

Richard Coeur de Lion:
An Edition from the London Thornton Manuscript

2 Volumes

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VOLUME 1

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Abstract

In the past decade, the Middle English romance *Richard Coeur de Lion* has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention; nevertheless, the studies have not been as abundant as its richness and complexity may merit. There are two reasons for this: first, Karl Brunner's 1913 edition, which has long been out of print, is virtually inaccessible. Second, even when Brunner's edition is available, its critical apparatus and scanty notes – in German – have long been out of date.

This thesis provides an edition of *Richard Coeur de Lion* from the London Thornton Manuscript, which has never been edited before. The edited text is accompanied by side-glosses and a full critical apparatus, which includes an Introduction, Explanatory and Textual Notes, a complete Glossary, Index of Names, and Episode Chart. In addition, eight maps and fifty-four plates illustrate the edition.

The Introduction to the edition is divided into five sections. The first of them, 'Manuscripts & Early Printed Editions', describes the manuscripts and the two early sixteenth-century printed editions in which *Richard* is extant, and then advances the scholarship with regard to the relationship between the manuscripts. The second section, 'Editing Middle English Texts', revises the methods of editing and their theoretical and pragmatic limits; it then focuses on the particular problems of editing *Richard Coeur de Lion*. The section ends with a brief account of the life and milieu of the scribe and compiler Robert Thornton.

The following section, 'Date of Composition', takes issue with two nineteenth- and early twentieth-century assumptions. First, that the Middle English *Richard* is a translation of a (lost) Anglo-Norman romance and second, that there was an 'original' historical text later 'contaminated' by fictional additions. The third section, 'Sources', studies the

diversity of sources and influences that lie behind the composition of *Richard* to show the extent to which this romance has to be studied as the product of a poetic process of re-utilization and re-creation of sources; this is illustrated by a case study. The final section of the Introduction, 'History versus Fiction', examines the tension – or lack of it – between the historical and the fabulous parts of the romance, contrasting the medieval self-awareness of *Richard* as a romance with its modern reception. The section ends with a case study that exhibits *Richard*'s textual wealth.

Author's declaration

The work in this thesis was developed by the author between January 2006 and December 2009. It is the original work of the author except where acknowledged by reference.

Table of Contents

VOLUME 1

Abstract	2
Author's Declaration	4
Table of Contents	5
Acknowledgements	8
Abbreviations	10
List of Illustrations	13
Synopsis	17
Preface	20

INTRODUCTION

Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions	27
1. Description of the manuscripts containing <i>Richard</i>	28
1.1. A London, College of Arms MS HDN 58	29
1.2. Bd Gloucestershire, Badminton House, MS Badminton 704.1.16	31
1.3. C Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 175/96	32
1.3.1. Gonville & Caius <i>Richard</i> : Language	33
1.4. D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 228	34
1.5. E London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862	35
1.6. H London, British Library, MS Harley 4690	37
1.7. L The Auchinleck MS	39
1.8. B The London Thornton MS. British Library, MS Additional 31042	41
1.8.1. Collation	43
1.8.2. Contents	45
2. Geographical distribution of the manuscripts	55
3. Relationship between the manuscripts	56
Editing Middle English Texts	63
1. Editing Methods.	63

1.1. Theoretical and pragmatic limits of recension and the direct method	67
1.2. The editor's dilemma	70
2. Editing <i>Richard Coeur de Lion</i>	74
2.1. The Editions by Brunner and Schellekens	78
3. Editing the London Thornton <i>Richard</i>	81
4. Robert Thornton and the London Thornton <i>Richard</i>	84
4.1. Robert Thornton	84
4.2. The London Thornton <i>Richard</i>	87
4.2.1. Dialectal features	87
4.2.2. Versification and literary features	89
4.3. Dialectal and orthographical differences between the Thornton and the Gonville and Caius versions	90
4.4. Thornton's self-corrections	91
Date of Composition	95
1. Introduction	95
2. 'Historical' account of the Third Crusade	96
2.1. Longespee and Robynet	98
3. Interpolations	102
3.1. Multon and Doly	103
4. Conclusion	106
Sources	108
1. 'So says the boke': Sources of <i>Richard Coeur de Lion</i>	108
1. 1. Chronicles of the Third Crusade	110
1.1.1. The <i>Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle</i>	112
1. 2. Romance connections	116
1. 3. Warfare and military manuals	117
2. Sources in practice: Hybrid episodes	118
3. Case study 1: Richard's demon-mother	121
3.1. Cassodoren's fabulous ship	122
3.2. Portrait of a demon-lady	126

3.2.1. Gervase of Tylbury's 'Lady of the Castle of L'Éparvier'	127
3.2.2. Gerald of Wales's 'Demon Countess of Anjou'	128
3.2.3. The fourteenth-century revival: Cassodoren and Melusine	130
3.3. Conclusion	133
History versus Fiction	135
1. Introduction	135
2. Medieval generic self-awareness	136
3. Scholarly reception of <i>Richard</i>	143
4. Case study 2: Make-believe through warfare	149
4.1. Acre	149
4.2. Siege warfare and nationalistic diatribe	153
4.3. Single combat	158
4.4. Conclusion	161
Appendix 1: Episode Chart	162
Illustrations	169
Bibliography	191
Index of Names	214

VOLUME 2

Table of Contents	2
This Edition	3
<i>Richard Coeur de Lion</i>	5
Explanatory Notes	148
Textual Notes	197
Appendix 2	227
Glossary	234

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Abbreviations

Versions of *Richard Coeur de Lion*

- A** London, College of Arms, MS HDN 58.
- B** London Thornton MS: London, British Library, MS Additional 31042.
- Bd** Gloucestershire, Badminton House, MS Badminton 704.1.16.
- C** Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 175/96.
- D** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 228.
- E** London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862.
- H** London, British Library, MS Harley 4690.
- L** Auchinleck MS: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.2.1
- W** 1509 & 1528 Wynkyn de Worde printed editions.
-
- Ambroise** *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte.* Edited & translated by Marianne Ailes & Malcolm Barber. 2 vols, vol.1, Text, vol. 2, Translation. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.
- AN** Anglo-Norman
- Arhtour & Merlin* *Of Arthur and of Merlin.* In *The Auchinleck Manuscript.* Edited by David Burnley & Alison Wiggins, National Library of Scotland <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/>
- Bahā' al-Din** Bahā' al-Din Ibn Shaddād. *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin.* Translated by D. S. Richards. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Brut* *The Brut or the Chronicles of England.* Edited by F. W. D. Brie. EETS 131. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, 1906-8; repr. 1987.
- Chronica* Roger of Howden. *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene.* Edited by William Stubbs. Rolls Series 51. 4 vols. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964.

- Chronicle* Robert Mannyng de Brunne. *The Chronicle*. Edited by Idelle Sullens. Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamton, 1996.
- Cronicon* Richard of Devizes. *Cronicon Ricardi Dividensis de Tempore Regis Ricardi Primi. The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*. Edited by John Appleby, London & Edinburgh: Nelson, 1963.
- DNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by H. C. G. Matthew & B. Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- EETS Early English Text Society
- Gabrieli *Arab Historians of the Crusades*. Selected & translated by Francesco Gabrieli. Translated from the Italian by E. J. Costello. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Gesta* Roger of Howden. *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*. Edited by W. Stubbs. 2 vols. Rolls Series 49. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964.
- IP* *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. Translated by Helen Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- LALME* McIntosh, Angus, et al. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. 4 vols. Oxford: Pergamon Books & Aberdeen University Press, 1986.
- Langtoft *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*. Edited by Thomas Wright. Rolls Series 47. 2 vols. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964.
- Mandeville Mandeville, Sir John. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. London: Penguin, 2005.
- Marco Polo Marco Polo. *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian*. London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1926.
- ME Middle English
- MED* *Middle English Dictionary*. University of Michigan (2001). <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
- MnE Modern English
- NME Northern Middle English
- OE Old English

- OED* *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press (2009).
<http://dictionary.oed.com/entrance.dtl>
- OF* Old French
- Opera V* Geraldus Cambrensis. *Topographia Hibernica*. In *Geraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. 5. Edited by J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner. 8 vols. Rolls Series, 21. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964.
- Opera VIII* Giraldus Cambrensis. *De Principis Instructione Liber*. In *Geraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. 8. Edited by J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner. 8 vols. Rolls Series 21. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964.
- Otia* Gervase of Tilbury. *Otia Imperialia*. Edited and translated by S. E. Banks & J. W. Binns. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.
- Otto von Freising Otto of Freising. *Chronicon*. Edited by G.H. Pertz. Hanover: Hahn, 1867. In *The Crusades: A Documentary History*. Translated by James Brundage. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962.
- PMLA* *Publications of the Modern Language Association*
- Polychronicon* *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, vol. 3. Edited by Joseph R. Lumby. 9 vols. Rolls Series 41. New York: Kraus Reprint: 1964.
- PP* *Piers Plowman*
- Short Chronicle *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*. Edited by E. Zetzl. EETS OS 196. London: H. Milford and Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Tractatus de Modo* *Tractatus de Modo Preparandi et Condiendi Omnia Cibaria*. Edited by Marianne Mulon. In 'Deux traités inédits d'art culinaire médiéval'. *Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, 1971 (for 1968): 380-395.
- vr(r). variant spelling(s).
- Ymagine* Ralph of Diceto. *Ymagine Historiarum*. In *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*. Edited by W. Stubbs. 2 vols. Rolls Series 68. New York: Kraus Reprint: 1965.

List of Illustrations

Frontispiece (vol. 2)

London, British Library, MS Additional 31042. London Thornton Manuscript, fol. 159^v.

Figures (vol. 1)

		page
1	Map showing the distribution of manuscripts containing <i>Richard</i>	55
2	Brunner's stemma	56
3	Relationship between the houses of Multon and Doly	108

Maps (vol. 1, pp. 172-76)

- 1 Plan of Acre at the time of the crusades; my drawing based on Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 27.
- 2 Richard I's route to the Holy Land (via France, Sicily and Cyprus) and his journey back to England (via Germany).
<http://www.minster.york.sch.uk/historyweb/Crusades/crusade%20maps.htm>.
- 3 Third Crusade. Itineraries of Richard I, Philip Augustus, Frederick Barbarossa, and Henry of Champagne. Hooper & Bennet, *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas. Warfare. The Middle Ages 768-1487*, 99.
- 4 Cyprus. Ailes & Barber, *The History of the Holy War*, 2: xvii.
- 5 Sites in the Holy Land associated with the Third Crusade. Ailes & Barber, 2: xix.
- 6 Fortifications in the Holy Land at the time of the crusades. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, xvi.
- 7 Present-day Middle East.
8. Empire of Alexander the Great. <http://www.uncp.edu/home/rwb/alexmap.gif>

Plates (vol. 1, pp. 177-93)

- 1.1 Richard enters Acre harbour. The Auchinleck MS, fol. 326^r. National Library of Scotland. http://www.nls.uk:8080/StyleServer/calcrn?cat=Auchinleck&item=/326r.sid&style=maps.xsl&wid=500&hei=500&browser=win_ie&plugin=false.

- 1.2 Chain (detail).
- 2 Aerial view of present-day Acre (Akko), Israel.
http://www.noapass.co.il/noapass/Noa_Tours_Israel/pics/Acre_tours_israel_1.jpg.
- 3 Knight and horse armour.
<http://www.houseshadowwolf.com/DiagramArmourEquestrian.jpg>
- 4 Basinet. Probably German or Italian, late fourteenth century. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 5 Helm. English, last quarter of fourteenth century. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 6.1 Helm and crest. Milan, early sixteenth century. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 6.2 Knight wearing helm and crest. Heidelberg, Bibliotheca Palatina, Codex Manesse, c.1304.
- 7 Aventail underneath a basinet with visor. North of Italy, c. 1390. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 8 Besegew. Modern reproduction of a fifteenth century original.
<http://p7.hostingprod.com/@illusionarmoring.com/shou14th.JPG>
- 9 Gorget. Modern reproduction.
<http://home.messiah.edu/~gdaub/armor/pictures/fletcher/gorget.jpg>
- 10 Habergon. Modern reproduction.
<http://home.messiah.edu/~gdaub/armor/pictures/fletcher/habergon.jpg>
- 11 Hauberk. Modern reproduction.
<http://home.messiah.edu/~gdaub/armor/pictures/fletcher/hauberk.jpg>
- 12 Pizaine. German, fifteenth century. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 13 Acton, actoun, aketon or gambeson (a padded jack). Morgan Bible, fol. 10^r, 13th century.
- 14 Arrow and bolts. Modern reproductions of fifteenth century originals. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 15 Crossbow and bolts. Crossbow German, fifteenth century; bolts, fifteenth century. Royal Armouries collections, Leeds; my photograph.
- 16 Turkish bow. Modern reproduction.
http://www.nomadbows.com/htm/L7_Torok/0.jpg
- 17 Spears and lances. University of California at Davis, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 2005. <http://medieval.ucdavis.edu/20C/Weapons.html>

- 18 Pikes. University of California at Davis, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 2005, <http://medieval.ucdavis.edu/20C/Weapons.html>
- 19 Bills. University of California at Davis, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 2005, <http://medieval.ucdavis.edu/20C/Weapons.html>.
- 20 Swords. From left to right: Norman; falchion; 13th-century; 14th-century double-handed. Bennet, *Fighting Techniques of the Medieval World: AD 500-1500*, 44.
- 21 Staff-slingers. Crusaders attacking Damietta, Egypt, in 1248. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, Cambridge Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol. 55^v.
- 22 Cogs in a sea battle. London, British Library, MS Royal 10. E. IV, fol. 19; in Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships and Shipping*, 155.
- 23 The rigging of the ship on the King's Lynn bench end, c. 1415-20. National Maritime Museum; picture in Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships and Shipping*, 58.
- 24 Genoese dromond. <http://nestmitchtri.blogspot.com/2009/03/naval-support-in-crusades.html>.
- 25 Venetian-style galley. Bennet, *Fighting Techniques*, 227.
- 26 Navy, *nef* or *hulc*. Flatman, *Ships and Shipping in Medieval Manuscripts*, 87.
- 27 Attack on the city walls from the sea. Bennet, *Fighting Techniques*, 228.
- 28.1 Siege tower. Modern reconstruction.
<http://www.tfguild.org/news/images/seigetower1.jpg>
- 28.2 Army attacking a fortification using a siege tower. *Kingdom of Heaven*. Directed by Ridley Scott. Twentieth Century Fox, 2005.
- 29.1 Springald. *The Romance of Alexander*, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 264, c.1338-44.
- 29.2 Modern reconstruction of a springald. Tower of London; my photograph.
- 30.1 Reconstruction of a traction Trebuchet. Re-enactment of the 1327 Siege of Caerphilly Castle (2009); my photograph.
- 30.2 Counterweight trebuchet. Bibliotheque Municipale de Lyon, MS 828 fol. 33^r, c. 1280.
- 30.3 Reconstruction of a counterweight trebuchet. Re-enactment of the 1327 siege of Caerphilly Castle (2009); my photograph.
- 31 Mangonel. Bennet, *Fighting Techniques*, 188.

- 32 Undermining. Stages of undermining a fortification: first, digging a tunnel, and second, setting a fire to make the wall or tower collapse. Dougherty, *Weapons and Fighting Techniques of the Medieval Warrior*, 182.
- 33 Robert Thornton's signature: *R Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus Amen*. Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 91, fol. 53^r.
- 34.1 & 34.2 Stonegrave Minster. Tomb of Robert Thornton's parents and detail of Thornton's arms; my photographs.
- 35 St James as a pilgrim, with staff, satchel and cloak (14th-century stained glass at St Mary Castlegate, York).
- 36.1 Richard and Saladin's single combat; Chertsey Tiles, c. 1280.
- 36.2 Richard and Saladin's single combat; Luttrell Psalter, fol. 82; executed in 1320-40.
- 37.1 Arms of Richard I from 1189 to 1198. Gules two lions rampant Or.
- 37.2 Arms of Richard I from 1198; arms of England from 1198 to 1340. Gules three lions passant guardant in pale Or armed and langued Azure.
- 38. Wynkyn de Worde's engravings for *Kynge Rycharde Cuer du Lyon***
- 38.1 Tournament at Salisbury. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Av^v; 73 x 89. Hodnett 1101.
- 38.2.1 Pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Biii^v; 90 x 73. Hodnett 1225.
- 38.2.2 Voyage to the Holy Land. Oxford, Bodleian Library, S. Selden d. 45, fol. Biii^v; 69 x 93. Hodnett 1109.
- 38.3 Captivity in Almayne. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Ciiii^v; 72 x 97. Hodnett 1104.
- 38.4 Messenger takes Richard's letter to England. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Cviii^r; 66 x 88. Hodnett 1105.
- 38.5 Naval battle. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Fii^v; 71 x 98. Hodnett 1107.
- 38.6 Fierce battle. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Gi^v; 71.5 x 97. Hodnett 1117.
- 38.7 Arrival at Acre. Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Gviii^r; 63.5 x 90. Hodnett 1100.
- 38.8 Assault on Acre. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Hiii^v; 72 x 97. Hodnett 1118.
- 38.9 Battle between Richard's and Saladin's armies. *Kynge Rycharde Cuer du Lyon*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, fol. Lviii^r; 69 x 94. Hodnett 1106.

Synopsis

Richard Coeur de Lion opens with Henry II sending his messengers in search of a suitable wife. They find a princess from Antioch, called Cassodoren, who refuses to witness the consecration of the host. Despite that, the king and queen live in harmony for fifteen years, and have three children, Richard, John and Topyas. One day Henry, on the advice of a baron, orders his soldiers to force Cassodoren to stay in church for the elevation of the host, but she overpowers them and flies away through the church roof taking her daughter with her. After Henry's death, Richard is crowned; the new king summons all his barons to a tournament at Salisbury. There, Richard – in disguise – tests his knights and two of them stand out: Thomas of Multon and Fulk Doly. Richard then proposes that the three of them should go and spy out the Holy Land disguised as pilgrims. They do so and, on their way back to England, are captured by the King of Almayne (Germany). While they are in prison, the King of Almayne's son challenges Richard to an exchange of blows; Richard accepts and kills him with a single blow of his hand. In revenge, the king decides to starve Richard and his companions but Margery, the king's daughter who loves Richard, sends him food and wine and orders him to come to her chamber, which he does for several nights. When her father learns of it, he determines to kill Richard; to that end, he is advised to bring a starving lion to Richard's cell. Warned by Margery, however, Richard rips out the lion's heart, and eats it. The King of Almayne then accepts ransom, and Richard and his barons return to England.

In a flashback, the romance tells how, through the treacherous behaviour of Count Roys (Raymond II of Tripoli) and the Marquis of Montferrat, the Holy Land has been lost to Saladin. As a result, the pope has called for a crusade and princes around the world have taken the cross. Richard then summons his barons and informs them that he is going

to the Holy Land. He sends his fleet to Marseille, while he crosses through Almayne; there he demands – and obtains – the treasure paid for his ransom. Once he arrives in Marseille, he sails with his fleet to Messina, where he has to defend himself from treacherous accusations made by the King of France, Philip (Augustus). After unveiling the French treason, Richard makes peace with the ruler of Messina and the fleet leaves for Cyprus. The first of Richard's ships to arrive at Cyprus is wrecked by a storm and the emperor of that land seizes it, and captures its crew. On arriving, Richard sends ambassadors to the emperor to demand the return of his men and treasure, but the ambassadors are attacked by the furious emperor. Fearing Richard's vengeance, the emperor's steward advises his master to comply with Richard's demands, but the emperor cuts off the steward's nose. The steward then escapes, joins Richard's camp, and advises him as to how to defeat the emperor. The emperor is defeated, captured and imprisoned.

The crusader fleet sail for the Holy Land. En route to Acre, Richard fights a naval battle with a Saracen supply ship, which is sunk. When Richard arrives at the siege of Acre, he is told of the hardship and fatalities suffered by the Christian besiegers, who are themselves besieged by Saladin's army. Richard attacks immediately, using various siege warfare tactics; he achieves more in one morning than the whole crusader army has achieved in seven years. However, he soon becomes ill and longs for pork, but his men cannot find pigs anywhere in the region. As Richard's health worsens, in desperation, his men kill a young Saracen, cook him and make a soup for Richard. After eating the soup, Richard immediately gets better and demands the pig's head. The cook brings the head of the Saracen and, when Richard sees it, he elaborates a plan. He invites Saladin's ambassadors to a feast for which he orders several young noble Saracens to be killed and cooked, and their heads served to the ambassadors. In horror, the ambassadors return to Saladin and advise him to capitulate lest they be all eaten, one by one. Acre is thus won.

After Acre has been pacified, the crusader army is divided into four hosts commanded by Philip, Richard, Multon and Doly. They all set out to win several towns and, while Philip accepts ransom, Richard, Multon and Doly conquer their respective towns. Numerous battles, sieges, and single combats are narrated, the climax of which occurs when Saladin challenges Richard to a single combat and offers Richard the gift of a horse which turns out to be a demon. Warned of this by an angel, Richard is able to control the horse and injure Saladin, who flees into a forest. At this point, Philip abandons the crusade and returns to France. When Richard is preparing his march towards Jerusalem, news arrives that his brother John plans to seize the throne with the help of Philip, so Richard decides to return to England. On hearing this, Saladin attacks Jaffa, but the garrison sends a messenger to Richard, who sails back to Jaffa and fights his fiercest battle. His army disbanded, Saladin offers – and Richard accepts – a three-year truce. Richard dies some years later at Castle Gaillard.

Preface

The most curious register of the history of King Richard is an ancient romance, translated originally from the Norman; and at first certainly having a pretence to be termed a work of chivalry, but latterly becoming stuffed with the most astonishing and monstrous fables. There is perhaps no metrical romance upon record, where, along with curious and genuine history, are mingled more absurd and exaggerated incidents.

Walter Scott, 1832¹

Assessing the Middle English romance *Richard Coeur de Lion*, Walter Scott finds it historical and fictional. Indeed, the romance narrates the historical participation of Richard the Lionheart in the Third Crusade, but embellishes it with numerous episodes born from the imagination and craft of a skilful romancer. *Richard's* hybridity, which offends Scott's nineteenth-century sensibility, is nonetheless representative of late medieval artistic perception, often defined as the 'ability to maintain contradicting attitudes and to derive aesthetic pleasure from the tension of unresolved conflicts.'² In *Richard's* textual world, Richard-as-character is the crusader hero victorious at Acre, but he is also the unrepentant son of a demon-mother, and one who shows no objection to eating Saracen's heads. Gory and humorous, religious and profane, complex and gripping, *Richard* shows its ability to maintain contradictions and to derive aesthetic pleasure from it.

Richard enjoyed considerable popularity in late medieval and early modern England. The term 'popular' applies to *Richard* first because, as a romance, it belongs to the genre that was the 'principal secular literature of entertainment' in late medieval England,³ and second because it is one of the most widely copied romances, surviving in seven imperfect manuscripts, one small fragment, and two early sixteenth-century printed

¹ Walter Scott, Introduction to *The Talisman* (London & Rutland, VT: Dent, 1991; first published 1906), 3.

² Larry Benson, 'The Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Medieval Tragedy', *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 11 (1966): 75:87 at 75.

³ Derek Pearsall, 'Middle English Romance and Its Audiences', in *Historical and Editorial Studies in Medieval and Early Modern English for Johan Gerritsen*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn and Hanneke Wirties (Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, 1985), 37-47 at 42.

editions.⁴ The geographical distribution of its witnesses ranges from North Yorkshire to London and from the West Country to Lincolnshire. Evidence of the popularity of *Richard* is found as early as c. 1400 in the *Laud Troy Book*, where Richard features in a list of romance heroes:

Many spoken of men that romaunces rede ...
 Off Bevis, Gy, and of Gauwayn,
 Off kyng Richard, & of Owain
 Off Tristram and of Percyuale ...
 In Romanunces that of hem ben made
 That gestoures often dos of hem gestes
 At Mangeres and at grete ffestes.⁵

Richard's witnesses vary in length (they range from about one thousand three hundred to about six thousand four hundred lines),⁶ and it is not possible to ascertain to which version the *Laud Troy* refers. However, even though Walter Scott complains about the 'monstrous fables' and 'exaggerated incidents', it is clear that the fabulous episodes, which feature in the longer version of the romance, have captured audiences' imagination since the Middle Ages; the longer version of *Richard* was the only one to be printed from the sixteenth century on. The earliest external evidence of the popularity of the longer version of *Richard* is found in John Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England*, where Richard is characterized in seven lines, one of which refers to his eating of Saracen's heads:

Richarde hys sone next by successyon,
 Fryste of that name, stronge, hardy, and notable,
 Was crownyd kynge, callyd Cuer de Lyon,
 With Saresenys heddys i-servyd at his tabylle;

⁴ The witnesses are: London, College of Arms, MS HDN 58 (olim Arundel); London, British Library, MS Additional 31042 (London Thornton MS); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 175/96; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 228; London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862; London, British Library, MS Harley 4690; and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1 (Auchinleck MS). The small fragment is Gloucestershire, Badminton House, MS Badminton 704.1.16. Of the early sixteenth-century Wynkyn de Worde editions four books have survived; from the 1509 edition: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734, and Manchester, John Ryland's Library Deansgate 15843; from the 1528 edition: Oxford, Bodleian Library, S. Seld d. 45, and London, British Library, Harley C.40.

⁵ *The Laud Troy Book*, ed. Johann Ernst Wülfing, EETS OS 121, 122 (London: Kegan Paul, 1902-03), II. 11, 15-17, 22-4.

⁶ As noted before, all the witnesses are imperfect; however, even considering the missing folios, some versions are shorter than others are. See 'Manuscripts & early printed editions', especially 'Description of the manuscripts'.

Slayne at Gaylarde by dethe lamentable,
 The space raynyd fully of ix yere;
 Hys herte i-beryd in Rone by the hyghe autere.⁷

Wynkyn de Worde printed the same longer version in 1509 (reprinted in 1528), and (the Stationers' Register suggests) so too did Thomas Purfoote in 1568-9.⁸ In the 1591 play *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, an allusion to the episode in which Richard tears out a lion's heart bears witness to the popularity of *Richard* in the late sixteenth century, as does the allusion to the same episode in Shakespeare's *King John*.⁹ After a period of apparent silence, *Richard* re-surfaced at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when George Ellis included a summary of the longer version of *Richard* in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*.¹⁰ A few years later, Walter Scott's protégé, Henry Weber, published the complete text of the longer version of *Richard* in his *Metrical Romances*; and in 1913, Karl Brunner re-edited and published it, using the same base-text as Weber.¹¹

Despite – or rather because of – its 'monstrous fables', *Richard* has recently attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. Studies have especially explored the episode

⁷ The *Verses* were composed in the fifteenth century; see John Lydgate, *Verses on the Kings of England*, in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Secular Poems, ed. H. N. MacCracken, text re-read by Meriam Sherwood, EETS OS 192 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 714. The Thornton MS version of the poem belongs to this redaction; see 'Contents' of the manuscript, p. 49, note 63.

⁸ For Thomas Purfoote's possible edition of *Richard*, see Edward Arber ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D.*, 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875–94), 1: 179.

⁹ Critics differ over whether *The Troublesome Reign of King John* was written by Shakespeare, but they agree that it is an antecedent of Shakespeare's *King John*, where the episode of the lion's heart is twice alluded to (Act I, Sc. I, l. 265-67 and Act II, Sc. I, l. 3); see Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith eds, *The Predecessors of Shakespeare: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 182.

¹⁰ George Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, Chiefly Written During the Early Part of the Fourteenth Century: to Which is Prefixed an Historical Introduction, Intended to Illustrate the Rise and Progress of Romantic Composition in France and England*, 3 vols (London: Bohn, 1848; first published 1805), 2: 286 ff.

¹¹ Henry Weber ed., *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries / Published from Ancient Manuscripts*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: George Ramsay & Co, 1810), *Richard* in vol. 2; Karl Brunner, *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913). No other edition has been published to date but, for her unpublished doctoral thesis, Philida Schellekens edited four versions of *Richard* in parallel (Auchinleck, BL Egerton 2862, College of Arms, HDN 58, Bodleian Library, Douce 228); see P. Schellekens, 'An Edition of the Middle English Romance: *Richard Coeur de Lion*', PhD thesis, 2 vols, University of Durham, 1989.

in which Richard eats a Saracen's head, but they have also examined the romance's generic affiliation, and its display of medieval warfare tactics and strategies.¹² Even though these studies bear witness to *Richard's* appeal to scholars, the attention given to the romance has not been as full as its richness and complexity may merit. There are two reasons for this: first, Karl Brunner's 1913 edition, which has long been out of print, is virtually inaccessible to scholars and students. Second, even when Brunner's edition is available, its critical apparatus and scanty notes – in German – have long been out of date. This thesis aims to make good those deficiencies.

The aim of this project has been to provide a new edition of *Richard Coeur de Lion* from its longest extant text, the London Thornton Manuscript, which has not been previously edited. The edition is organized in two volumes, with a scholarly study in the first volume and the edition proper in the second. Volume 1 contains (apart from the Illustrations, the 'Episode Chart' (Appendix 1) and Index of Names) an Introduction, which has five main sections. The first section, 'Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions', gives a description of all the witnesses, and reviews and advances the scholarship with regard to the relationship between the manuscripts. The second section, 'Editing Middle English Texts', starts by revising the methods of editing and their theoretical and pragmatic limits; it then focuses on the particular problems of editing *Richard Coeur de Lion*, and offers a rationale for editing the Thornton version. The section ends with a brief account of the life and milieu of the scribe and compiler Robert Thornton.

The following section, 'Date of Composition', takes issue with two assumptions that have coloured the scholarship of the romance from the nineteenth century. First, as Scott's epigraph shows, that the Middle English *Richard* is a translation of a (lost) Anglo-

¹² All recent studies are noted in the section 'History versus Fiction': for studies of the cannibalism episode, see pp. 149-50, note 41; for the study of the romance's genre(s), see p. 145, note 33; for the study of *Richard's* warfare tactics, see p. 152, note 44.

Norman romance and second, that there was an ‘original’ historical text later ‘contaminated’ by fictional additions.¹³ I offer internal textual evidence that challenges the existence of an Anglo-Norman source. In addition, a closer look at the different episodes destabilizes the status of the category ‘original’, and problematizes the chronology that assumes an early historical version opposed to later fictional additions. From textual and genealogical evidence, I suggest that the original Middle English *Richard* and a long fictional episode (featuring Sir Thomas of Multon and Sir Fulk Doly) may have been composed at almost the same time. The third section, ‘Sources’, studies the diversity of sources, analogues, influences and allusions that lie behind the composition of *Richard* to show the extent to which the longer version of this romance has to be studied as the product of a poetic process of re-utilization, re-signification, and re-creation of models. At the end of this section, an analysis of the episode of Richard’s demon-mother illustrates the way in which the romancer utilizes his sources, re-contextualizing them to serve the aim of the episode.

As the recent scholarly attention given to *Richard* suggests, this text can be studied and analyzed from many different angles. A few examples of the wealth of interesting material that awaits further studies in this romance are: Performance in/of *Richard* and the romance’s performative nature; the romancer’s encyclopaedic knowledge: from cloths to ships, and from food to siege warfare tactics; imaginary maps: the geographical idea of Europe and the Middle East in medieval England; writing from experience: the romancer as soldier and tactician; *Richard* as source: the influence of the romance on medieval and early modern texts. To illustrate *Richard*’s textual wealth, I have chosen one issue: the

¹³ Ellis, *Specimens*, 2:282, affirms that *Richard* is ‘professedly a translation’; similarly, Scott states it as a fact: ‘translated originally from the [Anglo] Norman’ (epigraph). To the best of my knowledge, Philida Shellekens is the first to present textual and linguistic evidence that challenge the existence of the Anglo-Norman source; P. Schellekens, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, 2:72-3.

tension between history and fiction in the romance, which the final section of the Introduction, ‘History versus Fiction’, explores.

Walter Scott was not alone in his negative judgement of the fictional episodes in *Richard*; in fact, his comments resemble those of his friend George Ellis, who considers that: ‘the earliest English version [of *Richard*], contained an authentic history of Richard’s reign, compiled from contemporary documents’ but ‘that history was afterward enlarged and disfigured by numerous and most absurd interpolations’.¹⁴ Ellis and Scott were the first but not the only readers to think that the fabulous episodes in *Richard* contaminated and degraded the historical narrative. ‘History versus Fiction’ starts by examining the tension (or lack of it) between the historical and fictional parts of the romance, contrasting the medieval self-awareness of *Richard* as a romance with its modern reception. The section concludes with an analysis of the utilization of history and fiction in the design of a number of episodes that deal with military actions, from the historical siege of Acre to the fictional duel between Richard and Saladin.

The second volume of the thesis contains the edition of *Richard Coeur de Lion* from the London Thornton manuscript. Side-glosses of hard words or phrases aid comprehension for those unfamiliar with Middle English. The edited text is accompanied by explanatory and textual notes, both of which update the scholarship on this romance and its witnesses, especially the Thornton version. ‘Textual Notes’ provides variant readings for significant passages so that the reader can judge the differences and similarities between the manuscripts, draws attention to interesting linguistic features in the text, and records all the scribe’s self-corrections. ‘Explanatory Notes’ presents the first complete set of notes ever compiled for this romance;¹⁵ these notes discuss the connections between

¹⁴ Ellis, *Specimens*, 2: 282.

¹⁵ Brunner only provided a few notes for his edition, and Schellekens only edited the shorter versions of the romance.

Richard and other medieval texts, and supply bibliographical references to enable the reader to explore various subjects further. Finally, as many words in *Richard* have several possible meanings and it is not feasible to give all of them in the side-glosses, this volume also features a complete Glossary.

INTRODUCTION

Manuscripts & Early Printed Editions

Richard is extant in seven imperfect manuscripts, one very small fragment, and two early sixteenth-century printed editions. The witnesses, arranged alphabetically according to their *sigla*, are as follows:¹

Manuscripts:

- A London, College of Arms, MS HDN 58 (olim Arundel MS).
- B London, British Library, MS Additional 31042 (London Thornton MS).
- Bd Gloucestershire, Badminton House, MS Badminton 704.1.16.
- C Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 175/96.
- D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 228.
- E London, British Library, MS Egerton 2862.
- H London, British Library, MS Harley 4690.
- L Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.2.1; University of St. Andrews, MS PR 2065 R4; University of Edinburgh, MS 218, Div. 56 (Auchinleck MS).²

Early sixteenth-century printed editions:

¹ I follow Brunner's edition *sigla*; the only exception is that of the Badminton MS, which Brunner did not know; Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 14.

² The St Andrews and University of Edinburgh fragments were discovered after Brunner's 1913 edition; see G.V. Smithers, 'Two Newly Discovered Fragments from the Auchinleck MS', *Medium Aevum* 18 (1949): 1-11. A fragment was first thought to contain another version of *Richard*; it was found used as a flyleaf in the binding of Merton College Library 23.b.6 (Neil Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* [Oxford: Bibliographical Society Publication, 1954], 89), but this was later identified as a fragment of Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* (see N. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings with Addenda and Corrigenda* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society Publication, 2004), 237. See also Norman Davis, 'Another fragment of *Richard Coeur de Lion*', *Notes and Queries* 214 (1969): 447-52, at 451-2.

W *Kynge Rycharde Cuer du Lyon*: 1) 1509 Wynkyn de Worde edition: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Crynes 734; Manchester, John Ryland's Library, Deansgate 15843. 2) 1528 Wynkyn de Worde edition: Oxford, Bodleian Library, S. Seld d. 45; London, British Library, Harley C.40.

Paper 190 x 290 mm; quires (A-M) numbered (i-viii); foliated.

Decoration: Two-line initials, and inhabited four or five-line initials (plates 38.4 and 38.5). Half-page engravings on fols Av^v, Biii^v, Ciiii^v, Cviii^r, Fii^v, Gi^v, Gviii^r, Hiiii^v, Lviii^r (plates 38.1-38.9). According to Edward Hodnett, most of the woodcuts illustrating the 1509 edition of *Richard* were used there for the first time.³ However, none of these pictures is specific to *Richard*; they can – and did – illustrate a number of texts. The woodcuts on fols Ciiii^v, Cviii^r, Gi^v, Hiiii^v, Lviii^r of the 1509 edition were re-used for *Kynge Ponthus* (1511), *Olyuer of Castille* (1518), and *Ipomydon* (c. 1528), among other texts.

Both Wynkyn de Worde editions (1509 and 1528) are identical, except for minor differences in spelling (e.g. the/þ^c; ther/þ^{ct}), and the woodcut on Biii^v (plates 38.2.1 and 38.2.2). A possible reason for this is that the woodcut used in the 1509 edition was lost or damaged; this is supported by the fact that it was never re-used.

In 1568-9, Thomas Purfoote was licensed to publish *Richard Coeur de Lion*.⁴

1. Description of the manuscripts containing *Richard*

The following descriptions aim to elucidate the nature of each manuscript, and the context into which *Richard* was copied. Contents are listed (an asterisk * indicates that the title appears as such in the manuscript) and sources for full descriptions noted; contents of **B**,

³ Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973). For Hodnett's reference numbers, see 'List of Illustrations'. Hodnett 1525 (1509 edition, Biii^v) appears to have only been used in that edition.

⁴ For the possible Purfoote edition, see Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, 179.

however, are described in full. When the manuscript has other items apart from *Richard*, a section describing particular features of the folios the romance occupies is included. Only the descriptions of **B** and **C** include a section with the language of *Richard* because these two manuscripts have been used for this edition. The manuscripts are described in alphabetical order, according to their *sigla*, except for **B**, whose thorough description is placed at the end.⁵

1.1. A. London, College of Arms, MS HDN 58⁶ s. XV

Parchment, 343 x 240 mm; fols 342, with a contemporary foliation from II-CXXXVI (= fols 1-119). Several leaves lost. Catchwords and signatures partly lost through trimming. Probably a composite manuscript; fols 335-342 may originally have belonged to a separate manuscript, but both parts seem to have been bound together at an early stage.⁷ Copied in double columns for prose, mostly single for verse (except for *Richard*), with columns of about thirty-six to thirty-eight lines. Running titles on most folios and frequent marginal references. Written in *anglicana* by several scribes; but secretary is used after *Richard* from fol. 276^{ra}. Titles and page headings in bastard secretary script.

Decorated with large, beautifully illuminated capitals (in blue, red, gold, and green) extending into large borders (fols 53^{ra}, 124^{rb}, 129^{rb}, 161^{rb}, etc.). Blue two to three-line initials with neat red flourishes in the text; there are also a few one-line initials. Red and blue paraphs. Capitals in the texts occasionally with a red or yellow stroke. Red crosses with forked arms above the writing from fol. 203^v to 212^r. Occasional elaborated drawings (anthropomorphic animals and scrolls written in Latin) around catchwords, for example on

⁵ These descriptions draw on my observations of the manuscripts, on Gisella Guddat-Figge's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: Fink, 1976), and on several catalogues and studies acknowledged in notes.

⁶ This manuscript was first thought to belong to the Arundel collection and it is called thus in some catalogues; see, W. H. Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the library of The College of Arms* (London: Unpublished, 1829), 104-10; Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 215-16.

⁷ Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 215-16.

fols 111^v, 121^v, and 129^v. On fols 335^r-342^r, one medallion on each page showing English kings from William the Conqueror to Henry VI (William Rufus and Henry I's pictures cut out): figures standing or sitting before a red, purple or, green background traced with gold. In colour-framed circles (attached to the main miniatures by ribbons) appear the names of the royal issue who in turn became kings and queens. Below each medallion, the respective king's section of Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England* follow, starting with a four-line decorated initial.

Copied in a Wiltshire dialect,⁸ the manuscript is a collection of historiographical texts.⁹

Contents: Part I: 1. Collection of hunting terms (later addition).

2. *The tabille offe cronycul offe Engelonde for Albion the furste erthely creature that entriede in to this londe yn to kyng Richard the Secunde.**

3. Table of contents.

4. *Albyon*, prose.

5. *Britannia insula optima* (Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* with numerous interpolations, mostly prose).

6. *Richard Coeur de Lion*, verse.

Part II: 7. Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England*, verse.¹⁰

Richard occupies twenty-four folios, fols 252^r-275^{ra} (3686 lines). It starts abruptly (first folio wanting) with the episode of the 'Tournament at Salisbury'. It also ends abruptly: fol. 275 has been longitudinally cut, and only one column, *recto a*, remains; *verso b* is blank. Therefore, a maximum of two columns are missing at the end. The end of the

⁸ *LALME*, Linguistic profile (LP) 5411, Grid 414 143; *LALME*, 1: 117; 3: 547.

⁹ Although this is the traditional view on this manuscript, it is worth noting that further studies should be done in order to identify whether the texts in **A** can be identified as 'historiographical' or a different denomination (popular history?) may be more appropriate; cf. description of **H**. See also pp. 58-60 below.

¹⁰ It is worth noting that, in **A**, King Richard's section in Lydgate's *Verses* (fol. 338^r) belongs to a different redaction from that in **B**; it does not contain any reference to the Saracens' heads served at the king's table (see Preface, pp. 21-2 and note 63 below).

romance is unique to this version; it has a long account of Richard's death (over thirty-eight lines), combining both verse and prose (see 'Textual Notes' 6977).

There are numerous notes on the margins, probably by John Weever, the antiquary to whom the manuscript belonged. In 1672, it was donated to The College of Arms by Henry, Duke of Norfolk.

1.2. Bd. Gloucestershire, Badminton House, MS Badminton 704.1.16
s. XV^{med}

Parchment, ca. 220 x 300 mm, fol. 1, part of the inner bifolium of a gathering; writing on the outside almost completely destroyed. Copied in double columns, with about forty lines per column. No decoration; a blank space left for a three-line initial on side II, but not executed.¹¹

Written in a regular professional cursive by one scribe and in a South West Midlands (possibly Gloucestershire) dialect.¹²

The single sheet of parchment contains almost one hundred and sixty legible lines of *Richard*. Analysing the text, Davis concludes that it generally coincides with the **D** version but with several differences. It is clear, however, that the **Bd** version cannot descend directly from **D**, nor **D** from **Bd**.¹³ The fragment's 'chief importance lies in showing that there was another reasonably careful manuscript [of *Richard Coeur de Lion*] of early date which was not immediately related by ancestry or descent to those hitherto known'.¹⁴

¹¹ In a letter to G. Guddat-Figge, N. Davis writes, 'The unfilled space for the initial doubtless means that the manuscript was never formally finished but of course this need not mean that the text itself was abandoned before it was completed'. Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 79 note.

¹² Davis, 'Another fragment', 447 and 451.

¹³ Davis, 'Another fragment', 450.

¹⁴ Davis, 'Another fragment', 451.

An inscription in faded ink, probably in a sixteenth-century hand, connects this fragment with Raglan Castle, Monmouthshire: 'Rent Rolles of Ragland'.

1.3. C. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 175/96 s. XVⁱⁿ

Parchment, 222 x 168 mm; fols 79, paginated. The twelve surviving quires are of varying sizes – 1 to 6 bifolia – but because of the many missing leaves, a reconstruction of the original compilation would require extensive studies.¹⁵ *Incipits* and *explicits* with almost every item; regularly appearing catchwords, framed by little drawings. Copied in double columns of 30-37 lines per column. Written in anglicana, by one or two hands.¹⁶

Decorated with plain red two-line initials; on p.1, a two-line 'L' decorated with red tracing flourishing extends to eight lines. Similar decoration on pp.7, 44, 45, 89. Four-line capitals with flourishing from pp. 139. First letters of every line, black with a red stroke.

Copied in a Lincolnshire dialect,¹⁷ the manuscript is described as a collection of secular and religious poetry.

Contents: 1. *Uita Ricardi Regis Primi* *

2. *De Milite Ysumbras* *

3. *Vita sancte katerine virginis* *

4. *Matutinas de cruce in anglicis uerbis transpositis* *

5. *Athelston* *

6. *Beffs de Hamptoun* *

7. *De spiritu gwydonis* *

¹⁵ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 1: 199-201, at 199; Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 82.

¹⁶ James, *Catalogue*, 200, claims that 'at least' two hands copied the manuscript but *LALME* states that only one scribe did; *LALME*, 1: 63.

¹⁷ *LALME*, LP 512, Grid, 510 316; *LALME*, 1: 63; 3: 284-5.

Richard occupies forty-nine leaves, pp. 1-98 (6013 lines), with several leaves missing after pp 4, 8, 24, and 94.

There are numerous scribbles, probably by the one who frequently claims ownership of the MS: 'John Wylsone' (pp. 30, 48, 67, 75, 83, 87, 121). In 1659, the manuscript was presented to Caius College by William Moore.¹⁸

1.3.1. *Gonville & Caius Richard: Dialectal features*

A typical representative of the Lincolnshire ME dialect, the *Gonville & Caius Richard* shows the following orthographic features: *but* (but), *deþ* (death), *eyen* (eyes), *fro* (from), *ziff* (if), *zonge* (young), *is* (is), *ilke* (each), *kyrke* (church), *lawe* (law), *loue* (love), *þese* (these).¹⁹

As regards verbs, the present tense third person singular is formed by adding *-iþ* / *-es*, and the plural by adding *-en* / *-es* / *-ys*. The present participle ends in *-ande* / *-yng(e)*. The past tense of the verb to be is *was* and *wer*. The third person singular feminine pronoun is *sche*, and the objective pronoun (and possessive adjective) *here*. The third person plural pronoun is *þey* / *þay*, the objective pronoun *hem* (them), and the possessive adjective *here* (their). Among the orthographical features of the **C** scribe, the only one worth mentioning is the letter *f*. It appears as if the scribe regarded the letter 'f' as 'ff'; nowhere does he write a single 'f'. In this edition, the initial 'ff' has been transcribed as 'F', when a capital is required, and as 'f', when it is not. But medial and final 'ff' have been transcribed as in the manuscript.²⁰

1.4. D. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 228

s. XV^{ex}.

¹⁸ Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 83.

¹⁹ For a complete description of the linguistic profile, see *LALME*, 3: 284-5.

²⁰ See p. 91 below for a comparative chart showing dialectal and orthographical features of **C** and **B**.

Paper, 288 x 98 mm; fols iv+41, defective at both ends and other missing folios.

Catchwords, but no signatures preserved. Copied in single columns, from thirty-eight to forty-seven lines per column, unruled. Margins marked. Written in current anglicana by one scribe.

It has no decoration; a few blank spaces have been left for initials, but never executed.

Copied in a Norfolk dialect,²¹ the manuscript has been described as a holster book,²² but it has also been used to support the case for a ‘minstrel manuscript’.²³ The unusual size of the manuscript, whose width appears to correspond with the length of the lines, and its deterioration due to either travel or frequent use (or both) place this manuscript in a unique position among the witnesses of *Richard*.

It contains only *Richard Coeur de Lion*, in verse (3345 lines). According to the Bodleian Library *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, about two hundred and seventy lines are lost at the beginning.²⁴ However, it is evident that the number of missing lines has been estimated by comparing the Douce version of *Richard* with the longer version, and not by studying the physical structure of the manuscript. Undoubtedly, the beginning of the text is missing but, as the first quire has ten folios and regular quires in the manuscript have twelve, it is safe to say that two folios are missing, which corresponds to about one hundred and sixty lines (two folios with approximately eighty lines each).²⁵ This lacuna is not enough to have contained the beginning of *Richard* as it appears in the longer version (270 lines in **BC**), but it is much longer than the nineteen lines between the

²¹ *LALME*, LP 4564, Grid 622 329; *LALME*, 1: 147-8; 3: 341-2.

²² Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 264.

²³ Andrew Taylor, ‘The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript’ *Speculum* 66 (1991): 43-73; Douce 228 case treated at 59-60.

²⁴ Falconer Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953), Collections to 1850, Part 2, Number 21802.

²⁵ I thank Martin Kauffmann, who examined the manuscript with me and confirmed that the regular quires are twelve-folio quires (six bifolia). He also considers Guddat-Figge’s assertion (*Catalogue*, 263) that the quires are made up by five and six bifolia as misleading, because those quires with five bifolia are defective.

beginning of the episode of the 'Tournament at Salisbury' (l. 251) and the first line in Douce (l. 269).

A *Nota Bene* at the beginning of the manuscript states: 'This poem differs greatly from the printed Romance of *Richard Coeur de Lion* quoted by Dr. Percy. v.3. XIV. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde 1528. To Hearnes Rob Gloucest. LVI.LVII.599'. On the next page, the following addition:

It also differs, in almost every line, from the Vellum MS in the library of Caius Coll., Cambridge, which, however, is imperfect. Of the three sheets which are wanting one is supplied by this MS beginning at the mark xx f. 3 and ending at the same mark f. 5 A. The Caius Coll. MS contains 6013 lines and would probably consist, if complete, of about 6900.

The above note by George Ellis Esq.

In the binding, names of various book collectors appear: Th. Martin, R. Farmer, J. Douce. The manuscript has the bookplate of 'Francis Blomefield Rector of Fersfield in Norfolk, 1736'.

1.5. E. London, BL, MS Egerton 2862

s. XIV^{ex.} 26

Parchment, about 275 x 173 mm, but a number of folios cut longitudinally, thus their width varies from 145 to 90 mm; fols 148, defective at both ends. Catchwords; signatures frequently lost through trimming. Probably nineteen quires of generally four bifolia, but present binding too tight for verification. Leaves blank after fols 44 and 97. Copied in single columns with forty lines per column, the last two items in double columns with the same number of lines per column. Margins marked; running titles. Written in anglicana, influenced by secretary script, by one scribe.

²⁶ The manuscript has been dated by Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 2-3. Schellekens, however, dates it to the mid-fifteenth century without explanation; '*Richard Coeur de Lion*' 2: 21. Guddat-Figge agrees with Brunner; *Catalogue*, 182.

Initial letters of first lines drawn out and enlarged.²⁷ Spaces for larger capitals left blank but never executed. First eight folios of *Amis and Amylion*, rhyme-words linked by red brackets.

Copied in Suffolk dialect,²⁸ the manuscript contains a collection of romances, all in verse; five of them are also found in the Auchinleck MS.

Contents: 1. *Kyng Richard* *

2. *Beuous of Hampton* *

3. *Sir Degarre*.²⁹

4. *Florence and Blanchefloure* *

5. *The Batell of Troye*³⁰ *

6. *Amis and Amylion* *

7. *Sir Eglamoure*.

Richard occupies forty-five folios, fols 1-44 (about 3500 lines), copied in single columns. It is defective at both ends; first thirteen folios badly damaged through dampness, and partly torn, which render them almost completely illegible, especially fols 1-4. The first legible line corresponds to the episode in which Richard fights with the emperor of Cyprus (**E** fol. 4^r l.1; **B** l. 2241). If the romance had started on fol. 1, the beginning of the **E** version of *Richard* would approximately correspond to l. 2000 in this edition, but that is uncertain. *Richard* ends abruptly with the truce between Richard and Saladin; if only a folio were missing, then a maximum of eighty lines would be missing at the end of the romance.

²⁷ Occasionally copied by later hands on the margins (fols 32^r, 34^v).

²⁸ *LALME*, LP 8360, Grid 623248; *LALME*, 1: 109, 3: 485.

²⁹ Nicolas Jacobs, ed., 'The Egerton Fragment of Sir Degarre', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 72 (1971): 86-96.

³⁰ *The Batell of Troye* is the only complete text in the collection; Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, Introduction to *The Seege or Batayle of Troye*, EETS OS 172 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971), xv-xvii.

The name of ‘Thomas Waker of lyttel belinge’ on fols 49^v, 73^r, 73^v and 127^r connects this manuscript with Little Bealings in Suffolk. John Leveson Gower gave the manuscript to George Granville Levenson Gower, the first Duke of Sutherland. An undated letter from Lord Kerr to the duke on the contents of the volume is inserted at the beginning. The manuscript remained in the family throughout the nineteenth century until the British Museum bought it from Sotheby’s in 1906.

1.6. H. London, BL, MS Harley 4690³¹ s. XV

Parchment, about 285 x 195 mm; fols 118 (= iii+115), thirteen quires of four bifolia each, one of five, an extra bifolium and a single leaf added at the end. Catchwords and signatures up to fol. 106. Copied in double columns, with 41-44 lines per column. Margins and columns marked, unruled.

Running titles and rubrics in red introduce chapters to fol. 103^r, after that in black. On fol. 75, there is a red multi-line capital, after which red paraphs indicate divisions until fol. 82^{ra}. From fol. 82^{rb} to 82^{va}, the list of names of those who took the vanguard in Scotland (during Edward III’s reign) is profusely decorated with red penwork. Blank spaces for illuminated capitals throughout, but only a few executed on fols 75-99 (plain red, 2 lines). Fols 108^v and 109^{ra} are left blank. No running titles in *Richard*. Written in an anglicana book hand, probably by one scribe.

Possibly copied at Glastonbury Abbey, in a Somerset dialect;³² the manuscript is a collection of historiographical texts.³³

³¹ See Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 205-06; *A Catalogue of Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London: British Museum, 1808-12), 3: 188; Cyril Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London: British Museum, 1972), 182, 283; J. O’Rourke, BL Harley 4690, in *Imagining History Project*, http://www.qub.ac.uk/imagining-history/resources/wiki/index.php/BL_Harley_MS_4690 (accessed 30 July 2008).

Contents: 1. *Brut*, prose; includes a poem on the Battle of Halidon Hill, fol. 82^v.
fols 108^v, 109^{ra}, blank.

2. *Richard Coeur de Lion*, verse.

On fols 47th and 47^{va}, a brief note on Richard I's crusade in *Brut* is preceded by the following rubric: 'Off the nowbelle king Richarde wiche conqueredde in the holy londe alle þat cristenmenne hadde y loste þere [b]effore'. *Richard Coeur de Lion* begins on fol. 109th line 6, with the episode of the 'Tournament at Salisbury', and occupies ten folios (approx. 1354 lines). The scribe may have had either a defective or an illegible exemplar and, therefore, he left one column and five lines blank. Alternatively, part of the space may have been left for a future decoration never fulfilled, and part to complete the episode. The text has no decoration whatsoever and ends abruptly on fol. 118^r, with the incomplete account by the Archbishop of Pisa of the crusaders' hardship in Acre. This abrupt ending – half of the second column of fol. 118^r has been left blank and it ends with half a couplet of an incomplete sentence (B l. 2775) – further supports the hypothesis of a defective exemplar.

On the fly-leaves, various scribbles help trace the history of the manuscript. Perhaps the oldest entry (by a sixteenth-century hand) occurs on fol. 3^r: 'The memorialle Cronicke written by John Douglas munke at Glastonburye Abbaye'. On the same page the names of 'Walter Newburgh filius Thome Newburgh de Berkeley' and, in a later hand, 'rogers Newburgh' appear; Berkeley and Glastonbury point to the South West of England. In 1562, the MS was in the possession of James Haword who notes the names of some friends ('Thomas flory', 'Harry Loke', and others) as witnesses to his ownership (fols 2^r, 2^v, 3^r).

³² This manuscript does not feature in *LALME*, but its linguistic profile resembles that of London, British Library, MS Additional 35288 (*LALME*'s LP 5180, 3: 443); both manuscripts show the same spelling for e.g. *butte*, *gode*, *hem*, *iff*, *itt*, *moche*, *sche*, *sey*, *soche*, *thenke*, *thes*, *togeder*, *whenne*, *yaff*, etc.

³³ The 'Imagining History' description of **H** notes that the ascription to the manuscript provenance to Glastonbury is probably spurious; see note 31. For a comment on the description of contents as 'historiographical', see note 9 above.

A piece of paper glued to the first page of the book says: ‘Jan 25 1728. This ms belongs to Dr Richard Rawlinson who lend it me [sic]. Tho: Hearne’. Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, purchased it in 1734.³⁴ With the other Harley manuscripts, it was sold to the British Museum in 1753.

1.7. L. The Auchinleck MS s. XIV^{2/4}

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.2.1; University of St. Andrews Fragment MS PR 2065 R4; University of Edinburgh 218, Div. 56.³⁵

Parchment, National Library of Scotland 250 x 190 mm; St. Andrews fragment: 263 x 200 mm; University of Edinburgh fragment, 260 x 200 mm.³⁶ Fols 331, two bifolia in the St. Andrews fragment, other two in the University of Edinburgh fragment, and one in London University Library.³⁷ Copied generally in double columns with 44 lines to the column. Exceptions to this format are the *Battle Abbey Roll* (in four columns fol. 106^r), *The Legend of Pope Gregory* (in long lines fols 1^r-6^v), *De Simonie* (in long lines fols 328^r-334^v), and

³⁴ On fol. 2^r he notes: ‘This MS I bought in mr. Rawlison Sale. 1734’.

³⁵ See G.V. Smithers, ‘Two Newly Discovered Fragments from the Auchinleck MS’, *Medium Aevum* 18 (1949): 1-11.

³⁶ The different sizes suggest it was trimmed; for a complete physical description, see D. Pearsall and I. Cunningham, Introduction to *The Auchinleck Manuscript. National Library of Scotland Advocates’ MS 19.2.1* (London: The Scholar Press, 1979), xi.

³⁷ For further reading on the copying, compiling, and making of the Auchinleck MS, see Timothy Shonk, ‘A Study of the Auchinleck Manuscript: Bookmen and Bookmaking in the Early Fourteenth Century’, *Speculum* 60 (1985): 71-91; Ralph Hanna, ‘Reconsidering the Auchinleck Manuscript’, in *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies: Essays from the 1998 Harvard Conference*, ed. Derek Pearsall (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 91-102; Andrew Taylor, ‘Manual to Miscellany: Stages in the Commercial Copying of Vernacular Literature in England’, *Yearbook of English Studies*, 33(2003): 1-17; Alison Wiggins, ‘Imagining the Compiler: *Guy of Warwick* and the Compilation of the Auchinleck Manuscript’, in *Imagining the Book*, ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 61-73. For a literary re-assessment of the material in the manuscript, see Derek Pearsall, ‘Before-Chaucer Evidences of an English Literary Vernacular with a Standardizing Tendency’, in *The Beginnings of Standardization: Language and Culture in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. Ursula Schaffer (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 27-41.

the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (variable 24-31 lines to the column rather than the usual 44, fols 39^r-48^r).³⁸

Decorated with miniatures in blue, red and brown with golden background at the beginning of almost every item,³⁹ only five of which have survived. Titles in red ink. Large blue capitals with red filigree tracing. Occasionally initials of a text artfully decorated. First letters of every line slightly detached from the rest of the line; small flourishes in red ink. Written in a variety of anglicana and textura by six scribes.

Copied in London, Middlesex, Essex, and Gloucestershire dialects. *LALME* locates the dialect used by Scribe 1 in Middlesex, Scribe 3 in London, Scribe 5 in Essex and Scribes 2 and 6 in areas close together on the Gloucestershire/Worcestershire border (Scribe 4 only copied item 21).⁴⁰ The manuscript is a miscellany.

The Auchinleck MS contains an early collection of Middle English poetry, which offers a sample of the English literary texts in circulation before Chaucer.⁴¹ Numerous genres are represented in the manuscript: romance, hagiography, didactic texts, a chronicle, humorous tales, and poems of satire and complaint.⁴² All forty-four items are in verse, except for *The Battle Abbey Roll* (item 21) which consists of a list of names. The contents include: *Pe King of Tars**, *Amis and Amiloun*, *Sir Degare*, *Floris and Blancheflour*, *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *Guy of Warwick* (stanzas), *Sir Beues of Hamtoun**, *Of Arthour & of Merlin**, *Lay le Freine**, *Roland and Vernagu*, *Otuel a Knizt**, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Sir Tristrem*, *Sir Orfeo*, and *King Richard**.

Richard occupies fols 326 and 327 of the National Library of Scotland fragment, and two bifolia – the St. Andrews and Edinburgh University fragments; evidence suggests

³⁸ Alison Wiggins, 'Format', *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, May 2003, <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/editorial/physical.html#format> (accessed 15 July 2008).

³⁹ Pearsall and Cunningham, Introduction, xv.

⁴⁰ *LALME*, LP 6510, Grid 532 190; *LALME*, 1:88, 3: 305-6.

⁴¹ For a complete and detailed list of contents, see Pearsall and Cunningham, Introduction, xix-xxiv.

⁴² Alison Wiggins, 'Importance', in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, May 2003, <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/editorial/importance.html> (accessed 15 July 2008).

that several folios have been lost.⁴³ One of the surviving illustrations decorates the beginning of *Richard* (plate 1). The picture shows King Richard standing on the prow of his galley and wielding an axe. In front of him is the walled city of Acre from which a large number of arrows are being shot. A chain in front of the entrance of the city hinders the advance of Richard's ship, but Richard is about to cut it with his axe. The picture corresponds to L ll. 739-44 (B ll. 2633-36).

Very little is known about the early history of the manuscript until the eighteenth century. Its first known owner, Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, donated it to the Faculty of the Advocates in 1744.⁴⁴

1.8. B. The London Thornton MS. London, MS Additional 31042 s. XV^{med.}

Paper, 275 x 200 mm, fols 183, 179 paper + 4 parchment folios from a fifteenth-century breviary, not copied by Thornton. There have been at least four relatively recent attempts to determine a collation,⁴⁵ but the manuscript has been considerably cropped. It is probable that B originally had the same dimensions as the other collection copied by Thornton (Lincoln Cathedral MS 91). However, B now measures on average 275 x 200 mm, while the Lincoln MS measures on average 291 x 210 mm. Evidence of the cropping is found in fol. 137^r, line 2016 of *Richard*, where the word 'toughe' has to be inferred as its final letters are missing through trimming. More severely, on fols 98-101, part of *The*

⁴³ See the collation of gathering 48 in Pearsall and Cunningham, Introduction, xiii; see also Gudat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 121; Schellekens, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 2:11.

⁴⁴ See Pearsall and Cunningham, Introduction, vii; Alison Wiggins, 'History and Owners', *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, May 2003, <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/editorial/history.html> (accessed 16 July 2008).

⁴⁵ John J. Thompson, *Robert Thornton and the London Thornton Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 19 ff; for previous collations, see Karen Stern, 'The London "Thornton" Miscellany', *Scriptorium* 30 (1976): 26-37, 201-18; Sarah M. Horrall, 'The London Thornton Manuscript: A New Collation', *Manuscripta*, 23 (1979): 99-103; Ralph Hanna, 'The London Thornton Manuscript: A Corrected Collation', *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 122-30.

Quatrefoil of Love has been lost. Through trimming, catchwords and signatures are lost and this, along with the missing folios, has complicated the manuscript's collation.⁴⁶

Texts are copied in single and double columns, with 36-45 lines to the column. Margins and space for columns marked (on fols 125-43 in red ink). Unruled. Copied by Robert Thornton in a variable anglicana hand, possibly influenced by the text he was copying.⁴⁷

The decorative features in the London Thornton manuscript are few.⁴⁸ Drawings in black ink on fols 33^r and 50^r; the top part of fol. 24^v left blank as if intended for similar decoration. Throughout *Cursor Mundi*, spaces have been left blank, probably to be filled with decorations later; whether this was decided by Thornton himself or copied from the exemplar is a matter of speculation but the final decision to leave those spaces was Thornton's.⁴⁹ Plain initials at the beginning of paragraphs in red and green; smaller red and green initials alternating in patches, fols 104-20 and 144-168, are unique to those folios. The rest of the manuscript only has red capitals at the beginning of paragraphs. *Richard* has no illustration – nor blank space to be filled with one afterwards – but initials are inked in red from the beginning, fol. 125^r, to fol. 143^v. From fol. 144^v, the alternating red and green capitals reappear and continue until to the end of the romance. It is impossible to say whether this pattern started in fol. 144^v or before in any of the three missing folios.

⁴⁶ Thompson draws attention to the relatively modern date for the trimming, since both the name of a later owner of the manuscript and a lyric copied by a sixteenth-century hand have been cropped. See Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 8.

⁴⁷ D. S. Brewer, Introduction to *The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91)* (London: The Scolar Press, 1975), vii.

⁴⁸ See Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 56-63 for a detailed study; on the decorated initials in the Lincoln manuscript, see J. Fredell 'Decorated Initials in the Lincoln Thornton Manuscript', *Studies in Bibliography* 47 (1994): 79-90.

⁴⁹ Phillipa Hardman, 'Reading the Spaces: Pictorial Intentions in the Thornton MSS, Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, and BL MS Add. 31042', *Medium Ævum* 63 (1994): 250-74.

Copied in Northern Middle English dialect,⁵⁰ the manuscript is a miscellany. The scribe and compiler, Robert Thornton, has left his signature twice in this manuscript (fols 50^r and 66^r) and several others in its sister manuscript, Lincoln Cathedral MS 91 (fols 53^r, 93^v, 98^v, 129^v, 213^r, and 278^v), with which those in the London manuscript can be compared. On fol. 66^r of the London manuscript, Thornton writes a phrase, which is also found in the Lincoln MS (fols 98^v and 213^r), that identifies him: ‘R. Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus. Amen’ (plate 33).⁵¹ On fol. 50^r his signature, ‘R. Thornton’ has been disfigured. This disfigurement and the inscription on fol. 49^r in a later (probably sixteenth-century) hand: ‘John Nettletons boke’ suggest that the manuscript had left the Thornton family and the new owner tried to hide Thornton’s name or, at least, to make it more difficult to identify.⁵² The identification of John Nettleton is not certain, but two hypotheses have been proposed: the name may refer to John Nettleton of Thornhill Lees, near Dewsbury, in the West Riding of Yorkshire; or to one of the two John Nettletons of Hutton Cranswick in the East Riding of Yorkshire.⁵³ It is uncertain who owned the manuscript after John Nettleton until 1879, when an anonymous American source sent it to the London bookseller J. Pearson, who sold it to the British Museum.⁵⁴

1.8.1. Collation

Although its present physical condition complicates the collation, John Thompson has reconstructed the manuscript’s quires using both the data available from the three attempts

⁵⁰ *LALME*, 1: 101.

⁵¹ Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 63, considers that the London manuscript appears much more uniform than the Lincoln Thornton. As its writing seems more constant throughout, she proposes that the Thornton copied the Lincoln manuscript for his own family’s use and the London Manuscript for sale. However, if the book had been produced for selling, it is difficult to explain why the scribe would sign it several times; see also ‘Thornton’s self-corrections’, p. 96.

⁵² Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 6.

⁵³ For the former, see *LALME*, 1:101; for the latter, see Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 6.

⁵⁴ See Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 6-7, for the tantalising possibility that the manuscript may have been acquired by Henry Savile of Bank.

to collate it, and his own study of the watermarks.⁵⁵ Thompson's suggested collation of the manuscript in its pre-1972 state is as follows:⁵⁶ **ii** + ?; **a**' (fols 3-8; a fragment of six leaves); **b**²⁴ (fols 9-32); **c**²² (fols 33-53; wants xxii); **d**²⁰ (fols 54-73); **e**^{28v} (fols 74-97; wants v, viii, xxvi, xxviii); **f**^{36v} (fols 94-124; xix-xx stubs, wants vi-x, xxxv-xxxvi); **g**²² (fols 125-143; wants xx-xxii); **h**²⁶ (fols 144-168; wants 26); **i**' (fols 161-181; fragment of 13 leaves) + **ii**. *Richard* occupies fols 125ra-163va, comprising quire **g** and the best part of **h**.

According to Thompson's reconstruction of quire **g**, it wants the last three folios, which represents about five hundred lines of the text (two columns per page with forty to forty-five lines to the column) missing.⁵⁷ An average of forty-two lines per column would make a total of about five hundred and four lines missing; the same passage in **C** occupies five hundred and four lines.⁵⁸ Moreover, the narration gap produced by the missing folios in Thornton is evident. The final line of **B**, fol. 143^{vb} reads: 'And thurghe Cristys myghte it schall be thi bote', and the first line on fol. 144^{ra}: 'And for pore drede righte thane *in* hafte', both of which correspond to **C** p. 35: 'þorw3 grace off God it schal be 3our boote', and **C** p. 43: 'ffor drede we wende ffor to sterue'. The previous textual evidence, together with the analysis of the watermark patterns and the chain indentation carried out by Thompson, support the hypothesis that the manuscript originally had these three folios. Why they are missing, however, is a matter of speculation. The folios would have contained the best part of the anthropophagy episode, and they must have been torn out by a later owner. However, even after the removal of the three folios, the end of the episode,

⁵⁵ Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 19-34; for previous collations see note 45 above.

⁵⁶ In 1972, the manuscript was dismantled for its new rebinding and the paper bifolia were mounted individually onto a modern stub. Unfortunately, no record was kept of the book's condition at the time of its disbound, so it is now impossible to examine the manuscript's original gatherings.

⁵⁷ See Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 31-2. Hanna reaches the same conclusion; see Hanna, 'The London Thornton Manuscript', 122, and Hanna & Lawton, Introduction to *The Siege of Jerusalem*, EETS OS, 320 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xvi.

⁵⁸ Lines 3109-3612 in Brunner's edition.

when the Saracens themselves retell the experience, remains in the manuscript, providing further textual evidence of the presence of the episode in previous, now lost, folios.

1.8.2. Contents

The contents of the London Thornton manuscript have been described several times since 1880.⁵⁹ The latest and most complete account by John Thompson, together with my own observations, are the basis for the following list of contents.⁶⁰ Whenever Thornton has written a title, this appears in italics; if the title is given in the explicit, it is indicated by an asterisk (*). When Thornton does not provide a title, or this has been apparently lost, either a traditional or a modern title is provided in square brackets. If an item has been added to the manuscript later, its title is provided in square brackets and the later addition is explicitly noted. Where pertinent, incipit and explicit are given. First line of each item is provided. Unpublished items **14**, **15**, **16** and **22**, are transcribed in full. Modern editions of the texts contained in the Thornton MS are cited. When the text has been indexed in the *New Index of Middle English Verse (NIMEV)*, the number is provided. If this index does not agree with the previous *Index of Middle English Verse (IMEV)*, both numbers are provided.

The London Thornton manuscript contains thirty-two items:

1 fols 3^{ra}-32^{rb} [*Cursor Mundi*]

Begins abruptly; first line: *Sche was & that was sone appon hir sene*
NIMEV 2153

Ed. Richard Morris, *Cursor Mundi: a Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century*. Parallel edition from: London BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. III, Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 14; Göttingen University Library MS Theol. 107, and Cambridge Trinity College MS R. 3. 8. Parts I-IV EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66 (London, 1874-77; reprinted 1961 (all in one volume)).

⁵⁹ See Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 155-63; for a list of descriptions and references, see Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 10.

⁶⁰ Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 10-18. Note, however, that Thompson lists only thirty-one items; item **22** of the following list does not appear in his listing.

Thornton text corresponds to ll. 10630-14933 of Morris's edition; it is written in rhyming couplets, copied in double columns. Spaces left for possible future decoration (never accomplished). Text starts abruptly; the beginning is missing due to missing folios. Eight other copies.

2 **fols 32^{rb}-32^{vb}** [*Cursor Mundi* (ll. 17111-88) *A Discourse between Christ and Man*]

First line: *Ihesu was of Mary borne ...* Explicit: *amen amen amen per charite amen amen Et sic Procedendus ad passionem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi que incipit in folio proximo sequente secundum ffantiam scriptoris*
NIMEV 1786

Ed. Richard Morris, *Cursor Mundi: a Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century*. Parallel edition from: London BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. III, Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 14; Göttingen University Library MS Theol. 107, and Cambridge Trinity College MS R. 3. 8. Parts I-IV EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66 (London, 1874-77; reprinted London, 1961 (all in one volume)).

Thornton text corresponds to ll. 17111-88 of Morris's edition; it is written in rhyming couplets separated from the previous item by the word 'explicit' at the end of item 1.

Three other copies, in two of which this text survives independently of *Cursor Mundi*.

3 **fols 33^{ra}-50^{rb}** *Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi**

First line: *Lystenens me I maye zou telle ...* Explicit: *Amen amen per charite / And lovyng to God þerfore gyfe we / R Thornton / Explicit Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi*
NIMEV 1907

Ed. Frances Foster, *The Northern Passion. Four Parallel Texts and the French Original with Specimens of Additional Manuscripts*, EETS OS 145, 147 (London: Kegan Paul, 1913-1916).

Text written in rhyming couplets, copied in double columns. Part of fol. 41^{rb} and fol. 41^v left blank. Decorative first initial. Eleven other copies.

4 **fols 50^r-66^r** *The Segge of Ierusalem off Tytus and vaspasyane*

Incipit: *Hic Incepit Distruccio Jerarusalem Quomodo Titus & vaspasianus Obsederunt & distruxerunt Jerusalem et vidicarunt mortem domini Ihesu Christi*
First line: *In Tiberyus tym that trewe Emperroure ...* Explicit: *Amen amen amen*
Explicit *la sege de Jerusalem R Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus amen*
NIMEV 1583

Ed. E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, *The Siege of Jerusalem edited from MS. Laud Misc.656 with variants from all other extant MSS*, EETS OS, 188 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971; first published 1932); Ralph Hanna and David Lawton, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, EETS OS 320 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Text divided into five Passus; historiated first initial, decorative multi-line capitals at lines 445, 637, 897, and 1113. Other decorated capitals on lines 25, 53 and 268.⁶¹ Written in alliterative verse, copied in single columns. Fol. 63^r written vertically by a later hand: 'that parole ffastande folke folide the sauoure'. Seven other copies.

5 fols 66^v-79^v *The Sege off Melayne*

Incipit: *Here bygynnys the Sege off Melayne*. First line: *All worthy men that luffes to here*. Ends abruptly.

NIMEV 234

Ed. Sidney J. H. Herrtage, *The sege off Melayne and The romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne; now for the first time printed from the unique MS. of R. Thornton ... together with a fragment of The song of Roland*, EETS ES 35 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1973; first published 1880); Maldwyn Mills, *Six Middle English Romances* (London: Dent, 1973).

Text written in twelve-line tail rhyme stanzas and copied in single columns. Begins with a multi-line red capital 'A'. Text divided into two parts, 'Prymus Passus the first ffytt' written at the end of the first. Second part starts with a multi-line red capital T. Unique copy.

6 fols 80^r-81^v [Lydgate's Cantus to Our Lady: *O florum flos*]

First line: *With humble hert I praye iche creature*. Explicit: *amen Explicit cantus amen*

NIMEV 2168

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken, 'Lydgatiana: V. Fourteen Short Religious Poems', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 131 (1913): 60-63.

Written in eight-line stanzas with a Latin refrain, copied in single columns. Final lines and explicit in the right margin of fol. 81^v. One other copy.

7 fols 82^r-94^r *pe Romance of Duke Rowlande and of Sir Ottuell of Spayne off Cherlls of ffraunce*

⁶¹ I supply Hanna and Lawton's line numbers; Hanna and Lawton, Introduction, xvi.

First line: *Lordynges þat bene hende and ffree*. Explicit: *Here endes the romance of Duke Rowland & of Sir Otuell of Spayne [& of] Charlles*.⁶² Explicit *Sir Otuell*
NIMEV 1996

Ed. Sidney J. H. Herrtage, *The Sege off Melayne and The romance of Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne; now for the first time printed from the unique MS. of R. Thornton ... together with a fragment of The Song of Roland*, EETS ES 35 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1973; first published, 1880).

Text written in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas, copied in single columns. Title in black ink with initials decorated in red penwork. The same manner of illustration on fols 82^v, 83^r, and 84^v for some proper names (e.g. Rowland, Olyuere). On fol. 84^v, the phrase 'A ffit' separates two parts. Unique copy.

8 fol. 94^r *Passionis Christi Cantus*

Incipit: *Hic incipit quomodo tractatus Passionis Domini nostri Jhesu Xristi in Anglices*. First line: *Man to reforme thyne Exile and thi losse*. Ends abruptly.
NIMEV 2081

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate / Edited from all Available mss., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon*, EETS ES 107 (London: Kegan Paul, 1911; repr., 1961).

Incomplete text written in eight-line stanzas, copied in single columns. Five other copies.

9 fol. 94^v [A short lyric fragment]

First line: *Exultit celum laudibus*.

Ed. K. Hodder, 'Two Unpublished Middle English Carol Fragments', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 205 (1969): 378-83.

Text copied by a later hand in a single column, mainly in the head margin of the page.

10 fol. 94^v [A short lyric fragment]

First line: *Mare moder cum & se*. Ends abruptly.

Ed. K. Hodder, 'Two Unpublished Middle English Carol Fragments', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 205 (1969): 378-83.

⁶² 'Charles' is written in the left margin beside the *explicit*.

Incomplete text copied in a single column by a later hand, separated from the previous item by the Latin refrain of 9.

11 fols 94^v-96^r *Passio Christi**

First line: *Mman to rofourme thyn exile and thi losse*. Explicit: *Explicit Passio Xristi*.

NIMEV 2081

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate / Edited from all Available mss., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon*, EETS ES 107 (London: Kegan Paul 1911; repr., 1961).

Text written in eight-line stanzas, copied in single columns. This second version (cf. item 8) of *Passionis Christi* is longer than the previous one. Five other copies.

12 fols 96^r-96^v [Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England*]

Heading: *Willmo conquestor Dux Normannorum*. First Line: *This myghty Willyam Duke of Normandy*. Ends abruptly.

NIMEV 3632

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate / Edited from all Available mss., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon*, EETS OS 192 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934; repr. 1961).

Thornton text starts with William the Conqueror and finishes (abruptly) with the incomplete stanza of Edward I. Written in rime royal, each stanza is introduced by a centred heading with the name of the king. Stanzas separated by a space. Forty-two other copies of the first redaction, two other redactions.⁶³

13 fols 97^r-97^v [Lydgate's *Dietary*]

Begins abruptly; first line: *Be noghte hasty nore sodanly vengeable*.

NIMEV 824

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate / Edited from all Available mss., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon*, EETS OS 192 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934; repr. 1961).

Begins abruptly due to a missing folio between fols 96 and 97.⁶⁴ Text written in eight-line stanzas, copied in single columns. Fifty-six other copies.

⁶³ See Linne Mooney, 'Lydgate's "Kings of England" and Another Verse Chronicle of the Kings', *Viator* 20 (1989): 255-90; A. S. G. Edwards, 'Additions and Corrections to the Bibliography of John Lydgate', *Notes & Queries* 230 (1985): 450-2.

⁶⁴ Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 26-7.

14 fol. 97^v [A four-line Latin aphorism]

Text as follows:

Post visum risum : post risum transit in vsum
 Post vsum tactum : post tactum transit in actum
 Nifugeas tactus : vix enaonbitur actus
 Tactus ergo vita : ne moriaris ita

Text copied in a single column in the centre of the page, separated from item 13 by a space.⁶⁵

15 fol. 97^v [A two-line Latin aphorism]

Text as follows:

lex est defuncta quia iudicis est manus vncta
 proptter vnguentum ius est in carcere tentum

Text copied in a single column in the centre of the page, separated from item 14 by a space.⁶⁶

16 fol. 97^v [A two-line Latin aphorism]

Text as follows:

alterius lingue dic quis moderatur habenas
 vix est qui proprie possit habere modum

Text copied in a single column in the centre of the page, separated from item 15 by a space.

17 fol 97^v a gud Schorte Songe of this dete This werlde es tournede vp sodownne

First line: *To thinke it es a wondir thyng*. Ends abruptly.

NIMEV 3778

Ed. Karl Brunner, 'HS. Brit. Mus. 31042' *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914): 316-27 at 318.

Only four lines of the text copied in a single column.⁶⁷ Unique copy.

⁶⁵ The first two lines of this epigram have been attributed to Martial; see M. Val. Martial, *Epigrammes*, eds and trans. Pierre V. Verger and Nicolas A. Dubois (Paris: C. L. F. Panckoucke, 1834), 361; Mercier de Compiègne, *Ouvrage Curieux* (Paris: A. Barraud, 1873), chapter 4.

⁶⁶ The first line of this sentence, found in London, British Library, MS Bibl. Reg. 17 B XVII (c. 1370), has been ascribed to Richard Rolle; Carl Horstmann ed., *Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co; New York: Macmillan & Co, 1896), 65. Horstmann groups the sentences and proverbs of the manuscript and, although he does not comment on this particular sentence, when describing the group, he asserts that they are Rolle's.

⁶⁷ Although Horrall has suggested that the four lines represent the complete text, Thompson convincingly argues that the text is incomplete due to a missing folio; Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 24-7.

18 fols 98^r-101^v [*The Quatrefoil of Love*]

First line: *In a mornenyng of maye when medowes sall spryng.*
NIMEV 1453

Ed. Israel Gollancz and Magdalene M. Weale, *The Quatrefoil of Love. Edited from Brit. Mus. MS. Add.31042 with collations from Bodl. MS. Add. A.106*, EETS OS 195 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935; reprinted 1971); Susanna Greer Fein ed., *The Four Leaves of the Truelove*, in *Moral Love Songs and Laments* (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1998).

Text written in thirteen-line alliterating stanzas, copied in single columns (the ninth line of each stanza is written in the right margin). One other copy.

19 fol. 101^v [*Prayer to the Guardian Angel*]

First line: *Haile holy spyritt & joy be vnto the: my keper so swete my aungelle so fre.* Explicit: *amen.*
NIMEV 1051

Ed. Karl Brunner, 'HS. Brit. Mus. 31042' *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914): 316-27 at 318; Carleton Brown *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939).

Text written in rhyming couplets, copied in a single column. One other copy.

20 fols 102^r-102^v [*Alliterating paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm L*]

Incipit: *Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.* First line: *God þou haue mercy of me.* Ends abruptly.
NIMEV 990

Ed. John J. Thompson 'Literary Associations of an Anonymous Middle English Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm L', *Medium Aevum* 57 (1988): 38-55 at 52-55; Susanna Greer Fein, '*Haue Mercy of Me* (Psalm 51): An Unedited Alliterative Poem from the London Thornton Manuscript', *Modern Philology* 86 (1989): 223-241 at 236-241.

Text written in twelve-line alliterating stanzas, copied in single columns. Unique copy.

21 fols 103^r-110^v [*Lydgate's Virtues of the Mass*]

First line: *Iudica me deus with hole hert and entere.*
NIMEV 4246

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate / Edited from all Available mss., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon*, EETS ES, 107 (London: Kegan Paul, 1911).

Text written in eight-line stanzas. Part copied in stanza units with a space between each stanza (fols 103^r-104^r), the rest of the text copied in a single column with marginal notation. Marginal ascription to Lydgate on fol. 103^r (*Hunc ^{librum} qui dictauit Lydgate Christus Nominauit Iudica me deus & dist[...]*). From fol. 104^v, alternating green-red multi-line initials. Ten other copies.

22 fol. 110^v [A two-line Latin aphorism]

Text as follows:

Nepunt diues dupis cum pobblico crimine pu[.]is
Hoc opus expleuit quod mentis robore cleuit

Text copied in the centre of the page; both lines bracketed together.

23 fol. 110^v *A Carolle ffor Cristynmasse. The Rose of Ryse.*

First line: *The rose es the fayreste fflour of alle*
NIMEV 3457

Ed. Richard L. Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Text written in six-line stanzas with a three-line burden, copied in a single column with the penultimate line in the burden and in each stanza added in the right margin. Unique copy.

Between fols 110 and 111, two folios have been torn out. Some of the decorated capitals are still visible in the stubs, and show that the green-red pattern continues on those two folios.

24 fols 111^r-119^v *Tractatus Trinus Magi [*The Three Kings of Cologne*]**

Begins abruptly; first line: *ffor wynde or rayne ffor water or colde or hete*. Explicit: *Amen Explicit tractatus trium mag[or]um Amen*.
IMEV 31; NIMEV 854.3

Ed. Henry N. MacCracken 'Lydgatiana: III. *The Three Kings of Cologne*' *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 129 (1912):50-68.

Text written in rime royal, copied in single columns. It is divided by headings on fols 112^v (primus passus) and 116^r (explicit secundus passus). Last twelve lines copied in the margin of fol. 119^v. Unique copy.

- 25 **fols 120^r-122^{rb} *Cantus cuiusdam sapientis. A louely song of wysdome***
 Incipit: *Hic incipit Cantus cuiusdam sapientis. Here bygynnys a louely song of wysdome.* First line: *Waste makes a kyngdome in nede.* Explicit: *amen amen.*
 NIMEV 3861

Ed. Karl Brunner, 'Spätme, Lehrgedichte', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 164 (1933):178-99.

Text written in alternately rhyming eight-line stanzas, copied in single columns (fols 120^r-120^v) and double columns (fols 121^{ra}-122^{rb}). Green capitals disappear on fol. 120^r. Two other copies.

- 26 **fols 122^{va}-123^{ra} *A Song How þat mercy Passeth Rightwisnes***
 First line: *By one foreste as I gan walke.* Explicit: *amen explicit cantus amen.*
 NIMEV 560

Ed. Karl Brunner, 'HS. Brit. Mus. 31042', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914): 316-27 at 319-21; Joyce Bazire, "'Mercy and Justice": The Additional MS 31042 Version', *Leeds Studies in English* NS 16 (1985): 259-71 at 263-266.

Text written in eight-line stanzas with refrain, copied in double columns. Three other copies.

- 27 **fols 123^{ra}-123^{vb} *A songe how mercy comes bifore þe iugement Doo mercy bifore thy iugement***
 First line: *There es no creatoure bot one.* Explicit: *amen explicit cantus amen.*
 NIMEV 3533

Ed. Karl Brunner, 'HS. Brit. Mus. 31042', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914): 316-27 at 321-23.

Text written in twelve-line stanzas with refrain, copied in double columns. Three other copies.

- 28 **fols 123^{vb}-124^{vb} *A Song How þat mercy passeth alle thynges***
 First line: *Be weste vndir a wilde wodde syde.* Explicit: *amen explicit cantus amen explicit cantus amen.*
 NIMEV 583

Ed. Karl Brunner, 'HS. Brit. Mus. 31042', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914): 316-27 at 323-27.

Text written in twelve-line stanzas with refrain, copied in double columns. Two other copies.

29 fols 125^{ra}-163^{va} *The Romance of Kyng Richerd þe Conqueroure**

First line: *Lorde Jhesu kyng of glory*. Explicit: *amen Explicit the Romance of Kyng Richerd þe Conqueroure*.

NIMEV 1979

Ed. Henry Weber, *Metrical Romances*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: George Ramsay & Co, 1810) vol. 2; Karl Brunner, *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913).

Incomplete text (three missing folios between fols 143 and 144; fol. 160th blank) written in rhyming couplets, copied in double columns. Title initials decorated with red penwork. Decorated red capitals until fol. 144^v where green-red pattern appears. Six other copies and a small fragment.

30 fols 163^{va}-168^{vb} *The Romance of the childhode of Jhesu Criste þat clerkes callys Ypokrephum*

Incipit: *Here bigynnys the Romance of the childhode of Jhesu Criste ...* First line: *Allemyghty god in Trynytee*.

NIMEV 250

Ed. Carl Horstmann, 'Nachtrage zu den Legenden', *Archiv für Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 74 (1885): 327-39.

Text written in twelve-line stanzas, copied in double columns. Alternating green-red multi-line capitals until fol. 166^v; on fol. 167^r and part of fol. 167^v every letter at the beginning of the line is decorated with a red stroke. Two other copies.

31 fols 169^r-176^v *The Parlement of the thre Ages*

First line: *In the monethes of maye when mirthes bene fele*. Explicit: *amen amen thus endes the thre ages*.

NIMEV 1556

Ed. Marguerite Y. Offord, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, EETS OS 246 (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Warren Ginsberg, *Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1992).

Text written in alliterative verse, copied in single columns. Multi-line red capitals. On fols 174^v and 175^r, the initials of proper names have been decorated with a red stroke. One other copy.

32 fols 176^v-181^{vb} *A Tretys and god schorte refreyte bytwixe Wynnere and Wastoure*

Incipit: *Here begynnes A tretys and god ...* First line: *Sythen that Bretayne was biggede and Bruyttus it aughte*. Ends abruptly.
 NIMEV 3137

Ed. Israel Gollancz, *Wynnere and Wastoure. A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster: An Alliterative Poem on Social and Economic Problems in England in the year 1352 with Modern English Rendering* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1974; first published 1920); Stephanie Trigg, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, EETS OS 297 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Warren Ginsberg, *Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1992).

Text written in alliterative verse, copied in single columns until fol. 180^v. On fols 181^r-181^v, text in double columns. Unique copy.

2. Geographical distribution of the manuscripts

The following map shows the regions whose dialects are represented in the the extant manuscripts containing *Richard*. The letters correspond to the manuscripts' *sigla*; the witnesses' dialects show its spread throughout the country, from London to Yorkshire, from West Midlands to Lincolnshire, and from the West Country to Norfolk and Suffolk.

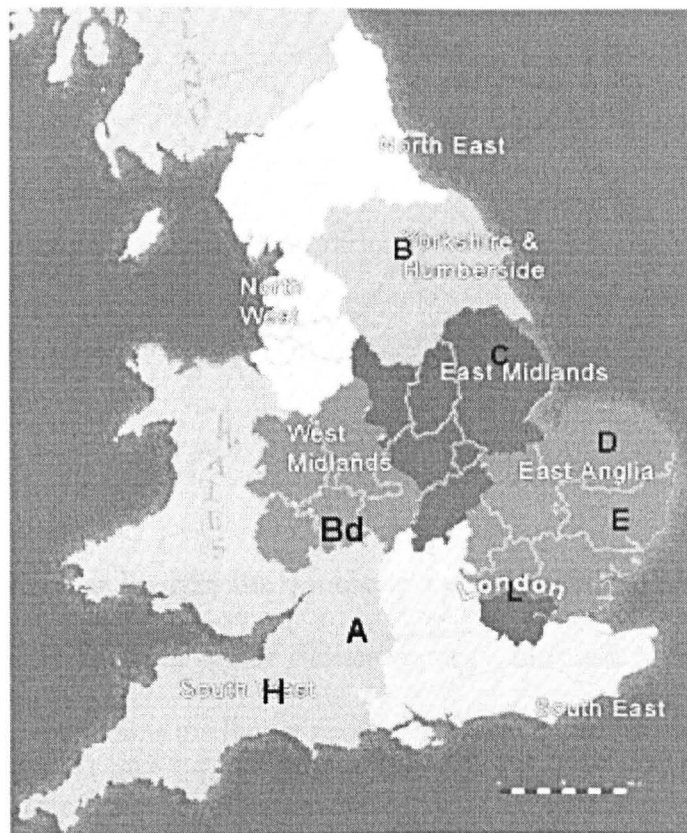


Figure 1

3. Relationship between the manuscripts

Karl Brunner has established that none of the seven extant witnesses of *Richard* derives directly from another.⁶⁸ He proposes a stemma – or family tree – where a hypothetical *O* originates two archetypal groups *a* and *b*. From *a*, both the printed Wynkyn de Worde editions (**W**) and a hypothetical *α* derive and, in turn, *α* originates **B** and **C**. The analysis of group *b* is even more complicated. The archetype *b* gives rise to two hypothetical manuscripts *γ* and *β*, where *γ* produces **L** and a hypothetical *δ*, from which both **E** and **D** derive. Finally, both **A** and **H** derive from the hypothetical *β*. Graphically, it looks like this:⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 11. Later, N. Davis concluded that the fragment he found (**Bd**), is related to, but not directly connected with, **D**; see Davis, 'A New Fragment'.

⁶⁹ Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 14.

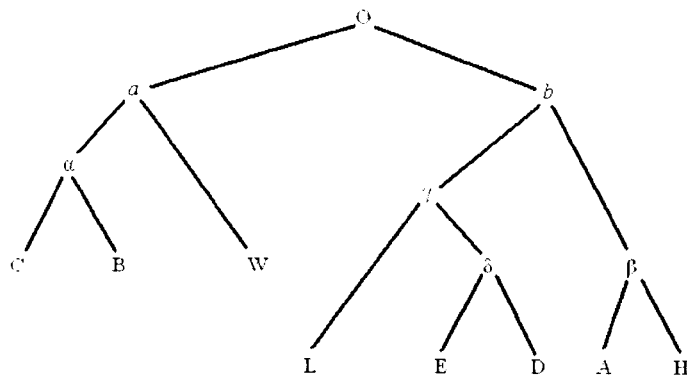


Figure 2. Brunner's stemma for the seven MSS and the early printed edition of *Richard Coeur de Lion*

Brunner's stemma classifies the manuscripts according to their length, which he associates with historical accuracy – the shorter the story, the more historical. The hypothetical version *a* contains the longer version of the romance, while the hypothetical *b* contains the shorter one. This classification, however, is not without problems.⁷⁰ The introductory lines of the romance in **L** only survive elsewhere in **BCW**, although it is impossible to ascertain whether any – or all – of the other manuscripts included those lines.⁷¹ Philida Schellekens partially agrees with Brunner; she establishes that, although **DE** are closely related, they could not have been copied from one another. Moreover, she establishes **AH** connections, which support Brunner's classification. However, she also establishes **AD** and **DEL** connections, which appear to challenge Brunner's stemma.⁷² As she does not go on to study the connections between **ADEHL** with **BC** (except for four lines that **C** shares with **AH**) her point is not as strongly presented as it might be. But Brunner himself notes problems with his classification, when he comments on the unique position of **E**, which is closely related to **D** but shares a long episode with **BC**.⁷³

⁷⁰ For Brunner's editorial method and its shortcomings, see 'The Editions by Brunner and Schellekens'.

⁷¹ The beginning of the romance is lost in all the other witnesses: **A**, one folio missing; **D**, two folios missing; **E**, folios missing and damaged; **H**, one column and six lines left blank. See Description of the Manuscripts.

⁷² Schellekens, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 2: 26-29.

⁷³ Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 14.

More interesting connections, however, have escaped Brunner's and Schellekens's notice. A few examples will illustrate the point: ll. 827-828 occur in **ABDH** but not in **C**; between 918 and 919 two lines occur in **ACDH**, but not in **B**; lines 4921-4922, 4935-4936 and 4951-4952 appear in **BDE** but not in **AC**; and lines 4941-4942 occur in **ABDE** but not in **C**.⁷⁴ These connections require a different approach to the relationship between the manuscripts. Rather than a traditional (vertical) stemma, a more horizontal representation appears more appropriate.⁷⁵ That representation, however, would be very difficult to draw, since there should be an antecedent for the association of **BDE**, excluding **ACH**; an antecedent for **ABDE** and **ABDH**, excluding **C**; and an antecedent for **ACDH**, excluding **B**. In fact, every manuscript has connections which exclude another manuscript with which a different passage nevertheless connects it. In order satisfactorily to represent the relationship between *Richard*'s witnesses, many more intermediary manuscripts should be proposed. As a result, instead of being laid out in a conventional tree-like diagram, the representation would have to contain numerous hypothetical ramifications, which would render it vertically flattened and horizontally expanded, like a rhizome.

Rather than produce such a representation, I propose classifying the witnesses into four groups according to their contents, whereby the addition of substantial episodes can be verified against the evidence supplied by the surviving manuscripts. This produces the following categorization of *Richard*'s witnesses:

- 1) The Auchinleck MS (**L**), whose fragmentary text suggests that it contained simply a 'historical' account of Richard I's participation in the Third Crusade.

⁷⁴ The missing lines do not represent scribal errors, as there is no gap in the narration in the examples given. It is also worth noting that the early printed editions, **W**, have associations with **B**, excluding **C**, and associations with **C** excluding **B**. These and other significant manuscript associations are noted in 'Textual Notes'.

⁷⁵ Although Schellekens has also proposed a horizontal approach, my aim differs from hers. She produces a linguistic – philological – study of the text that aims to 'look at the horizontal layers of the text and to establish which parts of the text belonged to the core text and which parts were added subsequently'; Schellekens, '*Richard Coeur de Lion*', 2:29.

- 2) A group formed by **ADH** which, apart from the account of the crusade, includes the tournament at Salisbury, the introduction of Multon and Doly, their journey to the Holy Land with Richard disguised as pilgrims, their captivity in Almayne, and the killing of the lion.
- 3) A group formed by **BC** and the early printed editions (**W**) which, apart from the material in **ADHL**, includes the episode of Richard's demon-mother, the anthropophagy episode, and a number of fictional battles and sieges after the fall of Acre.
- 4) The Egerton MS (**E**) which, apart from the material in **L**, includes the fictional material in **ADH**, and the anthropophagy episode that appears in **BC**.⁷⁶

This classification of the witnesses according to their contents is also useful for problematizing the reception of the romance in the Middle Ages. In 'History versus Fiction', I shall present textual evidence that shows that medieval audiences were aware of the generic differences between romances and histories, and that *Richard* was conceived and perceived as a romance. Nevertheless, the contexts into which versions **AH** were copied, described as historiographical, require further consideration. In **A**, *Richard* is interpolated into Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* after the death of Henry II and, when the romance ends, the chronicle resumes with King John; in **H**, *Richard* follows the Middle English prose *Brut*. Notably, both **A** and **H** contain chronicles whose form, contents, transmission, and/or reception associate them with popular romances. Robert of Gloucester's Middle English metrical chronicle was judged by its nineteenth-century editor as of 'no original value' as history, and 'worthless' as literature.⁷⁷ In addition, in **A** the

⁷⁶ See the 'Episode Chart'.

⁷⁷ William A. Wright, Preface to *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, Rolls Series 86, 2 vols (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965; first published 1887), xxxix-xl.

chronicle features so many interpolations that it is sometimes difficult to recognise it.⁷⁸ As for the Middle English *Brut*, it has been said that trying to recover its original redaction would be ‘at worst foolhardy and at best misguided, for the manuscript tradition reveals that the main importance of the *Brut* is how it was re-invented in a variety of ways’.⁷⁹ Both **A** and **H** were undoubtedly received as histories in the Middle Ages but, were these historiographical texts received in the same way as an authored chronicle written in Latin was? I suggest that, about the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, an intermediate kind of text, which could be described as ‘popular history’, may have appeared in order to allow ‘history’ to compete with the popularity of romances.⁸⁰ Therefore, a story of Richard I, which does not diverge much from documented history, could work as one of the numerous interpolations in Robert of Gloucester’s chronicle (**A**), or as an apt complement to a text that has reinvented the history of Britain in so many ways (**H**). One may speculate that, if the scribes who incorporated *Richard* into these chronicles were familiar with Richard I’s life, then they could have edited the fabulous version of the romance into a more adequate version to suit its context, hence the absence of the more fabulous episodes.

In addition to the particular context into which **AH** were copied, both **L** and **E** also show unique positions in the transmission of *Richard*; **L**, the earliest witness, appears to have contained only a historical account of the crusade. **E** is more complex; like **BC**, **E** incorporates the anthropophagy episode, which does not appear in **ADH**, but unlike **BC**, **E**

⁷⁸ A detailed survey of the interpolations in Robert of Gloucester’s *Chronicle* in **A** is yet to be done; among numerous interpolations, the chronicle in **A** includes passages of the same version of the *Brut* that appears in **H**.

⁷⁹ C. W. Marx, ‘The Prose “Brut”: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle, by Lister M. Matheson’, *The Modern Language Review*, 96.1 (2001): 155-6 at 155. It is worth noting that Matheson places the **H** version of the *Brut* in his ‘Peculiar Texts and Versions’ group, as it would represent a ‘second translation from the Anglo-Norman attributed to John Mandeville’, of which only two medieval witnesses survive: **A** and **H**; see Lister Matheson, *The Prose ‘Brut’: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 180 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1998), 256, 328-30, 332-4.

⁸⁰ Note that, while in France, from the thirteenth century, prose became the form in which histories were written in the vernacular, in England, Robert of Gloucester, Pierre de Langtoft and Robert Mannyng chose verse (whether Middle English or Anglo-Norman).

shares with **ADH** the historical identification of Eleanor of Aquitaine as Richard's mother, and lacks the fabulous episode of Richard's demon-mother, which only appears in **BC**. The following chart may help visualise the similarities and differences between the witnesses in terms of their content:

EPISODES	WITNESSES
Introduction	BCLW (probably ADE , now missing)
Historical account of Richard I's crusade	ABCDEHLW
Introduction of Thomas Multon & Fulk Doly at the Tournament in Salisbury; 'Pilgrimage' to the Holy Land; Imprisonment in Almayne; Richard tears a lion's heart out.	ABCDHW (possibly E , now missing)
Richard eats a Saracen's head.	BCEW
Richard's demon-mother. Fictional sieges & battles after the fall of Acre.	BCW

The classification into four groups, however, is not meant to claim that, from an original 'historical' narration of the crusade, the romance grew in lines as it incorporated fictional episodes. Taking into account that there may have been many more stages in the redaction of *Richard*, and that scribes-as-editors (as discussed with **AH**) may have decided to ignore parts of the romance they were copying, the increase in the number of episodes does not necessarily follow a chronological date of composition or production.⁸¹ Admittedly, the possibility of a progression from an original that only contained historical material (as preserved in **L**) to later more fictional versions cannot be ruled out, either. However, the second earliest witness, **E**, has fictional material (the anthropophagy episode) that is not in **ADH**, which were copied later. Moreover, the fictional episodes included in **ADH**

⁸¹ See 'Description of Manuscripts' for their date of production; see also 'Date of Composition'.

(Multon and Doly, the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and captivity in Almayne) appear to have been reproduced from memory, while the longer versions **BCW** preserve more logical versions for those episodes.⁸² Being shorter, therefore, does not necessarily imply being earlier.⁸³ The only certain conclusion, which may be drawn from the extant witnesses, is that a great deal of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century editing took place in the transmission of *Richard*.

⁸² In the **ADH** versions, it is not clear why Richard chooses Multon and Doly as his companions, as they do not stand out at the tournament. Moreover, the passage in which Richard tells Multon and Doly that they shall go to the Holy Land disguised as pilgrims is inverted in **AHD**, which renders the passage illogical. See 'Date of Composition', note 36, and 'Textual Notes' **349**, **395** and **606**.

⁸³ In *Richard Löwenherz*, 19-21, Brunner concludes that the longer version best preserves the original; his conclusions are discussed in 'The Editions by Brunner and Schellekens', and in 'Date of Composition'.

Editing Middle English texts

The following discussion concerns the decisions taken in producing this edition, and the theoretical and pragmatic frames within which those decisions were made. I begin by considering the various ways of editing medieval texts.

1. Editing methods

From the nineteenth century, Middle English texts have been edited following one of four methods: recension, devised to edit classical and biblical texts, in which the best text is reconstructed from documentary evidence; the eclectic – or direct – method, in which the original authorial text is recovered by comparing and contrasting the witnesses or, when documentary evidence is not enough, by means of conjecture and judgement; the single-text edition, which is usually the conservative, diplomatic transcription of a witness; and the parallel-text edition, which is the rendition of transcriptions of two or more versions of a text side by side.¹

Recension involves the classification of the extant manuscripts of a given text hierarchically, on the assumption that agreement in error implies identity of origin. From this classification, a stemma – or family tree – is constructed, which enables the editor to discard the most ‘corrupt’ or ‘degenerate’ manuscripts.² Then, by studying the relationship

¹ For a history of textual criticism see D. C. Greetham ‘Criticizing the text: Textual Criticism’, in *Textual Scholarship* (New York & London: Garland, 1994), 295-346; Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), esp. 15-22.

² Derek Pearsall notes the language of moral approbation and disapprobation used in textual criticism; see ‘Texts, Textual Criticism, and Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Production’, in *Fifteenth-Century Studies. Recent Essays*, ed. Robert F. Yeager (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984), 121-36 at 122. It has been noted that the stemmatic approach to the relationship between the manuscripts has been inspired by biology. Paradoxically, biology does not place the ‘best’ specimen at the origin but at the end of the evolution tree, or stemma; in biology, the latest specimen represents the most complex and developed.

between the remaining witnesses, an archetype – from which all the manuscripts descend – is hypothesized. Finally, the editor selects as copy-text the witness which most resembles the archetype, and proceeds to emend and correct the copy-text in order to re-construct the best possible version of the text. Karl Lachmann first formulated this method in Germany and, in Britain, Wescott and Hort followed it for their edition of the New Testament.³ The connection between Lachmann's work – and the Lachmannian method – and Romanticism has already been made.⁴ For the Romantics, the poet is one who gives the natural laws of beauty its verbal form; the poet becomes the prime point of reference, since inspiration, originality and authenticity have, with Romanticism, gained a premium value.⁵ Indeed, divine inspiration is, understandably, paramount for Wescott and Hort when they embark on their edition of the New Testament. After surveying all the extant manuscripts, using the 'Lachmannian method', they proceed to determine the correct readings, based on attestation. The text they re-create represents the best possible text, according to external (i.e. documentary) evidence, which is the source of this method's proclaimed 'objectivity'.

³ Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) was initially trained in classics. When he turned to medieval German literature, he travelled throughout Germany to gather all the manuscripts he could find. The scientific formulation of the method applied to those editions becomes apparent in *Der Nibelunge Noth und die Klage* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1826), in his edition of Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1827), in *Walther von der Vogelweide* (Berlin: G. Reimer 1827), and Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Works* (Leipzig: 1926; first published 1833). See also, Albert Leitzmann, *Briefwechsel der Brüder Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm mit Karl Lachmann* (Jena: Frommann, 1927); Martin Hertz, *Karl Lachmann. Eine Biographie* (Berlin: Wilhelm Herz, 1851).

Brook Foss Wescott (1825-1901) and Fenton John A. Hort (1828-1892) worked together for over ten years to produce their edition of the New Testament in 1881; B. F. Wescott and F. J. A. Hort eds, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007; first published Cambridge, 1881).

⁴ In *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 21, Tim Machan – following Timpanaro – notes that Lachmann's formulation of the method was not completely original; his merit was to put together a variety of current ideas. Therefore, the commonly used expression 'Lachmannian method' – albeit symbolical – is not historically accurate. For associations between the 'Lachmannian method' and Romanticism see, for example, Charlotte Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 210 n.3; Tim W. Machan, 'Middle English Text Production and Modern Textual Criticism', in *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism*, ed. A. J. Minnis, and C. Brewer (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), 1-18.

⁵ T. C. W. Blanning, 'The Commercialization and Sacralization of European Culture in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 120-47 at 124.

The deficiencies of recension, however, have been exposed.⁶ Its objectivity is doubtful when the initial classification of errors and the consequent choice of manuscripts must, to some extent, be subjective. Moreover, paradoxically, the editor is obliged already to have begun the edition if he is to be in a position to recognise the ‘errors’, which will then allow him or her to classify the manuscripts and draw the stemma.

The eclectic, or direct, method was used by Kane and later by Kane and Donaldson for their highly influential editions of *Piers Plowman* (*PP*) A- and B- texts. For Kane and Donaldson, editing is ‘attempting to recover the original text of the poem’.⁷ In describing their method for the B-text edition, the editors provide a lengthy study which demonstrates that, as far as the reproduction and reception of the text are concerned, variation is the rule. In order to go back to the archetypal text that lies at the origin of the numerous variations the witnesses preserve, they proceed to discriminate between the readings to discover those which may have belonged to the original text, and then to reconstruct the original reading. Both operations involve a detailed analysis of all the witnesses in which the (according to the editors) three versions of *PP* are extant. Whenever the majority of witnesses preserve a reading that the editors regard as corrupt, they conjecture what Langland’s own words could have been. They do so based on a conscientious study of Langland’s poetry (the author’s *modus scribendi*); however, their conjecture is necessarily affected by their own perception of Langland’s poetry.⁸ Compared with recension, the direct method seems subjective, as emendations are not all based on strong attestation and, on many occasions, are made in spite of strong attestation. The differences between recension and the direct method may be summarised thus: while recension makes its decisions *a priori*, the direct

⁶ For a detailed study on recension, and its flaws, see Leighton D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991; first published, 1974); esp. 190-4; Lee Patterson, ‘The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius. The Kane and Donaldson *Piers Plowman* in Historical Perspective’, in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 55-91 at 58-60.

⁷ George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson, *Piers Plowman: The B Version* (London: Athlone, 1975), 128.

⁸ For a detailed study of the A and B texts Athlone editions, see Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman*, 343-408.

method treats each set of variants on its own merits; and while recension bases its decisions on attestation, the direct method bases it on (the editor's reconstruction of) the author's *modus scribendi*.⁹

Single-text and parallel-text editions, meanwhile, approach the text differently; they do not aim to reconstruct a hypothetical archetype but to present a text that a medieval audience may have read (or listened to). The single-text method has usually rendered a conservative, diplomatic transcription of a witness. If this method is favoured, the editor has to choose which witness he or she will use as base-text; the editor will consider the relative (in)completeness of the witnesses and evaluate their 'quality' – usually associated with their proximity (or lack of it) to the 'original'. Once the base-text has been chosen, and in order not to restrict the knowledge of the history of transmission of that text, the editor will provide textual (and contextual) notes that inform the reader about significant – albeit, not all – variant readings. Technology, however, has made it possible to publish on CD-ROM the texts and images of the forty-nine surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts, and the four early printed editions, containing *The Canterbury Tales* 'General Prologue', each of them edited as single-text but all interconnected through software engines that allow the reader to explore the textual tradition of the Prologue.¹⁰ In that format, the reader accesses a new species of parallel-text edition, which could obviously never be published in book form. Parallel-text editions enable the reader to see the similarities and differences of the witnesses at a glance; this method appears particularly useful for texts which survive in witnesses that present great variation. Published as a book, its disadvantages are the difficulties in designing the page layout if several witnesses have to be edited, and the

⁹ Jennifer Fellows only regards the first difference as pertinent; following Patterson ('The Logic'), she is not persuaded by the traditional distinction between the methods whereby recension is based on external evidence (attestation) while the direct method is based on internal evidence (author's diction); Fellows, 'Editing Middle English Romances', in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows and Carol Meale (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 5-16 at 11.

¹⁰ See *The Canterbury Tales Project*, The General Prologue on CD-ROM; see also note 16 below.

difficulties and costs of printing.¹¹ It is clear that, no matter which method the editor chooses in order to make a medieval text available for the modern reader, the method itself – let alone the editor's practice – will be open to criticism and/or controversy.

1.1. Theoretical and pragmatic limits of recension and the direct method

Tim Machan takes issue with the methods that try to retrieve an authorial text; he points out that such an approach assumes that medieval literature existed both textually and aesthetically as literature has done since the Romantic period, where an authoritative text is equated with an authorial one.¹² That position, however, has been re-examined, especially the validity of the categories of 'author' and 'authoritative text'.¹³ Strictly speaking, both authors (who create romances, lyrics, treatises, and other texts) and scribes (who transmit them) create texts. However, it appears as if the authorial text enjoyed a superior ontological status. But was it so at the time those texts were produced? If authorial superiority had been highly regarded before the sixteenth century, we should surely know many more medieval authors. As Machan puts it, 'for every Chaucer, Hoccleve and Henryson whose name accompanies his works, there were many more writers who evidently thought it was unnecessary, if not inconsequential, to attach their names to lyrics,

¹¹ See Fellows, 'Editing Middle English Romances', esp. 12-13.

¹² Machan, 'Middle English Text Production', 1-18. Machan illustrates his point by quoting from the editions of both *Seinte Katerine* and *Cloud of Unknowing*; see also Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*, 60-4.

¹³ For further considerations on this approach, see Machan's 'Middle English Text Production', and *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*, esp. 93-135; McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* deals with this issue but from a broader point of view that includes literature of different periods.

romances or treatises'.¹⁴ 'Author' and 'authoritative text' are, therefore, categories which need revising when studying and editing medieval texts; I shall return to this point later.

Moreover, from a linguistic point of view, it is understood that 'utterances tend to borrow from prior utterances to add levels of meaning'¹⁵ and, simultaneously, previous utterances are changed and adapted before being uttered again. Similarly, vernacular writers freely incorporated other utterances and adapted each other's works. Therefore, the modern (or Romantic) conception of the unique, authorial text should be replaced by the (more accurately medieval) notion of a plurality of texts, all of which carry their own authority.¹⁶

When Kane and Donaldson published their direct-method edition of the B-text of *PP*, it was variously received. Lee Patterson challenges the assumption that, in comparison with recension, the eclectic method is subjective; he concludes that both methods are 'equally factual [and] equally objective'.¹⁷ In his thorough review, Patterson dismisses the negative reception of Kane and Donaldson's edition as 'irrelevant', and maintains that the editors 'definitively demonstrate' the system through which they produce their conjectural readings.¹⁸ Criticism of their edition, however, should not be so easily dismissed. Derek Pearsall takes issue with the editors' metrical procedure: '[They] produce a set of

¹⁴ Machan, 'Middle English Text Production', 3. Interestingly, though, Robert Thornton felt the urge to sign his manuscripts several times, which indicates that he wanted to link his name (*Robert Thornton dictus*) and his craft (*qui scripsit*) to the text he copied, as he simultaneously – but perhaps less importantly – establishes the ownership of the book. If the latter had been his only reason for signing his collections, he could have written 'Robert Thornton, his book' as so many others have, without mentioning that he copied the texts. He evidently felt the need to emphasize his role as scribe, though.

¹⁵ J. Evans, 'A Consideration of the Role of Semiotics in Redefining Medieval Manuscripts as Texts', in *New Approaches to Medieval Textuality*, ed. M. D. Ledgerwood, (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 3-38 at 12.

¹⁶ 'The *Canterbury Tales Project*' aims to transcribe all the manuscripts and early printed editions of the *CT* to compare their agreements and disagreements. This first part of the project acknowledges the plurality of texts and gives them equal value. However, the stated goal of the project is 'to help reconstruct the history of the text from this record of agreements and disagreements'; in other words, to trace the original version. Nevertheless, by publishing digitised transcriptions in full, the Project represents a step forward for understanding the textual transmission and history of composition of the *CT*. See *The Canterbury Tales Project*, University of Birmingham, <http://www.canterburytalesproject.org> (accessed 10 August 2008).

¹⁷ Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism', 57.

¹⁸ Patterson, 'The Logic of Textual Criticism', 68-9 and 66.

systematic metrical criteria for their poet, from which they allow him no deviation, and which they use to detect unoriginal readings'; however, as Pearsall observes, such rigidity of practice is not 'necessary to a poet for him to be well thought of'.¹⁹ Not only has the metrical practice followed by the editors been criticised, but they have also been called to account for their vehement defence of the three (and only three) authorial versions of *PP*. Textual evidence suggests that Langland 'had no notion of finished form,' and spent his life 'in a perpetual and unfinished act of composition'.²⁰ Indeed, while divine inspiration and the existence of a unique, authorial text is perhaps more understandable as Wescott and Hort's point of departure, the reason why it is unthinkable for editors of *PP* that the poet may have revised his work more than twice and changed his mind in the process (thus producing yet another authorial version) is more difficult to explain.²¹ Moreover, the possibility that later scribes – and not Langland himself – may have revised the text and produced some of the (better) variants cannot be ruled out either, as Charlotte Brewer, who advocates a further authorial version, concedes.²² Elsewhere Brewer analyses authorial versus scribal readings and the two hypotheses (by which Langland either wrote his poem in a series of versions, or in (only) three versions), and contrasts her findings with the editorial conjectures of Kane and Donaldson.²³ She draws attention to the 'distinct view on Langland's methods and motives in revising the A-text' that the editors show by

¹⁹ Pearsall, 'Texts, Textual Criticism', both quotations at 125.

²⁰ Pearsall, 'Texts, Textual Criticism', 127; elsewhere Pearsall suggests the possibility that the surviving witnesses of *PP* may include 'parts of versions intermediate between, preceding, or following the three versions', see 'Editing Medieval Texts, Some Developments and Some Problems,' in *Textual Criticism*, ed. McGann, 92-106 at 99.

²¹ George Kane takes issue with Rigg and Brewer, and their edition of the Z-version of *PP*, which they regard as another possible authorial text. Kane considers that their work is 'in defiance of five centuries of textual criticism' and takes no account 'of even the most elementary indications' of the discipline. G. Kane, "'The Z Version" of *Piers Plowman*', *Speculum* 60 (1985): 910-30 at 917 and 927; *Piers Plowman: The Z-version*, ed. A. G. Rigg and Charlotte Brewer (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1983).

²² Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman*, 1.

²³ Charlotte Brewer takes issue with Patterson, stating that critics have analysed Kane and Donaldson's edition theoretically and pragmatically, and that dismissing their criticism as 'irrelevant' is 'overstated'. See Brewer, 'Authorial Vs. Scribal Writing in *Piers Plowman*', in *Medieval Literature. Texts and Interpretation*, ed. Tim W. Machan (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991), 59-89 at 62-3; Brewer's examination of Patterson's position at 62-8.

emending their B-text edition to read as Kane's A-text edition, discarding as scribal more explicit or emphatic readings, but without making their assumptions explicit.²⁴

1.2. The editor's dilemma

Acknowledging the limits of recension and the direct method does not simplify matters, because both methods are situated, as Jennifer Fellows puts it, on 'opposite sides of the respectability scale'. They are both respected as authoritative precisely because they try to re-construct the original text based on textual (external or internal) evidence. The editor of a medieval text, therefore, faces a dilemma:²⁵

Should [he or she] penetrate the veil of scribal corruption [...] and by some means or other divine what the author originally wrote? Or should he or she be content to produce something approximating to what [the author's] contemporary audience would have read?²⁶

In other words, should the editor endeavour to re-create the authorial original text, or choose to present the text of a unique, aesthetic artefact which has value and authority in itself, since it shows how a text was read, listened to, and appreciated by a medieval audience? The definition of 'author' complicates any decision. How can the modern editor determine original readings when fourteenth- and fifteenth-century scribe-as-editors (if not as-authors) have interposed their own work between the pristine ur-text and us?

Pearsall observes that:

²⁴ Brewer, 'Authorial Vs. Scribal', esp. 72-9.

²⁵ Other dilemmas concerning the edition of Middle English texts and related to the one discussed in this section have been proposed; A. S. G. Edwards notes two contrasting positions: the need to make Middle English texts accessible to audiences with little – or no – knowledge of Middle English, and the need to retrieve and preserve the text. See Edwards, 'Observations on the History of Middle English Editing', in *Manuscripts and Texts Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 34-48 at 36. In a different vein, Tim Machan points out that, while traditional textual criticism has provided a humanist framework for editing Middle English texts, a humanist approach would necessarily exclude medieval texts; Machan, *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*, 39.

²⁶ Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman*, 1.

An intelligent contemporary editor, with an intimate knowledge of his poet's language and idiom, may hit upon readings that seem preferable not only to him and his modern counterpart, but which might even have been preferred by the poet himself if he had thought of them. The distinction between original readings and skilfully editorialized readings is not always easy to make, and a 'better' reading may be the product of an improvement as a 'worse' reading may be the result of scribal carelessness.²⁷

If this can be true where Langland's poetry is concerned, then, it can also be true of all medieval texts, including verse romances. When a text has been extensively transmitted, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether a reading is authorial or scribal. Therefore, there can be no certainty that what the editor regards as a 'better' reading corresponds to the authorial version.

Nevertheless, some editors set out to retrieve the authorial text of Middle English romances. Studying the editing of *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, Rosamund Allen notes the boldness of the modern editor who attempts the direct-method edition and elevates to print his or her readings of a text composed five hundred years earlier.²⁸ She goes on to examine 'four distinct dangers in applying this method to editing romances':

(a) First, the assumption that the original was composed by 'a man with a message' ... (b) Second, knowing how scribes react under supervised conditions is not necessarily a guide to the kinds of variation which occur when amateurs copy romances for their own reading ... (c) The third difficulty in producing corrected editions of romances is that ... romances are not long enough to establish what the authorial *usus scribendi* might have been ... (d) ... [T]he fourth danger in trying to edit romances by this method [is that] scribes did rework romances and produced quite different versions with extensive additions and deletions.²⁹

These four dangers did not dissuade Ralph Hanna from using this method when editing *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, nor did they persuade Allen herself against her eclectic edition of

²⁷ Pearsall, 'Texts, Textual Criticism', 125. However, studying French prose romances, Elspeth Kennedy concludes that, although scribes have not been passive, they are not responsible for the interpolations which complicate the text, 'The Scribe as Editor', in *Mélanges de Langue et de Littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Geneve: Droz, 1970), 523-31.

²⁸ Rosamund Allen, 'Some Sceptical Observations on the Editing of *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', in *Manuscripts and Texts. Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 5-25 at 13; see also Tim W. Machan, 'Scribal Role, Auctorial Intention, and Chaucer's *Boece*', *Chaucer Review* 24 (1989): 52-64.

²⁹ Allen, 'Sceptical Observations', 15-18.

King Horn.³⁰ One can only admire the boldness and commitment of Hanna and Allen in their re-constructions. However, the extent to which those re-constructions are a conjectural, subjective exercise has been demonstrated by A. S. G. Edwards, who compares the diametrically opposed readings which two editors reach when trying to retrieve the original, authorial text of the same romance.³¹

Scholars have generally agreed that, as regards the possibility of re-constructing the original readings, verse romances are to be considered separately. William Holland has proposed that the diction of metrical romances is conventional to the point that formulae, far from being a convenient form, are the ‘very heart of the narrative ... the means by which the story is told’.³² According to Holland, then, romances would not lack originality; they would simply not seek it. Derek Pearsall presents a similar point from the point of view of the audience,

[T]he presence of repeated formulaic motifs and verbal formulae in the romances strongly suggests a mode of composition ... *fast* and non-literary (unselfconscious, simple, stereotyped), and ... embodying an expectation of performance before a listening audience which will be delighted rather than bored by the repetition of familiar motifs and stock phrases.³³

These observations need to be addressed. Holland and Pearsall (among other scholars) consider that the impossibility of retrieving an original reading in romances lies in their lack of originality, their simplicity, and their stereotyped nature. However, the following sections of this Introduction will explore and study the utter originality, complexity, and uniqueness of *Richard*, in which formulae are re-signified and stereotypes are de-

³⁰ Nevertheless, Allen recognises the arbitrariness of the method; see R. Allen ed., *King Horn: An Edition Based on Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27 (2)* (New York: Garland, 1984), 35; Ralph Hanna ed., *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Tern Wathelyn: An Edition Based on Bodleian Library MS Douce 324* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974).

³¹ Edwards compares the readings of Gates and Hanna, both of whom edited *The Awntyrs off Arthure* using the direct method. A. S. G. Edwards, ‘Middle English Romance: The Limits of Editing, the Limits of Criticism,’ in *Medieval Literature. Texts and Interpretation*, ed. T. Machan, 91-104 at 100-1.

³² William E. Holland, ‘Formulaic Diction and the Descent of a Middle English Romance’, *Speculum* 48 (1973): 89-109 at 105.

³³ Derek Pearsall, ‘Middle English Romance and Its Audiences’, in *Historical and Editorial Studies in Medieval and Early Modern English*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn and Hanneke Wirtjes, 37-47 at 41.

contextualized in order to create an original and complex narrative.³⁴ Admittedly, although *Richard* is complex and original in the structure of its episodes, its use of intertextual references, and the development of the story, the extant versions show ample flexibility in metre, even if maintaining rhyme. This flexibility would add more speculation to the conjectural re-creation of the author's *modus scribendi*. Therefore, the case against the reconstruction of an original Middle English verse romance should not be based on its 'lack of originality' but on the futility of trying to conjecture a hypothetical version, which could never be verified.

If trying to retrieve the authorial text is futile, editors may choose to render either single-text or parallel-text editions, which do not intend to recover the original readings. These methods offer the modern reader a version (or multiple versions) of the text as medieval audiences enjoyed them, as medieval aesthetic artefacts. The parallel-text method has been favoured by Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows and others.³⁵ Although this method does not aim to retrieve the authorial ur-text, Fellows does not advocate conservative (diplomatic) transcribing; she believes the editor's duty is to edit, to present a readable text in which obvious errors have been corrected or eliminated but which has not been 'improved' according to the editor's aesthetic views.³⁶ In other words, the editor does not conjecture and use his or her judgement to re-create what he or she regards as an original text. This editing methodology, however, has also been criticised; A. S. G. Edwards considers that, in its extreme form, the editor who chooses not to re-construct the original

³⁴ Note that originality, complexity, and uniqueness can be equally predicated of other Middle English verse romances, and not only of *Richard*; see for example, Nicola McDonald ed., *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), where the analyses of *Sir Degrevant*, *The King of Tars*, *The Siege of Melayne*, *Sir Gowther*, *Le Bone Florence of Rome*, etc. suggest that popular romances are more complex and original than they have been credited for.

³⁵ See *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Alan J. Bliss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954); *Lybeaus Desconus*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, EETS OS 261 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959); *Of Arthur and of Merlin*, ed. O. Duncan Macrae-Gibson, EETS OS 279 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979); *The Romance of Sir Degrevant*, ed. L. F. Casson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949).

³⁶ Fellows, 'Editing Middle English Romances', 13.

text becomes ‘the preserver of the aberrations of transmission’. He has to admit, however, that such an editorial position is not the result of ‘supine passivity’, but of the complexity of romance transmission.³⁷ That complexity is self-evident when the romance, like *Richard*, survives in multiple versions. As Edwards observes, if the romance is extant in a unique copy, it may invite conjecture but its survival in multiple copies demonstrates ‘the futility of such conjecture’.³⁸

2. Editing *Richard Coeur de Lion*

It is clear that it would be futile (if not impossible) to try to determine *Richard*’s original composition(s), or its author’s (or rather authors’) *modus scribendi*.³⁹ The geographical distribution of *Richard*’s copying suggests a popularity that may have encouraged poets, or scribes-as-authors, to leave their own marks on the text. Interestingly, the similarities between all the witnesses at different points in the text suggest a conscious act of creation when differences do appear. Manuscript evidence suggests that after the first redaction of *Richard*, another writer (or other writers) contributed to the text with several episodes; alternatively, the romance may have been created as a long historical-and-fictional story and successive scribes decided to edit it in a shorter version. The main logical opposition to this second possibility is that the earliest witness contains the shortest extant version.⁴⁰

³⁷ Edwards, ‘The Limits of Editing’, 92-3. When referring to complexities of transmission (or reception) it is important to differentiate between mechanical scribal errors and conscientious changes, i.e. additions and suppressions to the text; for further discussion about this, see Derek Pearsall ‘Theory and Practice in Middle English Editing’, *Textual Practice* 7 (1995): 107-26 at 111-12; N. Jacobs, ‘Kindly Light or Foxfire? The Authorial Text Reconsidered’, in *A Guide to Editing Middle English*, ed. V. McCarren and D. Moffat (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 3-14.

³⁸ Edwards, ‘The Limits of Editing’, 93.

³⁹ In addition, the incomplete nature of all the witnesses further complicates any decisions; see ‘Description of the Manuscripts’. It is worth noting that the composition cannot be located in time, either; see ‘Date of Composition’.

⁴⁰ I do not refer to the number of lines but to the narrative; the Auchinleck MS only contains the ‘historical’ account of the crusade. The version preserved in **ADH** contains, apart from the historical account, the

Roger Loomis has proposed another possibility; the original narration would be the historical account as preserved in Auchinleck, to which mainly one interpolator would have added all the fictional material.⁴¹ Even accepting the more logical hypothesis (that the romance grew in lines through re-composition), it is, nevertheless, impossible to ascertain whether these interpolations were created by poets or by scribes in the role of authors. Whichever the case, it was undoubtedly a deliberate act of creation, which is worth studying if medieval romances are to be regarded as social constructs where authors, scribes (and scribes-as-authors/editors), readers, and listeners played a part. Therefore, the extant versions of *Richard* are the result of a collaborative effort, which remains anonymous because none of its 'authors' thought it necessary to register their names for posterity.⁴² In such a context, should the goal of textual criticism be only to establish 'the text of 'the work''? Or should one explore and give equal value to every manuscript – however corrupt, fragmentary, or derivative – as an individual voice in the social dialogue of medieval culture?⁴³

It has been proposed that, in social dialogues, a power game develops when different versions of an utterance compete for dominance.⁴⁴ However, although the author/scribe who translated into their own dialect and/or altered a text may have done so in a conscious attempt to impose his view and exercise a dominance over the audience who listened to it, it appears that the performance of a particular text – the 'here and now'

introduction of over twelve hundred lines of fiction; see 'Relationship between the Manuscripts', p. 56 ff. Furthermore, philological analyses suggest that the original composition (in a South East or Kentish dialect) is best preserved in the rhyme-words of the Auchinleck version, and it is generally absent in the fictional interpolations; see E. Kölbing, Introduction to *Arthour and Merlin nach der Auchinleck-hs*, *Altenglische Bibliothek 4* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1890; repr 1968); Schellekens, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 2: 32 and 36-9; Roger Loomis, 'Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz', edited by Karl Brunner; *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, vol. XLII; 1913, 'Reviews and Notes 15 (1916): 455-66 at 463-4.

⁴¹ Loomis, 'Richard Löwenherz', edited by Karl Brunner', 462-3. As Loomis does not study all the witnesses, he cannot make a strong case; he does not explain the position of E, for example.

⁴² Even the Auchinleck version may be the result of collaboration, as it is not the original redaction of *Richard*; see 'Date of Composition', p. 96.

⁴³ This point raised by Evans, 'A Consideration of the Role of Semiotics', 13.

⁴⁴ Evans, 'A Consideration of the Role of Semiotics', 12.

which that text provided – did not relate to the other versions of that text. In other words, the audience of the Auchinleck version of *Richard* did not hold it in higher esteem than did those who read/listened to the Thornton version. The category of ‘authority’ appears to have resided more in the presence, the materiality, of the text than in another more abstract quality – its proximity to the original redaction, for instance. In fact, for the medieval reader and audience who enjoyed a particular text, that version was authoritative.⁴⁵ That is, for the Yorkshire audience which gathered around the reader – could it have been the scribe and compiler, Robert Thornton, himself? – and listened to the Thornton version, that was the authoritative *Richard*. The same is true for all the other manuscripts in which the romance is extant. For, although we can now assume that many versions of the romance existed (many more than the extant witnesses), in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries that knowledge may have escaped the audiences who enjoyed the story in each one of its many versions as if it were the only one.⁴⁶

Richard survives in several versions. All Middle English romances are characterized by variation, and variants occur because scribes have not faithfully copied from their exemplars.⁴⁷ Reasons why a text is altered may lie in unconscious processes or in conscious decisions. Whichever the case, changes seem to appear very early in the history of a text’s transmission.⁴⁸ A brief example will illustrate the nature of the

⁴⁵ This point is discussed by Machan, ‘Middle English Text Production’, 15-17

⁴⁶ The popularity of *Richard* may allow one to speculate that audiences might have known of a ‘longer’ and a ‘shorter’ version, and even of the episodes they contained or lacked. Nevertheless, at the moment of performance, the authority of the romance remained in the materiality of the text and not in its proximity to the first redaction. For a discussion of how many other manuscripts must have existed, see ‘Relationship of Manuscripts’, p. 56 ff.

⁴⁷ As noted above, Kane and Donaldson found that variation was the rule for *PP*. Moreover, In ‘Textual Instability and the Late Medieval Reputation of Some Middle English Religious Literature’, *Text 5* (1991): 175-194, John Thompson studies the ‘fluid state’ in which late medieval religious texts exist. But, while Thompson considers that variation hinders the ‘real’ text, ‘one resembling something that was actually read in the fifteenth century’, I maintain that the variant versions are, in fact, the ‘real’ texts that fifteenth-century audiences read (and/or listened to).

⁴⁸ I refer here not simply to mechanical scribal errors, but also to conscious alterations. Variation has also been attributed to the way romances were performed (read aloud or recited); for a study of the variants produced in a modern performance of a Middle English romance, and a comparison with manuscript variation, see Linda Marie Zaerr, *The Weddyng of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell: Performance and*

variation. Three couplets of *Richard*, which narrate how the English king cuts a chain across Acre harbour, appear with variants in every manuscript; they may serve to exemplify the nature of the changes mentioned. The Auchinleck version reads:

& king Richard þat was so gode
 Wiþ his ax afor schippe stode
 & whan he com ouer þe cheyne
 He smot a strok wiþ miȝt & mayn.
 Þe cheyne he smot on peces þre
 & boþe endes fel down in þe se. (L ll. 739-44)⁴⁹

& king Richard þat was so gode] **AH** *oure Kyng*; **DE** *K. R. þ. w. s. good*.

Wiþ his ax afor schippe stode] **A** *In forshippe w. h. a.*; **B** *W. h. noble a. in the forschippe*; **C** *W. h. a. in foreschyp stood*; **D** *W. h. a. in þe schip*; **E** *W. h. a. in the galey stood*.

& whan he com ouer þe cheyne] **A** *wenne h. c. o. þe c.*; **B** *come vnto þe c.*; **C** *þe c. too*; **DE** *come byfore þe c.*

He smot a strok wiþ miȝt & mayn] **A** *At on stroke he smot hit a twayne*; **B** *With his axe he smate it on twayne*; **C** *Wiþ his axe he smot it on twoo*; **DE** *He smot a dynt wiþ miȝt and mayne*; **H** *At a stroke he smot it on twayne*.

Þe cheyne he smot on peces þre] **D** *He carf þe chayne þat þei myth se*; **E** (partially illegible) *And [...]* *þe cheyn þat þey miȝt see*; not in **ABCH**.

& boþe endes fel down in þe se] **D** *þat bothyn endys fellyn in þe see*; **E** (partially illegible) *Both þe endes fe[...] see*; not in **ABCH**.

Scribal alterations occur and not only when there is a difficulty in the exemplar. It has been suggested that, in their interventions, scribes try to ‘regress to the commonplace’, that is, they try to make the text more accessible, and more explicit: scribes produce lexical and syntactical changes with the intention of clarifying; they also expand, smooth and flatten the text.⁵⁰ The brief example above illustrates how many and how varied changes can be. If lexical changes always render a more pedestrian reading, how can the more specific reading of ‘galley’ for ‘ship’ in **E** be explained? Moreover, the logical change of the chain cut in two pieces instead of three needs a careful approach; it does not suggest a careless

Intertextuality in Middle English Popular Romance’, in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. E. B. Vitz, N. F. Regalado, and M. Lawrence (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 193-208.

⁴⁹ *King Richard*, in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. David Burnley and Alison Wiggins, National Library of Scotland, July 2003, <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/mss/richard.html> (accessed 13 May 2008).

⁵⁰ N. Jacobs, ‘Regression to the Commonplace in Some Vernacular Textual Traditions’ in *Crux and Controversy*, ed. Minnis and Brewer, 61-70; an explanation of the processes of ‘regression’ at 62-3.

copier, nor does it present one who tries to produce an easier reading. The figure that emerges from behind that alteration is that of an alert, conscientious scribe who, taking pride in his craft, decides to change the passage for the better, as it is illogical to cut a chain in three pieces with one stroke. After that, the deletion of the next two lines in **ABCH** is but a logical consequence. This example confirms that ‘better’ readings do not necessarily correspond with ‘earlier’ readings.

2.1. The Editions by Brunner and Schellekens

Manuscript evidence shows that *Richard* underwent continual re-composition, and even allows one to speculate that, at some stages, re-composition may have taken the form of deleting (censoring?) episodes.⁵¹ While Kane and Donaldson consider every scribal deviation as corruption, or de-composition, the textual history of *Richard*, as recorded in its witnesses, presents a radically different situation: instead of being the victim of de-composition, the romance has been enriched through textual re-composition.⁵² From a strictly pragmatic point of view, were recension or the direct method used to edit a romance like *Richard*, because of the great variation between witnesses, the textual apparatus would occupy the best part of the printed page, engulfing the edited text. Similarly, as variation is the rule, how can the modern editor determine the author’s *modus scribendi* in order to apply the direct method? In such an edition, every reading would be open to conjecture and, consequently, to error of judgement.

Nonetheless, for his 1913 edition of *Richard*, Brunner followed the principles of recension. He was guided by the notion that the editor must produce an authoritative

⁵¹ See ‘Relationship between Manuscripts’, pp. 58-61.

⁵² Derek Pearsall uses the expressions ‘decomposition’ and ‘recomposition’ (without hyphens), but referring to *Beves of Hamtoun*; ‘Texts, Textual Criticism’, 127.

edition, re-creating the text which most resembles the author's own intentions. From his stemma (fig. 2, p. 56) it is clear that for Brunner **ABCHL** are all separated from the original composition by two degrees. Because he has *a priori* decided that the longer version preserved in **C** best represents the authorial, but cannot explain why scribes would have reduced that original version (which contained numerous fictional episodes) and created the one preserved in **L** (containing only 'historical' material), he has to propose two archetypal versions, one longer, and another shorter. Admittedly, Brunner's conjecture could be correct, but so could the opposite; for he cannot offer conclusive evidence that the shortest version – preserved in the earliest witness – does not represent an earlier stage of composition. Moreover, according to his stemma, the witness that is closest to the original composition is the sixteenth-century printed edition (**W**) which, with its skilfully edited text, convinced Brunner of its proximity to the authorial version, when, in fact, it only confirms Wynkyn de Worde's editorial skills.⁵³ The paradox of Brunner's approach is that, in order to justify why he has chosen a witness which offers a more exciting and complete (but most likely later) version of the romance, he has to maintain that his base-text best preserves the original redaction, which he regards as Anglo-Norman and 'historical'. This constitutes a major weakness in his argument.⁵⁴ Interestingly, a progressive approach to editing would regard *Richard*'s stages of re-composition as authorial; in that case, Brunner could have set out to retrieve the multi-authorial text of *Richard*, once it was crystallised in the fifteenth century. Brunner does not say so, however. On the contrary, faithful to the then current paradigm of textual criticism, he

⁵³ See Pearsall's observation on late medieval editors and their skills, p. 71.

⁵⁴ Loomis, '*Richard Löwenherz*, edited by Karl Brunner', 458-60. Note that, although Loomis argues with some of Brunner's conclusions, he agrees with the hypothetical archetypes *a* and *b* (i.e. the longer and shorter versions of *Richard*), as proposed by Brunner. See 'Date of Composition' for a follow-up to this discussion.

needs to believe that his base-text best preserves the original, authorial version in its entirety.⁵⁵

As discussed above, the direct method also presents limits and deficiencies. As the versions of *Richard* differ greatly from one another, the quest for the author's *modus scribendi* and the re-construction of the authorial text appear futile, even more so when realising that the result of such an exercise could only be the expression of subjective conjecture. Having suggested that every version of *Richard* is equally worth editing, a parallel-text edition would serve the purpose of presenting the reader with all the extant versions. If this were a digitised edition, the parallel-text method would have been chosen. For book format, however, and from a practical point of view, parallel texts of such a lengthy romance – whose witnesses are all defective – would be difficult to manage. For her (unpublished) PhD thesis, Schellekens edited **ADEL** in parallel. Even when she – wisely – avoided the practical and methodological problems that the longer texts (**BC**) would have represented, the resulting edition seems awkward. No matter which page layout she had chosen,⁵⁶ the result would have been the same: numerous blank lines, and, consequently, blank pages. Of the five thousand two hundred and forty-seven lines of her edition, one thousand and sixty-three lines survived in only one of the manuscripts, for which three of the four columns of the edition are, inevitably, blank. All four columns are used in only four hundred and three lines of her edition. From a practical point of view, if the bulkiness of Brunner's edition owes most to its textual apparatus, in Schellekens's edition, it owes most to blank pages. From the point of view of the literary critic, Schellekens's parallel-text edition restricts the study of *Richard* to only (some of) the shorter texts.

⁵⁵ For an abstract discussion of this point, which does not comment on Brunner, see Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 15 ff.

⁵⁶ Schellekens's favoured layout uses the page in landscape position, and places two texts on every page, **LA** on one, and **DE** on the opposite.

3. Editing the London Thornton *Richard*

Brunner's and Schellekens's editorial problems suggest that the decisions involved in editing *Richard* are not easy to make, or to defend. That may be the reason why no edition has been published since 1913. Despite the deficiencies of Brunner's edition, it has been the basis for recent scholarly studies of *Richard*.⁵⁷ Admittedly, scholars have been forced to use that edition in the absence of any other. Scholars' attention, however, has been largely attracted by episodes which only the longer (fabulous) version of the romance contains, suggesting that the aims of literary criticism differ from those of traditional textual criticism. It is understandable why, from the point of view of the literary critic, the longer version appears more attractive; it contains history and fiction, naturalistic battles, and fabulous controversial episodes. From the beginning of this project, it was clear that the longer version of *Richard* would be edited in order to encourage further scholarly analysis. Therefore, this edition of *Richard* aims to make available the longer version of this remarkable text for the student and scholar of medieval literature, using as base-text the London Thornton MS, which has never been edited before. It is important to emphasize, however, that this is not intended to be the edition of *Richard Coeur de Lion*, but the edition of *Richard Coeur de Lion* from the London Thornton Manuscript, which is not a minor distinction. The methodology followed is that of the single-text method but situated within a significant textual and contextual frame of reference. Like Fellows's approach to parallel-text editing, I consider that the duty of the editor is to make the text readable, correcting and/or eliminating evident errors, but without trying to 'improve' the readings.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See 'History versus Fiction', note 41.

⁵⁸ See 'Editorial Decisions' and 'Textual Notes'.

As the longer version of the romance is also extant in **C** (Brunner's base-text), I have to justify my choice of the Thornton version. As noted above, all witnesses are defective, so any version would have to be completed from another witness. Thornton has a significant gap of about five hundred lines between fols 143 and 144; **C**, on the other hand, lacks over eight hundred lines through missing folios.⁵⁹ It would have been a disqualifying weakness, though, if the missing folios in **B** had never been copied but, as noted in 'Collation', the evidence is that Thornton did copy them, and that the folios were subsequently lost. The Thornton version has been deemed idiosyncratic and derivative; this, however, has not negatively influenced my decision.⁶⁰ Having acknowledged that to retrieve the authorial text of *Richard* would be a futile (if not impossible) exercise owing to the accretions of episodes and the incompleteness of its shorter witnesses, it follows that every witness should acquire the same ontological status, and be studied as an individual voice in the social dialogue of medieval culture.

Among the strengths of the Thornton version, the first is its relative completeness; the London Thornton *Richard* is the longest witness of the romance (apart from the sixteenth-century printed editions) with over six thousand four hundred lines. Second, the identification of Robert Thornton as the scribe and compiler of the manuscript is interesting in itself since it provides the evidence of the availability of texts for copying in late medieval Yorkshire, especially among the minor gentry.⁶¹ An edition based on a Thornton text may also encourage the study of the relationship between the romances and their contexts in both of the collections copied by Thornton (the London and Lincoln

⁵⁹ For the missing folios in **B**, see 'Collation', pp. 43-4. In his edition, Brunner supplies the missing folios in **C** from the early printed edition, **W**. In this edition, whenever the Thornton version is defective through missing or damaged folios, the missing lines are supplied from **C**.

⁶⁰ Schellekens claims that **B** 'follows **C** closely but is very idiosyncratic in the treatment of the text. Since it frequently adds and varies elements of the text, it is the most unreliable witness to the development of [*Richard*]; *Richard Coeur de Lion*, 2: 25. It is clear that the higher authority of a hypothetical authorial text also informs Schellekens's study.

⁶¹ G. R. Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe', *Studies in Bibliography* 32 (1979): 158-79 at 159.

manuscripts), the interests and taste of the compiler, and the production of his books.⁶² Moreover, in comparison with other collections of Middle English texts, further studies may establish whether these collections have common features, or whether each should be regarded as unique.⁶³ Furthermore, taking into account the literary interests of a Yorkshire gentleman in the mid-fifteenth century, an edition of the Thornton *Richard* may lead us to further explore late-medieval ideas of romance reception, and of collection of romances and other texts.⁶⁴ Finally, this edition will provide, for those interested in Middle English dialects, a previously unedited romance in NME.⁶⁵

Although the Thornton *Richard* has been deemed ‘idiosyncratic’ and ‘derivative’, the text is valuable – apart from the identification of its scribe – as a product of medieval culture, as an aesthetic artefact whose authority does not derive from its authorial status, or its proximity to one, but from its intrinsic value. Pearsall observes that, pragmatically put, the editor’s task is to present the edition that is most convenient for the intended readers; but the editor will also value his or her efforts beyond pragmatic constraints and, therefore, present his or her edition as authoritative.⁶⁶ However, the authority I claim for this edition is not based on a wishful illusion that the base-text might be closer to the original intention of an elusive author (or authors), nor have I corrected and emended the text conjecturally

⁶² For the way in which Thornton’s codices were gathered, see Ralph Hanna, ‘The Growth of Robert Thornton Books’, *Studies in Bibliography* 40 (1987): 51-61.

⁶³ See John J. Thompson, ‘Collecting Middle English Romances and Some Related Book-production Activities in the Later Middle Ages,’ in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Mills, Fellows and Meale, 17-38.

⁶⁴ A number of studies have been done in this field; e.g. Linne Mooney’s ‘John Shirley’s Heirs’ (*The Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003): 182-98), which presents evidence of network of scribes, their interests and access to exemplars, would be useful for studying the differences between two fifteenth-century compilers, John Shirley and Robert Thornton. For other relevant studies, see Phillipa Hardman, ‘Compiling the Nation: Fifteenth-Century Miscellany Manuscripts’, in *Nation, Court and Culture*, ed. Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 50-69; Ralph Hanna’s ‘Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England’, in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 37-68.

⁶⁵ It is worth noting that those already familiar with Brunner’s edition will find that both longer versions (BC) are very closely related; therefore, most readings and studies can be done using either version, with the obvious exception of linguistic and dialectal studies.

⁶⁶ Derek Pearsall, ‘Authorial Revision in Some Late-Medieval English Texts’, in *Crux and Controversy*, Minnis and Brewer, 39-48 at 47.

to hypothesize its authoritative, original readings. The only authority I claim for the edited text of the Thornton *Richard* is its value as a fifteenth-century aesthetic artefact, which was sought, copied, read, listened to, and enjoyed in its own way.

4. Robert Thornton and the London Thornton *Richard*

4.1. Robert Thornton

D. S. Brewer considers that ‘Robert Thornton deserves to be remembered with much gratitude by those interested in English Literature’.⁶⁷ The scribe and compiler of **B** who, as discussed in ‘Manuscripts’ (p. 43), signed his name on several occasions in the two manuscripts known as Thornton (Lincoln and London), was first identified by J. O. Halliwell in 1844 and his findings were later confirmed and expanded by M. S. Ogden and G. R. Kaiser.⁶⁸ One Robert Thornton who, in 1418, became lord of East Newton, in the parish of Stonegrave, wapentake of Ryedale, in the North Riding of Yorkshire is the most likely candidate.

The Thornton family have been patrons of the parish church, Stonegrave Minster, for centuries; heraldry belonging to the Thorntons can be found throughout the church. Unfortunately, in the nineteenth century, Stonegrave Minster underwent massive restoration, and most of the tombs of the Thorntons were buried under the new floor. However, of the two medieval tombs that may still be seen today on the north aisle of the church, one most probably belongs to Robert Thornton, father of the scribe. The tomb

⁶⁷ D. S. Brewer goes on to explain that ‘Without [Thornton’s] efforts we should be poorer by several important unique texts,’ Brewer, Introduction to *The Thornton Manuscript*, vii.

⁶⁸ James O. Halliwell ed., *The Thornton Romances*, Camden Society 30 (London: Camden Society, 1844); *The Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, ed. Margaret S. Ogden, EETS OS 207 (London: Oxford University Press, 1938, repr. 1969); George R. Kaiser, ‘Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe’, *Studies in Bibliography* 32 (1979): 158-179; George R. Kaiser, ‘More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton’, *Studies in Bibliography* 36 (1983):111-19.

chest has figures supporting shields showing the Thornton coat-of-arms at that time: a Chevron between 3 thorn sprays (plates 34.1 and 34.2).⁶⁹

The identification of Robert Thornton as the scribe of the London and Lincoln manuscripts relies on the evidence found in the Lincoln MS on fol. 49v, which was left blank by the scribe. At the end of that folio, William Thornton, son of the scribe, records his own name: ‘Wyll[ia]m thortun ar[miger] this Boke’.⁷⁰ On the same folio, at the top, a birth record appears to establish the identity of Robert Thornton as the scribe who copied the manuscript in a notice also recorded by William Thornton on the occasion of his son’s birth.⁷¹ Elsewhere on the manuscript, other names appear which suggest that the Lincoln MS remained in the Thornton family for many generations. This was confirmed by a seventeenth-century pedigree of the East Newton Thorntons compiled by the antiquarian Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham, who cites the Lincoln manuscript as one of his sources.⁷² It appears that some of the names inscribed on the manuscript coincide with those in the pedigree of the Thornton family. However, as there were several Robert Thorntons in fifteenth-century Yorkshire, his identification cannot be determined beyond doubt. Nevertheless, scholars agree that the evidence is enough to affirm that the scribe that copied both the Lincoln and London manuscripts must have been Robert Thornton of East Newton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.⁷³

⁶⁹ The Thornton arms evolved and are described in the sixteenth century as ‘Arg. Chevron between 3 thorn trees erad sans leaves Sa’, and they feature in this form on several memorials at Stonegrave Minster. See Thomas Woodcock, Janet Grant, Ian Graham eds, *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary*, 2 vols (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1996), 1: 402.

⁷⁰ Brewer, Introduction to *The Thornton Manuscript*, vii. This had been transcribed by Ogden as ‘Wylliam thorton his Boke’, but later corrected by Brewer.

⁷¹ Keiser, ‘Life and Milieu of the Scribe’, 159.

⁷² Comber used (and quoted) the Lincoln MS and other documents now lost; Ogden, *Liber*, x-xvii; Keiser, ‘Life and Milieu of the Scribe’, 159.

⁷³ A document recently uncovered by Michael Johnston seems to confirm this; it is a record of a suit brought before the Court of Chancery in 1452, which deals with a land dispute between one William Thornton, and Robert and Agnes Thornton (the scribe and his wife). This document is valuable as it provides further evidence of the identification of Robert Thornton of East Newton as Robert Thornton the scribe, in whose family the names Robert and William alternated (as the Lincoln MS shows). The document proves that the names also occurred in the family of Robert Thornton of East Newton. The document is located at National

G. R. Keiser has shed some light on Thornton's life and milieu. He has discovered that Robert Thornton was commissioned to levy and collect taxes for the North Riding in 1453. Moreover, as a 'Robert Thornton of Newton' appears in several public records, Keiser convincingly presents evidence of Thornton's activities as a witness of several property transactions, where his name is linked with aristocratic figures. Some of these connections were ecclesiastical, such as John Kempe, Archbishop of York, later of Canterbury, and John and Nicholas Cliffe, chaplains in the city of York; others were non-ecclesiastical but highly influential, such as Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.⁷⁴ These connections are important because they might have been the source of Thornton's exemplars. Further studies of the documents found by Keiser show connections between Thornton and the convent of Nun Monkton, which housed an important collection of devotional books, which could have been borrowed by the scribe.⁷⁵

In spite of his ecclesiastical connections, one feature of Thornton's writing suggests that he was very probably not employed as a scribe by the Church. He never contracts the words 'bishop' or 'archbishop', which frequently appear in *Richard*. Another interesting feature is that he does not contract any names – not even Richard – except for Robert, his own name. In fact, apart from the usual fifteenth-century suspension-symbols, contractions hardly occur in *Richard*. However, Thornton does contract 'letter' (*lre*), four times in fewer than twenty lines (ll. 1176-94), which suggests that it is a word he frequently contracted. According to the current knowledge about Thornton's work as a scribe, as shown in both Thornton manuscripts, it is not that of a professional, but that of

Archives (PRO), C 1/229/32; a transcription is provided by M. Johnston, 'A New Document Relating to the Life of Robert Thornton', *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 8.3 (2007): 304-313.

⁷⁴ Keiser, 'Life and Milieu of the Scribe', 161-3. It is worth noting that, in 1443, Salisbury was a member of the King's Council and Warden of the West March and his brother, Robert, was bishop of Durham. Salisbury's principal seat at the time was Middleham Castle, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

⁷⁵ Keiser, 'More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton', 115-18. The convent, founded in the twelfth century, was situated 8 miles (13 km) north of York; it was dissolved in 1536 by Henry VIII.

‘an educated man of literary tastes’⁷⁶ (which is confirmed by the above mentioned aristocratic and ecclesiastical connections found by Keiser). However, as Thompson puts it, the same fifteenth-century copyist could have been ‘professional’ in some aspects of his scribal activities and ‘amateur’ as a home-based collector.⁷⁷ Indeed, as his type of handwriting was used for book production as well as for documents and official records in the fifteenth century, it seems likely that the two volumes now at Lincoln and London are not the only documents that Thornton wrote.⁷⁸ If he used his writing skills professionally, he may have performed some clerical work. He could have written letters on behalf of others, or recorded letters both sent and received, or he could have kept a record of his own correspondence. If that were the case, then it would explain why he was so used to abbreviating the word ‘letter’.

4.2. The London Thornton *Richard*

4.2.1. *Dialectal features*

LALME does not offer a linguistic profile for the London Thornton manuscript but the text of *Richard* in this manuscript is a typical representative of the NME dialect. It shows the following NME features: *ane* (one / an), *alde* (old), *amange* / *emange* (among), *bare* (bore), *bot* (but), *eghen* (eyes), *es* (is), *fro* (from), *gif* (if), *hir* (her), *ilk-* (each), *kyrke* (church), *lange* (long), *mare* / *ma* (more), *mikel* (much), *nether ... nether* (neither ... nor), *sare* (sore), *sho*, *scho* (she), *sold* (should), *strange* (strong), *swa* (so), *swilk(e)* (such), *tham* (them), *thay* (they), *thies* (these), *twa* (two), *wha* / *waa* (who), and *withouten* (without). A final example of NME found in the Thornton *Richard* is the blend of the OE noun *dēap*

⁷⁶ Brewer, Introduction to *The Thornton Manuscript*, vii.

⁷⁷ Thompson, *Robert Thornton*, 3.

⁷⁸ Thompson has already proposed this possibility in *Robert Thornton*, 3.

with the adjective *dēad* in the word *dede*.⁷⁹ As *death*, it occurs in, for example: *for Goddis dede* (l. 388), *Ane euyll dede* (l. 840), and *demyde to dede* (l. 986); and as *dead* in: *felle downn dede* (l. 299), *pou mon be dede* (l. 1014), and *And dede he felle down* (l. 2023).

Thornton uses the usual fifteenth-century abbreviations and contractions, for example: *P^u* for *pou*, and *wⁱ* for *with*; and the usual signs to indicate *-er*, *-ur*, *-es*, and *Sir*. He also uses abbreviations for *pre-*, *pri-*, *per-* and *par-*. The omitted nasal consonant is marked by the usual stroke over the previous vowel. Final *-n* (and sometimes *-m*) has a flourish, a curled stroke (see the word ‘Amen’ in plate 33). Although it might appear to indicate the abbreviation of a final *-e*, there is no word that etymologically requires an *e* after the flourish. Furthermore, when Thornton intends a final *e* after an *n*, he writes it (e.g. *bygane* ll. 1706, 2670, 2864, etc.; *gane* ll. 321, 2793, 2920, 2935, 3050, 4038, etc.; *sene* ll. 212, 1524, 3146, 4651, etc.). Consequently, in this edition, this sign has been ignored.⁸⁰

An interesting feature in Thornton’s writing is the use of four minims after a *w* (e.g. *adownn*, l. 340; *barownn*, l. 347; *awnnterous*, l. 493). As the letters *n* and *u* are indistinguishable in form – which does not usually present a problem – the four minims may represent either *un* or *nn*. It may be argued that, if it were *nn*, then one of them should have been abbreviated, as in *wanne* (l. 456) and *menns* (l. 1264).⁸¹ But this is not the rule for Thornton who, more often than not, writes the double *n* without abbreviation, e.g. *wynn* (l. 648), *skynne* (l. 795), and *euynn* (l. 915). In this edition, the four minims are usually transcribed as *nn*. Further support for that decision comes from the same feature after

⁷⁹ See MED, *deth* (n.), and *ded* (n.).

⁸⁰ Joyce Bazire, “‘Mercy and Justice’”, 259 adopts the same practice and ignores the final flourish. On the other hand, Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, adds a final *-e* when he transcribes **B** readings.

⁸¹ Marguerite Y. Offord has noted that sometimes the abbreviation mark, which usually represents a nasal, is placed over a nasal. Offord ignores the sign and transcribes only one of the letters; she speculates that, ‘[p]robably this stroke was often added mechanically even when the word was not abbreviated, or the scribe expanding a contraction may sometimes have copied the contraction sign too’. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. Marguerite Y. Offord, EETS OS 246 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

letters other than *w*. Thornton writes words such as *awenn* (own), *sonnes* (sons), and *begynn* with four minims, which have to be read as *nn*. Nevertheless, when *un* is etymologically necessary, it is transcribed thus, for example: *doun* (l. 190), and *ground* (l. 231). As *LALME* puts it, '[h]ere, typographical representations are almost bound to be arbitrary and should be regarded as such'.⁸²

4.2.2. *Versification and literary features*⁸³

Richard was composed in rhyming couplets of variable length, usually with four stresses to the line. Slant rhymes (those in which phonetic identity is not exact) occasionally occur, for example: *Henry:sekirly* (ll. 37-8), *yvorie:sekerly* (ll. 65-6), and *Jhesu:venu* (ll. 1075-6). Apart from the occasional slant rhyme, the text shows accurate rhymes, in which the final words of each line of the couplet have phonetic identity. In three passages (ll. 3629-33, 6147-9, and 6952-6), instead of couplets, three or five lines have the same rhyme; these may be due to scribal addition – or subtraction – of lines.⁸⁴ On two occasions (ll. 2812, 3938), a line was either missed by Thornton, or was missing in the exemplar from which he was copying.⁸⁵

The literary merits of *Richard* lie in its careful composition and the literary devices employed. Stylistically, direct addresses to the audience bring to mind the performative nature of the romance.⁸⁶ In addition, descriptions of battles and single combats, in which

⁸² *LALME*, 1:xvii.

⁸³ The following discussion, except when it particularly refers to the Thornton MS, applies to the longer version of *Richard*, i.e. **BCW**, in general.

⁸⁴ Every unusual rhyme is noted in 'Textual Notes'.

⁸⁵ On one occasion, this anomaly renders the couplet unintelligible; in that instance, the missing line has been provided in the edited text and noted in footnote.

⁸⁶ These instances are noted in 'Explanatory Notes'. For Middle English romance performance, see Evelyn B. Vitz, Nancy F. Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, Introduction to *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 6-7; Zaerr, 'The Weddyng of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell: Performance and Intertextuality', in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. Vitz, Regalado and Lawrence, 193-208 esp. 193-7.

the performer plays an important role, are rendered vividly, but not as hyperbolically as in *chansons de geste*; this shows a quasi-naturalistic portrayal of battlefield reality. The cohesion and coherence of the romance is worth noting. Although, as discussed above, it appears that some episodes have been added at a later stage of composition, the later poet(s) (or scribes-as-authors) paid careful attention to the details of the rest of the romance and, by means of repetition of names and/or place names, and allusion to previous episodes, gave the romance its notable cohesion. As regards literary devices, the romancer uses them in an effective way. *Accumulatio* is not merely used as a list of related words placed consecutively and detached from the story which is being narrated; numerous lists (e.g. of food, wines, tableware, arms, armour, geographical names), placed at particular moments in the romance, have an emphatic function in the romancer's overall design of the episode. Direct speech is also used extensively; frequently, two characters narrate the same event from different points of view, allowing the audience to compare and contrast them. Similes, often drawing on natural phenomena and warfare, feature throughout.⁸⁷ Irony – sometimes very subtle – is extensively used, occasionally, working as comic relief.⁸⁸ In sum, the romancer's encyclopaedic knowledge combined with his literary skills to maintain the tension of the narrative – and the attention of the audience – result in a text whose literary wealth runs parallel with the rhythm of its action.

4.3. Dialectal and orthographical differences between the Thornton and the Gonville and Caius versions

Linguistically, the Thornton (**B**) and the Gonville and Caius (**C**) versions of *Richard* present more similarities than differences. The dialectal features of both versions have

⁸⁷ Similes are noted in 'Explanatory Notes'.

⁸⁸ The romancer's use of irony is noted in 'Explanatory Notes'.

already been discussed;⁸⁹ the following chart, however, aims to show the dialectal and orthographical variations between the versions, comparing the more frequently used words in the romance.

MnE	B	C
by	by / bi	Be
but	bot	but
death	dede	deþ
enough	ynoghe	inow3 / inou3t
foe	fa(a)	foo
go / tell (imp.)	gose / tellys	goo / tel
hundred	hundrethe	hondryd / hundryd
is	es	is
knight	knyghte	kny3t(e)
love	lufe	loue
more	ma/mare	more
night	nyghte	ny3t
-ought	-ought(e)	-ou3t(e)
Richard	Richerd	Richard
right	righte	ry3t
Saracen/Saracens	Sarazyne (n. sg); Sara3enes / Sarazynes (n. pl.); Sara3ene (adj.)	Sare3yn (n. sg); Sare3ynes / Sare3ynys (n. pl.); Sare3yn (adj.)
shall	sall (shall)	schal / schalt (2sg)
she	sho / scho (sche)	sche
should	sold	scholde
so	swa / so	soo / so
their	their(e) / þaire / thaire	her(e)
them	þam / thaym / theym	hem
then	than / þan / then	þenne
these	thies	þese / þyse
though	þoghe	þow3
through	thurgh(e) / thorowe	þorw3

4.4. Thornton's self-corrections

⁸⁹ See 'Gonville & Caius Richard', p. 33.

Scribal self-corrections in Thornton's copy of the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* have been thoroughly studied by Mary Hamel, who notes three methods by which Thornton corrected his copy: the first, by striking out a word, or part of a word, and immediately writing the preferred form; the second, by superimposing a preferred letter over a rejected letter in spelling corrections; and the third, by inserting corrections above or at the end of the completed line.⁹⁰ Likewise, when he copies *Richard*, Thornton self-corrects. An evident mistake appears at the beginning of fol. 142^r, where lines 979-998, which correspond to fol. 131^{ra}, are copied and subsequently crossed out. Thornton may have inadvertently started copying from a quire he had already copied, and it took him twenty lines to realize the error. No other similar mistake occurs in his copy of *Richard*, but, of the methods of self-correction Hamel notes, two are more frequent. The earliest of many occurrences of striking out a word and replacing it by the preferred form appears on l. 81 'righte sone ~~at~~ with skylle'.⁹¹ Examples of inserting corrections once the line has been completed are also frequent; not only does Thornton insert corrections above the line (e.g. ll. 165, 1008, 5727) or at the end of the line (e.g. ll. 4048, 5724), but he also adds them on the margin, at the beginning of the line (e.g. ll. 4430, 4747), and below the line (l. 4977). Whenever he self-corrects in this way, he indicates where the missing word should have been, by using short double virgules (" ") or sometimes a caret (^); he writes the word to be inserted between the virgules – or beside the caret – drawn slightly below the base line of the word. Only two examples of self-correction by superimposing a letter occur in *Richard*, on l. 4386, and on l. 6158; in the latter, the first 's' of 'byssege' has been written over another letter that looks like a 'g'. An interesting case appears on l. 2533, where Thornton self-corrects twice. The line, including the margin, reads:

⁹⁰ Mary Hamel, 'Scribal Self-Corrections in the Thornton *Morte Arthure*', *Studies in Bibliography* 36 (1983):119-37 at 126.

⁹¹ All self-corrections are noted in 'Textual Notes'.

Than his auxe als tite was ^{to hym} broghte ~~hym~~t

Speculating about Thornton's reasons for these self-corrections, it is evident he missed two words in the middle of the line, which he would provide at the end of the line. What happened afterwards is not clear; he may have started writing 'hym to' when he realized he was miscopying, or, having written 'hym t', he decided his exemplar was wrong and proceeded to correct it.

With Hamel's 'Statistical Summary' as a guide,⁹² I have surveyed Thornton's self-corrections in his version of *Richard* as follows:

Correction Types	Line numbers	Total
I. Spelling Changes		
Deletions	4372	1
Exchanges	470, 574, 1137, 1183, 1191, 1450, 1568, 2379, 2411, 2455, 2558, 4289, 4340, 4386, 4549, 4906, 5002, 5824, 5889, 6158, 6281, 6583, 6635, 6706.	24
II. Word Changes		
Additions	165, 450, 1008, 1732, 1842, 1851, 1852, 2533, 3677, 4048, 4123, 4430, 4475, 4747, 4964, 4977, 5272, 5662, 5724, 5727, 5961, 6326, 6443 (2), 6626, 6823, 6923.	27
Deletions	384, 903, 1087, 2054 (2), 2136, 2381 (2), 2429, 2533, 2593, 3713, 4018, 4107, 4999, 6070, 6397, 6555, 6588.	19
Exchanges	81, 83, 115, 704, 1254, 1306, 1705, 1808, 2429, 4030, 4140, 4144, 4570, 4900, 6191, 6309, 6497, 6781.	18
Total		89

Hamel has found three hundred and thirty-nine self-corrections in the four thousand three hundred and forty-six lines of the *Morte*, a significantly higher number than the eighty-nine

⁹² Hamel, 'Scribal Self-Corrections', 129. Note, however, that Hamel's tabulation indicates the position of the correction in the alliterative long line, but she does not provide the line numbers.

in the six thousand four hundred surviving lines of *Richard*. This may be related to the nature of the alliterative line in the *Morte*, but it may also suggest a more careful treatment of *Richard* – and the London manuscript – even if Thornton did not have any commercial plans for the manuscript.⁹³

The first two sections of this Introduction have mainly focused on codicology and textual criticism, by studying the manuscripts in which *Richard* is extant, the theoretical and pragmatic frame of reference for the edition of the romance. The following sections principally concern matters of literary criticism, such as the dating of the text, its sources, and its literary wealth.

⁹³ Guddat-Figge suggests that Thornton copied the Lincoln MS for himself and his family, and the London MS for selling. Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue*, 161. A further study of Thornton's self-corrections in both the Lincoln and the London manuscripts may reveal whether the London MS was copied more carefully, as the alliterative verse items in both manuscripts may be compared.

Date of Composition

1. Introduction

There is no evidence to date *Richard*'s composition definitively; inferences, therefore, must remain speculative. As discussed in 'Relationship between the Manuscripts', scholars have largely agreed that the original composition of the romance consisted solely of a historical account of the Third Crusade, to which a number of fictional episodes were added.¹ Scholars have also generally assumed that the historical account must have been composed in the thirteenth century, and that fictional episodes were later added.² I suggest that the gap between the composition of the historical account and that of one of the major interpolations is much narrower than previously thought. The following argument draws on textual evidence to support the hypothesis that the historical account of the crusade was composed around 1307 – certainly after 1300 – while one major interpolation may have been written circa 1300. Although this discussion challenges the validity of the terms 'original' (and therefore historical) and 'interpolated' (and therefore fictional), it finds it convenient, for practical reasons, to retain these terms for the present, to deal in turn with the historical and the interpolated parts of the narrative.

¹ See 'Relationship between the Manuscripts' and 'Editing *Richard Coeur de Lion*' for previous discussion and problematization of these propositions.

² Gaston Paris proposes that an Anglo-Norman *ur-Richard*, which only contained a historical account of the crusade, was composed before 1230, that it was translated into Middle English at the end of the century, and that the fictional interpolations were added in the fourteenth century. Brunner does not speculate about the romance's date of composition, but he agrees with Paris in the existence and nature of the Anglo-Norman source. Roger Loomis suggests that the *ur-Richard* cannot have been composed before 1250; he agrees with Paris's date of the translation into Middle English, and concludes that the interpolations (mainly due to a Lincolnshire minstrel) must have been added after 1300. Schellekens, on the other hand, challenges the existence of an Anglo-Norman source. She does not attempt to date the fictional episodes, but places the composition of the historical account during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307); she bases her conclusion on the fact that Edward, like Richard I, was a crusader and warrior king. See Gaston Paris, 'Le Roman de Richard Coeur de Lion', *Romania*, 26 (1897): 353-93 at 361-2 and 385-7; Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 21-3; Roger Loomis, '*Richard Löwenherz*, edited by Karl Brunner', 458 and 464; Schellekens, '*Richard Coeur de Lion*', 2: 72.

2. 'Historical' account of the Third Crusade

The dating of the Auchinleck manuscript to the 1330s offers a *terminus ante quem* for the 'historical' version; however, the original romance must have preceded the copying of the manuscript. In effect, Auchinleck cannot contain the original *Richard* because, first, there is a gap of twenty-two lines in the narration which is due not to a missing folio but, probably, to a defective exemplar.³ Second, the first twenty-four lines of the romance – two twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas – must have been added (or transformed) after the original composition in rhyming couplets. Third, there are several scribal errors throughout the text.⁴

Gaston Paris claims that the Middle English original story of *Richard* is 'without doubt' a translation of a now lost Anglo-Norman romance; his suggestion has been widely accepted.⁵ However, the existence of an Anglo-Norman source cannot be proved conclusively. To support his hypothesis, Paris uses textual evidence; first, he claims that the translator has left some French terms in his English version, for example: *as armes* (L 1. 562; B, l. 3303); *tues! tues!* (B l. 3767); *suse segnours*; *as armes tost* (C l. 3009). However, the interpolated passages, which scholars agree must have been composed originally in Middle English, also show some French expressions, for example: *paramours* (l. 451), *verament* (l. 977), *saunce fail* (l.1319), and *grant mercy* (ll. 1399 and 1655).⁶

³ After thirty-four lines of introduction, the Auchinleck version reads: 'A Frenys kni3t, þe douke Miloun / & douke Renaud, a bold baroun, / Purth tresoun of þe counte Roys, / Surri was lorn & þe holy croys' (ll. 35-38), which shows an obvious gap in the narration between ll. 36 and 37; cf. this edition ll. 1277-1302. *King Richard*, in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. Burnley & Wiggins.

⁴ See Schellekens, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 2: 26 ff.

⁵ Paris, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 361. Note that, George Ellis, Walter Scott and Henry Weber, all regarded *Richard* as a translation. Historically, scholars have agreed with Paris; see Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 17; Loomis, 'Richard Löwenherz edited by Karl Brunner', 457 ff. Schellekens, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 2: 72 ff, on the other hand, challenges Paris's assertion, and my observations are partly based on hers.

⁶ All line numbers refer to this edition unless specifically noted. Since the Auchinleck version ends abruptly shortly after Richard arrives at Acre, it is impossible to ascertain what part of the story following Richard's arrival may have been interpolated. Therefore, I have only included the French expressions that appear in the interpolated passages before the arrival at the siege of Acre.

In addition to the ‘untranslated’ French expressions, Paris proposes that references to ‘French books’ indicate a French source. However, these references (‘French book’, l. 21; ‘[the]French say’, l. 5179; ‘French romance’, l. 6808) do not appear in the hypothetical original Middle English translation but in the later interpolations; the first reference to a possible French source appears in the introductory lines: *As þis romaunce of Freyngs wrouȝt* (L l.19); *In Fraunce bokes thies rymmes men wrote* (B l. 21). The line in L is more explicit than that in B, which appears to refer to other stories and not to *Richard*. However, the line in L occurs in the two tail-rhyme stanzas – the first twenty-four lines in L – which, as mentioned above, must have been added or transformed later and, therefore, may not represent the hypothetical original. The second and third references to a possible French source are more explicit: *Frenssche says he slowȝ an hundrid ... whereof is maad þis Ynglyssche sawe* (ll. 5179-80); *Als it was in the Franche romance yfounde* (l. 6808). But, according to a linguistic study carried out by Schellekens, these lines could not belong to the original either.⁷ It is clear that, on this evidence alone, the case for a lost Anglo-Norman source is highly inconclusive.⁸ Moreover, considering that a twelfth-century eyewitness account of the Third Crusade written in French verse – Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* – may have been one of the sources of *Richard*, it could be argued that the references to French books simply point to Ambroise’s *Estoire*. That *Richard* was considered a translation without any proof that the Anglo-Norman text ever existed betrays

⁷ Schellekens’s philological study (*Richard Coeur de Lion*, 2: 36-43) concludes that the original story was written in a South East/Kentish Middle English dialect, which appears to be best preserved in the Auchinleck version; for other witnesses readings of the second and third references to a hypothetical French source, see ‘Textual Notes’ 5179, 6808. For discussion of the rhetorical mention to ‘books’, see ‘History versus Fiction’, pp. 160-1.

⁸ As mentioned above (note 2), both Brunner and Loomis also sustain that the original redaction was in Anglo-Norman. Brunner substantiates his claim by studying the couplets, and concludes that the split couplet (*Reimbrechung*), defined as a couplet where there is a break in sense between the lines (usually indicated in the edited text by a semi-colon or a full stop), corresponds to the interpolations, while non-split couplets correspond to the original Anglo-Norman redaction. Loomis uses the same parameter, the split couplet, and the study of French rhyme-words to support his claim. Interesting as these studies may be, the percentage of ‘French rhyme-words’ and of non-split couplets in the historical account of the crusade (around 16%) is not conclusive, either. Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 19-21 and 35 ff; Loomis, *Richard Löwenherz* edited by Karl Brunner, 458-60.

nineteenth-century conceptions of Middle English romance composition, which may apply to a number of romances but cannot be used as a rule, particularly as regards *Richard*.

2.1. Longespée and Robynet

As the Auchinleck version cannot be the original *Richard*, even in the absence of an Anglo-Norman ancestor, the original romance must have been composed before the 1330s. Textual evidence found in *Richard* based on names of knights who did not take part in the Third Crusade – for example William Longspey – and on a technological device which was not associated with Richard I – a siege machine called Robynet – may help shed light on its time of composition or, at any rate, supply a provisional *terminus post quem*.⁹

The name of William Longspey (mentioned in the historical account and the interpolations, ll. 1824, 4955, 5904, and 6842) most likely refers to William Longespée II, who fought and died in the Battle of Mansurah (1250), during the Seventh Crusade.¹⁰ Simon Lloyd, who has traced the making of William Longespée's legend in England, dates the legend from after 1250 to the turn of the century.¹¹ Interestingly, in the first decade after the disaster of Mansurah, Longespée is hardly mentioned in any record, either French or English. This changes some time afterwards, when English chroniclers start

⁹ Apart from William Longespée, other knights connected to the Seventh Crusade and the Battle of Mansurah (1250) mentioned in *Richard* are: the Earl of Richmond (l. 2191), who did not die at the battle but of the wounds received there; and the Earl of Artays (Count of Artois) (l. 1326), who accompanied his brother, Louis IX, on crusade and died at Mansurah.

¹⁰ There is further mention of Longespée in **C**; see Textual Note **6229**. Loomis notes that Brunner makes an unfortunate mistake in his notes by confusing two men of the same name. One, the third Earl of Salisbury (c. 1176-1226), supposedly Henry II's illegitimate son, was contemporary with Richard I, but there are no records of his participation in the third or any other crusade; the other, his son, William Longespée II (c. 1212-1250) took part and died in the Seventh Crusade. Brunner gives the birth and death dates for William Longespée I but suggests that he is the hero of an Anglo-Norman romance when, in fact, the hero of the romance is William Longespée II; Brunner, *Richard Löwenherz*, 468-9. Schellekens considers Longespée but she wrongly states that he took part in the Fourth Crusade, Schellekens 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 2: 71.

¹¹ Simon Lloyd, 'William Longespée II, The Making of an English Crusading Hero, Part I', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 35 (1991): 41-69; Simon Lloyd, 'William Longespée II: The Making of an English Crusading Hero, Part II', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992): 79-102.

aggrandizing Longespée's fame in contrast to the infamous behaviour of the French.¹² In around 1300, his fame as a crusader hero provides the subject of an Anglo-Norman romance in which the mistakes and cowardice of the French at the Battle of Mansurah lead to his death.¹³ Longespée is most likely to have been incorporated into the romance of the crusading hero *par excellence*, Richard the Lionheart, when his own legendary status as a hero had been established. Had Longespée's character been featured in *Richard* immediately after 1250 (as Loomis suggests), there could have been two possible negative reactions. An audience familiar with Longespée's story would have known that he could not have accompanied Richard I to the Holy Land over a hundred years before; and the impact of his character would have been lost on an audience ignorant of the circumstances of Longespée's death.

Therefore, apart from the evidence that Longespée's fame as a crusader hero increased a generation after 1250, it is also more likely that several decades had passed before the romancer could include a famous – if anachronistic – Longespée in a story of Richard I. With mention of Longespée in *Richard*, the romancer may have intended to evoke another crusader hero whose name must have been familiar to the audience of the romance, even though the specific events of the Seventh Crusade may have been long

¹² Lloyd, 'William Longespée II, Part I', 46-53. One of the earliest evidence of Longespée's rising fame is found in the *Recits d'un Menestrel de Reims* (c. 1260) and in the early fourteenth-century French poem, *Le Pas Saladin*, where Longespée is included among the twelve knights who accompany Richard to a battle during the Third Crusade. *Le Pas Saladin* was frequently depicted during the fourteenth century and has survived in an early fourteenth-century ivory casket and in the nineteenth-century carving (reproducing a fourteenth-century original) on a wooden chest (Musée de Cluny, Paris); in both depictions, Longespée and the other knights are identified by their arms. See Roger Loomis, 'Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art', *PMLA* 30.3 (1915): 509-28 at 524-9; R. Loomis, 'The Pas Saladin in Art and Heraldry', in *Studies in Medieval Literature* (New York: B. Franklin, 1970), 245-53.

¹³ The Anglo-Norman romance, *La chanson de bon William Longespée*, is extant in a unique manuscript, London British Library Cotton Julius A. V.; see Tony Hunt 'The Anglo-Norman Poem on William Longespée', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992): 103-25. For a previous edition and translation, see Samuel Bentley, *Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History* (London: Richard Bentley, 1831), esp. 'The assault of Massoura', 64-84. In *Richard* (l. 1326), Artays (the Count of Artois) is riding beside King Philip, who is portrayed in the romance as greedy and cowardly (see 'History versus Fiction', p. 153 ff). This may be meaningful because, in the romance of William Longespée, Artois is the greedy coward responsible for the massacre of Mansurah.

forgotten.¹⁴ The mention of Longespée and other participants of the Seventh Crusade in a story of the Third Crusade exemplifies the extent to which the term ‘historical’ has to be used with caution.

While the mention of Longespée points to a generation after 1250 at the earliest – when Longespée’s fame had been consolidated – further internal evidence in the Auchinleck version suggests that the original *Richard* was most likely written around 1300. All extant witnesses mention a siege machine called Robynet, which Richard deploys in several sieges (ll. 1416, 2920, 6190, and 6206). There is no mention of a siege machine of that name in any account of the Third Crusade, but a siege-engine called Robynet is connected with Edward I’s campaign in Scotland. First, the name appears in the King’s Wardrobe Accounts for the year 1300 in connection with the siege of Caerlaverock (July, 1300). Second, it is recorded in the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, in connection with the siege of Sterling Castle in 1304.¹⁵ It may be argued that, writing in the 1330s, the Auchinleck scribe diverged from his exemplar and inserted the name ‘Robynet’. This is possible but unlikely; as it is part of the rhyme, the scribe would also have had to insert the line before and, in order to make sense, the two lines after that:

Anoper gin Richard vp sett,
 þat was ycleped Robinett;
 A strong gine for þe nones,
 þat cast into Acres hard stones. (L ll. 1011-14)

¹⁴ It is less probable that someone writing about fifty years after the events of Mansurah may have confused the Seventh with the Third Crusade (suggested by Schellekens, 2: 71, probably because she mistakenly considers that Longespée took part in the Fourth Crusade), or that the romancer may have confused Mansurah with Messina (suggested by Lloyd, ‘William Longespée II, Part I’, 55). It is possible, however, that the temporal distance between the composition of *Richard* and the events of the Seventh Crusade may have produced a juxtaposition between Longespée I – contemporary of Richard but not participant of any crusade – and his son Longespée II, the crusader hero.

¹⁵ *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vigesimo Octavo*, ed. John Topham (London: J. Nichols, 1787), lii and 65; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ed. Joseph Bain, 4 vols (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1881-88) 4: 370; *English Historical Documents*, ed. David Douglas, 12 vols (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953-1977), 3: 610 connects the *Calendar* reference to the siege of Stirling Castle. Robynet (spelt robinet) is also mentioned in the c. 1300 Anglo-Norman *The Siege of Carlaverock in the XXVIII Edward I. A.D. MCCC; with the Arms of the Earls, Barons, and Knights, Who Were Present on the Occasion*, ed. and trans. Nicholas H. Nicolas (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), 82-3.

If, then, the Auchinleck version is the closest to the original redaction of the historical account of *Richard*, its *terminus post quem* should be c.1300. Historical events also arguably support a date of c. 1300. The animosity between England and France, and the resultant anti-French sentiment in England, is well documented from the beginning of the Hundred Years' War (1337) onwards, but hostilities between the two countries started decades before 1337.¹⁶ Between 1294 and 1303, England and France were 'formally and publicly' at war. In an interesting piece of propaganda, the French king, Philip the Fair, accused Edward I's Gascon subjects of killing French subjects 'simply because they spoke the French language'.¹⁷ Even though this war was fought in Aquitaine, its effects were extensively felt in England because the English had to support the war effort with taxes, because they supplied the English king with food and arms, and because English soldiers took part in the conflict.¹⁸ The propaganda war that took place during this conflict – exemplified by Philip the Fair's accusation – further supports the hypothesis that *Richard* (a romance in which anti-French sentiment and anti-French propaganda are paramount) was composed in c. 1300.¹⁹

If so, both Peter Langtoft and Robert Mannyng of Brunne, who mention a romance of Richard in their chronicles, may have known this text.²⁰ Peter Langtoft died around

¹⁶ I thank Mark Ormrod for drawing my attention to the fact that English-French hostility started long before the Hundred Years' War.

¹⁷ Malcolm Vale, *The Origins of the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004; first pub. 1990), 175 and 183.

¹⁸ Mavis Mate, 'The Impact of War on the Economy of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1294-1340', *Speculum* 57.4 (1982): 761-78, esp. at 761-2.

¹⁹ In addition, there are several parallelisms between the 1294-1303 war and *Richard*: e.g. the important role of the Gascons as English allies; the name of the King of France (Philip; but note that during 1328-50 the French king was also called Philip); like Richard, Edward I enjoyed a higher esteem as a crusader king than the King of France did. See Vale, *Origins*, especially 175-226; see also 'History versus Fiction' for discussion and exemplification of anti-French sentiment.

²⁰ Both chroniclers wrote in the vernacular, Peter Langtoft (who probably died c. 1307) in Anglo-Norman, and Robert Mannyng, who finished his chronicle in 1338, in Middle English. Peter Langtoft, *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. Thomas Wright, Rolls Series 47, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1868); Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. Idelle Sullens (New York: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance

1307, which leaves just enough time for him to have known the romance. Although it is less probable that the romance of Richard mentioned in the chronicle attributed to Robert of Gloucester, finished in about 1300, is the same romance from which the Auchinleck *Richard* was copied, the possibility cannot be completely discarded. There is no certainty as to when the chronicler died, or even whether, when mentioning the romance of Richard, he was referring to a text written *in Romance*, which might have been Ambroise's *Estoire*.²¹

3. Interpolations

While a provisional *terminus post quem* of 1300 may be established for the historical account of *Richard*, dating the interpolations proves more difficult, mainly because they constitute over three thousand lines of the romance, and there are virtually no clues to ascertain either when they were written or by how many redactors.²² The 'Synopsis' shows how a number of episodes have been added to the account of the crusade.²³

Additions notwithstanding, it becomes clear that names mentioned in the original story – and not only the anachronistic ones mentioned above – are reiterated in the interpolations

Studies State University of New York at Binghamton, 1996), references to the 'romance of Richard': Part II, ll. 3870, 3871, 3877, 4340-41, and 4346.

²¹ Robert of Gloucester, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. William A. Wright, Rolls Series 85-6, 2 vols (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965), reference to the romance of Richard at 2: 649. Note that the chronicler was probably familiar with other sources written in Romance, e.g. Wace's *Brut*, and *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* - or their sources; see William A. Wright, Preface to *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, xv. Although there is an Anglo-Norman romance on Richard's crusade, this shows no connection with the Middle English *Richard* (I thank Rosalind Field for drawing my attention to this text); *The Crusade and Death of Richard I*, ed. R. C. Johnston (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961). The witnesses of this Anglo-Norman romance date from about 1350-60, later than the production of Auchinleck. A study of *The Crusade and Death of Richard I* shows that it translates and elaborates on Roger of Howden's *Chronica*. Interestingly, its editor judges it as contemptuously as Gaston Paris does *Richard*; Johnston (Introduction, xv) regards it as 'unambitious, unscholarly, popular narrative'.

²² As mentioned in note 2 above, Loomis suggests that the bulk of the fictional material is due to one interpolator, '*Richard Löwenherz* edited by Karl Brunner', 464-65. Working with only four manuscripts, Schellekens claims that she can identify ten different 'authors', although she admits that sometimes the identification relies on her instinct, Schellekens, '*Richard Coeur de Lion*', 2: 32-4.

²³ See also the 'Episode Chart' and 'Relationship between the Manuscripts'.

in order to give the romance a sense of coherence. By repeating the names of knights and geographical places, and continuing episodes, the interpolations do not appear alien to the story; on the contrary, even with so many added lines, the longer version of *Richard* maintains the story line cohesively.²⁴

3.1. Multon and Doly

As so little of the interpolated material offers any clue to its date of composition, the following discussion will focus on an episode of some twelve hundred lines in which Richard and two knights, all disguised as pilgrims, travel to the Holy Land and are captured in Almayne (ll. 251-1245). I argue that this episode may have been added earlier than previously thought; it may even have pre-existed (or co-existed with) the historical account of the crusade. As with the date of composition of the historical account, the discussion will be circumscribed to a technical device, a piece of armour introduced in c. 1300 – the basinet – and to two knights who feature prominently in this episode, but who were not associated with Richard I or the Third Crusade: Thomas of Multon and Fulk Doly.

There is frequent mention, both in the captivity episode and in other interpolations, of the basinet, a small, rounded steel helmet (e.g. ll. 401, 567, 4622, and 4632).²⁵ Considering that the earliest basinets came into use at the very end of the thirteenth century, the references to it cannot have been included in the romance before the turn of the century, which suggests that these interpolations did not have a previous life before their incorporation into *Richard*.²⁶ While the mention of the basinet only gives a possible

²⁴ Allusions to and connections with previous episodes are noted in 'Explanatory Notes'.

²⁵ See plates 4 and 7. Other examples of knights wearing basinets are the monumental brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, Elsing, Norfolk (c. 1347) and the effigy of Edward, the Black Prince, d. 1376, at Canterbury Cathedral.

²⁶ See John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000-1300* (London: UCL Press), 17.

starting date, since that style of helmet continued to be worn until the fifteenth century, the inclusion in the captivity episode of two fictitious characters, Thomas of Multon (or Moulton) and Fulk Doly (or Doyly), and the importance given to them in the story might help with the dating. Although the characters are fictional in that there is no record of their participation in the Third (or any other) Crusade, the knights Thomas of Multon and Fulk D'Oyly existed and one of the families (or both) may have been patrons of the romancer who composed this episode.²⁷

Little is known about the historical Multon and D'Oyly. One Thomas Multon who, according to the *DNB*, was a landowner in Lincolnshire and died in c. 1198, appears to be the best candidate for the character portrayed in *Richard*. The identification of D'Oyly is more problematic. An intriguing entry in a history of the House of D'Oyly comments on one 'Sir Foulk D'Oyly, the Crusader, the devoted friend and companion in arms of King Richard I', but it soon becomes clear that the comment is based on Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.²⁸ However unreliable this history of the House of D'Oyly may be, there is a useful piece of evidence corroborated by – or drawn from – William Dugdale's *Baronage of England*. Geoffrey D'Oyly, who must have lived during the reign of King John (1199-1216) and whose father could have been Fulk D'Oyly, married a woman called Ida who, surviving him, married Lambert Multon (d. 1246), son and heir of Sir Thomas Multon (d. 1198).²⁹ Lambert's son, Thomas (d. 1294), went on to found the branch of the family called the Multons of Egremont, whose seat was at Multon near Spalding.³⁰ The marriage

²⁷ It is worth noting that there is no mention of Multon and Doly, or the captivity episode, in the Auchinleck version, and it is not owing to a missing folio; see the 'Episode Chart'.

²⁸ William D'Oyly Bayley, *A Biographical, Historical, Genealogical, and Heraldic Account of the House of D'Oyly* (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1845), 7. Walter Scott featured Multon and Doly as characters of *The Talisman*; see 'Preface', p. 20.

²⁹ William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England, or an Historical Account of the Lives and Most Memorable Actions of our English Nobility in the Saxons time, to the Norman Conquest, and from thence, of those Who Had Their Rise Before the End of King Henry the Third's Reign*. Deduced from publick [sic] records, antient [sic] historians, and other authorities (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1675-76), 1: 568; D'Oyly Bayles, *The House of D'Oyly*, 178.

³⁰ Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 1: 568.

between Lambert and Ida, widow of Geoffrey D'Oyly, appears to have joined both families, and it may explain why a romancer would include both names, on equal terms, in a story about Richard.³¹ The marriage must have taken place before or in 1246 – as Lambert died in that year – and was without issue. Lambert, however, had a son, Thomas, from a previous marriage.

Working for Lambert's son, Thomas Multon of Egremont, or for his son – also called Thomas, and who features in the c. 1300 Anglo-Norman account of the Siege of Caerlaverok (1300) as one of the barons that accompanied Edward I –³² a romancer might have concocted a suitable legend about both families' twelfth-century ancestors. Alternatively, the patron could have been Ida, who married first a D'Oyly, and second a Multon (fig. 3). If either Ida or Thomas Multon of Egremont (father or son) was the patron, *Richard's* episode featuring Multon and Doly may have been added to the romance at a very early stage, in about 1300.³³ A tantalizing hypothesis derives from the previous speculation. If the episodes featuring Multon and Doly were written in order to flatter Thomas Multon of Egremont or his step-mother's former family, the D'Oyls, then these lines may have pre-existed – or coexisted with – the historical account of *Richard*, and been added to the existing romance. With the extant evidence, however, all attempts to date accurately the composition of the episode that introduces Multon and Doly – or any other episode of the romance – remain speculative.

³¹ The relationship between both families outlived Lambert and Ida; in 1282, one William D'Oyly is recorded to have been a 'serviens' for Thomas de Multon at Ruddlan; Palgrave's Parl. and Milit. Writs, 10th Edward I, quote by D'Oyly Bayles, *The House of D'Oyly*, 178.

³² *The Siege of Carlaverock*, ed. Nicolas, 8-9.

³³ The period in which the composition might have taken place ranges from around 1246, when Lambert and Ida got married, and 1321 when the last Thomas of Multon (great-grandson of Lambert and grandson of Thomas Multon of Egremont), died, and his lineage with him.

existed in the original *Richard* but not been copied into Auchinleck's exemplar?³⁵ That possibility cannot be either confirmed or discounted. And how can one explain the fact that the longest, most fabulous versions of *Richard* (**BC**) provide the most logical reading for the Multon and Doly episode?³⁶ These uncertainties over the textual development of the romance challenge its simple division into two distinct versions. Therefore, rather than endorsing a neat and clear division between versions, whereby constituent parts of the romance remain independent and isolated, I suggest that this text may have been disseminated in a short period of time in a way that makes rigid distinctions between 'original and historical' and 'later and fabulous' redundant.

³⁵ It is worth noting once again that, after the introductory lines, the Auchinleck *Richard* shows a gap in the narration, which suggests that its exemplar may have been damaged or was otherwise defective; see note 3 above.

³⁶ In **BC**, Richard – in disguise – takes part in a tournament and defeats every baron he faces except for Multon and Doly. In **ADH**, Richard defeats Multon and Doly too, and it is not clear then why Richard chooses them as his companions. In **BC**, after the tournament, Richard summons Multon and Doly, reveals that he was the knight-errant at the tournament, and then invites them to accompany him to the Holy Land; in **ADH**, Richard first tells them they should go to the Holy Land and then reveals that he was the knight-errant at the tournament. These inconsistencies led Brunner to claim that **C** best preserves the 'original' redaction. As discussed earlier, Brunner's problem is that he equates 'original' with 'Anglo-Norman' and 'historical' (see 'The editions by Brunner and Schellekens', p. 79). Loomis considers that the archetype of **ADH** must have been composed from memory rather than being copied from another manuscript, and that the most logical reading for the episode is the one preserved in **BC** (Loomis, '*Richard Löwenherz*, edited by Karl Brunner', 462-3).

Sources

1. 'So says the boke': Sources of *Richard Coeur de Lion*

The study of sources, analogues, influences and allusions in *Richard* needs to be undertaken knowing that there is no conclusive evidence that the romancer has drawn on a particular source to create an episode, or part of it.¹ There can be no way of positively identifying the poet's reading as one can do, for example, with Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseide*. Even though *Richard* brings to mind numerous medieval texts, those sources have not been translated word for word, or scene by scene, nor have they been incorporated into contexts similar to those in which they originally appeared. As most of *Richard*'s sources lose their previous context, they become inextricably intertwined in the matrix of the new narrative, assuming a new function indispensable to and indistinguishable from the story narrated in the romance. For this reason, it is virtually impossible to ascertain whether *Richard*'s sources reflect the romancer's reading of the texts in which similar passages originally appear, or an intermediary between the original source and the romancer's readings, or even oral accounts of those sources, which the romancer may have heard. Furthermore, sometimes it is impossible to ascertain whether the romance has borrowed from another text or it has influenced it. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the study of *Richard*'s sources is that the number and diversity of sources, analogues, influences and allusions that lie behind the composition of *Richard* emphasize the extent to which the longer version of this romance has to be studied as the product of a continual poetic process of re-utilization, re-signification, and re-creation of models.

¹ The only exception to this rule is the connection between *Richard* and *The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, which is discussed below.

Even though numerous intertextual connections can be established between *Richard* and chronicles, other romances, *mirabilia*, and legends, nowhere does the romance claim to be an eyewitness account, or to be based on a prestigious source.² At first glance, however, it appears that the romancer may have desired to acknowledge one or more sources, as he frequently mentions a *boke* or *bokes* (ll. 21, 200, 1985, 2391, 2626, 5482, 5849, 6344, 172 – Appendix 2) and *cronikylls* (l. 1304). However, *boke* may only represent a useful rhyme-word, as on lines 1985-6, 2391-2 and 2625-6, *boke* rhymes with *toke*, and on lines 6344-5 and 172-3 (Appendix 2), it rhymes with *loke*. Moreover, the expression ‘as the book says’ or similar (ll. 200, 2626, 1985, 2391, 5482, 5849, and 6344), which may have started its life as a rhetorical device that gave the text an aura of credibility as well as providing useful syllables to meet the metrical requirements, has later become ‘simply a stylistic mannerism’.³ Interestingly, a study of the references to books in *Richard* shows that some of them correspond to events recorded in chronicles, while others correspond to fictional episodes only extant in the romance.⁴ Therefore, there is no conclusive evidence that the romancer has in fact acknowledged any source. However, despite the fact that the intertextual dialogue in which *Richard* engages does not explicitly name any sources, the variety of intertextual connections between *Richard* and other medieval texts bears witness to the encyclopaedic knowledge of the romancer (or

² For medieval chroniclers both eyewitness reports and authoritative (i.e. prestigious) sources represent the most reliable of sources, which confer authority on their own chronicles. The fact that the romance never claims to be an eyewitness report is significant since Gaston Paris maintains that the ‘original’ *Richard* was composed just after 1218, mostly on the assumption that the author was a contemporary of Richard I, who was on the crusade and knew of the construction of Pilgrim Castle (mentioned on l. 5201) in 1218; Paris, ‘Richard Coeur de Lion’, 387, note 1.

³ Robert Wilson, ‘Malory’s “French Book” Again’, *Comparative Literature*, 2.2 (Spring, 1950): 172-81 at 176; Wilson’s article studies the use of ‘as the book says’ in Malory’s works. Cf. H. Marshall Leicester Jr., ‘Our Tongues *Différance*: Textuality and Deconstruction in Chaucer’, in *Medieval texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Shichtman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 15-27, especially 15-16.

⁴ Mentions of ‘books’ are noted in ‘Explanatory Notes’.

romancers) who composed it, and makes the study of *Richard's* intertexts all the more appealing.⁵

1.1. Chronicles of the Third Crusade

Richard's intertexts may be divided into two major groups, historiographical (chronicles) and fictional (romances, legends). Among the former, two twelfth-century eyewitness reports of the Third Crusade – the anonymous *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi (IP)* and Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte* – have obvious intertextual connections with *Richard*. To mention only a few examples, the romance and the eyewitness chronicles have in common the name of the horse that Richard captures in Cyprus, Favel (l. 2342); the account of the hardship suffered by the besiegers at Acre (ll. 2693 ff); the detail of exorbitant food prices at Acre (ll. 2853 ff); and the poisoning of the water supply by the Saracens (2749 ff).⁶ Scholars seem undetermined, however, about which of the two chronicles may have been the source for *Richard* as both narrate almost the same events. There is a narrative device that may shed light on that matter: Ambroise's *Estoire* narrates chronologically Richard's journey from England to the Holy Land but, after the arrival at the siege of Acre, Ambroise uses flashback to tell his audience the events that have happened at Acre before Richard's arrival. Similarly, *Richard* narrates the story chronologically until the arrival at Acre, and then a character tells Richard everything that has taken place before his arrival. *IP*, on the other hand, narrates all the events in chronological order. This analepsis connects *Richard* to Ambroise, and it may explain the lines 'þe Frensche says ... / Whereof is maad þis Ynglyssche sawe' (ll. 5179-80) in terms

⁵ In the following discussion, the expressions 'intertextual connections' and 'intertexts' will be used in their general meaning of 'connection between a given text and another', and as synonyms of 'sources, analogues, influences' and 'allusions', to avoid the need constantly to specify to which category the source corresponds.

⁶ Intertextual connections between *Richard* and the chronicles of the Third Crusade are noted in 'Explanatory Notes'.

of a historiographical source used by the romancer rather than an allusion to an Anglo-Norman romance source.⁷

In addition, *Richard* has links with other twelfth- and early thirteenth-century chronicles. Roger of Howden's *Chronica* and *Richard* have in common the name of Richard's helmsman, Trenchemer (l. 1425), and an episode in which the Emperor of Cyprus attacks Richard's ambassadors (ll. 2124 ff), and cuts off his steward's nose (ll. 2161 ff). Like *Richard*, Richard of Devizes's *De Rebus Ricardi Primi* mentions the construction of the siege tower Mate-Griffoun in Messina, and provides the first use of the insult 'tailed' (Latin, *caudati*, ME, *taylede*, *taylarde*), used many times in the romance (e.g. ll. 1784, 2016, 2130).⁸

As well as deriving its narrative from earlier chronicles, *Richard* may have influenced later chronicles. When John Brompton was abbot of Jervaulx (1436-1466), he acquired a chronicle written during the reign of Edward III (1327-1377), which, like *Richard*, narrates the argument between Richard and the Duke of Austria, when the latter refuses to do manual work at Jaffa (ll. 6059 ff). If, as previously discussed, *Richard* was composed around 1300, Brompton's chronicle could not have influenced it, but the romance might have influenced the chronicle.⁹ Another example is provided by Walter of Guisborough's chronicle, which ends in 1346. It has in common with *Richard* the placing

⁷ The hypothesis that *Richard* has been translated from a now lost Anglo-Norman romance has been previously discussed and challenged; therefore, no more attention will be given to that hypothetical source. See 'Date of Composition', pp. 96-8; see also 'Explanatory Notes' 5181.

⁸ For the first recorded occurrence of the insult 'tailed', see Richard of Devizes, *Cronicon Ricardi Dividensis de Tempore Regis Ricardi Primi. The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. and trans. John Appleby (London & Edinburgh: Nelson, 1963), 19.

⁹ Gaston Paris claims that Brompton cannot have been one of *Richard*'s sources, as the abbot of Jervaulx probably lived in the fifteenth century. However, as John Selden explains, the chronicle was not written by Brompton. It was merely brought to the abbey while he was the abbot; the chronicle itself must have been written during the reign of Edward III; Paris, 'Richard Coeur de Lion', 370; David M. Smith, ed., *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3: 302, states that Brompton was abbot of Jervaulx for thirty years between 1436 and 1466. John Brompton, *Chronicon Johannis Bromton, Jorlanensis Historia a Johanne Bromton*, in *Historia Anglicanae Scriptores X*, ed. Roger Twysden and John Selden (London: Jacobi Flesher, 1652); for Selden's explanation as to when the chronicle was written, see his introductory study to the edition of the chronicles, 'Ad lectorem, Ioannes Seldenus, de scriptoribus hisce nunc primum editis', XXXV-XLI.

of Richard's death at Castle Gaillard (rather than the historical location of Chalus), and the information that the truce between Richard and Saladin was agreed for three years, three months, and three days. If *Richard* influenced the Brompton and/or the Guisborough chronicles, they would certainly not be the exceptions. As has been discussed, both Peter Langtoft and Robert Mannyng acknowledge their debt to a romance of Richard, which may have been a version of *Richard*.¹⁰

1.1.1. The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle

Although numerous intertextual connections link the romance to medieval chronicles, the method the romancer followed does not make clear which specific text was used as a source; the passages bring to mind their possible sources without quoting, naming, or placing them in exactly the same context. The exception to that rule is the intertextual connection between *Richard* and *The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* as it survives in the Auchinleck manuscript. This connection is significant because the *Short Chronicle* has been dated to the later years of the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) or immediately after his death, and it could further support the romance's proposed date of composition. The passage that connects both texts and which can be easily traced from the romance to its source narrates how, after his landing in Acre, Richard re-assembles his siege-tower, sets up a catapult (mangonel) on the top platform of the tower, and uses the catapult to infest Acre with bees, which have been transported from England. The Auchinleck *Short Chronicle* reads:

He sett þerin a **mangonel**

¹⁰ For references to a romance of Richard in Langtoft and Robert Mannyng, see 'Date of Composition', note 20. Another chronicle that states that Richard died at Castle Gaillard is *The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* (ll. 2185-86); *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, ed. Ewald Zettel, EETS OS 196 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935). Note that Walter of Guisborough is also known as Walter of Gisburn, Walterus Gisburnensis, Walter of Hemingburgh or Heminsburgh.

.....
 Anon he tok him þe be **hiue**
 & into Acres slong hem **bilieue**.
 Of þe hiues gret **plente**
 He slong into þat fair **cite**
 þe weder was hot in somers **tide**,
 þe ben brust out bi ich a **side**
 þat wer anoied & ful of **grame**;
 þai dede þe Sarrazins miche **schame**,
 For þai hem stong in her **vissage**
 þat al þai bigun to **rage**
 & hedde hem al in depe **celer**
 þat þai durst com no **nerer**. (ll. 2090-2106, my emphasis)¹¹

The same passage occurs in the Auchinleck *Richard* (L) and in all the other versions:

Auchinleck *Richard* (L)

He lete sett þerin a **mangonel**,
 & comand his folk **bilieue**
 To feche him vp mani a **be hiue**.

 & King Richard i[n] Acres **cite**
 Lete cast be-hyues gret **plente**.
 þe weder was hot i[n] someres **tide**,
 þe ben brust out bi ich a **side**,
 & were atened & ful of **grame**,
 & dede þe Sarrazins michel **schame**.
 þai stunggen hem i[n] her **visage**,
 þat alle þai gun for to **rage**.
 þai hidde hem down in depe **celer**.
 No man durst com hem **ner**
 (ll. 994-1008, my emphasis)¹²

Thornton *Richard* (B)

When the castell was framyde wele,
 And sett therin a gud **mawngonelle**,
 Thane he comande his men **belyve**,
 To feche vp many **bee-hyve**,

 Bot than Kyng Richerd into Acris **cite**
 Keste those hyves full grete **plente**.
 The whedir was hate in somers **tyde**,
 Those bees braste owte one euery **syde**
 And were anoied & full of **grame**,
 And dide those Saragenes full mekill **schame**;
 For þay þam tangede in the **vesage**,
 þat alle the Saragenes were nere **rage**.
 (ll. 2903-2916, my emphasis)

The connection between the chronicle and *Richard* is self-evident. Moreover, the similarity is not unique to the Auchinleck manuscript, since the same passage appears in all the later versions of *Richard*, which do not derive from Auchinleck.¹³ This suggests that the passage may have been incorporated in an earlier version of *Richard* and copied into

¹¹ *The Anonymous Short Metrical Chronicle*, in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. David Burnley and Alison Wiggins, National Library of Scotland, 5 July 2003, <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/mss/smc.html> (accessed 10 June 2008).

¹² *King Richard*, in *The Auchinleck Manuscript*, ed. Burnley & Wiggins.

¹³ See 'Relationship between the Manuscripts'.

every version. The ‘attacking bees’ passage, however, is not the only intertextual connection between the *Short Chronicle* and the longer versions of *Richard*; there are two further examples. First, when the *Short Chronicle* describes Richard’s entrance into Acre harbour, it mentions the windmills that Richard carries in his galley, and their colourful sails; the chronicle also narrates the Saracens’ fear as they observe Richard’s arrival:

þilke Richard our king
 Dede make a queynter þing,
 Windemilles in schippes houend on water
 Sailed about wiþ brenand tapre,
 Hongend wiþ vice made wel queynt
 þat non of hem miȝt out teynt.
 Þe sailes wer red ȝalu & grene,
 Wel griseliche þing ariȝt to sen.
 Þe Sarrazins seye þat mervaile,
 þai no durst abide to ȝif batayle.
 þai seyden hem ichon among,
 ‘Lordinges, to dyen it wer strong,
 For þis is þe deuel of helle
 þat wil ous euerichon aquelle. (ll. 2107-2120)

Although **L** mentions neither the windmills nor the Saracen’s fear, these appear in **BC**:

Bot ouer alle other, full wittirly,
 A milne he hade made of grete maistry
 In middis a schipe for to stande;
 Swilke anoþir ne sawe ȝit neuer no man *in* lande.
 And foure sailes were ordeyned þerto:
 ȝalowe, & rede, and grene, & bloo,
 With canvays were þay layde abowte,
 Full sekire *within* & eke *withowte*.
 ...
 Þe Saraȝenes had þan sorow ynoghe,
 And saide þan it was þe fende of helle
 þat was comen þam alle to quelle (B, ll. 2653-2678)

A final example is the reference to martyrdom of Thomas Becket. Once again, the *Short Chronicle* and the longer version of *Richard* coincide. The *Short Chronicle* puts it:

In his time seyn Thomas
 For Godes loue martird was
 At Caunterbiri toforn þe auter ston.
 He doþ miracles mani on. (ll. 2035-36)

And **B**:

Saynt Thomas of Cantirbery was in his tyme yslawe
 At Cantirbery, at his heghe awtire stone;
 There many miracles hafe bene done (ll. 40-42)

These two examples do not appear in **L**,¹⁴ but not because they may have been lost with any of the missing folios of the manuscript; **L** simply omits these passages which, nevertheless, appear in **BC**. Because these coincidences cannot be explained by means of the surviving copies of the *Short Chronicle* – as only the Auchinleck version of the chronicle has a detailed story of Richard I, and none of the other surviving versions of *Richard* was copied from the Auchinleck MS – there must be another explanation. These coincidences suggest that another copy (or other copies) of the *Short Chronicle* now lost did exist and that the romancer drew on it.

It has been suggested that the *Short Chronicle* may have borrowed from *Richard*,¹⁵ an interesting change, however, suggests that the romancer corrected a mistake in the chronicle. In the *Short Chronicle*, after Richard throws the bees into Acre, and frightens its population, the king proceeds to cut a chain which has prevented him and his men from entering the city. All the versions of *Richard* (including **L**), however, place the chain across the harbour, and its cutting *before* Richard's landing, instead of after his attack, as the *Short Chronicle* does.¹⁶ Accepting that the *Short Chronicle* is a source for *Richard*

¹⁴ In fact, they do not appear in **ADEH** either, and only occur in **B(C)**.

¹⁵ Zetl, Introduction to *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, xcvi.

¹⁶ This 'correction' has a historical basis. There is evidence that there was a chain across Acre harbour to prevent enemy ships from entering; see Naṣer-e Khosraw, *Book of travels (Safarnaṃa)*, trans., introduction and annotation W.M. Thackston, Jr. (Albany, N.Y: State of New York Press, 1986), 16. See also 'Editing *Richard Coeur de Lion*', pp. 76-8.

may provide further evidence for the dating of the romance. As noted above, no other surviving version of *Richard* was copied from the Auchinleck, and all the versions reproduce the bees passage maintaining the same rhymes as in the *Short Chronicle*; this suggests that an earlier version of *Richard* may have drawn upon a now lost copy of the *Short Chronicle* and these lines were copied into all the versions of the romance almost unchanged. Most of the surviving manuscripts of the *Short Chronicle* – including Auchinleck – reach the time of the young Edward II, and others end during the reign Edward I.¹⁷ Therefore, if *Richard* had already drawn on the chronicle before it was copied into the Auchinleck manuscript, it would support a hypothesis of c.1300 as the *terminus post quem* for the account of Richard's crusade.

1.2. Romance connections

By using romance motifs, listing romance heroes, and establishing intertextual connections with other romances, *Richard* establishes a textual dialogue with romance, which shows a decision to inscribe *Richard* in the genre. The introduction (ll. 1-34), which mentions that few men can read French (or Latin, in **L**), and the prodigious birth of the hero (ll. 35-234), both bring to mind *Of Arthour and Merlin*, and made Eugen Kölbing erroneously claim that both romances had been composed by the same author.¹⁸ The triple challenge in which three knights fight against another three knights and the winner keeps the land (ll. 5356 ff) is similar to one found in *King Horn*; and when Margery, the King of Almayne's daughter, orders the jailer to bring Richard to her chamber, the passage also evokes *King*

¹⁷ The Anglo-Norman version of the *Short Chronicle*, like all the other extant versions (except the Auchinleck), devotes very few lines to Richard I. Interestingly, the different versions of the chronicle, like *Richard*, place Richard's death at Castle Gaillard; Zettl, *Short Chronicle*, 105.

¹⁸ Kölbing did not take into account that Richard's prodigious birth, that is his demon-mother, only appears in the longer version of the romance, **BC**, which points to different authorship from the Auchinleck *Arthour*; Eugen Kölbing, Introduction to *Arthour and Merlin nach der Auchinleck-hs*, Altenglische Bibliothek 4 (Leipzig: Reisland, 1890), LXXIII ff.

Horn.¹⁹ The three-day tournament (ll. 267 ff) in which Richard, as a knight-errant, jousts in different suits of armour – red, black and white – brings to mind another frequently used romance motif, which appears in Chrétien de Troyes’s *Cligés*, in Hue de Rotelande’s *Ipomedon*, in the prose *Lancelot* and, in Middle English, in *Sir Gowther*. The exchange of buffets with the King of Almayne’s son (ll. 754 ff) is a traditional motif which also appears in a later Middle English romance, *The Turke and Sir Gawain*.²⁰ These shared motifs do not mean that one romance has borrowed from another; they reinforce a sense of belonging to the genre, which a medieval audience would have recognised.²¹ By including these motifs, the romancer signals to the audience that they are listening to (or reading) a romance.

1.3. Warfare and military manuals

Numerous lines in *Richard* display apparent first-hand knowledge of warfare. It is not possible to establish, however, whether that knowledge derives from a written source, from the romancer’s personal experience, or from oral narrations to which the romancer listened. After winning Acre, the romance tells how Richard divides the crusader army into four. Commanded by Richard, Philip, Multon and Doly, the four divisions of the army are to besiege and take towns and castles; almost a thousand lines displaying different military tactics and strategies ensue (ll. 3884-4839). John Gillingham suggests that the historical Richard must have known, and followed advice from, the most influential of the classical

¹⁹ *King Horn*, in *Of Love and Chivalry: An Anthology of Middle English Romance*, ed. Jennifer Fellows (London & Rutland, Vermont: Everyman’s Library, 1993); the episode of the triple challenge begins on p. 22, l. 810; for the wooing princess episode, see p. 8, ll. 264 ff.

²⁰ *The Turke and Sir Gawain in Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*, ed. Thomas Hahn (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 1995), ll. 16-18. In a broader sense, the exchange of blows also occurs in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* although the specific mention of the word ‘buffet’ does not. In any case, although these examples are useful to ascertain the popularity of the motif, they cannot have been sources of *Richard*.

²¹ See Gerald Borman, *Motif-Index of the Middle English Metrical Romances* (Helsinki: Helsingin Liikekerjapaino, 1963), 14, 26, 28, etc. See also ‘History versus Fiction’, pp. 136-43.

works dealing with siege-craft, the fourth- or fifth-century *De re militari* by Flavius Vegetius, which was frequently copied, translated and quoted throughout the Middle Ages.²² Undoubtedly influential, *De re militari* is easily traceable when it is copied word for word into a chronicle but its influence on *Richard* proves more difficult to identify. It cannot be confirmed that the romancer, who composed a number of fictional battles and sieges (each exhibiting a different strategy), knew of Vegetius's work; he may have known other treatises, been a soldier himself and participated in several sieges, or heard of them. In any case, the mere fact that these sieges have been inserted into the romance shows the romancer's willingness to display his knowledge of military matters.²³

2. Sources in practice: Hybrid episodes

More often than not the method the romancer has followed to compose *Richard* does not make clear which text has been used as a source; this is more evident when studying fictional episodes which exhibit a hybrid nature, that is, when its sources are history and fiction. The construction of these episodes suggests that the romancer was not ignorant of history, as Gaston Paris has claimed, but well-read, a poet who was able to take several sources and amalgamate them into a new story, rooted in its sources but entirely original in execution and effect. Three episodes, which appear in the longer version of *Richard (BC)*

²² *De re militari* deals with every aspect of warfare: from military training advice to the more appropriate tasks according to the age of the soldier; from besieging a town to defend it during a siege; from instructions to build war ships to the description of naval battles. It also provides detail descriptions of small weapons and of siege engines. Vegetius's work was translated into the Anglo-Norman (1254-6), French (1284), Italian (end of thirteenth century) and English (1408); see G. Lester, ed., *The Earliest English Translation of Vegetius' de Re Militari* Ed. from Oxford MS Bodl. Douce 291 (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1988); John Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion, Kingship, Chivalry, and War in the Twelfth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 211-16.

²³ See Malcolm Hebron, *The Medieval Siege. Theme and Image in Middle English Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 37-46, and 'History versus Fiction', 153-7.

demonstrate a hybrid nature: first, the story of Richard's demon-mother; second, the anthropophagy episode; and finally, the duel between Richard and Saladin.

The episode in which Henry II marries the Princess of Antioch, Cassodoren (ll. 35-234), evokes two similar stories written between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, narrated by Gerald of Wales and Gervase of Tilbury.²⁴ Refusing to look upon the consecrated host, the demon-ladies in those stories, like Richard's mother in the romance, fly away from church, never to be seen again. The romancer takes the twelfth-century demon-lady and gives her a new nationality – she comes from Antioch – and a new name, Cassodoren; he places her in specific historical time: she is Henry II's wife and Richard's mother, and her story is framed by a fabulous context; she enters the story travelling on board a marvellous ship (ll. 60 ff). While her aversion to the sacrament and her final flight connects this episode to twelfth-century Latin texts, the marvellous ship brings to mind similar vessels found in Marie de France's *Guigemar*, in *Partenopeus*, and in the stories of the Grail.

The anthropophagy episode has a similar hybrid genealogy. The possible sources for the episode (ll. 3085 ff) are both epic and historiographical. Several Frankish chronicles of the First Crusade relate acts of anthropophagy committed by the crusaders at the siege of Ma'arra in 1098; Ralph of Caen expresses it thus: 'Adults from among the gentiles were put into the cooking pot and youths were fixed on spits and roasted. In devouring them, the Christians looked like wild beasts, like dogs roasting men.'²⁵

²⁴ Geraldus Cambrensis, *De Principis Instructione Liber*, in *Geraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. George F. Warner, vol. 8, Rolls Series 21 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1964), 301 (Latin version); Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), Bk 3, ch. 57, 664-5 (Latin and English versions). A third story with similar characteristics may be found in Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), Dist. iv, chapter 9.

²⁵ Raoul de Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 116, Chapter 97; Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes* (London: Saqi, 1984; repr. 2006), 39; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. Frances R. Ryan (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 112-13. On the Tafurs see: Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*

However, none of the chronicles of the First Crusade suggests that the anthropophagi substituted Saracens for pork. The substitution of a young Saracen for pork, in *Richard*, recalls an epic account of the same siege of Ma'arra in *La Chanson d'Antioche*.²⁶ But it is Adémar de Chabannes (c.988-1034) who, in his chronicle, tells of an eleventh-century Norman knight, Roger, who while fighting the Saracens in Spain, produces a banquet similar to that in *Richard*, where the king invites Saladin's ambassadors and eats a Saracen's head in front of them. Similarly, Adémar tells how Roger gets some captive Saracens to witness how he 'pretended' to eat human flesh cooked as if it were pork, after which the Saracens are allowed to escape to tell the story which will frighten the Saracen camp, and so Roger defeats the enemy.²⁷

Similarly, the episode of the single combat between Richard and Saladin, which never took place, suggests hybrid composition. The fictional duel had been recorded since the thirteenth century and not only in texts. Roger Loomis suggests that it had already become a legend by 1250; the Liberate Rolls of that year show that Henry III ordered the history of Antioch and the 'duellum Regis Ricardi' to be painted at Clarendon Palace.²⁸ Both the Chertsey Tiles (c. 1280; plate 36.1) and the *Luttrell Psalter* (fol. 82; executed in 1320-40; plate 36.2) depict the duel and show how Richard strikes Saladin from his horse. These depictions suggest the dissemination of the legend of the encounter between Richard and Saladin, which may have circulated before being incorporated into *Richard* (ll. 5845

(London: Longman, 1975), 131-2; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume franc de Jerusalem*, 2 vols (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1975), 1: 216.

²⁶ For the *Chanson d'Antioche*, see *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977-8), 1: 169-223.

²⁷ Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: Alphonse Picard & Sons, 1897), 178 (Latin version); Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Y. Chauvin and G. Pon (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 270 (in modern French). See also 'History versus Fiction', pp. 151-3.

²⁸ Great Britain. Public Record Office, *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office ... Henry III [1226-1272; appendices 1220-1267]* 6 vols (London: H.M.S.O; 1916-1964); also Roger Loomis, *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey* ([Urbana] IL: University of Illinois Press, 1916), 27.

ff).²⁹ In the romance, Richard's mount for the duel is a fiendish colt that Saladin has sent as a gift but Richard, warned and advised by an angel, controls the beast. This part of the episode might have originated in history; at Jaffa, Saphadin, Saladin's brother, seeing that Richard was fighting on foot, out of courtesy sent Richard two horses.³⁰ As with the episodes of Richard's mother and anthropophagy, Richard's duel evokes multiple sources, which bears witness to the complexity of *Richard's* composition.³¹

3. Case study1: Richard's demon-mother

The intertextual connections and the narrative structure of the episode concerning Richard's fabulous mother, Cassodoren, usefully demonstrate how the romancer utilizes a number of sources (from *lais* to 'historical' narrations, and from legendary tales to romances), adapting and recombining them into the new story. This story, which only appears in **BCW**, occupies two hundred lines towards the beginning of the poem (ll. 35-234), and starts with a formulaic call for attention: 'Now schalle ʒee herken & heris byforne, / How þat kyng Richerd was getyn & borne' (ll. 35-36). These lines, however, may function as a wink to the audience, who know Richard I's historical parentage but are prepared here for a somewhat different version. The narrator goes on to tell how Henry II, King of England and a confirmed bachelor, is persuaded by his barons to take a wife. To that end, he sends messengers to find the fairest maiden on earth; they set sail immediately and, in the middle of the sea, they find themselves becalmed for lack of wind. At this point, they are approached by a marvellous ship, which appears to defy the laws of nature,

²⁹ As we do not know whether this episode was in the Auchinleck *Richard* – because this part of the manuscript is missing – we cannot ascertain when it was incorporated into the romance.

³⁰ Gaston Paris discusses this connection, Paris, 'La Légende de Saladin', *Extrait du Journal des Savants*, (May-August, 1893): 1-48 at 40 ff; Paris, '*Richard Coeur de Lion*', 360 note.

³¹ For further discussion on this episode, see 'History versus Fiction', p. 158 ff.

as it is sailing on a windless day.³² On board that ship, noble knights and bright ladies attend the King of Antioch and his daughter, the remarkably beautiful Cassodoren. Certain that they have found the ideal wife for the King of England, the messengers lead Cassodoren and her father to King Henry and the wedding takes place on the same day. But at the wedding mass, when the priest is about to consecrate the host, Cassodoren faints. Having been taken to a chamber, she declares that she will never see the sacrament. Surprisingly, Henry does not repudiate her; on the contrary, he accepts her practice of always leaving church before the consecration. The couple stay together and have three children. Harmony reigns in the royal family for fifteen years until an earl complains to the king about the queen's behaviour. He persuades King Henry to use force to keep Cassodoren in church during the elevation of the host. The king agrees and when she is about to walk out, they try to make her stay but she overpowers them and, taking her daughter and her son John, flies away through the roof. Conveniently – for the succession to the throne of England – John falls down, but Cassodoren and her daughter Topyas disappear, never to be seen again.

3.1. Cassodoren's fabulous ship

Cassodoren's entrance into the story associates her with fabulous texts. She travels on board a marvellous ship that moves without wind to the amazement of King Henry's messengers. This vessel brings to mind the marvellous ship in Marie de France's *Guigemar*.³³ In the *lai*, the hero sees a ship with a silk sail, goes on board, and rests on a bed made of cypress and ivory, with designs in inlaid gold and a quilt made of silk, woven

³² It is evident that Henry's messengers' ship was only propelled by wind power, and may well have been a cog, while the 'marvellous' ship may have been a galley, which was propelled both by rowers and by wind power; see 'Explanatory Notes' 1422 and 4896, and plates 22, 23 and 25.

³³ Marie de France, *Guigemar*, in *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Robert Hanning and Joan Ferrante (Durham, NC: Labyrinth Press, 2004), ll. 170-87.

with gold. After a while, Guigemar finds himself on the high seas, despite the fact that he is the only person on board. While Marie describes the bed in great detail, *Richard's* narrator gives a detailed description of the ship itself, which occupies thirteen lines (ll.60-72). Cassodoren's ship is made of walrus ivory, every nail is made of gold, and so is the topcastle. Its mast is made of ivory, its sail of white satin, and its ropes of crimson silk. All over the ship, gold cloths have been spread, and its spars and windlasses are azure; notably, Marie's bed and the ship that transports Cassodoren to England are made of almost the same materials: ivory, gold, and silk. Apart from its connection with Marie's *Guigemar*, Cassodoren's ship is related to another such self-propelled ship, which appears in *Parténopeus de Blois*, translated into Middle English as *Partonope of Blois*. While Marie uses the marvellous ship to transport the hero to his lover (and later her to him), in *Partonope* the heroine, Melior, sends the ship to bring the hero to her. As in *Partonope*, the marvellous ship in *Richard* also serves the lady, Cassodoren, who has a fairy nature, like Melior. The ship takes Cassodoren to Henry so that she may become the hero's mother.³⁴ The intertextual connection with *Parténopeus* is further emphasized as this romance is, in fact, mentioned in *Richard*: 'I will 3ow nenen romaunce now non / Off Pertynape, ne of Ypomedon' (ll. 6508-09).

Cassodoren's ship also brings to mind the widely known medieval legend about the marvellous vessel, built by Solomon, which appears in some of the stories of the Grail.³⁵ In *La Queste del Saint Graal*, the fabulous ship – built by Solomon's wife – is made of imperishable wood, and has a bed whose canopy frame is made from the Tree of Life.³⁶

³⁴ See Helaine Newstead, 'The Traditional Background of Partonopeus de Blois', *PMLA* 61 (1946): 916-946; Sebastian Sobceki, 'A Source for the Magical Ship in the *Partonopeu de Blois* and Marie de France's *Guigemar*', *Notes and Queries* 48 (2001): 220-2.

³⁵ See Roger Loomis, *The Grail. From Celtic Myth to Christian Symbol* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), esp.185-90; Hanning & Ferrante, *The Lais of Marie de France*, 35, note 4.

³⁶ See Stephen G. Nichols, 'Solomon's Wife: Deceit, Desire, and the Genealogy of Romance', in *Space, Time, Image, Sign: Essays on Literature and the Visual Art*, ed. James Heffernan (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 19-40 at 29-30.

As the Grail is connected to the sacrament of the eucharist, another possible reading emerges from the association of the marvellous ships in the Grail stories and in *Richard*. Beneath the surface of the narrative, a secondary subject matter might connect some episodes of the romance: Cassodoren's entrance into the story on board a ship that brings to mind the stories of the Grail, her particular aversion to the consecrated host, and the episode when Richard eats a Saracen's head; all three episodes seem to point to – and problematize – the eucharist.³⁷ The possibility of reading Cassodoren's ship as an early clue that resolves in her aversion to the consecrated host proves the complexity of the image used by the romancer to conjure up multiple ideas which may work together without cancelling out one another. Although it is impossible to determine which text – if any – is the source for Cassodoren's ship, it certainly connects the episode with fabulous stories. Indeed, Cassodoren's ship does not necessarily have to relate to the adventures of Guigemar or the quest for the Grail; it may be interpreted as a self-referential passage, whose referent is not to be found outside *Richard*. By recalling other marvellous ships, the romancer emphasizes the story's participation in the romance genre.

In addition, Cassodoren's ship provides the mystery and ambiguity the hero's mother needs. A ship made of ivory, gold, and silk signals both Cassodoren's wealth and her supernatural background. As if the materials were not enough, the ship's colours provide further assistance to the audience's imagination. It is white, golden, and blue, with silky red ropes, all of which help convey its otherworldly nature; no real ship would look like that, especially considering its lack of wood and the ghost-like appearance of an ivory-white hull, glittering like a golden vision. At first sight, the vessel symbolises economic power, wealth at its highest expression.

³⁷ For a reading of the anthropophagy episode from this angle, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coeur de Lyon*', in *Reading Medieval Culture Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 198-227.

As well as beauty, wealth and power, the romancer gives Cassodoren a distinctive aura, as if she were another Mary. When introducing Cassodoren, the romancer makes certain that the audience have to ponder whether they should connect her with the Virgin Mary. By saying that on board the ship there is a lady ‘þat schone als brighte als þe sonne dose thorwe þe glasse’ (l. 76), the romancer plays with an image that evokes the Virgin. This simile conveys Cassodoren’s radiant – otherworldly – image and, simultaneously, brings to mind the wording used in Marian lyrics, such as the Middle English translation of *Stabat [Mater] iuxta Christi Crucem* that states: ‘For, so gleam glidis þurt þe glas, of þi bodi born he was’.³⁸ The image conveyed by this and other Middle English lyrics is that of the Nativity,³⁹ which is conveniently used here as Cassodoren ‘shines as bright as the sun does through the glass’, and of her body Richard – the hero – will be born. Therefore, the romancer may have constructed Cassodoren’s image to evoke that of Mary so that, by contrast, Richard’s mother’s later behaviour would seem more surprising and appalling. Alternatively, if Cassodoren is interpreted as a new Mary, then Richard could be seen as a new Christ.⁴⁰

Throughout one hundred lines, Cassodoren’s image is wrought to perfection, albeit not without ambiguity. She is royal, wealthy and beautiful, but she travels on a ship which defies nature, simultaneously conveying a sense of ominous portent and divine power. That ambiguous feature is duplicated in the description of her appearance: an otherworldly beauty whose image evokes that of the Virgin Mary. However, neither the narrator nor

³⁸ Carleton Brown, ed., *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 10, ll. 34-35; Andrew Breeze, ‘The Blessed Virgin and the Sunbeam through Glass’, *Barcelona English Language and Literature Studies*, 2 (1989): 53-64, surveys all the occurrences of the expression in Middle English.

³⁹ See Breeze, ‘The Blessed Virgin’, for an explanation as to why the image initially refers to the Nativity and not to the Annunciation. Nevertheless, it is possible that later audiences could have associated this image to the Annunciation; as the miniatures that illuminate Breviaries and Books of Hours as well as paintings more often than not show Mary receiving a beam of sunshine; e.g. Simon Martini, *Annunciation*, 1333, Gli Uffizi, Florence; Fra Angelico, *The Annunciation*, c. 1437, Monastery of S., Marco, Florence; Jean Fouquet, *Second Annunciation*, c.1453-1460, *Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, Musée Condé, Chantilly, France; *Annunciation* c.1475-80, *Breviary of Margaret of York*, St John’s College, Cambridge, MS H.13 fol.134r.

⁴⁰ This interpretation, however, has to be considered in the context of a romance which calls its hero ‘a deuyll and no man’ on several occasions.

any other character speculates on her possible evil nature. Cassodoren appears to be the perfect match for the powerful English king, but she might also be a demon in the guise of an angel. Cassodoren's entrance into the story, in fact, conjures up both images at the same time, suggesting an uncomfortable duality, whose negative side has yet to be made explicit.

3.2. Portrait of a Demon-lady

Cassodoren's religious 'heterodoxy' is quickly exposed. Although there is no indication that she is not a Christian (there are no claims of conversion),⁴¹ she does not appear to be completely orthodox, either. This fact may be related to Cassodoren's homeland; the very name 'Antioch' may be read as index of exoticism, but it also sounds distant enough – geographically and in knowledge – to cast doubts on Cassodoren's faith. At the same time, Antioch evokes the Holy Land, which may function as a prolepsis for Richard's adventures.⁴² The indeterminacy of her religion adds uncertainty to her character and keeps the tension concerning her dual nature. Thus, at the mass after the wedding, just before the elevation of the host, she faints. At this point, for the first time, the narrator expresses some uneasiness. It is not a judgement uttered by the king, any peer, or the narrator, it is attributed to the ordinary people: 'þe folke woundrede & were adrede' (l. 191), as if they knew something that nobles did not.⁴³ However, Cassodoren, changing her role from offender to offended, assumes the position of the victim as she declares: 'for I am þusgates schent, / Ne dere I neuer see the sacrement' (ll. 193-4), which may be

⁴¹ The theme of the 'Saracen princess' who falls in love with a Christian and, to win him, accepts baptism was well known and could have been used here if the romancer had desired to do so; see Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 30-3.

⁴² Akbari, 'The Hunger for National Identity', 201, considers that having a mother that comes from Antioch allows Richard to claim the Holy Land as his ancestral domain.

⁴³ G. C. Grant maintains that the desire to see the host among common people can be understood as a reaction to the Albigensian heresy; see G. C. Grant, 'The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to Twelfth Century Heresy', *Theological Studies*, 1 (1940): 228-50. Alternatively, knowing the character of the persecution against heretics, looking devotedly at the host may have been a practical way of showing one's orthodoxy.

designed to provoke the audience's sympathy – or rejection. Cassodoren clearly states her position and it is evident that she is able to impose her will: to attend mass but leave church before the consecration. For a king who does not want to take a wife in the first place, Cassodoren's unorthodox behaviour would seem the perfect excuse to repudiate her. Strangely, he does not. Although her refusal to look at the consecrated host is a clear indication of unorthodoxy – if not of demonic nature – the narrator, rather than comment on this, tells us how king and queen live together in harmony, have three children, 'and thus þay duelled all in fere' (l. 205). If there is a villain in this story, it is not Cassodoren but the earl who persuades the king to force her to stay in church.⁴⁴ It appears as if Cassodoren would have lived all her life with her family, had the king not listened to the earl.

3.2.1. *Gervase of Tylbury's 'Lady of the Castle of L'Éparvier'*

While Cassodoren's entrance into the story evokes otherworldly images and fabulous ships, her exit – albeit supernatural – is firmly rooted in texts which were regarded in the Middle Ages as 'historical'. Forced to stay in church during the consecration of the host, Cassodoren takes her daughter and flies away through the roof. Her flight bears a remarkable similarity to two twelfth- early-thirteenth-century stories, which may be considered *Richard's* sources. The first of those stories is narrated by a young member of Henry II's court, Gervase of Tylbury, in his *Otia Imperialia (Recreation for an Emperor)*. At the time of writing, between 1209 and 1214, Gervase was the marshal of the kingdom of Arles. Not surprisingly, Gervase leads his readers to condemn the lady, by starting his

⁴⁴ The Proppian morphology of the folktale establishes a pattern, part of which can be seen in the story of Cassodoren. The interdiction or ban – she promises she will never look at the sacrament – is violated when she is forced to stay in church. This violation happens, Propp explains, when a new character appears, someone who can be called the antagonist. In *Richard*, it is 'an erl of grete pouste'; his role, Propp says, is to disturb the peace of the happy family, to provoke some misfortune. Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, trans. Laurence Scott (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003; first published 1968), 24-6.

story with the ominous phrase: 'It often happens that the angels of Satan transform in angels of light'. The story of 'The Lady of the Castle of L'Éparvier' is reproduced here *in extenso*:

There was in the confines of the kingdom of Arles, in the diocese of Valence, a castle called L'Éparvier. The lady of that castle had formed an unfailling habit of leaving the church in the middle of the celebration of the mass, immediately after the gospel: for she could not bear to be present at the consecration of the Lord's body. Her husband, the lord of the castle, had been aware of this for many years, but in spite of persistent questioning he had not discovered the reason for such great effrontery. Then one feast-day, at the end of the gospel, when the lady was on her way out she was held back, unwilling and struggling, by her husband and his retainers. Straightaway, as the priest pronounced the words of consecration, the lady was carried off by a diabolical spirit and flew away, taking part of the chapel with her, so that it fell down; and she was seen no more in those parts.⁴⁵

3.2.2. *Gerald of Wales's 'Demon Countess of Anjou'*

Another version of the story was recorded by Gerald of Wales, contemporary of Richard I. Gerald's *De Principis Instructione (On the Instruction of a Prince)* became known in ca. 1217, although he must have written the best part of it long before.⁴⁶ In Book III, Chapter XXVII, he gives the following account:

[T]here was a certain countess of Anjou, of remarkable beauty, but of an unknown nation, whom the count married solely for beauty. She was in the habit of coming very seldom to church, and there manifested very little or no devotion in it; she never remained in the church until the celebration of the secret canon of the mass, but always went out immediately after the gospel. At length, however, this was remarked with astonishment both by the count and by others; and when she had come to the church, and was preparing to depart at her usual hour, she was kept back by four soldiers at the command of the count. Immediately, throwing off the robe by which she was held and leaving there, with the rest, her two little sons, whom she had with her under the right sleeve of her robe, she took up under her arm the two others, who were standing on the left and, in the sight of all, flew out through a lofty window of the church. And so this woman, more fair in face than in faith, having carried off her two children with her, was never afterwards seen there.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See note 24 above.

⁴⁶ George F. Warner, Introduction to *De Principis Instructione*, xiv-xviii.

⁴⁷ For Latin version, see note 24. English version from *The Medieval Sourcebook*, Fordham University, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html> (accessed 28 February 2006).

Like Gervase, Gerald refers to the lady in a pejorative way, calling her ‘more fair in face than in faith’ [*facie pulchior quam fide*]. Gerald hastens to add that King Richard used to refer to this story ‘saying that it was no wonder, if coming from such a race, that sons should not cease to harass their parents and brothers, and to quarrel amongst each other; for he knew that they all had come of the devil, and to the devil they would go’.⁴⁸

Creating a complex structure, Gerald contextualises this tale within an arrangement of stories. First, he dramatises a meeting at Dover between Henry II and Patriarch Heraclius,⁴⁹ who, speaking about the insurgency of the king’s sons, tells Henry that ‘de diabolo venerunt, et ad diabolum ibunt’ (they had come of the devil and to the devil they will go).⁵⁰ Second, Gerald tells the story of the demon countess followed by the comment that, Gerald claims, Richard used to make, ‘de diabolo eos omnes venisse et ad diabolum dicebat ituros esse’ [they all had come of the devil, and to the devil, he used to say, they would go]. Finally, in flashback, he makes Bernard of Clairvaux look at Henry – then a little boy – and prophesy ‘de diabolo venit, et ad diabolum ibit’ [he comes of the devil and to the devil he will go]. Cleverly, Gerald provides two prophecies – one before and one after the legend of the demon-countess – which give credibility to, and gain credibility from, the legend.⁵¹

These stories were written within a brief period between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries by men who belonged to the same circle, which cannot be coincidental. Like twentieth-century urban legends, their medieval counterparts

⁴⁸ Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Principis Instructione*, 301-2, my translation.

⁴⁹ Heraclius visited England in 1184 and 1185; see, Ralph of Diceto, *Capitula ymaginum historiarum*, in *Historia Anglicanae Scriptores X*, ed. Roger Twysden and John Selden (London: Jacobi Flesher, 1652), 517-18. Note, however, that Ralph does not mention any encounter or conversation between the Patriarch and Henry.

⁵⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Principis Instructione*, Bk II, ch. XXVIII, 211.

⁵¹ Scholars who have studied *Richard* have generally followed Gaston Paris in linking the Cassodoren episode with Gerald’s story, probably because the latter mentions the Anjou family and Richard’s comment; Paris, ‘Richard Coeur de Lion’, 357, note 3.

also play with ambiguity; some of their features are familiar – a region, a family – but the narrators make sure that a complete identification is impossible to achieve. Gervase is more geographically precise; he gives the kingdom, the diocese, and the name of the castle, but he does not mention the names of the protagonists. Gerald, on the other hand, gives the title and name of the family, without specifying to which count or countess of Anjou he refers. It is evident that, while Gervase is more interested in placing the story within his own geographical domains to fight the Albigensian heresy, Gerald's intention is to support his diatribe against the Angevin lineage.⁵² It is clear that Gervase and Gerald locate and adapt the story according to their own agenda.

3.2.3. The fourteenth-century revival: Cassodoren and Melusine

The story of the demon-lady, which was recorded around the end of the twelfth century, re-emerges in the fourteenth century somewhat transformed; it takes the form of romance and it is translated into the vernacular. In 1387, Jean d'Arras writes *La Noble Histoire de Lusignan ou Le Roman de Mélusine* for Duke Jean de Barry. The *Roman de Mélusine* tells the story of a beautiful lady who meets a knight called Raymondin near a fountain in a forest. He asks her to marry him and she accepts on one condition: that he does not try to see her at all one day of the week. As Raymondin hesitates, she hastens to say that she is a true Christian. They get married, have many children and prosper until the fatal day when Raymondin breaks the interdiction; he spies his wife in her bath and finds out that she is a

⁵² At the beginning of *Otia*, Gervase interrupts the account of the Creation to give vent to his invective against the Albigensians; e.g. 'Let the lying heretics hide away, let the tongues of the Albigensians cleave to their jaws!'; 'For shame! ... They scorn our sacraments', *Otia*, 31. Gerald's resentment against the Angevins is explained by the fact that, since his youth, Gerald had desired to become Bishop of St David's. Twice was he chosen for the post by the Chapter, and twice he was denied his bishopric by members of the Plantagenet family, first by Henry II and then by King John. For a detailed account of this aspect of Gerald's life, see John Miles, *Gerald of Wales. Geraldus Cambrensis* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 1974); *De rebus a se gestis* and *De iure et statu Meneuensis Ecclesia*, in *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. H. Butler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005); Warner, Introduction to *De Principis Instructione*, xxiii-xxiv.

serpent ‘from the navel down’. When Raymondin exposes her as a demon, she flies away. A few years after Jean’s composition, between 1401 and 1405, Couldrette writes the verse version: the *Romance of Lusignan or Parthenay or Melusine*.⁵³ As Le Goff remarks, there are three differences between these romances and the twelfth-century stories: they are much longer, the lady is named, and the hero is a Lusignan.⁵⁴

Possibly before 1387, on the other side of the Channel, the Cassodoren episode was incorporated into *Richard*.⁵⁵ Like Melusine, she has a name but instead of being the founder of a noble house, Cassodoren is the mother of the hero, Richard the Lionheart. Both Cassodoren and Melusine’s interdictions have a visual component; Melusine should not be seen on a particular day and Cassodoren refuses to look at the host as it is elevated by the priest. An interesting connection between *Mélusine* and the Cassodoren episode can be established by comparing the events that follow the disappearance of the heroine in both stories. When Cassodoren flies away through the roof, an astonished King Henry ‘woundrede gretly of this thyng / Pat she thus vellely madde hir endyng’ (ll. 235-36). The negative judgement attributed to the king may be counterbalanced by the following lines: ‘And for lufe pat he was servede soo / Never more gaffe he hym noo women vntoo’ (ll. 237-38). This ambiguous comment may mean that because he was so upset and disappointed he did not want any other woman in his life. On the other hand, it may mean that because he had loved her so much, he did not want any other woman in his life. After this, the romance says that Henry ‘ordeyned sone afir his endyng, / His sone Richerde for to be kyng’ (ll. 239-40). This passage evokes a similar one in *Mélusine*. At the beginning

⁵³ Jean d’Arras and Couldrette had rival patrons, both fighting on opposite sides in the Hundred Years’ War, and both trying to link their names with the Lusignan lineage. See M. Morris, ‘The “History” of Lusignan: Myth of Origin’, *The USF Language Quarterly* 21 (1983): 30-2.

⁵⁴ Jacques Le Goff, ‘Melusina mother and Pioneer’, in *Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago & London: Chicago University Press), 208.

⁵⁵ There are no grounds to suppose that Auchinleck’s exemplar already contained the episode of Richard’s mother, which does not appear in that manuscript. Therefore, its interpolation should be dated between the 1330s (date of the Auchinleck) and around 1400, since BC date from the beginning to mid-fifteenth century and they have been copied from an exemplar which already had the episode.

of the *roman*, Presine, Melusine's mother, marries Elinas but imposes an interdiction, as Melusine will do later. Elinas inevitably violates Presine's interdiction, and she abandons him never to return. Elinas, then, becomes so overcome with grief at the loss of his wife that he makes over the government to his son, Mathaquas. Elinas cries, moans, sighs, and piteously laments because of the loyal love that he feels for his wife, Presine.⁵⁶ More economically, the English romancer may have tried to convey a similar feeling with just two lines: 'for lufe þat he was servede soo / Never more gaffe he hym noo women vntoo'.

The similarities between Jean d'Arras's *Méluſine* and the Cassodoren episode in the treatment of the devastated king who, in the narrative, makes over the government to his son may mean that, at the time of writing the episode, *Richard's* romancer knew of *Méluſine* – or Jean d'Arras knew of *Richard*. On the other hand, it is also possible that the similarities are due to a common source which both romances share. E. S. Hartland suggests that the motif of the king who becomes devastated when his fairy-wife abandons him never to be seen again may derive from a story that the Earl of Salisbury (born 1328) may have lent to Jean d'Arras, who had been the earl's protégé.⁵⁷ It seems that when the earl married Elizabeth, daughter of Jean de Mohun of Dunster, he came into possession of properties in Somerset, and became acquainted with numerous traditional stories.⁵⁸ As the earl was known to have a taste for literature, he may have collected some stories, which he subsequently may have lent to Jean d'Arras. If these stories circulated in England at that time, it is possible that the English romancer had also known the tale and used it in the construction of *Richard's* demon-mother episode.

⁵⁶ Jean d'Arras, *Le Roman de Méluſine ou l'Histoire des Lusignan*, ed. Michele Perret (Paris: Stock, 1979), 23-4.

⁵⁷ Hartland suggests that the source is a 'Celtic' story; I am not suggesting that the source is Celtic, but that a source may have existed in Britain, and that Jean D'Arras may have had access to it via the Earl of Salisbury. Hartland, 'The Romance of Melusine', *Folklore* 24 (1913): 187-200.

⁵⁸ Hartland, 'Melusine', 190.

3.3. Conclusion

Gerald of Wales and Gervase of Tilbury undoubtedly regard their 'flying' ladies as diabolical. Similarly, in both the prose and the verse romances, Melusine is exposed and accused of being diabolical by her husband. Moreover, her demonic nature can be seen in her children, most of whom are deformed. Cassodoren is not so straightforwardly portrayed. Although she may be considered a demon, the ambiguity of the passage might also point to her otherworldly nature attenuating the negative connotation. Stephen Nichols suggests that, in creating Melusine, Jean d'Arras returns to the roots of the demonological debate. Instead of following the Augustinian precepts that condemn demons without exceptions, Jean may be going back to Ovid's conception of demons as aerial creatures that belong to a world placed between heaven and earth, creatures who may act as messengers between gods and humans.⁵⁹ Although Jean d'Arras may have taken pains to present Melusine as a benign figure, in the end it is Melusine's husband, Raymondin, who closes the possibilities of interpretation, as he exposes her diabolical nature. When Melusine's son, Geoffrey, sets fire to an abbey, killing all the monks inside, Raymondin accuses Melusine of having passed her malefic nature to her son, and shouts at her: '*très infâme serpente ... jamais un des enfants que tu as portés ne finira bien!*'.⁶⁰ No such closure can be found in *Richard*; Cassodoren is never called devilish, and she is never exposed as a demon.⁶¹ Moreover, rather than the mother of a cursed lineage, Cassodoren is the hero's mother. The similarity between King Henry's reaction after Cassodoren's flight and Melusine's father's reaction after the loss of his wife, Presine, would suggest that, instead of being compared to Melusine, Cassodoren should be compared to Presine.

⁵⁹ Stephen Nichols, 'Melusine between Myth and History: Profile of a Female Demon', in *Melusine of Lusignan. Founding Fiction in Late Medieval France*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 137-64, esp. 141 and 150.

⁶⁰ Jean d'Arras, *Méluſine*, 250; (Vile serpent ... never will a child of yours end well!; my translation).

⁶¹ Cf. note 40 above.

As Nichols points out, Presine represents the ‘good fairy’, a benevolent demon soul.⁶² Admittedly, Cassodoren could be regarded as such a creature. It is clear, however, that no conclusive answer can be obtained; Cassodoren’s duality has no solution. She may be seen as radiant as the mother of Christ or as a creature whose allegiance to the forces of darkness makes her both shun the consecrated host, and show her true nature by flying away. Her entrance into, and her exit from, the romance defy the laws of nature; her ship sails without wind bringing her into the story and she flies away from it. Judging from her reluctance to behold the consecrated host, she could not be regarded as an angel, but she could be a benevolent demon – or an agent of the devil.

In creating Cassodoren and her story, the romancer draws from different traditions, both Latin and vernacular, both ‘historical’ and fabulous. Although the episode he creates owes its origins to a number of sources, the result is a new composition whose originality does not lie in his having created all the details but in having moulded them into the new story, adapting them so that they acquire a new powerful character as they enter in *Richard*. Like Cassodoren, who was created as truly radiant and truly dark, the romancer’s craft maintains its obstinate duality: firmly rooted in his ample knowledge of medieval texts and, simultaneously, resolutely de-constructing and re-signifying those texts to fit his ‘original’ narrative.

⁶² Nichols, ‘Melusine between Myth and History’, 150.

History versus fiction

Ne tut mençunge, ne tut veir
 Ne tut folie, ne tut saveir
 Wace, *Roman de Brut* (ll. 9793-4)

1. Introduction

Studying the transition from poetry to vernacular prose as a medium for writing chronicles – that is, for transmitting the truth of history – among the French lay aristocracy, Gabrielle Spiegel notes the particular position of Wace’s *Brut*. In a textual world where credibility necessarily derives from authority and where authoritative sources are sought and named (even if they constitute a form of fiction), and before the advent of Chretien de Troyes’s romances and their acknowledged ‘status as self-created fabrication’, Wace’s *Brut* locates itself ‘within a literary space suspended between history and fable’,

Neither wholly a lie nor wholly true, the image of the past offered [by] Wace is a fiction that purports to tell the truth about past facts, and thus is a fiction implying that its fiction is not simply a fiction. By means of this ‘fictional factuality’ the roman formulates its own reality, which exists somewhere in the interstices between false and history.¹

Likewise, *Richard* formulates its own reality – neither wholly a lie nor wholly true – but, rather than existing in the interstices between history and fiction, the romance of Richard the Lionheart occupies a textual world that encompasses both history *and* fiction. In the following study, I shall first discuss medieval awareness of generic difference and its implications, and explore the devices through which *Richard* establishes its affiliation with fiction and with history. Then, I shall revise the modern reception of *Richard* in terms of its dual nature (historical and fictional). Finally, with a brief analysis of paradigmatic

¹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley & London: University of California Press, 1999), 62.

episodes, I shall exemplify the extent to which the word ‘hybrid’ is an apt one to describe this romance.²

2. Medieval generic self-awareness

As the tension between history and fiction in *Richard* pervades this Introduction, it is necessary to start by establishing two facts that emerge from the evidence of the witnesses: first, the earliest extant witness of *Richard*, Auchinleck, appears to have contained only an account of the Third Crusade (that is, history); second, all the other witnesses contain both history *and* fiction.³ This somewhat simplified description grounded on content is, however, problematized if one considers medieval generic self-awareness, and *Richard*’s modern reception.

Admittedly, a medieval audience might have regarded *Richard* as historical, even in its longer version – in the same way as, for instance, a twenty-first-century audience might judge historical a novel or a film whose protagonist is a historical figure. It is more likely, however, that medieval audiences could identify *Richard* as a romance which, although based on a historical figure, would nonetheless be generically different from a history. The medieval use of the word ‘romance’, or ‘romauunce’, has been the subject of a number of studies.⁴ Although the term may have initially identified texts written in Romance vernacular, especially French, it later designated a specific literary genre. Carol Fewster considers that the validity of romance as a genre depends on two conditions:

² Judith Weiss also uses this term but with regard not to history and/or fiction, but to ‘romances that arguably owe more to epic in terms of form and content, such as the ‘Anglo-Norman hybrid’ *Boeve de Haumtone*. See ‘The Courteous Warrior’: Epic, Romance and Comedy in *Boeve de Haumtone*’, in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartlidge (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 150-60 at 150.

³ For a discussion of the manuscripts’ contents and the possible chronologies of the romance’s transmission, see ‘Relationship between the Manuscripts’ and ‘Editing *Richard Coeur de Lion*’. For a complete list of episodes, see the ‘Episode Chart’.

⁴ Paul Strohm, ‘The Origin and Meaning of Middle English *Romaunce*’, *Genre* 10 (1977): 1-28; John Finlayson, ‘Definitions of Middle English Romance’, *Chaucer Review*, 15 (1980-81): 44-62 and 168-81; Carol Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987).

Firstly, it must ‘work’ as a critical term – different texts are recognisable as belonging to the same group, in that there are a number of shared significant features. Secondly, it demands some evidence of contemporary awareness that different works are seen as belonging to the same ‘set’ or genre.⁵

Fewster proposes that ‘more than in other Middle English genres, romance has a formalised and distinctive style’,⁶ and she goes on to study that particular ‘style’ in a group of romances to provide internal evidence to support her thesis. Fewster’s findings complement the external textual evidence Paul Strohm had already collected; their material – drawn from Middle English texts that do not regard themselves as romance – suggests that the culture recognized certain themes, form and/or style as characteristic of romances.⁷ Further clues come from Middle English romances themselves, which convey ‘a sense of related literature and a sense of intertextuality: the reader’s [or audience’s] understanding of a text is partly dependent on a prior reading of comparable texts’.⁸ Medieval romance audiences, then, could have related a single text to a series of texts, and their ‘horizon of expectations’ would have been confirmed or upset with every new text of the same genre. Joerg Fichte, following Hans Robert Jauss, observes that ‘the formation of the immanent poetics of a genre ... is a continual process’; not only is every new work an addition to the corpus, but it ‘also enhances our understanding of the rules and regulations governing the other works [of that corpus]’.⁹ These rules and regulations or, in other words, textual family resemblances between the romances, were recognised in the Middle Ages.¹⁰ As a way of confirming the audience’s expectations, a number of romances reinforce their belonging to the genre by listing other romance heroes with whom the protagonist can be

⁵ Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, 1.

⁶ Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, 4.

⁷ Strohm, ‘Origin and Meaning’, 10-11.

⁸ Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, 3.

⁹ Joerg Fichte, ‘Grappling with Arthur or Is There an English Arthurian Verse Romance?’, in *Poetics: Theory and Practice in Medieval Literature*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 149-63 at 152.

¹⁰ Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs since Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 8-9 and 63-6. Cooper draws on Richard Dawkins’s idea of the ‘meme’ (*The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 206-7) as a way of studying the replication of romance motifs in texts across time.

compared.¹¹ One of those romances is *Richard*, which has two such lists: one in the introduction (ll. 11-19) and the other towards the end of the romance (ll. 6509-17). In addition, *Richard* calls itself a romance on line 202 and, although Fewster does not study *Richard* in particular, her observations on romance style, structure and implied audiences are all confirmed by a study of *Richard*.¹² If, as John Finlayson claims, from the thirteenth century on, 'romance' has signalled predominantly 'fictitious narrative',¹³ then it would follow that a text which calls itself romance and which has been identified by its audience as romance should be regarded as fiction.

Even though *Richard*'s lists of romance heroes provide an intertextual connection with other romances, they also problematize its membership of the genre, as they provide the backdrop against which *Richard* can define itself in a further way. As the lists are central to the following discussion, they are reproduced here side by side:

Of þaire dedis men redys romance
 Bothe in Yglonde and eke in Fraunce:
 Of Duke Rowlande and of *Sir* Olyuere,
 And also of euerelke a duggepere.
 Of Alexandere and of *Sir* Gawayne,
 Of Kyng Arthure & of *Sir* Charlemayne,
 How they weren gude and also curtayse,
 Of Bischope Turpyn & *Sir* Ogere Danays.
 And also of Troye men redis in ryme,
 Whate werre was there in olde tyme,
 Of Ectoure and also of Achilles,
 And whate folkes were slayne þer in þat prese.
 (ll. 9-20)

I will 3ow nenen romaunce now none
 Of *Partynope* ne of *Ypomedone*,
 Of Alexander ne of Charlemayne,
 Of Kyng Arthoure ne of *Sir* Gawayne,
 Ne 3itt of *Sir* Launcelott de Lake,
 Of Beues ne of *Sir* Gy ne of Errake,
 Nor of Vly nor 3itt of *Sir* Octouyane,
 Nor 3itt of *Sir* Ectore, the strange man,
 Of Jasone ne 3itt of Ercules,
 Of Eneas ne 3itt of Achilles.
 (ll. 6508-17)

¹¹ For a study of these lists, see Yin Liu, 'Middle English Romance as Prototype Genre', *The Chaucer Review* 40.4 (2006): 335-53; Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, 2-5 studies the lists of heroes in romances and in texts which compare themselves with romances.

¹² Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, 6-38. It is also worth noting that Robert Thornton, the scribe and compiler of the London Thornton MS, calls *Richard* a 'romance' in its *explicit*. Further contemporary external textual evidence is provided by medieval chronicles, which also call *Richard* a 'romance'; see 'Date of Composition', pp. 101-2, notes 20 and 21.

¹³ Finlayson, 'Definitions', 46.

After the first list, made up of romances written in ‘Fraunce bokes’ which the ‘Ynglys lewede men knewe ... note’, the romancer introduces a new story:

Bot nowe will I schewe 3ow *with* gude chere,
 3iff that 3ow lyke to lythe & here,
 A noble geste, I vndirstonde,
 Off doughty knyghtis of *Inglonde*.
 And therefore nowe I will 3ow rede,
 Of a kyng that was doughty in dede:
 Kyng Richerde þat was þe werryoure beste
 þat men redis offe in any geste. (ll. 25-32)

The first list is useful for contrasting the romances (of Troy, King Arthur, and Charlemagne), written in French books, with a new English narrative: a ‘noble geste’ about an English king, who is the best warrior that men can read about ‘in any geste’. The repetition of the word ‘geste’ requires a closer reading of the passage. David Hult notes that the word ‘geste’ encompasses family, orally recounted tales, prior written texts, and historical deeds.¹⁴ The semantic range of the term has also been acknowledged in the *MED*, where ‘geste’ is defined as: ‘A poem or song about heroic deeds, a chivalric romance; a poem or song of any kind; a prose chronicle or history, a prose romance’. Therefore, the romancer claims that *Richard* is a ‘geste’ – that is, a story which could be epic, romance or history – in English.¹⁵ Moreover, it is a ‘noble geste’, which conveys the idea that the choice of language by no means diminishes the qualities of the story – a militant position which reflects the changes in the status of English as a literary language

¹⁴ David Hult, “‘Ci falt la geste’”: Scribal Closure in the Oxford *Roland*, *Modern Languages Notes* 97 (1982): 890-905 at 897, quoted by Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 339, note 21.

¹⁵ Maldwyn Mills, ‘Generic Titles in the MS Douce 261 and MS Egerton 3132A’, in *The Matter of Identity in Medieval Romance*, ed. Phillipa Hardman (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 125-38, studies two manuscripts that contain romances but none of them is identified as a ‘romance’ in its title; they are named: *treatyse*, *jeaste*, *lyfe*, *legende*, etc. Tony Davenport suggests that perhaps by the fifteenth century, ‘romance’ is too broad a term ‘to be a useful indicator of content’; T. Davenport, *Medieval Narrative* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 25-6. It is worth noting that from the surviving titles in the Thornton collections, several of them are named ‘romance’. An alternative explanation to M. Mills’s findings is that, by the fifteenth century, romance has influenced other types of narrative to such a degree that their form and style mimic those of romances, while their content does not. See ‘Relationship between the Manuscripts’, pp. 58-60.

around 1300.¹⁶ In addition, Richard's ability surpasses that of heroes in 'any geste' (either fictional or historical). While the first list compares Richard with other heroes in terms of bravery and prowess and *Richard* with previous stories told in French, the second list contrasts well-known romance (i.e. fictional) heroes with a new one, who is also a historical figure. After listing the heroes the narrator says:

Bot nowe herkyns my tale for it es sothe,
 ...
 For I ne wene neuer, par ma faye,
 Pat in the tyme of their daye
 Did any of theym so many doughty dede,
 Nor 3itt so strange batell in paire nede
 Als Kyng Richerde dide, saunce fayle,
 Att Jaffe in this ilke bataylle
 With his axe and his spere. (ll. 6506, 6518-24)

Admittedly, claiming authority for the story on the grounds that 'it is true' is a frequently used device. The poet's claim, however, may be read literally. He conveys the idea that the romance heroes he has just listed – if they ever existed, as 'the tyme of their daye' is lost in the remote past – may or may not have been as strong and brave as Richard was; what is certain, however, is that numerous chronicles (that is, history) could attest to Richard's bravery during the defence of Jaffa, 'for it es sothe'. The lists of romance heroes are useful for emphasizing *Richard's* original features, the first of which is the language in which the romance is composed; the importance given to the English language is underlined by the contrasts between the English *Richard* and the earlier stories in French (first list of heroes). The second original feature, highlighted by the second list of heroes, is that Richard-as-character occupies a unique position; he is the subject of numerous histories as well as being a romance hero. His position as historical *and* fictional stands in contrast to other post-conquest kings of England who have not featured in romances, and

¹⁶ See 'Date of Composition', p. 101, for a discussion of the historical background in which the choice of English as literary language may have taken place. See also T. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

to romance heroes of whom there is no chronicle attestation either because they are entirely fictional (e.g. Partonope and Ipomedon), or because their lifetimes are too remote to be certain of their deeds (e.g. Alexander, Charlemagne and, for a medieval audience, Arthur and Aeneas).

Richard, therefore, presents itself as a hybrid; it subtly reminds its audience that the story is ‘neither wholly a lie nor wholly true’. While its style, structure, and intertextual awareness point to its being a romance (that is, a created fabrication), its hero’s life, historically documented, links the narrative to history. Helen Cooper discusses how specific ‘historical events appear to model themselves on romance structures’, and how romancers or patrons can spin those events ‘to make the parallels even closer’; as a result, ‘there is turning of history into romance, or romance into history’.¹⁷ This appears particularly to describe *Richard*’s method, as the historical, exuberant life of the Lionheart seems to have been modelled on fiction, and the romance needs only to emphasize the existing parallels between Richard-as-character and the historical Richard.¹⁸ Notably, medieval audiences do not appear to have found the history-becoming-romance aspect in *Richard* particularly destabilising or problematic, possibly because *Richard*’s pact with its audience is as clear as the chronicles’ pact with theirs.¹⁹ For example, the eyewitness account of the Third Crusade, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, clearly states that the authority of the text lies in its being recorded by an eyewitness:

Although innumerable writings exist about the deeds of the past, most were written from hearsay and few are eyewitness accounts. Dares of Phrygia’s account of the destruction of Troy is given more credence than others because he was present and saw for himself what others reported from hearsay. On the same basis this history of Jerusalem which we

¹⁷ Helen Cooper, ‘When Romance Comes True’, in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartledge (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 13-27 at 14.

¹⁸ For a detailed study of the ‘exuberant’ life of Richard I, see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ The different contexts in which *Richard* was copied, however, problematize its medieval reception. See ‘Relationship between the Manuscripts’, pp. 56-61.

recount should not be unworthy of belief. We proclaim to you what we have seen. Our pen recorded noteworthy events while the memory of them was still fresh.²⁰

[Ceterum cum innumeri rerum gestarum scripores extiterint, plurimi quod audierant, pauci quod videre scripserunt. Quodsi Frigio Dareti de Pergamorum eversione ideo potius creditur, quia, quod alii retulere auditum, ille presens conspexit, nobis etiam historiam Ierusalemitanam tractantibus non indigne fides debetur, qui quod vidimus testamur et res gestas adhuc calente memoria stilo duximos designandas.]²¹

The chronicler gives pre-eminence to his memory, which is ‘still fresh’. Moreover, he connects his account with that of Dares of Phrygia who, unlike Homer, was believed to have been present at the siege of Troy. This suggests the nature of the pact between the *IP* and its audience; the ultimate mark of legitimacy for a historical account is to be told by an eyewitness.²² It is not important, however, whether that claim is true or part of a rhetorical exposition; its importance lies in the agreement established with the audience who expect such reassurance. In the absence of an eyewitness account, a history would derive its authority from a prestigious source, as William of Newburgh’s Preface to his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* shows. William only regards as history the events corroborated by an *auctoritas*, and he famously attacks Geoffrey of Monmouth because he considers Geoffrey’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* as fable.²³ Nowhere in *Richard* is a claim like that ever made; it does not claim to be an eyewitness account, or to be based on one, or to rest on the prestige of a particular chronicle or chronicler. It is clear that *Richard*’s pact with

²⁰ *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*. A Translation of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, Hants., & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 21-2.

²¹ *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Hans E. Mayer, *Schriften der Monumenta Germanicae Historica* 18 (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1962), 246.

²² Like the *IP* chronicler, the twelfth-century minstrel/chronicler Ambroise writes as an eyewitness; see M. Ailes and M. Barber, Introduction to *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise’s Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 2: 12. It is worth noting that medieval compilations of *mirabilia* (e.g. Gervase of Tylbury’s *Otia* or Walter Map’s *Nugis Curialium*) also claim that their stories are ‘true’ because they proceed from eyewitnesses.

²³ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, 2 vols (London: Charles Whittingham, 1856), esp. Preface. See also Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 55 ff, where she offers the example of Nicolas of Senlis’s translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* (1202). In his Preamble, Nicolas explains that his patron has had all the good libraries of France searched in order to find ‘the true history’ (*la veraie ystoire*).

its audience is not that of a chronicle, but that of a romance – which can, nevertheless, include history.

3. Scholarly reception of *Richard*

While medieval audiences appear to have accepted the hybrid nature of *Richard* as naturally as, for instance, twenty-first-century readers (or audiences) do with a novel (or film) based on a historical figure, nineteenth-century scholars measured the romance against chronicles, and found it wanting. Such a judgement assumes that a story of Richard the Lionheart ought to be historical and not fictional: the less historical the story, the less authoritative the text. Interestingly, other fictional stories that feature historical heroes – the *Song of Roland* and romances of Charlemagne and Alexander, for example – have not been interrogated in the same way. The reason why modern scholars have been reluctant to accept *Richard's* fictionality (its literary construction) may derive, primarily, from the abundance of medieval chronicles witnessing to the life and deeds of Richard I.²⁴ This fact may have contributed to the assessment of *Richard* in terms of its historical accuracy, rather than of its literary merit. As Cooper notes, some historical events seem to model themselves on romance structures; by the fourteenth century, Richard's fame as a warrior king had been paired with that of the legendary Arthur, Alexander, Charlemagne and Roland; even those who would not have had access to the chronicles, would have known his fame.²⁵ It is hardly surprising, then, that such fame has inspired a romance,

²⁴ In addition to the *IP* and Ambroise's *Estoire*, the chronicles by Roger of Howden, Richard of Devizes, Ralph of Diceto, Ralph of Coggeshall, Ranulph Higden and William of Newburgh in Latin, and by Pierre de Langtoft, Robert of Gloucester, Robert Mannyng, and the *Short English Metrical Chronicle* in the vernacular, all narrate Richard I's life.

²⁵ For comparisons between Richard and the legendary heroes, see Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, 5:336. In *Chronique de Guyenne, Archives Municipales de Bordeaux, Livre des Coutumes*, ed. H. Barckhausen (Bordeaux: Gounouilhou, 1890), 396, the annals consecutively record the deaths of Arthur, Charlemagne, Roland and Richard: 'Anno Domini [centesimo]V XLII obiit Artusus, rex Britannie majoris. / Anno Domini

which, as in any re-creation of the life of a historical figure, contains historical events. It is difficult to understand, however, why *Richard* was measured against chronicles when the romance never presents itself as one. If anything, the romance of Richard, textually connected with – but not copied from – chronicles and *chansons de geste*, seems to be infused with the ethos of fiction.

Because *Richard*'s hybrid composition as fiction and history has had an impact on the romance's scholarly reception, a brief overview of its critical history is necessary. In his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, George Ellis claims that the original *Richard* 'contained an authentic history of Richard's reign compiled from contemporary documents', but he laments that the 'history was afterward enlarged and disfigured by numerous and most absurd interpolations'.²⁶ Ellis's view would remain unchallenged until the end of the nineteenth century, when Fritz Jentsch, the first to investigate the romance's textual history, historical content, and sources, concluded that, as far as concerned its historical element (that is, the account of the crusade), *Richard* is a compilation of the *IP* (or Ambroise's *Estoire*) and the chronicles of Roger of Howden, Richard of Devizes, Walter of Guisborough and John Bromtom, to which the romancer attached fictional elements that imbued it with a new spirit.²⁷ Jentsch approaches the study of *Richard* acknowledging its hybrid constitution, history and fiction; but unlike Ellis, he does not regard this as a fault. Arguing against Jentsch, Gaston Paris proposes that the Middle English *Richard*, in its historical part (the account of the crusade), is but a poor translation

DCCCXXVII obiit Karolus magnus, imperator, v kalendas februarii. / Anno Domini DCCCXIII obiit comes Rollandi, in Jocus Ballibus, XV kalendas julii. / Anno Domini MC nonagesimo nono obiit Richardus, rex Angliae, in festo beati Ambrosii'. It is also possible that Richard's fame as a warrior, crusader king was invoked to flatter another warrior crusader king, Edward I (1239-1307), who was hailed as 'a new Richard'. Richard is also exemplary in the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, whose author laments that the reign of Edward II (1307-1327) does not resemble Richard's; Thomas Wright, *Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to That of Edward II* (London: Camden Society, 1839), 128; Noël Denholm-Young, *The Life of Edward II (Vita Edwardi Secundi)* (London: Nelson, 1957), 39-40; Thea Summerfield analyses these comparisons with Richard in *The Matter of Kings' Lives* (Amsterdam & Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 1998), esp. Chapter Four.

²⁶ Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, 2: 282.

²⁷ Fritz Jentsch, 'Die mittlenglische Romanze *Richard Coeur de Lion* und ihre Quellen', *Englisch Studien* 15 (1891): 160-247 at 245 ff. For a discussion of possible chronicle sources of *Richard*, see 'Sources'.

of a now lost Anglo-Norman poem; he analyses every passage Jentsch has studied and concludes that the romancer (or rather, the translator) cannot have drawn material from the chronicles because *Richard*, even in its historical part, shows disorder, numerous omissions, inaccuracies, and exaggerations when contrasted with the ‘reality’ of history. As for the fictional interpolations, Paris concludes that they show ‘an inadmissible ignorance of history’.²⁸ Paris’s observations are, arguably, more revealing of his nineteenth-century mindset than they are of particular insights into the composition of *Richard*.

In the early twentieth century, as part of his critical edition of *Richard*, Karl Brunner divided the manuscripts in which *Richard* has survived into two groups, according to their historical accuracy: one with the longer – more fabulous – version, and the other with the shorter – more historical. Following Ellis and Paris, Brunner also associates the hypothetical ‘original’ Anglo-Norman poem with historical accuracy.²⁹ However, as he has to justify his choice of copy-text, Brunner concludes that over twelve hundred lines (which contain the fictional marriage of Henry II with a demon-princess; the introduction of the fictional characters Multon and Doly; the fictional journey of Richard, Multon and Doly to the Holy land before the crusade; and Richard’s tearing out and eating a lion’s heart) belong to the original Anglo-Norman (which he deems historical) poem.³⁰ Roger Loomis takes issue with Brunner’s conclusion on the grounds that ‘by the criterion of historicity ... ll. 35-1268 do not represent a part of the Anglo-Norman poem’.³¹ Although Loomis may not have agreed with Brunner’s hypothesis that his base-text best preserves

²⁸ Paris, ‘Le Roman de *Richard Coeur de Lion*’, 356 and 369.

²⁹ Brunner was the first to publish a study of the seven major manuscripts and the early printed editions that preserve *Richard*; Ellis, Weber, Jentsch, and Paris had known of only three manuscripts: Auchinleck, Douce and Gonville & Caius. Brunner and these nineteenth-century scholars, however, were unaware of some six hundred lines of the Auchinleck version, which appear in two bifolia that resurfaced in the 1960s; see ‘Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions’. For a discussion of the two-version (longer and shorter) approach and its problems, see ‘Relationship between the Manuscripts’ and ‘The editions by Brunner and Schellekens’. For a discussion of the putative Anglo-Norman source, see ‘Date of Composition’, pp. 96-8.

³⁰ For Brunner’s rationale, see *Richard Löwenherz*, 21-23.

³¹ Loomis, ‘*Richard Löwenherz*, edited by Karl Brunner’, 458.

the ‘original’ *Richard*, he did not challenge Brunner’s classification of manuscripts. Since Loomis’s, there has been no other criticism of Brunner’s editing methodology. In fact, for the better part of the twentieth century, the few instances when scholars were interested in *Richard*, their studies mainly dealt with its sources and the romance’s connection – or rather, its lack of connection – with history.³²

In the late twentieth century, studying the generic affiliation of *Richard*, John Finlayson concludes that the romance is not ‘inadequate romantic fiction’ but ‘exemplary history presented in the epic mode’; he has to admit, however, that *Richard* is not a history, as conceived by modern, ‘objective’ standards.³³ In other words, Finlayson argues that, according to medieval standards, *Richard* could be regarded as history, even in its fabulous version.³⁴ Finlayson’s article exhibits the unstable grounds on which scholars stand when they want to label *Richard* as either history or fiction. He partly bases his conclusion on the fact that, apart from the historical part of the story, there are a number of episodes which can be said to derive – albeit loosely – from chronicles. However, Finlayson does not compare the fabulous episodes with their putative chronicle sources to test the validity of his claim. Had he done so, he might have found that in *Richard*, sources have been dissected, metamorphosed and combined to create a new narrative in which their previous identity and context are obliterated to serve their new function. As discussed and exemplified in ‘Sources’, the romancer’s craft may have involved a ‘cut-and-paste’ method of composition, which allowed him to use his extensive knowledge of medieval texts and

³² See R. Loomis ‘*Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art*’, *PMLA* 30 (1915): 509-28; Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1969), 244-46; Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Medieval Romance in England* (New York: B. Franklin, 1969), 147-55; Lee Ramsey *Chivalric Romances* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1983), 85; Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1987), 116; William R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London: Longman, 1987), 180. For the more recent studies of the anthropophagy episode, see note 41 below; for a study of sieges in *Richard*, see note 44 below.

³³ Unfortunately, Finlayson does not explain what he understands by ‘inadequate’ fiction or ‘objective’ standards; John Finlayson, ‘*Richard Coer de Lyon: Romance, History or Something in Between?*’, *Studies in Philology* 87 (1990): 156-80 at 180.

³⁴ Finlayson, ‘*Richard, Coer de Lyon*’, 165.

genres. But the chosen sources never limit or dictate the scope of the episode; on the contrary, the sources become distorted and re-arranged to fit the internal logic, the narrative style, and the intention of the new episode.

After two centuries in which scholars have measured *Richard* against history, the two extremes of the argument may be summarised thus: on the one hand, Gaston Paris maintains that the ‘mistakes’ in the story are due to ignorance, and does not allow for the possibility that the romancer has willingly distorted his sources; on the other hand, Finlayson regards *Richard* as history. Both positions, however, are difficult to defend; first, although it is not possible to prove that the romancer knew his sources and played freely with them changing them as he pleased, the opposite – that the romancer was oblivious of sources, and that *Richard*’s fictional episodes are due to his ignorance – cannot be proved either. Second, if *Richard* was considered ‘history’ in the Middle Ages, why – as discussed above – make a pact with the audience marking it as a romance? Why not establish its authority as other histories do? And why would chroniclers refer to it as a romance?³⁵

It is clearly necessary to revise the working definitions of history and fiction. The *OED* defines history as the ‘branch of knowledge which deals with past events, as recorded in writings or otherwise ascertained’, and fiction as ‘the species of literature which is concerned with the narration of imaginary events and the portraiture of imaginary characters’. Obviously, *Richard* fits neither definition entirely, but it is a combination of the two. Furthermore, modern definitions are of limited use for determining whether *Richard* was conceived and received as history or fiction. However, Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies*, trusted as authoritative throughout the Middle Ages, defines history (*historia*) as the narration of what has occurred in the past, and fiction (*fabula*) as the poet’s creation

³⁵ See note 12 above.

of things that cannot exist.³⁶ As with modern definitions, on Isidore's terms, *Richard* is neither entirely *historia* nor entirely *fabula* but a combination of the two. Moreover, *Richard's* construction supersedes the definitions of *historia* and *fabula*, since a number of episodes have not, in fact, taken place but they are not fabulous, either; in other words, they could have happened but did not, which Isidore defines as *argumentum*.³⁷ Drawing on Isidore's distinction between *historia*, *fabula*, and *argumentum*, D. H. Green proposes a more inclusive definition for 'fiction' as it appears in medieval romance, which can provide an apt answer to the question of *Richard's* modern scholarly reception. A fictional text may include historical events (*historia*), fabulous accounts (*fabula*), and events that, despite being plausible, have not actually taken place (*argumentum*):

Fiction is a category of literary text which, although it may also include events that were held to have actually taken place, gives an account of events that could not conceivably have taken place and or of events that, although possible, did not take place, and which, in doing so, invite the intended audience to be willing to make-believe what would otherwise be regarded as untrue.³⁸

By this definition, every narrative that is not purporting to be pure *historia* can be regarded as fiction.³⁹ In *Richard* the fabulous, the plausible, and the historical are inextricably interwoven to produce a work that exceeds the limits of *historia* or *fabula* but that includes these two as well as *argumentum*.⁴⁰ The first advantage of endorsing this definition is that it obviates the choice between history and fiction. Instead, it is possible to study *Richard*

³⁶ De Fabula: 'Fabulas poetae a fando nominaverunt, quia non sunt res factae, sed tantum loquendo fictae.' De Historia: 'Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur'; Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), Book I, Parts 40 and 41; a recent edition, Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. Stephen A. Barney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

³⁷ Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, Part 44, 5: 'Item inter historiam et argumentum et fabulam interesse. Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt; argumenta sunt quae etsi facta non sunt, fieri tamen possunt; fabulae vero sunt quae nec factae sunt nec fieri possunt, quia contra naturam sunt.'

³⁸ Dennis H. Green, *The Beginnings of Medieval Romance. Fact and fiction 1150-1220* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4.

³⁹ This modern definition agrees with the views of the medieval chroniclers; see note 23 above.

⁴⁰ As this definition has been useful for Green's study of twelfth- and thirteenth-century German romances, and for the present study of *Richard*, it would be interesting to test a similar approach against romances in general.

as a conscientiously constructed inclusive narrative – an invitation to make-believe – whose textual genealogy may be historical and fabulous but whose final product is simultaneously both and neither. Or as Wace puts it, ‘neither wholly a lie nor wholly true’.

4. Case study 2: Make-believe through warfare

The following examples will further explore the romance structure as a combination of *historia*, *fabula* and *argumentum*, focusing on Richard’s military activity after he arrives in Acre. The siege and conquest of Acre provides an example of the fusion *historia-argumentum*; four fictional sieges will show how *argumentum* can be used to convey topical issues, such as contemporary military tactics and nationalistic propaganda; and the legendary duel between Richard and Saladin will exemplify the integration of *historia*, *fabula* and *argumentum*.

4.1. Acre

Like all the chronicles of the Third Crusade, *Richard* narrates the siege and conquest of Acre (ll. 2683-3686); but the romance deals with the historical events expanding, compressing, emphasising, and minimising them according to its own agenda. In *Richard*, these narrative devices are used to re-create the siege of Acre to show how the King of England and the English army are successful where others have tried and failed. In brief, the historical chronology of the siege of Acre records that Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, first lays siege in August 1189; for over a year, the besiegers endure the rough weather and lack of provisions. As soon as Richard arrives, in June 1191, he joins the crusader army and together they launch an attack on the city, but it fails. Immediately

afterwards, both Richard and Philip Augustus fall ill, but they quickly recover and, after fierce attacks sustained by all the crusader army, the garrison at Acre surrenders on 12 July 1191. The romancer freely alters events; first he expands the duration of the siege until Richard arrives from less than two years to seven years of starvation and disease without any military success; then he changes the actions of Richard's first morning from a conjoined failed attack to a personally devised and executed attack whose success leads the narrator to claim that on that day Richard 'was haldyn a conquerere' (l. 2952). In order to show the range of Richard's skill as a warrior and tactician, in that first attack the romancer has him employ a wide variety of siege warfare tactics; first, he assembles a siege tower, the *Mategriffoun* (built with timber transported from England), second, he sets a catapult on top of the siege tower, and finally, using the catapult, he infests Acre with bees, producing mayhem in the besieged city. After that, Richard sets up another siege engine, a stone thrower called *Robynet*, which casts stones into Acre and onto its walls. Finally, having weakened the Saracens' defences, Richard calls his miners and orders them to undermine the chief tower, which collapses. Single-handedly, Richard has produced chaos in Acre. Although he cannot win the city on that day, it marks the beginning of the end of the siege. The total capitulation of Acre comes as a result of a cunning and gruesome scheme. In the romance, Richard recovers from his illness after he unwittingly eats a soup made from a boiled Saracen. Realising what he has eaten, Richard devises a plan to conquer Acre. He invites Saladin's ambassadors to a banquet in which the boiled heads of young noble Saracens are served as a starter. Once the ambassadors have been suitably terrified, Richard explains to them that as long as there is a Saracen living neither he nor his army will ever be hungry. The ambassadors return to Saladin and persuade him to capitulate, and Richard wins Acre.⁴¹

⁴¹ In the past decade, the episode of anthropophagy has received a great deal of attention from scholars; the

Notably, the conquest of Acre as narrated in *Richard* offers the same list of events as the narration in the chronicles: the arrival of Richard, the attack on the first morning, and the final capitulation of the city shortly afterwards. However, every instance is narrated differently in the romance. The romancer exaggerates the duration of the siege so as to emphasise the impotence of the crusader army prior to Richard's arrival, and minimises the participation of the other armies in the first attack to show that Richard has achieved more in one morning than all the army in seven years.⁴² Moreover, the romancer concocts a Machiavellian plan to present Richard as the ultimate tactician. Although nineteenth-century scholars described it as a 'monstrous fable', the anthropophagy episode provides a good example of an *argumentum*: it did not take place but could have, as there is no physical impediment for humans to eat human flesh. In fact, accounts of anthropophagy are not unknown in medieval chronicles, but they had always been explained – and partially justified – as the last resort to avoid dying of starvation. In *Richard*, however, anthropophagy is not the last desperate attempt to preserve life, but a cold-blooded calculated military strategy to defeat the enemy sooner. It is not a desperate measure, but a *mise en scene* staged for Saladin's ambassadors.

following references, which are noted here chronologically, show the variety of angles from which the episode has been studied. Alan Ambrisco, 'Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters in *Richard Coeur de Lion*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29 (1999): 499-528. Geraldine Heng, 'The Romance of England: *Richard Coeur de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race and Nation', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York & Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 135-71; a later version of that chapter in G. Heng, 'The Romance of England. *Richard Coeur de Lyon* and the Politics of Race, Religion, Sexuality, and Nation', *Empire of Magic. Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 62-113. L. F. Cordery, 'Cannibal Diplomacy: Otherness in the Middle English Text *Richard Coeur de Lion*', in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (London: Routledge, 2002), 153-71. Nicola McDonald, 'Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Coeur de Lion*', in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, ed. N. McDonald (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 124-50. S. C. Akbari, 'The Hunger for National Identity in *Richard Coeur de Lyon*', 198-227. Heather Blurton, *Cannibal Narratives: Conquest and Identity in High Medieval England* (New York & Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), esp. the chapter 'The Flesch of a Sarazeyn: Cannibalism, Genre and Nationalism'. Suzanne Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. chapter 'Craving Heritage: Portrayals of Richard I and the English Quest for Jerusalem in *Richard Coeur de Lyon*'.

⁴² It is worth noting that no twelfth-century chronicler of the crusade (e.g. *IP*, Ambroise, Richard of Devizes) manipulates the data in such a way, even though the chroniclers' agenda may have been to serve Richard's propaganda.

The structure of the anthropophagy episode (ll. 3086 ff, 3406ff) may be approached on two levels: first, through the sources that may have contributed to its composition, and second, by analysing the structural design of the passage. As I discuss in ‘Sources’, at least three sources are discernible in this hybrid episode: the Frankish chronicles of the First Crusade in which the anthropophagous Tafurs at the Siege of Ma’arra boiled adults and roasted children; the account of the same siege in *La Chanson d’Antioche*; and Adémar de Chabannes’s chronicle, which narrates a banquet similar to that which Richard offers to Saladin’s ambassadors.⁴³ In addition, the complexity of the scene in which Richard knowingly eats a Saracen’s head derives from the multiple roles that the different characters perform. In a way that mirrors his deployment of multiple siege warfare tactics, Richard assumes multiple roles in the episode: he designs the plot – ‘I schal 3e tell what pou schal don: / Styilly goo you to þe presoun’ ll. 3408-09) – and prepares the scene to produce maximum impact:

þe Sarezynys off most renoun ...
 Priuyly lat slee hem ...
 And ar þe hedes off þou smyte,
 Looke euery mannys name þou wryte
 Upon a scrowe off parchemyn.
 And bere þe hedes to þe kechyn,
 And in a cawdroun þou hem caste,
 And bydde þe cook seþe hem faste,
 And loke þat he þe her off strypp
 Off hed, off berd, & eke off lyppe. (ll. 3410-20)

Moreover, Richard is the leading actor who is to be watched by the ambassadors as he eats the Saracen’s head; he asks his steward: ‘An hoot hed bryng me beform ... Ete þeroff ry3t faste I schal, / As it were a tendyr chyke, / To se hou þe opere wyl lyke’ (ll. 3430-4). He also performs as a spectator, who observes the ambassadors’ reactions (‘Kyng Richard hys eyen on hem þrewe’ l. 3465). This duplicity – being simultaneously actor and spectator – is reduplicated by the narrative. First, the narrator tells the story, but he does so as if he

⁴³ For references, see ‘Sources’, pp. 119-20, notes 25, 26, 27.

were a witness in a corner of the hall narrating the events that unfold before his eyes. Second, the ambassadors also assume a double function. They unwittingly take part in an elaborated plan, designed by Richard. They are exposed to the macabre feast, and they have to watch the scene that has been prepared for them, while Richard scrutinizes their reactions, expressions, and gestures. Unsurprisingly, the plan is successful, and the Saracens themselves lament: ‘Nowe hase Kyng Richerd Acres wonne, / And he hase men, may he goo forthe / To wynn este & weste, bothe southe & northe, / And thusgates will ete oure childre & vs!’ (ll. 3683-6). The bold, macabre originality of anthropophagy used as a military strategy, and its sheer success, would have made Machiavelli proud.

The complex episode of the conquest of Acre is then wrought by merging distorted historical events with an incident that could have happened but did not. The detailed construction of Richard’s portrait as a warrior and a tactician gives the episode of the conquest of Acre an internal logic in which the king’s anthropophagy becomes another (successful) tactic that Richard deploys.

4.2. Siege warfare and nationalistic diatribe

While the construction of the episode of the siege and conquest of Acre combines *historia* and *argumentum*, the following episode (ll. 3867 ff), in which four fictional sieges are narrated, offers an example of how *argumentum* can be a vehicle for nationalistic propaganda; in the context of warfare, these fictional sieges expose the cowardice and greed of the French.⁴⁴ The war historian Jim Bradbury calculates that, from the eleventh century, warfare consisted of ninety-nine per cent sieges and one per cent battles.⁴⁵ The

⁴⁴ Malcolm Hebron devotes a section of his book on medieval sieges in romance to the study of those narrated in *Richard*; his study is mainly based on the siege warfare tactics used in the episode. See *The Medieval Siege. Theme and Image in Middle English Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 37-46.

⁴⁵ Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 71.

importance of sieges in medieval warfare may explain why medieval writers felt compelled to re-create ancient, legendary, contemporary, and allegorical sieges. But although the siege tactics and strategies narrated in *Richard* bear witness to the romancer's fascination with the multiple variants of this kind of warfare, the structure of this episode suggests that its military aspect is not the exclusive aim of the narrative.

After the conquest of Acre, the crusader army is divided into four hosts commanded by Richard, the King of France (Philip Augustus), Sir Thomas of Multon, and Sir Fulk Doly. Historically, Philip Augustus abandoned the crusade after Acre was won and most chroniclers criticise his decision,⁴⁶ but the presence of the French army at this stage, while not historically accurate, is necessary to the romance as their function is to be compared unfavourably with the English. That this is the aim of this episode becomes evident from analysis of its structure. To begin with, the narrator describes the French as cowardly, deceitful and covetous, as opposed to the Saracens who are skilful and clever (ll. 3868-71). This description is reinforced by using a simile in which the French – who are portrayed as braggarts who boast of bravery while in a tavern but run away as soon as the fight starts – are compared to snails:

Bot ofte when þay see men strokes dele,
 Onenane þan will þay tome þaire hele,
 And for drede drawe in þaire hornes,
 Als dose a snyle amange rough thornes (ll. 3880-83)

Claiming that the French are cowardly and greedy, however, is only the first step; it has to be demonstrated. Philip and his host lay siege to the city of Toborett,⁴⁷ but when the Saracens appear on the city walls, ready to defend themselves fiercely, the French are petrified with fear. Perceiving this, the Saracens offer ransom, which the French king

⁴⁶ See 'Explanatory Notes' 3804-05.

⁴⁷ In *C*, the city is called Taburette; R. Loomis suggests that it may refer to the city of Tiberias, which in medieval texts is called Tabarie; Loomis, '*Richard Löwenherz*, edited by Karl Brunner', 457.

immediately accepts. After that, the French lay siege to the city of Archane, and again accept ransom to avoid fighting. Accepting ransom was customary in medieval warfare, but in *Richard* it is portrayed as a sign of weakness, cowardice, and greed. The French behaviour is immediately contrasted with that of Richard, Multon and Doly, who refuse ransom and win the towns they besiege. To emphasize the point, however, the romancer concocts a complicated end to the episode: Richard, Philip, Multon and Doly reunite in Acre and tell one another of their victories but, when Philip says he has accepted ransom from Toborett and Archane, an enraged Richard reprimands him and immediately orders the army to depart for Toborett. When they arrive near the city walls, the Saracens insult Philip, calling him a coward and a liar. After fighting fiercely, Richard finally wins the city and scolds Philip for wasting his time. To reinforce the message, the same scenario is repeated when Richard fights and conquers Archane.

Arguably, the romancer could have taken a few lines to present the French in a negative light, but *Richard's* narrative is hardly straightforward or two-dimensional. While this episode stresses the cowardice and greed of the French, it does so by presenting a variety of siege warfare tactics and strategies that take place in each one of the narrated sieges. The first example of siege warfare strategy is illustrated by Philip and the French army, who accept ransom and avoid fighting. In stark contrast to this, Richard lays siege to the non-historical city of Sudan Turry, and wins it by means of an ingenious strategy. Richard divides his men into two groups; taking command of one of these groups himself, he attracts the defenders to one side of the walls while the other group scales the undefended side in order to open the town to the rest of the army. The plan is successful and, when the drawbridge is let down, Richard rides in and spares no one in his path. The city surrenders immediately.

After Richard's success, the scene changes to the equally fictitious Castle Orgylous, to which Thomas of Multon is to lay siege. Before the crusaders' arrival, however, the Saracens have undermined the bridge over the moat, so that it will collapse should the crusaders cross it. Thomas, however, captures a Saracen spy who, after being threatened with horrific torture, reveals the scheme and becomes a Christian. Thomas then attacks the castle using a trebuchet which can hurl missiles a great distance. The garrison surrenders because they cannot defend themselves, and most of them ask to be baptised to avoid being killed. However, the Saracens intend to counterattack during the night when the Englishmen are sleeping. This plan is unveiled by the spy turned Christian, and Thomas and his men kill them all. The castle with all its riches is thus won.

Finally, the romancer narrates the siege of the city of Ebedy laid by Sir Fulk Doly. He uses mangonels (catapults) to weaken the city's defences, casting missiles with great accuracy. First the chief tower – the one over the main gate – is damaged; then Fulk attacks the strongest tower over the battlements, and destroys it. Only one tower remains standing, so he bends his catapult and casts a great stone. As a result, all the walls and gates break open. However, the Christians cannot enter because Ebedy is surrounded by a deep moat. To be able to enter the city, Sir Fulk orders his men to cut down, and bring back all the trees and branches they can find in a nearby forest, and use them to fill the moat. Once they have done that, they approach the city and throw missiles lit with Greek fire to burn the houses down. It has been said that sieges often presented a challenge to lure the defenders to present battle. In fact, Saladin's great victory, the battle of Hattin (1187), took place because Saladin ingeniously challenged Guy of Lusignan, who was lured from the safety of Jerusalem and into the desert, where a thirsty and exhausted Christian army could offer no resistance to Saladin's. Sir Fulk provokes the same reaction at Ebedy; he lures the emirs of the city to present battle, in preparation for which he draws up his troops:

Sir Fuk þan gane his folkes ordayne
 Howe þat þay scholde þan theym demayne:
 Þe forthirmaste he sett his ablasterreres,
 And aftir þam his gud Ynglys archers,
 And nexte aftir þam his staffe-slyngers,
 And othir thane with sheldis and speris.
 And he deuysede þan the thirde parte
 With swerde, knyffe, axes & darte,
 Þe men of armes come althir laste. (ll. 4537-45)

Sir Fulk's formation wins the day at Ebedy, and the crusaders enter the town as victors.

Although these fictional sieges are put together to suggest that, unlike the cowardly French, the English are consummate warriors, the nationalistic diatribe is enclosed in what amounts to a treatise on siegecraft.⁴⁸ Over a thousand lines of the romance, which deal with sieges, offer a compendium of medieval siege warfare tactics and strategies. They illustrate the use of Greek fire and of movable siege towers; they bear witness to the power and accuracy of the trebuchet and other stone-throwers, and emphasize the importance of crossbowmen and archers; they show how to position an army to present battle, how to deal with spies, how to fill a moat, and how to deceive the defenders of a town by distracting their attention to one side of the walls while gaining access via the other. The success of the episode in showing the French to disadvantage while simultaneously exhibiting the romancer's knowledge of warfare tactics suggests a complex composition in which siege warfare functions as the backdrop against which nationalistic sentiments are played out. However, siege warfare, rather than having a minor role as a backdrop, assumes as much importance in the text as anti-French sentiment.

⁴⁸ See 'Sources', pp. 117-18. See also 'Explanatory Notes' for an explanation of the arms and siege-engines deployed in this episode.

4.3. Single combat

The episode of the conquest of Acre provides an example of fiction as a combination of *historia* and *argumentum*, while the episode of the four sieges suggests that *argumentum* can be used to promote a particular sentiment. The following example will examine how the passage of Richard and Saladin's duel (ll. 5845 ff) combines *historia*, *fabula* and *argumentum*. Roger Loomis has suggested that a legend about this unhistorical duel may have been in circulation about 1250, when the Liberate Rolls show that Henry III ordered to have the history of Antioch and the 'duellum Regis Ricardi' painted at Clarendon Palace.⁴⁹ Moreover, the Chertsey Tiles (c. 1280; plate 36.1) and the *Luttrell Psalter* (fol. 82; executed in 1320-40; plate 36.2) show Richard overthrowing Saladin in the duel. Although a legend of the encounter between Richard and Saladin may have pre-existed the romance, the episode's comic development and its incorporation into a larger episode suggest that, as previously seen, the romancer re-contextualizes and assigns new functions to his sources.

The duel is part of a much larger episode (ll. 5466-5971), which starts with the siege of Babylon (i.e. Cairo), in which city the 'Chefe Sowdane of alle heythynnesse' (Saladin) has taken refuge. Richard and Philip lay siege to the city and the romancer once again portrays the French as cowards. As the siege and battles appear to have no end, the sultan challenges Richard to a single combat for which purpose the sultan offers the gift of a noble horse; Richard accepts the gift and the challenge. That night, an angel warns Richard that the sultan has two fiendish horses, a mare and a colt. Richard will receive the colt as a gift, but when the mare whinnies no-one will be able to prevent the colt from running to its mother to feed from her. The angel then tells Richard how to

⁴⁹ See Loomis, 'Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin', 513-14. The duel has also been recounted by Peter Langtoft and Walter of Guisborough but, as noted in 'Sources', pp. 111-12, it is possible that these chronicles were influenced by the romance. For further references, see 'Sources', note 28.

neutralise the effect of the mare's neigh. The following morning, Richard proceeds to follow the angel's instruction: he fills the colt's ears with wax, ties a log crosswise in front of the saddle, and covers everything with plated armour. When the colt is thus prepared, Richard meets Saladin, 'the chefe sowdane callede of Damas'. As Richard's colt cannot hear the fiendish mare, Richard is able to strike the sultan so fiercely that he falls off his horse. Assuming the sultan is dead, Richard returns to the battlefield where he proceeds to kill all the Saracens he meets; the city capitulates soon after. Saladin is not dead, however, and when he learns that his city has surrendered, he flees. On seeing this, Richard chases him, but the sultan rushes into a forest which Richard cannot enter because of the log tied across his saddle. The sultan escapes, and a furious Richard returns to the battlefield and slays all those he encounters.

In the composition of this complex passage, *historia*, *fabula* and *argumentum* merge. The gift of the fiendish horse may have originated in a historical event; at the defence of Jaffa (August 1192), seeing that Richard was fighting on foot, Saphadin, Saladin's brother, sent him two horses out of courtesy.⁵⁰ However, the romancer turns it into *fabula* (or *mirabilium*) by means of the demonic element, and adds the *miraculum* of the angelical warning. Finally, the single combat, which never took place but could have, incorporates *argumentum* into the scene. Commenting on this episode, Karl Brunner says that the duel narrated in the romance cannot have been between Richard and Saladin, because Richard 'kills' the sultan in the duel, while Saladin is alive and flees when Babylon surrenders. Loomis argues, however, that the Chief Sultan who challenges

⁵⁰ See *IP*, Bk 6 Ch 22, 364; Gaston Paris also discusses this possibility, 'La Légende de Saladin', in *Extrait du Journal des Savants Mai-Août 1893*, (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1893), 40-3. Paris goes on to suggest the metamorphosis of the story: 1) Richard is given a horse by Guillaume de Preaux or by Saladin; 2) Safadin sends a horse *dur de la bouche* and Richard sends it back. 3) The *Chroniques de Flandres* (MS BL fr.1799) gives Richard eleven companions for his Jaffa expedition of whom only André de Chauvigni really took part. The other ten are the same that, according to the legend of *Pas Saladin*, accompanied Richard in that battle. Paris concludes that the legend of *Pas Saladin* originates in the historic combat at Jaffa. See also, Paris, 'Le Roman de *Richard Coeur de Lion*', 360.

Richard is Saladin, here not called by his name because the passage must have belonged to a longer text in which Saladin's title (Chief Sultan of Damascus) was enough to identify him.⁵¹ Loomis considers that there is a mistake in *Richard*, since the sultan appears to be dead and then escapes. The solution to this apparent contradiction may be found in the touch of humour that pervades the episode. From the point at which the angel instructs Richard about how to control the demon-horse, it is evident that the excessive wooden harness and its metal cover will render the horse – and Richard – ridiculous. At first, however, the audience's (or reader's) expectations seem to be unfounded; Richard overthrows the sultan, and continues fighting fiercely against the Saracens. Richard's character maintains a remarkable coherence throughout the romance; as a warrior, had Richard thought the sultan was alive, he would not have left the field but would have continued fighting. It is necessary, for the internal logic of the episode, that Richard believe the sultan is dead because that allows a living Saladin to flee. And then audience expectations are fulfilled; Richard, whose mount has a log tied across its back, gets trapped between the trees of the forest and cannot chase the sultan. The structure of the episode suggests that *Richard* has been conceived as fiction; the romancer does not appear to be preoccupied with the historical accuracy of this passage but with producing the right effect on the audience, even if this sometimes involves ridiculing the hero.⁵²

4.4. Conclusion

The previous examples have illustrated how the romancer organizes and arranges the episodes and how he formulates *Richard's* own reality – neither entirely fiction nor

⁵¹ R. Loomis, '*Richard Löwenherz*, edited by Karl Brunner', 466.

⁵² This is not the only potentially humorous episode; the lion's heart story (ll. 932-1114) can also be regarded as humorous. Moreover, there are many ironic and humorous lines (noted in 'Explanatory Notes') the nature of which suggests their occurrence is not accidental but calculated.

entirely history. However, unlike Wace's *Brut* whose narrative exists 'in the interstices between false and history', and because of the unique position of its hero, *Richard*'s textual reality encompasses both history *and* fiction, or in Isidore's terms, all *historia, fabula* and *argumentum*. As it formulates its own self-referential reality, the authority of *Richard* does not depend on *auctoritates* or eyewitnesses; it comes from the text itself. In fact, the romancer states that the story has been created, if not *ex nihilo*, at least from his own free will: 'Richerde [...] Wareof this romance imaked es' (ll. 201-02). The romance has been 'imaked', neither copied nor translated from a prestigious source. Nevertheless, the romancer establishes a textual dialogue with numerous medieval texts, but the result of the romancer's craft is a complex text in which the dissected and distorted sources are integrated into the new structure and become instrumental to it. Instead of a failed history, as nineteenth-century scholars would have it, *Richard* shows itself so confident in its own authority that it does not need to be linked to any *auctoritas*. In this context, the mention of the 'bokes' signals to the audience yet another artifice: the fictional construction of an elusive, unnamed authority: a fiction within a fiction.⁵³

⁵³ There are several references to a *boke* or *bokes* (ll. 21, 200, 1985, 2391, 2626, 5482, 5849, 6344, 172 (Appendix 2) and one to *cronikylls* (l. 1304). Some of these mentions, as discussed in 'Sources' (pp. 109-10), refer to historical facts while others refer to fictional passages, which may indicate that the expression is merely used as a formula.

Appendix 1: Episode Chart

Abbreviations:

R Richard
 M Multon
 D Doly
 KA King of Almayne
 P Philip, King of France
 E Emperor of Cyprus
 S Saladin

Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
Introduction	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
Henry II marries Cassodoren. She flies away through the church roof.	XX	Yes	Yes (part)	XX	XX	XX	XX
Tournament of Salisbury.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	XX	Yes	XX
Introduction of M & D.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
R summons M & D.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R, M & D, disguised as pilgrims, travel to the Holy Land.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
'Pilgrims' imprisoned by the KA.	XX	Yes	Yes (part)	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
KA's son challenges R, who kills him.	XX	Yes	Yes (part)	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
KA's daughter helps R, and spends several nights with him.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
KA gathers his council,	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
And gets a lion to kill R, but KA's daughter warns him and R kills the lion.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
KA accepts ransom for R.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes

Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
Repetition of ransom conditions.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R summons a parliament in London.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
Preparation for the crusade.	Yes (part)	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes (part)	Yes (part)	Yes (part)
R commands his men to keep peace, law and order in England.	XX	XX	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
In Almayne, R meets KA again, and gets back his ransom.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R and his army sail from Marseille,	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
And arrive in Messina.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
P betrays R	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
King of Sicily defends R.	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	XX
Treason uncovered.	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
The French and the people of Messina attack the English.	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
Construction of the siege-tower Matte-Griffoun	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
R wins Messina at Christmas.	Yes (part)	Yes	XX	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	Yes
R forgives P; they reconcile.	XX	Yes	XX	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Two French justices attack R, and he kills them.	XX	Yes	XX	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Queen Eleanor visits her son and brings his bride, Berengaria.	XX	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R and P set sail for Cyprus.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes

Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
Cyprus mob attacks the English who arrive before R.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
R arrives with the rest of the fleet.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
And sends messengers to E, but he attacks them.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
E's steward advises him to comply with R's demands, and E injures him.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
The steward escapes and joins R.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
R attacks Cyprus, liberates all the English prisoners, and kills all he meets; E escapes.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes (partially legible)
Steward kidnaps E's daughter, and brings her to R.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
R seizes E's treasure. E escapes again.	XX	Yes	XX	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	Yes
E capitulates to free his daughter and offers to pay homage to R.	XX	Yes	XX	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regretting this, E seeks help from his barons to attack R; they reject him and R captures E.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
R marries Berengaria of Navarre,	XX	XX	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
And sets sail for Acre.	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naval battle off the coast of Acre; R sinks a huge Saracen ship.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes (part)	Yes	Yes	Yes

Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
R cuts the chain across Acre harbour.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (part)	Yes	Yes	Yes
R's spectacular arrival in Acre.	Yes (shorter version)	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes (shorter version)	Yes (shorter version)	Yes (shorter version)
Archbishop of Pisa tells R about the rigours of the siege.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	Yes (part)
R catapults bees into Acre,	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	XX
And undermines its walls.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	XX
Description of Saladin's army; a battle.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes (partially legible)	Yes	Yes	XX
R becomes ill, and wants pork.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes (part)	Yes (part)	Yes (part)	XX
R reinvigorated by a soup made from a young Saracen.	XX	Yes (partially damaged)	Yes	XX	XX (R gets well)	XX (R gets well)	XX
R refuses S's offer of truce.	XX	XX	Yes	XX	XX	Yes	XX
S offers ransom for prisoners, but R demands the true cross.	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R learns he has eaten human flesh, and serves S's envoys with Saracen heads.	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
Envoys tell S of the macabre feast,	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
And advise him to give R rule of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, if he converts to Islam.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX

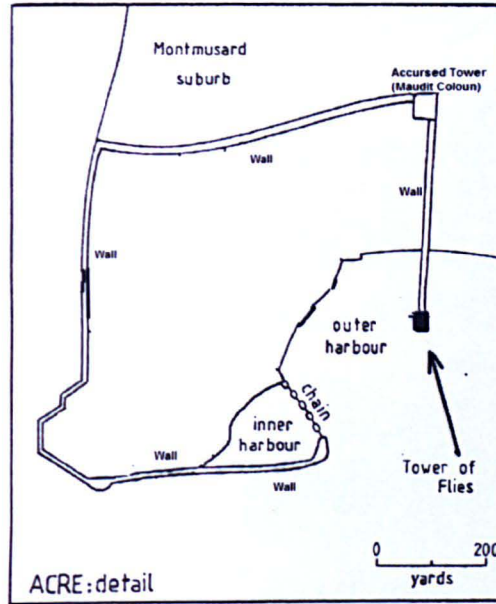
Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
R refuses and kills all the Saracen prisoners in Acre.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R's largesse, and P's meanness.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R orders P, M & D to besiege and win towns and castles.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
French avoid fighting and accept ransom at Taburet and Archane.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R wins Sudan Turry.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
M wins Castle Orgyious.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
D wins Ebedy.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R, P, M & D meet at Acre. P admits accepting ransom.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R fights and wins Taburet and Archane.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
S attacks the Christian army, and R rescues them.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
St George appears dressed as a crusader.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R wins several battles.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
S destroys castles and towns so R finds no refuge or food.	XX	Yes (partially damaged)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
S challenges R to a duel.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
Description of S's and R's armies.	XX	Yes (partially damaged)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
Battle between Christians and Saracens at Arsuf.	XX	Yes (partially damaged)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R enters Arsuf.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX

Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
R and P decide to go to Nineveh, Macedon and Babylon. Battle of Toke.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
Attack on Nineveh using powerful siege engines.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
Saracens propose individual combats between three Christians and three Saracens.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R, M & D win their combats.	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX	XX
R and P besiege a town. R refuses ransom, but P accepts it.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
S gives R a horse. An angel warns R that the horse is a fiend.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
S challenges R and is defeated.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
All the army attack the Saracens, killing them all.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
S flees, R pursues him in vain.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
Saracens convert. R wants to go to Jerusalem but P returns to France.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX	XX
R goes to Jaffa and repairs the walls.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R takes Castle Daroun.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX	XX
R besieges and takes Gaytris (Gaza).	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	XX
R rests in Chaloyne then besieges and takes Castle Pilgrim.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX

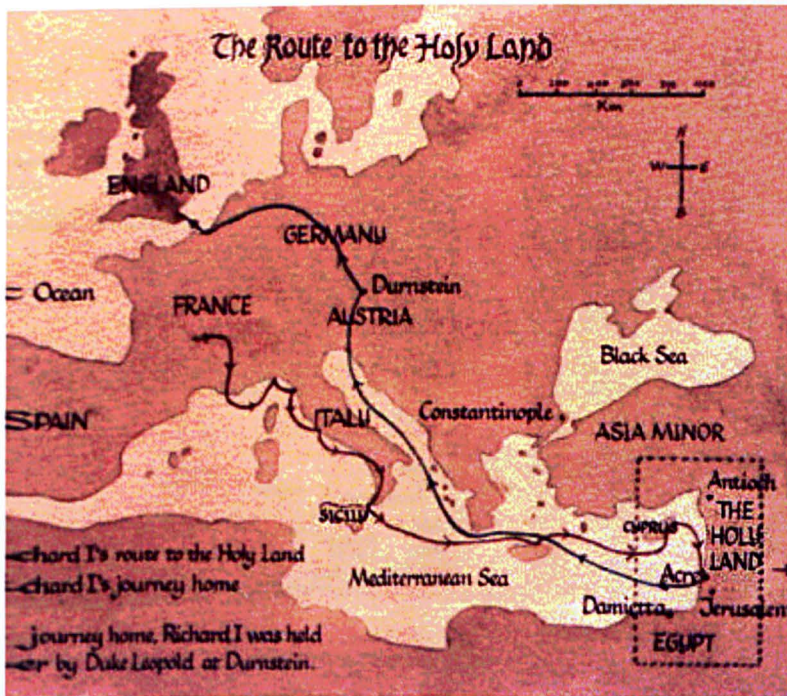
Episode / MS	L	B	C	E	A	D	H
R learns that John, his brother, wants to seize the throne.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
A Saracen advises R to attack the Saracen camp when they are asleep. R refuses.	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R fights the Saracens and takes their treasure.	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
Church men bring more news of John's treason. P seizes Normandy.	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
S is told that R is returning to England and attacks Jaffa. A messenger warns R.	XX	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
Henry of Champagne fails to help the garrison at Jaffa.	XX	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	XX
R sails to and defends Jaffa.	XX	Yes	Yes (part)	Yes	Yes	XX	XX
S sends messengers to urge R to leave the city. R refuses.	XX	Yes	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	XX
An angel tells R to make peace with S to allow pilgrims to go to the Holy Land.	XX	Yes	Yes (part)	Yes	Yes	XX	XX
Death of R at Castle Gaillard	XX	Yes	Yes	XX	Yes (longer version)	XX	XX

Illustrations

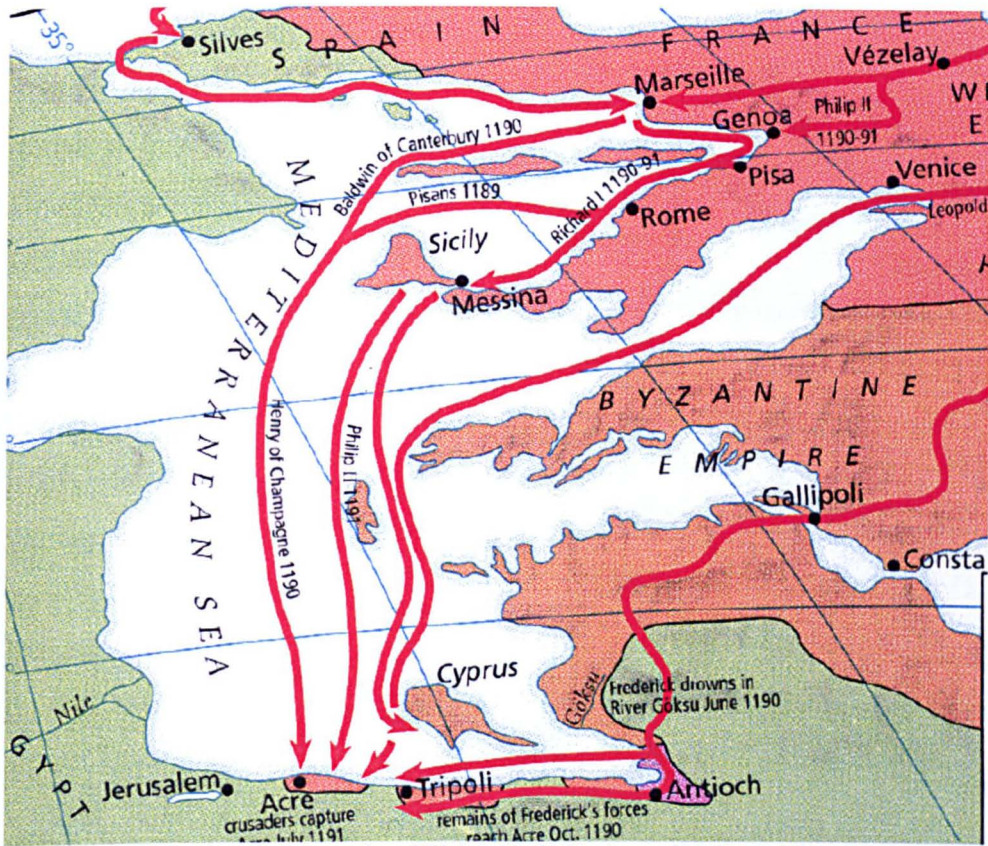
Maps



1 Plan of medieval Acre



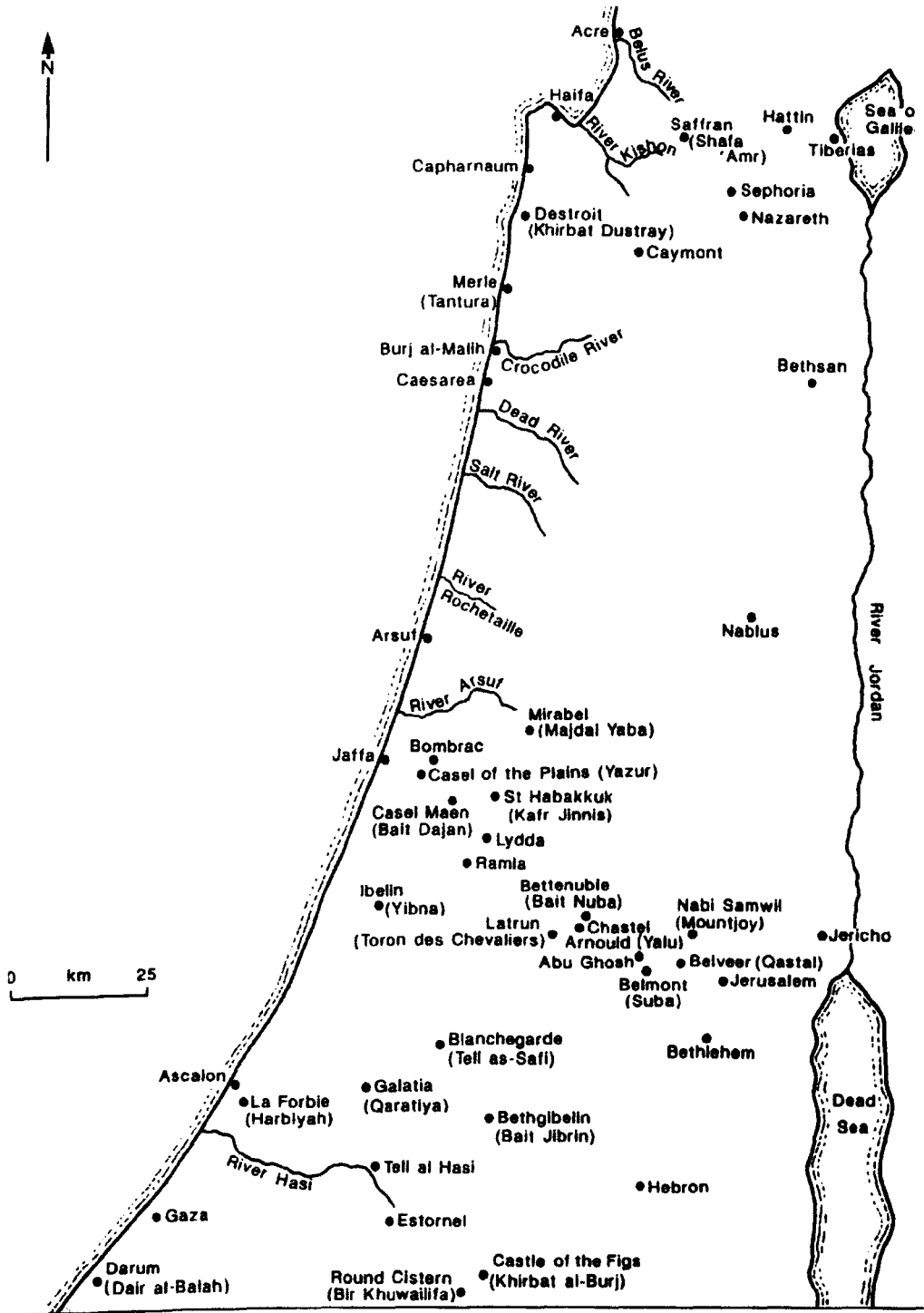
2 Richard I's route to the Holy Land and his journey back to England (via Germany)



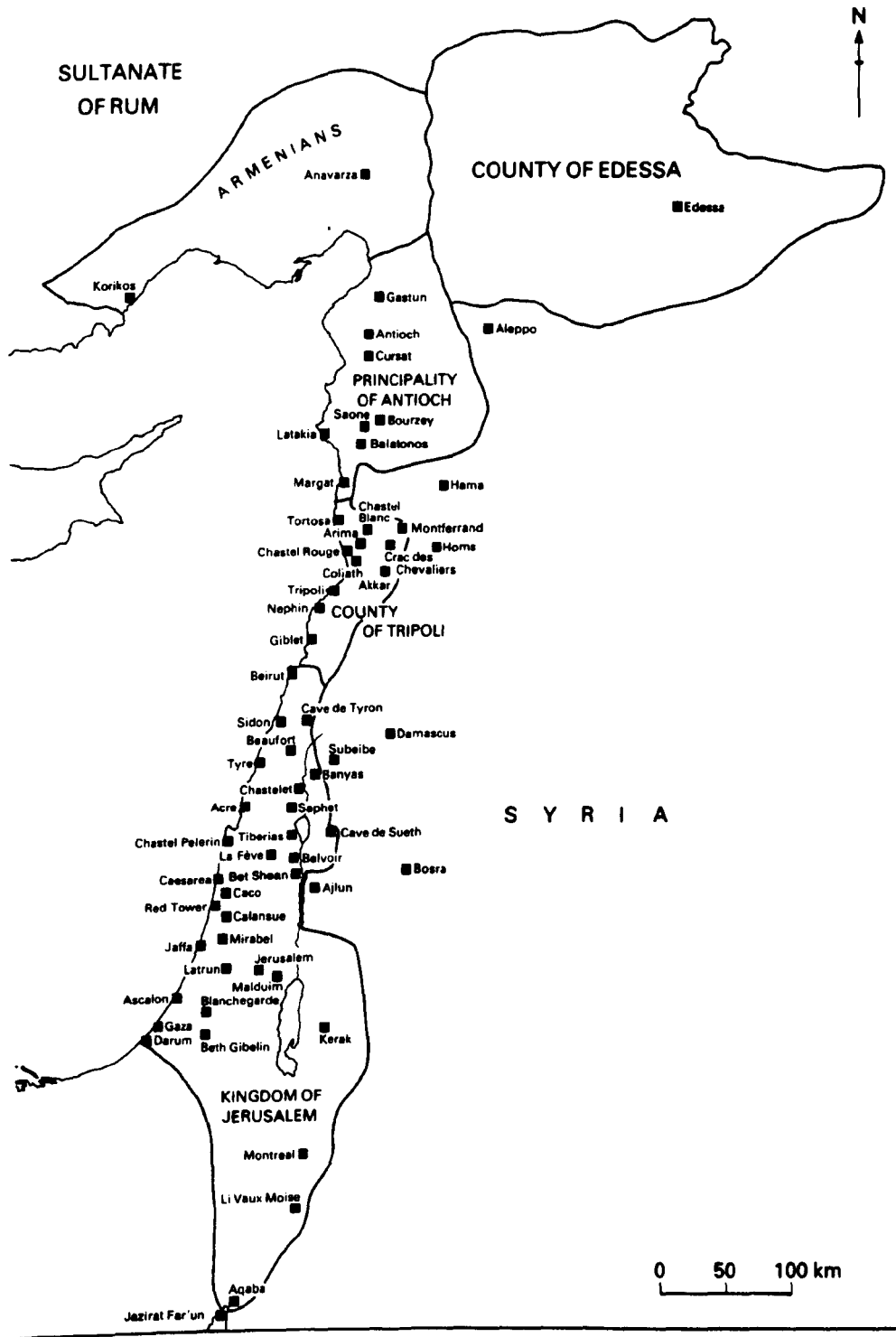
3 Third Crusade. Itineraries of Richard I, Philip Augustus, Frederick Barbarossa, and Henry of Champagne.



4 Cyprus



5 Sites in the Holy Land associated with the Third Crusade



6 Fortifications in the Holy Land at the time of the crusades



7 Present-day Middle East



8 Empire of Alexander the Great

Plates



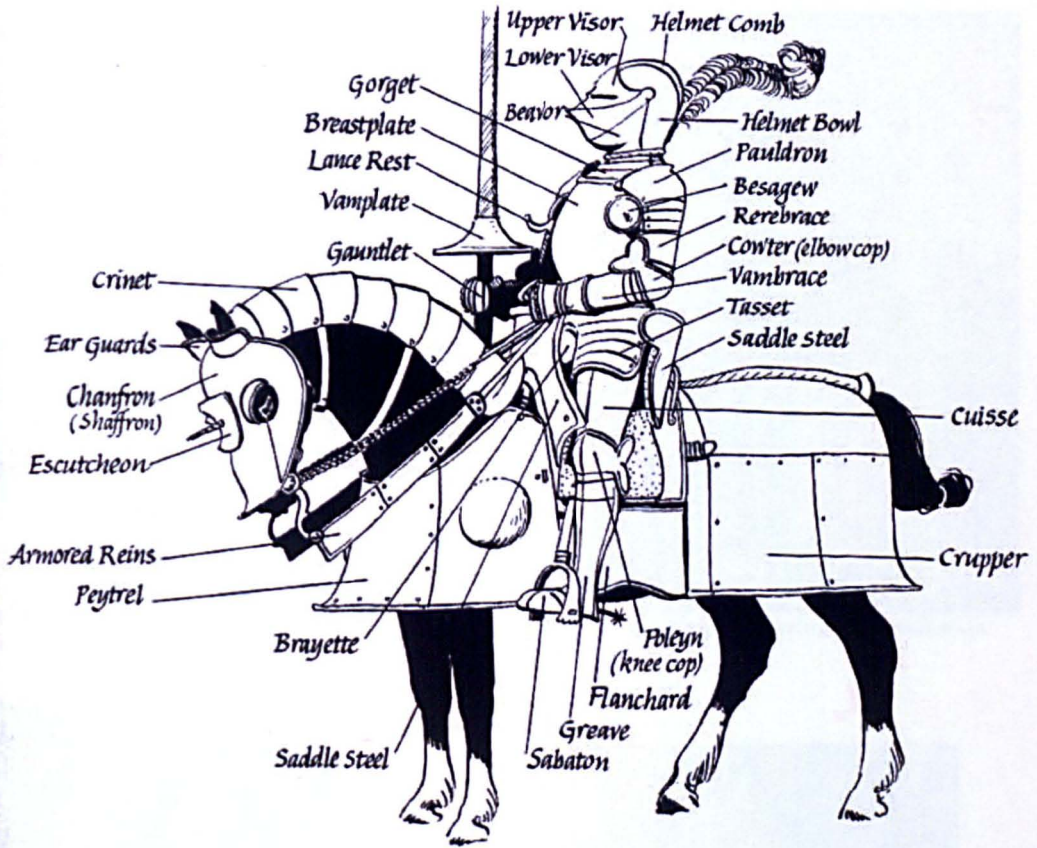
1.1 Richard enters Acre harbour



1.2 Chain (detail)



2 Aerial view of present-day Acre



3 Knight and horse armour



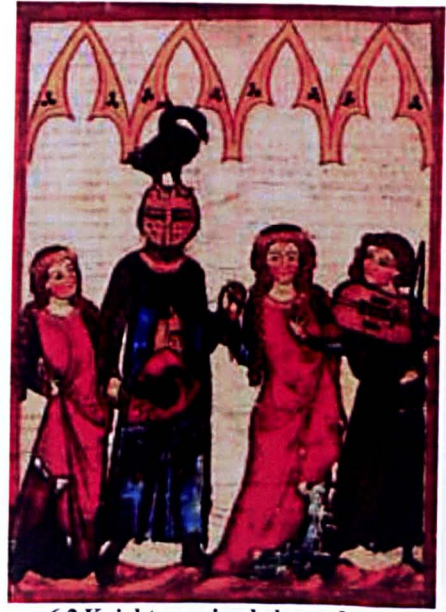
4 Basinet



5 Helm



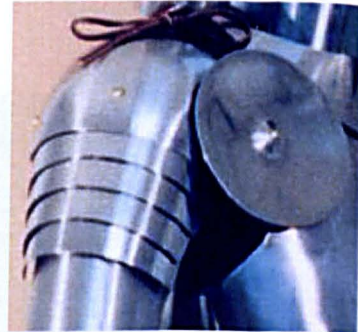
6.1 Helm and crest



6.2 Knight wearing helm and crest



7 Aventail underneath a basinet with visor



8 Besagew



9 Gorget



10 Habergeon



11 Hauberk



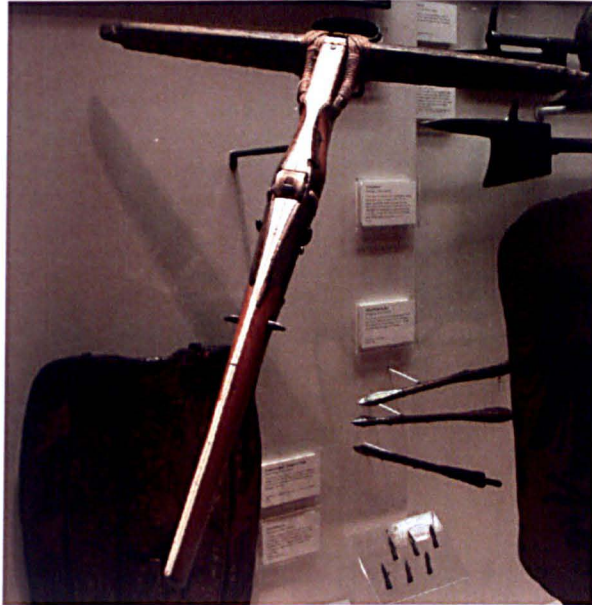
12 Pizaine



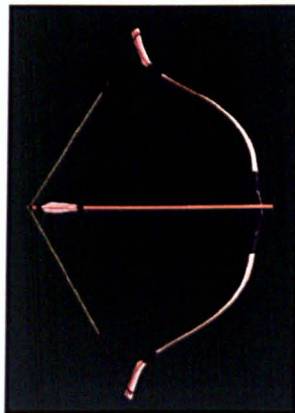
13 Soldier wearing an acton (actoun, aketon, or gambeson)



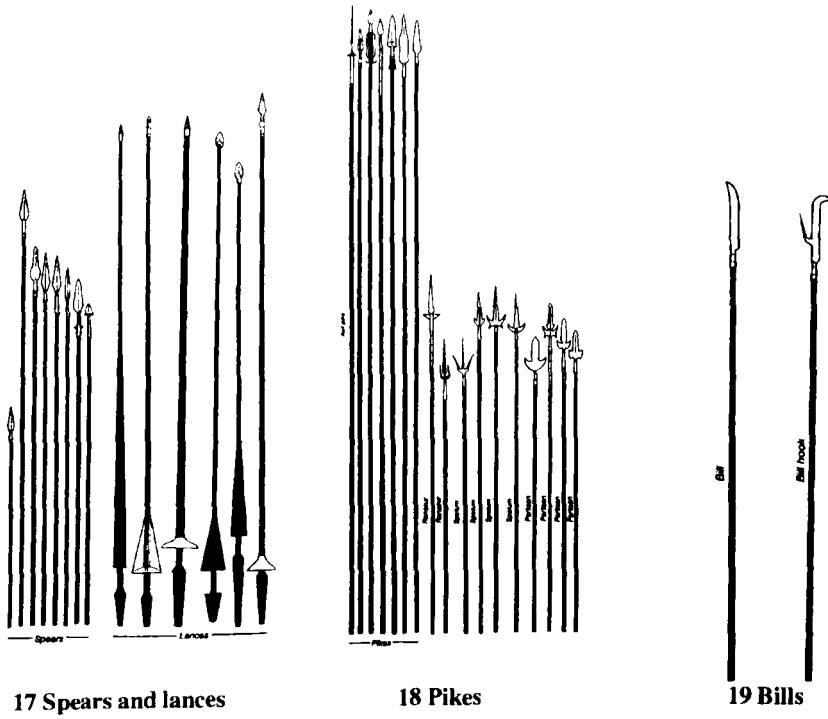
14 Arrow and bolts (a flone at the bottom)



15 Crossbow and bolts



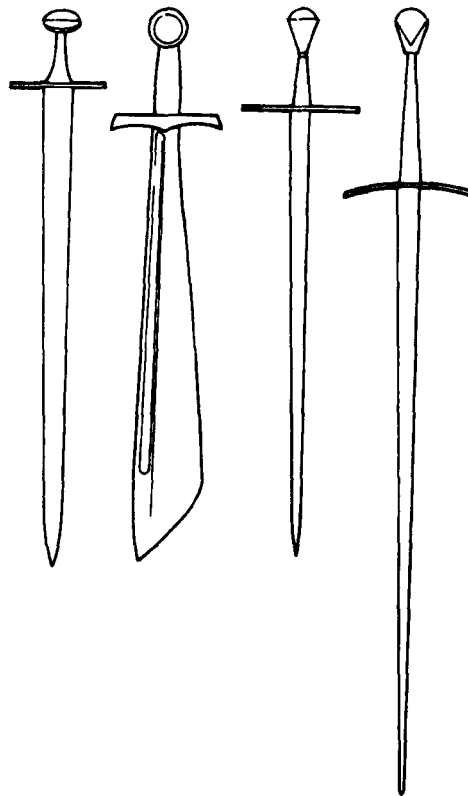
16 Turkish bow



17 Spears and lances

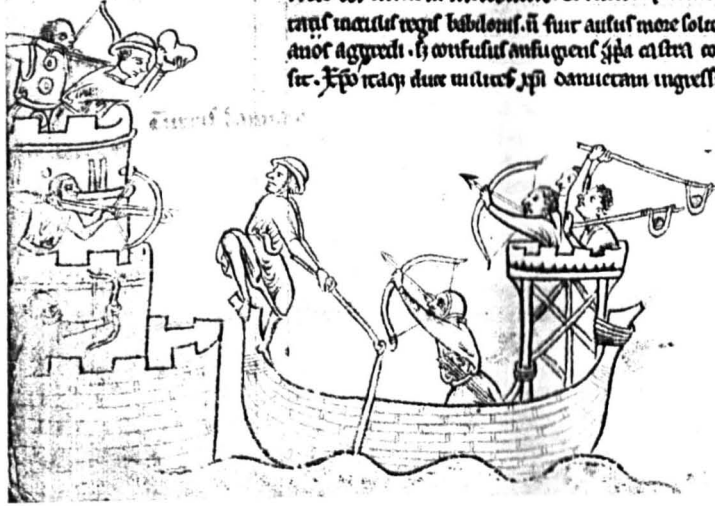
18 Pikes

19 Bills

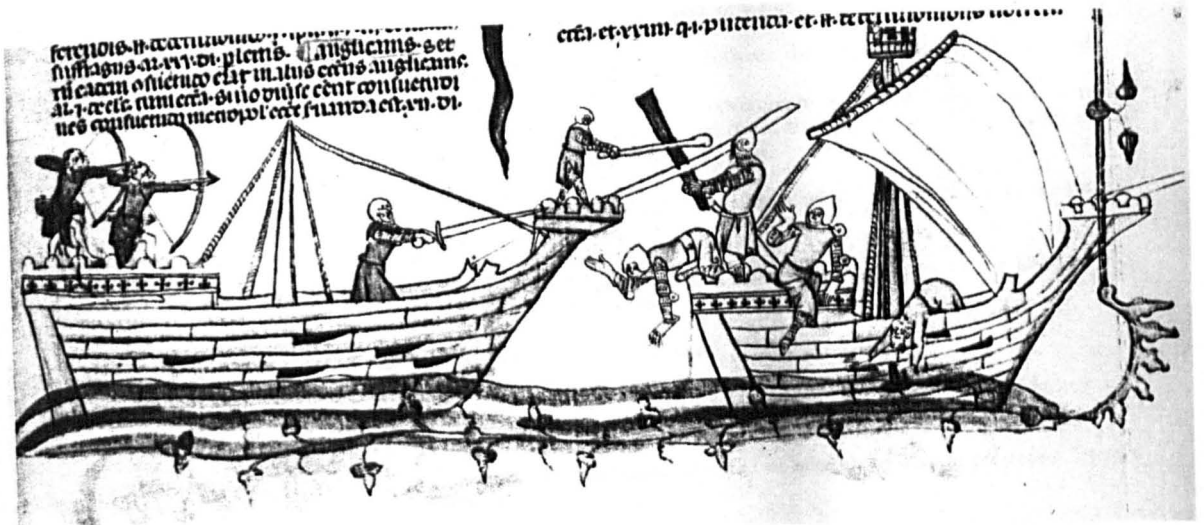


20 Swords. From left to right: Norman; falchion; 13th-century; 14th-century double-handed

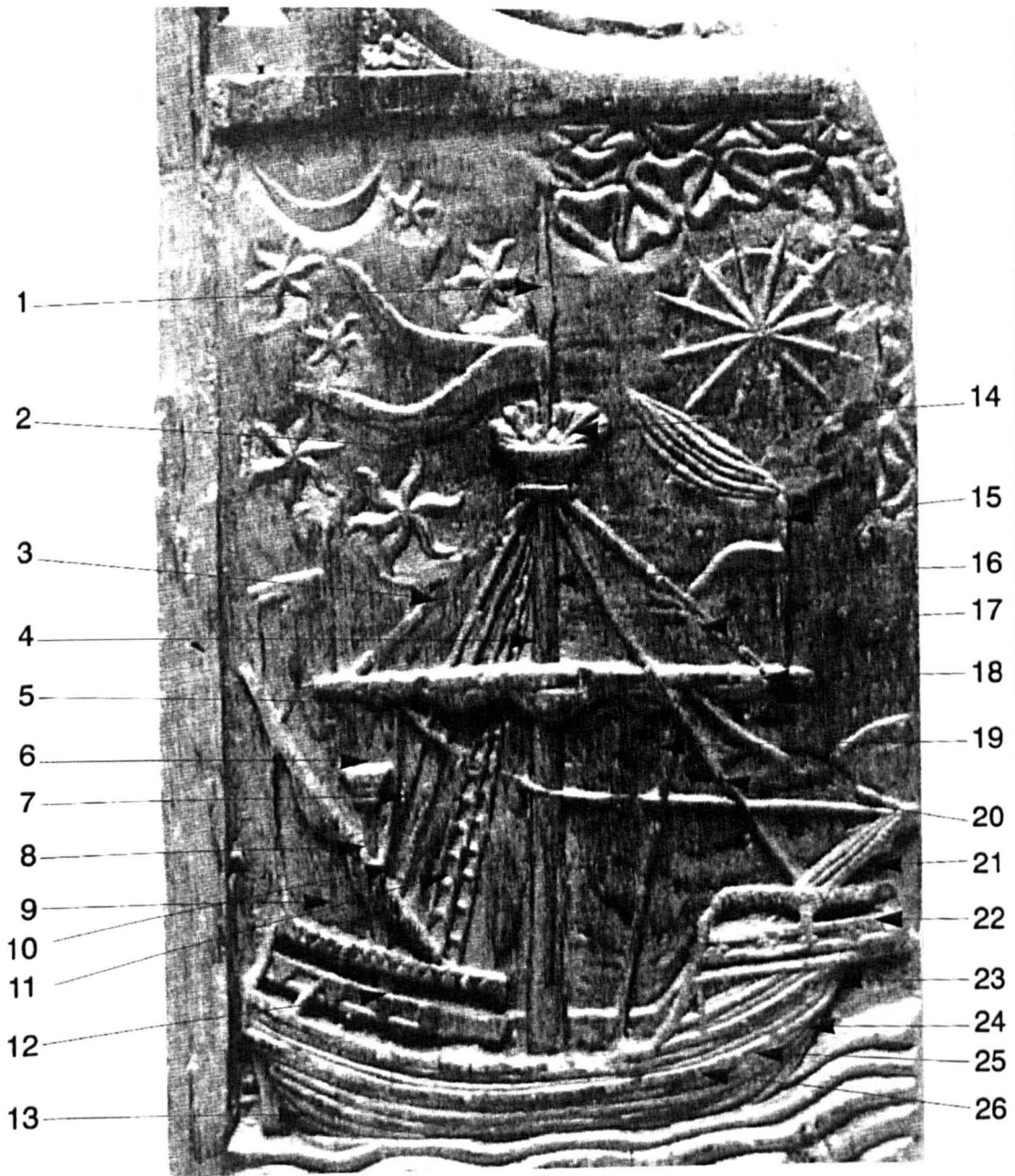
rione stant ad murum applicatis: cunctis certat
 Irantur fideles. Quia saluatore mundi peccatorum
 nona non emulsi capen est damna sine defra-
 one absq; nullo violenta depolatione. ut sol
 filio dei uicaria ascribant. Et cum exiretur au-
 tatis inuictus rex babilonis. si fuit autus mox soluo xp
 anof aggrechi. h. confusus anfigent ipa castra combi-
 sic. Ego itaq; dux milites xpi danuicam ingressi: pl



21 Staff-slingers in a naval attack of a coastal fortification



22 Cogs in a sea battle

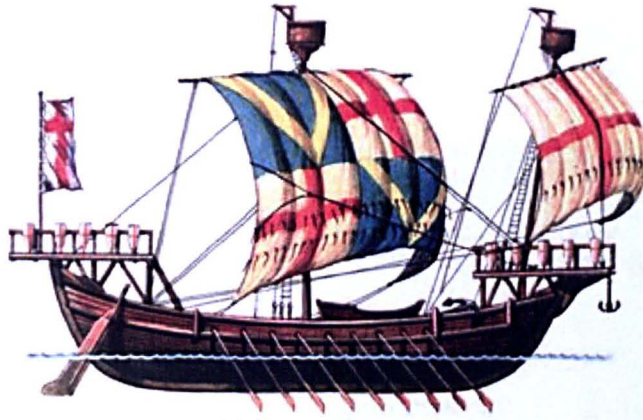


23 A medieval ship

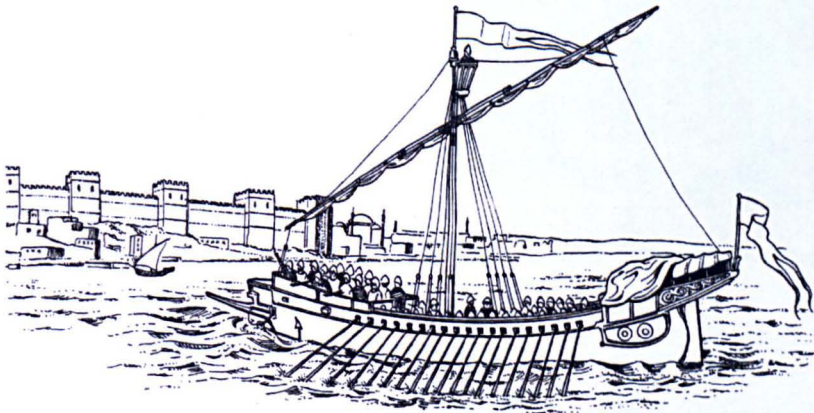
1 main topmast
 2 topcastle
 3 lift (uptie)
 4 parrel
 5 brace (yard rope)
 6 mizzen topcastle
 7 mizzen mast
 8 mizzen yard
 9 lateen sail

10 backsatays
 11 shrouds with ratlines
 12 stern castle
 13 rudder
 14 gadds
 15 standard staff
 16 mainmast
 17 lift (uptie)
 18 main yard

19 brace
 20 forestay
 21 bowsprit
 22 fore castle
 23 hawse hole
 24 stern post
 25 wale
 26 through-beam end



24 Genoese dromond



25 Venetian-style galley



26 Navy (nef, or hulk)



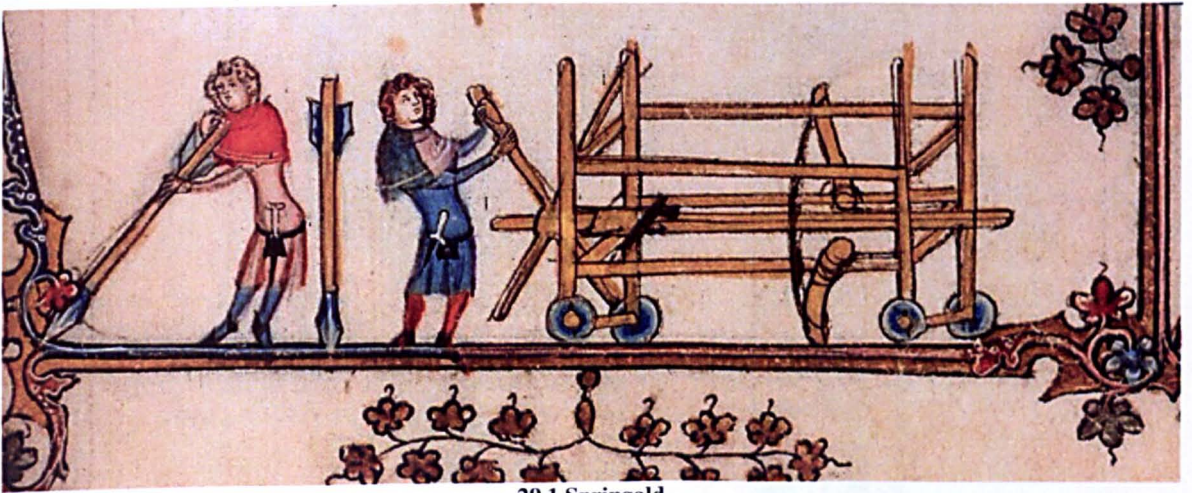
27 Attack on the city walls from the sea



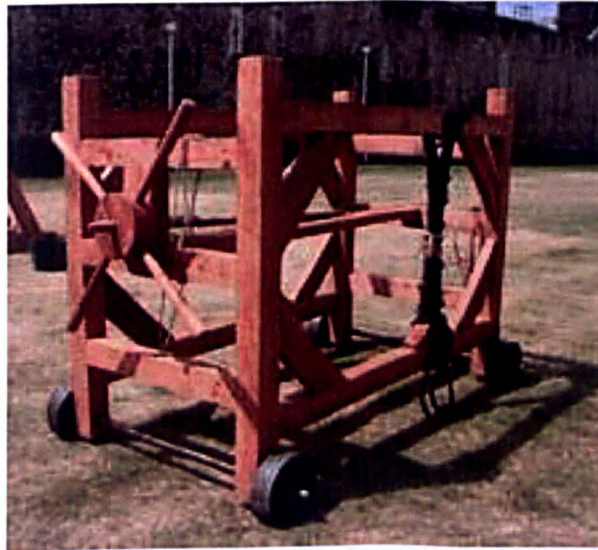
28.1 Reconstruction of a siege tower



28.2 Army using a siege tower



29.1 Springald



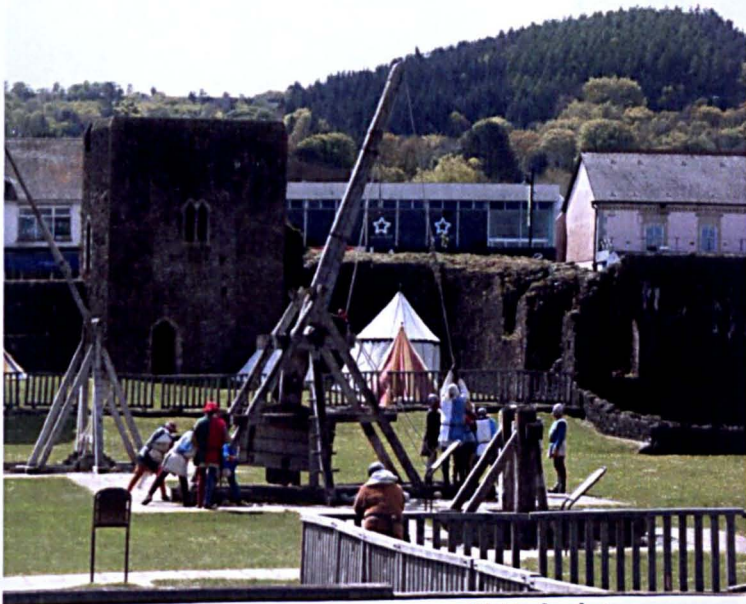
29.2 Reconstruction of a springald



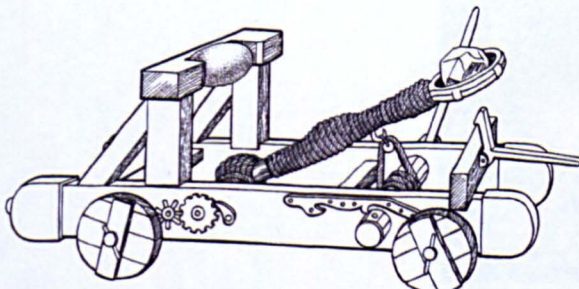
30.1 Reconstruction of a traction Trebuchet



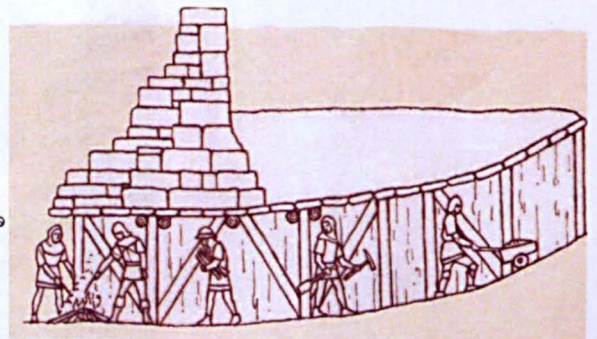
30.2 Soldiers attacking with a counterweight trebuchet



30.3 Reconstruction of a counterweight trebuchet



31 Mangonel



32 Undermining a wall

Robert Thornton dictus qui p[ro]p[ri]et[ar]i[us] est benedictus am[er]ic[us]

33 Robert Thornton's signature



34.1. & 34.2. Stonegrave Minster, tomb of Robert Thornton's parents, and detail of Thornton's arms



35 St James as a pilgrim



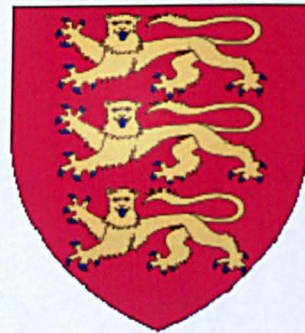
36.1 Duel between Richard and Saladin (Chertsey tiles)



36.2 Duel between Richard and Saladin (Luttrell Psalter)



37.1 Arms of Richard I 1189-98



37.2 Arms of Richard I from 1198

38. Wynkyn de Worde's engravings for *Kyng Rycharde Cuer du Lyon*¹



38.1 Tournament at Salisbury



38.2.1 Pilgrimage to the Holy land



38.2.2 Voyage to the Holy Land



38.3 Captivity in Almayne

¹ For the actual size of the engravings, and their Hodnett reference number, see the List of Illustrations.



Wow of this lette we be
 And of the kynge speke we
 In care & mournynge ledeth his lyfe
 And ofte calleth hymselfe capt yfe
 And cursed the tyme þe was boyn

38.4 Messenger takes Richard's letter to England



Ryche Rycharde in peas and reste
 Fro crystmalle the hygh feste
 Dwelled there tyll after the lente
 And than on his waye he wente

38.5 Naval battle



38.6 Fierce battle in Cyprus



38.7 Arrival at Acre



38.8 Assault on Acre



38.9 Battle between Richard's and Saladin's armies

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Index of Names

Line numbers followed by an asterisk (*) indicate that the name has been further considered in Explanatory Notes.

Achilles 19*, 6517* Greek hero of the Trojan War.

Acres, Acrys 634, 1263, etc. a coastal town in the Holy Land, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, south of Tyre. Maps 5 and 6.

Alane Trenchemere, maister 1424* Richard's helmsman.

Alexander(e) 13*, 6510* Alexander the Great (356-323 BC).

Almayne 652 Germany.

Almayne, Emperour of 1323* Frederick I, Barbarossa (1122-1190), Holy Roman Emperor.

Almayne, Kyng of see **Moderde**

Alyxanedry 3727 Alexandria, a city in the north of Egypt.

Antioche 164 a city in the Holy Land, north of Damascus and west of Aleppo. See Map 6.

Appayrynons 644. ?the Greek port of Pireus.

Appolyne, Sir 3763* Apollo, wrongly believed to be worshipped by Muslims.

Arabie, Araby 3725, 6690* Arabia.

Archane 646* ? in the romance, a fortification in the Holy Land.

Ardren, Ardryn, Sir 851 fictional character, son of King Moderde of Almayne.

Arkarde, Sir 4519 fictional character, a Saracen knight.

Arsoure 5018, 5040*, 5225, 5243*, etc. City of Arsuf. Map 5.

Artays, Erle of 1325* Robert of Artois, brother of Louis IX of France.

Arthoure, Arthure, Kyng 14*, 6511 King Arthur.

Askaloyne 6694* City of Ascalon. Map 5.

Auffryke, Aufrike 3599, 3726 Africa.

Aukes lande 5029* ? in the romance, a castle in the Holy Land.

Babyloyne 636*, 3724*, 6693* Cairo, in the north of Egypt.

Barbary 6696* the Barbary Coast in North Africa.

Baschells 6691* ? in the romance, inhabitants of a nation allied to Saladin.

Bawdewyne, Ersbischope of Cantirbery 1450*, 2827-8 Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bawdewyne, Kyng 1307* Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem.

Bedlem, Bedleme 640, 1267. Bethlehem, birthplace of Jesus. Map 5.

Bernagere, Sir 126 fictional character, one of King Henry's messengers.

Bertrame, Sir 3964*, 4076 Bertram of Braundis (the good Lombard).

Bethanye 6437* ?Castle of Betenoble. Map 5.

Beues 6513* Beves of Hampton, a romance hero.

Bloyse, Duke of 1320* Theobald, Count of Blois.

Bogy 3726* ? in the romance, a nation allied to Saladin.

Bolayne, Erle of 1325* ?

Bonevent 2409* the fortification of Bufavento in Cyprus. Map 4.

Braundis, Braundys, Brawndiche 623, 1452, 3963* Brindisi, a port town in the south east of Italy.

Brawndische, Sir 4985* Sir Bertram Brandis, the 'stout Lombard'. See **Bertrame**.

Bretayne 1324, 2824, 6125 Brittany, in northern France.

Burgoyne, Duke of 1321*, 5132, 6115 Hugh III, Duke of Burgundy, cousin of the King of France.

Calaphyn 5015* ?Calansue. Map 6.

Caluarye 6753* Calvary or Golgotha.

Cantirbery 40 Canterbury.

Capadosy 6695* Cappadocia in central Turkey. Map 7.

Caphas, Chaphas, Cayphas 4903*, 4994*, 4998 City of Haifa.

Carpentrace 1573* in the romance, a city in Germany.

Cassodoren 173* fictional character; Richard's mother.

Castelle Lefruyde 6389* Castle of the Figs. Map 5.

Castelle Orgoylyus 643* Proud Castle.

Castelle Pilgryme 6387* Pilgrim Castle (Chastel Pelerin). Map 6.

Cesare, Sessarye 637, 5017* Caesarea, a city in the Holy Land, south of Haifa. Map 5.

Chalayne, Chaloyne 6041*, 6130* Ascalon. Map 5.

Champayne, Erle of 2823*, 3956, 6816*, etc. Henry II, Count of Champagne (1166-1197).

Charlemayne 14*, 6510* Charlemagne (742-814), King of the Franks (768–814), Emperor of the Romans from 800.

Cipirs, Cypres 626, 2054. Cyprus. Map 4.

Colayne, Erle of 1324* ?

Coleyne, cite of 1479 the city of Cologne, in Germany.

Corbarynge 163* Fictional character; King of Antioch, father of Cassodoren, mother of Richard.

Costantyne 1452 Constantinople, present-day Istanbul. Map 7.

Cowdraye, Sir 4521* fictional character; a Saracen knight.

Daroun, castell 6158* Daroun castle. Map 5.

Darras 3724* ? in the romance, a place in the Holy Land.

Denys, Seynte 2113* Saint Denis, patron saint of France.

Ebedye, Jebedy 641*, 4357 ?Ybelin or Ibelin. The crusader castle of Ibelin between Jaffa and Ascalon. Map 5.

Ectore, Ectoure 19*, 6515 Hector, the Trojan hero killed by Achilles at the end of the siege of Troy.

Egere 6688* ?the Aegean coast.

Egipcynes 6693 inhabitants of Egypt.

Egipte 3723 Egypt.

Eldrede, Sir 982 a fictional character, counsellor to King Moderde.

Emperour of Almayne see **Almayne, Emperour of**

Eneas 6517* Aeneas, mythical founder of Rome, hero of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Ercules 6516* Hercules, one of the mythological Greek heroes.

Erle of Artays see **Artays, Erle of**

Erle of Champayne see **Champayne, Erle of**

Erle of Colayne see **Colayne, Erle of**

Erle of Flaundres see **Flaundres, Erle of**

Erle of Hertheforthe see **Hertheforthe, Erle of**

Erle of Leycestre see **Leycestre, Erle of**

Errake 6513* ?

Famagoste 630. A port on the east coast of Cyprus. Map 4.

Fawuelle 2342*, 4919, 6884*, etc. Favel, Richard's horse.

Femaly 6134 ?

Ferres of Inglande, Erle 2741* William de Ferrers, third Earl of Derby.

Flaundres, Erle of 1325 Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders.

Flawndirs 619 Flanders.

Fraunce 10, 1319, 1773, 1864, etc. France, French, the French.

Fuk Doly, Sir 397*, 433, 550, 4359*, etc. Fictional character, a companion of Richard.

ʒebedy see **Ebedye**

Gage 3166* ?

Galyle 1270 the region of Galilee in the Holy Land. Maps 5 and 6.

Gargoile, Sir 4525* fictional character, a Saracen knight.

Gascoynes 6124 inhabitants of Gascony.

Gauthere of Napills, Sir 5248* Gautier of Nablus, Master of the Hospitallers.

Gawayne, Sir 13*, 6511 King Arthur's nephew, and one of the knights of the Round Table.

Gaytris 6308* coastal city of Gaza. Map 5.

Gebelyn 6400* the fortified castle of Ibelin of the Hospital.

Geene 6126 Genoa.

George de Rayne, Seynt 5023* a castle in the Holy Land, demolished by Saladin.

Grawndary 4015 a fictional Saracen name.

Greffoun(s), Griffoun(s) 1677*, 1779, 1832, etc. The Greeks in general or in particular.

Gregeys 6688 inhabitants of Greece.

Grekkis See 651, 1262 the Mediterranean Sea, especially the Adriatic and Ionian seas.

Grete Grees 3728* the 'Great Greece'.

Gumery 1521* in the romance, a city in Germany.

Gy, Sir 6513* Sir Guy of Warwick.

Henry, Kynge 37* Henry II (1133-1189), King of England (1154-1189), Richard's father.

Hertheforthe, Erle of 1827* ? Henry de Bohun, first Earl of Hereford (1176-1220).

Hewe of Pympotit 2013* Jordan de Pin. In the romance, a judge of France.

Holy Londe 591, 647, etc. The Holy Land.

Hospitalle 1776* military order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem.

Hospytaleres, Ospetulers 5065, 5103 See **Hospitalle**.

Hubert Gawnntir of Ynglande 2831*, 4939. Hubert Walter (1160-1205), Bishop of Salisbury.

Ynglande, Inglonde, Yglonde, Ynglande 10, 650, 1169, etc. England.

- Jaffe, Jaffeth** 645, 6026*, 6460*, 6524*, 6796* Jaffa, a city in the Holy Land, south of Haifa.
- Jakes de Neys** 5106*, 5118 Jacques (James) d'Avesnes (d. 1191).
- Jasare** 5022* Castel Lazare.
- Jasone** 6516* Jason, a hero of Greek mythology.
- Jerusalem** 639, 1268, 1348, 1997, etc. The city of Jerusalem in the Holy Land. Map 5.
- Jeryco** 1269 Jericho, a city in the Holy Land. Map 5.
- Jeryn, Erle of alle Lawe Spayne** 2744* ?James I of Aragon (1208-1276).
- Jhon** 203*, 6414* John Lackland (1166-1216), Richard's brother, later King of England.
- John de Nele(s)** 2826*, 5106 Jean de Neles, Governor of Bruges.
- Langespraye, Longspey, Longspraye, Willyam** 1824*, 4955, 5902, 6840 William Longuespée II, d. 1250.
- Launcelott de Lake, Sir** 6512* Lancelot, a knight of the Round Table.
- Launson** 2064 city port of Limasol in Cyprus. Map 4.
- Lenarde, Saynte** 1726* Saint Leonard.
- Leycestre, Erle of** 1827* Robert Fitzpernel, Earl of Leicester (d. 1204).
- Lumbardye** 3953 Lombardy, in the north of Italy.
- Lyarde** 2342*, 6931 one of Richard's horses.
- Macedoyne** 635* Macedonia. Map 8.
- Marberett** 1557* in the romance, a city in Germany.
- Marcely, Mercille, cite of,** 1435 Marseilles, a port city in the south of France. Map 3.
- Margarit, Margaryte, Sir** 2012* in the romance, a judge of France.
- Margery** 881, 1525, etc. fictional character, daughter of the King of Almayne and lover of Richard.
- Markes Feraunt** 1297* Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, ruler and defender of Tyre.
- Maroyns** 6690* ?Maronites.

Martyne, Saynt 763* Saint Martin of Tours.

Materbe, Sir 4524 fictional character, a Saracen knight

Matte Griffoun 1865* a siege tower.

Maudit Colour 2926* the Accursed Tower, in Acre.

Mawhoun 2714* a name used to designate a heathen god or idol.

Maydenes castel 5028* Casal Maen. Map 5.

Melone, Duke of 1277* Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem.

Messen, Messene 1675 Messina, a port city in the north-east of Sicily.

Mirabelle 5014* Mirabel Castle.

Moderde 1440* Fictional character, King of Almayne who imprisons Richard.

Nazareth 1269, 6752 Nazareth, to the south west of the Sea of Galilee. Map 5.

Napills 5248* Nablus, to the east of Arsuf. Map 5.

Nubyens 6691* inhabitants of the region of present-day Sudan and south of Egypt.

Nynybe, Nyneue, Nynyve 638*, 3394, 5268 Niniveh, situated in the confluence of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.

Octouyane, Sir 6514* Octavian (Augustus), first Emperor of Rome.

Ogere Danays, Sir 16* Ogier le Danois, hero of the *Chanson de Roland*, and of the Charlemagne romances.

Olyuere, Sir 11* Oliver, companion of Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*.

Orgalie, Sir 4193* fictional character, a chief officer of Castle Orgylous.

Orphyas, Sir 4522* fictional character, a Saracen knight.

Orygenes 6695* ?

Ospetulers see **Hospytaleres**

Ostryche, Ostrike, Duke of 1322*, 6050* Leopold, Duke of Austria.

Partynope 6509* Partenope, a romance hero.

Perce 3395* Persia, present-day Iran.

Piparde, Sir 6544* Gilbert Pipard, died in Brindisi.

Poyell, Poyle 1692*, 2494 Apulia, in the south of Italy.

Prethir John 3731* Prester John, a legendary Christian ruler.

Pys, cite of 1720* ?Reggio, Calabria.

Pyse 2448* ?

Rabolyne, Sir 2996 fictional character, Saladin's nephew.

Raundolfe de Glamauylls 2825 Ranulf de Glanville, chief justiciar of England, d. 1190.

Reynawde, Erle, Reynawde, Duke 1281* Reynald of Chatillon.

Richard, Richerd, Kyng 3, 31, etc. Richard the Lionheart (1157-1199), King of England.

Robert of Leycestre see **Leycestre, Erle of**

Robert of Thorname 1667*, 2108*, 4075, 4986 Robert of Thornham accompanied Richard on crusade, and died in 1211.

Robynett 1415* a siege engine.

Rogere, Kyng 1695* in the romance, King of Sicily.

Rosse, Erle 1288* Raymond III of Tripoli.

Rowlande, Duke 11* Count Roland, Charlemagne's nephew and hero of the *Chanson de Roland*, but also protagonist of Middle English romances.

Saffrane 645* a castle of the order of the Temple east of Haifa.

Salysbery 252 Salisbury.

Samary 3596 Samaria.

Semyoun, Saynte 913* Saint Simeon.

Sesille-lande 1696 the island of Sicily.

Sesoyne, Duke of 1322* ?Henry, Duke of Saxony (1129-1195).

Sessarye see **Cesare**

Sessoyn 3725* ?

Sudayn (Sowdane) Turry, cite of, 642*, 3995, etc. ?Tyre. ?Sidon and Tyre. Both Sidon and Tyre are situated in the Holy Land on the Mediterranean coast. See Map 6.

Surry 1263* Syria. Map 6.

Surry londe 1277* Kingdom of Jerusalem. Map 6.

Sydones 6695* Sidon, a coastal town in present-day Lebanon. Map 6.

Taboreth, Toboret 646*, 3887 ?Tiberias. Map 5.

Tanker, Kyng 692* Tancred, King of Sicily. In the romance, King of Apulia.

Temple(re) 3996*, 5144* Knights of the Order of the Temple.

Thomas of Cantirbery, Saynt 40* Thomas Becket (1118-1170), Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas of Multon, Sir 431*, 641, etc. fictional character, a companion of Richard.

Thomas of Ynde, Sayne 2499* Saint Thomas the Apostle.

Tire 3728* coastal city of Tyre. Map 6.

Topyas 204* fictional character, sister of Richard.

Touroun 5020* Toron des Chevaliers, a castle demolished by Saladin. Map 5.

Troye 17* city of Troy, setting of the epic war.

Turky 6689 Turkey.

Turpyn, Bischope 16* Turpin, Archbishop of Reims in the legends of Charlemagne.

Toscany 6124 inhabitants of Tuscany.

Vly 6514* Ulysses, a Greek hero.

Vrbane, Pope 1313* Pope Urban III (d. 1187).

Watire Towre 1931* a fictional tower in Messina.

Westmynstere 153 Westminster.

Yglonde, Ynglande see **Inglande**

Ynde 1649*, 3524 India.

Ynde the More 6694* ?Northern India.

Ynglys 677, etc. (the) English.

Ypomedone 6509* Ipomedon, a romance hero.