Mirror for Princes: The Yale Law School New Statutes of England* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), p. 4.

⁴ Compare the treatment of popular support in earlier times in Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: c. 500 to 1307* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 251, to Ruth Lexton, *Contested Language in Malory's Le Morte Darthur: The Politics of Romance in Fifteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), pp. 15-47.

⁵ For fuller discussion, see Chapter Four, "History, Geography, and Arthur in the Earliest Witnesses of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*," pp. 219-289.

⁶ A.J. Pollard, *The War of the Roses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013 [1988]), p. 133.

other "literature of stagecraft."⁷ These high-minded efforts to define kingship reveal profound uncertainty in the ruling parties' bases for power. In fact, competing and varying depictions of Richard II after 1400 both reflect and shape complex contemporary discourses surrounding kingship and subjecthood. During the tumultuous times, the relationship of the king and his people was the subject of question, but also of rapid change. Support of the Lancastrian position might one day garner positive attention and a few days later cost one's life. While political and martial revolts were occurring, thinkers such as John Fortescue sought to explain the relationship of the people to their king within these competing discourses. How are king and subject related? What commerce occurred between them and how? Likewise, these concerns also addressed the king's status. What were the king's duties to his subjects? How did one become king, and what did this represent? Around these issues, diverse cultural discourses swirled, and it is in this environment that the Longleat MS was created and compiled. Bringing literary and codicological evidence together is difficult, and, as Arthur Bahr observes, there is no consensus on how to utilize paleographical and codicological evidence in literary interpretation.⁸ Nevertheless, the provenance of the Longleat MS, its

⁷ Anne Clark Barlett, "Lady Margaret Beaufort and Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* (1489)," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), 53.

⁸ Arthur Bahr, "Reading Codicological Form in John Gower's Trentham Manuscript," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 33:1 (2011), 219.

presentation of the content, and the texts themselves support this specific socio-political context.

Contextualizing Longleat MS 257

The Manuscript

An average sized codex, the Longleat MS measures 300mm x 210mm, and its writing space of 205mm x 115mm provides ample margins.⁹ It contains 184 vellum leaves, having lost 28 leaves, and two modern flyleaves.¹⁰ Four scribes (Hands 1-4) worked on the manuscript, which is divided into two parts. Part I contains four Middle English works (Hand 1) and four later additions

⁹ For detailed description of the manuscript, see *Third Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1872), p. 188; Eugen Kölbing, "MS. 25 der Bibliothek des Marquis of Bath," *Englische Studien* 10 (1887), 203-06; Herbert Kalén (ed.), *A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 28 (Göteborg: N.p., 1923), pp. iv-ix; Alex Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall (eds.), *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes*, EETS ES 125 (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 2: 42-43; John Manly and Edith Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, 8 vols. (1940), 1: 339-42; Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), pp. 235-37; Carol M. Meale, "The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*: A Late Medieval 'Mirror' for Princes and Merchants," *Reading Medieval Studies* 10 (1984), 137-42; Pamela Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, 2nd ed. (Ipswich: Boydell, 1977), pp. 63-64; M.C. Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar 1995), 1: 146-47; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 279-78; Jordi Sánchez Martí, "Longleat House MS 257: A Description," *Atlantis* 27.1 (June 2005), 79-89; Linne Mooney, Simon Horobin, and Estelle Stubbs, "Manuscript Description: England, Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257," *Late Medieval English Scribes* (University of York, 2011).

¹⁰ Martí, "Longleat House MS 257," p. 79; Mooney, "Manuscript Description," disagrees on the number of folios and gives the folios as "ii + 98 + 80" for a total of 178.

(Hand 2 and 3). Part II presents a Middle English version of the *Old Testament* (Hand 4) and two shorter items (Hand unidentified).¹¹ The paleography indicates that the two parts were contemporary creations; Hands 1 and 4 both date to c.1450-1475. Whether the parts were intended initially for collection together is another matter. The textual decoration in each part of the manuscript differs. Part I's scribal decorations "consist...of two- and three-line calligraphic initials alternating red and blue," and in Part II, the capitals "are touched with red, and internal rhymes are punctuated with a red dot."¹² While these treatments might serve to show that each part should be treated separately, an illumination schema has been imposed over the entire manuscript to create unity. The illumination employs foliate patterns stretching from decorated initials, the most lavish appearing on the first folio. Less lavish capitals mark internal textual divisions. Spaces for the insertion of coats of arms exist (where the spaces either have been left blank or are erased). Running titles in textura are employed throughout the manuscript. This illumination and design appears to have been enacted early in the manuscript's history, meaning that from an early date the two parts were combined. The visual impression of the Longleat MS is modest. Nevertheless, the provenance and specific aspects of

¹¹ These texts are not mentioned in Manley and Rickert or Seymour. Martí, "Longleat House 257," p. 83, mentions the two items on 212^v are Latin numbers and *A medicine for the axes*.

¹² Martí, "Longleat House MS 257," p. 87.

Longleat MS 257 are such that concerns with the king's will and the collective will are drawn to the fore.

The provenance of Longleat MS 257 has been a matter of some speculation. Since 1709, the manuscript has been in the possession of the Marquise of Bath. Scholars disagree on when exactly it came into the Marquise's possession. Kate Harris proposes that Thomas Thynne, the first Viscount Weymouth (1640-1714) and a keen collector of manuscripts, purchased the manuscript during the 1709 auction of Henry Spelman's (c.1564-1641) library.¹³ Alternatively, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs propose that William Thynne (d.1546) acquired the manuscript and that Francis Thynne, his son, wrote in the margins of the manuscript.¹⁴ Whether we accept Spelman's or Thynne's ownership in the sixteenth century, it is far more exciting that a medieval provenance – shortly after the manuscript's creation – exists. In their monumental *The Texts of the Canterbury Tales*, John M. Manly and Edith Rickert seized on the potential for an early localization of the manuscript. They adduce scribbles on f.107^r to suggest that it was produced at the Priory of Austin Canons at Hempton in Norfolk.¹⁵ Subsequent scholarship has rejected this proposition. However, a different scribble has proven more useful. On the bottom of f.98^v, Richard III

¹³ Kate Harris, "An Augustan Episode in the History of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts at Longleat House," in A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (eds.), *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 233–47.

¹⁴ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, p. 281.

¹⁵ Manly and Rickert (eds.), *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, 1: 342.

autographed the codex while he was still Duke of Gloucester. The appearance of Richard's signature provides a date range for his contact with the manuscript, 1461-81, and evinces princely interest in its contents.

In his assessment of the codicology of Longleat MS 257, Jordi Sánchez-Martí proposes an intricate theory for how Richard came into contact with the manuscript. Focusing on the illumination schema, Martí coordinates several bits of scholarship to construct a plausible hypothesis. First, he considers Kathleen Scott's survey of English book illumination. In her work, Scott reveals the general absence of green as a featured color in contemporary English manuscripts.¹⁶ The prominence of the green palette in both parts of the Longleat MS thus marks it as unusual. This oddity, in Martí's opinion, allows scholars to assert a higher degree of certainty in localizing the manuscript in the North. John Friedman's study of the Yorkshire book market in the late fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century shows that green illumination was privileged there during the time Longleat was created.¹⁷ If Friedman and Scott are correct, the Longleat MS was created around Yorkshire (perhaps in York). Furthermore, the placement of the manuscript in the North coincides with Richard's youth in the North. Between 1465 and 1468, Richard was in the care of

¹⁶ Kathleen Scott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vi: Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, 2 vols. (London: Karvey Miller, 1996), 1: 74, n. 39.

¹⁷ John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), pp. 73-86.

Richard Neville, earl of Warwick.¹⁸ Warwick's home was situated near York, and if Richard journeyed to York (a plausible assumption), he might have happened across or even commissioned a manuscript from one of the book sellers. Martí's hypothesis about how Richard acquired the book is intriguing. If it is rejected, though, Richard's signature still indicates that he took early possession of the book.

In addition to the provenance suggesting a regal audience, the presentation of the texts in the Longleat MS minimizes the authorial scaffolding on at least two of the texts. The contents of Longleat MS 257 have been treated as "two discrete parts, each of which displays thematic cohesion,"¹⁹ but the level of the cohesion – both within each part and across the manuscript – has been understated. Besides later additions, Part I collects four texts, John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and *Clerk's Tale*, and *Ipomedon-C*, and Part II is a *Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*. Scholars have frequently underscored the fact that Lydgate's *Siege* establishes itself as a continuation of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Constructing a complex, fictional narrative, the fictitious Lydgate joins fictitious Chaucer and the other pilgrims on their return journey from Canterbury and participates in the story telling at their behest. Although the fictitious narrator was not present for the opening of the contest, he commences his story with the fall of Thebes.

¹⁸ Martí, "Longleat House MS 257," p. 81.

¹⁹ Martí, "Longleat House MS 257," p. 82.

This choice opens an ironic conflict in the structure of story-telling in the *Canterbury Tales*. On the one hand, the *Siege*'s "Preface" sets the fictitious narrator's story at the conclusion of the project. On the other hand, its content preempts and establishes the context of the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer's first tale. The irony of this preemption and response is made manifest in four of the five manuscripts where the *Siege* accompanies the *Canterbury Tales*. In these manuscripts, the authorial precedence of Chaucer first and Lydgate second is preserved: London, British Library MS Additional 5140; Oxford, Christ Church MS 152; BL MS Egerton 2864; Austin, TX, University of Texas MS 143 (formerly the "Cardigan MS," Manly and Rickert's sigil is Cn). That is to say, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* opens, concludes, and then Lydgate's *Siege* is attached to the end. In Longleat MS 257, the scribe inverts the arrangement. The Longleat MS opens with Lydgate's *Siege* and proceeds to the Chaucerian tales.

Alongside this unique arrangement, Longleat MS 257 lacks the Chaucerian tales' typical scaffolding – more so than Lydgate's text. First, it must be said that the Longleat MS makes no effort to present a complete set of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or to identify the tales as Chaucer's. Only two of Chaucer's texts appear. These have been stripped of such titles as one finds in very early copies of the *Tales*, e.g., the Hengwrt and Ellesmere MSS, c. 1400-1415,²⁰ and have been retitled *Arcite and Palamon* and *Griseld*. Chaucer's

²⁰ Both manuscripts can be seen as facsimiles. For Hengwrt, see Paul G. Ruggiers (ed.), *The Canterbury Tales, Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile and*

"Prologues" have also been left out. Both texts commence without Chaucer's introduction of the speaker. *Arcite and Palamon* begins as a continuation of Lydgate's tale. In fact, it is not until the "Envoy" of *Griseld* that Chaucer's name arises. The folios of Lydgate's *Siege* where Chaucer ought to have appeared have been lost, and it is impossible to know whether this portion was excised or included. These conditions are amplified by the fact that the *Siege* precedes the *Knight's Tale* and includes Lydgate's "Prologue." No other manuscript employs similar logic. By selecting this arrangement, the scribe (or compiler) elected for a non-authorial arrangement. Freed from the authorial textual structures, Part I might be brought into dialogue with Part II, the *Old Testament* paraphrase, and allowed to set its own context. This connection, it will be argued, enhances the political tenor of the texts in the manuscript, and supports Meale's observation that the compiler of the Longleat MS was interested "principally in illustrating and commenting upon the esoteric concerns of a ruling class."²¹

Common Will, Nation, and the Longleat MS

In the mid-fifteenth century, there were divergent theories and practices of kingship. In *The Governance of England*, Sir John Fortescue differentiated between a nation ruled as *dominium regale* and a nation ruled as *dominium*

Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978). For Ellesmere, see the digital facsimile available from the Huntington Digital Library at <http://hdl.huntington.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15150coll7/id/2838>.

²¹ Meale, "The Middle English Romance," p. 148.

politicum et regale, and these distinct systems were represented by the two kingdoms of France and England. As Sutton and Visser-Fuchs explain, the "contrast between the ways in which the English and French viewed their kings" focused on the sacred image of the king.²² The French (*dominium regale*) employed the image of a sacred king ruling over his subjects and following his own will. Under this system, the ruler controlled his subjects, regardless of their own power, because God divinely ordained only the king to rule. This ideology was enacted in the coronation of the French king, where he was anointed with holy oil in a manner similar to priests. The maintenance of a royal mausoleum at St. Denis strengthened divine association, and the English monarchy never had anything on a par with this. The French king was the absolute ruler of his realm. According to Fortescue, unlimited royal government in France was problematic for the political subjects, who were subject to the whims of the ruler. The English limited monarchy (*dominium politicum et regale*) was superior in that it allowed the people to share governance and prevented the overreaching of the monarch. In this model, kingship derives its power from the people, and governance is a process whereby the king's individual will and the peoples' will must come together in order to function properly.

In his discussion of the conceptual framework of kingship in the reign of Henry VI (r. 1422-61, 1470-71), John Watts argues that the English king's ability

²² Sutton and Visser Fuch, *Richard III's Books*, p. 120.

to collect the common will in his person was his most definitive power. In both of Fortescue's models, the king exercises power to protect the realm and dispense justice (in essence, protecting the people). The difference between the two models stems from the efficacy of the king's will. In the French model, the king's will alone governs the realm, whereas in the English model the king's will is tempered as he must govern by laws to which his subjects "assenten."²³ When the two wills (people and king) align, the common profit is achieved.²⁴ In other words, it is not the king's will but the will of king and people exercised in unison. The theoretical difficulty is how these multiple wills are exercised. Medieval thinkers solved this riddle in the collective person of the king. The king possessed two bodies – a personal, individual body and a collective body. This "collective" body is the *res publica*, the body politic, and in medieval political theory, this body is one of the king's "two Bodies."²⁵ That is to say, the "collective" body of the people exists in the physical person of the king. The tension arises since the king can act as an individual and/or as the central figure of the body politic, and it can be sometimes difficult to disentangle when

²³ Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England, Otherwise Called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, (ed.) Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885), p. 109.

²⁴ John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 27.

²⁵ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 42. For fuller discussion, see Chapter Four "History, Geography, and Arthur in the Earliest Witnesses of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*," pp. 219-289.

an act stems from one or the other, but, as Watts explains, the king's duty is to minimize his own individual will and reduce "the inevitable variety of his subjects' wills to one."²⁶ The king alone is capable of the acts of reduction, simplification, and pronouncement. For this reason, the king must control his will. In the Longleat MS, Richard's signature, I will argue, demonstrates that "will" forms a primary concern for the audience of the codex.

The details of Richard's autograph raise concerns with "will" to the fore. Above his name, Richard has also inscribed the phrase "*Tant le desieree*." A rough translation of this phrase is "so much desired" or "so much have I desired it." Here, the basic sense of "desire" is 'want,' and in medieval philosophical thought, the language aligns with *voluntas* or rational desire.²⁷ The problem of directly relating 'desire' and 'will' is the two terms convey much. "Desire" is a difficult word to translate because Medieval Latin authors generally divided desire into two categories: rational desire ("*voluntas*") and non-rational desire, the latter sub-divided into *concupiscentia* ("all bodily desires") and *ira* (emotional desires).²⁸ Likewise, "will" can indicate more than desire. However, the political context of "will" allows for it to align with *voluntas*. The collective will is not a

²⁶ Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, p. 27

²⁷ The difficulty of translating "*voluntas*" in medieval philosophical writings is taken up by Katherin Rogers in *Anselm on Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 63-64. In this section, she relates that there are three translations for *Voluntas*, one of which is "desire."

²⁸ Timothy C. Potts, *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 76.

bodily or emotional desire but a rational desire constructed from multiple voices, when the king properly exercises his position.²⁹ In this context, desire can be understood as will. It is this that underpins will as a central component of good government in the English conceptualization of monarchy. Moreover, the specific role of counsel in this concept is to check the king's individual will; Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regement of Princes* confirms this fact throughout its discussion of counsel, insisting that "The king may have his own prior opinion, then, but he must be prepared to alter it."³⁰ This form of "will" is a fundamental part of all the texts of the Longleat MS, and Richard's signature, which professes his personal will, indicates that contemporary readers not only could find this reading but did. With this political context in mind, I now turn to the texts of the Longleat MS.

The Origins of Kingship

In the political theory of later medieval England, the king was a manifestation of the collective will of the people. He rose from their will, and he executed it. The king's status as the embodiment of the collective will derived from several passages in the Old Testament, especially in *1 Samuel* 8-10, and the

²⁹ For "will" as rational desire, see Potts, *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy*, p. 76. The association of "will" and "voluntas" appears in English tradition early. The tenth century monk Aelfric glossed *voluntas* as "wylla": "Heo is voluntas þæt is wylla" – cited in Antonina Harbus, *The Life of the Mind in Old English Poetry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. 35.

³⁰ Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, p. 26.

appearance in Longleat 257 of the *Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament* assures that kingly origins in the collective will constitutes an essential part of the manuscript. The *Paraphrase* presents itself as a historic account, mainly concerned with the foundation and development of the state of Israel. All the "Major Prophets" and "Minor Prophets" are excluded, and the only "Wisdom Book" included is *Job*. Furthermore, non-historical sections of the *Old Testament* are reduced. As Michael Livingston explains, "next to nothing" of the Mosaic law in *Leviticus* appears in the *Paraphrase*.³¹ The concern with history is part of what allows kingship to rise to the fore, particularly the populist roots.³² The *Paraphrase's* presence underscores the concerns with will and the origins of kingly power. But it is not alone in its preoccupations with collective will. Unsurprisingly, this emphasis on the popular origins of kingly power emerges in the other texts of the Longleat MS as well.

The origin of kingship in the will of the people developed from early medieval exegesis of Saul's elevation in *1 Samuel*. Early medieval thought suggested that political power came from the masses, but that once that power has been made manifest it cannot be retracted via the same process. That is,

³¹ Michael Livingston (ed.), *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), available online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/livingston-middle-english-metrical-paraphrase-of-the-old-testament-introduction>.

³² Meale, "The Middle English Romance," p. 150, declares that the "cycle of fortune and misfortune of individuals and dynasties" compliments the romances of part I.

people elected a king, and then they were stuck with him (and his descendants). This construction of thought arises in the letters of Pope Leo VII (r. 936-39), who articulates the proposition that "the people" choose a king or make him.³³ This interpretation plays on action in *1 Samuel*, where the people cry out for a king. After Samuel's sons have not followed in the prophet's path, the people come to Samuel and cry out for him to select a king to govern them after he is gone. In the Longleat MS, the passage of the Old Testament *Paraphrase* reads:

And comyn pepyll can them pleyn
to Samuell, and thus thei sayd:
"Syr, thee semys sone to passe hene,
for eld thi face is all afraid.
To forther us thou suld not feyne,
our governance of mysse is grayd.
Therfor, ser, of this thyng
we pray thee evere ylkon:
Ordand over us a kyng
to gyd us when thou art gone. (ll. 4959-68)³⁴

(And the common people came to Samuel in order to complain, and thus they said, "Sir, you seem soon to die for your old face is all weather. To guide us you should not fain, our governance is all out of place."³⁵ Therefore, sir, this thing we pray you every one; ordain over us a king to guide us when you are gone.)

³³ Quoted in Josef Funkenstein, "Samuel and Saul in Medieval Political Thought," *Hebraic Political Studies* 2:2 (2007), 160.

³⁴ All quotations from the *Paraphrase* are taken from Livingston (ed.), *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*.

³⁵ Livingston (ed.), *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*, uses the gloss "all out of place." However, "grey/gray" (v.) can mean to become greyer in color, or in essence to discolor. This phrase might read something like: 'our government is colored amiss' or 'with misgovernance.'

The narrative then relates how Samuel, God's prophet, finds Saul and anoints him king. From this passage it is clear to see that the Israelites elect to have a king, and their acceptance of Saul is equivalent to election. Later, this populist election of the king is reinforced when Samuel presents Saul to them and they accept him, crying "Kyng might he be with mekyll blyse" (l. 5156). Fortescue picks up this discussion of kingship's origins in the first chapter of his work. He understands the people's "desire" as prompting the turn from God's rule to that of a "verray man."³⁶ From these theological origins, kingship's conception developed populist origins. The king was literally the manifestation of the collective will.

In the *Siege of Thebes*, populist kingship emerges from Lydgate's revisions of the traditional narrative. On the surface, Lydgate's narrative reads as a romance, more entertainment than education. Yet, Dominique Battles's study of the Theban tradition has demonstrated that particular adjustments that Lydgate makes engage the "lens of the mirror for princes."³⁷ The *Siege* commences with the founding of Thebes, and in this respect the *Siege* is unique. Neither of the two primary Theban narratives, the *Roman de Thèbes* or Statius's *Thebaid*, extends the story this far back. After the founding of Thebes by king Amphion, the story covers Oedipus's journey from birth to his occupation of his father's

³⁶ Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, pp. 109-10.

³⁷ Dominique Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes: History and Narrative in the OF Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate* (New York: Routledge, 2004) p. 145.

throne and marriage to his mother. Part I of the *Siege* concludes with Oedipus's blinding and flight from Thebes. Part II chronicles the journey of Polynices, while Eteocles rules for his year. While in exile Polynices befriends Tydeus and marries the daughter of King Adrastus in Argos. When Eteocles fails to vacate the throne, Polynices invades with the help of Adrastus. Part III covers the resulting siege, which leaves Creon on the throne, and Lydgate concludes his narrative with Creon's edict against burying the invaders' bodies and Theseus's impending arrival.

In *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes*, Battles argues that Lydgate's most significant alterations are the adjustments to the Theban genealogy. Battles contrasts Lydgate's version with the genealogies in the *Roman de Thèbes* and *Thebaid*. In both of these source texts, the destruction of Thebes derives from flaws in its origins. The traditional founding of the city of Thebes commences when Cadmus stopped his search for his sister Europa. When he stopped, his men were devoured by a dragon, and Cadmus subsequently slew the dragon and sowed its teeth. From these teeth, warriors arose and immediately fought each other until a handful remained. These violent warriors became the progenitors of Thebes. Born to conflict from a dragon of Mars, Thebans were destined to civil war and strife. Lydgate eschews this traditional narrative. His *Siege* eradicates the "'bad-gene' theory" and replaces it with choice.³⁸ Lydgate

³⁸ Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes*, p. 152.

eliminates Cadmus from the Theban genealogy and "elevates Amphion" to the position of progenitor.³⁹ Rather than being born to battle, the Thebans choose battle. Moreover, Amphion's dominion over Thebes also stems from the choice of the citizens. As Lydgate describes it, the god Mercury bestows the power of rhetoric upon Amphion: "Thorgh glade aspectes that he [Amphion] shulde be/Most excellent be craft of rethorik" (ll. 218-19).⁴⁰ Because of Amphion's ability to weave fine words, the surrounding environs desire to follow his orders by their own volition:

Wherby he made the contrés envyroun
To han such lust in his wordes swete
That were so plesaunt, favourable, and mete
In her eerys that shortly ther was noon
Disobeysaunt with the kyng to goon,
Whersoevere that hym list assigne. (ll. 228-233)

His lusty words render the situation such that no one is disobedient. The language here does not convey conquest or combat, but desire to follow him. Although a simple change, the infusion of choice at the origins of the Theban history directly applies to contemporary English concerns with kingship.

When Oedipus assumes the throne later in Lydgate's *Siege*, the theme of popular origins reappears. Lydgate describes the triumphant entry of Oedipus

³⁹ Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thebes*, p. 155.

⁴⁰ For the sake of simplicity, all quotations of the *Siege* are taken from John Lydgate, *The Siege of Thebes*, (ed.) Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), which is also available online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/edwards-lydgate-the-siege-of-thebes>. I also consulted Erdmann (ed.), *Lydgate's Siege of Thebes*.

into Thebes after he has defeated the Sphinx. The men of the town decide that, in want of a king, Thebans ought to make Oedipus their ruler and marry him to the queen:

For which the lordes all be on assent
Withinne the toun set a parlement,
Shortly concludyng, if it myghte ben,
Prudently to trete with the queen
Namely they that helde hemsilf most sage,
To condescende be way of mariage
She to be joyned to this manly knyght,
Passing prudent and famous ek of myght,
Most likly man, as they can discerne,
The worthy cyté to kepen and governe.
And thorgh counsayl of the lordes alle
To her desyre pleynty she is falle
And accorded withoute mor taryng
That of Thebes Edippus shal be kyng
By ful assent - was non that seide nay. (ll. 763-778)

No one objects to this course of action. The passage, then, obviously promotes the idea of kingship by election. At the conclusion of the narrative, Creon too is elected to the position of ruler:

Therfor they han unto her socour
Ychosyn hem a newe governour,
An olde tyraunt that callyd was Creon,
Ful acceptable to hem everichon,
And crownyd hym withoute more letting
To regne in Thebes and to ben her kyng (ll. 4383-4388)

While the scene is shorter and less colorful, the men again convene and choose a new ruler, Creon. In both election scenes, a collective group raises the king to the position of ruler as in the biblical scene from *1 Samuel*. The biblical resonance of these election scenes is one part of the equation; the other is that

these election scenes resonate well with Lydgate's and Richard's contemporary political system. That is, these elections occur at parliaments, which helps give a national tenor to the piece.

In late medieval England, parliament was recognized as a space where the collective will of the people was formed, and the insertion of parliamentary scenes into late medieval English literature occurs frequently after 1350. In a study of parliament in medieval English literature, Matthew Giancarlo suggests that the English interest in parliament stems from the "relatively unique" historical fact that commoners were represented in the national assembly.⁴¹ In late medieval English parliament, the voice of the people ("*vox populi*") had representation through the knights of the shires. Although representatives of the people's voice came from a limited strata of contemporary society, these individuals ideally spoke for the entire population. If parliament is taken to mean simply a group advising the king, then parliaments permeate medieval English romances, such as *Sir Orfeo*, *Athelston*, and *Havelok the Dane*. However, it is not only advice scenes that emerge. In the "Prologue" to *Piers Plowman*, we find many individuals drawn to a parliament for the "commune profit" (l. 148).⁴² Unfortunately in *Piers*, the parliament of the mice and rats ends in a frustrating situation as no one is willing to bell the cat that troubles them. In

⁴¹ Matthew Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 3.

⁴² William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, (ed.) A.V.C. Schmidt, 2nd Ed. (London: J.M. Dent; 2001 [1978]), pp. 8-9.

Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*, parliament becomes the entire subject and setting of the poem. The poem's conclusion again is a resolve to inaction. In *Fowls*, Nature presides over three tercels vying for the hand of a formel. At the meeting various other birds take sides, advising on the best course of action. After these debates, Nature defers the formel's decision. These failures to action in these pieces do not convey a systemic failure of the parliamentary system. Within them, the reader recognizes the difficulty of the king's position, trying to collect together the collective will from the disparate voices. The people remain the root of political power, though the king is necessary to exercise this power. In the Longleat MS, the texts continually set the election of the monarch in a scene akin to a parliament and situate kingly origins in will of the people. This situation raises the issue of how in the English political system the king goes about constructing the collective will from a wide range of voices.

Building Consensus

The contemporary conception of English power demanded that counsel played a vital role in the shaping of the collective will. As I mentioned earlier, Watts argues that building consensus through counsel was the primary manner in which the king exercised political power. However, the king's responsibility for constructing consensus exposed him to the potential failure of the collective will. That is, kings might act according to their own desires and forget the common profit. By utilizing councils, kings are able, in theory, to govern

through cooperation and collaboration and assure the common profit. The concern with counsel as a means for preserving and protecting the realm also appears throughout the Longleat MS, and numerous examples – both positive and negative – of building the collective will appear. These examples raise the issue of collective will as a topic for discussion, displaying the consequences of the process rather than providing a concrete solution for all situations. It is the lack of a singular message in the manuscript that makes it so useful as didactic material for Richard or any prince. The manuscript asks the reader to build consensus from disparate representations. This consensus building is akin to the process that the king or prince uses to construct the collective will.

Early in the *Siege*, the reader witnesses the start of the fall of Thebes and can trace the collapse to Eteocles's failure to adhere to the collective will. At the end of part I of the *Siege*, Oedipus dies, and Part II commences with his burial and the conflict between Eteocles and Polynices over the throne. A parliament arrives at a solution. Although the term parliament is not used, the collection of people denotes a cross-section of society that medieval readers would associate with a parliamentary meeting:

Tyl of the toune the noble citezeyns,
Knyghtes, barounes with many worthi lord,
Shope a way to mak hem of accord,
And to set hem in quyete and in pees. (ll. 1080-84)

The English parliament was composed of the great lords and barons of the realm, but it also included lesser members, knights of the shire and burgesses.

Given this and the frequent use of parliaments in election scenes, it is plausible to assume that readers would recognize the collection of people in the scene as constituting a parliament. Once these people are convened, they hear the arguments and set out to find consensus on the problem. Their solution is that the heirs will alternate their rule annually. It is important to realize that both of Oedipus's sons agree to the terms that represent the will of the people. Eteocles as the eldest get the first year, and Polynices departs.

In spite of these hopeful beginnings, Eteocles utilizes the convention of parliament near the end of his year of rulership to construct a false version of the collective will in order to maintain his power. While Polynices is abroad, he is taken in by King Adrastus of Argos and eventually marries one of the king's daughters. Eteocles hears of the situation, and he fears that, if he allows Polynices to take the throne, his brother will refuse to relinquish it. Eteocles's fear and desire to remain in power are his personal desires. The problem is that Eteocles, as ruler, must act with the collective will. He cannot follow his desire alone. Recognizing this fact, Eteocles successfully forms a false council in order to construct a false collective will (ll. 1702-73). In the formation of the council, the language indicates that Eteocles does not convene a parliament; instead, he sends for his closest allies: "he sente for his next allies" (l. 1702). Rather than building consensus, he utilizes his position to mimic the process of consensus building to express his individual will as that of the collective will. The poem

clarifies that his individual will (and not the collective will) governs his conduct at the end of the council scene:

Only for he nat by counsell wroght
Of hem that wern bothe trewe and wis
(Hym lyst nat worchen after her devys)
But lefte trouthe and sette his fantasye
To be gouerned by fals flaterye. (ll. 1780-85)

Eteocles's unwillingness to construct the collective will precipitates the forthcoming destruction of Thebes. At the conclusion of this meeting, it is clear that Eteocles's "doubleness" (l. 1778), altering the collective will of the first council to conform to his individual will, is the cause of immediate turmoil. When Polynices sends his compatriot to announce his claim, Eteocles refuses to relinquish the throne and, following the false consensus, sets an ambush for the messenger. This scene in Lydgate's *Siege* functions as a negative example of how to form the collective will and establishes the first texts of the Longleat MS as advice for princes. Presenting this tale prior to the *Arcite and Palamon* promotes the concern with will in that piece as well.

Like the *Siege*, *Arcite and Palamon* reflects concerns with the king and his role in society. Chaucer's poem commences after Creon comes to power in Thebes. Theseus ends Creon's tyrannical rule, and, in the aftermath, finds two Theban soldiers lying wounded on the battlefield. He imprisons these two cousins Palamon and Arcite in Athens. In their prison cell, the two entertain themselves by looking out their window. One day the two spy Emily, Theseus's sister-in-law, walking through a garden, and they fall in love with her. This

chance vision ignites a conflict between them. The story relates how Arcite is freed and exiled from Athens, only to return in disguise. Around the same time as Arcite's return, Palamon escapes from prison. The two cousins meet and agree to battle for Emily's love. This fight is interrupted by Theseus, who decides the battle is better settled at a tournament. In preparation, Palamon prays to Venus, and Arcite prays to Mars. In the ensuing combat, Arcite emerges victorious. However, moments after the tournament, fortunes turn. An accident mortally wounds Arcite. As Arcite lies dying, he asks Theseus to marry Palamon to Emily. Chaucer's plot focuses on the cousins' fight over Emily. Politics nonetheless are inherent in the story.

The Longleat MS provides a novel context for Chaucer's tale and thus escapes much of the "enigmatic" nature of the tale.⁴³ In *Negotiating the Past*, Lee Patterson clarifies exactly how the complexity of each Canterbury tale arises from its narrator:

Chaucer was of course greatly assisted by the central formal device of the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole, the tale-telling game that grounds each discourse in the specifics – vocational or psychological – of a speaker...The Knight means his *Tale* to celebrate an ideal of order, but its most powerful and enigmatic moments derive from a struggle between the *Tale* and its teller, between the unsettling meanings it insistently expresses and those other, more confirmatory assertions the Knight seeks to promote.⁴⁴

⁴³ Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 168.

⁴⁴ Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History*, p. 168.

The knight's narrative voice consistently interjects itself in order to shape the tale, and in the frame of the *Tales*, the reader can associate the tale with the speaker.⁴⁵ Likewise, David Wallace sees Chaucer deepening the complexity and meaning of the tale by reflecting and inverting the concerns of Theseus and the *Tale's* narrator.⁴⁶ The same process occurs in the *Clerk's Tale*, where Chaucer has sought "to translate Petrarch" from his own particular historical context into Chaucer's own "cultural present" and has placed this "within the larger interpretive framework of the Canterbury pilgrimage."⁴⁷ All of this work is missing in the Longleat MS, which removes both narrators that are found in the authorial work. The Longleat MS thus allows (and essentially demands that) other meanings and concerns come to the fore.

In the Longleat MS, concerns with the collective will of the nation replace love and chivalry as focal points, and Theseus stands as a prominent example of how to govern in contrast to Eteocles from earlier in the Longleat MS. Of course, that Theseus governs properly is not readily apparent. Many scholars have seen Theseus in a negative light. Marie S. Guidry suggests that Chaucer's Theseus differs from Boccaccio's in his cruelty:

While Theseus eventually attempts to restore order to the Theban polity and contain the violence of Palamon and Arcite's chivalry, he is, like Saturn, a cruel and arbitrary jailer, imprisoning the knights "[p]erpetually" (I 1024) in his "chief dongeon" (I 1057),

⁴⁵ Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History*, p. 209.

⁴⁶ David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 110-114.

⁴⁷ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 282.

where they are kept "[i]n cheynes and in fettres" (I 1343; compare I 1279).⁴⁸

The contention of these scholars is that Chaucer uses the tension between the story teller and the narrative itself to undermine the interpretation offered by the Knight in the *Canterbury Tales*. In *Chaucerian Polity*, Wallace astutely observes that Theseus is not a tyrant, though he continues to view Theseus as a poor exemplar. Through the lens of gender politics and in conjunction with other Chaucerian works, Wallace sees love as a "competitor" for Theseus and suggests Theseus's choice of Hippolyta as queen "represents...the systematic refusal of *felaweshipe*," an axiom of governance that sits at the foundation of medieval political theory.⁴⁹ While Wallace's position softens the scholarly vision of Theseus as a tyrant, his reading promotes Theseus as an individual who acts alone, possessing the "perennial tendency to stand alone, to try to work everything out for himself."⁵⁰

In opposition to these readings, other scholars have taken a positive vision of Theseus. J.A. Burnley views Theseus as the "anti-type of the tyrant,"

⁴⁸ Marc S. Guidry, "The Parliaments of Gods and Men in the "Knight's Tale"," *The Chaucer Review* 43.2 (2008), 146-47. For similar accounts of Theseus, see Terry Jones, *Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), pp. 192-216; David Aers, *Chaucer, Langland and the Creative imagination* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 174-95.

⁴⁹ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, pp. 104-05.

⁵⁰ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 109. This comparison to the *Knight's Tale* and *Miller's Tale* also appears in Michaela Paasche Grudin, *Chaucer and the Politics of Discourse* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), p. 95.

who serves as a model ruler,⁵¹ and Stephen Rigby asserts that medieval writers view Theseus as "a noble knight and model prince."⁵² We need not insist that Chaucer's Theseus is either the model ruler or tyrant, but, as Lee Patterson observes, we must recognize that the Knight and indeed his real life social counterparts viewed "Theseus as a model of rational governance and chivalry."⁵³ The removal of Chaucer's narrator does not prevent the readers from identifying with Theseus. In the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer's goals and those of readers may diverge. However, the Longleat MS's context indubitably differs from Chaucer's.

In the Longleat MS, it is the political concerns of Lydgate's *Siege* and not Chaucer's framework that contextualize *Arcite and Palamon*. Lydgate's text offers a different account of the pleading women at the opening of the story. In the Chaucerian narrative, Theseus's first interaction with subjects occurs on his return from the conquest of the Amazons. While passing homeward, Theseus encounters weeping women, kneeling in the roadway:

Where that ther kneled in the heighe weye
A compaignye of ladyes, tweye and tweye
Ech after oother clad in clothes blake (ll. 897-899)⁵⁴

⁵¹ J.A. Burnley, *Chaucer's Language and the Philosopher's Tradition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1970), p. 44.

⁵² Stephen Rigby, *Wisdom and Chivalry: Chaucer's Knight's Tale and Medieval Political Theory* (Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 171.

⁵³ Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History*, p. 198.

⁵⁴ All quotations from Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and *Clerk's Tale* are taken from Larry Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd Ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). Where unique variants are relevant, the variants were checked against

Although he is perturbed at the sight of the ladies, he proffers to amend their troubles if they will but tell him what those troubles are. The women weave a tale of woe and express their lamentation at the death of their husbands and their fall from high estate. Yet, the specific trouble for which they seek Theseus's help is the state of their loved one's bodies. The tyrant of the city, Creon, refuses to allow the bodies to be buried and instead lets them lay out as food for animals. Theseus is moved by their plea and restores order to the city of Thebes. In *Arcite and Palamon*, Theseus meets the ladies on his own, and he chooses to act alone. That is not to say that the meeting is private. The road side setting is public. However, the meeting develops organically as a consequence of his chosen path. In the *Siege*, the public meeting of Theseus and the ladies comes about through an intermediary, Adrastus. The now-lost portion of Lydgate's *Siege* asserts that Adrastus conveys the women to meet the duke:

And whan this women gonne first espye
This worthy duk as he cam rydyng,
Kyng Adrastus, hem alle conveying,
The women brought unto his presence,
Which hym bysought to give hem audience (ll. 4512-16).

Instead of Theseus meeting the women by chance and the women appealing to him, Lydgate conveys that Adrastus brings the women to Theseus. Thus, Theseus's actions commence in community. In *Arcite and Palamon*, Theseus

rotographs of the Longleat MS available in the offices of the Variorum Chaucer at University of Oklahoma.

meets the ladies and elects to take action because he is moved. In the *Siege*, Adrastus brings the issue to Theseus's attention.

Without Chaucer's frame, the positive representation of Theseus must stand. Lydgate's *Siege* provides a positive assessment of Theseus, saying he acts "in ful good entente" (l. 4529) and is "worthy" (l. 4535). The positive treatment is echoed in *Arcite and Palamon*; the text calls Theseus "noble" (ll. 873), "gentil" (l. 952), and "worthy" (l. 1001). In spite of the blatant praise in the poem, scholars have argued that the frame narrative alters the perception of these positive markers. In the *Canterbury Tales*, the fact that the Knight speaks these adjectives opens the possibility that the words mean more than their face value. That the Knight calls Theseus a great leader does not mean that he is.⁵⁵ In the Longleat MS, however, the narrator is missing, and consequently, his role in shaping the interpretation of the text is also missing. Consequently, the text's proclamation must stand as is.

Against the positive treatment of *Arcite and Palamon*, a more enigmatic depiction of a ruler appears in *Griselda*. The bulk of the story relates the "revolting"⁵⁶ and "inhuman"⁵⁷ submission of Griselda to her husband and lord

⁵⁵ This type of negative reading of Theseus appears in Jones, *Chaucer's Knight*; Aers, *Chaucer, Langland and the Creative Imagination*; Stephen Knight, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).

⁵⁶ Thomas R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer: His Life and Writings*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper, 1892), 3: 340.

⁵⁷ Mark Miller, *Philosophical Chaucer: Love, Sex, and Agency in 'The Canterbury Tales'* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), p. 142.

Walter, and the representation of this relationship has been the subject of much criticism. The difficulties of understanding *Griselda* have led most scholars to declare a gap between medieval and modern sensibilities.⁵⁸ However, Richard Firth Green and others have convincingly demonstrated that fourteenth-century readers also experienced difficulty with how Walter conducts himself towards his wife.⁵⁹ In an effort to recover some positive meaning from the text, some scholars have suggested that Walter serves as an allegory for God. But as Elizabeth Kirk expounds, "Walter is made so repellent" that comparing him to God "is repugnant and creates more problems than it solves."⁶⁰ Instead of Walter functioning as an allegory for God, Walter's social and familial relationship to Griselda raises political concerns about authority and subordination.⁶¹ In fact, Gerald Morgan highlights the idea that Chaucer's language describes Walter and Griselda's relationship in terms that are "not so

⁵⁸ Dolores Warwick Frese, "Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*: The Monsters and the Critics Reconsidered," *Chaucer Review* 8 (1973), pp. 133-46.

⁵⁹ Richard Firth Green, "Why Marquis Walter Treats His Wife so Badly," *The Chaucer Review* 47.1 (2012), 48-62. See also K.P. Clarke, "Reading/Writing *Griselda*: A Fourteenth-Century Response (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 42,1)," in Mary Carr, K.P. Clarke, and Marco Nievergelt (eds.), *On Allegory: Some Medieval Aspects and Approaches* (Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), pp. 183-208.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth D. Kirk, "Nominalism and the Dynamics of the *Clerk's Tale*: *Homo Viator* as Woman," in C. David Benson and Elizabeth Robertson (eds.), *Chaucer's Religious Tales* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), p. 113.

⁶¹ Paul Strohm, *Social Chaucer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 159.

much that of husband and wife as that of lord and subject."⁶² Focusing on how the manuscript takes a historic approach to the materials, Carol Meale argues that the overt interrelation of the *Siege, Arcite and Palamon*, and *Ipomedon C* reveals the *Clerk's Tale's* "stress...upon the virtues and shortcomings of Walter as a ruler, and on the excellence with which Griselda fulfils her role in society."⁶³ Stephen Rigby asserts that "Walter" serves as a powerful reflection of "Creon" and thus underscores Theseus's positive rule.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Walter does not conduct himself in a wholly negative manner, and the paradoxical moments and his questionable conduct raise essential issues for rulers to consider.

As the Longleat MS directs attention away from courtly conduct and love in the presentation of *Arcite and Palamon*, so too it directs attention away from gender in the *Griselda* and bolsters concerns with governance. Through its choice of language it draws Theseus and Walter into closer comparison and demonstrates a concern with how the collective will and council function together. *Griselda* opens with a description of the setting and progresses to identify the important figure of the poem as "a markys whilom lord of that land" (l. 64). He is described as "gentilleste yborn," "fair," "strong," "ful of honour and of curteisye," and "discreet" (ll. 72-75). Amid these positive

⁶² Gerald Morgan, "The Logic of the Clerk's Tale," *The Modern Language Review* 104:1 (Jan. 2009), 11.

⁶³ Meale, "The Middle English Romance," pp. 147-48.

⁶⁴ Rigby, *Wisdom and Chivalry*, p. 280.

adjectives, the only blame that the poet levies against him is that he considers his desires alone: "on his lust present was al his thoght" (l. 80). The relationship of his lust and the land is possible from the earlier description of the land as "a lusty playn" (l. 59). Furthermore, the Longleat MS emphasizes that Walter does more than "liveth" (l. 68) in this land. In this instance, it presents the unique variant "reigned." At the outset, therefore, the concerns of *Griselda* are focused upon governance and the land.

The shift to governance fits the known audience of the manuscript, but this concern with governance and the relationship between Theseus and Walter is built into the texts from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Other scholars have noted the similar concerns of the two texts. Wallace's study of the medieval understanding of 'tyrant' suggests that Walter and Theseus function similarly in that they stage narrative sequences with the tales that follow them.⁶⁵ Indeed, similarities between Theseus and Walter emerge early in their respective stories in the manner in which they react to the petitioners who approach them. In the opening of the *Arcite and Palamon*, Chaucer describes Theseus's reaction to the weeping women, specifically declaring that the action moved him to pity:

This gentil duc doun from his courser sterte
With herte pitous, whan he herde hem speke. (ll. 952-53)

In the *Griselda*, Walter's reaction to the council that has come to ask him to marry is similar:

⁶⁵ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 294.

Hir meeke preyere and hir pitous cheere
Made the markys herte han pitee. (ll. 141-42)

The Longleat MS encourages the parallelism of Chaucer's presentation of Theseus and Walter by placing the two texts adjacent to each other. This placement aids comparison of the two.

At the outset of the narrative, therefore, Walter's depiction is complicated. For Wallace, Walter stands as the quintessential tyrant, and Walter's devotion to hunting and rejection of family are embodiments of this state of being. Walter, he argues, rejects "the rational" for "the animal," and he argues that medieval people, familiar with Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, would recognize as a tyrant any ruler who rejects "the *bonum commune*" and "strives for his own good."⁶⁶ Following a similar line of logic, Amy Goodwin suggests that "Walter's devotion to hunting" prevents him from performing "other duties."⁶⁷ That Richard of Gloucester was among the readership of the manuscript bolsters this analysis. Among his books, Richard had a copy of Giles's work, which dates to approximately the same time as his possession of Longleat MS 257. He inherited this copy from his father Richard of York, and he inscribed the first folio: "Liber illustrissimus Principis Ducis

⁶⁶ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 280. Citations of Giles come from Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum*, (ed.) H. Samaritanus (Rome: B. Zannettus, 1607), 3.2.6 and 3.2.7. The edition incorrectly names the author "Egidio Collan."

⁶⁷ Amy W. Goodwin, "The Griselda Game," *The Chaucer Review* 39.1 (2004), 41.

gloucestre."⁶⁸ Consequently, interest in the *bonum commune* resonates well with the Longleat MS.

Griselda presents Walter's willful conduct as his singular fault, but I do not think that we can overlook the fact that Walter corrects his error in the beginning (or models a performance that seems to correct the error). Some sixty lines after he is condemned for his attitude, Walter has heard the complaint of the people, who ask him to give up his single life and consider the future. Walter responds by turning his back on his pursuit of pleasure and consents to take a wife:

I me rejoysed of my liberte,
That seelde tyme is founde in marriage;
Ther I was free, I moot been in servage.
But natheles I se youre trewe entente,
And truste upon youre wit, and have doon ay;
Wherfore of my free wyl I wole assente
To wedde me, as soone as evere I may. (ll. 145-151)

The language of the first line resonates with a narcissistic tenor: "I," "me," and "my." Subsequent to this line, the language remains focused upon himself – "I" appears five more times, and "my" once. Nevertheless, he adjusts his will to the council's advice. He does not want this. Such action contradicts the self-governing aspect of tyranny and conforms to how the king ought to act when

⁶⁸ Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, p. 65; Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 70.

advised. Walter has relinquished his own will, choosing to act in accord with what is good for the community – the common profit.

In addition to acting for the common profit, Walter acts with the will of the people. This communal action is an example of collaborative government. From this perspective, Walter's "assente" to follow the advice of the council ought to be considered a positive action and in line with the practice of good government. Initially, his council doubts that he will act in a non-tyrannical manner. They dread that he will not take a wife: "For yet alwey the peple somewhat dredde,/ Lest that the markys no wyf wolde wedde" (ll. 181-82). Walter's actions prove them wrong. Nonetheless, these positive actions are not the entire story.

In contrast to Theseus who continues to accept advice from those surrounding him throughout the tale, Walter fails to allow others to subvert his will and collapses into the tyrannical mode of governance which he avoided at the beginning. This action is wrapped, Wallace argues, in Chaucer's second critique of Petrarch's narrative of Griselda. Wallace notes that the common people's intervention ignites the story, but he also highlights their disappearance from the narrative, although their voice remains.⁶⁹ When Walter speaks to Griselda, he informs her that the commoners have turned against her because of her lowly origins (ll. 634, 800). Walter "invents the people,"⁷⁰ or more

⁶⁹ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 291.

⁷⁰ Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, p. 291.

accurately, he invents the *vox populi*. Rather than allowing the voice of the people to participate and build consensus, he fictionalizes the consensus according to his will.⁷¹ This fabrication stands as a negative example, especially in light of the hopeful beginning, and it returns the reader to the seemingly positive beginnings. When Walter acceded to the common will, was this a performance or an earnest acceptance of their request and construction of the common will? No clear answer emerges, and whether the action is earnest or mimicry remains an open question.

Like *Griselda*, the unique version of *Ipomedon* seems an unlikely 'mirror for princes,' but the questions it opens involve the same concern with the will of the ruler. The narrative of *Ipomedon* follows the eponymous hero as he travels from court to court, and it fits more properly into the romance genre. Carol Meale's analysis of the Longleat MS convincingly argues that *Ipomedon*, like the rest of the manuscript, resonates well for a courtly audience. *Ipomedon-C*'s style, for example, forms the story into a historic exemplar. To illustrate this recasting, she compares the opening of *Ipomedon C* to the *Brut* in MS Rawlinson B. 171 (Oxford, Bodleian Library). This comparison highlights the impersonality of the openings and the "matter-of-fact narrative style," which culminates in a "sober recital of facts."⁷² Furthermore, *Ipomedon-C* reduces the frequency of romance tropes and heightens the diplomatic qualities of the hero in the resolution of

⁷¹ Morgan, "The Logic of the Clerk's Tale," pp. 14-18.

⁷² Meale, "The Middle English Romance of *Ipomedon*," p. 149.

troubles. Such action echoes the *Middle English Paraphrase* later in the manuscript which concentrates on the historic text of the Bible over the Prophetic books. However, one scene in *Ipomedon-C* raises comparisons to Walter in *Griselda* – the negotiation of Feers's marriage.

Marriage negotiations in *Ipomedon-C* raise a conflict between the ruler's individual will and the collective will, and the reader witnesses the negotiation of this divergence. At the beginning of the romance, Feers vows to wed only the best knight in the land, a vow which brings her universal praise until her lack of a husband brings the country into a low state. Grieved that none of them are elevated enough to wed Feers, her people begin to fear that without a king they will fall prey to those surrounding them: "they [the nobles] had no drede of heire/ bot ych of them werred on other/ to the lond was almost destroyed" (94, ll. 21-23).⁷³ This fear prompts the lords to ask her to take a husband and place the land under "better governance" (94, l. 30). Feers's immediate response mirrors Walter's. She does not wish to acquiesce because she has individual desires, but like Walter she recognizes that she cannot refuse. After eight days to consider the matter are granted to her, she takes counsel with Eman. Eman devises a plan whereby Feers can push the decision further into the future. She answers that she must consult her uncle the King of Sicily from whom she holds the land of Calabre; if her uncle consents, she will do as he wills (95, ll. 21-

⁷³ All citation of *Ipomedon-C* are taken from Nora Mayer, "An Edition of the *Ipomedon* B and C Texts" (Unpublished MPhil, University of York, 2011).

28). This move buys her some time, and in many ways is similar to Walter's promise to wed an unknown person on a certain date. Once Melliagere, king of Sicily, arrives, the people propose three husbands and ask the lord to choose one. Melliagere's response again parallels Walter's. He declares, "it was not lawfull...for them that were hire liegemen to constreyn hire to take an husband agayns hire will" (96, ll. 39-41). Similarly Walter demands that he be allowed to choose his own wife: "Lat me alone in chesyng of my wyf" (l. 162). After consulting with Feers, Melliagere plans a tournament to determine the best knight in the world, so that Feers can please her people and maintain her vow.

Conclusion

In the texts of the Longleat MS, therefore, the reader finds a variety of instances where rulers negotiate conflicts between their individual will and the collective will. The multiple representations of consensus building affirm the English model of government. Moreover, the many representations invite the reader to imaginatively play the role of leader and experience the process of consensus building. Throughout the reading experiences, however, regal power derives consistently from this collective will – the populist origins of power. While each text can shift away from this concentration, the manuscript's collection of these texts together and presentation of them enhances the cumulative effect of this reading. Overall, the impression of the Longleat MS is

one concerned with the position of the king in his political environment, under a distinctive English model.

Chapter Three: Universalizing English History: The Opening of British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ix

Introduction

In the *Dictionary of National Biographies*, Eric Stanley unequivocally professes the national tenor of Layamon, his *Brut*, and the witness London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ix, hereafter the "Caligula MS":

More than other vernacular poets of the age, Layamon makes no secret of his opinions: he is pro-English and anti-Norman to the extent that, in the Caligula version, it colours his poetic language and his choice of verse form as he recreates a lost world. He shows a vigorous interest in Wales, in Ireland too, and especially in the ancient Britain before Hengist and Horsa arrived: the English and the British merge in his poem, and, though not blind to individual faults, he loves all the peoples of the British Isles before the Normans came.¹

Following similar lines of thought, many scholars have asserted the national tenor of the *Brut*, the earliest, extant Middle English history of the island, and its author who happens to be ethnically English. The collection of linguistic and ethnic evidence continues to exert a force in current scholarship. Unfortunately, efforts to isolate the Englishness of the Caligula-*Brut* undermine the transnational context of the manuscript. Arranged with the *Brut* in front of religious poems and a continuation of English history in Anglo-Norman, the

¹ Eric Stanley, "Layamon (fl. 13th cent.)," *Dictionary of National Biographies* (Web: Oxford University Press, 2014), accessed 19 Sep. 2016 at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16217>.

Caligula MS invites the consideration of how English national history fits within transnational contexts. Additionally, the manuscript's texts convey a dual temporality of linear and cyclical history and bolster connections to international communities. In this manuscript, English national identity becomes part of contemporary Christian culture.

The arrangement of the Caligula MS demonstrates a concern with history and thus interacts with the preoccupations of contemporary historiography. Such concerns include efforts to establish a national history, and indeed, the frequency at which English histories emerged and the volume of these works increased starting in the twelfth century. Yet, English national identity is treated differently than modern national identity. In the Caligula MS, Englishness (or English national identity) is an important social category, and members of this category share much. Englishness, though, is only part of a wider system of identity. The largest and most important of these is Christianity, and the Caligula MS carefully presents English national history as part of wider Christian history, or to put this another way, Christian history absorbs English history in a manner coinciding with the contemporary historiographical developments. Scholars have long recognized the historiographical interest of post-Conquest England,² and by the thirteenth century, Norbert Kersken argues, English historiography forcefully and fully

² Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955 [1927]), p. 224.

traces the origins of the Anglo-Norman state through Arthur to Brutus and embeds "English history in universal historical contexts."³ Writers expanded the importance of their location by providing wider and wider context, e.g. provincial, national, transnational, and transcontinental, in which to view their home. The Caligula MS transforms English national history into part of a supra-historical narrative of Christianity on a geographic and temporal level.

The Whole Book

Caligula MS: A Unified Whole?

Although paleographic analysis has waffled over the number of scribes involved in the creation of the Caligula MS, the general consensus now holds that the manuscript was created by three scribes in two parts. Part I, c. 1255-1300, consists of only Layamon's *Brut* and was completed by two scribes Hand A and Hand B (the change of hands being evident on f. 18^{vb}),⁴ and a third scribe Hand C completed Part II, c. 1283-1300. Most of the texts are rare:

³ Norbert Kersken, "High and Late Medieval National Historiography," in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 202.

⁴ This change of hand is not universally acknowledged. Jane Roberts, "A Preliminary Note on British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. ix," in Françoise Le Saux (ed.), *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's Brut*, *Arthurian Studies* 33 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 3, 7-8, argues for a change of hand, but Margaret Laing, *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), p. 70, suggests a single scribe wrote the *Caligula-Brut*.

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| (1) Layamon's <i>Brut</i> , ff. 3r-194v | |
| (2) Chardri, <i>St. Josaphaz</i> , ff. 195r-216r | |
| (3) Chardri, <i>Sept Dormanz</i> , ff. 216v-229v | |
| (4) <i>Li Rei de Engleterre</i> , ff. 229v-232v | |
| (5) <i>The Owl and the Nightengale</i> , ff. 233r-246r | |
| (6) <i>Death's wither-clench</i> , ff. 246rv | |
| (7) <i>An Orison to Our Lady</i> , ff. 246v | |
| (8) <i>Will and Wit</i> , ff. 246v | |
| (9) <i>Doomsday</i> , ff. 246v-247r | |
| (10) <i>The last day</i> , ff. 247r-248v | |
| (11) <i>The ten abuses</i> , ff. 248v | |
| (12) <i>A lutel soth sermon</i> , ff. 248v-249r | |
| (13) Chardri, <i>Le Petit Plet</i> , ff. 249r-261v | |

Item 4 is an exception, attested in over forty manuscripts.⁵ Item 13 appears in three manuscripts.⁶ Item 8 is unique, and Item 1 occurs in only Caligula and the Otho MS (London, British Library Cotton Otho C.XIII).⁷ The others occur in Caligula and the Jesus MS (Oxford, Jesus College 29 (II)). In Part II, texts and languages cross quire boundaries, cf. 249^r. This suggests that this part was not created from booklets but as a whole.⁸ In addition to the rarity of its contents,

⁵ Sharon K. Goetz, *Textual Portability and Its Uses in England, ca. 1250-1330* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2006), cites forty three extant manuscripts of *Li Rei de Engleterre* in her Appendix B.

⁶ These manuscripts are Caligula, Jesus 29, and Rome, Vatican MS Reg. lat. 1659.

⁷ An excellent, recent collection of essays on the *Brut*, which considers their relationship of the two manuscripts, is Rosamund Allen, Jane Roberts, and Carole Weinberg (eds.), *Reading Lazamon's Brut: Approaches and Explorations: Approaches and Explorations*, DQR Studies in Literature 52 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013).

⁸ For detailed discussion of quiring, see Neil Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, EETS 251 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963 [for 1962]), p. xii.

the manuscript represents early multilingual (vernacular) compilation.⁹ For its content, the Caligula MS holds an important place in scholarship, but there is more. The codicology reveals that the manuscript was compiled near the end of the thirteenth century as a single entity.

Although we are not certain, evidence suggests that the compilation of Caligula was completed prior to 1400. In the Library Catalogue of Titchfield Abbey in Hampshire, an entry from 1400 refers to a manuscript containing a *Brut* and the *Owl and the Nightingale*.¹⁰ The appearance of both texts in one manuscript hints that this might refer to the Caligula MS. The entry does not specify whether the *Brut* is in English or not, and nothing other than the entry asserts this provenance. But the identification is probable on linguistic and social grounds.¹¹ In the sixteenth century, the manuscript passed to Sir Robert

⁹ See John Scahill, "Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33(2003), 18-32. The Auchinleck MS (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1), containing all English verse and prose, is the more famous early vernacular compilation in English studies. Auchinleck dates to c. 1330 about fifty years after the Caligula MS.

¹⁰ R. M. Wilson, "The Medieval Library of Titchfield Abbey," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 5 (1940), 159.

¹¹ Debate about the association of Caligula and this entry exists. Reichel and Hill identify the poem in the Titchfield manuscript as Layamon's *Brut*, cf. Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B. 14. 39 des Trinity College in Cambridge*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 1 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), p. 69, and Betty Hill, "Oxford, Jesus College MS 29: addenda on donation, acquisition, dating, and relevance of the 'broaken leafe' not to *The Owl and the Nightingale*," *Notes and Queries* 220 (1975), 103. Neil Cartlidge and Neil Ker have expressed some caution, cf. Neil Cartlidge, "The Composition and Social Context of Oxford,

Cotton, an antiquarian and bibliophile, who collected hundreds of manuscripts after the Dissolution of the Monasteries.¹² The Caligula MS escaped unscathed from the Ashburnham House fire on 23 October 1731 (unlike the other witness of the *Brut*, the Otho MS). When the British Museum absorbed Cotton's library, the manuscript passed to them. In order to protect the manuscript, it was rebound in the early twentieth century. Today, the Caligula codex is comparable in size to a U.S. tradeback (230 mm x 160 mm or 9.05" x 6.30").

In spite of its importance, only a limited number of images of the manuscript are available, and no collection of its texts in a single volume has been published. The most frequently shown image is the first folio of Caligula, which contains the manuscript's only historiated initial.¹³ The initial portrays the poet (or a scribe) at work on the history. Other than this folio, a few other

Jesus College, MS 29 (II) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.IX," *Medium Ævum* 66 (1997), pp. 251-52, and 265, n. 29, and Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, p. ix, n. 4. Malcolm Parkes, personal correspondence with Margaret Laing, expressed an agnostic view on this identification.

¹² Many of the most famous English manuscripts of the period were found in his library – the *Pearl-MS*, the *Lindisfarne Gospel*, the *Nowell Codex*, and both witnesses to Layamon's *Brut*.

¹³ A historiated initial is "a letter containing an identifiable scene or figure, sometimes relating to the text." See "Historiated Initial," in Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum and the British Library, 1994), p. 68. The first folio or the upper left corner appears in several facsimile prints, e.g. Bruce Dickins and R.M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Text* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1951), frontispiece; C.E. Wright, *English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), plate 6; G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie (eds.), *Layamon: Brut*, Early English Text Society 250, 277 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), frontispiece; G.L. Brook (ed.), *Selections from Layamon's Brut* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), frontispiece.

folios have appeared here and there.¹⁴ The exception is those folios containing *The Owl and the Nightingale*, which were published in Neil Ker's facsimile edition. From modern reproductions, nothing near a complete portrait of the manuscript can be pieced together. Likewise, compiling the modern editions of Caligula's texts requires several volumes. Editions of the *Caligula-Brut* and the *Owl and the Nightingale* are readily available, even online, cf. Frederic Madden's *editio princeps* of the *Brut*.¹⁵ The only location of the eight songs is Richard Morris's *An Old English Miscellany* (which has appeared online since the start of this project).¹⁶ For the moment, extensive linguistic knowledge is required to explore the manuscript, even in modern editions. Brian Merrilees and nineteenth century scholar John Koch edited the Anglo-Norman works, but they do not translate the texts, and for Koch's editions reading knowledge of

¹⁴ E.M. Thompson, G.F Warner, and J.P. Gilson (eds.) *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, Etc.* (London: New Paleographical Society, 1903-12), plate 86, reproduces f. 155^r. Jane Robert, "Preliminary," p. 2, shows a high quality photo of f. 18^v.

¹⁵ Google books contains Frederic Madden (ed.), *Layamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain; A Poetical Semi-Saxon Paraphrase of The Brut of Wace*, 3 vols. (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1847). Both Brook and Leslie (eds.), *Lazamon* and J.W.H. Atkins (ed. and trans.), *The Owl and the Nightingale* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) are part of the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse at the University of Michigan. The *Owl and the Nightingale* is also available in a recent critical/dual-language edition – Neil Cartlidge (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightingale: Text and Translation*, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Richard Morris (ed.) *An Old English Miscellany: Containing a Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century*, EETS OS 49 55 (London: Oxford University Press, 1873).

German is requisite.¹⁷ For this reason, Neil Cartlidge's translation *The Work of Chardri* (at the time of this writing still in preparation) is much anticipated.¹⁸

This translation will increase the accessibility of several texts in Caligula. The production of a critical edition of the entire contents of the Caligula MS, a full facsimile, or even the collection of various texts together in a single volume, would also be a significant improvement. As it is, the process of understanding the whole book involves accretion, and because accessing the entire book is difficult, the production of the Caligula MS has remained difficult to assess.¹⁹

¹⁷ Brian S. Merrilees (ed.), *Le petit plet*, Anglo Norman Texts 20 (London: Blackwell, 1970) and *La vie des set dormanz*, Anglo Norman Texts 35 (London: Blackwell, 1977). John Koch (ed.), *Chardri's Josaphaz, Set Dormanz und Petit Plet* (Heilbronn: Henniger, 1879) and *Li Rei de Engleterre: Ein Anglo-Normannischer Geschichtsauszug* (Berlin: R. Gärtner, 1886) – the last of which is included in the Anglo-Norman Text Hub. So far as I know, the only translation of one of the Anglo-Norman works is Tony Devaney Morinelli (trans.), "Chardri: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus," *Medieval Sourcebook* (Web: Fordham University, 1997), accessed on 23 Feb. 2016.

¹⁸ Neil Cartlidge (trans.), *The Works of Chardri: The Little Debate, The Life of the Seven-sleepers, and the Life of St. Josaphaz: Three Poems in the French of Thirteenth-Century England*, (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies) was expected in 2014. It was finally published at the conclusion of 2015.

¹⁹ Charlotte Patricia England, *Layamon's 'Brut': Reading between the Two Manuscripts* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2006), pp. 1-5, critiques scholars who suggest that the manuscripts must become the focus of study in place of the author and the modern edition. She claims that the specialized skills and access required for such examinations "limits the degree to which the work [Layamon's *Brut*] can be studied and read," p. 2. England's defense of modern edition is understandable, and fruitful scholarship can be gained through others' eyes, but I believe there remains no substitute (or better methodology) for accessing medieval texts and their meanings than placing one's own eyes directly on the manuscript and reading it for the witness it is.

There are currently three theories about how the parts of *Caligula* are related. The first I will call the 'two-parts theory;' it is the oldest, appearing in the "Preface" to Madden's edition.²⁰ Herein, he theorized that the *Caligula* MS was comprised of two distinct parts, combined at a later date. This remained the dominant theory until the 1960s. The publication of Ker's facsimile of the *Owl and the Nightingale* provided a second hypothesis – the 'unity theory.'²¹ In the "Introduction," Ker argues that Parts I and II are contemporary and coordinated compositions. The phrasing of this argument remains an issue. Ker explains:

Cotton's habit of binding unrelated manuscripts together is well known, but in the present instance the similarities of script, layout and number of lines suggest strongly that ff. 195-261 belonged from the first with the 'Hystoria brutonum' (Layamon).²²

These words have been taken as an argument for unity – the idea that Parts I and II were a single commission. The similarities in *mise-en-page* is echoed by Ker's analysis of the paleography. Both hands appear to be contemporary. In the wake of Ker's edition, this alternative theory of unity gained widespread popularity. In *Layamon's Brut*, Françoise Le Saux reads Ker's words as collapsing the date of composition of Part I and II into a single event: Ker "demonstrates that this date [c. 1250] given by Wright to the second part of *Caligula*, containing *The Owl and the Nightengale*, is also valid for the first part of

²⁰ Madden (ed.), *Layamon's Brut*, 1: xxxiv.

²¹ Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, p. ix

²² Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, p. ix.

the manuscript (containing the *Brut*), which had always been accepted as an earlier script than the second."²³ Similarly in her discussion of the "floral" borders of Part I, Elizabeth Bryan collapses the manuscript into a single entity. The correspondence in illumination style of Part I to Castilian manuscripts and the paleography of Part II to manuscripts in royal possession led her to argue that the entire manuscript might be a commission for someone related to the royal house of England.²⁴ Yet, careful attention to Ker's words does not indicate contemporary commission, but in fact a third theory.

This third theory is arguably Ker's, but the illumination of Ker's words remains unpublished. In personal correspondence with Professor Margaret Laing, Malcolm Parkes suggests that Ker's comments are ambiguous on the subject of contemporary composition.²⁵ Ker's words must be read in context, and Parkes highlights that the comment occurs while discussing the Cotton Library's habit of binding distinct manuscripts together, making anachronistic combinations. Ker, he suggests, means to mark the fact that Caligula MS was a medieval compilation and not a post-medieval one. The failure to mention a

²³ Françoise Le Saux, *Layamon's Brut: The Poem and its Sources* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999), p. 7.

²⁴ Elizabeth Bryan, "Layamon's *Brut* and the Vernacular Text: Widening the Context," in Allen, Roberts, and Weinburg (eds.), *Layamon's Brut*, p. 272.

²⁵ Unfortunately, Parkes never published his observations. Discussion of them appears in Margaret Laing's *Early Medieval Linguistic Atlas* (LAEME), where she cites personal correspondence from the late Malcolm Parkes, cf. Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, pp. 69-70, 145-47. I cannot thank Professor Margaret Laing enough for allowing me to view her correspondence with Malcolm Parkes and to discuss this correspondence in this project.

date of combination, for Parkes, suggests that the parts may have been joined at any time during the Middle Ages. From Parkes's perspective, the Caligula MS is a two-part manuscript. Yet, his return to Ker's phrasing reveals the third possibility.

Upon closer scrutiny of the above passage, Ker indicates Part II was created for combination with Part I. It is true Ker's "from the first" is ambiguous, but note that he specifically says that Part II was *originally* ("from the first") created for combination with Part I. A familial parallel helps clarify what Ker meant by this. If we consider the relationship of two siblings, an elder and a younger, I can speak of the younger sibling as "from the first" existing with the elder sibling because (assuming both are alive) there was never a time when the younger existed without the elder. Yet, I can speak of a time when the elder sibling existed without the younger. Ker's comments set Part I as the elder brother to Part II. His comments say that Part II belonged with Part I. He does not say that they are one composition. An alternative to both theories then is that the Caligula MS was composed in a two-step process. Part I was created independently, and after an indefinite amount of time, Part II was created, specifically to be joined to Part I. I call this the 'two-step theory.'

Compiling the Two Parts of Caligula

Paleographic study of the two parts provides evidence for the two-step theory. Based on his personal observations, Madden dated the Caligula MS

close to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Over the years this understanding evolved. C.E. Wright's study of medieval English bookhands fired the first shots at Madden's early date. Citing particular letterforms in Part I, he argued that a date closer to the middle of the century was a better fit.²⁶ Since Wright's research, paleography has developed significantly, but affixing a date with more certainty than post-1250 has remained impossible. To most scholars, it seems all hands were "current in the last two decades of the thirteenth century."²⁷ Discussing Caligula directly, Jane Roberts notes that the date of post-1250 seems right and that the backwards form of certain letters may suggest a later date.²⁸ Along similar lines, Professor Margaret Laing says an "uncertainty factor of about 25 years in either direction" must be understood when working with early Middle English paleography.²⁹ Indeed, some level of flexion in paleographic dating is inherent. Scribes can copy; scribes can move; scribes can live long lives. Yet, the date range of Part I, c. 1255-1300, begins earlier than those for Part II. Ker's analysis of Part II's paleography led him to believe that "slightly after A.D. 1250" was "on the early side."³⁰ He also highlights similarities between Part II and the Ashridge Peter Comestor (London, British Library Royal MS 3.D. vi) dated to c. 1283-1300.³¹ To these two

²⁶ Wright, *English Vernacular Hands*, p. 6

²⁷ Robert, "Preliminary," pp. 6-7.

²⁸ Robert, "Preliminary," p. 8

²⁹ Margaret Laing, personal correspondence.

³⁰ Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, p. ix.

³¹ Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, p. ix.

manuscripts, Parkes adds London, British Library, Additional 24686, c. 1284, which he sees as being similar to the hand in Part II.³² The date range of Part II then falls between 1280 and 1300, the latter end of Part I's range. This difference points towards a possibility of separate times of composition, but the paleography cannot prove it. Other features must also be considered.

If analysis of the paleography shows that the parts were possible contemporary compositions, other elements – the Latin marginalia and the illumination – hint that the parts were not planned centrally. Latin marginalia appears in Part I of the Caligula MS and not Part II. The shift in praxis is abrupt. No effort to add Latin incipit, explicit, or notes occurs in Part II. This differentiates Caligula's second part from Jesus 29. In the Jesus MS, small border illumination occurs on *The Owl and the Nightingale's* first folio, and an incipit and explicit appear, marking the limits of the text. In Part I, the textual limits are devoid of these markers. So, what prompts the shift in the second part? In medieval manuscripts, Latin marginalia are a common but not ubiquitous feature. Bibles and other texts associated with universities contain Latin annotation frequently, while other sources contain them less often. Examples of Latin marginalia to elucidate the Brutus narrative do emerge in

³² Malcolm Parkes, personal correspondence with Margaret Laing. Parkes's acknowledge that Ker was the first to date Part II to this period. He does not believe Ker was speaking of Part I. Parkes saw no ability (or suggested no method) to distinguish when between 1284 and 1400 the manuscript was compiled. The only certain date was 1400, when the manuscript appeared in the Catalogue of Titchfield Cathedral.

earlier witnesses of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (cf. London, British Library, MS Arundel 237, f. 19v, c. 1200-49; and British Library, MS Lansdowne 732, f. 9r, c. 1175-1225). In this respect, Part I of the Caligula MS is not abnormal, and in fact, it may be normal. Elizabeth Bryan's examination of the Otho MS discovered Latin marginalia, which lists the names of kings and deaths.³³ The appearance of the marginal in both witnesses may stem from the features appearance in an earlier exemplar. However, not all the marginalia appears in both witnesses. There are sixteen marginal notations that are more than names.³⁴ Although we cannot know whether the Caligula-*Brut*'s notations are addition or not, the break is distinct. Working with these annotations, Carol Weinberg dated the marginalia to c. 1260-90.³⁵ This date fits the range of both parts' paleography, although it is on the early end of Part II's. One explanation of the split might be that the insertion of Latin marginalia predates the joining of Part I and II. For the moment, this remains hypothesis, and indeed, no proof will emerge, but I hope that the plausibility of this fact will become greater when the illumination of the two parts is examined.

³³ Elizabeth Bryan, "The Two Manuscripts of Layamon's *Brut*: Some Readers in the Margins," in Le Saux (ed.), *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's Brut*, pp. 88-89.

³⁴ Carol Weinberg, "The Latin Marginal Glosses in the Caligula manuscript of Layamon's *Brut*," in Le Saux (ed.), *The Text and Tradition of Layamon's Brut*, p. 103.

³⁵ Weinberg, "Latin Marginal Glosses," p. 107.

The limited illumination of the Caligula MS complicates discussion, but it again reveals shifting praxis between Part I and Part II. The way in which capitals are used changes between Part I and Part II (as the Latin marginalia did). On the opening folio, the first "A" contains a figure, presumed to be Layamon, sitting at a desk as he writes a book. This historiated initial is the only significant illumination in the entire manuscript. After the opening section, capitals do not mark textual divisions in Part I. In Part II, the pattern shifts. Capitals regularly divide portions of texts. Take, for example, folio 233^r, the opening page of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. On 233^r, several capitals occur; all of them are red. The capitals continue after this folio, and in fact, Items 2-13 share the use of capitals. Furthermore, guide letters are visible on most. On lines 25 and 29 of 233^r, the guide letters have not been colored; the illuminator missed them.³⁶ The shifting pattern in the use of capitals separates the two parts.

Likewise, the feathery design dates to a period more common before the dates of Part II. Building on the work of others and through meticulous study of similar manuscripts, Bryan argues that the "floral" borders in Part I of Caligula evince a connection between the Caligula MS, royal manuscripts, and manuscripts produced in Castile in the thirteenth century.³⁷ She cites political

³⁶ Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightingale*, pp. xv-xvi, provides a detailed discussion of the capitals in *The Owl and the Nightingale*.

³⁷ Bryan, "Layamon's *Brut* and the Vernacular Text," pp. 669-71.

and cultural reasons for the potential connection between Castile and England. In 1254, Edward I (at the time Prince Edward) married Eleanor of Castile, the sister of the king of Castile. This marriage alliance linked the two countries. As it pertains to the Caligula MS, this is one year before the earliest date of Part I. Bryan also notes that her death in 1290 corresponds to the end of the exchange of "floral" design and the latest date for Part I. Furthermore, she suggests that the contemporary rise of vernacular writing in Castile and England cannot be ignored. That both vernaculars begin to flourish around the same time suggests a broad cultural interchange between the two powers. The strongest evidence for the specific connection of the Caligula MS to this Castilian cultural exchange arises from the "floral" border. Tracing extant manuscript evidence, Bryan shows the popularity of the "floral" border increased from the 1240s, peaked in the 1260s and 1270s, and waned in the 1290s.³⁸ Part II contains no "floral" ornament, and the dates of its paleography come after the popularity of the style. Bryan does not examine the two parts, but the popularity of the illumination style in the 1270s and the fact that it only appears in Part I of Caligula (not Part II) fits the theory that the two parts were not composed at the same time. To her argument, Bryan adds, the "floral" design indicates that the Caligula MS was in proximity to royal workshops, manuscripts, or illuminators during this time. Bryan, further, argues that the confluence of a variety of socio-

³⁸ Bryan, "Layamon's *Brut* and the Vernacular Text," pp. 676-77.

cultural factors makes Richard of Cornwall, Edward I's great-uncle, worthy of being on the "short list" of patrons of the Caligula MS.³⁹ Although the decoration in Part II differs from Part I,⁴⁰ Bryan's argument places both Part I and Part II in royal possessions or in near proximity to royal hands at the end of the thirteenth century, at the time they were joined.

Whether Part I was uniquely composed and combined, Part II's presentation incorporates it and Part I, creating a sense of unity. In some instances, Hand C continued the *mise-en-text* from Part I and then dropped them. The ruling in the Caligula-*Brut* has a distinctive double red line running across the bottom of its pages. Although cutting and trimming over the years robbed some pages of this feature, Ker hypothesizes that this was a regular feature.⁴¹ Hand C initially continues the pattern, but he stops after the first two

³⁹ Bryan, "Layamon's *Brut* and the Vernacular Text," pp. 676-77.

⁴⁰ The only other element of illumination occurs on the first folio above the historiated initial, a hybrid human-dragon. This hybrid is one of those playful marginal illuminations, which modern scholars have called "grotesque" and whose significance is elusive. Great attention has been focused on these in recent decades. For discussion, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 11-55. They appear in cloisters, chapter houses, and manuscripts, and often are in close proximity to serious matters. Whatever the reason for this placement, the prevalence of them increases during the thirteenth century. Caligula's grotesque drew my attention to London, British Library, Additional MS 32125. Add. 32125 dates c. 1275-1325. On f. 127^v, a grotesque at the bottom of the page shows a man dragon blowing a horn. The similarity between the two grotesques proved incidental. The similarities in the illuminated initial worth considering and may point towards a latter date for the illumination of Part I, closer to the 1300-25 given by the British Library.

⁴¹ Ker (ed.), *The Owl and the Nightengale*, p. xiv

leaves of *St. Josaphaz*. While we cannot know why he stopped, the sudden end at the opening of Part II supports the argument that Hand C is looking at a completed Part I. Another feature is the visual presentation of verse lines. The poems of Part II are lineated. Each verse has its own line. Outside Item 4, which is in prose, the lineation fails in only two places. In *Doomsday*, the lineation of the verses ceases, and in the last part of *A lutel soth sermun*, the lineation does not correspond to the end of verse lines. To further compliment the visual presentation of the verses in Part II, a capital and a red dot mark the first letter of each verse line (in the Anglo-Norman items, the first letter is also detached).⁴² In Part I, the *Caligula-Brut*, the versification is non-lineated, and instead punctuation indicates verses. The first half of an alliterative line, the *a*-part, ends in a *punctus elevatus*, and the second half, the *b*-part, ends in a *punctus*. Although the first letter of a verse does not correspond to a line, the initial letter of a verse line, like Part II, is reddened.⁴³ It is difficult to know if this color was imposed on Part I post-completion or was a unique feature which Hand C adapted to Part II. Further evidence might be derived from the punctuation.

⁴² The graphic representation of the first letter as detached from the remainder of the line has uncertain origins. Many scholars have noted their existence in Anglo-Norman and French manuscripts. Wace's *Roman de Brut* in London, British Library, MS Egerton 3028, utilizes this same device (f. 20^r, c.1325-50), and there is evidence of the practice extending into Middle English text outside of *Caligula*. In Cambridge, Kings College MS 13 (I), c. 1360-70, *William of Palerne* has much the same pattern. The pattern of initial letter separation does not occur in Layamon's *Brut*, i.e. Part I of the manuscript.

⁴³ Rosemary Huisman, *The Written Poem: Semiotic Conventions from Old to Modern English* (London: Cassell, 1998), p. 117.

Items 2-3 and 6-13 in Part II follow the punctuation pattern found in the *Brut*. The first verse line ends in a *punctus elevatus*, and the pair ends in a *punctus*. However, the punctuation is irregular at times.⁴⁴ Overall, a sense of unity emerges from these smaller features in spite of differences.

The codicology evidence from the Caligula MS hints at what Ker concludes in his comments – that Part II was created for compilation with Part I. The exact date remains a matter of some interpretation. Nonetheless, the best explanation of the evidence seems to be the 'two-step theory.' First, two scribes created Part I c. 1255-90; second, at some point between its creation and its combination with Part II, Part I was illuminated (at least partially), and the Latin marginalia were added. Third, another scribe created Part II for combination with Part I. From the perspective of Part II, this alternative narrative of Caligula's construction produces much the same effect as the unity theory, encouraging the texts to resonate across each other. The realization that the Caligula MS was compiled c. 1280-99 promotes the interrelationship of its texts. In the remainder of the chapter, I will consider how concerns with history draw English national identity into the wider Christian identity.

⁴⁴ Item 5 is lineated and employs the *punctus* at the end of every line. There are irregular moments, where the punctuation changes or the lineation breaks down, but these occurrences are abnormal. Ker observes that the *punctus elevatus/punctus* pattern (re)emerges immediately after the conclusion of the *Owl and the Nightingale* in the middle of the folio, p. xviii. However, this pattern only occurs for the first nine lines of "Long Life" after this, the punctuation reverts to *punctus* only for this folio.

Historiography, Universalization, and the Caligula MS

Historical Concerns in the Caligula MS

The historical concerns of the Caligula MS have already been noted by scholars. Neil Cartlidge's consideration of the relationship between the Caligula and Jesus MSS highlights a single striking difference: the Caligula MS shows an interest in history.⁴⁵ Although many of the smaller poems of the Caligula MS are shared with the Jesus MS, the two texts that are present in Caligula and absent from Jesus 29, are Layamon's *Brut* and *Li Rei*, the Anglo-Norman chronicle of English kings. However, the Caligula MS's historical concerns extend further than has been recognized. The two-part theory suggests that the compiler treats items 1 through 4 (including the two hagiographies) as though they fall under the generic umbrella of history. Although the arrangement of the Caligula MS seems a simple matter, the placement of the first four texts helps relate a historical narrative that folds English national history into a transnational context.

The first clue to this universalizing of history is the placement of the hagiography. In the Caligula MS, the two hagiographies are placed between two histories. This marks a different organizing principle than that of the Jesus MS. In Jesus MS, the compiler has collected *Le Petit Plet* and the two Anglo-

⁴⁵ Neil Cartlidge, "The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29 (II) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.IX," *Medium Ævum* 66 (1997), pp. 251-52.

Norman hagiographies together at the conclusion of the volume. It is unclear why the compiler made this choice, but the effect of combining these three works is a promotion of authorial and traditional linguistic concerns. The three Anglo-Norman poems are typically ascribed to the poet Chardri. Although scholars know little about the poet, the collection of three of his works together in the Jesus MS has led scholars to speculate about his wider impact and even for some to speculate about his identity.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the placement inhibits dialogue between the Middle English and Anglo-Norman works in the manuscripts. The arrangement compartmentalizes each linguistic group. The English and French are kept separate. In *Caligula*, a different organizing principle applies.

The *Caligula* MS's historical concerns transcend national and linguistic boundaries. The *Caligula-Brut* creates the story of the British kings and people. It commences with Brutus, the grandson of Aeneas, founding Britain. The Trojan connection establishes an ancient genealogy of the kings of Britain and a historical legacy for England. From this pre-Christian period, the *Caligula-Brut* carries the narrative forward through the Romans and Saxons to the British. It concludes with the fracturing of British kingdom in the seventh century. In the manuscript, the last king of Britain is Cadawallr, who journeys to Rome in 688. Stanley highlights that the *Brut*—in a move stretching back to Geoffrey of

⁴⁶ See brief discussion in Merrilees (ed.), *La Vie des Set Dormanz*, p. 8.

Monmouth – conflates Ceadwalla, King of the West Saxons, who journeyed to Rome in 688, and Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, who died in 634.⁴⁷ While factually inaccurate the conflation did not prevent the history from becoming popular or influencing many other writers. Whoever is ruling, the *Caligula-Brut* ends at the breakup of the British kingdom. Interestingly, *Li Rei* commences its narrative in this same moment. Granted, some flexibility is needed to see the continuation. The timeline between the two is not a perfect fit. The *Brut* ends in the middle of the seventh century, *Li Rei* begins at the end of the eighth.⁴⁸ Moreover, the regional focus of each text changes: the *Brut* concludes with the ruling house of Cunedda in Gwynedd, and *Li Rei* centers on the House of Cerdicing in Wessex. Nevertheless, the sense of continuity between these two histories in different languages is striking. Hand C's insertion of the two hagiographies between these two histories follows a temporal sequence. The temporal settings of both hagiographies is the period between Arthur's death and the ascension of Egbert, c. 450-800. The insertion of these materials between the two histories alleviates some of the discontinuities between the *Brut* and *Li Rei*. If the *Brut* and *Li Rei* were placed together, the discontinuities between them would be accented. The leap of one-hundred years and change in

⁴⁷ Stanley, "Layamon (*fl.* 13th cent.)."

⁴⁸ Cadwalader, King of Gwynedd, died in 682. If this is to whom the *Caligula-Brut* refers, five historic kings of Wessex are skipped: Ine, Æthelheard, Cuthred, Sigebrecht, and Cynewulf.

geographic setting might be more glaring. As it is, the hagiographies soften these disjunctions and allow the historical continuities to rise to the fore.

The placement of these items indicates the manuscript treats hagiography as part of the historical genre. Here, modern scholars enter into a difficult situation. Modern historians do not regard hagiography as history but ideological pieces wrapped in historical trappings. As James E. Goehring insists, the "historical memory [of the saint's life] conforms itself with and in service of the author's ideological agenda."⁴⁹ Indeed, hagiography is not "pure history" and cannot be used uncritically in the reconstruction of historical events.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the delineation of these genres is a modern preoccupation. In her discussion of the medieval perception of hagiography, Katherine J. Lewis highlights "Medieval people did not make an oppositional distinction between 'history' and 'hagiography'."⁵¹ She continues that medieval English authors, such as John Lydgate, produced hagiographical and historical writings and "neither they nor their audiences saw a contradiction or

⁴⁹ James E. Goehring, *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Coptic Texts on Abraham of Farshut* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), p. 50.

⁵⁰ Evelyne Patlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in Stepehn Wilson (ed.), *Saints and their Cults: Sociology, Folklore, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 109.

⁵¹ Katherine J. Lewis, "History, Historiography and Re-writing the Past," in Sarah Salih (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), p. 125.

disjunction between the two."⁵² When scholars have inverted the question and sought how hagiography has influenced history, they have found productive results. For example, while many scholars discount the religious tenor of Layamon's *Brut*, Françoise le Saux has found the genre of hagiography the only significant religious genre to impact or influence the composition of the text:

The passages which betray scriptural influence are few and far between; the poem's indebtedness to homilies is unlikely; and Layamon's attempt to 'explain' the Trinity is a failure. The only religious genre that has left its stamp on the *Brut* is hagiography, which was widely accepted as history...⁵³

The basics of each genre are similar. They both show interest in the past; they both strive to offer plausible accounts, and they both claim to represent things as they are.⁵⁴ The Caligula MS encourages readings across these texts in its arrangement, and thus the manuscript raises concerns with history to the fore, bringing its texts into contact with contemporary history writings and their preoccupations.

⁵² Katherine J. Lewis, "History, Historiography and Re-writing the Past," in Sarah Salih (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), p. 125.

⁵³ Le Saux, *Poem and its Sources*, p. 183.

⁵⁴ The insistence on genre boundaries is problematic. See discussion of "Genre" in "Chapter Four" belows pp. 206-211. However, we can find pluralist attitudes towards genres in the modern era. Consider that most academics regard the *Bible* as a religious text, while some non-academics believe the *Bible* relates pure, true history.

The Caligula-Brut's "Prologue": Beyond Nation and Language

Realizing that the Caligula MS interacts with historical writing does not yet reveal how the manuscript interacts with the concept of *nation*. Stanley's aforementioned suggestion that the *Brut* in the Caligula MS is overtly English and anti-Norman remains. Nonetheless, the Caligula MS problematizes the discourses of *nation*, if nation is merely an ethnic and linguistic thing. Nation in Caligula is a social category. It exists but lacks the modern tendency to isolate and distinguish itself from other social categories. Instead, English national identity is part of a wider community. The Caligula MS integrates English national identity into wider international Christian identity by participating in the universalization of twelfth century historiography.⁵⁵ Moreover, the resituation of English nationhood in an international context appears in the Caligula-*Brut's* "Prologue."

Scholars have claimed the Caligula-*Brut* controls this manuscript, imagining a militant (non-French) English identity. Primarily, the national reading of the Caligula-"Prologue" rests on the biographical attributes of the poet. This "Prologue" indicates the poet's name was Layamon, that he was a priest at Areley King in Worchestershire on the Severn River, and that his father

⁵⁵ Several important studies have situated Layamon's work in this context. For example, see Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley, *Writing the Future: Layamon's Prophetic History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), and Kenneth J. Tiller, *Layamon's Brut and the Anglo-Norman Vision of History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007).

was "Leouenaðes" (ll. 1-5).⁵⁶ From etymologic study of Layamon's name, Stanley notes Scandinavian influence in the poet's names.⁵⁷ The specific origins are less important than the fact that the names are resolutely *not* French. The etymologic, geographic, and hereditary tidbits are combined with the language of the poem to build an argument for ethno-linguistic nationalism. Discussing the emergence of the English vernacular in the thirteenth century, Thorlac Turville-Petre declares, "The very act of writing in English is a statement about belonging."⁵⁸ In this vein of scholarship, Layamon, by writing in English, is reclaiming his English past for the people of his country.⁵⁹ This process arises from Layamon's reduction of his connections to Anglo-Norman sources in his "Prologue." Linguistic analysis shows the source of Layamon's poem was Wace's Anglo-Norman *Roman de Brut*. The poet's claim of other sources establishes an English-Norman dichotomy in these nationalistic arguments.

⁵⁶ In the Otho MS, the biographic details are slightly different – Layamon's father is "Leuca" and that he lives with a good knight at Areley. Le Saux, *Layamon's Brut*, p. 12, speaks on this issue.

Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from Layamon's *Brut* are taken from Brook and Leslie (eds.), *La3amon*. Of invaluable consultation were Madden (ed.), *Layamons Brut* and Rosamund Allen (trans.), *Lawman Brut* (London: Dent, 1992).

⁵⁷ Stanley, "Layamon (fl. 13th cent.)"; Scott Kleinman, "The Æðelen of Engle: Constructing Ethnic and Regional Identities in La3amon's *Brut*," *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16.1 (2004), 95-96.

⁵⁸ Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England, the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 11.

⁵⁹ Dorothy Everett, "Layamon and the Earliest Middle English Alliterative Verse," in Patricia Keen (ed.), *Essays on Middle English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 33-34. The idea has remained persistent.

Likewise, the geographic location of the poet fits into the progressive Whiggish histories of Saxon survivalism against Anglo-Norman (French) identity. Areley Kings, where Layamon purports to live, rests in the heart of the West Midlands in Worcestershire. In Whiggish historical narratives, anti-Norman, proto-English ethno-linguistic identity survived the conquest of 1066 in the West Midlands, and Layamon is the earliest witness of what will flourish into the "Alliterative Revival" of the fourteenth century.⁶⁰ The existence of Saxon survivalists, who resisted the Norman Conquest on an ethnic and linguistic level, was a powerful and popular narrative. In 1847 when Madden subtitled Layamon's *Brut* a "semi-Saxon paraphrase," he tapped into this narrative.⁶¹ C.S. Lewis's "The Genesis of a Medieval Book" cannot escape the narrative fully. He balances the *Brut*'s lack of metrical similarity to the Old English poetic meter with an Anglo-Saxon "style," adding later "it is Anglo-Saxon in temper."⁶² Avoiding racialized consciousness, Lewis says style sets the Anglo-Saxon heaviness of the *Brut* apart from Wace's "Norman gaiety and

⁶⁰ For discussion of this development in modern historiography, see Randy Schiff, *Revivalist Fantasies: Alliterative Verse and Nationalist Literary History* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2011), pp. 1-13.

⁶¹ In 1847, Frederic Madden's *editio princeps* dated the poem to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and the Caligula MS to c. 1225 (I: xxx-xxxvi). While scholars continue to assert that Layamon's *Brut* was written between 1189 and 1236, most likely between 1206 and 1216, cf. Allen, *Lawman Brut*, p. xxvii; Elizabeth Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture: The Otho Lazamon* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 47-48; Le Saux, *The Poem and Its Sources*, pp. 3-4.

⁶² C.S. Lewis, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 [1966]), p. 23.

lightness."⁶³ The Saxon-Norman conflict even penetrated modern film culture in the 1938 *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, starring Errol Flynn.⁶⁴ As the earliest history writer in English after the Conquest, Layamon's identity works neatly into the Saxonist (proto-national) narrative. In spite of strong objections, the "national" interest in the "Prologue" remains a persistent element and depends in some way on the choice of language.⁶⁵

The complex relationship between Englishness and English in the Late Middle Ages is now a recognized (if not well-known) issue. In fact, writing in English fits in many ways into wider issues of "vernacularization," the rise of non-Latin writings in the medieval west.⁶⁶ Yet, scholars have often been too shortsighted in their approaches to vernacularization. In medieval England, French, Latin, and English coexisted and comingled. Discussing the admixture

⁶³ Lewis, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, p. 26.

⁶⁴ It entered popular culture much earlier; Sir Walter Scott made Robin a Saxon resistance fighter in *Ivanhoe*.

⁶⁵ Objections have, of course, been raised on historical and literary grounds. Hugh Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066-c.1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 389, argues that by the late twelfth century the ethnic and linguistic differences between Saxons and Normans were eroding and that Layamon's work was created in a multicultural England. Cecily Clark, "Women's Names in Post Conquest England," *Speculum* 53.2 (1978), 223-51, says intermarriage between Norman and insular inhabitants, though rarely recorded, indicates a similar pattern of multiculturalism. She tracks the prevalence of this practice through the patterns of female names and claims, p. 251, the evidence ought to lead us to "qualify" the view of ethnic identities in twelfth century England.

⁶⁶ For discussion of this issue, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1999).

of these languages in England, Ardis Butterfield argues literary studies have equated English writing and a burgeoning cultural and national Englishness, and in many cases, these studies have ignored the full wealth of information about the vernacular in England.⁶⁷ Instead, Butterfield proposes a "multilingual literary perspective."⁶⁸ After all, Chaucer – the champion of literature in English – wrote in French, as did Gower and others. Bryan also makes a similar move in her analysis of vernacularization and the Caligula MS.⁶⁹ The interaction of English and French languages was an echo of the political formation of England. From 1066-1558, the English kings were landholders in France, often creating an uneasy relationship with the French kings, and on three occasions, the daughters of the French kings married English kings (or future kings) – Edward I, Edward II, and Henry V. Whatever is occurring between Frenchness and Englishness it is far more complex than simply one constructing the other, and amazingly, when we turn to the Caligula-*Brut* with this in mind, we find such complexities emerge.

The sources in Layamon's "Prologue" establish the context of his *Brut* and the Caligula manuscript and, consequently, the subtleties must be carefully considered. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of the Caligula-"Prologue" has often been subverted to consideration of the author and his goals. This is especially

⁶⁷ Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. xxi-xxii.

⁶⁸ Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, p. xxii.

⁶⁹ Bryan, "Layamon's *Brut* and the Vernacular Text," pp. 662-666.

true for the arguments of the *Brut*'s ethno-linguistic Englishness, and scholars have brooked little discussion on the matter. The link of Layamon's *Brut* and the Caligula-*Brut* has gone virtually unchallenged.⁷⁰ This is problematic because the "Prologue" survives in two versions. In addition to the Caligula-"Prologue," there is the fortunate survival of the Otho-"Prologue," which should attract our attention. Although the folios of Otho containing the "Prologue" were lost in the Asburnham House fire, Humfrey Wanley – the man in charge of the Cotton Library in the early eighteenth century – made a transcription of the "Prologue" in 1705.⁷¹ These two versions of the "Prologue" are slightly different, and as previous scholars have argued, this matters.

In *Writing the Future*, Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley raised the issue of the variations between Otho and Caligula and proposed that the scribe of the Otho MS (the Otho reviser) redacted information in order to increase the authority of the piece. She primarily concentrates on the sources mentioned in each version.

⁷⁰ For full discussion of the troubling preference for the Caligula MS, see Bryan, *Collaborative Meaning in Medieval Scribal Culture*, pp. 1-12, and Lucy Perry, "Origins and Originality: Reading Lawman's *Brut* and the Rejection of British Library MS Cotton Otho C.xiii," *Arthuriana* 10.2 (2000), 66. Bryan's particularly stern rejection of the authority of Caligula undermines the principles of stemmatic analysis where only two witnesses to a medieval text exist. Since stemmatic criticism builds a family tree for a text by comparing readings of lines in multiple witnesses in order to identify the closest version to the authorial original, where only two witnesses exist (such as in the case of the *Brut*) one cannot decide which manuscript is more authorial without making *a priori* assumptions about the manuscripts.

⁷¹ George Hickes, *Antiquae literaturae septentrionalis liber alter* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705), p. 237.

While the Otho and Caligula prologues both claim that Layamon used three sources, the identity of these three books differs. In the *Caligula-Brut*, the three sources are (1) an English book by Bede, (2) a Latin book by St. Albin and the Fair Austin, and (3) a French book by Wace. In the *Otho-Brut*, the three sources are (1) an English book by Bede, (2) a Latin book by St. Albin, and (3) a Latin book by the Fair Austin. These purported sources are not the actual source of Layamon's work. Modern textual analysis has demonstrated that the primary source for Layamon was Wace's *Roman de Brut*.⁷² Yet, just the *Caligula-Prologue* names him as a source. Why then mention the others? Wickham-Crowley argues that the Otho reviser removes the French source and concentrates on the Latinate sources.⁷³ Despite the fact that no version of Albin's or Austin's book(s) has (have) been discovered (though significant interest in the putative books of Albin and Austin has existed), these clearly are understood as Latin clerical works. Moreover, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, c. 731, is traditionally treated as a Latin source. Since the actual source of Layamon's work was Wace's *Roman*, Wickham-Crowley claims mentioning these sources was a rhetorical gesture; that is, they are adduced merely to lend the work an appearance of greater authority. Wickham-Crowley's proposition of an Otho revisor repeats the collapse of the authorial and *Caligula-Prologue*. Yet, if her investigation demonstrates one important

⁷² Eric Stanley, "Layamon (fl. 13th cent.)."

⁷³ Wickham-Crowley, *Writing the Future*, p. 20.

thing, it is that the slight additions and omissions to a text can prepare the reception of it.

In the Caligula-"Prologue," the presence of Wace and his work brings the Anglo-Norman cultural and political world into the discussion of English identity and history. In the first place, the sources in the Caligula-"Prologue" symbolically fuse English, Latin, and French culture. Consider the three sources mentioned. Bede's *Historia* is evoked in its Old English translation. To this the purported Latin sources of Austin and Albin are added, and Wace's *Roman* is explicitly mentioned. These sources present the forthcoming work as a cumulative work that combined these three literary traditions. Furthermore, the Caligula-"Prologue" adds vital information about Wace and his relationship to the rulers of England. The "Prologue" says that Wace's patron was Eleanor, wife of King Henry II (ll. 22-23). Since this is one of Layamon's sources, the poem is billed as participating in Anglo-Norman culture. At the outset of Caligula MS, English history enters the Anglo-Norman court context, and the movement brings the Caligula-*Brut* into that context too because the "Prologue" mentions this information not as an aside but as a source, a fount from which the knowledge of the situation flows.

Universalizing History and Li Rei

That the Caligula-*Brut* imagines national identity as a social category integrated into larger international structures is not surprising. This process of

universalizing was a development of medieval historiography, and it stemmed from a fundamental difference between medieval writers' goals and modern writers' goals. As Patrick Geary has shown, modern history writers turn to the past in order to distinguish themselves from other people; in contrast, medieval history writers sought to project their national identity backwards into "the ancient past" in a quest for solidarity with Rome.⁷⁴ This bent characterizes the works of many of the best Latin and vernacular historians, including Layamon.⁷⁵ In the modern historiography, the point is to find disparate traditions in order to express one's uniqueness. In medieval historiography, the goal is to find connections between the past and present. The quest for connection predominates medieval history writing, even while national histories are emerging in the vernacular.⁷⁶ The diffusion of this practice carried with it the ideology of connection to the past and via shared traditions precipitated the rise of universalization. "National history" became part of the universal Christian history.

⁷⁴ Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 19.

⁷⁵ Peter Ainsworth, "Legendary History: *Historia* and *Fabula*," in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 394-397, discusses Wace's role.

⁷⁶ Although what "national history" as a genre indicates remains an open question, I am not treating it as a separate genre here. Instead, I am suggesting that "national history" is folding into the larger field of historiography. For discussion of "national history" and its generic difficulties, see Lisa Wolverton, *Cosmos of Prague: Narrative, Classicism, Politics* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015), pp. 215-19.

Although modern scholars have remained wedded to the terminology of "national history," they have recognized that medieval writers fold nation(s) into grander schemes of identity and history. Peter Classen has noted this process of universalizing of national history. For Classen, Orderic Vitalis's *Historia Ecclesiastica* stands as the foremost example of this process. Orderic was a chronicler and monk under Anglo-Norman rule, who worked at the beginning of the twelfth century. His *Ecclesiastica* is organized into thirteen books, which he wrote out of chronological order. It is in his method of composition that the universalizing is clearest to observe. Orderic began in the middle of his book. Between 1123 and 1131, he wrote the local history of Saint-Evroul in Normandy and slowly expanded outward to include the history of Normandy and England under William the Conqueror. Having completed this part of his work, Orderic increased the scope of his focus to include the history of France, and he continued the story of England until Stephen of Blois's defeat in 1141. While finishing this part, he started work on what would be Books I and II, covering the history of Christianity from the birth of Christ to the current occupant of Peter's seat Innocent III. In writing his work, Orderic incrementally increased the geographic and temporal focus, and the final result was a "world chronicle" or "universal history."⁷⁷ In Orderic's *Historia*, English

⁷⁷ Peter Classen, "Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse: Visions of the Past and Future," in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 388-90.

national history (or as Orderic probably intended Anglo-Norman history) becomes part of Christian history. Citing different examples than Classen, Norbert Kersken also recognizes that this universalizing occurs in medieval historiography, although he locates the date of this practice to the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁷⁸ In both scholars' analysis however, the expansion of historical scope beyond "national history" is seen as a characteristic of medieval historiography.

Already, the elements of the Caligula-"Prologue" that call to mind Normandy and France have been noted, but *Li Rei de Engleterre* extends these transnational connections. *Li Rei* is a short, chroniclesque history of the kings of Britain that today survives in forty-two other manuscripts. From examination of these manuscripts, Sharon Kim Goetz established four parts to *Li Rei*: (1) "Brutus," (2) "Shiring," (3) "Rei," and (4) variable continuations.⁷⁹ Because of strong structural compartments of *Li Rei*, the form of the text could be easily adapted into the desired context. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 50, for example, *Li Rei* forms part of a trilogy of British histories – (1) Genealogy of the Kings of Britain, f. 1-6, (2) *Wace, Roman de Brut*, ff. 6v-90r, and (3) *Li Rei*, f.90rv. The proximity and overlapping content suggest that this manuscript has a historical focus. I pause to note that the arrangement in Corpus 50 of Wace's

⁷⁸ Kersken, "High and Late Medieval National Historiography," p. 20.

⁷⁹ Goetz's *Textual Portability*, pp. 38-40, remains the most complete analysis of *Li Rei* and its manuscript contexts.

Roman and *Li Rei* forms a continuity of English history similar to that in Caligula. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 53, *Li Rei* appears between (1) Psalter and Office of the Dead, ff. 1r-180r and (3) Chronicle of Peterborough, ff. 185r-188v. This context does not as readily lend itself to history. What these varying contexts reveal is that, as Goetz argues, *Li Rei* was adaptable. Parts might be excluded as necessary. In a majority of these manuscripts, *Li Rei* terminates the history of England at the ascension of Henry III.⁸⁰ In the Caligula MS, the first portion of *Li Rei* is excised. This is prompted by the fact that the material of the "Brutus" portion was already covered in Layamon's *Brut*. Rather than reiterate that portion of history, the scribe chose to link as near as possible the beginning of *Li Rei* and the end of *Brut*.

Li Rei not only continues English history; it takes care to intergrate the history of England and France. *Li Rei* opens with a lament that the island has several kings including the king Beorhtric. There is a lack of unity, and the text makes the chaos under the multiple kings troubling. An example is Beorhtric spitefully driving Egbert, king of Wessex, across the channel. Yet, this small passage enhances the transnational impetus behind English national unity. The

⁸⁰ That the Caligula MS stops at Henry III has led some to date incorrectly the manuscript to pre-1272. There are a variety of reasons that the manuscript might break off here and leave blank space. Goetz's analysis of the forty-three versions shows that Henry III is a typical stopping point, even in later witnesses. The blank space in the manuscript, which occurs after Henry III, might have been left in the hopes of finding another exemplar. Goetz, *Textual Portability*, p. 39; for discussion of structure, see pp. 37-90.

text asserts that the cultural identity of Egbert, the man behind the unification of England, derives from Wessex and France:

...Egbrith, le fiz Eilmund... nuriz en enfance en Westsexe, e puis en France. [Cil fu] li premereins des reis engleis ki out tute Engleterre ensemble...si s'en fui en France. La aprist bones murs e curtesie e hardement. Dunc a icel tens aveit Charlemaine [le] regne en France XXXIII anz e pus regnat XII.⁸¹

(...Egbert, son of Ealhmund...born and raised from childhood in Wessex and then in France...[He was] the first of the English kings who had all England together...he then took himself to France – there learning about good morals, courtesy, and courage. At this time Charlemagne the King of France reigned forty-six)⁸²

On the one hand, the text explicitly locates Egbert's English heritage and identity in Wessex.⁸³ On the other hand, this strong English identity is not alone. Alongside the establishment of Egbert's English identity and heritage, *Li Rei* cites his inability to control the entire island and asserts that he learned to correct this failing in France, where he was educated in courtesy under

⁸¹ The conclusion of this verse appears to be the standard Old French practice of providing two numbers to create a total. It should read, "... pus régna deus anz issi ke xlvi. anz par tut régna" (Logan Whalen, personal correspondence).

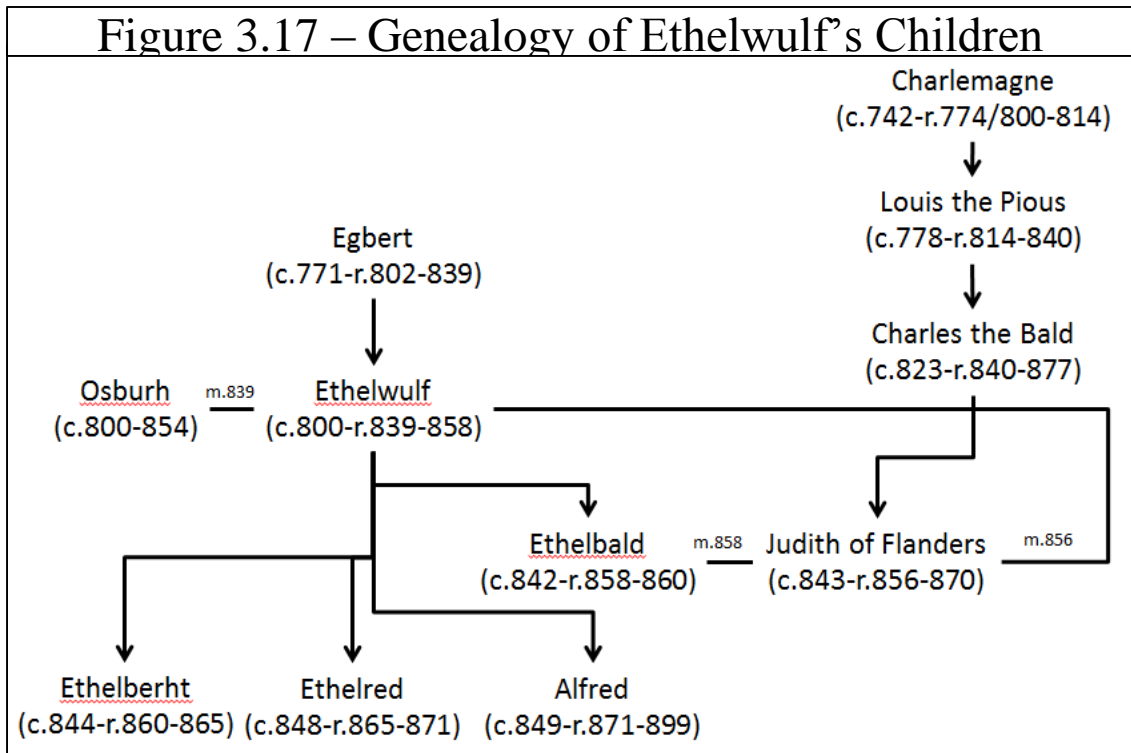
⁸² Unless otherwise stated, all quotation from *Li Rei* come from Koch (ed.), *Li Rei de Engleterre*, pp. 13-14. All translations are my own.

⁸³ If Wessex were the only local mentioned, the text might lend itself to a nationalist reading. Although Wessex was one of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, it and its capital Winchester were an enduring element of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century romance. The city and region take on a significant importance in *Guy of Warwick*, *Beues of Hamtoun*, *Sir Orfeo*, and Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, when Malory equates Winchester and Camelot. Moreover, Wessex was viewed as the historical center of the nascent English kingdom. From there, Alfred unified the kingdom, and Winchester in Wessex was the capital of England into the tenth century. Looking to the Anglo-Saxon past and this location in particular served to bolster a connection to ancient roots, as the *Brut* narrative did, and responded to contemporary anxieties.

Charlemagne. *Li Rei* underscores the prominence of French history and customs in the rise of England as a nation. Normally, scholars suggest that these international connections are minimized in the creation of a sense of nationhood.⁸⁴ The sense of England identity here is not isolationist. England's continental connections are espoused and praised. In fact, the connections between England and France are not merely cultural but genealogical.

Although this genealogical blend occurs in the Caligula MS, the illuminated manuscripts of *Li Rei* clarify the conflation of French and English kings. In its essence, *Li Rei* is a sort of genealogical roll. While it does relate history, especially early, the end boils down into a quick description of who succeeded whom and how they were related. Royal 14 B vi (London, British Library), provides the *Li Rei* with a lavish illumination sequence. Composed shortly after the Caligula MS, between 1300 and 1307, the roll's roundels commence with Ethelbert and display his rival Beorhtric. In the figure, Beorhtric's roundel is cut off from the line of English kings, set to the right side. In contrast, Ethelbert's roundel is attached to others. A single blue line leads from Ethelbert's roundel to Ethelwulf, and four lines branch from Ethelwulf to his four sons, Aethelbald, Aethelbert, Aethelred, and Alfred. Each son appears twice, once as the son of the king and once as the king. The illuminations fail to

⁸⁴ John Frankis, "The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth Century England: the Evidence of the Manuscripts," in P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England I: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), p. 181.



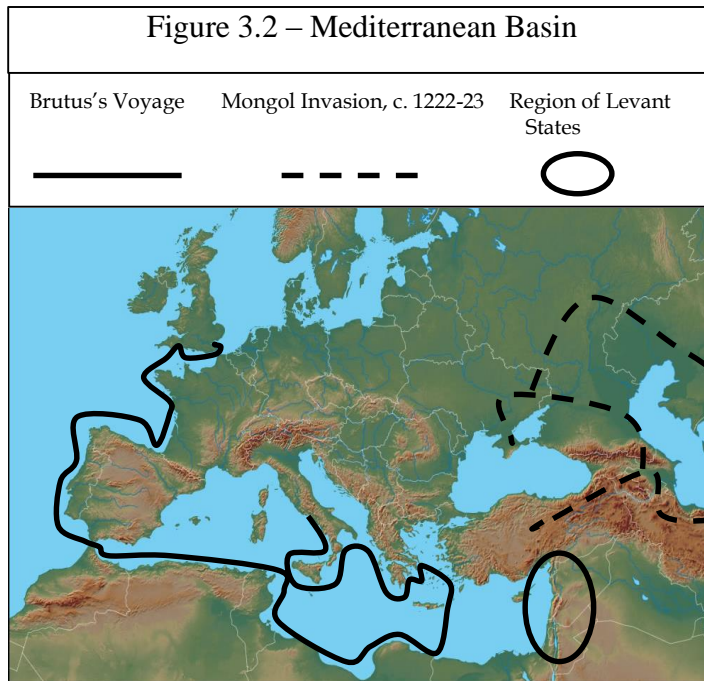
represent the mother of the kings, but the texts declares that Ethelwulf married Judith and had four children. There is nothing in the text or image to indicate that this is anything other than historic fact. Yet, modern historians knows that Ethelwulf’s four children were born of his first wife Osburh, whom he married in 839. Only after her death did Ethelwulf marry Judith of Flanders in 856. The elision of the marriage of Osburh and Ethelwulf forces a shift in the motherhood of Ethelwulf’s children to Judith. Although *Li Rei* does not present Judith’s genealogy, she was the daughter of Charles the Bald, the grandson of Charlemagne through Louis the Pious (See Figure 3.1). After Ethelwulf’s death, Judith married Ethelbald. But, Ethelbald (like his father) died before producing an heir with Judith. Consequently, no descendent of Charlemagne ruled in England. *Li Rei*, however, performs a bit of sleight of hand magic and thus

imbues the blood of Charlemagne into the English kings. In this text, Alfred, the pinnacle of English kingship, becomes a fourth-generation descendant of Charlemagne. This blood is passed to all descendants up to Henry III in the Caligula MS. Alongside the Caligula-"Prologue," these elements are universalizing English history as part of a transnational community.

The Outer Edges of Christendom

The Caligula-Brut and Attention on the East

The Caligula MS's transnationalism extends beyond France. It brings the eastern edges of Christendom into dialogue with English history, and while the primary texts that effect this geographic concern are the Anglo-Norman hagiographies, *St. Josaphaz* and *Sept Dormanz*, the *Caligula-Brut* also sets action in the East. In this work, the East plays an important role in the origins of English national identity and history. Following the "Prologue," the *Caligula-Brut* traces Aeneas's journey from Troy (ll. 37-38). Following the Greek defeat of the Trojans, Aeneas escapes the burning city and sets sail. Aeneas's voyage to Latium (modern day Italy) via Carthage (in North Africa) locates this portion of the *Brut* in the southeastern Mediterranean. Aeneas travels from the East to the West and founds what will become Rome. Brutus's journey follows a similar pattern. Instead of sailing directly from Latium to Albion (what will be the island of Britain), Brutus sails eastward first. He then progresses along the



northern coast of Africa, mirroring Aeneas's journey (See Figure 3.2).⁸⁵ This geographical zigzagging is not an invention of Layamon's *Brut*. Before appearing in his work, it appeared in Wace's *Roman de Brut* and Geoffrey's

Historia. Moreover, one cannot suggest that the text focuses purely on the southeastern Mediterranean. The amount of time that the narrative is set there is proportionally dwarfed by the time it is set in Western Europe. Yet, the imaginary power of these Trojan origins for English identity grew in importance in the fourteenth century.⁸⁶ The East thus forms part of the transnational context of English nationhood, and the Caligula MS reflects these transnational components.

The *Brut's* geographic associations of the Emperor Lucius's forces map onto Islamic territories (former and contemporary) and bring concerns with the

⁸⁵ Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to the Tempest* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 43-44, traces this progress in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*.

⁸⁶ Sylvia Federico, *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 1-28.

geographic limits of Christendom into focus. Lucius collects his forces to march against Arthur (ll. 12658-80), gathering troops from what is now Greece, Turkey (Bithynia, Phrygia, and Turkey), Egypt, Crete, Syria, Iraq (Babylon), Spain, Azerbaijan (Media), Libya, the Levant (Iturea), and Africa. In her consideration of these geographies, Rosamund Allen argues that the strange place names of the *Brut* makes "reference to worlds distant in time and place" and "elide[s] geographical distance."⁸⁷ However much geographic "elision" is occurring, there is no need for such temporal "elision." Certainly, not all readers would recognize these place names or regions. Nevertheless, the contemporary conflict with Islam was drawing the eyes of Europe eastward and southward towards those regions listed among Lucius's troops. At the time of the Caligula MS's compilation, Islamic forces remained in the southern part of Spain and were at war with the kingdom of Castile. At the end of the thirteenth century, English interest in the region was almost assured since in 1254 Edward I married Eleanor of Castile, sister of Alfonso X, king of Castile. English preoccupation with Islam in the east was more tangible. Edward participated in the Ninth Crusade starting in 1271; it was while on this crusade that he learned of his father's death and had to return home. What Edward's activities clarify is that English (and European) political and military preoccupations with Islamic regions map onto those regions associated with Lucius's army. For this reason,

⁸⁷ Rosamund Allen, "Did Lawman Nod, or Is It We that Yawn?" in Allen, Roberts, and Weinberg (eds.), *Reading Lazamon's Brut*, pp. 38-40.

the Caligula MS's interest in the East seems to be more than bridging the temporal gap.

The Caligula-*Brut* establishes the Eastern and Southern edges of Christendom, and contemporary English interaction with Islam makes such interest understandable. However, the hagiographies show more involved interests in these geographic limitations. Both hagiographies are versions of popular legends, appearing in the contemporary *Legenda aurea*, c. 1260-98. The coexistence of different versions in both collections, the Caligula MS and hagiographic encyclopedia, indicate the wider value of these lives. By their inclusion, these Anglo-Norman works introduce the concerns with the limits of Christendom and integrate this geographic preoccupation and the themes of conversion and conquest. Particularly, the vita of *Josaphaz* and its engagement with the legend of Prester John collapses the national history and battles of England further into a transnational Christian world.

Josaphaz, Prester John, and the Geographic Limits of Christianity

Europe was Christian, and the entire Mediterranean had been at one time. The rise of Islam had splintered the world. Beyond the edge of Europe were Islamic lands, and beyond the Islamic lands, many imagined was Prester John. In the hagiographies, the geographic setting of Europe is abandoned, and the texts bring us closer to those Christians on the other side of the world. The *Sept Dormanz* moves the reader one step in that direction; it is set in Ephesus

(what was then the Byzantine Empire). But, *Josaphaz* extends the scope of study beyond Islam to the East. In those lands associated with Prester John and his kingdom. The popular story of *Barlaam and Josaphat* (witnessed in *Josaphaz*) was a story of the Buddha, but twelfth-century Europe having no knowledge of Buddhism retold the story as though it were about a Christian saint.⁸⁸ *Josaphaz* is one such retelling. In the poem, the poet emphasizes the geographic limitations of Western Christendom and locates the action of the story on the other side of the globe. In doing so, *Josaphaz* engages the contemporary preoccupation with Prester John and the Mongols and promotes the transnational context of the Caligula MS.

The vita of *Josaphaz* centers the action on the personal conversion of King Arvennir and Josaphat. At the story's opening, the king struggles with the Christian community in India. Arvennir hopes to eradicate the religion in his land, despite the fact that Christianity appears to have deep roots. The narrative suggests that Saint Thomas, i.e. doubting Thomas, founded the Church in India shortly after the life of Christ. The conflict, then, pits Arvennir against his people, though not all of them. The struggle is whether Christianity will take hold or be eliminated. Amid this persecution, Arvennir learns from his astrologer that his son Josaphat will convert to Christianity one day. The story unfolds in a predictable but enjoyable manner. Arvennir isolates (imprisons)

⁸⁸ Audrius Beinorius, "Buddhism in the Early European Imagination: A Historical Perspective," *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia* 6:2 (2005), 7-22.

Josaphat. But, Josaphat meets the hermit Barlaam and converts to Christianity. Josaphat openly confronts Arvennir, who eventually converts himself and abdicates the throne. Joasphat assumes control of the land, brings Christinity to it, and spends the last years of his life with Barlaam as a hermit. Beyond the personal narrative of the saint's life, the story relates how India came to be a Christian kingdom.

To contemporary readers, *Josaphaz* presented evidence of a Christian kingdom on the other side of Islamic territory, and it is unsurprising to find that this conception of the world was prevalent at the time in the mythopoetic figure of Prester John. It was during the twelfth century that stories emerged of a Christian Patriarch, king and priest, who ruled over a Christian nation on the other side of the Islamic peoples.⁸⁹ This mythopoetic figure was woven into history and contemporary politics. He supposedly visited Rome during the papacy of Callixtus II (r.1119-1124); a forged letter attributed to him circulated from 1165, and belief in his existence was so widespread that Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181) sent a letter to Prester John in 1177.⁹⁰ Although Christians were ready to accept that his kingdom existed, where exactly Prester's kingdom was remained a hazy issue. Some accounts placed him in India, others elsewhere in

⁸⁹ Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 1996), p. 3.

⁹⁰ Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John*, pp. 40-73. As Keagan Brewer, *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), p. 2, argues "belief in Prester John as a real geopolitical figure was pervasive."

Asia. In 1146, Otto of Friesberg recounted a report of him, which placed him "beyond Persia in Central Asia."⁹¹ Some two hundred years later, *The Travels of John Mandevillie*, c. 1357-71, situated Prester John's kingdom in India.⁹² From source to source, the location changed for a variety of reasons, one of which must have been European Crusades into the Holy Land and against Islam.⁹³ As Christians began to develop a greater awareness of the geography and peoples of the regions, the location of Prester John's kingdom needed to change. The desire to place Prester's kingdom in the East reflects the expanding knowledge of the world.

Early in *Josphaz*, the poet shows an enhanced level of "mapmindedness," when he delineates the geographic limits of Christendom in Europe.⁹⁴ Chardri is consistent and careful in his effort to establish the regions of his audience. He verbally maps Western European countries (including regions) and some Eastern European countries. The poem opens with a description of God creating the world, and following a narrative of Jesus's death and resurrection,

⁹¹ Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410* (New York: Pearson, 2005), p. 20.

⁹² Iain MacLeod Higgins (ed. and trans.), *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2011), pp. 160-165.

⁹³ Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 26-36, suggests that "Muslim otherness" forms a "context for understanding the legend of Prester John" (p. 26).

⁹⁴ The term "mapmindedness" derives from P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: British Library, 1993), p. 15. Although Harvey applies the term to Renaissance cartography, I find the term equally applicable to medieval thinkers.

the poet takes eight lines to list the regions to which the faith spread (ll. 58-65).⁹⁵ The list shows heavy concentration in the Northwest of Europe: France, England, Ireland, and Germany are mentioned, as are regions of France, i.e. Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Poitou, Flanders, Anjou, and Auvergne. Since the poet is Anglo-Norman and the manuscript from England, the prevalence of these locations is understandable. But, the poem also defines the outer reaches of Christendom. The southwestern edge is marked by the inclusion of Spain. On the south-central edge, the poem mentions "Lombardy," which must be a reference to the entire peninsula of what is now called Italy.⁹⁶ The strong religious and social connections between Western Europe are enhanced through the delineation of Europe's eastern edge. To these countries, the poem adds Hungary and Russia. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Eastern Europe was dominated by the Kievan Rus, Hungary, and Poland.⁹⁷ By the 1180s, Hungary had consolidated several smaller realms and

⁹⁵ Timothy James Stuart Rutledge, *A Critical Edition of La Vie de Seint Josaphaz: a Thirteenth Century Poem by the Anglo-Norman Poet Chardri* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1973), p. 120. Unless otherwise stated, all references to Chardri's *Josaphaz* come from this edition.

⁹⁶ There is evidence that in the early Middle Ages "Langobardia" might refer to both northern and southern parts of the peninsula; see Alexander Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 1249-50.

⁹⁷ See Nora Berend, József Laszlovszky, and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "The Kingdom of Hungary," in Nora Berend (ed.), *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavian, Central Europe and Rus', c.900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 319-68; and Jonathan Shephard, "Rus," in Berend (ed.), *Christianization*, pp. 369-416.

abutted the Byzantines to the South. To its north, the Orthodox Kievan Rus stretched to the Baltic Sea.⁹⁸ Together the two countries present an eastern front to Europe and complete the portrait of Western Christendom.

After defining the locus of its action outside of this European world, *Josaphaz* establishes India as a Christian country beyond Islamic lands. The list of nations concludes with the remark: "Ki la avant terre demande/ Querre la porra avant bien, / Si truvera u poi u ren. (ll. 66-68)." That is, "Anyone who seeks another country may well search for it further; he may find something, he

⁹⁸ The addition of the Kievan Rus may seem a weak addition for cultural reasons. The connections between the Kievan Rus and Western Europe were limited. Yet connections to France and England emerged in the mid-eleventh century. In 1051 Anne of Kiev (daughter of Yaroslav Russian ruler) married Henry I of France, and although her genealogy is disputed, there is a strong argument that another of Yaroslav's daughters Agatha married Edward the Exile, son of Edmund Ironside, king of England (r. 1016).

Agatha's ancestry is a matter of dispute among scholars, who have proposed various identities for her father. See Gregory Lauder-Frost, "Agatha - The Ancestry Dispute," *The Scottish Genealogist* 49:3 (Sept 2002), 71-72. In my opinion, the most logical case, supported by medieval evidence, is that Agatha is the daughter of Yaroslav, cf. René Jetté, "Is the Mystery of the Origins of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile, Finally Solved?," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 150 (October 1996), 417-32. This speculated genealogical connection to England's throne is echoed in Saxo Grammaticus's discussion, c. 1200, of the bride of Vladimir II, grandson of Yaroslav.

Although no contemporary evidence exists, a strong idea developed by the mid-twelfth century that Vladimir's wife Gytha was the illegitimate daughter of Harold Godwinson. Gytha's grandchildren were involved in ruling the Rus' under the transfer of the Grand Princedom to Vladimir in the 1170s. George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 96, 336; Boris Aleksandrovich Rybakov, *Kievan Rus: History of Kievan Russia's First Feudal* (Moscow: Indiana University, 1989), p. 224; Emma Mason, *The House of Godwine: The History of a Dynasty* (London: A&C Black, 2004), pp. 199-200.

may not."⁹⁹ The statement has created some confusion. Is his statement ironic detachment or serious? Timothy Routledge reads these lines as an honest admission of lack of encyclopedic knowledge.¹⁰⁰ In the context, it seems that the language denotes a geographic marker. It asserts that other Christian nations can be found, and then the poem proceeds to declare that India is one. Christianity "vint en Inde" (l. 70); Christianity comes into India. This miraculously recalls the tradition of the Apostle Thomas carrying the good news to India and establishing a Christian Church.¹⁰¹ *Josphaz* thus localizes its action on the other side of Islamic territory by first setting the limits of Western Christendom and then raising the specter of Prester John.

The appearance of Prester John allows for speculation about how the contemporary sociopolitical relationship of England and East might affect the reception of the text. To a late thirteenth century readership of the Caligula MS, especially the royal family of England, the mythos of Prester John was linked to the contemporary political force of the Mongols. The arrival of the Mongols sparked interest in its connections to Prester John. Prayers for an ally in the East to fight Islam and the Mongols conquest of Persia in the 1210s and 1220s

⁹⁹ Rutledge, *A Critical Edition*, p. 265, n. 66-68

¹⁰⁰ Rutledge, *A Critical Edition*, p. 265, n. 66-68. Although Rutledge does not make this connection, the defensive move against a lack of encyclopedic knowledge would seem to me to suggest authorial anxiety about what's missing, and this anxiety would be greatly increased in the environment after 1215, according to various scholars he cites.

¹⁰¹ Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John*, pp. 17-18.

coincided, forming a powerful link in European imagination.¹⁰² Writing in 1221, Jacques de Vitry claimed a descendent of Prester John had conquered Persia and was soon to rebuild Jerusalem.¹⁰³ In reality, this force was the Mongols. The fact that Christians lived and practiced freely in Mongol lands, unlike in Islamic ones, sparked rumors in the 1240s that Mongols were monotheistic and that "individual Mongol princes were Christians."¹⁰⁴ Examples exist that show the Mongols were understood as the successors to Prester John's kingdom or, in some case, his descendants.¹⁰⁵ All of this points towards the association of the Mongols to Prester John or his heirs in the 1280s and 1290s. In the Caligula MS, the evocation of Prester John in *Josaphaz* and the efforts to geographically define Christendom permit the reader to extract these associations. If Bryan is correct and the Caligula MS belong in or around the royal household of England, these connections might even be strong.

The chance to form a powerful alliance against Islam and the misunderstandings of the Mongols religious affiliation slowly allowed a

¹⁰² Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 278, calls the linkage between Prester John and the Great Khans a "extraordinarily persistant one."

¹⁰³ Jackson, *The Mongols*, p. 53

¹⁰⁴ Jackson, *The Mongols*, p. 256; Unaware of Buddhism, the Christian assumed that the conquest of the Islamic tribes had to be other Christians. Jackson, *The Mongols*, p. 21; Charles F. Beckingham, "The Achievements of Prester John," in Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (eds.), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 2-6.

¹⁰⁵ Papal envoys sometimes identified Genghis Khan's father Toghurl as Prester John. Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), p. 114.

positive image of the Mongols to emerge, but it was only Edward I on his crusade who ever succeeded in forming a military alliance with the khans. The power and location of the Southwestern segment of the Mongol Empire, the Ilkhanate, based in present day Persia, presented the Crusaders with an opportunity for coordinated efforts to control Holy Land. Early confrontational attitudes gave way, allowing the adage the "enemy-of-my-enemy-is-my-friend" to take hold.¹⁰⁶ In the 1260s, the Mongol leader of the Ilkhanate Abaqa Khan reached out to Christians. In 1266, Abaqa wrote to Pope Clement, expressing his desire to coordinate invasion plans with the incoming Aragonese Crusaders.¹⁰⁷ Clement was agreeable, but the plans did not materialize in the manner planned. After failing to meet the Aragonese and French expeditions, Abaqa's messengers met and planned their assaults with the English crusaders under the command of Prince Edward.¹⁰⁸ The coordination of Edward and the Mongols in 1270-71 marked the only major success of its kind.¹⁰⁹ In the years that followed, no repeat performance occurred. But, this failure was not for lack of effort on Edward's or Abaqa's parts. From 1270 to 1291, Edward I wrote continually to

¹⁰⁶ Jackson, *The Mongols*, pp. 103-04; In the 1240s, Innocent IV began preparation for a crusade against the Mongols.

¹⁰⁷ Jackson, *The Mongols*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁸ Jackson, *The Mongols*, p. 167. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd Ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005 [1987]), pp. 211-12, describes Edward's campaign.

¹⁰⁹ Reuven Amitai, "Edward of England and Abagha Ilkhan," in Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001), p. 161.

the Pope requesting the resumption of Crusades in the Levant and, on occasion, sent emissaries to Abaqa, encouraging the "Christian element in the Mongol courts."¹¹⁰ For his part, Abaqa sent emissaries to the Pope and, in 1280, to Edward I.¹¹¹ None of these efforts were rewarded. Edward and Abaqa's joint venture in 1270-71 stands as the sole example of actual coordination between the Mongols and the Europeans. This real life alliance may potentially resonate with the audience of the Caligula MS. No such reading is requisite, however, to realize the manuscript's concerns are transnational.

The specific attentions to the East in *Josaphaz* enhance the transnational resonance of the manuscript and help to locate English national history and identity in a wider Christian world. Because *Josaphaz* is obsessed with setting the locus of action, where the poem takes place and where this is in relationship to the audience becomes an underlying concern. But, the movement is not an effort to differentiate the regions. Instead, the manuscript's representation of these realms as Christian seeks to "elide" the distance. It evokes a sense of oneness between Western Christendom and Prester John's lands. The potential links between England and the Mongols merely reinforces this. England, France, and India become part of the transnational context. In this manner,

¹¹⁰ Jackson, *The Mongols*, pp. 167-68; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 213; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, Yale English Monarchs (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 325-33.

¹¹¹ Jackson, *The Mongols*, p. 168.

Josaphaz aligns with the Caligula MS's perception of nation and its place in the wider world.

Temporality in the Caligula MS

History, Augustine, and Bede

The transnationalism of the Caligula MS develops not only from a medieval conception of Christian geography but also from a Christian conception of history, which involves a parallel consideration of sacred and secular temporal orders. In seeking to represent the comingling of these concerns, the Caligula MS further reflects contemporary preoccupations of historiography. In his 1971 "Presidential Address" to the Royal Historical Society, R.W. Southern expounded how the concept of historical development interacted with the practice of writing a "universal history."¹¹² Southern argues the concept of a linear temporal order was rooted in St. Augustine of Hippo's "rudimentary view of historical development," but this view evolved in the work of the Venerable Bede, where linear temporality was fused with cyclical temporality.¹¹³ In this schema of writing history, I argue instances of conversion and conquest (specifically conquest that prompts mass-conversion) can be seen

¹¹² R.W. Southern, "Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. Hugh of St. Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (1971), 159.

¹¹³ Southern, "Presidential Address," p. 160.

as a manner for individuals (or groups) to cross these temporal fields and integrate into the universal history.

R.W. Southern argues that the overall vision of history in the Middle Ages derives from the vision of history in St. Augustine as extended in the works of the Venerable Bede. It is true that Augustine never wrote histories in the modern sense *per se*, but his conception of history was powerful. At the conclusion of Augustine's *The City of God (Dei Civitate Dei)*, Southern notes that Augustine provides the basic template for universal history. In this passage, Augustine equates universal history with the days of creation. Each of the days corresponds to a period of time. For example, the first day corresponds to the first age of history (from Adam to Noah's flood).¹¹⁴ History, Augustine is suggesting, moves from beginning to end in a series of ages until the arrival of the final age. This final age corresponds to end of history and the arrival of eternity. As Southern describes it, this reading of the Bible and History is "an extraordinary flight of imagination springing from the mysterious depth of Biblical truth," but he continues, besides these divisions of history, Augustine provides a template for how history works – the world remained embroiled in

¹¹⁴ Southern, "Presidential Address," pp. 160-61. Southern's paraphrase of Augustine says that the world has six ages. This is a different translation than that which appears in Henry Bettenson (ed. and trans.), *St. Augustine: Concerning the City of God against the Pagans* (London: Penguin Books, 2003 [1972]), p. 1091. In Bettenson's edition, the comparison is between seven days and seven ages of history. Whether Southern or Bettenson are correct matters less here than the structure of history as a linear progression from one age to another until the last age.

the "chaos of human sin."¹¹⁵ What occurs, develops, and/or changes in this chaos matters little to Augustine. This emphasis of the universal history of the world unfolds in a linear pattern (what I call a "sacred" history or temporality), and it directly conflicts with older Greek views of cyclical history (what I call a "secular" history or temporality).¹¹⁶ Augustine understood *historia* as linear narrative,¹¹⁷ where history, the story of things past, linked to prophecy, the narrative of "things to come."¹¹⁸ Behind every medieval history writer, this conception of sacred history exists.¹¹⁹

In the hands of Bede, this conception of history was fine-tuned and reintegrated a bit of the cyclical (secular) conception of history. Having accepted Augustine's basic structure, Bede was free to delve deeper into the ages themselves. Bede related the historical development of each individual age to the activities of God in the specific day of creation. On the first day of creation, God created light, separated light from dark, and allowed night to fall. In the first age of history, God made man, separated the good from the bad, and sent the Flood. Southern characterizes Bede's contribution to history writing,

¹¹⁵ Southern, "Presidential Address," p. 161.

¹¹⁶ Henrik Syse, "Augustinian 'History' and the Road to Peace: Perspectives from Two Latter-Day Augustinians: Eric Voegelin and Ernest Fortin," *Augustinian Studies* 31.2 (2000), 225-26.

¹¹⁷ G.R. Evans, "Introduction," in St. Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin, 2003 [1972]), p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Rüdiger Bittner, "Augustine's Philosophy of History," in Gareth B. Matthews (ed.), *The Augustinian Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 345.

¹¹⁹ Southern, "Presidential Address," p. 160.

"As a result each age acquired a distinct momentum, similar in pattern but distinct in its results: at the beginning of each there was an act of restoration, succeeded by a period of divergent development, leading to a general disaster which set the scene for a new act of restoration."¹²⁰ In this pattern, Southern notes a "faint similarity" to Hegelian dialectics of history.¹²¹ Yet, we need not insist too strongly on this comparison to recognize that Bede essentially introduces cycles into the linear narrative. In other words, Bede's vision of history is a sacred linear history that is populated with cyclical patterns, and since the *Caligula-Brut's* "Prologue" names it as a source, the existence of this dual temporality in the manuscript would make sense.

Bede's Cyclical-Linear History in the Caligula MS

Elizabeth Bryan and other scholars have argued that the *Brut's* temporal order corresponds to a linear sacred history, specifically "providential" where God guides the actions of events.¹²² In light of the comingling of cyclical and linear elements in historiography, this view is incomplete. Bede's coordination of sacred and secular temporal orders inheres in the *Caligula MS* and should be investigated. After all, Bede is the first source of history that Layamon's "Prologue" mentions in the manuscript. With this sense of combined sacred-

¹²⁰ Southern, "Presidential Address," pp. 161-62.

¹²¹ Southern, "Presidential Address," p. 162.

¹²² Bryan, "The Two Manuscripts of Layamon's *Brut*," pp. 93-94.

secular temporality, the Caligula MS integrates English history into a transnational context.

An excellent passage to demonstrate how comingling of temporal orders creates a transnational context occurs in the Caligula-*Brut*: the naming and renaming of London. The passage is not unique to the *Brut*; it appears in early works, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* and Wace's *Roman de Brut*. In the Caligula-*Brut*, the Normans are integrated into this process of conquest and renaming:

He leide a-dun þere burhze nome; and nemnede hire æfter him-
seoluen.
& hehten heo Kaer Lud; and ouer-al hit let cuðen.
Þat he duden al for þon; þat s[eoð]ðen sculden moni mon.
þennen þe king weoren dæd; demen of his weorken.
Seoððen her com vncu[ð] folc; faren in þessere þeode.
& nemneden þa burh Lundin; [an] heore leode-wisen.
Seoððen comen Sæxisce men; & Lundene heo cleopeden.
þe nome ileste longe; inne þisse londe.
Seoððen comen Normans; mid heore nið-craften.
and nemneden heo Lundres; þeos leodes heo amærden;
Swa is al þis lond iuaren. for uncuðe leoden;
þeo þis londe hæbbeð bi-wunnen. and ef[t] beoð idriue hennene.
(ll. 3540-51)

(He laid down the burg's name and named her after himself and called her "Kaer Lud," and overall he let it be known. He did all for this that afterwards should any man, when the king was dead, judge of his works. Then, foreign folks came her and fared in this land and named the city "Lundin" in their land's custom. Then came Saxon men and "Lundene" it was called and the name lasted long in this land. Then, the Normans came, with their evil-craft, and named it "Lundres;" this people they destroyed. So has all this land fared, on account of foreign people who this land have won, and afterwards they were/ will be driven from here.)

This explicit mention marks the only moment where the "Normans" are named in the *Brut*, and their appearance has led some scholars to attribute an anti-Norman attitude to Layamon and his work. In the passage, the Normans – in addition to their appearance – are provided with a unique description. When they come, the Normans bring "nið-craften" – vile craft, evil craft, evil manners. Scholars who read the *Caligula-Brute* as traditionally nationalistic seize the fact that Layamon links evil and the Normans and insist that this instance reveals the underlying dichotomy between Saxon and Norman. Attention to the interaction of cyclical and linear history in the passage demonstrates the failure of the modernist reading of national identity and again witnesses the *Caligula* MS universalizing history.

Building on Bede's model of cyclical history within linear history, the addition of the Normans makes English history into a smaller version of universal world history. Let us begin with cycles in the passage. At the time the *Caligula* MS was made, English history was punctuated with various conquests that might serve to mark the division of ages – Brutus's conquest, the Romans', the Saxons', and so forth. The passage condenses the process of conquest and concentrates on the city of London. Doing so, allows for the reader to perceive the process of restoration, development, and destruction. The restorative and destructive aspects of the process are elided here. It is assumed that each conquest accompanies the destruction of the old and the restoration of order under the new conquerors. The renaming of London bears witness to the

development. Much earlier in the *Brut*, London, then called "Trinovaunt" (ll. 1012-20), was founded. King Lud's construction of London's walls can be seen as the restorative project that starts this mini-cycle series. Keeping with the pattern, he develops a new name for London, naming it after himself: "Kaer-Lud." Successive invasions (destructions and restorations) are separated from each other by their names for London – "Lundin," "Lundene," and "Lundres." Like Bede's individual ages of history, the ages of London arise, develop, and fall. They are distinct, yet the naming actually changes little and thereby accents the cyclical aspect of individual ages. Beside the first change from "Trinovaunt" to "Kaer-Lud," the changes in London's name are slight. "Lundin," "Lundene," and "Lundres" are phonetically and graphically similar. As Bede saw slight variations between the ages of world history, there are slight variations between the names of London.

Recognizing this integration of cyclical history into this passage provides a method for escaping the negative perception of the Normans. Proponents of Layamon's anti-Norman attitude reads the Normans as vile people and argue that they have not been driven from the land. This reading relies on the belief that at the time of writing the aristocracy in England identified as Normans. However, accepting that this anti-Norman attitude appears in the Caligula MS requires acceptance of two problematic matters. The first matter is that, in order for Layamon's *Brut* to present an anti-Norman case, Layamon's contemporary English aristocrats under Richard I (r. 1189-99) and John (r. 1200-16) must be

identified with or have defined themselves as Normans. It is against these aristocrats that Layamon would be defining the English in an anti-Norman schema. If the first matter is accepted, the second matter is that the audience of the Caligula MS's compilation, c. 1280-99, must identify the contemporary aristocracy with or the aristocracy must define themselves as Norman. As for the first matter, that Layamon's contemporaries identified the entire English aristocracy and their kings as Normans is debatable.¹²³ Henry was raised in Anjou. He fought his Norman uncle Stephen for the English throne. One generation later, John lost Normandy, which can have done little to promote the Norman associations. Given these facts, the second matter is even more difficult to accept. By the later thirteenth century, the disassociation of the English aristocracy and Normans was commonplace. This is confirmed in the aforementioned illuminated manuscript of *Li Rei*. In Royal 14 B vi, each king is represented by two roundels – one prior to their ascension and one after their ascension. Both of William I's roundels are labeled "William bastard." Both of William II's contain the inscription "William le rous." With Henry II, the pattern changes. Henry's first roundel calls him "henri son fiz cōte de Anguo" (Henry, son of the Count of Anjou). This roundel associates him with the county of Anjou, and only the second roundel associates him with Normandy: "Henri duc de Normādie." Henry's roundels are the only ones where geographic

¹²³ See Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, pp. 105-37 and 347-66.

specifications are made, and the association is first with Anjou and second with Normandy. Moreover, concentration on these socio-political concerns obscures the linguistic clues that Layamon's text is presenting.

The Normans are folded into a series of ages that cyclically repeat themselves, but the duplicitous statement "beoð idriue" wraps the Normans into a linear progression of history, which must approach a final age. The Normans are added to the list of people who have come, conquered, and been conquered. The interpretation and translation of the final two lines of the aforementioned passage is crucial. The poet's use of "beoð" seems to exclude the Normans because it places the events in the past tense:

Swa is al þis lond iuaren. for uncuðe leoden;
þeo þis londe hæbbeð bi-wunnen. and ef[t] beoð idriue hennene.

The parallelism of the verbs "is...iuaren," "hæbbeð bi-wunnen," and "beoð idriue" denotes action in the past. All of these forms can convey the past perfect—has fared, have won, been driven. Such language fails to apply to the Normans since they have not been ousted from the land. Yet, "beoð idriue" sneakily links the Norman's future into the mix. "beoð idriue" can translate as "were driven," but it also might mean "will be driven." The insertion of the Normans into the cycle of conquest might be historical, in that it has already happened, but it also might be prophetic, it will happen. The Normans are acceptable in this list because the progress of ages means that they will eventually fall to another conqueror. This realization helps clarify the messianic

return of Arthur. This event, first mentioned in Wace's *Roman de Brut*, recounts that Arthur will eventually return from Avalon to reclaim England.¹²⁴ By adding the Normans to the succession of rulers, Layamon's text ties the present time to the linear progress of history. That is, it further shapes Arthur into a Christ like figure whose return will bring about the end of history. The Norman naming of "Lundres" thereby ties English history into universal history.

Bede's sacred/secular chronology also emerges in the hagiographies. In *St. Josaphaz*, the conflict of the narrative begins when the king Josaphaz's father seeks to prevent the future saint from converting. The clarity of the competing historical narratives emerges from the brevity of Chardri's story. Cutting the parables and teachings, Chardri writes a tale one-quarter the length (2,954 lines) of the other two French versions (~13,000 lines). Timothy Rutledge took this movement to de-emphasize the didactic quality, while Edward Ouellette saw this as pointing to the author's understanding of the poem as "an exemplum" itself, rendering the parables redundant.¹²⁵ Whatever the authorial understanding, the parable's absence in *Caligula* streamlines the narrative,

¹²⁴ William W. Kibler, "Wace," in Norris J. Lacy, Geoffrey Ashe, Sandra Ness Ihle, Marianne E. Kalinke, and Raymond H. Thompson (eds.), *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2013 [1986]), p. 501.

¹²⁵ Rutledge, *A Critical Edition*, p. 34; Edward G. Ouellette, *A Comparative Study of the Three French Versions in Verse of the Story of 'Barlaam et Josaphaz'* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, 2001), p. 66.

creating a history of the saint(s), and this history revolves around the conflict of *sacred* and *secular* histories.

In the *Sept Dormanz*, this dualistic historic narrative develops from the sleepers' perspective. The plot of the hagiography is set in Ephesus at the time of Decius around 250 C.E. The poem opens when Roman emperor Decius comes to Ephesus and erects a temple. At this time, the emperor pursues a stringent persecution policy against Christians. He requires everyone to worship at his temple and to cease worshipping their gods. In many ways, the story parallels the Biblical narrative of Daniel and Nebekenezzer. Like Daniel, many of the Christians refuse. Among the offending Christians are seven noble young men, who the emperor hopes to save because of their value. He offers them the chance to recant, and the seven men flee to a mountain cave. Incensed Decius walls them in the cave alive. Two workers seal a note in the wall, explaining the events for future generations. God sends a deep sleep on the seven nobles and Rip Van Winkle style awakens them after the troubles plaguing them have passed. The outside world dies, fades, and passes on. When the seven sleepers awaken, humorous situations arise. The nobles, unaware three hundred years have passed, do not initially realize the passage of time or that the town has converted to Christianity, and the townspeople do not realize that the arrival of seven young men corresponds to the men entombed alive several hundred years earlier. The story ends with the men's death, and the praise of their story spreading.

At the heart of the story rests the sacred-secular temporal order, and the transformation of the city of Ephesus allows the sleepers (and the readers) to perceive the interaction and contrasts of the temporal order. Much poetic vigor is given over to the perceptions of Ephesus, both before and after. The story has two versions of Ephesus, c.250 in Roman times and c.622 in Christian times. The temporal divide invites comparison between the two cities, and there are stark differences. These differences appear in the architecture. At the beginning of the poem, the emperor Decius constructed a marble temple for pagan rites. Throughout the town, grotesque (half-human and half-animal statues) of various materials are placed. The people seek treasures and pleasures, and the Christians in Ephesus, who are being persecuted, are markedly different than this. Three hundred years later the adornments in town are Christian. When Malcus awakes and comes to find food, he laments that fairies must have bewitched him because the architecture is Christianized. The simplest examples are the many crosses that adorn gates. On one level, there is obvious transformation and change. On another level, the changes are subtle, and the cyclical pattern of corruption on the secular level persists. The shift in architecture is not accompanied by a shift in atmosphere. In both versions of Ephesus, the poet clearly marks the citizenry dominated by the pursuit of pleasure and treasure. The statues represent the treasure of earlier Ephesus, and in the later Ephesus, the baker and his neighbor seek to steal Malcus's money, which they specifically call treasure. The linguistic overlap creates consonance

between the two atmospheres. Rather than Christianity bringing progress, Christianity cannot overcome the decay of the world.

The sleepers conversely contrast this secular decay and represent the sacred order as they have overcome the limits of what should have been their life. The sleepers are aware of this time at the beginning of the story. Maximian, one of the sleepers, refers to this historical timeline in his response to the emperor's initial demands. He gives a speech, where he observes the materiality of the statues that the emperor has erected. He highlights they are made of wood, silver, gold, and that they are all fuel for the furnace. This serves as a metaphor for hell, where non-Christians will be destroyed. This contrasts with Christians, who will pass to the sacred temporal order and be eternal. Christ, he says, came "Por deliverer sa feature/ Del fu d'enfern ke tutju[r]z dure" (ll. 373-74, "to deliver his creation from the fires of hell that last forever"). The contrast between the sacred temporal order and the secular forms a major part of this retort. Maximians continues that heaven "ja ne finera" (l. 377, "never will end") and for these reasons, Christians "avum lessez la grant folie" (l. 380, "have given up the great folly [of this world]").¹²⁶ The contrast between the joy and eternity of heaven and the folly of the world establishes two temporal realms. Later in his speech, Maximians clarifies exactly this point, by punctuating the finality of the false gods: "Il purrirunt e vus murrez" (l. 403,

¹²⁶ Merrilees (ed.), *La vie des set dormanz*, p. 31. Translations of *La vie* are taken from Morinelli (trans.), "Chardri: The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus."

"[Your gods] they will rot and you will die)." Throughout this speech, the insistence upon the end of the secular cycle (destruction) is emphasized and contrast with the eternal end of sacred history. The Sleepers become a model of escaping secular history in that they leap into the future by the power of God.

The deployment of Bede's sacred-secular temporality in the Caligula MS is such that English national history and identity folds into the wider transnational Christian context. The cycles of restoration, development, and destruction in the *Brut* and the *Sept Dormanz* stand in contrast to the sacred (eternal) order into which the histories are folded. The conversion of the English to Christianity, the conversion of India in *Josaphaz*, and the conversion of Ephesus model the manner in which linear history supercedes cyclical history, while still maintaining the presence of cycles. The effect is such that any national history must be considered part of this larger picture.

Conclusion

Throughout its historical texts, the Caligula MS expands the focus beyond an Anglocentric view. This expansion occurs on linguistic and geographic levels. The linguistic level is an admixture of French, English, and Latin glosses. These destabilize the effort to establish a linguistic based Englishness for the audience. On the geographic level, the area of focus hardly is restricted to England, Albion, or even Northwestern Europe. The Caligula MS brings the Southeastern Mediterranean into contact with the history and

identity of England and then expands concerns with identity to a transnational Christian level. These transnational preoccupations remain the focus of concern and are promoted through the use of Bede's combination of sacred/secular temporal order.

Chapter Four: History, Geography, and Arthur in the Earliest

Witnesses of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*

Introduction

While the Caligula MS's focus on history presents its Arthurian material as part of a wider Christian narrative, William Caxton utilizes the historical genre to promote an English national history and emphasize the singularity of that community in his printed edition of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*. Caxton accomplishes this by framing the *Morte* with his "Preface" and subtly alternating Malory's text.¹ Attention to these details, particularly to the historio-

¹ William Caxton's edition is available online through the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) website: Caxton (ed.), *Le Morte Darthur* (London, 1485), EEBO, 19 May 2014. STC 801. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:22102180. Today, the Caxton Malory survives in two copies. A complete copy held by Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and a copy with eleven leaves missing held at John Rylands University Library in Manchester. In his "Introduction," Eugène Vinaver discusses the history, provenance, and subtle differences between the two codices; see Eugène Vinaver (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3rd Ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 1: cxxvi-cxxxii. These differences are minor though, and both versions present the same text in the same type – labeled 4* – and layout; see Vinaver (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: cxxvi; William Blades, *The Life and Typology of William Caxton*, vol. 2 (London, 1863), pp. 176-78. The Morgan Malory contains 432 leaves in 54 gatherings, and the usual 38 lines are written in a space 118 mm x 190 mm. The format of the Rylands Malory conforms to the Morgan Malory, but the Ryland copy has the advantage of being digitally available. The image of the first page of the Ryland copy adorns the page with a small capital 'A'. No woodcut, illuminations, or rubrications exist. The text is packed neatly onto the page in a single, justified column. On the first page of Malory's text, a more ornate capital is provided, but again there is no other decoration. The overall effect of the Caxton Malory is a simple,

geographic elements and his concern with Arthur's body, reveals Caxton's promotion of an English national identity.

Placing this much critical and literary weight upon Caxton's representation of Malory's work has not been popular. Many scholars have contextualized the "Preface" within Caxton's socioeconomic position and cynically argued that the "Preface" embeds his book in contemporary debates in order to increase book sales.² This traditional position has understood patronage to be the root cause of Caxton's decision to print Malory's work, and it attributes differences in textual presentation between the Caxton Malory and the Winchester MS (London, British Library MS Additional 59678) to the whims of these individuals.³ In his discussion of Caxton's literary practice, Russell Rutter challenges this position, asserting that Caxton recognized the limitations of patronage in a print based system and sought "to define a mass market" for his books.⁴ While Rutter expands the manner in which the

unified volume of Arthur's birth, life, and death. Scholars have often debated whether this unity is Malorian or Caxtonian.

² Such a position is found in Felicity Riddy's work, which treats the literary value of the "Preface" with "skepticism." See Felicity Riddy, "Contextualising *Le Morte Darthur*: Empire and Civil War," in Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards (eds.), *A Companion to Malory* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996), p. 70.

³ Blades, *The Life and Typology*, 2: 24, 69, 74-75. Subsequent scholars have repeated this argument: N.F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (London: André Deutsch, 1969), pp. 92-99. Blake later revised his opinion on how this functioned in "Caxton Prepares His Edition of the *Morte Darthur*," *J. Librarianship* 8.4 (October 1976), 273-75.

⁴ Russell Rutter, "William Caxton and Literary Patronage," *Studies in Philology* 84 (1987), 468. See also Tracy Adams, "Noble, wyse and grete lords, gentlemen

socioeconomic conditions affected Caxton, he maintains the economic motivation to Caxton's work. Those seeking to provide Caxton with some degree of artistic inventiveness have found it in his negotiation of complex socioeconomic positions. William Kuskin argues that Caxton's work possesses an "ideological complexity" and "articulates canon, authority, and audience as cogent and interrelated concerns."⁵ Kuskin sees Caxton as an active intellectual agent involved in the revision of the works he chooses to publish, but this thesis again plays into the position that economics drives all of Caxton's choices, seeing this activity unfolding across a series of publishing projects.⁶ The extension of Caxton's participation in the intellectual process of creating a work is one which needs further investigation. Far from simply attaching paratextual elements to his edition of Malory's Arthurian material, Caxton actively shapes his edition, hereafter the Caxton Malory, and the potential reception of Malory's Arthurian material.

Apprehending Caxton's intellectual contribution requires the comparison of the Caxton Malory and the earliest witness, the Winchester Malory. For four hundred and fifty years, Caxton's work was Malory's. The

and *marchauntes'*: Caxton's Prologues as Conduct Books for Merchants," *Parergon* 22.2 (2005), 53-56.

⁵ William Kuskin, "Caxton's Worthies Series: The Production of Literary Culture," *ELH* 66.3 (1999), 511.

⁶ Kuskin, "Caxton's Worthies Series," pp. 512-19. See also Lister M. Matheson, "Printer and Scribe: Caxton, the *Polychronicon*, and the *Brut*," *Speculum* 60.3 (1985), 593-99.

Caxton Malory's status as the sole witness encouraged scholars to attribute the literary aspects of the *Morte* to Malory and discount Caxton's contribution. W.F. Oakeshott's discovery of the Winchester Malory in the 1930s provided the opportunity for reconsideration.⁷ Yet, scholars have been slow to investigate Caxton's literary project. The reluctance emerges pointedly in P.J.C. Field's discussion of the "Roman War" episode. Field explains, "Only by the rigorous use of textual critical method, including of course the Vinaver Principle, can we hope to *restore* even in part what Malory wrote, rather than accept blindly what we have inherited from the incompetence or *deliberate tampering of intermediaries*" (my emphasis).⁸ Field seeks to restore Malory's text and avoid the alterations made by error or choice by scribes, editors, or publishers. Nevertheless, the difficulties of ascribing an authorial reading to one of two disparate readings of Malory's works resembles those encountered with Layamon's *Brut*.⁹ Instead of searching only for Malory's text, I employ

⁷ Walter F. Oakeshott, "The Finding of the Manuscript," in J.A.W. Bennett (ed.), *Essays on Malory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 1-6.

⁸ P.J.C. Field, "Caxton's Roman War," in Bonnie Wheeler, Robert L. Kindrick and Michael N. Salda (eds.), *The Malory Debate: Essays on the Texts of Le Morte Darthur*, *Arthurian Studies* 47 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), p. 153. Preeminent scholars, including Vinaver, Field, Williams Matthews, and others, debate whether Caxton, Malory, or a third unknown individual was responsible for the differences between the two earliest witnesses. For a short discussion of the theories, see Shunichi Moguchi, "The Winchester Malory," in *The Malory Debate*, pp. 117-25. Also within *The Malory Debate* are chapters by Matthew (posthumously published), Yuki Nakao, Masako Takagi and Toshiyuki Takamiya, and Field, which take the issue of Book V's uniqueness to task.

⁹ See Chapter Three above.

comparisons to answer questions that have been raised about the genre of Malory's work.

In spite of an abundance of scholarship, the genre of Malory's *Morte* remains an open question. Some Malorians who read Malory's preoccupations as aligning with those Caxton outlines in his "Preface" find that the *Morte* "pulls in the direction of history."¹⁰ Others, such as Bonnie Wheeler, have noted the romance elements in the *Morte*.¹¹ For M.C. Bradbrook, it is the modulating between romance and epic that produces the unique quality of the text,¹² and Kevin S. Whetter's consideration of genre finds a ubiquity of "generic mixture," making a single genre more difficult to isolate and define.¹³ Genre is not, however, an inherent quality of the text. It is a perceived mode in which texts operate. Genre is less about the text and more a product of reader interaction

¹⁰ Felicity Riddy, *Sir Thomas Malory* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 31. Beyond history and romance, the genres of tragedy and epic have received significant discussion. For a discussion of the *Morte* as tragedy, see J.D. Pickering, "Choice and Circumstance in Chaucer and Malory," *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 14 (1988), 151-59, and for a discussion of epic, see Beverly Kennedy, "Northrop Frye's Theory of Genres and Sir Thomas Malory's 'Hoole Book,'" in G.S. Burgess et al. (eds.), *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society* (Toronto, 1983) (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1985), pp. 224-33.

¹¹ For discussion of how the episodic nature of the narrative forces the *Morte* into the genre of romance, see Bonnie Wheeler, "Romance and Parataxis and Malory: The Case of Gawain's Reputation," *Arthurian Literature* 12 (1993), 109-32.

¹² M.C. Bradbrook, *Sir Thomas Malory, Writers and Their Work* 95 (London: Longmans, 1958), p. 19.

¹³ Kevin S. Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p. 108.

with that text. According to the work of Hans Robert Jauss, readers engage a text and carry with them the "horizon of expectations and rules familiar from earlier texts."¹⁴ These rules and expectations derived from similar texts form the genre of the text. It is up to the audience to find the genre and interpret the texts accordingly. Thomas Crofts succinctly captures this idea by suggesting that the *Morte* has a "historiographical capability."¹⁵ This capability may be undermined, prompted, or ignored. The comingled genres in the *Morte* are an effect of different interpretive strategies being applied. This chapter argues the Caxton Malory responds to the Winchester Malory by highlighting geographic elements and Arthur's status as an English king in a paramount position, thus bringing the *Morte* into the genre of history.

The Winchester Malory

Caxton and the Winchester Malory

The chapter takes as its point of departure the relationship between Caxton and the Winchester Malory. The last of Caxton's large-scale English printing projects, *Le Morte Darthur* represents the culmination of Caxton's

¹⁴ Hans Robert Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," trans. Elizabeth Benzinger, *New Literary History* 2 (1970), 7-37, quote from 12.

¹⁵ Thomas H. Crofts, *Malory's Contemporary Audience: The Social Reading of Romance in Late Medieval England*, *Arthurian Studies* 66 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), p. 33.

English literary project,¹⁶ and as with other projects, Caxton employed a variety of techniques to assure the fidelity and authority of his version. In some cases, this involved the consultation of multiple manuscripts and even reprinting. Caxton reveals this process in the "Proem" to his second edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The first edition was printed from an inferior manuscript, so when a better copy was brought to his attention Caxton quickly adapted to the situation and reprinted so that he might garner more authority (and more book sales or patronage).¹⁷ Whatever the motivation behind the adoption of the new exemplar for his edition of Chaucer's work, Caxton's acquisition of new material shows a willingness to adapt, and it is unsurprising, though fortuitous, that Malory's only extant manuscript was in Caxton's possession around the time he prepared his edition.

The fact that Caxton possessed (if not owned) the Winchester Malory was demonstrated by Lotte Hellinga's painstaking work on the ink stains in the manuscript.¹⁸ Utilizing forensic techniques, Hellinga identified potentially illuminating pages and procured infra-red images of them. These images allowed her to identify the offsets more clearly, and after comparative analysis,

¹⁶ Seth Lerer, "William Caxton," in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 721.

¹⁷ N.F. Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1991), p. 152.

¹⁸ Lotte Hellinga, "The Malory Manuscript and Caxton," in Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer (eds.), *Aspects of Malory*, Arthurian Studies 1 (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981), pp. 127-41, 220-21.

she demonstrated that the offsets belonged to type sets that were in use within Caxton's workshops between 1480 and 1483.¹⁹ Scholars have accepted this analysis. However, as Hellinga highlights, "there are many more questions now to be raised."²⁰ These include why Caxton had the manuscript.

Taking this issue on, N.F. Blake's "Caxton at Work" discusses three possibilities and concludes that the most likely is that Caxton commissioned the Winchester MS. Blake dismisses the theory that someone gave Caxton "a different manuscript."²¹ He writes that if Caxton were loaned a second manuscript, it would have been the more valuable of the two. In this case, the Winchester MS and not the second loaned copy would have been marked up more heavily. The second theory is that the Winchester MS was delivered to him, i.e. that it was a loan. To this theory, Blake objects that the ink stains from the offsets indicate a lack of discretion and care on Caxton's part. A loan manuscript would have been treated with more careful hands and "discreetly" marked up before return. Having discounted these two theories, Blake proposes his theory that Caxton commissioned the Winchester Malory. This proposition, however, cannot be proven. What remains clear is that Caxton had options in his workshop and that he chose (for some reason) to not use Winchester as his copy text.

¹⁹ Hellinga, "The Malory Manuscript," pp. 132-34.

²⁰ Hellinga, "The Malory Manuscript," p. 135.

²¹ N.F. Blake, "Caxton at Work: A Reconsideration," in *The Malory Debate*, p. 241.

There can be no doubt that Caxton examined the Winchester MS. Consequently, the differences between Winchester's and Caxton's "Roman War" episodes must arise from some editorial choice. Either Caxton possessed two versions and chose between them, or, less likely, Caxton was dissatisfied with the "Roman War" and revised it. Either way Caxton still prepared the *Morte* for his audience. He chose. The choices, which are reflected in the textual presentation, demonstrate Caxton's reading of Malory's text and underscore an intellectual process.²² But, before we discuss this, we must establish at what Caxton was looking and how its presentation shapes the *Morte*.

The Rubrication and History

The extratextual information in the manuscript is limited. The Winchester MS contains a few marginalia, no illuminations; the script is of variable quality, and damage has occurred at the front and back of the tome.²³ Indeed, Carol Meale succinctly and accurately summarizes the overall impression of the Winchester MS: "it can in no way be described as a *de luxe* volume." However, focusing too much on the quality of the manuscript may lead scholars away from its most illuminating aspect. That is the rubrication. The rubrication is arguably the most recognizable feature of the Winchester

²² Leher, "William Caxton," pp. 728-29 and 729, n. 29, contains a wonderful discussion of this.

²³ P.J.C. Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory: Le Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), II: 839-42.

Malory. The red names are visually stimulating and draw the readers' eyes into the page. It is not, however, only people's names that are reddened. The rubrication of place names also invites readers "to consider the play of places (not just the people)."²⁴ These are more than aesthetically appealing elements; the rubrication articulates the importance of people and place.²⁵ Thus, the rubrication represents the most substantial extant effort to shape the reception of the *Morte*,²⁶ and given similarities in presentation to other manuscripts with historical texts, a strong case can be made that this rubrication seeks to historicize the Arthurian text. Yet, the distribution and specifics of the rubrication reveal the weakness of this effort.

Before proceeding, a difficulty of terminology must be addressed – the difference between rubric and rubrication. Both terms are utilized in manuscript studies to define a particular confluence of features and practices, and collapsing the feature and the action that creates it increases confusion. On the one hand, the British Library's Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts defines "Rubric" as "A title, chapter heading, or instruction that is not strictly

²⁴ Dorsey Armstrong and Kenneth Hodges, *Mapping Malory: Regional Identities and National Geographies in Le Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 18.

²⁵ I take "articulate" from Margaret M. Smith's "Red as a Textual Element during the Transition from Manuscript to Print," in Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne (eds.), *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), pp. 186-87, in which she argues that red ink has an "articulatory value" to "distinguish what was rendered in red from other parts of the text."

²⁶ For a general description of the manuscript, see Neil Ker (ed.), *The Winchester Malory: A Facsimile*, EETS SS 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. i-xx.

part of the text but which helps to identify its components."²⁷ Rubrication, on the other hand, is a more ambiguous word and can refer to any part of the text that happens to be colored, typically red.²⁸ This can be seen in texts quoting from the Bible. In some of these manuscripts, scribes made an effort "more or less" to distinguish biblical words (colored red) from non-biblical words.²⁹ Examples of this pattern of rubrication appear today in the various Red-letter Bibles, which print direct quotations of Jesus's words in red ink. In this chapter, I refer only to rubrication in the Winchester MS. There are no extra-textual features that might properly be called "rubrics" and consequently the use of the verb "rubricate" must be understood as to color red and not to highlight a structural feature of the text.

Rubrication is a careful and consistent feature of the Winchester MS, one which has proved difficult to explain fully. Paleographic analysis shows that it was completed by two scribes, hereafter Scribe A and Scribe B. Both have carefully colored the names of knights, "some" places (to use Neil Ker's adjective), and a few other select words.³⁰ In his "Introduction" to the Winchester facsimile, Neil Ker describes this process as "laborious," saying the

²⁷ "Rubric," *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts* (British Library, N.d), accessed on 13 August 2015.

²⁸ "Rubric" comes from the Latin word for "red": *rubeus, rubrica (terra)*.

²⁹ Kantik Ghosh, "Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* and Wycliffite Notions of 'Authority'," in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Prestige, Authority, and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), pp. 30-31.

³⁰ Ker (ed.), *The Winchester Malory*, p. xiv.

evidence evinces that the scribes did not leave space for the rubricated words to be added later and, instead, changed pens at every moment the text required.³¹ Manually switching instruments shows deliberation and choice on the part of the scribes (or compiler). As part of the *ordinatio*, the scribal preparation of the text, the red highlights shape the readers' perception of the work. Modern print editions inadequately capture the effect. Vinaver's famed edition provides no evidence of what words are red, and while the Norton Critical Edition does indicate the rubricated words, the black-letter script fails to capture the liveliness of the red ink against the parchment in the manuscript.³² Today, we are fortunate to have the *Malory Project's* digital facsimile, an online project that presents color images of the manuscripts.³³ Yet, more than recognizing the rubrication as a part of the text, making meaning of the red words has proved difficult because of the inattention to place names.

In the past, scholars have suggested several ways of interpreting rubrication, all of which are inadequate with regard to the Winchester MS. Focusing on the practice of creating rubrics in medieval culture, Mary Carruthers suggests rubrication has a mnemonic function, summarizing the

³¹ Ker (ed.), *The Winchester Malory*, p. xiv.

³² See the first few pages, Stephen H. A. Shepherd (ed.), *Le Morte Darthur: Sir Thomas Malory* (New York: Norton, 2003), pp. 1-5.

³³ *The Malory Project*, dir. Takako Kato (<http://www.maloryproject.com/>, 9 September 2015).

larger text in a more succinct format.³⁴ Carruthers's argument aligns with Malcolm Parkes's discussion of the rise of *ordinatio*.³⁵ Both scholars see rubrics as shaping the reception of text by providing the reader guidance on interpretation. But it is clear that Carruthers is speaking of "rubric" in the sense identified above and not "rubrication" – the coloring of words red. Nowhere in the Winchester Malory do red inked words summarize or offer the type of mnemonic guidance she envisions. Alternatively, scholars have ascribed an ideological function to the rubrication. Lauryn Mayer argues that rubrication "confers value" on the red words which emerges based on the "scarcity and stability" of the practice.³⁶ She provides the example of a manuscript which alternates red and black lines. The pattern reveals something of the practice of the scribe, but also hints at a less ideological project. In contrast, Andrew Lynch and Crofts have recognized an ideological aspect of W's rubrication, especially as it relates to the appropriation of contemporary chivalric values by burgeoning middle-class citizens, who aspire to become part of the gentry.³⁷

³⁴ Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 243-244. In this section, Carruthers's "rubrication" means a "brief summary form" of the larger text.

³⁵ Malcolm Parkes, "The Influence of Concepts of *Ordinatio and Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 115-141.

³⁶ Lauryn Mayer, *Words Made Flesh: Reading Medieval Manuscript Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 14.

³⁷ For a discussion of the rubric as an index of power, see Andrew Lynch, *Malory's Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), p. 4. Crofts reads the rubric and other marginalia as

While this vision is tempting, I find that the rubrication of place names and the patterns of this rubrication create difficulties (we will discuss this more below). Similarly, Whetter suggests rubrication of names creates an "elegiac memorial to Arthurian chivalry."³⁸ Whetter thereby accounts for the whos (of rubrication) but not the whats. These perspectives remain focused upon the knights and not the place names.

A more fruitful line of inquiry relates rubrication and genre. Although *Piers Plowman* seems in many ways dissimilar to Malory's work, its manuscripts help to establish the relationship of genre and rubrication. Discussing the manuscript tradition of *Piers Plowman* B, C. David Benson and Lynne S. Blanchfield note the practice of rubricating "proper names, places, titles, and technical terms," and they underscore that this practice is common in "quasi-historical work."³⁹ They include the Winchester Malory among such works, which include the "prose *Brut*, London chronicles, and Mandeville's *Travels*."⁴⁰ In their argument, rubrication legitimates these texts by linking the contents and the historical genre. They argue for a relationship between

participating in the "gentry" class's need for this type of text. See Crofts, *Malory's Contemporary Audience*, pp. 62-67.

³⁸ Kevin S. Whetter, "Weeping, Wounds and Worshyp in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," in Elizabeth Archibald and David F. Johnson (eds.), *Arthurian Literature XXXI* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), p. 81.

³⁹ C. David Benson and Lynne S. Blanchfield, *The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman: The B-Version* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1997), p. 17

⁴⁰ Benson and Blanchfield, *The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman*, pp. 17-18, included *Piers Plowman* with historical works, an odd inclusion.

rubrication and history. Their argument asks the reader to accept the association of *Piers Plowman* and history, which seems a difficult proposition. More importantly for our purposes, Benson and Blanchfield's assessment deals broadly with manuscript tradition and does not focus on the details of W's red ink. They cannot be faulted for this truly. Their focus is elsewhere, and among specialists there is a lack of detailed knowledge about the rubrication in the Winchester MS. All arguments hitherto have sought to explain *why* the rubrication appears or *how* it functions. But before this question can be answered, we must know *what* is rubricated, and critics have been reluctant to map the rubrication of geographical names in Winchester.

Scholars seem content with the nebulous assessment of the rubrication of place names. Neil Ker's description of the rubrication of place names has plagued discussions of the rubrication. He declares that "some" place names are rubricated. On their website, the British Library repeats Ker's "some" without any further analysis.⁴¹ Benson and Blanchfield's language indicates that the program of rubrication is rather more thorough, saying that the Winchester MS, among others, "rubricate[s] names and places."⁴² Their language hints that the rubrication is more widespread than "some." In his online article, Whetter

⁴¹ "Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*," Online Gallery (British Library, 26 March 2009), accessed on 14 August 2015.

⁴² Benson and Blanchfield, *The Manuscripts of Piers Plowman*, p. 17.

seems to lean this way, declaring "most place names" are rubricated.⁴³ Directing the discourse in the opposite direction, Crofts suggests that the rubrication of places occurs only "occasionally."⁴⁴ Rather than accepting vague impressions of the rubrication, we must carefully examine *what* is red.

Treatments of geography in the study of the *Morte* have also utilized an intuitive approach.⁴⁵ In their recent book Dorsey Armstrong and Kenneth Hodges explore how various geographic units shape the meaning of Malory's texts. Take, for example, the first chapter, "Mapping Malory's *Morte*: The (Physical) Place and (Narrative) Space of Cornwall." In this chapter, Armstrong considers how the Cornish perspective causes the textual focus to shift from royal greatness to "the failure of kingship; the Duke of Cornwall's strained relationship with King Uther; the jealous tyranny of King Mark of Cornwall," et cetera.⁴⁶ The attention to geographic concerns and how they alter the text's meaning prove useful, profound, and the insights are intriguing. Nevertheless, what is missing is a thorough catalogue of all places mentioned in Malory. Interestingly, such a catalogue validates many of Armstrong's and Hodges's

⁴³ Kevin S. Whetter, "Preservation, Conservation, and the Experience of Reading," *The Academic Book of the Future* (N.p., 17 June 2009), accessed on 14 August 2015.

⁴⁴ Thomas H. Crofts, "'thynges forsayd aledged': *Historia* and *argumentum* in Caxton's Preface to the *Morte Darthur*," in K.S. Whetter and Raluca L. Radulescu (eds.), *Re-viewing Le Morte Darthur: Texts and Contexts, Characters and Themes* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), p. 64.

⁴⁵ P.J.C. Field, "Malory and Cardiff," *Arthuriana* 16.2 (2006), 45-48, is a notable exception that tracks the instances of Cardiff across the text.

⁴⁶ Armstrong and Hodges, *Mapping Malory*, p. 21.

assertions, although it complicates them. Moreover, it allows us to escape the criticism leveled at interpretations drawn from too narrow a data base.⁴⁷

No scholar to my knowledge has accounted for all geographic references in the text across several witnesses. In what follows I will present that data for the Winchester Malory, the Caxton Malory, and Vinaver's third edition. For each instance of a place reference, four observations were made.

1. The physical location of the instance in each text that has it:
 - a. For Winchester, the folio and scribe;
 - b. For Caxton's edition, the book, chapter, and quire; and
 - c. For Vinaver's edition, the page number.
2. Whether the "instance" was rubricated in Winchester.
3. Spelling variations were catalogued, but also tagged to a "location", e.g. Galys was tagged as Wales.
4. Finally, instances were divided into three functions:
 - a. Toponyms – place-names in the genitive case added to an individual (for example, "Perceval de Galys" contain a toponymic reference to Wales);
 - b. Titles – place-names in the genitive case added to a generic category ("king of," "duke of," "queen of," et cetera);
 - c. Places – all remaining instances

Initial data mining encountered an irksome difficulty – textual divisions.

Making comparisons across versions of the *Morte* requires one to speak about portions of text, and debates about the number of textual divisions in the

⁴⁷ Such work shares much with that of Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), pp. 68, 76. By cataloguing all geographic references, we can avoid overemphasizing or underemphasizing aspects of geography, results that tend to occur when one concentrates on small portions of texts.

Winchester MS and Malory's text have made dependence on their textual units problematic.⁴⁸ In order to facilitate comparison, therefore, Caxton's textual divisions, book and chapter, were imposed on each instance where it occurred in Winchester and Vinaver's editions.⁴⁹ The gathering of this data allows for the first time a full consideration of the rubrication as it relates to meaning because the geography's rubrication may now escape the label of "some."

Distribution of Place-name Rubrication

In the Winchester MS, the proper names of knights are rubricated with amazing frequency, but the place names are another matter. The Winchester

⁴⁸ Scholars remain divided on how many textual divisions exist in the Winchester MS and where they are. The number of textual divisions suggested includes four, five, and eight. Murray J. Evans, "The Explicits and Narrative Division in the Winchester MS: A critique of Vinaver's Malory," *Philological Quarterly* 58 (1979), 263-81, and Helen Cooper, "Opening up the Malory Manuscript," in *The Malory Debate*, pp. 255-84, divide the Winchester MS into five parts; Carol M. Meale, "'The Hoole Book': Editing and the Creation of Meaning in Malory's Text," in *A Companion to Malory*, pp. 3-17, argues for four divisions.

⁴⁹ Three reasons prompted my choice to discuss the Winchester MS's divisions according to corresponding textual sections in the Caxton Malory. One, employing one set of textual divisions simplifies comparison across the editions. Two, Caxton's book divisions are clearly set, and Winchester's are not. Three, Caxton's divisions are smaller than any division suggested for the Winchester MS and, thus, permit the detection of more localized changes.

	Scribe A				Scribe B				Both Totals
	Total	Toponym	Title	Place	Total	Toponym	Title	Place	
Instances	738	231	134	373	941	222	214	505	1679
Rubricated	242	125	11	106	435	160	64	211	677
Rate	32.8%	54.1%	8.2%	28.4%	46.2%	72.1%	29.9%	41.8%	40.3%

MS contains 282 locations in 1679 instances. Of these, 677 instances (or 40.3%) are rubricated. One vital question is whether there is consistency across the manuscript. The answer seems to be that, while the scribes utilize consistency in praxis, particular textual divisions rubricate place at a higher rate.

Table 4.1 shows a breakdown of each scribes' stints, i.e. sections of text copied by a single scribe. It provides the total instances for each scribe, whether those instances are "toponyms," "Titles," or "places." Scribe B's stints contain more instances, and he rubricates these instances at a higher rate, 46.2%, than Scribe A, 32.8%. The toponymic instances in both scribes' stints are roughly the same, A's 231 to B's 222, and yet, the number of rubricated instances is higher in B's stints, 160 (72.1%), than A's 125 (54.1%). Scribe B rubricates toponyms and titles around twenty percent more of the time and places thirteen percent more. Initially, therefore, we might hypothesize that the scribes employ differing practices. However, the differences are less about the scribe than textual portions.

Table 4.2 – Transitional Moments in the Winchester MS			
Caxton's Book	Places		Caxton %Rub
	Total	Rub.	
3 (Scribe A)	30	18	60.0%
4 (Scribe B)	43	28	65.1%
8 (Scribe B)	171	43	25.1%
9 (Scribe A)	176	44	25.0%

Let us consider two transitional moments between the scribes to demonstrate the point. Each scribes' stints correspond to Caxton's textual division. Scribe A's correspond to Caxton's

Books I-III, IX, and XIII-XXI. Scribe B copied Caxton's Books IV-VIII and X-XII.

Two of these changes in hand correspond to the textual division in Vinaver's edition. The change between books III and IV occurs in the middle of the "Tale of Arthur" (Caxton's Books I-IV), and the change between books VIII and IX occurs in the middle of the "Tale of Sir Tristram" (Caxton's Book VIII-XII). By comparing each scribe's stints within Vinaver's textual units, we can eliminate the argument that the scribes are responding differently to an overall perceptions of genre in their rate of rubrication. Table 4.2 juxtapose two sets of stints (corresponding to Caxton's Books III/IV and VIII/IX) that occur within Vinaver's larger books. At these moments, the scribes rubricate similarly when they are working with generically similar material. In contrast to the overall difference witnessed in Table 4.1, Scribes A and B pen approximately the same number of instances and rubricate nearly at the same rate. This is not what we would expect, if scribal habit were prompting the changes. The consistency

Table 4.3 –Instances per Folio in Winchester

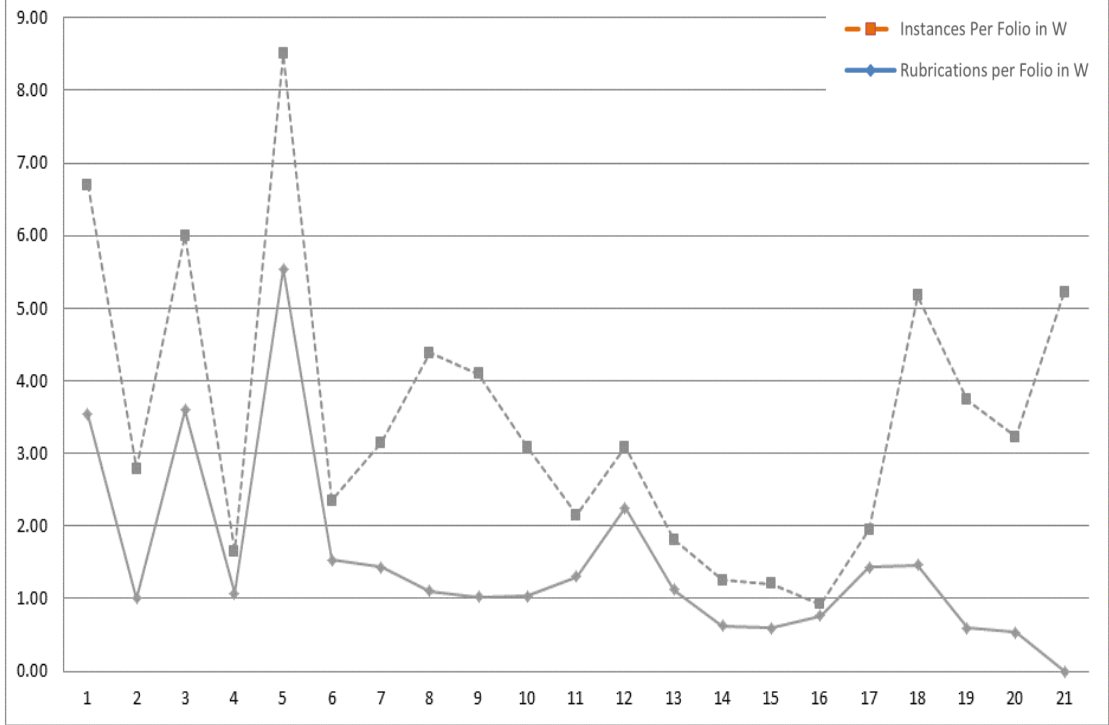
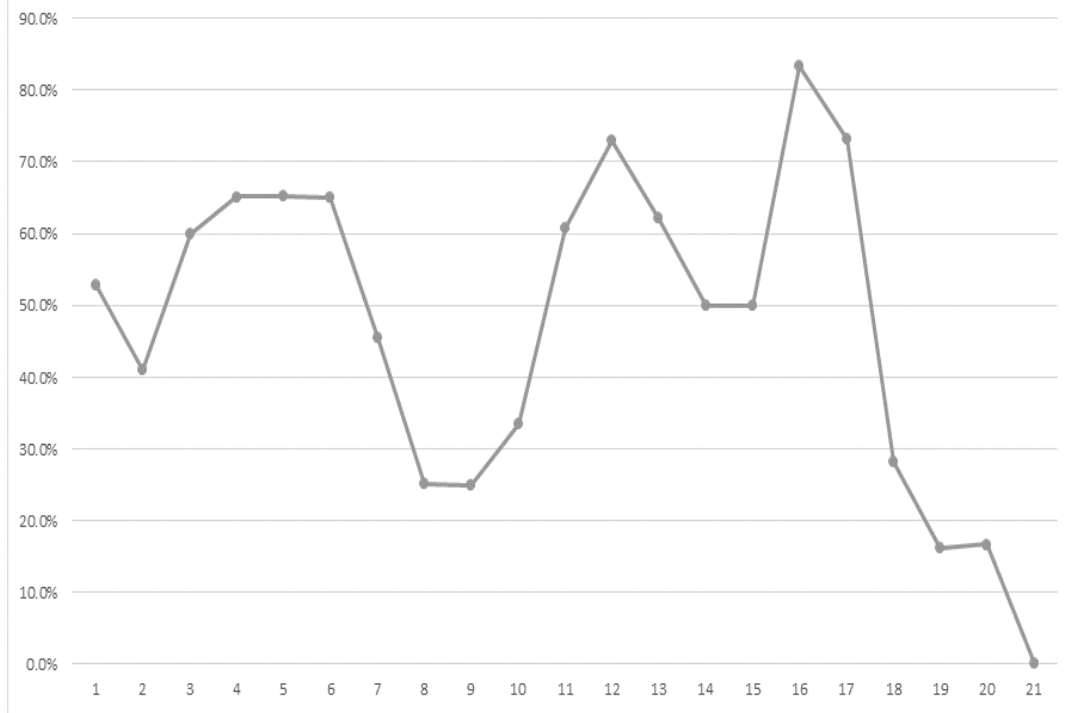


Table 4.4 – Rubrication Percentages in Winchester



maintained throughout these transitional moments suggests that neither scribe nor a simple rule on rubricating names of places explains the overall rubrication schema.

Broadening the focus on textual units unveils variance in the rate of rubrication throughout the *Morte*. Table 4.3 divides the Winchester Malory into Caxton's books and plots the number of instances per folio and rubricated instances per folio in those portions of text. The zenith of both types of instances occurs in Book V's segment, the "Roman War" episode, where the instances per page reach 8.5 and rubricated instances 5.54. On the other end of the spectrum, the lowest number of instances appears in Book 16's section, during the "Grail Quest," at 0.92. The least number of rubricated instances appears in Book XXI. Studying this visualization points to several key moments in the structure of W – Book V; Books VIII-X and XVIII-XXI where the two lines diverge, meaning far more place names are black rather than red, and Book XII to XVII where the two lines are closest, meaning most of the places that are mentioned are rubricated. Table 4.4 highlights these patterns by plotting the percentage of instances rubricated in each Book. The rubrication percentages are lowest at the opening of "Sir Tristram" and the events following the "Grail Quest," and they are highest in the individual knights' quests before "Sir Tristram" and the "Grail Quest." The strange rise and fall of the rates of rubrication cannot be explained by scribal practice and certainly paints an overall picture of consistency and neglect. From a general standpoint, Benson

and Blanchfield's association of the Winchester MS with other historical manuscripts seems the best explanation for the appearance of rubrication, but it does not account for the variance in the pattern of distribution within the manuscript. If the goal is to strengthen the historical resonance why are the highest rates of rubrication in the "Grail Quest" and the lowest at the conclusion where the text becomes most historical? As the Arthurian world collapses into civil war, does the failure to highlight place reflect a disintegration of the physical space? Perhaps, but the geography also becomes more realistic at the end and the fall in the rubrication rate destabilizes any gain in historical association.

Rubrication of Individual Place Names

This breakdown in historical association is reflected in which specific locations are rubricated. The systematic rubrication of the knights' names is reflected on the first extant folio, fol. 9r. On this page, the red names of Arthur, Claudius, Merlin, and other knights spring from the page. Beside these names, two place names, "Benwyck" and "Bayerne," are also colored red. Yet, if Arthur's narrative is a history, one might expect England to be rubricated — as it is one of the most important places. In fact, the opposite is true. "England" in l. 27 of the same folio is not reddened, and this is not an isolated incident. In its thirty-seven appearances, England is red once. If we are to read the red as articulating the importance of place and situating the *Morte* as history, how are we to read the lack of (or absence of) emphasis on England? Tracing the

patterns of rubrication across *W*'s folios, in fact, reveals variance in rubrication rates for function, type, and individual places – an issue that further weakens efforts to render the *Morte* as history.

The importance of real places to genre can hardly be understated. In his analysis of genre, Mikhail Bakhtin identified as an important feature the fusion of literary time and shape, a phenomenon he called the "chronotope," i.e. "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature."⁵⁰ The "space" of a text and the "time" of it are inseparable; we cannot speak of one without the other, and for this reason, the chronotope is central to the narrative so much so that it "defines genre and generic distinctions."⁵¹ To demonstrate this, one need only consider the space of "Chivalric romance," one of Bakhtin's categories. In this genre, the space is empty or effectively so. The actual layout of the space is unchanged and matters only so far as it is the stage for the hero. An example of this might arguably appear in the *Tale of Sir Gareth*. The space lacks identifiable features, the Black Lands, the Red Lands, et cetera, and the few notable places do not change or affect the scope of the tale. A contrast to this appears in the "Roman War" where the specific locations of Arthur's and Lucius's invasion provide a

⁵⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics," in Michael Holquist (ed.) and Caryl Emerson (trans.), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 84.

⁵¹ Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, pp. 84-85.

specific geography for the battles. When romance elements arise, such as Gawain facing Priamus, the knights ride off into a forest or other unknown, unidentified location. The space prepares the reader for the events. The chronotope shapes the genre. In history, unlike romance, the geography must be specific and detailed; the space changes with the political fortunes of individuals and dynasties.

Indeed, Malory's *Morte* possesses many real places that lean the text towards the historical genre, although it maintains an admixture of non-real places.⁵² In his seminal essay, George R. Stewart takes care to point out these places, which include Sandwich, Carlisle, Dover, and Canterbury.⁵³ Moreover, he indicates that Malory goes beyond the introduction of real places and connects famous mythical places to real ones, e.g. the connection of Winchester and Camelot.⁵⁴ Making the geography more English becomes, in Stewart's argument, an expression of English national consciousness and of the historical

⁵² The admixture of style extends to geography. Joseph D. Parry, "Following Malory Out of Arthur's World," *Modern Philology* 95.2 (1997), 148-49, highlights that Malory's text unfolds in real and other worldly places at the same time.

⁵³ George R. Stewart, Jr., "English Geography in Malory's 'Morte D' Arthur,'" *Modern Language Review* 30.2 (1935), 204.

⁵⁴ An introductory list of 'real' places introduced to Malory's work can be found in Stewart, "English Geography," pp. 204-09. For an example of how Malory expands the role of particular places, see P.J.C. Field, "Malory and Cardiff," *Arthuriana* 16.2 (2006), 45-48; Meg Roland, "'After poyetes and astronomyers': English Geographical Thought and Early English Print," in Keith D. Lilley (ed.), *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 127-51.

genre: "his geographical references show that he felt himself to be rescuing the story not only from the French language but also from the fog of myth."⁵⁵ In Stewart's view, Malory's *Morte* reads as a true history. Unfortunately, the question of the *Morte*'s genre is more open. The geography of the *Tale of Gareth* commences at Kynk Kenadowne but travels through a romance landscape, devoid of place. We meet the Red Knight of the Red Lands, the Black knight of the Black Lands, and so forth. Places mark narrative progress rather than identify and map the space. The *Morte* thus contains the potential for a historical reading, and given the association of historical texts and rubrication that Benson and Blanchfield observe, the scribes of Winchester had the opportunity to highlight the real, historic places and thus accent the historicity of the *Morte* and Arthur.

This does not happen. The rubrication of specific places does not highlight the real. The real places are not rubricated more than non-real places. Of W's aforementioned 282 locations, thirty-one appear ten times or more. Table 4.5 provides a breakdown of their instances. Each location is tagged with a "place name" without spelling variation. For each "place name," two points of data are tracked – the number of instances and the instances rubricated. To coordinate these two data points, the table provides a percentage of instances rubricated. These data points are broken into three categories – all instances

⁵⁵ Stewart, "English Geography," p. 205.

(columns 2-4), instances in titles or toponyms (columns 5-7), and other instances not in category two (columns 8-10).

From the table, we see that status as a real place and that function as a title/toponym does not directly parallel the rate of rubrication. Cornwall occurs 124 times, Scotland 40 times, and England 35 times. In spite of the frequency of mention, the rubrication rates are low: Cornwall 8.9%, Scotland 5.0%, England 8.6%. Other real locations show more variability: Ireland 10.3%, Rome 25.6%, Orkeney 55.6%, Gaul 100.0%. In the case of the places frequently rubricated, some have the rubrication rate of Titles and Toponyms (TTR) driving the high numbers. The real places with the highest rate of rubrication follow this pattern. Cornwall's 8.9% has a TTR of 21.6%. In contrast, Wales 51.5% has a TTR of 68.6%. Orkeney's 55.6% is reflected in the TTR 55.6%. In some non-real places, this pattern is also observable. Ganys's 78.3% has a TTR of 80.7%, and Marys's 91.8% has a TTR of 91.7%. Such a pattern might indicate that titles and toponyms govern when a place is rubricated. But it cannot convey the entire picture. England, for example, is only rubricated once in a toponym. There are, moreover, five other titles or toponyms that are rarely rubricated. North Wales appears in this form 64 times and is rubricated only in seven of these instances. Rome occurs in 21 of these with three rubricated. Scotland has no rubrication in thirty of its titles or toponyms. Gaul, on the other hand, is rubricated in all ten of its titles and toponyms. There seems no rhyme or reason in the details.

Table 4.5

Placename	All Instances			Titles and Top.			Places		
	#	Rub.	%	#	Rub.	%	#	Rub.	%
Cornwall	124	11	8.9%	37	8	21.6%	87	3	3.4%
North Wales	79	7	8.9%	64	7	10.9%	15	0	0.0%
Ireland	78	8	10.3%	50	5	10.0%	28	3	10.7%
Wales	68	35	51.5%	51	35	68.6%	17	0	0.0%
Camelot	67	53	79.1%	0	0	0.0%	67	53	79.1%
Ganys	60	47	78.3%	57	46	80.7%	3	1	33.3%
Lyones	58	35	60.3%	49	33	67.3%	9	2	22.2%
Marys	49	45	91.8%	48	44	91.7%	1	1	100.0%
Orkeney	47	25	55.6%	47	23	48.9%	0	0	0.0%
Rome	43	11	25.6%	21	3	14.3%	22	8	36.4%
Scotland	40	2	5.0%	30	0	0.0%	10	2	20.0%
England	35	3	8.6%	6	1	16.7%	29	2	6.9%
Joyous Garde	35	1	2.9%	0	0	0.0%	35	1	2.9%
Bretayne	32	4	12.5%	10	3	30.0%	22	1	4.5%
Northumberland	29	3	10.3%	24	2	8.3%	5	1	20.0%
Tintagil	23	17	73.9%	0	0	0.0%	23	17	73.9%
Red Land	22	0	0.0%	22	0	0.0%	0	0	0.0%
France	19	1	5.3%	6	0	0.0%	13	1	7.7%
Winchester	19	3	15.8%	0	0	0.0%	19	3	15.8%
Benwyke	18	10	55.6%	4	3	75.0%	14	7	50.0%
Logrys	18	7	38.9%	3	2	66.7%	15	5	33.3%
Astolot	17	8	47.1%	13	5	38.5%	4	3	75.0%
Castel of Maidins	16	2	12.5%	0	0	0.0%	16	2	12.5%
Lonezep	16	15	93.8%	0	0	0.0%	16	15	93.8%
Surluse	16	5	31.3%	5	2	40.0%	11	3	27.3%
Carlisle	14	3	21.4%	0	0	0.0%	14	3	21.4%
Gore	12	6	50.0%	7	3	42.9%	5	3	60.0%
Rede Cité	12	0	0.0%	4	0	0.0%	8	0	0.0%
London	11	1	9.1%	0	0	0.0%	11	1	9.1%
Aramathy	10	10	100.0%	10	10	100.0%	0	0	0.0%
Gaul	10	10	100.0%	7	7	100.0%	3	3	100.0%

The scribes also treat the rubrication of fictional places in a perplexing manner. Already I mentioned two fictional places, Ganys (78.3%) and Marys (91.7%), with high rates of rubrication. To these, Lyones (60.3%) might also be added. Like Ganys and Marys, the majority of Lyones's rubricated instances are titles and toponyms, but there are other fictional locations that function only as places and have the same high rate of rubrication. In Table 4.5, these are Lonzep (93.8%), Camelot (79.1%), and Tintagel (73.9%). Rather than emphasizing the real, this seems to suggest that the scribes are highlighting places important to Arthurian narrative. Yet, the low rubrication rates of Joyous Garde, Logrys, the Castel of Maidins, and others (see Table 4.5) undermine this argument.

The Winchester scribes' treatment of "Winchester" and "Camelot" problematizes the historical reading and can make the style cut backwards towards romance. Malory explicitly links the cities of Camelot and Winchester. The mapping of Camelot onto Winchester was bold. The association moved Arthur's mythic city into the real realm. Others had tried, and scholars still do try, to locate the exact place of Arthur's city. In his story, Malory controls this association. The function associates Winchester, the former locus of the Anglo-Saxon capital, and Camelot is that it brings Malory's *Morte*, Arthur's world, English history, and English literature into the same sphere. Although Winchester is mentioned many times in medieval English Romance, Malory clearly prefers the name Camelot. In sheer number of instances of Malory's

usage, Camelot's 67 dwarfs Winchester's 19, and the rate of rubrication of Camelot, nearly 80%, also stands above Winchester's rate, 15.8%. Malory's work brings Camelot into the real world through the use of the phrase "Camelot, that is in English called, Winchester." The effect is to move romance into the real world and to emphasize the 'real', the 'historic reality' of the narrative. The scribes of the Winchester Malory do not echo this movement. Winchester is rubricated twice in the aforementioned phrase. Instead of rendering Camelot more real, the opposite effect is produced. Only in those instances when the 'real' Winchester is associated with mythic, romance Camelot is Winchester rubricated. By putting no emphasis on 'realistic' geography, the scribes fail to highlight this association with chronicles and history. Malory's "remote and unreal" world forms the "romance 'contract'" with his audience,⁵⁶ and W's scribes do not counter this position.

Because the frequency of the rubrication and the rubrication of specific places wend a path between arbitrary and inconsequential, no historical leanings emerge. But this conclusion makes Caxton's use of the Winchester MS (and possible patronage of it) even more interesting. The rubrication situates the Winchester Malory with historical or quasi-historical manuscripts, and Caxton, as a reader, engages the manuscript on these terms. However, the rubrication fails to draw the reader into a historical account and often

⁵⁶ Derek Pearsall, *Arthurian Romance: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 97.

highlights the romance aspect of the story. Caxton's edition responds to the presentation in the Winchester – the only one known to be in his possession at the time of his edition's preparation.

Generic-Geography in Caxton's "Preface"

The Genre Question

In the Caxton Malory, Caxton's "Preface" displays an overt concern with the history genre. It is worth noting that the word "history" in any form never occurs in Malory's *Morte*. But the printer regularly incorporates the word "history" and its contracted form "th'yistory" in his "Preface." These linguistic markers occur fourteen times. Beyond the word "history," Caxton employs other words with historical connotations. "Acts" occurs eleven times; "feates" twice, and "chronicle" once. Moreover, no mention of romance occurs in the "Preface." Only one begrudging mention of "adventures" appears, and this is buried in a list of items, including "actes," "feates," and "hystories": "the noble actes, feates of armes of chyvalrye, prowessse, hardynesse, humanyté, love, curtosye, and veray gentylnesse, wyth many wonderful hystories and adventures."⁵⁷ This linguistic practice is the first way Caxton prepared the reader to receive the *Morte* as history.

Caxton's rhetorical structure in the "Preface" enhances the historical reading. In his analysis of Caxton's "Preface," Crofts shows how the historical

⁵⁷ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 853-55.

cast of Malory's work is highlighted by the rhetorical strategy of the "Preface," which divides into three stages: (1) imprimatur, (2) acquiescence, and (3) justification.⁵⁸ Each of the three parts forms part of a narrative. Part One dramatizes Caxton's resistance to printing Arthur's story. It commences with the lamentations of "many noble and divers gentlemen" at Caxton's having printed histories of great men, but not Arthur and the history of the Grail. These gentlemen set Arthur in the context of the Nine Worthies and declare his primary status as the only one "born within this realm." Caxton objects to their argument, saying that many men hold that there was no Arthur and some histories do not mention him. In retort, the gentlemen point to the relics of Arthur scattered around the country of England. Having unveiled the various debatable points, Caxton breaks to his second part, within which he agrees to print the story and underscores the existence of Arthurian stories in multiple languages. The final part of the "Preface" sets the moral justification for printing the edition. Crofts correctly concludes that Caxton deploys these rhetorical techniques in order to make the *Morte* a historical *exemplum*, utilizing historiographic techniques developed through the High and Late Middle Ages. Crofts and many others have seen the historiographic push as rhetorical, but much of the impetus for this reading derives from an understanding of historical William Caxton.

⁵⁸ Crofts, *Malory's Contemporary Audience*, pp. 44-45.

If we value Caxton more as an economic figure than literary figure, then the rhetorical gesture becomes a more fundamental issue. Many scholars have viewed Caxton as an unscrupulous capitalist, whose motivations were financial, personal, and professional.⁵⁹ In other words, Caxton had no interest in contemporary English literary culture, or if he did, those interests were only in how that these might be exploited for economic purposes.⁶⁰ A vision of Caxton as this printer makes a rhetorical analysis of the "Preface" understandable. In fact, it leaves hardly any alternative. Although the "Preface" says that no one could doubt Arthur's reality, these words are not to be taken at face value; Crofts says, "Caxton himself remains a doubting Thomas."⁶¹ He only says what he needs to increase sales. Some scholars have struck back against this negative view. David Carlson, William Kuskin, and Jennifer Summit all situate Caxton as a more active member of literary culture, shaping it through the selection and preparation of texts.⁶² In the case of these latter

⁵⁹ Blake, *Caxton and his World*, pp. 64-78.

⁶⁰ R.F. Yeager, "Literary Theory at the Close of the Middle Ages: William Caxton and William Thynne," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* (1984), 146; Elizabeth Kirk, "Clerkes, Poetes, and Historiographs," in James W. Spisak (ed.), *Studies in Malory* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), p. 291.

⁶¹ Crofts, *Malory's Contemporary Audience*, p. 48. For a historic overview of these patterns, see William Matthews, "The Besieged Printer," in *The Malory Debate*, pp. 35-64.

⁶² David Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 131; William Kuskin, "Caxton's Worthies Series," pp. 511-551, and *Symbolic Caxton: Literary Culture and Print Capitalism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), especially chapters five and six, a revision of his former essay in *ELH*; and Jennifer Summit, "William Caxton, Margaret Beaufort and the

scholars, the potential that Caxton participated in literary concerns remains open. They suggest that financial motivations and literary activity are not mutually exclusive enterprises, and I find myself aligned with the latter group. That Caxton embeds himself in the contemporary arguments over whether Arthur is history or not does not mean that he is merely playing both sides; he can also have an opinion on the matter. Moreover, the question of Arthur's reality is a historical issue.

Caxton sets this horizon of expectation by situating the *Morte* within his own printing projects. Caxton terms his past printing projects "dyvers hystories" and "other hystorial and wordly acts."⁶³ He mentions two histories by name, the "Polycronycon" and the "Brutysshe book" of "Galfrydus."⁶⁴ The former is one of Caxton's earlier projects. In 1480, Caxton printed John of Trevisa's translation of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*. Moreover, Caxton situates Arthur as one of the Nine Worthies, three of whom were Christian, and of these three Arthur was the only one for whom he had not already printed a narrative. These mentions are labeled historic in Caxton's contemporary world, and while today many might regard these works as fictional and not history, he asserts that they are. Crofts's analysis of the historiographic context of Caxton's

Romance of Female Patronage," in Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (eds.), *Women, the Book and the Worldly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993*, Vol. II (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), p. 155.

⁶³ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 853.

⁶⁴ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 853.

"Preface" has revealed how much his projects were defined by these historiographic concerns. Even in the case of texts that had no clear historical properties, Caxton situates them as such. His edition of Aesop's *Fables*, printed a year before the *Morte*, bears the title "The Subtle Historyes and Fables of Esope."⁶⁵ Calling things histories may have claimed more authority and validated what Caxton was doing. Whatever the overall effect on the printer's work and his projects, Caxton places the story of Arthur within the history genre. He again describes this project as "the noble hystorye of the Saynt Greal."⁶⁶ From an objective standpoint, associating the "Grail Quest" and history is problematic. Nevertheless, it is a problem that previous writers had smoothed over. John Hardyng's *Chronicle*, one of Malory's sources, related history and the "Grail Quest." If Caxton follows this example, the assertion of Arthur's historicity is clearer and the admixture of qualities (many non-historic) less troubling.⁶⁷ The dynamic can be understood in reverse. Instead of Caxton rhetorically characterizing the *Morte* as history to sell books, the historical quality of the *Morte* draws it into the circle of Caxton's previous

⁶⁵ William Caxton (ed.), *History and Fables of Aesop* (Westminster: William Caxton, 1485), *Early English Books Online*, 19 May 2014, STC 175. <
http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99846616 >

⁶⁶ Caxton, *History and Fables of Aesop*, Aⁱⁱ.

⁶⁷ For general discussion about the weakness of the taxonomy history/romance, see Rosalind Field, "Romance as history, history as romance," in Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol M. Meale (eds.), *Romance in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), pp.163-64.

printing projects, such as the *Polychronicon*. The same is true of the Nine Worthies. Rather than using them to bolster the historicity of Arthur, the historicity of Arthur fits the context of the Nine Worthies. This reversal means that Caxton need not have been a cynical or opportunistic capitalist to make the rhetorical moves he does.

Without contorting Caxton's words or doubting the validity of them, it is apparent that Caxton's "Preface" insists that the genre of the *Morte* is history and draws book, people, and nation together. The connection emerges on a linguistic level again through the adjective "noble." In the "Preface," noble is used to compliment various historical witnesses – acts, feats, history, histories, and volumes; it also compliments peoples – Arthur, Christian men, gentlemen, king, knights, ladies, lords, men, and princes. The effect is that noble linguistically connects people and their histories, and the only other two uses of "noble" compliment chivalry and "this noble realm," i.e. England. Caxton, thusly, forms a strong ethno-geographic bond.

Geography and Real Place

Caxton has forced history to the fore of the readers' minds and geography is a key aspect of genre. Caxton establishes a sense of real geography in the "Preface." There are a total of fifteen places mentioned in the "Preface:" England (twice), Troy, Rome, Israel, Jerusalem, Glastonbury, Westminster, Dover, Winchester, Wales, Camelot, Britannie, Gallie, Germanie,

and Dacie. In addition to these specific places, he declares that "in dyvers places of Englonde" many witnesses to Arthur's existence appear.⁶⁸ The language implies that more places exist than he has mentioned. From the list, it becomes obvious that the emphasis is on England. Caxton also unites the imagined communities of Britain and England. While objections to the equation of the two communities are present, Caxton ignores or overrides these. Having clearly established that Caxton is speaking in England and about Englishmen, he declares that King Arthur was "sometime king of *this* noble realm, then called Britain" (my emphasis). The connection of England and Britain clarifies a Latin phrase earlier, where Arthur is described as emperor of "Britannie, Gallie, Germanie, Dacie." "Britannie" can sometimes refer to Brittany in France, but since "Gallie" already refers to France a double-reference makes less sense than a separate gesture to England. This equation increases the real presence of England. It is mentioned thrice, and five to seven other locations are contained within its boundaries. Four of the seven foreign references are associated with one of the Nine Worthies. Overall, the impression is that Arthur and this work move through a real world and that world is centered on England.

Data mining has uncovered only slight initial difference between the two witnesses. The total of place names was greater in the Winchester Malory, 1680, than in the Caxton Malory, 1664. Given the damage to the first and last

⁶⁸ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 853.

folios of the Winchester MS, this is a bit surprising. The Winchester MS begins on the ninth folio (the middle of Caxton's Book I, Chapter 10), and it concludes without the final folios (missing Caxton's Book XXI, Chapter 10-13). In Vinaver's edition, this equates to approximately seventeen pages of text that are missing in the manuscript. Yet, it still has more place names. Table 4.6 provides a breakdown of the number of instances that occur in each witness, when Caxton's textual divisions are placed on both. Of the sixty instances unique to Caxton's Book I, fifty-eight occur in those portions of Winchester now missing. Of the thirty in Book XXI, twenty-nine occur in damaged portions. Moreover, missing folios account for the presence of five locations in Caxton's Book X. When these are excluded, there appear thirteen instances of place names in Caxton's edition that have no corresponding place name in the manuscript. Likewise, eighteen instances of place names in Winchester do not appear in the Caxton Malory. The thirty-one individual instances include seventeen place names. The question becomes, do these subtle differences indicate any important issues.

Book	C	W	Diff.
I	147	87	+60
II	39	39	0
III	30	30	0
IV	43	43	0
V	107	221	-114
VI	40	40	0
VII	111	110	1
VIII	171	171	0
IX	174	176	-2
X	289	287	2
XI	28	28	0
XII	36	37	0
XIII	28	29	-1
XIV	9	10	-1
XV	6	6	0
XVI	14	12	2
XVII	41	41	0
XVIII	127	125	2
XIX	55	55	0
XX	84	84	-1
XXI	78	48	+30

Scholars have generally given Malory credit for the historicization of the Malorian myth. The geography of Malory teeters between specific realism and blurry romance. But, to be clear, this admixture is Malory's doing. Armstrong and Hodges clarify: "At times Malory is extremely specific, using unambiguous names, arranged in clear and realistic relationships, as when he identifies Camelot as Winchester and Ascolat as Guildford."⁶⁹To this list, we might add the realistic equation of Joyous Garde with Anwyk or Bamborow and Logres with England. One notes that within the first map of Armstrong's and Hodges's book England is labeled as Logres.⁷⁰ At the conclusion of Book II, the Caxton Malory and the Winchester Malory read: "And so by adventure hit swamme downe by the streme unto the cité of Camelot that ys in Englysh called Wynchester."⁷¹ Camelot, the mythic city, is tied to Winchester. Likewise, in the story of the Fair Maid of Astolot, both witnesses tie Astolot to Guildford: "Astolot, that ys in Englysh Gylforde."⁷²

While the equation of most of the real and non-real places can be reasonably attributed to Malory, the Caxton Malory contains several unique equations. A little while after the first link of Astolot and Guildford, the Caxton

⁶⁹ Armstrong and Hodges, *Mapping Malory*, p. 2

⁷⁰ Armstrong and Hodges, *Mapping Malory*, p. 18.

⁷¹ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: 74; Vinaver (ed.), *The Works*, 1: 92.

⁷² Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: 804; Vinaver (ed.), *The Works*, 2: 1066. The phrasing differs in the Caxton and Winchester Malorys, but the association is the same.

Malory doubles down, declaring again that "Astolat that is Gylford."⁷³ The twofold repetition creates a stronger bond between the mythic and real places. On its own, this is easily explained away. However, if we reintroduce the damaged sections, where only the Caxton Malory is a witness, the plot thickens. At the end of Book XXI, the only connection of Joyous Garde and Anwyk or Bamborow is made (1257.26-28). In Book I, the Caxton Malory locates the terminus of Uther's travels after the battle at Saint Albans in London. Vinaver notes that French sources typically do not refer to London and instead employ "Logres" to locate the action more generally in eastern England; only the Cambridge MS of the Post-Vulgate *Suite* identifies London.⁷⁴ Admittedly, Ralph C. Norris's analysis of Malory's source material showed that the Post-Vulgate *Suite* was "a minor source."⁷⁵ Is Malory employing the Cambridge MS or another manuscript as a source? Is Malory inserting London on his own? Or, is the focus on London Caxton's doing?

In order to test this last hypothesis, we might look at the most important equation in a national reading of the *Morte*, the equation of "Logres" and "England".⁷⁶ In the Caxton Malory, the "Preface" makes England a point of attention – Arthur is from England, the gentlemen are from England, the text is

⁷³ Caxton (ed.), *Le Morte Darthur*, xi.

⁷⁴ Vinaver (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3: 1286.

⁷⁵ Ralph C. Norris, *Malory's Library: The Sources of the Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), p. 14.

⁷⁶ In early Arthurian texts Logres seems to mean Wales.

English, et cetera. Caxton places England at the center of the piece. Yet England is not the most visible place. There are thirty-five places occurring in ten or more instances in the Caxton Malory. Table 4.6 displays the most frequently mentioned places in the Caxton Malory. The left-hand-side lists the top nine places by instance and adds "Logres," sixteenth. It makes no distinction between a place, a toponym, or a title. Any instance is counted regardless of the function. The right-hand-side eliminates toponyms and titles and tallies only the instances where the place functions as "place." In this instance, the top ten locations are listed. Three locations, Cornwall, Camelot, and Wales, occur on both sides, and Cornwall has far and away the most instances in both categories – 56% more than North Wales on the left, and 31% more than Camelot on the right.⁷⁷ England does not appear on the left, but climbs on the right side, and given the linkage of England and Logres, it actually may have more of a presence, 63% more in the Caxton Malory, than previously realized. Nevertheless, scholars have missed the fact that the increased presence of England occurs only in the Caxton Malory. This fact emerges from consideration of a key line in both witnesses. In the middle of the "Grail Quest," Lancelot has lost purpose. Banished from Camelot, he wanders widely until

⁷⁷ Such a realization lends credence to Armstrong's argument that the *Morte* can be successively viewed from the Cornish perspective, although given the number it may not be as marginal a position as she proposes. See Armstrong, "Mapping Malory's *Morte*: The (Physical) Place and (Narrative) Space of Cornwall," in *Mapping Malory*, pp. 19-44.

All Instances			Only Places		
Rank	Place	#	Rank	Place	#
1	Cornwall	125	1	Cornwall	89
2	North Wales	80	2	Camelot	68
3	Ireland	78	3	Joyous Garde	40
4	Wales	74	4	England	30
5	Camelot	68	4	Tintagil	30
6	Ganes	59	6	Ireland	28
7	Lyones	58	7	Brittany	21
8	Mares	50	8	Wales	20
9	Orkney	49	9	Winchester	19
16	Logres	27	9	Logres	19

Elaine saves and heals him. Lancelot articulates his lamentable position to her, saying:

"I am banysshed oute of the Country of Logrys for euer that is for to saye the country of England."⁷⁸

Herein lies the explicit connection of England and Logrys, and scholars have not failed to recognize this connection and to attribute it to Malory.⁷⁹ The equation, however, is not as straightforward as the language in the Caxton Malory implies. In *Sovereign Fantasies*, Patricia Clark Ingram discusses the linkage, saying "Logres's Wasteland is England's elusive shadow. The image

⁷⁸ Caxton (ed.), *Le Morte Darthur*, mⁱⁱⁱ.

⁷⁹ Jonathan Hughes, "Politics and the Occult at the Court of Edward IV," in Martin Gosman, Alasdair Macdonald, and Arjo Vanderjagt (eds.), *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 114; Gareth Knight, *Merlin and the Grail Tradition* (Cheltenham, Gloucestershire: Skylight Press, 1999), p. 53; Christopher W. Bruce, *The Arthurian Name Dictionary* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 324.

resonates with England's losses and haunts the fringes of England's frontiers."⁸⁰ She argues further that Malory's vagueness with regard to Logres differs from his treatment of other particular geographies.⁸¹ But the language of the Caxton Malory seems to provide the specific link. When one considers the Winchester Malory, the matter becomes clearer. In Winchester, Lancelot's lament reads, "I am banysshed the contrey of Inglonde" (f. 338v). There is no link to the mythic Logres, and no other connection emerges anywhere in the text. The difference between the two witnesses exposes a tantalizing question – why is the Caxton Malory specific where the Winchester Malory is not? In order to demonstrate the Caxton Malory's engagement with contemporary associations with English kingship, embodied in Edward IV's Arthurian mythos, we must carefully consider the adjustments in the "Roman War".

Northern France and the Caxton Malory's Roman War

Due to its realistic geography, scholars have often traced and mapped the space of action in the "Roman War", Book V.⁸² In Figure 4.1, the pathway of Lucius's ambassadors and army is displayed. After their dismissal from

⁸⁰ Patricia Clark Ingram, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 220.

⁸¹ Ingram, *Sovereign Fantasies*, p. 220.

⁸² Armstrong and Hodges, *Mapping Malory*, p. 113, captures the attention paid to the "Roman War" well, when Armstrong writes, "So much has been written about Malory's account of the "Roman War" that one might wonder if there is actually anything left to say."

Figure 4.18- Roman Ambassadors' Voyage to and from Rome



Arthur's presence, the ambassadors ride from Carlisle to Sandwich. They then pass over the sea, travel through Flanders and into Germany, cross the Great Mountain "Godarde" into Lombardy, continue down through Tuscany, and arrive at Rome. The mentions of these locations make it likely that the ambassadors are traveling the Rhine River to Lucerne before crossing into Italy

Figure 4.19 - Voyage to France in the Winchester MS and Caxton Malory



via the "Godarde" pass. "Godarde" is today Gotthard, Switzerland,⁸³ although this centrally located Alpine pass only came into use in the thirteenth century.⁸⁴ Confirmation that the ambassadors take the Rhine River appears in the path of Lucius's invasion. Winchester declares that Lucius's troop "drew to passé Almayne" and "com unto Cullayne" (194.3, 11). Although alternative paths are possible, the most straightforward path from Italy to "Cullayne" or Cologne is via the Rhine River. Moreover, if the ambassador recently followed this route, returning on it makes strategic sense. The ambassador might be able to inform

⁸³ Robert Williams Ackerman, *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English*, vol. 10 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 106.

⁸⁴ Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 47.

Lucius of resistance and troop levels along the Rhine River, whereas scouting would be necessary for an alternative path. To this point in Book V, both the Winchester and Caxton Malory texts agree on the locus of action, although the latter has fewer details, and a clear path emerges. At the end of Lucius's advance, the witnesses utilize different places of action, and in the Caxton Malory, the changes reveal geographic preoccupation with the Low Countries.

Although scholars have noted the difference, they have often discounted them and attributed them to scribal error. The Winchester MS locates Arthur's arrival on the continent in Normandy. In the process of demanding battle in the Winchester Malory, Lucius asks Arthur to meet him in "Normandy" and "Barflete," and when Arthur arrives, he does so on "the bankys of Normandy...at Barfflete," (198.2-3). General scholarly consensus equates "Barflete" and Barfleur, a harbor town in present day Basse-Normandie in northwestern France.⁸⁵ The corresponding passage in the Caxton Malory sets Arthur's arrival "ate Barflete in Flaundres" (198.7), approximately 361 Km to the northeast of Barfleur. The two destinations convey to the reader two distinct paths across the channel (See Figure 4.2). Modern scholars have contended that the Caxton Malory contains an error. In "Caxton's Roman War," Field notes that neither Malory nor Caxton could accidentally place Barflete in Flanders. Both individuals had knowledge of continental affairs, and only a "settled

⁸⁵ Armstrong and Hodges, *Mapping Malory*, p. 114

ignorance" of geography might prompt the placement of "Barflete" in Flanders.⁸⁶ Malory's geographic awareness was acute, especially in relation to areas close to England, and Meg Roland has shown that an awareness of "geographic discourse" permeated Caxton's work.⁸⁷ Consequently, the transplantation of Barflete to Flanders must belong to another individual.

Interpreting this change as an error implies a demand for realistic geography and ignores the limitations of that demand. Field's discussion of the physical placement of Barflete shows this point. Shortly after Arthur's arrival at Barflete, a husbandman comes and points to "yonder mounte" (198.13). We learn later that this mountain is Mont St. Michel. Field asks for realistic geography and space to play a key role here, when he highlights that Mont St. Michel is never visible from Flanders,⁸⁸ and since Malory and Caxton would have been aware of this fact, then the localization in Caxton's text must be a typesetting error. Nevertheless, if realistic geography and space was Malory's intent, the localization at Barfleu in Normandy makes no sense either. Proof of this is possible using mathematical calculation for the distance to the horizon. Ignoring atmospheric refraction, the distance at which an object is visible is determined by the formula:

⁸⁶ P.J.C. Field, "Caxton's Roman War," in *The Malory Debate*, pp. 134-35.

⁸⁷ Roland, "'After poyetes and astronomyers,'" p. 128. Roland derives the term from K.D. Lilley, "Geography's Medieval History: A Neglected Enterprise?" *Dialogues in Human Geography* 1 (2011), 147-62.

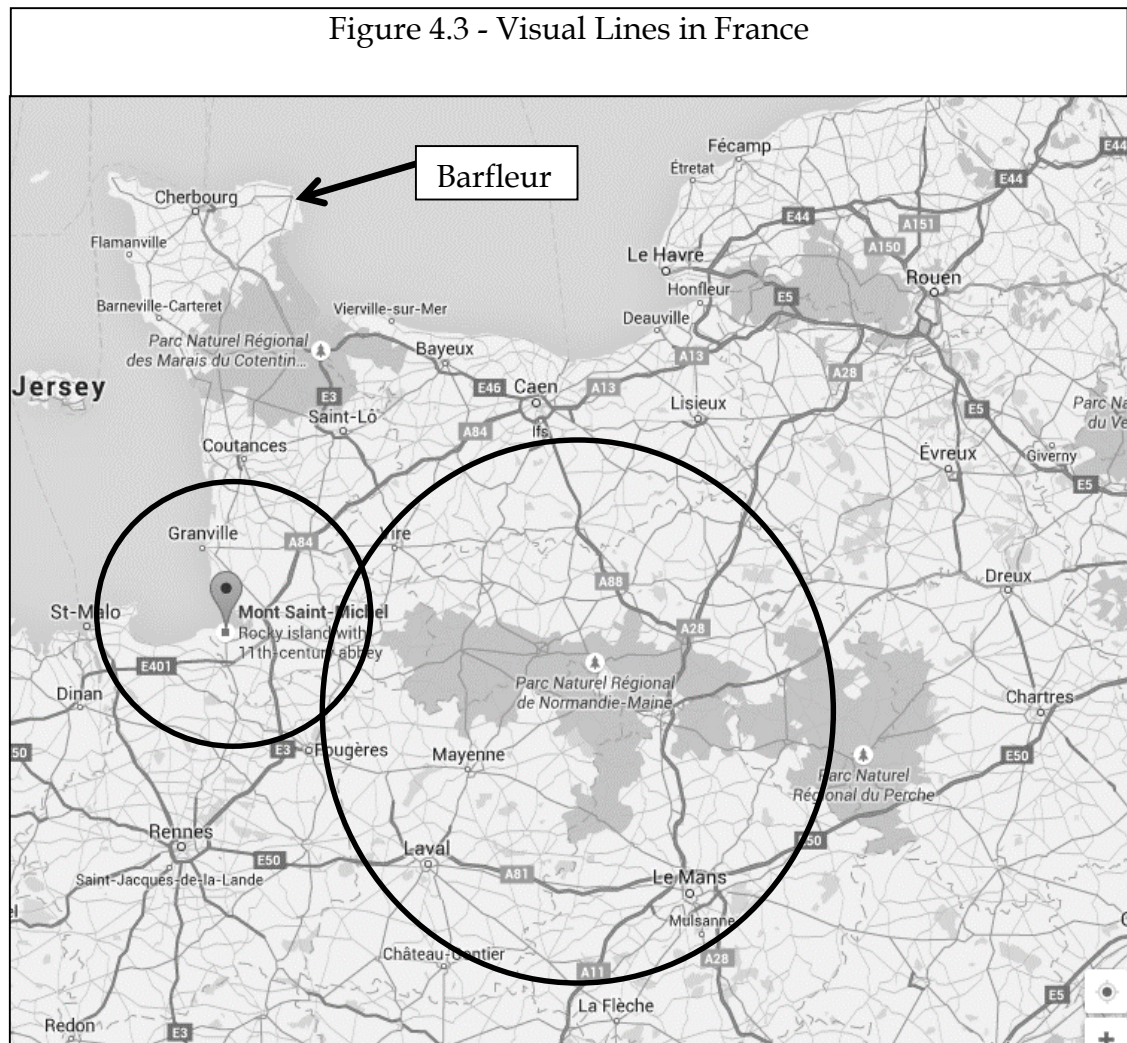
⁸⁸ Field, "Caxton's Roman War," p. 134.

$$\text{Distance (in kilometers)} = 3.57 \sqrt{\text{height (in meters)}}$$

Topographic surveys show Mont-St. Michel is 92m tall. Utilizing the formula, we determine the maximum distance at which Mont-St. Michel can be seen on the horizon:

$$34.24 \text{ km} = 3.57 \sqrt{92 \text{ m}}$$

Although the Mont can be seen 34 km away, this falls well outside the distance between Barfleur and Mont St. Michel, which is 116 km. Furthermore, if we assume that the reference to a mountain is not the Mont specifically, but to the



tallest mountain in Normandy, Mont des Avaloirs (at 417 m), the same formula provides a visible range of approximately 73 km, and all of this assumes perfect weather conditions. Figure 4.3 provides an image of Normandy. On top of this image, two circles have been imposed. These circles outline the mathematical limits from which an eye can see the mountains. While it is possible to see these mountains (under perfect conditions) from Normandy, one must travel seventy plus kilometers from Barfleur before they are visible. What this math indicates is the insistence on "real" geography and space in the *Morte* might not have the same standards as our modern, "real" geographic sense. We cannot determine the location based on a realistic reading of space. The arrival at Flanders in the Caxton Malory need not have been compositor error as the realistic point of arrival changes little of the narrative.

In his recently published edition of *Le Morte Darthur*, Field has softened his position and acknowledged that it is likely Caxton made the change to a more northerly location. In a note, Field clarifies that contemporary English-speakers referred to Barfleur in Normandy and "Biervliet, on the southern bank of the Westerschelde" as Barflete.⁸⁹ He concludes that the reference to Normandy in the Winchester MS indicates that Malory intended to localize action here. But he admits that Caxton's experience at Bruges "30 miles" from

⁸⁹ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 128. He cites Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1970), p. 76.

Biervliet prompted the printer to "make the sentence refer to Biervliet."⁹⁰

Caxton probably plucked the potential for a northerly location from the tradition of the *Alliterative Morte Darthur*.

Given the brief appearance of this northern locale, literary tradition demands, many suggest, that the battles of the "Roman War" must occur in southern portions of Champagne and Burgundy. The "Roman War"'s placement traces back to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. In Geoffrey's accounts, Arthur lands at Barfleur, travels to Autun, and crosses the river Aube. After capturing forces, Arthur sends prisoners back to Paris. Lucius marches to Langres, but his forces are cut off by Arthur at Siesia. While most of these locations are easily identified, Siesia has caused some difficulty. In a particularly illuminating article "Where is Siesia-Sessoynne?," William Matthews observes that prior to the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, Malory's chief source, "the site of the great battle was firm[ly] and quite clear[ly]...in Burgundy."⁹¹ He proves this through astute linguistic analysis that Malory's "Sessoynne" was a reference to Val-Suzon in Burgundy (See Fig. 4.4).⁹² Furthermore, he underscores that the difficulty appears to enter into discussion in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*. In the *Alliterative Morte*, Lucius sends his troops to "Sessoine" (ll. 1964, 1977); that is to Soissons. Both Larry Benson and Valerie Krishna

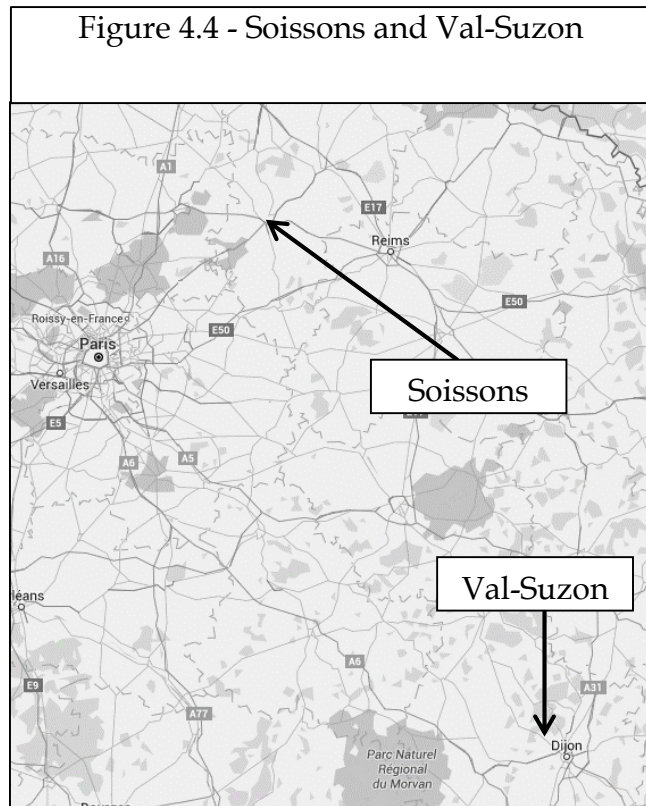
⁹⁰ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 128.

⁹¹ William Matthews, "Where is Siesia-Sessoynne?," *Speculum* 49.4 (1974), 680-86, 680.

⁹² Matthews, "Where is Siesia-Sessoynne?," p. 685.

understand the reference to be Soissons.⁹³ If "Sessoynes" is Soissons, this moves the action much farther north and nearer to Flanders. But this is not the only possibility. Field regards Sessoyne as part of a literary tradition which requires that it "must be taken as Saxony."⁹⁴ This supposition complicates matters. For example, the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* maintains the location in Burgundy through the mention of *Castell Blanke*, presumably the Castle of the Aube River and drawn from Wace and Layamon.⁹⁵ The question becomes more simply, how influential was the *Alliterative Morte* on Caxton?

There seems little doubt that the Winchester Malory sets events in Burgundy. The text tells us that Lucius enters France, comes "into Burgayne" (205.24), and destroys "Dowse Fraunce" (205.27). The sequence is rhetorical. The last item reiterates the location of Burgundy. Burgundy is part



⁹³ See Valerie Krishna (ed.), *The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1976), and Larry D. Benson (ed.), *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthure and Alliterative Morte Arthure* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994).

⁹⁴ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 138.

⁹⁵ Matthews, "Where is Siesia-Sessoyne?," pp. 680-83.

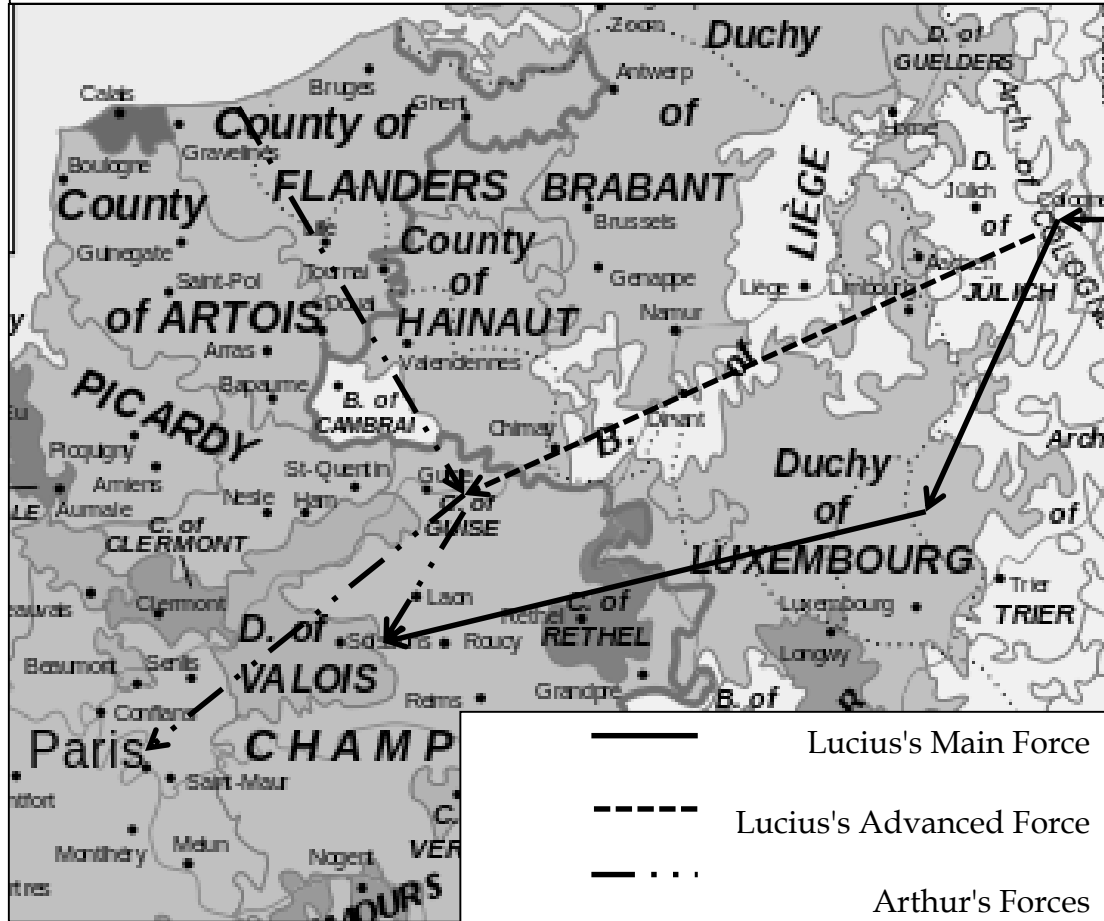
of "Dowse Fraunce." This connection emerges through the collapsing of the regions of France and the twelve peers of France. Elsewhere, Malory uses "dowse" to describe the twelve peers: "dowseperys."⁹⁶ Traditionally, six of France's twelve peers were secular peers. These were the dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, Burgundy, Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse. Each of these dukes held a particular region in France: Flanders and Champagne in north-eastern France; Aquitaine in south-western France; Toulouse in southern France; and Burgundy in east-central France. "Dowse Fraunce" is the parts of France associated with the peers, and it is distinguishable from other regions not held by the peers.⁹⁷ Since Lucius troops are moving up from Italy, Burgundy is a logical point of entry and marks the first territory of "Dowse Fraunce" after passing through Gotthard Pass. That the text describes Lucius's siege on Cologne seems to contradict this however.

The Caxton Malory is focused on northerly associations and thus forges a logic of space in northeastern France around the Burgundian Netherlands. In

⁹⁶ Vinaver (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3: 1716

⁹⁷ That "Dowse" France refers not to all of France but to specific parts appears in Robert L. Kelly, "Malory's Argument Against the War with France: The Political Geography of France and the Anglo-French Alliance in the *Morte Darthur*," in D. Thomas Hanks, Jr. (ed.), *The Social and Literary Contexts of Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), p. 128. Here, Kelly argues it probably refers to the Ile-de-France as the "low country" is not the Netherlands, but the "banks of the lower reaches of the Seine" (p. 129). While this may have been Malory's intention, Caxton's edition directs attention towards the Netherlands.

Figure 4.5 - Lucius's and Arthur's Troop Movements



the Winchester Malory, Arthur arrives in Normandy and proceeds south through "fayre champayne," that is fair fields. Lucius proceeds up through Burgundy, and people flee to Rouen and to Flanders before him. Prior to his arrival at "Sessoynne," Lucius progresses through "Troyes."⁹⁸ In the Caxton Malory, Arthur's landing is relocated to Flanders. Furthermore, Caxton's text renders the general references to a field, "fayre champayne" in Winchester, as a specific reference to the province of Champagne, "Champayne" (205.9). Like the

⁹⁸ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: 164.

reference to Flanders, this reference moves the action northwards (see Fig. 4.5). The Caxton Malory removes the progress to Troy. Instead, Lucius proceeds directly from Cologne to "Sessoynne." Both witnesses include Cologne (taken from the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*).⁹⁹ In the Winchester Malory, the voyage to Cologne in the north of Germany and the return to Burgundy much further south confuses real geography, but the southern emphasis demands it. The Caxton Malory removes the southern focus. The effect is a northern focus in the Caxton Malory, which lands Arthur in Flanders, mentions specifically the region of Champagne, has Lucius sack Cologne, and locates Lucius's defeat at

Figure 4.6 - Focus of Caxton Malory's Roman War



Soissons. These events create a triangle in the northern parts of France and encourage the reader to locate the action there (see Fig. 4.6). This realization opens a line of inquiry that asks why the focus appears to be the north and if "Burgoyne" might refer to the Burgundian Netherlands.

⁹⁹ This progression of Lucius's army occurs in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*; see Krishna (ed.), *The Alliterative Morte Arthure*; Benson (ed.), *King Arthur's Death*.

Caxton, the Burgundian Netherlands, and Edward IV

There are two obvious reasons for Caxton's focus on the north in the "Roman War" episode. The first is that Caxton was intimately acquainted with the Low Countries, having forged his career as a mercer and as a printer there before coming to England. These close professional and economic connections meant he was better acquainted with these regions and their ruler than with the southern duchies. In current scholarship, Caxton's reputation as an international character has grown. Caxton is now viewed, not merely as an Englishman abroad, but as a liminal figure bridging the gap "between the Yorkist and Burgundian courts."¹⁰⁰ This liminality provided Caxton with literary and political connections. The second reason is that English concerns with the continent were intimately connected with those of the Low Countries, particularly through the marriage of Edward IV's sister to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Both of these factors might explain Caxton's desire to put Arthur's action in proximity to the Burgundian Netherlands in order to intimate associations of Arthur and Edward IV.

To explain this focus on the Low Countries, it is necessary first to explain why Burgundy can refer to the Low Countries. The answer is found in genealogy. In 1384, Louis II of Flanders died without a male heir, and his title

¹⁰⁰ Alexandria Gillespie, "Caxton and After," in A.S.G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Rochester, N.Y.: D.S. Brewer, 2004), p. 310.

and lands passed through his daughter Margaret to Philip the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy. Philip acquired Flanders and Artois. From 1429-56, the dukes of Burgundy purchased, inherited, conquered, or otherwise acquired Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, Lothier, Limburg, Luxembourg, Namur, and Zeeland (see Fig. 4.7). The acquisition of this territory propelled the Burgundian rulers to the top of the peerage of France, even making them rivals to the French kings. While their name derived from the ancient possession in France, the "economic and cultural center" for the dukes of Burgundy was in the urbanized Netherlands.¹⁰¹ It was in the court in the Netherlands that Early Netherlandish painters such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van Der Weyden were employed. "Burgundianization" is a term used in modern scholarship to describe the rapid collection of territories in the Low Countries under the dukes of Burgundy,¹⁰² and while it is anachronistic to apply such a term to medieval people, what the term denotes was recognizable to Caxton and his contemporaries. For this reason, it is not impossible to believe that "Burgayne" might relate to the Low Countries, and given the geography of the Caxton Malory, the reference is probable.

¹⁰¹Jan Dumolyn, "Burgundy and the Netherlands," *Oxford Biographies* (Oxford University Press, Web, 17 May 2015).

¹⁰² Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, (trans.) Elizabeth Fackelman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 4.

Caxton himself rose to fame in the Burgundian Netherlands before he came to England. Born between 1415 and 1425 in Kent, Caxton was apprenticed to the Mercers' Company by 1438, the date when he first appears in records. During his time as an apprentice, he worked in England and Flanders (at Bruges), learning the processes of international cloth trade. Between the 1440s and 1463, he continued to split time between the two locales, and in 1463, we find him serving as the Governor of the English merchants at Bruges, a post that "placed Caxton at the nexus of Anglo-Burgundian cultural and diplomatic relations."¹⁰³ Some have speculated that Caxton, after serving as governor, entered the household of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, at Ghent in the early 1470s. Whether or not this arrangement actually happened, Caxton had forged a relationship with her by this time.¹⁰⁴ In 1471, the Duchess Margaret of York asked Caxton to finish and publish his translation of Raul Lefèvre's *Recuyell des histories de Troie*. Caxton's personal connection to Margaret around the early 1470s provided him access to Charles the Bold, her husband, and Edward IV, her brother, who was exiled in the region at this time.

The timing of Caxton's association with Margaret coincides with Edward IV's exile in the Burgundian Netherlands. After having wrested the throne from Henry VI of England in 1461, Edward IV had a series of conflicts

¹⁰³ Lerer, "William Caxton," p. 721.

¹⁰⁴ Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*, p. 55.

with Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who was spurned by the king's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville. These conflicts escalated until they reached their climax in 1470. The Earl aligned himself with Margaret of Anjou to restore her husband Henry VI to the throne of England.¹⁰⁵ The alliance was too much for Edward to overcome immediately, and Edward and his brother Richard fled to the Burgundian Netherlands on 2 October 1470. Edward's time in exile was not one of luxury at his sister's or brother-in-law's court. Political circumstances were such that Charles consciously avoided publically committing to Edward's cause and even avoided meeting him until December after Christmas.¹⁰⁶ Finally, Charles aided Edward in his return to England, and Edward and Richard set sail on 11 March 1471. In spite of many tempting conjectures, there remains no firm connection between Caxton and Edward from this period. By the 1480s when Caxton was preparing his edition, the potential Burgundian links must have seemed obvious to him.

Moreover, concentrating the military efforts in the northeastern part of France brings recent military exploits to mind. Vinaver, in his edition, argues that the action of the "Roman War" maps onto Henry V's campaign in France.¹⁰⁷ While there are limitations to such mapping, this type of reading was possible

¹⁰⁵ Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 152-60.

¹⁰⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 160.

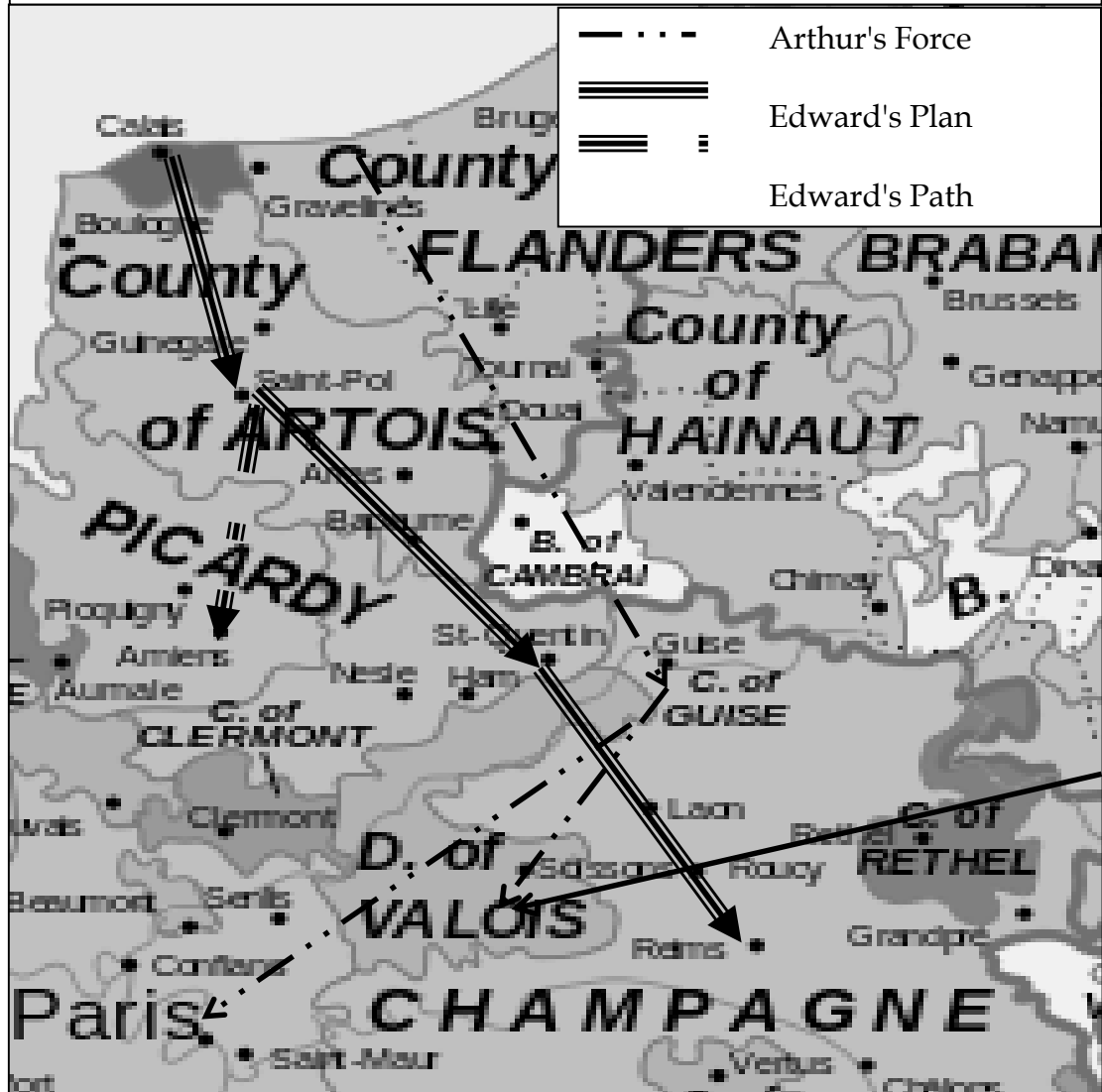
¹⁰⁷ Vinaver (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: xxxi-xxxii, 3: 1367-8, 1389, 1396-98.

for contemporaries, who might associate Arthur with the English king. Caxton's disruption of the space and path the action takes limits the parallels to Henry's campaign, but it opens parallels to the military movements and plans of Edward IV and his allies in their campaign in 1474-75. In 1474, Edward IV began preparation to invade France, forging alliances with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, Francis II of Brittany, and other dissenters to Louis XI's rule. In 1475, Edward IV dispatched the largest army ever sent to France by an English king.¹⁰⁸ Before Edward's forces were in place, Charles the Bold launched an attack on the areas surrounding Cologne.¹⁰⁹ The preemptive strike weakened Charles's army as Louis XI's allies made a stern response and forced their way north as far as Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, and Picardy. This essentially left Charles the Bold with possession only of the Burgundian Netherlands. Meanwhile, Edward IV faced a choice – to land in Normandy, the traditional seat of power, or in Calais, a shorter and safer option. In Edward's time, Calais abutted Flanders. Because of the proximity of the two locations, an association between Edward's landing in Calais and Arthur's landing in Flanders becomes possible. From Calais, Edward planned to march to Reims via Saint-Pol and St.-Quentin. Figure 4.8 enlarges Arthur's troop movements and adds Edward IV's planned progress to the map. Both land in proximity to Flanders and proceed

¹⁰⁸ Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 210-226.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Knecht, *The Valois: Kings of France 1328-1589* (New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), pp. 99-100.

Figure 4.8 - Troop Movements of Arthur and Edward IV



south into Champagne, Arthur's progress ending near Soissons and Edward's at Reims. The reality is that Edward diverted to Picquigny (three miles from Amiens) due to the failure of his allies, and after receiving money as a concession from the French king, he departed France. The resonance is hardly one-to-one, but recognizing the potential is important in light of the changes to

the text and the manner in which the Caxton Malory draws attention to these concerns.

What these political and cultural concerns with the Low Countries demonstrate is that Caxton had plausible reasons for shifting the center of action of the "Roman War" from the traditional region of Burgundy to the north near the Burgundian Netherlands. The historio-geographic preoccupations of the "Preface" highlight these geographic subtleties. Rather than displaying an ignorance of geography, these changes tap into contemporary political, social, and personal concerns. Caxton's personal affinity with the Low Countries and alliance with Edward IV's friends and family make the association of Edward IV and Arthur an intriguing possibility. In the remainder of this chapter, I wish to turn attention to how the Caxton Malory situates Arthur's body in the contemporary discourse regarding the kingly body and to demonstrate how this draws Edward IV and the discourse of Englishness into his edition.

Arthur's Tomb and the English Nation

Arthur's Status as a (Real) English King

When it came time to title his edition, Caxton chose *Le Morte Darthur*, a title that makes Arthur's body and his death an integral aspect of the work. In selecting this title, he ignored Malory's, which appears in a colophon near the end of Caxton's work: "The Hoole Book of Kyng Arthur and of His Noble

Knyghtes of the Rounde Table..."¹¹⁰ Rather than haphazardly assigning the title, the choice ties into the geographic and historic concerns of the work.

Arthur's status as a historic English king assures us that his body (in life and death) served as a constituting element of the English national community. In conjunction with the generic concerns of the *Morte* that establish the historic reality of Arthur, Caxton's depiction of Arthur's kingly body serves as a locus for collective identity and brings to the fore a sense of Englishness and its relation to the Yorkist monarchs.

The literary tradition surrounding Arthur's body offered two endings to Malory, who seems to have been unable to decide which version he preferred. On the one hand, the literary tradition descending from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* asserted that the mortally wounded Arthur departed for Avalon to be healed of his wounds. In many versions, a prophecy, which foretells of Arthur's return, accompanies this account. The prophecy declares that Arthur did not die and would return. On the other hand, a linguistic argument arose that associated Glastonbury and Avalon.¹¹¹ This argument tied Avalon to a real place and suggested that Arthur died. In 1191, the exhumation of Arthur at Glastonbury Abbey seemed to confirm the association and the

¹¹⁰ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: 940.

¹¹¹ Aelred Watkin, "The Glastonbury Legends," in James P. Carley (ed.), *Glastonbury and the Arthurian Tradition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), p. 16.

death of Arthur.¹¹² Less than a century later in 1278, Edward I and Eleanor of Provence attended the translation of Arthur's bones to a place before the high altar, where a marble tomb was erected.¹¹³ This tomb does not survive, and there is no evidence that Caxton or Malory ever visited Glastonbury.¹¹⁴ The physical existence of Arthur's tomb offered one possibility and the tale of Avalon another. In the *Morte*, Malory negotiates both versions. In fact, John Withrington argues that Malory's originality in this moment arises from his "repeated stress upon inability to reveal the truth, together with a continual reliance upon hearsay."¹¹⁵ Malory's inability to decide renders the Arthurian epitaph "Rex quondam, Rexque futurus" – the once and future king –

¹¹² See Charles T. Wood, "Fraud and its Consequences: Savaric of Bath and the Reform of Glastonbury," in L. Abrams and J.P. Carley (eds.), *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C.A. Raleigh Radford* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 273, 277.

¹¹³ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 120.

¹¹⁴ For a contemporary account, see John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, (ed.) L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906-10), 1: 288. A modern verbal reconstruction is offered by Michelle P. Brown and James P. Carley, "A Fifteenth-Century Revision of the Glastonbury Epitaph to King Arthur," in James P. Carley and Felicity Riddy (eds.), *Arthurian Literature XII* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), pp. 179-92.

¹¹⁵ John Withrington, "The Arthurian Epitaph in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," in James P. Carley (ed.), *Glastonbury and the Arthurian Tradition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), p. 211.

exceptionally problematic.¹¹⁶ Will Arthur return, or is he gone?¹¹⁷ Caxton's title responds to this ambiguous moment in Malory's work.

Whereas Malory's text closes with questions, Caxton's "Preface" opens with ambiguity, and the title closes with certainty as to Arthur's historicity. The "Preface" opens with gentlemen petitioning Caxton to print the story of Arthur, and Caxton questions whether this is properly "history" and whether it is worth printing fiction. Although this account may entirely be a publisher's fiction, it is important to note that the issue of Arthur's historic reality emerges. The issue of historic reality ties directly to the death scene in Malory's work. If his body has actually been discovered, he can hardly have been a fable. Herein, Caxton's title and the conclusion of the "Preface" coordinate to show that Caxton reads Malory less ambiguously than the author's language allows. Rather than allowing the choice to reside in his reader's mind, Caxton's "Preface" triumphantly declares what he cannot deny, "that there was suche a noble kyng named Arthur."¹¹⁸ Malory's work ends unable to select, Caxton's opens without doubt. In addition to this, the title professes Arthur's death. What the reader finds in the Caxton Malory therefore is a historically 'real' Arthur, who is entombed at Glastonbury.

¹¹⁶ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: 928.

¹¹⁷ This epitaph proved resilient and was recast throughout the Middle Ages, See Jonathan Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV* (Stroud: Stroud Publishing, 2002), p. 116.

¹¹⁸ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 855.

The contents of the "Preface" insist that Arthur's historicity matters because of his status as an English king.¹¹⁹ Throughout the "Preface," Arthur is described in specifically regal ways. The first description of him is as "the moost renommed Crysten kyng, fyrst and chyef of the thre best Crysten, and worthy, Kyng Arthur."¹²⁰ The context of Arthur is that of a king, and he is compared to Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bologne, the other two Christian worthies. The "Preface" continues and describes Arthur as "noble Arthur," "noble kyng and conquerour", "noble kyng", and "fyrst and chyef of the Cristen men."¹²¹ Each description frames Arthur as king or conqueror, and this differentiates Caxton's edition from Malory's. In a recent monograph, Ruth Lexton discusses how Caxton's language frames the Malorian story. Whereas the Caxton edition commences with regal references abounding, the Malorian narrative lacks this emphasis on kingship. In Malory's *Tale of Arthur*, Malory utilizes language that associates Arthur with knighthood over kingship, and only once does Malory refer to Arthur as "noble king" – in the mouth of Arthur's enemy King Lot.¹²² Malory's language emphasizes knightly qualities, and Caxton's "Preface" emphasizes the kingly aspect. Although Lexton directs

¹¹⁹ Shunichi Noguchi, "Reading Malory's Text Aloud," in *The Malory Debate*, p. 308

¹²⁰ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 854.

¹²¹ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 854-55.

¹²² Ruth Lexton, *Contested Language in Malory's Morte Darthur: The Politics of Romance in Fifteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), p. 17.

attention away from Caxton, she takes time to observe how remarkable this framing is: “Caxton’s determination to hold Arthur up as an ideal, historical, and heroic king...cut compellingly against the radical transformations of and disillusionment in English kingship.”¹²³ Far from avoiding Arthur’s status as king, Caxton revels in it. This insistence on Arthur’s real status provides political fodder for the Yorkists and brings the political discourse of kingship into play.

Arthur’s Bodies and Edward IV

By raising Arthur’s body at the opening of the *Morte*, Caxton aligns his text with one of the emergent issues of political discourse (that will be full-blown in the Renaissance): the king’s two bodies. The theory of the two bodies differentiated between the king’s natural body and his political body. Ernst H. Kantorowicz’s *The King’s Two Bodies* first popularized the terminology of the “twinned” person. Through careful analysis, Kantorowicz demonstrates that the legal formulation of the two bodies theory was an especially prominent feature of the post-medieval period, but he also traces the intellectual development of the concept through medieval theological and political discourses.¹²⁴ Edmund Plowden’s *Reports* from the reign of Edward VI (r. 1547-33) provides the clearest declaration of the king’s “two Bodies, viz., a Body

¹²³ Lexton, *Contested Language in Malory’s Morte Darthur*, p. 16.

¹²⁴ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 42.

natural, and a Body politic."¹²⁵ The natural body is the individual king, and it is subject to disease, death, decay, et cetera. In contrast, the body politic was an eternal thing "that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal."¹²⁶ The body politic passed from ruler to ruler and can be understood as a collective body, a *res publica*. Essential to the understanding of the two bodies is the "void" of the Political Body, its lack of natural trappings.¹²⁷ In Arthur's context in the Caxton Malory, the *rex futurus* might easily be associated with the body politic.

The Yorkist claimants, especially Edward IV, were consistent and ardent promoters of the Arthurian symbolism and their relationship to the *rex futurus*. In October 1460, Richard duke of York, Edward IV's father, proclaimed his right to the throne before parliament. The premise of the argument was that Henry IV "Bolingbroke" was a usurper (as were his descendants); they had ignored the Yorkist ancestor Edmund Mortimer, whose ancestor Ralph de Mortimer married Gwladus, the heiress of Wales and descendant of Cadwallader, king of the Britons.¹²⁸ While modern scholars and people might

¹²⁵ Edmund Plowden, *Commentaries or Reports* (London, 1816), p. 212a.

¹²⁶ Plowden, *Commentaries*, p. 212a.

¹²⁷ Plowden, *Commentaries*, p. 212a.

¹²⁸ Alison Allen, "Yorkist Propoganda: Pedigree, Prophecy, and the 'British History' in the Reign of Edward IV," in Charles Ross (ed.), *Patronage and Power in Later Medieval England* (Totowa, N.J.: A. Sutton, 1979), pp. 171-92; Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*, p. 118.

see such a tenuous and odd connection to Arthur as weak, Jonathan Hughes's extensive analysis shows how contemporaries valued the Yorkist deployment of "genealogies and prophecies" in their conflict with Henry VI.¹²⁹ The use of these materials was not unusual, especially in disruptive political times such as the War of the Roses. The troubles of the present "were typically healed with the soothing continuities of a founding legend."¹³⁰ However, the level and extent of the development with Arthurian material was unusual. As Hughes writes, "the flowering of Arthurian romance and a Yorkist genealogical history stressing Edward's links" clarifies national identity and establishes a parallel of Arthur and Edward.¹³¹ Both Hughes and Richard Griffith argue that Malory's *Morte* shows Arthur as Edward IV, if the genealogical associations are understood properly.¹³² Edward represents the *rex futurus*, the prophesied return of English kingship.

Yet if Edward was the *rex futurus*, his inhabitation of this position was made possible by the concept of the king's communal body. That is, Edward might become the *rex futurus* only in that part of himself that did not belong to him as an individual but was the communal body politic. The idea that the

¹²⁹ Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*, p. 121.

¹³⁰ Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 199.

¹³¹ Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*, p. 20.

¹³² Hughes, *Arthurian Myths*, p. 20, and Richard R. Griffith, "The Political Bias of Malory's *Morte D'arthur*," *Viator* 5 (1974), 365-86: "Through his Mortimer ancestry Edward could trace his descent from Arthur's heir, Cadwalader, and royal pedigrees of the period consistently do so" (p. 380).

political body was communal, inhabiting an individual, aids the ability of the king to stand as a symbol of national community. This conception was always available so that any king might assert it. Thus, it is not the uniqueness of Edward's claim, but the fervency with which he lays claim to it.

Arthur's Bodies and Communal Identity

Much of the theoretical groundwork of this national connection is laid in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. For Anderson, nothing symbolizes the ideological force of nationalism more than the tombs of Unknown Soldiers. Early in *Imagined Communities*, Anderson's discussion of the cultural roots of modern nationalism differentiates "nationalisms" from other purely political positions. The vehicle that allows for the separation is the various "cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers."¹³³ These tombs represent no single individual; many contain no individual; they are empty, and thus they present a void. Anderson describes this void at length, assuring that the reader understands that this is a purely modern phenomenon:

The public ceremonial reverence accorded these monuments precisely *because* they are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them, has no true precedents in earlier times. To feel the force of this modernity one has only to imagine the general reaction to the busybody who 'discovered' the Unknown Soldier's name or insisted on filling the cenotaph with some real bones. Sacrilege of a strange, contemporary kind! Yet void as these tombs are of identifiable mortal remains or

¹³³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 1991 [1983]), p. 9.

immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings.¹³⁴

The “void,” or lack of singular identity, permits these figures to take on a larger identity than any one person could have, and Anderson argues that, through the tombs, nationalisms achieve an immortal quality, which other political ideologies do not and which likens them to “religious imaginings.”¹³⁵ Although Anderson specifies that the quasi-religious void is a “strange,” modern feature, similar non-specific eternity is likewise conferred on the medieval king.

The eternity of the body politic meant that medieval kings were connected to each other in a line of succession, and this mentality explains the medieval establishments of royal mausoleum. These cemeteries connect the eternity of the body politic with "a continuity of the king's natural body" found in the "hereditary succession" of kings.¹³⁶ Within the royal mausoleum, the king's natural body symbolically participates in the body politic. In historic practice, protecting, preserving, and collecting royal bodies and tombs were a foundational part of dynasties.¹³⁷ The French monarchy was very successful in

¹³⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 9.

¹³⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 9-11. The pseudo-religious quality of national imaginings arises, partly Anderson says, from the fact that the “age of nationalism” begins at the “dusk of religious modes of thought.”

¹³⁶ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 383.

¹³⁷ The Anglo-Saxons were not successful at establishing a royal mausoleum, although several tried over the years: the Old Minster at Winchester, the New Minster at Winchester, and Glastonbury Abbey. For discussion, see Nicole Marafioti, *The King's Body: Burial and Succession in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), pp. 21, 79-80.

this practice at St. Denis.¹³⁸ The English monarchy was less successful in practice. Henry III's reconstruction of Westminster Abbey in 1245 was an effort to establish a royal mausoleum for the kings of England.¹³⁹ Although the burial practices in fifteenth-century England were widely disparate, the time period of 1483 to 1485, when Caxton prepared his edition, marked a moment where the Yorkists seem to establish another tradition.¹⁴⁰ In 1483, Edward IV selected St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle,¹⁴¹ which was "probably intended as a necropolis for the dynasty."¹⁴² One year later, Richard III had Henry VI's remains translated to the Chapel, creating continuity with the past. Richard III

¹³⁸ In France, the royal mausoleum at the Abbey of St. Denis was the burial site of every French king between 877 and 1824 except for Louis II (d. 879) and Louis XI (d. 1483). The tradition and continuity of royal burial at St. Denis enhanced the power and prestige of the Capetian and Valois kings of France.

¹³⁹ Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Although thirteen English monarchs were buried at Westminster between 1245 and 1760, an alternative royal burial site developed at Windsor Castle, which collected the majority of the remaining monarchs. When for political reasons monarchs were not buried at either locus, subsequent rulers often translated the former's remains. This happened to the remains of Richard II (translated to Westminster in Henry V's reign) and Henry VI (translated to Windsor in Richard III's reign).

¹⁴⁰ Fifteenth-century England is an interesting case. The three were all buried at different locations. Henry IV chose to be buried at Canterbury Cathedral in 1413, while his son Henry V elected the traditional burial site of Westminster. Henry VI's intended burial site is "the subject of debate." See G.W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 20-21. But he was buried in 1471 at Chertsey Abbey in Surrey.

¹⁴¹ Hughes, *Arthurian Myth*, p. 177. St. George's Chapel was vitally important to Edward and his Arthurian imagery.

¹⁴² Michael Evans, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2003), p. 29.

was eventually buried near Leicester Cathedral, lost, and rediscovered. Where he wished to be buried remains contested.¹⁴³ However, given the translation of Henry VI, it is plausible that the Yorkists sought to establish a royal mausoleum at St. George's Chapel. The collection of bodies in a royal mausoleum emphasized the body politic over each king's individual, natural body.

Furthermore, Kantorowicz's discussion of funerary rites of kings demonstrates that in death the medieval king's body obtained immediately the same void and communal saturation of the Unknown Soldier. The issue is that the medieval king had a dual nature. The funeral rites of Edward IV are instructive. On the one hand, the funeral practices demonstrated the exact opposite of Anderson's void and communal function. When the king died in 1483, his body was displayed "naked except for a loin cloth."¹⁴⁴ Thus, his natural body was exposed. The king was dead. The audience knows who has died, and the natural body cannot be void of meaning. On the other hand, a life-sized likeness of Edward was prepared for the funeral procession itself.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Since the rediscovery of Richard III's body, a wealth of discussion has arisen, but none of it presents any proof, only speculation. See, for example, Michael Hicks, *Anne Neville: Queen to Richard III* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2011), pp. 212-13; Philip Schwyzer, *Shakespeare and the Remains of Richard III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 16; John Ashdown-Hill, *The Mythology of Richard III* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2015), pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁴⁴ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 416.

¹⁴⁵ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 416.

This likeness was eternal and represented not Edward's body natural, but his body politic. The eternality of this body politic was captured as the heralds cried "Le Roy est vif!"¹⁴⁶ Similar cries developed in France ("le roi ne meurt jamais"),¹⁴⁷ and throughout the centuries the exact phrasing of the cry has become codified. Medieval funerary practices such as that of Edward IV exemplify the "triumph of Death and the triumph over Death."¹⁴⁸ The natural body of the king dies; the body politic – void of natural trappings and as a public entity – remains.

Furthermore, fifteenth-century English aesthetic practices helped bolster the ideological status of the king's communal body. During the late fourteenth century, cadaver or *transi* tombs (also called *memento mori*) emerged as a style.¹⁴⁹ These tombs were an artistic development that began in the twelfth century with the adoption of the *gisant*, a reclining effigy.¹⁵⁰ The tomb effigy was not, of course, isolated to the royal tomb. They appear on the tombs of

¹⁴⁶ Ross, *Edward IV*, p. 417.

¹⁴⁷ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 409. The phrase is "current in France since the sixteenth century." But Kantorowicz discusses the emergence of this statement in a lengthy footnote. For our purposes, the discussion is ancillary, but it is worth noting that in the succeeding pages, while the phrase appears in the sixteenth century, he demonstrates that the underlying concept existed at least in the early fifteenth century, likely earlier.

¹⁴⁸ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 429.

¹⁴⁹ For discussion of development, see Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973),

¹⁵⁰ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 420, suggests Edward II's effigy from 1327 as the earliest example. Yet Henry III's cast bronze effigies predate Edward's effigy by thirty years.

those able and willing to pay for them. Yet, in the context of the royal burial, they might take on meaning. The gisant conventionally presented an eternal, youthful figure of the king, hiding away the decaying body. The Body politic was presented, and the Body natural hidden. *Transi* tombs adapted this idea and displayed a decaying, rotting *gisant*. For royals, a specialized "double-decker" *transi* tomb developed.¹⁵¹ Instead of a single decaying corpse, a two-tier tomb displayed two *gisant*, one on an upper level that was beautiful and a rotting corpse on a lower level.¹⁵² The upper level represented the eternal king or prince, and the lower level represented the individual.¹⁵³ They embody a memory of death and plea with the living to live rightly. However, with the king, the decaying body might represent the individual king and the youthful body his communal, eternal body.¹⁵⁴ This conception aligns with the political

¹⁵¹ Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, (ed.) H.W. Janson (New York: Harry Abrams, 1964), p. 65

¹⁵² Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, p. 65. In subsequent developments, the upper level *gisant* was replaced with kneeling figures. The apex of this style occurred in France during the period of 1515-49, when three successive French kings, Louis XI, Francis I, and Henry II were buried in double *transi* tombs of this style.

¹⁵³ The majority of scholarly interpretations argue *transi* tombs participate in the growing concerns with the *danse macabre*. See, for example, Paul Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 139-52, places *transi* tombs among the macabre fetishes and ideologies of the late Middle Ages. Likewise, Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, p. 48, argues "The role of the *transi* can be understood only in the light of certain religious and emotional phenomena of its time."

¹⁵⁴ Modern scholars have sometimes misread the double-image and argued there is the potential to read it as political decay. For example, Schwyzer, *Shakespeare and the Remains of Richard III*, p. 18, claims that the decaying body

propaganda that the Yorkist genealogy rolls and prophecies professed, and it is this alignment that must have prompted Edward IV to request that a double-decker *transi* tomb be made for him upon his death.¹⁵⁵ While the monument was never completed, his observation of the body-politic incorporation in the line of kings reveals a communal aspect to kingship.

Arthur's Bodies in the Caxton Malory

The communal force of the body politic stems from the root of its power, the people, and the *Morte* keenly highlights this aspect. The precedent of kingly power deriving from the people appears in the Bible. When Samuel appoints his sons judges and they fail to rule properly, the Israelites ask Samuel to appoint a king: "constitue nobis regem ut iudicet nos sicut universae habent nationes" ("Make us a king, to judge us, as all nations have," 1 Sam. 8:5b).¹⁵⁶ In this biblical passage, the political power of the king arises from the demands of the people. That is, the king represents them and holds them to the customs. In

creates a potential to read the body politic as decaying with the death of the king. This is the exact opposite effect that Kantorowicz observes.

¹⁵⁵ No evidence of the execution of Edward's *transi* tomb exists. Sutton et al., *Royal Funerals of the House of York* p. 96; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 150-51. In her analysis of *transi* tombs in England, Pamela King suggests they have a political valence. King argues that most cadaver tombs in England built from 1460 to 1480 were for individuals whose political allegiances belong to Lancastrians. See Pamela King, "The English cadaver tomb in the late fifteenth century: some indications of a Lancastrian connection," in J.H.M. Taylor (ed.), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages* (Liverpool, UK: F. Cairns, 1984), p. 54. It may very well be that Edward's family eschewed his request for these political reasons.

¹⁵⁶ Latin quotations are taken from the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. All translations are taken from the *Douay-Rheims Bible*.

Malory's *Morte*, the scene of Arthur's ascension to the throne parallels this biblical action. Initially, a miracle marks Arthur as king – he pulls the sword from the stone in churchyard. Yet this action does not have the desired effect. Refusing Arthur's rule, the barons and leaders want their chance to pull the sword from the stone first. When the barons fail, the decision is postponed. The Caxton Malory provides the date of these events as Christmas, and the pattern repeats on Candlemass, Easter, and Pentecost. At the feast of Pentecost, the "comyns" ('commons') have had enough, and they cry "We wille have Arthur unto our kyng! We wille put hym no more in delay, for we alle see that it is Goddes wille that he shalle be our kynge, and who that holdeth ageynst it, we wille slee hym."¹⁵⁷ This *election scene*, as Vinaver notes, does not occur in the French sources.¹⁵⁸ Indeed it is a unique moment in the *Arthuriad*. Rather than limiting the impetus of kingship to God, the Caxton Malory works the people (non-nobles) into the Arthurian narrative. In so far as medieval political theory commonly presented similar arguments as the foundation of kingship, such framing of Arthur's rise in the *Morte* represents less a singular, intellectual moment and more the importance of kingship to the larger narrative context.

Caxton notes this theme of kingship and the relationship of the king and people and develops an inclusive English identity across his "Preface." The development of this identity crystalizes through the complaints that people fail

¹⁵⁷ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 1: 10 (ll. 33-35)-11(l. 1)

¹⁵⁸ Vinaver (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3: 1287.

to praise Arthur. In his "Preface," he highlights several times that this is a failure specific to the English people. In some ways, this inverts Malory's *election scene*. Malory's and Caxton's contemporaries fail to recognize Arthur's legitimacy. The first lamentation over this failure emerges from the mouth of "many noble and dyvers gentylnen," who lament that Arthur "ought moost to be remembred emonge us Englysshemen."¹⁵⁹ After briefly recapitulating their position, Caxton makes his retort to these men. He declares that, while some believe in Arthur, other "dyvers men holde oppynyon that there was no suche Arthur" and that the books of his history are "fayned and fables."¹⁶⁰ The gentlemen then offer proof of Arthur's historicity and conclude that "no man" can reasonably object in light of these facts.¹⁶¹ At the end of their proofs, the second lament occurs. The gentleman declare it a "mervayl" that Arthur holds more renown overseas than "in his owne contreye."¹⁶² Caxton relents, agrees in Arthur's validity, and explains that he prints this volume because only lately has Malory's reduction emerged. His printed volume, he declares, ought to morally edify "noble men" and "noble lordes and ladyes with al other estates, or what estate or degree they been of."¹⁶³ The final purpose of the volume extends over all members of English society and not simply the nobles, but

¹⁵⁹ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 854.

¹⁶⁰ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 854.

¹⁶¹ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 855.

¹⁶² Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 855.

¹⁶³ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 856.

they have not merely emerged here at the conclusion. Caxton includes them throughout the "Preface" through the ideological structure of power he presents.

Caxton's "Preface" reflects the bottom-up power structure of Malory's *election scene* through the inclusion of the gentry among the initial complainers. Caxton's language, i.e., "many noble and dyvers gentylnen," includes two distinct groups in English society, the nobles and the gentry.¹⁶⁴ While continental practices failed to differentiate between the two groups, English practices kept the two apart. The nobles enjoyed a higher social status than the gentry and had a permanent place in parliament. These men sometimes held non-contiguous earldoms and were political players on a national scale. In contrast, the gentry were a lower nobility and held more localized power.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the localization of their power meant that ideologically they represented a more diverse element of the English people. In several articles, J.R. Maddicott shows that shires during the fourteenth century became active political communities "electing representatives, petitioning, and expressing its

¹⁶⁴ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 854.

¹⁶⁵ K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 55. See also Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), esp. Ch. 2. Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 240, describes the gentry as "a watered-down version of the nobility."

views in parliament.¹⁶⁶ Some of the gentry represented a shire in parliament, and thus Caxton's inclusion of the gentry in the formal complaint creates a bottom-up structure similar to that of the election scene. The cry for Arthur's validation comes from the English community. In subsequent laments, the language takes on a more universal character, and the final construction of audience opens upon "al other estates."¹⁶⁷

The "Preface" also couches Arthur's value in relation to the English language. The conception of Englishness (a sense of an individual "as English"¹⁶⁸) and vernacularization have received exceeding amounts of scholarly attention.¹⁶⁹ In one of the boldest declarations of the connection between medieval vernacularization and nationhood, Thorlac Turville-Petre declares, "The very act of writing in English is a statement about belonging."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ J.R. Maddicott, "The Country Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England," *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 28 (1978), p. 43. See also Maddicott, "Magna Carta and the Local Community 1215-59," *Past and Present* 102 (1984), 25-64; "Parliament and Constituencies, 1272-1377," in Richard G. Davies and J.H. Denson (eds.), *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 61-87.

¹⁶⁷ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 856.

¹⁶⁸ Jill C. Havens, "As Englishe is Comoun Langage to Oure Puple: The Lollards and Their Imagined "English" Community," in Kathy Lavazzo (ed.), *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), p. 97.

¹⁶⁹ For introduction, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (eds.), *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

¹⁷⁰ Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England, the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 11.

While caution is needed, the English language does appear a concern of Caxton's "Preface." When Caxton offers an account of his reaction in this dispute, he highlights the limits of the English Arthurian tradition, saying "somme [tales exist] in Englysshe, but nowher nygh alle."¹⁷¹ From the printer's perspective, this dearth presents an absence into which his work might be inserted. That is, this statement establishes the reason individuals ought to purchase his work. The purely economic explanation overrides the previous discussion of the gentlemen that Caxton recounts. Whether these arguments were invented by Caxton or a true account matters less than how they tie Arthur to *translatio imperii*.

Arthur becomes a supreme cultural artifact, a perfect embodiment of the *translatio imperii*: that is, the long-held perception that over the centuries the center of power in Europe had migrated from east to west. This is achieved on geographic and linguistic levels. Tempting as it is to equate language and land, compressing geography and language is unnecessary. The gentlemen's argument depends on geography. They suggest Arthur is spoken of "beyond the see," and "moo books made of his noble actes, than there be in Englonde; as wel in Duche, Ytalyen, Spaynysshe, and Grekysshe, as in Frensshe."¹⁷² The gentlemen, focusing on where Arthur is discussed, compare continental treatments with those made in England. Curiously, he compares England, a

¹⁷¹ Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 855.

¹⁷² Field (ed.), *Sir Thomas Malory*, 2: 855.

place, with languages (of other places).¹⁷³ This rhetorical maneuver requires a compression of nation and language and creates a connection between the two, a procedure to which some scholars have objected.¹⁷⁴ Amid the geographic discussion, the gentlemen interject books, and the linguistic list is understood better in this context. Not only is the conclusion Caxton's pitch for his book, but in the previous paragraph the gentlemen have mentioned several books in Latin. In this respect, the movement in this section of the "Preface" might model a *translatio imperii*, from Latin to the vernacular. Vernacular language forms a sense of nation as it moves along the historical continuum as imperial power did.

Caxton was familiar with the manner in which *translatio imperii* animated imaginings of a medieval English nation through his printing of Higden's *Polychronicon*. Caxton printed the *Polychronicon* in 1482, immediately prior to setting to work on the Malorian edition. In Ranulf Higden's work, Caxton found a framing of the English as the heir to the Roman world. History becomes part of the *translatio*.¹⁷⁵ In this historical mode, the English promoted

¹⁷³ While the Middle English Dictionary (MED) does not gloss England as a reference to the language, all of the subsequent comparisons are to languages. The MED lists four of these, "Duche," "Spaynysshe," "Grekysse," and "Frensshe," as references to languages; no word in the MED denotes the Italian language. The Oxford English Dictionary lists Caxton's "Preface" as the earliest use of Italian for the language.

¹⁷⁴ For a discussion of the issue, see Havens, "As Engliche is Comoun Langage to Oure Puple."

¹⁷⁵ Kathy Lavazzo, *Angel on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), p. 25.

an affinity to Rome, while simultaneously standing in extreme alterity to it. In Malory's *Morte*, the legacy and opposition dynamically met in the "Roman War" episode. Caxton's framing of the *Morte* within the *translatio imperii* project highlights that the legacy of Rome found expression in the vernacular on a general plane and on a plane specific to England through the figure of Arthur as legitimate heir to Roman authority. For this reason, Arthur's body and tomb serve as symbolic centers of English nationhood.¹⁷⁶ Arthur's kingship

¹⁷⁶ A final aspect of how Arthur acts as a symbol for English national community is where Caxton affirms he is buried. While the potential was present in Malory, he refused to declare his judgment. Caxton affirms Arthur's burial at Glastonbury Abbey. This is essential because Glastonbury was the historic site for the establishment of the Christian community in England. Being able to trace national origins to a specific, ancient moment was integral to establishing venerability and prestige among other European nations, and at the Council of Pisa in 1409 the English delegate Bishop Robert Hallum of Salisbury utilized the foundation myth of St. Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury in order to venerate England; See Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, trans. Henri Leclercq (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ané, 1916), pp. 30-31, <https://archive.org/details/histoiredesconcil71hefele>. Valerie M. Lagorio, "The Evolving Legend of St Joseph of Glastonbury," *Speculum* 46.2 (1971), 209-31, suggests that Bishop Hallum raises these concerns in order "to prove [England's] status as a Christian nation, on par with France, Italy, Spain, and Germany" since Christianity as a universal practice was breaking into national variations (see Lagorio, "The Evolving Legend," p. 221). When Caxton reiterates that Arthur lies at Glastonbury he ties into this national current, the pull of which is so strong that the power of the Joseph of Arimathea myth can be detected in Reformation discourses and even affected the construction of *Redcrosse* in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590). For discussion of protestant adaptation, see James Carley, "Glastonbury, The Grail-Beaer and the Sixteenth-Century Antiquaries," in Norris Lacy (ed.), *The Grail, the Quest, and the World of Arthur* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 156-72. For discussion of Spenser, see Kenneth Hodges, "Making Arthur Protestant: Translating Malory's Grail Quest into Spenser's Book of Holiness," *Review of English Studies* 62 (2011), 193-211, esp. p. 195.

legitimized the English community and galvanized them around the monarchy.

Conclusion

Through the generic-geography and close attention to the importance of Arthur's body, Caxton is able to forge a sense of an English national community in Malory's *Morte*. While Malory himself may have endeavored to create an English national mythos and literary heritage, it is Caxton who actually bequeaths and shapes this legacy for readers. The "Preface" lays out the concerns with history, geography, and the kingly body and, consequently, those aspects of the Malorian text are brought to the fore in order to promote an ideology of Englishness at the heart of which lies Arthur. That these themes and concerns resonate with the propaganda and preoccupations of the Yorkist rulers of England merely serves to indicate how effective Caxton was at attuning his text to his audience. Moreover, as scholars, we must be careful of attributing too much to the author. Only in the Caxton Malory is England equatable with Logres, does Arthur's body receive extra attention, and does the progress of Arthur reflect contemporary sociomilitary concerns.

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Appendix I: Abbreviations of the *Canterbury Tales* and its

Manuscripts

Abbreviations of Chaucer's Tales

<i>CkT</i>	<i>Cook's Tale</i>	<i>MkT</i>	<i>Monk's Tale</i>
<i>ClT</i>	<i>Clerk's Tale</i>	<i>NPT</i>	<i>Nun's Priest's Tale</i>
<i>FkT</i>	<i>Franklin's Tale</i>	<i>PdT</i>	<i>Pardoner's Tale</i>
<i>FrT</i>	<i>Friar's Tale</i>	<i>PhT</i>	<i>Physician's Tale</i>
<i>GP</i>	<i>General Prologue</i>	<i>PrT</i>	<i>Prioress's Tale</i>
<i>KnT</i>	<i>Knight's Tale</i>	<i>PsT</i>	<i>Parson's Tale</i>
<i>MLT</i>	<i>Man of Law's Tale</i>	<i>ReT</i>	<i>Reeve's Tale</i>
<i>MeT</i>	<i>Merchant's Tale</i>	<i>SNT</i>	<i>Second Nun's Tale</i>
<i>Mel</i>	<i>Tale of Melibee</i>	<i>WBT</i>	<i>Wife of Bath's Tale</i>
<i>MiT</i>	<i>Miller's Tale</i>		

Manuscript Sigla

<i>Ad</i> ¹	London, British Library MS Additional 5140	<i>Cp</i>	Oxford, Corpus Christi MS 198
<i>Ad</i> ²	London, British Library MS Additional 25718	<i>Ct</i>	Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun. A.4.104
<i>Ad</i> ³	London, British Library MS Additional MS 35286	<i>Dd</i>	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24
<i>Ad</i> ⁴	London, British Library MS Additional MS 10340	<i>Dl</i>	New Haven, Takamiya Deposit, Beinecke Library MS 32
<i>Ar</i>	London, British Library MS Arundel 140	<i>Do</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce d.4 [s.c. 21981]
<i>Bo</i> ¹	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 414 [s.c. 27880]	<i>Ds</i> ¹	New Haven, Takamiya Deposit, Beinecke Library MS 24
<i>Bo</i> ²	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686	<i>Ds</i> ²	Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, Duke of Devonshire
<i>Bw</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Barlow 20 [s.c. 6420]	<i>Ee</i>	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ee.2.15
<i>Ch</i>	Oxford, Christ Church MS CLII		
<i>Cn</i>	Austin, University of Texas, Humanities Research Center, HRC Pre-1700 MS 143		

<i>El</i>	San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL.26.C.9 ("Ellesmere")	<i>Hn</i>	San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 144
<i>En¹</i>	London, British Library MS Egerton 2726	<i>Ht</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton donat. 1 [S.C. 4138]
<i>En²</i>	London, British Library MS Egerton 2863	<i>li</i>	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ii.3.26
<i>En³</i>	London, British Library MS Egerton 2864	<i>Kk</i>	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Kk.1.3 (20)
<i>Fi</i>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum McLean MS 181	<i>La</i>	London, British Library MS Lansdowne 851
<i>Gg</i>	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27	<i>Lc</i>	Staffordshire, Lichfield Cathedral Library MS 29 (olim MS 2)
<i>Gl</i>	Glasgow, University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum MS 197	<i>Ld¹</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 600 [SC 1476]
<i>Ha¹</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 1239	<i>Ld²</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 739 [SC. 1234]
<i>Ha²</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 1758	<i>Ll¹</i>	Bath, England, Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257
<i>Ha³</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 7333	<i>Ll²</i>	Wiltshire, Longleat House (Marquess of Bath) Longleat MS 29
<i>Ha⁴</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 7334	<i>Ln</i>	Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS 110=A.4.18
<i>Ha⁵</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 7335	<i>Ma</i>	Manchester, University of Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Manchester English 113
<i>He</i>	Princeton, Princeton University Library MS 100	<i>Mc</i>	Chicago, University of Chicago Library MS 564
<i>Hg</i>	Aberystwith, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 392 D ("Hengwrt")	<i>Me</i>	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21972 D
<i>Hk</i>	Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, Holkham Hall (Earl of Leicester) MS 667	<i>Mg</i>	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 249
<i>Hl¹</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 1704	<i>Mm</i>	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Mm.2.5
<i>Hl²</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 2251		
<i>Hl³</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 2382		
<i>Hl⁴</i>	London, British Library MS Harley 5908		

<i>Ne</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library New College, MS Oxford 314	<i>Ra²</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 149 [s.c. 14641]
<i>Nl</i>	Alnwick, Northumberland, Duke of Northumberland MS Northumberland 455	<i>Ra³</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 223 [s.c. 14714]
<i>Np</i>	Naples, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Naples MS XIII.B.29	<i>Ra⁴</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.86 [s.c. 11951]
<i>Ox¹</i>	Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 63	<i>Ry¹</i>	London, British Library Royal MS 17.d.xv
<i>Ox²</i>	Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/2	<i>Ry²</i>	London, British Library Royal MS 18.c.ii
<i>Ph¹</i>	Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center MS 46	<i>Se</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden. B. 14 [s.c. 3360]
<i>Ph²</i>	Geneva (Coligny), Foundation Martin Bodmer Cod. Bodmer 48	<i>Si</i>	New Haven, Takamiya Deposit, Beinecke Library MS 22
<i>Ph³</i>	Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/1	<i>Sl¹</i>	London, British Library MS Sloane 1685
<i>Ph⁴</i>	San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 140	<i>Sl²</i>	London, British Library MS Sloane 1686
<i>Pl</i>	New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Plimpton MS 253	<i>Sl³</i>	London, British Library MS Sloane 1009
<i>Pp</i>	Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006	<i>St</i>	Stonyhurst, Clitheroe, Lancashire, Stonyhurst College MS B.XXIII [HMC 26]
<i>Ps</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Anglais 39	<i>Tc¹</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.3
<i>Pw</i>	Sussex, Petworth House National Trust MS 7	<i>Tc²</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.15
<i>Py</i>	London, Royal College of Physicians MS 388	<i>Tc³</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19
<i>Ra¹</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 141 [s.c. 14635]	<i>To¹</i>	Oxford, Trinity College MS Arch. 49
		<i>To²</i>	Oxford, Trinity College MS D 29

Abbreviations of Constant Groups

a-Group - *Cn, Dd, En¹, Ma*

b-Group - *Cx¹ (Caxton's First Edition), He, Ne, Tc²*

c-Group - *Cp, La, Sl²*

d-Group - *Dl, En², Gl, Ha², Lc, Ld², Mg, Mm, Ph³, Pw, Ry², Sl¹*

Fragments and Group

Fragment	Group	Tales
Fragment I	A	General Prologue, Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook
Fragment II	B ¹	Man of Law
Fragment III	D	Wife of Bath, Friar, Summoner
Fragment IV	E	Clerk, Merchant
Fragment V	F	Squire, Franklin
Fragment VI	C	Physician, Pardoner
Fragment VII	B ²	Shipman, Prioress, Sir Thopas, Melibee, Monk, Nun's Priest
Fragment VIII	G	Second Nun, Canon's Yeoman
Fragment IX	H	Manciple
Fragment X	I	Parson