

Guy of Warwick: Study and Transcription

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Abstract

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The purpose of this thesis is to provide a detailed study of the texts and manuscripts of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*, such as is not presently available. The agenda of this investigation is essentially interdisciplinary. Each chapter considers a different set of evidence (literary, historical, manuscript and linguistic). In addition to which, this study benefits from the opportunities offered by new media, incorporating the results of exhaustive and highly accurate computer-enabled searches of a range of late medieval texts. Through this approach it has been possible to integrate and identify links between different areas of research in a way which has been crucial to dispelling various myths and misconceptions which have, in the past, dominated the critical perception of *Guy of Warwick*. This thesis encourages a view which emphasises the complexity of the textual tradition of *Guy of Warwick* and rejects past assumptions which over simplify the circumstances of its production and circulation.

Chapter 1 considers the place of *Guy of Warwick* in late medieval literature and culture, assembling the evidence for sources, relations, transmission and reception. This chapter emphasises the protean nature of the romance, its adaptation and regeneration for different contexts and the evidence for a range of responses. Chapter 2 provides, for the first time, a comprehensive account of all of the *Guy of Warwick* manuscripts, including full codicological descriptions and giving special consideration to the presentation of *Guy of Warwick* in each. By combining this codicological data with the linguistic findings of Chapter 3, it has here been possible to review and reject a number of theories, most notably concerning the Auchinleck MS, which misinterpret the significance of the manuscript presentation of *Guy of Warwick*. Chapter 3 uses linguistic data to clarify the relationship between the manuscript texts and the different versions of *Guy of Warwick*. Traditional dialect analysis is combined with computer-enabled searches to provide detailed information which establishes the origin and circulation of the texts and their literary and stylistic affiliations, including evidence which rejects the traditional Warwickshire origin for the A-version. The thesis is supplemented on CD ROM by new, accurate transcriptions of all the complete texts of *Guy of Warwick* and a review of Zupitza's 1875-91 edition, including a list of errors.

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Reference Abbreviations

AN	Anglo Norman
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
CFMA	Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EETS, ES, OS, SS	Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Original Series Supplementary Series
IISTC	Illustrated Incunabula Short Title Catalogue
LALME	<i>A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English</i> , eds. A.McIntosh, M.L.Samuels and M.Benskin (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen Press, 1986).
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , eds. H.Kurath and S.M.Kuhn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-).
NLS	National Library of Scotland
n.s.	new series
NLW	National Library of Wales
STC	<i>Short Title Catalogue</i> , eds. A.W.Pollard and G.R.Redgrave (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986).

Preface

This study provides a detailed account of the texts and manuscripts of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*. There exists at present no such account, which would usually be provided within an edition. It was always intended that Zupitza's EETS edition of *Guy of Warwick* (1875-91) would include a volume containing a full introduction to the texts: Zupitza stating in the preface to the 1875-6 volume that "...the last volume of the M.E. Guy Romances will be accompanied by a general introduction, literary as well as philological...".¹ However, this final volume was never produced and no new edition or book-length study of the ME *Guy of Warwick* has been produced in the last century.

In addition to the incomplete state of Zupitza's edition, the preface to the 1875-6 volume is now seriously outdated, with Zupitza's statement outlining the various versions of the text having been reviewed and modified in the last century. Problematically, the work which reviews, modifies or builds on Zupitza's initial statement tends to be scattered and is often inaccessible. For example, the most significant findings regarding the versions of the text are provided by Möller (1917) in an unpublished German dissertation, and Ikegami (1988), in an article in a Japanese periodical. As a result, critics tend to refer to Zupitza's preface even though a number of its findings have been shown to be inaccurate.

This kind of problem is symptomatic of the lack of a book-length study of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*. Such research as has been conducted appears in articles and essays, or in studies which do not focus directly on *Guy of Warwick*. For example, the studies by Fewster (1987), Frankis (1997), Mills (1991) (1992), Mills and Huws (1974), Shonk (1983) (1985) and Turville-Petre (1996) each contribute to understanding of the texts, manuscripts and contexts of *Guy of Warwick* and represent, variously, the work of literary historians, codicologists, palaeographers and editors. It is knowledge which serves to emphasise the importance and interest of *Guy of Warwick* but, scattered as it is, and dispersed across a range of disciplines, it is disparate and difficult to access. One of the purposes of this study is to review and re-assemble this existing, scattered body of

¹ Zupitza (1875-6), p.ix.

knowledge. In this, it is a project which is highly inter-disciplinary and which, by reviewing and making links between the findings of different disciplines, provides a more comprehensive and integrated account of *Guy of Warwick*.

In addition to the scattered state of the existing knowledge, the lack of a book-length study has meant that important aspects of *Guy of Warwick* have been neglected. Most notable is the lack of a full study of the linguistic data: such work as has been produced has been restricted to the NLW/BL fragments (provided by Mills and Huws, 1974) and the Auchinleck texts, though this latter has been limited. This study provides the detailed investigation of language and dialect that is currently lacking and, by bringing linguistic commentary to bear on the assumptions made by various commentators, this aspect of the study has proved crucial in dispelling certain long-standing misconceptions regarding the origins and production of the texts of *Guy of Warwick*.

This thesis, then, is a response to several factors: the incomplete state of the current edition; the scattered and disparate state of existing knowledge; and the lack of a study of the linguistic data and versions of *Guy of Warwick*. Chapter 1 considers the place of *Guy of Warwick* within medieval literature and culture. The various contexts which inform reading of this romance are assembled and the evidence is considered for sources, relations, transmission and reception. Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive account of all the *Guy of Warwick* manuscripts, including full physical and codicological descriptions and giving special consideration to the reading context each manuscript provides for *Guy of Warwick*. This chapter provides for the first time full descriptions of the single-text Caius MS and the Sloane fragment. It also acknowledges the importance that *Guy of Warwick* has had for past understanding of the well-known Auchinleck Manuscript and reviews assumptions made about the Auchinleck *Guy* by linking linguistic findings with palaeographical and codicological data. Chapter 3 presents the linguistic data and considers the versions of *Guy of Warwick*, providing information about the production and circulation of this text in late medieval England and including stylistic analysis.

This thesis exploits the opportunities offered by new media. The linguistic analysis presented in this thesis benefits from access to a collection of machine-searchable late medieval texts: referred to throughout as the 'TextBase'. The TextBase was compiled by Professor David Burnley and is searchable using the Wordcruncher software; a full

description and bibliography is provided in Appendix L. As the findings of this thesis attest, access to this range of fully-searchable texts has enabled more accurate analysis and a more exhaustive assembly of linguistic data. It has been possible to compare features of dialect and phrasing consistently across a wide range of texts in a way which has proved invaluable for dialectal and stylistic analysis.

In order to facilitate detailed language analysis the texts of *Guy of Warwick* have also been transcribed into fully-searchable electronic format and throughout all references are to my transcriptions.² By foregrounding deviations, the computerised format has enabled much more consistently accurate transcriptions than are provided by Zupitza whose texts contain numerous errors and inaccuracies. For example, Zupitza's Caius text has 336 errors, including incorrectly represented letters, modernisations and incorrectly transcribed flourishes, obviously problematic for anyone attempting detailed consideration of language or scribal practice. A full review of Zupitza's edition including a list of errors and inaccuracies is provided in Appendix J.

McSparran commented over twenty years ago that "...The Middle English versions of *Guy of Warwick* deserve closer analysis...".³ This thesis fulfils this overdue need for close and detailed analysis and, in so doing, recognises and demonstrates the importance of *Guy of Warwick* as a cultural object in the late medieval period.

² Only the NLW/BL text has not been newly transcribed here as Mills and Huws (1974) have provided an excellent transcription, despite the poor condition of this text.

³ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xi.

Chapter 1

The Place of *Guy of Warwick* in Medieval Literature and Culture

1. Introduction

In order to move towards provision of a literary and cultural context for the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*, this chapter assembles and considers the evidence for the text's origins, relations, transmission and reception. The evidence is varied and often fragmentary and the aim here, within the scope of this account, has been to rehearse the various viewpoints in order to locate the text more precisely within its own cultural milieu. It is not an attempt to reconcile the various viewpoints in order to present what would, it seems, be an artificially coherent and homogeneous view of the romance. If anything, the aim here has been to recognise and identify this text's protean tendencies as they are suggested by the evidence for a range of responses.

The story of Guy of Warwick was well known from at least the mid-thirteenth century and appeared in a wide range of literary and non-literary forms, adapted and regenerated for different periods and different audiences. Sections 2 and 3 locate the Middle English romance within this wider tradition by outlining the origins, relations and development of the story. Section 2 begins by providing a descriptive account of the structure of the romance, the progenitor of all other versions of the story, and tracing the sources and applications of the main structural frames which inform the narrative. Section 3 then goes on to provide an account of the different literary realisation of the story during the medieval period, from the earliest, the thirteenth-century *Gui de Warwic*, through to the Renaissance.

Having established this wider literary perspective, sections 4 - 8 then focus on the reception and transmission of the Middle English romance. Section 4 begins by considering the internal evidence, primarily from the fifteenth-century texts, for how the Middle English romance changed and was adapted during the late medieval period. Sections 5, 6 and 7 then go on to consider the external evidence for reception. Section 5 rehearses the problems experienced by twentieth-century critics in approaching and defining romance in general and in understanding this romance in particular. Section 6

considers the evidence for *Guy of Warwick* having been read and regarded as a historical text, and section 7 considers its status as a pious or homiletic romance. Finally, section 8 focuses more specifically on the issue of transmission, considering the question of performance.

2. Structure and Relations

The substantial length of this romance, which works into its basic plot structure significant diversions, amplifications and duplications, has resulted in the description of it as “...the romance that has everything, with Guy himself embodying almost every important characteristic of a romance hero, and undergoing almost every kind of experience that a romance hero has a right to expect...”.¹ This comprehensiveness can tend to obscure the larger structural frames that inform the narrative and has resulted in the narrative having been criticised for a lack of coherence. The author has been labelled a ‘raider of the stockpot’, one who ‘compiled’ traditional motifs without a sense of true creativity.² Ewert notes that nine *chansons de geste* and romances have been suggested as sources for *Gui* and this number has been added to elsewhere.³ Bordman, having identified 182 motifs in *Gui de Warwic*, describes the narrative as an incoherent melange put together by “...a hack..forced...to add whatever motifs pleased his fancy to a basic frame...”.⁴

Such criticisms are, however, to a large extent invalidated by their own methodological approach. They inevitably accompany analysis which concerns itself with taking the narrative to pieces in order to identify its individual motifs or sources and, as such, tend to be limited within the particular perspective of the source- or motif-hunter. More appropriate is an analytical method by which the romance is approached with an informed awareness of the structural patterns that characterise other romances and related genres. Certainly, it is an approach which will resonate more closely with the way the text would have been read by contemporary audiences well-versed in traditional narratives.

¹ Mills (1992), p.54.

² Richmond (1996), pp.7-8. Legge (1963), p.167. Hibbard Loomis (1924), pp.136-137.

³ Ewert (1932-3), p.viii. Hibbard Loomis (1924), pp.133-136. Severs (1967), vol. 1, p.29. For further discussion of sources see Richmond (1996), pp.7-48.

⁴ Bordman (1962), p.39. See also Bordman (1958), pp.150-152.

The most obviously apparent structural frame informing *Gui de Warwic* and *Guy of Warwick*⁵ is that of exile-and-return: a well-rehearsed story pattern found in both romance and folk narratives and catalogued by Aarne and Thompson and then Bordman as L111.1.⁶ Of interest in the case of *Gui / Guy* is the manner in which the exile-and-return pattern has been adapted and modified and the following discussion identifies the particular spin that has been put on this traditional frame and the significance of this for the meaning of the narrative.

For ease of discussion, a plot synopsis is given below highlighting the exile-and-return sequences in the narrative. Following Mills, the linked components of each sequence are indicated with paired alphabetical symbols (A¹, A² and so on)⁷ and each is referred to as a ‘move’, after the terminology of Vladímir Propp.⁸ The synopsis takes up these structural definitions established by Mills and cites a slightly summarised version of his account of the narrative. Unlike Mills’ account, however, Zupitza’s line numbers have been substituted by those from the transcriptions which accompany this thesis and the Reinbrun material, excluded in Mills’ account, has been included as the ‘fourth move’ as it should, without doubt, be regarded as an essential part of the original story:⁹

Gui de Warwic / Guy of Warwick: Plot Summary

Manuscripts

E	The Anglo-Norman version from BL MS Additional 38662, which provides the basis for Ewert’s edition (1932-3).
Auchinleck	The Middle English text from the Auchinleck MS.
CUL	The Middle English text from CUL MS Ff.2.38.

First Move (E 209-1054; Auchinleck 103-938; CUL 177-792)

- A¹ Guy, the son of Duke Rohalt’s steward, falls helplessly in love with the duke’s daughter Felice. Felice will grant him her love once he has proved himself as a knight.
- C Guy travels to France. He distinguishes himself in a tournament at Rouen and as a prize is offered the love of Blanche flour, the daughter of the German Emperor Reiner.
- A² Guy returns to England to claim the love of Felice.

⁵ The ME translators of each of the versions of *Guy of Warwick* adhered to their AN source sufficiently closely that, for the purposes of this discussion of structure and relations, it is possible to refer to both the source and its ME translations together (see the discussion in section 3, below). The problems and questions which arise when more close comparison of the AN and ME texts is undertaken, especially in terms of relating the various versions of the AN romance to the various versions of the ME romance, are given consideration in section 3, below, but because they concern the more detailed minutiae of the narratives do not present a problem here where the concern is to highlight the basic structural frames which inform the narrative as a whole.

⁶ Aarne and Thompson (1964) and Bordman (1963), p.61.

⁷ Mills (1992), pp.59-60. Referring to Propp (1968).

⁸ Mills (1992), p.56. Propp (1968). As Mills (1992), p.67, comments “...While it would be inappropriate to apply Propp’s scheme as a whole to the Matter of England romances, individual points of his terminology or detailed analysis are very useful in attempting to analyse them...”.

⁹ The significance of the Reinbrun material within the narrative is discussed below.

- Second Move (E 1055-7562; Auchinleck 939-6925, stanzas 3-19 (ll.6950-7153); CUL 793-7116)
- A¹ Felice tells him that she will grant him her love only when he has proved himself the best of all knights.
- B¹ Guy travels abroad again and distinguishes himself in a series of tournaments. His adventures include: ambush at the orders of Duke Otes (whom he had earlier wounded as Rouen); then, battle against the Duke of Louvain against the Emperor Reiner. The Emperor Reiner's champion is Tirri. Otes is also fighting on his side and violently opposes the reconciliation that Guy finally effects between the two former enemies.
- C Guy next travels to Constantinople. He frees the land of the Emperor Hernis from the forces of the sultan and is offered his daughter in return. However, Guy is hated by the Emperor's jealous steward Morgadur, who slanders him and kills his pet lion. At this, Guy kills Morgadur, refuses to marry the daughter, and leaves.
- B² In Lorraine Guy rescues Tirri (who has become his sworn brother) and his mistress Oisel and then helps Albri (Tirri's father) against Loher (Oisel's father) and Otes (now Oisel's intended husband). After rescuing Tirri from prison Guy kills Otes. Then, whilst hunting Guy kills a young knight and has to fight with the vassals of Florentin, the knight's father.
- A² Guy returns to England and kills a dragon that is devastating Northumberland. He returns to Warwick, marries Felice and conceives a child.

Third move (E 7563-8974, 9393-11412; Auchinleck stanzas 20-281 (ll.7154-10290); CUL 7117-8396, 8745-10520)

- A¹ A fortnight after the marriage Guy repents that he has so long neglected God through his excessive devotion to Felice and sets out on a pilgrimage of atonement.
- B¹ After visiting Jerusalem and Bethlehem, he successfully fights for King Triamour against the sultan's gigantic champion, Amorant.
- C While travelling through Germany on his way back to England, Guy meets with Tirri and defends his cause against the steward Berard.
- B² On his return to England he meets king Athelstan at Winchester and averts the threat of Danish rule by defeating their gigantic champion, Colebrond.
- A³ He then goes to Warwick where he receives food and drink from the hand of Felice without being recognised.

Epilogue to Guy story (E 11413-11656; Auchinleck stanzas 282-299 (ll.10291-10506); CUL 10521-10786)

Still incognito, Guy moves to a hermitage. When close to death he sends a messenger to Felice bearing a ring she had given him as a token of recognition. She reaches him when he is on the point of death and dies soon afterwards herself. Hearing of Guy's death, Tirri obtains his body and has it buried in Lorraine.

Fourth move: Reinbrun (E 8975-9392, 11657-12926; Auchinleck 10507-12027; CUL 8397-8744, 10521-11976)

- A¹ Reinbrun is born after his father has renounced married life and is therefore entrusted to the care of Heraud. Aged seven years old, Reinbrun is stolen from Wallingford by merchant pirates, sold to King Argus of Africa and reared by his daughter.
- B¹ Heraud searches for Reinbrun and eventually finds him after unwittingly dueling with him.
- C They set out for England. Reinbrun frees Amis, a knight who had been imprisoned for aiding Guy.
- B² Reinbrun unwittingly duels with Heraud's son, who has also been searching for the missing heir.
- A⁴ Reinbrun, Heraud and Heraud's son reach home safely.¹⁰

The exile-and-return frame, then, is duplicated four times in *Gui / Guy*, with the Guy material representing a tripartite structure and the Reinbrun material as a further, but still

¹⁰ It should be noted that, in the Anglo Norman, the Reinbrun material is split into two instalments which are interspersed with the Guy material: the first part appearing in the 'third move' of the Guy story and the concluding part appearing at the very end. The varying treatment of the Reinbrun material in the various Anglo Norman, French and Middle English texts is described in section 4, below.

integral, move. It is important to identify and acknowledge that the first and fourth moves are integral to the way the romance was originally conceived. Despite its relative brevity, the first move represents a clearly defined example of the exile-and-return pattern and should therefore be acknowledged as a move in its own right. Likewise, though the material dealing with the story of Reinbrun is, in many ways, very self contained, it is, nevertheless, part of the same narrative event as the story of Guy: it is structurally consistent with the other moves and was part of the original conception of the story.¹¹ Changes were made to this basic structure as the narrative passed into the hands of different translators, adapters and scribes and a clear distinction needs to be made between discussion of the narrative in its originally conceived form and discussion which specifically considers later, re-worked and re-structured versions of the narrative. Both are of interest and are of use for understanding the circulation and reception of this romance, but they should not be confused or conflated.

There is a particularly important example of such confusion or conflation which it seems important to mention here before moving on to analysis of the narrative proper. There has been a misleading tendency among critics to use the concept of a 'bipartite' or 'diptych' structure for *Gui / Guy*, with the proposed two parts hinged around Guy's religious conversion and renunciation of the motives of his former life. That is, with the second and third moves representing the two facing panels of the 'diptych'. There are certainly parallels between these two moves (and these are discussed below) but as a model of the narrative structure as a whole, the idea of a diptych fails to acknowledge the presence of the first move and dismisses the fourth 'Reinbrun' move as a completely separate entity.¹²

The idea that the narrative is of bipartite or diptych structure springs from the tendency of literary critics to rely upon the Middle English version of *Guy of Warwick* as it appears in the Auchinleck Manuscript and, problematically, relies on the belief that this re-structured version of *Guy* was designed according to the literary preferences of poet-

¹¹ See Propp (1968), pp.92-115.

¹² See Mehl's discussion of *Guy of Warwick* (1967), pp.220-227, especially pp.222-223. See also Fewster (1987), pp.82-89, who uses the term 'diptych'. Although Fewster goes on to reject the idea of a 'diptych' structure, commenting that "...the movement of the Guy story as a whole...is not to suggest diptych, so much as to emphasise gradual change, broadening and contextualisation...", p.89, the emphasis on a diptych structure in her opening analysis forms much of the basis for her argument.

scribes in a ‘bookshop’ environment.¹³ Most notably, Mehl’s account of *Guy of Warwick* relies on this theory of the Auchinleck poet-scribes having carefully dismantled the narrative into what they perceived to be its three constituent parts: presenting the Guy material as a two-part romance, part one in couplets and part two in stanzas, and dividing off the Reinbrun material as a completely separate romance altogether; with this editorial dismantling supposedly motivated by a desire to reduce the text to smaller, more manageable units, better suited to oral recitation by minstrel performers.¹⁴

Fundamental to Mehl’s proposed ‘bipartite’ structure is the idea that it was the structure perceived, preferred and consciously emphasised by the Auchinleck poet-scribes. More recent re-assessments of the manuscript evidence, however, have replaced the theory of a ‘bookshop’ where the Auchinleck texts were adapted and translated with a model of distribution copying.¹⁵ Further, and as the conclusions to Chapter 3, below, show, it is most likely that the ‘fragmentary’ condition of the Auchinleck *Guy* reflects a necessary patching together of three texts from different sources due to the incomplete or damaged condition of the exemplar for the first part.¹⁶ Far from representing an attempt to ‘break up’ and ‘dismantle’ the narrative, as Mehl’s theory implies, then, the Auchinleck *Guy* can be seen to represent an attempt to ‘piece together’ and achieve unity in the face of pragmatic problems. It portrays a compiler/editor going to some lengths to produce the most complete text possible; not evidence for poet-scribes re-working the text according to what they perceived to be its bipartite structure and with Reinbrun as a separate romance.¹⁷ In this, then, Mehl’s description of the structure of *Guy of Warwick* demonstrates the dangers of taking the evidence of one manuscript, however interesting its idiosyncrasies may be, as evidence for the universal understanding of its texts. What is also demonstrated is the way that careful consideration of the details of manuscript and language can have an important bearing on literary analysis.

¹³ See Hibbard Loomis’s proposed ‘bookshop theory’ (1942; rept. 1962), discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2, below. See also the comments of Bordman (1958), p.62, who expresses doubt that the Reinbrun material “...ever had currency as a separate romance outside of the Auchinleck MS...”.

¹⁴ Mehl (1967), pp.222-223. Richmond (1996), pp.56-57, also agrees with this conception of the divided text having been for oral recitation.

¹⁵ Shonk (1981) (1983) (1985). The issue of the production of the Auchinleck MS is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, section 2, below.

¹⁶ Chapter 3, below, see especially sections 2.5, 3.1 and 3.2.

¹⁷ That the compiler/editor had to spend some time seeking out the stanzaic Guy and Reinbrun used to complete the text in Auchinleck is suggested by the increased size of the of hand between the couplet and stanzaic parts, indicating a lapse of time. See Chapter 2, section 2, below.

Having asserted the importance of recognising the originally conceived tripartite structure of the *Guy* material, with the story of Reinbrun as a fourth move and an integral part of the same narrative event, it is useful here to compare *Guy of Warwick* with other romances that employ the exile-and return structure.

Creek has noted the structural similarities of *King Horn*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick* and, to a lesser extent, *Havelok* and demonstrates their close correspondence through grouping and analysis of the characters from each.¹⁸ What is highlighted by comparison of these texts is the intricate and innovative manner with which the exile-and-return frame has been adapted in *Gui / Guy* in order to weave together a diverse, disparate and lengthy narrative. Important in this is the duplication of the frame four times, which can be compared, most notably, with the much shorter and more tightly controlled *King Horn*, with its distinctive pair of linked, geographically-defined exile-and-return events. By contrast, the number of moves in *Gui / Guy*, which may be marked out by geography, character or incident, reflects its length and structural complexity. Whereas there is only one structural repetition diverging from the narrative symmetry in *King Horn*, in *Gui / Guy* digressions can lead to entire sequences of episodes.¹⁹

Each move in *Gui / Guy* is bracketed, in the outer A-stages, by a journey away from then returning to Warwick, and this repeated geographical signposting helps to build the 'Matter of England' theme into the romance.²⁰ Within each move the underlying symmetry is marked out through the reappearance of certain key characters and the repetition of particular incidents. The reappearances of Tirri and Otes are particularly important to the symmetry of the second move, appearing in B¹ and B². Symmetrical balance is maintained in the third move with both B stages involving combat with a giant.²¹ Important at the centre of each of the first two moves (the C stages) is the appearance of a woman who threatens the relationship of Guy and Felice. And symmetrical balance is maintained in the fourth 'Reinbrun' move by two battles between Reinbrun and an unrecognised friend: in the first B stage Reinbrun, unrecognised,

¹⁸ Creek (1911), p.430.

¹⁹ See Mills' discussion of *King Horn* (1992), pp.55-56.

²⁰ See Fewster (1987) who argues for more precise geographical mapping, pp.95-98.

²¹ For more detailed discussion of symmetrical patterning in *Gui / Guy* see Mills (1992), pp.61-64, and Fewster (1987), pp.83-85 and pp.89-99.

engages in combat with Heraud, and the second B stage Reinbrun, again unrecognised, engages in combat with Heraud's son.²²

The creation of symmetry and patterning through the repetition of character and incident in *Gui / Guy* is reminiscent of *Bevis of Hampton*. Though much longer and more disparate than *King Horn*, *Bevis* does not, however, approach the scope of *Gui / Guy* which is almost twice its length and has four moves to *Bevis*'s two. It is through the fourfold repetition of the exile-and-return frame in *Gui / Guy* that coherence is maintained: with each series of episodes bound into the wider narrative symmetry.

Further to this, the fourfold repetition of the exile-and-return frame functions to allow for a process of continual paralleling to evolve in the narrative and for balancing of comparable and symmetrically opposed scenes. As well as occurring within an individual move, these parallels can occur across the broader narrative. For example, and as Mills points out, Guy's agonising love sickness and pleading with the intractable Felice early in the narrative prefigure a role reversal which leaves Felice pleading to an equally resolute Guy before he departs on his pilgrimage of atonement:

her imperious treatment of Guy's early pleas for mercy is now strikingly balanced by his own inflexibility when she laments and swoons before him for a second time (E 7687-93; much softened in the ME versions); this time it is Guy who imposes the conditions, and Felice who must submit to them²³

The symmetrical balance achieved here, involving the balancing and playing off of an early scene against a later one, characterises the structural tendency of this romance. It is a narrative preoccupied with recontextualising, balancing, comparison and reflection and parallels occur throughout the narrative in terms of character, specific episode and broader perspective.²⁴ The climax of both the second and third moves involves Guy battling with a monster to save England. The 'son killing' incident in the Earl Florentine episode (move two, stage B²) is paralleled by the same incident in the Earl Jonas story (move three, stage B¹). Further, in a questioning of moral values, Earl Florentine's sad return home after the death of his son is set against Guy's joyful homecoming (move two, stage B²; Auchinleck 6631-6651, CUL 6703-6720). The 'conversion' scene (move three,

²² In a versions of the Oedipus story where, unrecognised, the father is killed by his son. Though here parricide is avoided and it is Reinbrun's foster father, acting in *loco parentis*, rather than his real father. Compare to motif *N338.4 (son unwittingly slays father), Bordman (1963), p.67.

²³ Mills (1992), pp.65-66.

²⁴ Fewster (1987), pp.85-89, who argues strongly for this structural preoccupation and identifies and provides detailed discussion of examples from the narrative.

stage A¹) marks a questioning and re-assessing of the values of the first two moves and signals the new values and intentions which motivate the third move and which serve to recontextualise Guy's previous actions as romance hero.²⁵ The repeated reappearance of Tirri, who is always rescued from distress by Guy, offers paralleling of the characters of the successful and the failing knight: as Fewster comments, "...the poem uses the Tyrry figure to offer a set of alternatives to Guy's success..." with Tirri representing a "...parallel but failing version of Guy himself..." and offering "...a backdrop of conflict and decline..." against which Guy's idealised successes are played out.²⁶

Gui / Guy may lack the taut economy and bold, archetypal quality of *King Horn*, but it succeeds in offering an intricate and balanced narrative within which episodes are bound into a repeated, symmetrical frame offering parallels which suggests self-analytic re-considerations and re-evaluations of actions and events. These possibilities are afforded only by the length and scope of *Guy / Gui* which determines that it is not only a romance on a different scale to *King Horn* and *Bevis*, but also one with different structural preoccupations.

These differences in length and scale are marked, but an equally striking difference between *Gui / Guy* and other exile-and-return romances is found in the use of character, especially the roles of Guy's father and Felice. Creek asserts that the roles of Guy's father and Felice fundamentally alter the meaning of the exile-and-return structure in *Gui / Guy*, to the extent that he rejects classification of *Guy of Warwick* as an exile-and-return romance at all.²⁷ This, it seems, goes too far, as a clear structural identification can be made between *Gui / Guy* and the other exile-and-return romances.²⁸ But Creek's response does highlight the fact that *Guy of Warwick* offers an innovative twist on the traditional working of the exile-and-return frame, and in more ways than simply through its fourfold repetition.

In *King Horn*, *Bevis* and *Havelok* the hero's father is high ranking and is killed at the opening of the story, leaving the young heir in a helpless position and forced into exile.

²⁵ For a detailed consideration of the conversion scene see Fewster (1987), pp.86-89.

²⁶ Fewster (1987), pp.97-98.

²⁷ Creek (1911), p.431.

²⁸ For example, see Bordman (1958), pp.53-63. Bordman identifies the exile-and-return structure in its most typical form in *King Horn*, *Bevis* and *Havelok* and goes on to comment that "...this basic idea of exile-and-return will be found, thinly disguised, serving much the same purpose in almost every other romance of the matter of England..." p.60, including *Guy of Warwick*.

Guy's father, by contrast, is a much lesser ranking steward who plays a relatively unimportant role in the narrative. Guy reaches maturity at home without any of the traumas experienced by his equivalents, Horn, Bevis and Havelok, and his flights from Warwick could only be described, in each case, as a kind of self-imposed exile: in the first two moves in order to attain the level of prowess required to win the love of Felice and in the second move in order to attain spiritual perfection and to atone for a lifetime of actions motivated by devotion to Felice. The role of Felice as primary agent of Guy's exile, then, can be contrasted with the more usual pattern in which the hero must seek to regain land, or is abducted.

Crucially, Felice is portrayed presenting a physical threat to Guy in a way which makes her analogous to the male tyrants to whom she is structurally equivalent (the Saracen king of *King Horn* and the German emperor of *Bevis*).²⁹ The potential threat that Felice represents is delineated through two descriptions of violence. Firstly, Guy lists the treatment he would receive at the hands of Felice's father were his love of Felice known: "...arder me freit u decoler, / Pendre en halt u en mer noier..." (E 261 - 262); "...he wald anon mine heued of smite / oþer hewe me wiþ swerdes kene..." (Auchinleck 163 - 164).³⁰ Felice likewise rehearses a list of violent deaths, any one of which Guy might anticipate if her father were to hear of his misplaced affections:

Se jol vois dire a mun pere,
Des menbred te freit desfaire,
E a chevals trestuit detraire [E 364 - 366]

schal y mi fader þe tiding bere
þou worþest to hewen oþer for do
...oþer wiþ wilde hors to drawe [Auchinleck 260 - 263]

He wald the bryn or tu-darght [NLW / BL 150]

ffor þys worde he wyll the sloo
Soone that þou schalt be drawe
On galowse hangyd... [CUL 227 - 228]

Felice thus represents, simultaneously, the threat or force of evil which pushes Guy into exile and the goodness or object of desire which he strives to attain in the first two moves. Mills describes these contradictions, inherent in Felice's role, using the terminology established by Propp:

²⁹ Mills (1992), pp.63.

³⁰ This section is lost from the NLW/BL fragments and, notably, is not included in the CUL text.

she is at once a 'Lack' as far as the hero is concerned (which must later be made good), and an agent of 'Villainy' (which he may later avenge).³¹

The contradictions which Felice embodies are the result of her structural role, and this is realised through her relative status to Guy. Their relationship is unusual in romance as it involves a high-ranking and disinterested woman being wooed by a socially inferior suitor, in a version of the 'Squire of Low Degree' story.³² In *King Horn*, *Bevis* and *Havelok* the social inequality between male and female protagonists is perceived and not, as it is in *Guy*, real.³³ Only in *Guy* is the woman disinterested and Guy is unique in the excessive nature of his love sickness.³⁴ The power that Felice is able to reign over Guy, her disinterested pose, and his excessive love sickness are all essential for motivating or setting off the 'exile' of moves one and two and are all derived from the ideology of courtly love. The traditional exile-and-return pattern, then, is here framed and informed by the discourse of courtly love in a way which gives the role of Felice a complex set of possibilities.

These complex possibilities are continued in the third move in which, following their marriage, Guy leaves Felice in order to undertake a pilgrimage of atonement. To continue with Propp's terminology: the 'Lack' which had been fulfilled (by marriage to Felice) is now replaced by a 'Lack' of closeness to God, a lack of devotion, inspired by a response to the 'Villainy' of Felice's past behavior.³⁵ The pattern of 'Villainy avenged' is therefore fulfilled at the opening of this third move by a reversal of power (as described above). It is a pattern which gives a distinctly anti-feminist slant to the exile-and-return frame with, this time, Guy's exile being motivated by rejection and re-evaluation of his past motives as he attempts to atone for his previous excessive devotion to Felice. It is as if Guy's fervent devotion to a female idol, undertaken in the role of courtly lover, can only be recompensed by an equally fervent expression of religious devotion.

Guy's reinvention of himself as a pilgrim is also highly innovative in the sense that it gives the third move a self-analytical dimension. The actions and events of the first two moves are paralleled in the third in a way which questions their values and their concern

³¹ Mills (1992), p.63.

³² *Guy of Warwick* can be compared with the later romance the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* (which may have been based on *Guy*, see Fewster (1987), pp.129-149) and the opening scenes of the French and Continental romance *Amadas and Ydoine*, Reinhard (1974).

³³ As Bordman observes, Guy's social inferiority is "...genuine and not merely apparent..." (1958), p.60.

³⁴ See Bordman (1958), p.98.

³⁵ Mills (1992), p.64.

with personal glory and prowess. Fewster gives great emphasis to the importance of this aspect of the third move as affording re-evaluation and re-consideration and provides detailed textual analysis to support this reading.³⁶ It is, however, also important to note that the effectiveness of this aspect of the third move (the idea it constitutes a response to the personal motivations said to drive the first two moves) is somewhat diminished by the fact that, during the lengthy digressions of the second move, Felice is somewhat lost sight of as Guy's ultimate motivating force and, in most instances, Guy's actions are, anyway, justified according to the principle that he is fighting in support of a good or just cause.³⁷

Though technically, in this respect, the narrative somewhat fails here, the third move at least succeeds in offering another version of the exile-and-return pattern which allows the narrative to continue in a way which maintains structural symmetry and affords some thematic comparisons. This particular spin on the exile-and-return pattern works by association with the framing structure offered by the popular life of Saint Alexis.³⁸ Newly married, both Guy and Saint Alexis leave their wives in order to pursue a life of pious devotion and poverty in the Holy Land. Certain differences with *Gui / Guy*, however, indicate the way in which the Saint Alexis legend has been adapted in order to fit in with the demands of a romance and with the exile-and-return pattern.³⁹ Whereas Saint Alexis only agrees to marry in order to please the wishes of his father, for Guy, who has first lived the life of a courtly lover and romance hero, it is a long-held desire. Guy's pilgrimage is, therefore, motivated by his specific desire to repent his former life. Further, whereas Saint Alexis leaves his wife for the Holy Land on their wedding night, Guy and Felice are together long enough to conceive a son, and this son has significance for the development of the narrative. The existence of a son allows the narrative to persevere into a fourth move and Felice's pregnancy ensures that she does not take her

³⁶ Fewster (1987), pp.86-103.

³⁷ Mills (1992), p.65. See also the comments of Burnley (1991), p.175.

³⁸ For a discussion of the *Vie de saint Alexis* and the Latin *Vita* as antecedents of *Gui de Warwick* see Richmond (1996), pp.20-23. It has also been suggested that *Gui / Guy* is related to the legend of St. Eustace. However, see Bordman (1958), p.117, who rejects the suggestion that *Gui / Guy* or *Bevis* could be related to the Eustace theme: "...if this part of *Beves* is related to the St. Eustace [story], might not the same be claimed for *Guy*? After all, the hero takes upon himself the choice of sorrow in this life. The religious overtones are as obvious here as in the St. Eustace legend and *Guy*'s child is abducted. However, it seems to me that in both *Guy* and *Beves* we are dealing merely with isolated motifs common to numerous story patterns and that unless all, or nearly all, of a pattern may be discernible in all the stories it is futile to ascribe any definite relationship..."

³⁹ *Gui / Guy* has also been associated with the similar legend attached to Guillaume d'Orange. See the discussions of *La Vie de Saint Alexis* and *Le Moniage de Guillaume* in: Ewert (1932-3), vol. 1, p.viii; Severs (1967), vol. 1, p.29; Legge (1963, pp.165-6; Hibbard Loomis (1924), pp.137-8; Richmond (1996), p.24.

own life (as she threatens) or have the mobility to leave Warwick. The heroines of *Bevis* and *King Horn* are far more proactive than Felice. By ensuring her permanent residence in Warwick certain structural and thematic functions of the narrative are maintained: the repeated movements to and from Warwick that her presence ensures are crucial to the geographical definition of the exile-and-return frame and, in turn, to the building in of the Matter of England theme.

This analysis has shown that the structural patterning of *Guy of Warwick* can be characterised by its reference to three key frameworks. The exile-and-return frame underpins the construction of every move and is combined, firstly, with the ‘Squire of Low Degree’ story using the discourse of courtly love, and then with the theme of piety in the popular life of Saint Alexis and finally with the more common abduction, rescue and recognition pattern in the ‘Reinbrun’ move. Further, built into this pattern, through the repeated movements to and from Warwick is the Matter of England theme. Contrary to criticisms of incoherence, then, informed consideration of the structural frames which underpin this narrative exposes its highly patterned and intricately balanced form. By reference to well-known structural frames a diverse range of incident and location is contained and controlled within a broad narrative sweep. The innovative handling of the basic exile-and-return pattern, drawing upon other frames and discourses, provides complex possibilities for the characters and provides parallels which afford thematic comparisons, reversals and re-evaluations of themes and events across the narrative.

3. The Development of the Story and the ‘Vogue of Guy of Warwick’⁴⁰

The earliest written rendition of the story of Guy of Warwick was the Anglo-Norman romance *Gui de Warwic*, the progenitor of all other versions of the Guy of Warwick story.⁴¹ The author of *Gui de Warwick* is unknown. However, using place-name references in the poem a hypothesis has been put forward by Ewert, later endorsed by Legge and Susan Crane, that the romance was produced in Anglo Norman some time between 1232 and 1242 by a canon or clerk of the Augustinian abbey of Osney. It has been argued that the likely motivation for its production was in order to flatter Thomas

⁴⁰ The term ‘vogue’ in this context was first used by Crane in his seminal study ‘The Vogue of *Guy of Warwick* from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival’ (1915) and was then applied by Fellows (1979) with reference to *Bevis of Hampton*.

⁴¹ Legge (1963), p.167. Richmond (1996), p.37.

Earl of Warwick, heir through his mother of the d'Oilli family who were constables of Oxford and patrons of Osney Abbey.⁴² This dating has more recently been revised by Wathelet-Willem, and confirmed by Mason, to 1206-1214 using items from the earliest manuscript and in view of a precise reference to destruction seen at Wallingford (*Gui de Warewic* 9013-20). The reference suggests that the poem was composed prior to the rebuilding that occurred during the civil war that began with Magna Carta in 1215.⁴³

Though differing in the detail of the dating, these accounts agree that the original version of *Gui de Warewic* was likely to have been created in the early-thirteenth century for an earl of Warwick. The more specific question of what the particular occasion might have been for its production has, however, provoked considerable disagreement. Theories advanced for a specific event or occasion include a marriage between the Newburgh and d'Oilli families and the acquisition of estates by Henry de Newburgh through his d'Oilli wife.⁴⁴

These theories that the text was produced for a particular occasion would support Legge's characterisation of *Gui de Warewic* as an 'ancestral romance'. That is, one which was commissioned by the family of the earls of Warwick and which implied an intimate link between *Gui de Warewic* and the Warwick earldom.⁴⁵ However, this notion of 'ancestral romance', has been challenged by Susan Dannenbaum who rejects it on the grounds of insufficient proof:

None of these ['ancestral'] romances praises a patron, mentions the modern family holding the title of the celebrated hero, or even takes careful note of the alleged patrons' history and possessions...If *Gui de Warewic* was designed to praise the Newburghs of Oxford and Warwick, why does Gui hold Wallingford and why is his body transported to Lorraine rather than to one of the family's abbeys?⁴⁶

Rather than the notion that this was a very specifically motivated production responding to a particular occasion, Dannenbaum favours the idea that the romance was produced as broader kind of response to the contemporary social and political context. Dannenbaum

⁴² Ewert (1932-3), vol. I, pp.v-vii; Legge (1963), p.162; S.Crane (1986), p.17.

⁴³ Wallingford Castle was used as a stronghold by the Empress Matilda during her struggles with King Stephen for the throne in the twelfth century but was allowed to decline after being seized by Henry II. Chibnall (1991; rept. 1993); Wathelet-Willem (1975), vol. I, pp.27-51; Mason (1984), p.31. See also Richmond (1996), p.37, note 1, and see the summary of scholarship by Fewster (1987), p.105.

⁴⁴ The recent scholarship is summarised by Fewster (1987), p.105-106 and Richmond (1996), p.37. Theories are put forward by Ewert (1932-3), vol. I, p.iv-vii; Legge (1963), p.162; and Mason (1984), p.30-33.

⁴⁵ Fewster (1987), p.105.

⁴⁶ Dannenbaum (1981-2), pp.602-3.

emphasises the socially conservative nature of the romances of English heroes, their respect for the institutions of marriage, the family, the class system and traditional feudal law, and contrasts them with contemporary Continental romances, commenting that “...rarely does a body of literature resonate so harmoniously with its social context...”.⁴⁷ Where Ewert, Legge, Wathélet-Willem and Mason presume specific origins for the existence of *Gui*, Dannenbaum rejects the ancestral theory arguing instead for a more general function and, thus, the issue of the thirteenth-century origins of *Gui* remains unsettled.

As described in section 2, above, there have been many suggestions for literary and folkloric sources used by the poet in the production of *Gui de Warewic*, indicating his wide repertoire of reading. Despite this evidence for literary origins there has been a tendency among critics somewhat seduced by the legend to claim a historical basis for certain aspects of the romance. Legge calls the story “...pure fabrication...”⁴⁸ and emphasises that Guy of Warwick never actually existed. Nevertheless, suggestions have been made for individuals upon whom the character, or at least the name, of *Gui* may have been based and many historical texts and events have been suggested as important sources for particular aspects of or episodes in *Gui de Warewic*. The favoured candidate to be named as a prototype of *Gui* is Wigod of Wallingford (Wig > *Gui* having been suggested to derive from the Anglo-Norman pronunciation⁴⁹) who was cup-bearer to Edward the Confessor and one of whose daughters married Robert d’Oilli.⁵⁰ But it has also been suggested that some of *Gui*’s exploits may be borrowed from Brian Fitzcount, husband of one of Wigod’s other daughters and who defended Wallingford in 1139.⁵¹ William Marshal (1145-1219), celebrated in what is thought to be the first biography in French *L’Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal*, has also been suggested as having provided a model for the author of *Gui de Warewic*; *L’Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal* also providing a model of an ideal history appropriate for the *Gui* poet’s project.⁵² Possible historical sources have also been identified for specific incidents in the romance. The fight between Guy and the Danish giant Colebrond at Winchester is traditionally said to have been inspired by the Battle of Brunanburh of 937, recorded in

⁴⁷ Dannenbaum (1981-2), pp.605-606.

⁴⁸ Legge (1963), p.162.

⁴⁹ Richmond (1996), pp.14-5.

⁵⁰ Legge (1963), p.162; Severs (1967), vol. I, p.29.

⁵¹ Legge (1963), p.162.

⁵² Richmond (1996), p.16, provides a discussion of the William Marshal text and its possible influence upon *Gui de Warewic*. See also Crouch (1993).

the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and sung as a great victory won by Athelstan over the Viking invader Anlaf.⁵³

Ultimately, there is no evidence for such hypotheses claiming that *Gui de Warwic* was commissioned by an Earl of Warwick or suggesting that any of its incidents or characters represent historical events. The status of the text's historicity lies in its relationship with the local legend at Warwick and it is most useful, it seems, to regard the text's historicity in terms of the response that it represents to this legend.⁵⁴

There are twelve surviving manuscripts of *Gui de Warwic* and two distinct versions. As Legge comments, the complex state of the stemma implies that many more manuscript copies must have been in existence.⁵⁵ This large number of survivals is testimony to the success of the Anglo-Norman romance in England.⁵⁶ Of the twelve surviving *Gui* manuscripts, two are fragmentary and have not been classified for inclusion in Ewert's analysis of the manuscript stemma: he is unable to arrive at a satisfactory classification for Oxford Bodley Rawlinson MS D 913, and the single-folio fragment from Cambridge University Library is simply described as remote from the other manuscripts of the stemma.⁵⁷ The ten remaining manuscripts have been related to one another with some precision and indicate that there were two Anglo-Norman redactions of *Gui*: five manuscript copies derive from the earlier redaction (referred to by Ewert as the α redaction) and five are from the later redaction (referred to by Ewert as the β redaction):

Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* Manuscripts

α group manuscripts

British Library Additional 38662

MS 186 Foundation Bodmer, Cologny-Geneva (formerly: Cheltenham, Phillipps 8345)

British Library Harley 3775

Yorkshire, Marske Hall

York, Chapter Library 16.I.7

β group manuscripts

London, College of Arms, Arundel 27

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 50

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Aug. 87 4

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 1669

British Library Royal 8.F.ix.

⁵³ Legge (1963), p.162; Severs (1967), vol. I, p.29; Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.132.

⁵⁴ The legend at Warwick is discussed in section 6 of this chapter, below.

⁵⁵ Legge (1967), p.167.

⁵⁶ This point is supported by Ewert I (1932-3), pp.xv-xix, and Richmond (1996), p.38.

⁵⁷ Oxford Bodley Rawlinson D 913 (which Ewert names as manuscript 'O') is described by Ewert, p.xiii, and the Cambridge University Library fragment (which Ewert names as manuscript 'J'), p.xii. The problem regarding the classification of each is also discussed, p.xix. Ewert, vol.I, (1932-3).

All of the Middle English versions of *Guy of Warwick* represent close translations of *Gui*, however, there has been only limited research into the precise relationship of the ME and AN texts and Ewert's edition of the BL Additional MS 38662 text is the only version of *Gui* that has been edited and published.⁵⁸ It is crucial to emphasise, with regard to the textual history of the romance and the relationship of *Gui* and *Guy*, that there were two versions of *Gui*. The first, as Ewert outlines, being best represented by BL Additional 38662 (upon which Ewert bases his edition); and the second best represented by Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 50; with this second version appearing in its most extreme and reworked form in Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek MS Aug. 87.4.⁵⁹

As there was more than one version of *Gui de Warwic* and more than one version of *Guy of Warwick*, what is found is that each of the different versions of *Guy of Warwick* has a slightly different relationship to the source texts.⁶⁰ The comments by Mills regarding the three couplet versions of *Guy of Warwick* given an indication of the complexity of the situation:

On the whole, the earlier M.E. couplet versions are more often to be related to this second [β] redaction than to the first [α], but their detailed affiliation is often complicated by eclectic tendencies in their translators. The text of F [the NLW and BL fragments] becomes much more obviously dependent upon the second French redaction in its later parts than in the earlier ones, while those of A[uchinleck couplets] and C[aius], although close to this redaction for much of their length, draw upon a text of the first version for quite substantial passages.⁶¹

There are, then, only a very restricted number of places where all of the ME versions can be said with certainty to be derived from the same Anglo-Norman original as each other.

⁵⁸ Mills and Huws in their introduction to the NLW and BL fragments (1974) provide the only close examination of the affiliations of any of the ME texts with its Anglo-Norman predecessors and the main conclusions of their work are summarised in Chapter 2, section 4, below. The general point that the ME texts represent close translations of the AN is made by Severs (1967), p.28, who comments that all the ME versions "...retain the substance of the Anglo-Norman original, and none contains independent inventions such as are found in the Middle English *Bevis of Hampton*...". See also Mehl (1967), p.220, who comments that: "...the English versions follow their Anglo-Norman source for the most part rather closely and do not change the character of the poem to any significant degree. Extensive alterations, abridgments or expansions are rare; most editorial changes are to be found in the second half of the poem which even in the sources was rather diffuse and even more episodic than the rest. The close dependence of the ME *Guy of Warwick* upon *Gui de Warwic* is also demonstrated by Baugh, in Shepherd (1995), pp.485-486, who gives a comparison of two passages, though Baugh is incorrect in stating that there is only one version of *Gui*.

⁵⁹ Ewert (1932-3), pp.74-75. See also Mills (1991), pp.210-211.

⁶⁰ For a description of the different versions of the ME *Guy* see Chapter 3, section 1, below.

⁶¹ Mills (1991), pp.210-211.

Meaningful comparison of *Gui* and *Guy* will only be possible following establishment of *Guy*'s precise principle sources.⁶²

Gui de Warewic was first translated into Middle English c.1300 and this earliest romance material provided by *Gui* and *Guy* gave rise to the production of different versions, adaptations and translations in England and also quite extensively throughout the rest of Europe.⁶³ Jennifer Fellows has commented, regarding *Bevis of Hampton*, that "...In studying the history of the *Beves*-story in mediaeval England, one is confronted not by a single literary phenomenon but by several..."⁶⁴ And the same is true of the story of Guy of Warwick which is rivaled only by *Bevis* in terms of range of popularity and persistence beyond the medieval era. Summarised below are the various adaptations and transformations that the *Guy*-story went through from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.⁶⁵

The story had considerable success outside England. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Anglo-Norman romance circulated in France and c.1450 was converted into a French prose romance which came to be published in printed form c.1525. Meanwhile, the English version was translated into an Irish prose romance in the fifteenth century, and into a popular Catalan romance *Tirant lo Blanch*, Valencia 1490, which was in turn translated into Castilian, Italian, and French. The episode concerning Guy and his friend Tirri was introduced into the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* as chapter 172 which was then translated into German prose as *Gydo und Thyrus* in the fifteenth century, and then was transformed once again into a French *mystère* by Louvet, Paris 1537.

⁶² Mills (1991), p.211. See, also, the final conclusions to this thesis and suggestions for further research, below.

⁶³ As very detailed discussion of each of the manuscripts and versions of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick* is given in Chapters 2 and 3, below, it would be superfluous also to provide description of them here.

⁶⁴ Fellows (1979), p.54.

⁶⁵ The subject has been dealt with by R.Crane (1915); treated exhaustively by Richmond (1996); and is usefully summarised by Dunn in Severs (1967), pp.27-31. See also the discussions in Legge (1963), pp.167-8, and Hibbard Loomis (1924), pp.127-132.

Within England the Middle English romance *Guy of Warwick* survives in five different versions, in manuscripts from the early-fourteenth through to the late-fifteenth century.⁶⁶ and was produced in printed book form by Pynson, de Worde, and Copland in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁷ The stanzaic poem *Guy and Colbrond* survives in the Percy Folio, c.1600, and is quite possibly a survival of a poem that originated much earlier. The Guy tradition in England gave rise to the homiletic *Speculum Gy* (discussed in section 7 of this chapter, below). It also resulted in several historical accounts including Gerard of Cornwall's Latin prose account of the battle of Guy and Colebrond (of unknown date) which, c.1449, was turned by Lydgate into a poem of 74 eight-line stanzas. Other historical relations include many references within chronicles describing Guy in accounts of Athelstan's reign.⁶⁸

The number of different appearances of the Guy of Warwick story during the late medieval period and through to the Renaissance - in verse, prose, chronicle, ballad, homily, and other forms - is a testament to its appeal and renown and the retelling of the story in different forms persists through to the twentieth century. Its progress through seven centuries has been charted by Hibbard Loomis, become the subject of a well known study by Ronald Crane, and, more recently, has been subjected to detailed treatment by Richmond.⁶⁹ The appeal of the story and of the broad tradition, then, has been acknowledged. Difficulty has, however, been experienced in understanding the success of the Middle English romance. Literary critics have experienced persistent problems in understanding or attempting to explain the apparent success and appeal of *Guy of Warwick* to large audiences in the late medieval period. The unfavourable responses of modern critics, despite the popularity of the text within its own time, suggests that attention needs to be given to evidence which will foster greater understanding of this text's contemporary reception. To this aim, these are the issues to which the rest of this chapter is devoted. Section 4, next, considers some of the internal evidence for how the Middle English romance circulated and was received and sections 5 - 8 assess the external evidence for its transmission and reception.

⁶⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that the romance circulated in Wales, Scotland or Ireland during the medieval period, though NLW MS Binding fragments 572 seem to have arrived in mid-Wales during the sixteenth century, see Chapter 2, section 4.3, below.

⁶⁷ Hibbard Loomis (1924), pp.127-128; Severs (1967), vol. 1., p.27-8. For description of the early printed books see Chapter 2, section 7, below. For the survival of adapted versions of the Guy story in eighteenth-century chapbooks see Ashton (1996) and Simons (1998).

⁶⁸ These historians include Knighton, Rudborne, Hardyng, Rous, Fabyn, Grafton, Holinshed, Stow, and Dugdale. See, Severs (1967), p.30.

⁶⁹ Hibbard Loomis (1924); R.Crane (1915); Richmond (1996).

4. Fourteenth-Century Translations, Fifteenth-Century Adaptations

Gui de Warwic was translated into Middle English at least five times, evidenced by the survival of five independently produced redactions, to be referred to in this thesis as versions A - E.⁷⁰ The evidence provided by the language of these versions, along with the surviving manuscripts, indicates that all five were in circulation by 1400 and that the earliest of them cannot have been produced much before 1300. That is, all of the known versions of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick* are translations from the fourteenth century.

Of interest in tracking the circulation of this text and the changes which the various versions underwent during the fifteenth century, are the two versions for which more than one text survives: A and E. The A-version survives in three manuscripts: (i.) lines 1 - 6925 of the Auchinleck MS text of *Guy* of c.1330-40 ('Auchinleck couplets'); (ii.) in a single-folio fragment from the mid-fourteenth century (the 'Sloane fragment'); and (iii.) lines 1 - 4412 of the Caius MS text of c.1400. The E-version survives in two manuscripts: (i.) lines 4413 - 5186 and 5778 - 7196 of the Caius MS text; and (ii.) in a very complete form in CUL MS Ff.2.38 of c.1500. With both the A and the E versions, then, it is possible to make comparison between earlier and significantly later texts. The aim here is to provide an account which compares these same-version texts of *Guy of Warwick* and considers the evidence that this can provide for characterising the texts and analysing their circulation throughout the late medieval period.

Comparison of same-version texts of *Guy of Warwick* reveals a high frequency of verbal differences. These appear at almost every linguistic level and as they are too numerous to record in full are characterised here through typical examples. Here, most examples are taken from the two E-version texts (there are only two examples from the A-version texts and these are specified) but are typical of both versions as well as of popular romances more generally:

⁷⁰ See Chapter 3, section 1, for an account of the classification of the texts of *Guy of Warwick* into five versions. For a full list of the *Guy of Warwick* manuscripts see Chapter 2, section 1.

Type of Verbal Difference	Example /Explanation
1. Textual divisions	Different positioning of paraph marks, coloured capitals.
2. Orthography	For example, see example 4 below and compare: Caius <i>I, have, kny3te, That, is, wy3te</i> , with CUL <i>y, haue, knyght, þat, ys, wyght</i> .
3. Spelling and morphology	Often suggesting dialectal preferences. For example, compare the different rhymes in: Caius 4553-4: <i>Vndyr a bussch ther he fonde / A pore pylgryme syttande</i> ; and CUL 7403-4: <i>Vndur a hawthorne þere he fonde / A pore pylgryme there stonde</i> . Where the CUL text shows no trace of the earlier and primarily Northern <i>-ande</i> form of the present participle.
4. Syntax	<p>Syntactic alterations may be necessary as the result of other kinds of rephrasing in the line, or a change of rhyme. However, they may also occur where the only other changes are orthographic or morphological, for example, compare:</p> <p>Caius 4925-6: <i>But I have brow3t a noble kny3te / That in armes is bold and wy3te</i></p> <p>CUL 7773-4: <i>But y haue broght a nobull knyght / In armes þat ys bolde and wyght</i></p>
5. Vocabulary	<p>Caius 6330: <i>slepyng</i>; CUL 9083: <i>slomerynge</i></p> <p>Caius 6377: <i>scuberd</i>; CUL 9128: <i>scheþe</i>.</p> <p>Caius 6385: <i>sheth</i>; CUL 9136: <i>skabarde</i>.</p> <p>Caius 6672: <i>gentyll</i>; CUL 9410: <i>nobull</i>.</p> <p>These difference may be as the result of dialectal preferences or reflect the replacement of what is perceived to be an archaic or outmoded word. For dialect, compare:</p> <p>Caius 4638: <i>mykyll pryd</i>; CUL 7488: <i>grete pryde</i>.</p>
6. Altered factual details	<p>Caius 4631 <i>Alysaunder</i>; CUL 7481 <i>Awfryke</i>.</p> <p>Caius 4800 <i>Ten somers</i>; CUL 7650 <i>ffyftene somers</i>.</p> <p>Caius 5005 <i>paynym</i>; CUL 7847 <i>Gyawnt</i>.</p> <p>Caius 6639 <i>Monkes and frerys</i>; CUL 6378 <i>freres & nonnes</i>.</p>
7. Half-line replacement	<p>Often the replacement involves a formulaic tag (here in italics):</p> <p>Caius 4594: <i>And dystroyed all that was there</i>. CUL 7444: <i>And dystroyed farre and nere</i>.</p> <p>Caius 6288-9: <i>Trewer fellow... found I none</i>. CUL 9039-40: <i>trewar felowe...Was neuer made of flesche & boon</i></p> <p>Caius 6973: <i>Gye hym answeyd par ma faye</i>. CUL 9669: <i>Gye answeyd yf y may</i>.</p>

	<p>Caius 6984: And sowght terry <i>with owte dowȝt</i>. CUL 9674: And soght Tyrrye <i>wyth ynne & owte</i>.</p>
8. Total rephrasing of line	<p>Can convey different information, for example, compare: Caius 4823-4: That Gye was wente in excile / Ipassyd a full longe while; with CUL 7671-2: That Gye was in exsyle wente / In holy weyes was hys entente.</p> <p>Can appear to be the result of dialectal preferences, for example, compare: Caius 4881-2: Hys berd was longe and thike of here / He lokyd on hym full ofte there; CUL 7729-30: Hys berde was longe fowle farande / He lokyd vp steype starande.</p> <p>Can appear to be a misreading, for example, compare: Caius 5794-5: Vp ther sterte the duke moderyse in Ire / Of Cornweyle he was lord and sire; with CUL 8563-4: Vp starte þe dewke Merof in yre / He was a cruell lorde & syre.</p> <p>Can have the appearance of a 'gloss', with the re-written line offering a clarification of meaning. For example, from the A-version texts, compare Auchinleck 53: It was opon a pentecost day yteld; with the 'glossed' version in Caius making clear the date being specified, 183: On Witsondaye called Pentecoste.</p>
9. Reversed couplet	<p>Where the same couplet appears in each text, but with lines reversed. For example, compare:</p> <p>Caius 4925-6: As we fynde in storye / Now speke we of sir Guy CUL 7391-2: Now turne we ageyne & speke of Gye / As we fynde in owre storye</p> <p>Compare also: Caius 6428-9 / CUL 9179-80; Caius 6615-6 / CUL 9263-4; Caius 6535-6 / CUL 9283-4; Caius 6605-6 / CUL 9349-50.</p>
10. Transposed line(s) / couplet(s)	<p>Where the order of one or more couplets is rearranged. For example, from the A-version texts, compare Auchinleck couplets 805 - 812 with Caius 899 - 906. In Caius these four couplets are ordered <i>AA BB CC DD</i> compared with Auchinleck where the order is <i>CC DD AA BB</i>.</p>
11. Omission / addition of line(s) / couplet(s)	<p>May represent scribal error (see the discussion of the E-version and example of 'eye-skip', below) or may represent conscious alteration, as seems to be the case with the 'conflation' offered in CUL here:</p> <p>Caius 7067-70: I wend that ther had be no knyȝt / In the world so bold a wyght / That durst ayenste berrard fyȝt / But it wer foure or fyve well dyȝt.</p> <p>CUL 9751-2: I went ther had be no knyght / That wyth Barrard durste take þe fyght.</p>

In the vast majority of cases it is not possible to ascertain which variant could be said to be closest to the language of the archetype in question, though occasionally some indication is provided according to the linguistic data. For example, the following

linguistic features would suggest that in a number of respects the language of the Auchinleck A-version text is closer to that of the A-archetype than the language of the Caius A-version text, with the Caius text having moved further from the language of the A-archetype due to a tendency to phase out linguistic archaisms:

(i.) The rhymes confirm that the A-archetype used two forms for the present participle suffix: *-ing(e)* and *-ind(e)*. The favoured form of both the Auchinleck and Caius scribes is *-ing*. However, whereas Caius always has *-ing(e)*, phasing out the outmoded *-ind(e)* even at the expense of the rhyme, Auchinleck Scribe I preserves the earlier form *-ind(e)* where it is required for the rhyme as well as retaining it on three occasions in the line (at 3303, 3538, 4501).⁷¹

(ii.) The rhymes confirm that the A-archetype used the forms *miche* and *Michel* for ‘much’. These are also the forms used throughout the Auchinleck text, being Auchinleck Scribe I’s preferred form. However, in the Caius text the more current form *moche* is most commonly used and on several occasions *m(i/y)che* is substituted by *moche* at the expense of the rhyme.⁷²

(iii.) The Auchinleck text has both *ac* and *bot* for ‘but’ whereas the Caius text has *bot* or *but*, never *ac*. As ‘but’ never occurs in rhyme the original form(s) cannot be ascertained. However, it is useful to compare these forms with the work of the late fourteenth-century southern linguistic reviser of Glasgow University Library MS 250, who replaced a series of what he regarded as archaic forms with their more current equivalents, including the replacement of *ac* with *bot(e)* very consistently throughout the text (replacing 123 of the 126 instances of *ac*).⁷³ The reviser of GUL 250, then, has gone to some lengths to remove a recently obsolete word. Distribution of *ac* / *bot* / *but* in the Auchinleck and

⁷¹ For discussion of the dialect of the A-archetype, Auchinleck Scribe I and the Caius scribe see Chapter 3, sections 2.2, 2.3.i and 2.3.iii, below. For evidence that *-ind(e)* represented an outmoded form in London by c.1400 see Samuels (1963).

⁷² On only one occasion has *myche* been retained in rhyme in Caius at 1175-6: *myche* : *liche*. For evidence that *moche* represents a very current form in the written language of London c.1400, see Chapter 3, section 2.3.iii, below.

⁷³ Duncan (1981).

Caius texts of *Guy* may be regarded representative of a comparable set of preferences, with the archaic *ac* having been phased out by the time of the Caius MS.⁷⁴

In these respects, the language of the Caius text can be said to represent an intolerance of outdated linguistic forms. Further, with many of the perceived archaisms having been phased out before, or at, the stage that the Caius text was copied it can be regarded as representing a linguistically updated rendition of the A-version *Guy*. A text adapted, at the linguistic level, to be in tune with the most current dialectal nuances of its own particular time and place.

These kinds of differences are highly typical of popular romance and demonstrate the way that, during transmission, popular romance texts would undergo verbal change. These changes are often accounted for as the result of oral transmission by minstrels, *gestours* or *disours*, with its accompanying modifications.⁷⁵ This explanation, however, would not seem appropriate in the case of a text such as *Guy of Warwick*, the sheer length of which would have made it unsuitable for minstrel performances or for being committed to memory as could, for example, be argued for shorter romances such as *King Horn* or *Sir Orfeo* (and this issue is discussed in some detail in section 8, below). Further, the three examples of small verbal differences between Auchinleck and Caius cited here would point to a written scribal process: the information indicating preference for the more current *-ing(e) / moche / but* against the more outmoded *-ind(e) / mich / ac*, being based on comparison with written documents.

Other explanations for the differences which occur between same-version texts of popular romances rest on assumptions of scribal incompetence. As Fellows records “...terms like ‘blundering’, ‘interference’, ‘incompetence’...” are frequently applied in discussion of the scribal involvement with popular romances.⁷⁶ In the main, however, the verbal differences cannot be characterised as errors or unconscious slips: they are far too frequent and consistent, not to mention the fact that, as the examples above from Auchinleck and Caius show, they appear to be motivated by specific linguistic

⁷⁴ This comparison with the revisions Glasgow University Library MS 250 is possible because of the close proximity, both in terms of time and place, of the GUL 250 revisions and the Caius MS. See Chapter 3, section 2.3.iii, below.

⁷⁵ For example, see the discussion in McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xii.

⁷⁶ Fellows (1991), p.7.

preferences, implying a tendency toward updating and the removal of perceived archaisms and dialectal idiosyncrasies.

The verbal differences represent intentional changes to the text. Further, if these changes are to be regarded as scribal rather than the result of oral transmission, as would certainly seem most appropriate in the case of *Guy of Warwick*, they would imply that the scribes responsible for them had very a different attitude to popular romance than to, say, the writings of Chaucer. It would presuppose, in fact, "...a scribe whose function is not to copy a text but to rewrite it, not in the interest of improving a line here and there but throughout the whole of a long poem...".⁷⁷ The varying activities of scribes indicate, then, that the modern concept of a literary text as a sealed and finished object, the creative responsibility of a single, identifiable author, does not apply to popular romances in the way that it might be argued to apply to the works of Chaucer. As Fellows comments regarding popular romances:

...the scribes are not *trying* to transmit accurate reproductions of an archetype - their alterations are deliberate and constructive; they are not only verbal, but often extend to transpositions, reworkings, introductions, omissions of entire episodes. Scribal activity can no longer be separated from authorial intention, because the scribes themselves have authorial status.⁷⁸

Analysis of the surviving same-version texts of *Guy of Warwick* would strongly support Fellows' position here: in addition to verbal differences, each of the fifteenth-century A and E version texts furnish examples of major differences which represent 'deliberate and constructive' scribal/editorial interventions. In each case, a scribe/editor has made some sort of literary contribution to the text and, having altered its nature and meaning, must be built into any understanding of that text's authorship.⁷⁹ The remaining part of this discussion outlines these examples of 'deliberate and constructive' scribal/editorial intervention represented in the fifteenth-century texts of *Guy of Warwick*, considering first the texts of the A-version then the texts of the E-version.

The A-version: Fifteenth-Century Adaptations

Though there are three surviving A-version texts this comparison is, somewhat inevitably, dominated by discussion of Auchinleck and Caius due to the short length of the Sloane

⁷⁷ Baugh in Shepherd (1995), p.492.

⁷⁸ Fellows (1991), p.7.

⁷⁹ For further discussion of this issue see Jauss (1979) and Pearsall (1977) pp.120-130

fragment (only 216 lines) and the fact that there is no possible direct comparison between Auchinleck and Sloane (with no overlap between Auchinleck and the Sloane fragment, Auchinleck ending before the point at which the section of text preserved in the Sloane fragment begins).

This comparison also takes into account that none of these texts is based directly on any one of the others. Auchinleck is earlier than Caius (so could not be copied from the Caius text) and does not contain the section of text represented in Sloane. Caius could not have been copied from Auchinleck as it continues with the narrative for further than Auchinleck, and is unlikely to have been copied from Sloane (implied by some significant differences in line order and phrasing).

Having established the pragmatics of their relationship, what becomes immediately apparent when comparing the A-version texts is the disparity in length between Caius and the earlier texts. The Sloane fragment is of 216 lines whereas the (approximately) corresponding section of the narrative in Caius (Caius lines 4283 - 4366) is of only 84 lines. That is, the Caius text is 132 lines, or 63%, shorter than Sloane. Similarly, whereas the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* is of 6925 lines the corresponding section of narrative from the Caius text (Caius lines 123 - 4274) is of only 4152 lines. That is, the Caius text is 2773 lines, or 40%, shorter than the Auchinleck couplets.

The early fifteenth-century Caius manuscript, then, contains a copy of the A-version which is significantly shorter than the two early - mid fourteenth century A-version texts contained in Auchinleck and Sloane. The tendency for this basic point to have been overlooked may be partly due to the description of the Caius text that appears in the *Manual of Writings in Middle English* where it is incorrectly stated that the Caius *Guy of Warwick* "...runs to approximately 11,000 lines...".⁸⁰ The editor of the *Manual* has, it seems, looked at the last line number of the Caius text in Zupitza's edition without taking into account that in order to facilitate a parallel text Zupitza has, quite correctly, inserted many 'blank' lines into the Caius *Guy*.⁸¹ In fact, the Caius *Guy of Warwick* as a whole runs to only 8160 lines, making it, at up to 4000 lines shorter, a much more succinct rendition of the romance than is represented in Auchinleck, CUL Ff.2.38 or the

⁸⁰ Richmond (1996), p.109, also makes this error regarding the length of the Caius *Guy*, commenting that "...Caius has 11,905...".

⁸¹ Zupitza (1883, 1887, 1891).

Anglo Norman.⁸² The shorter length of the *Caius Guy* is partly due to the absence of the second, concluding, part of the Reinbrun story in *Caius*, but it is also due to the significantly reduced nature of the *Guy* narrative.

Closer comparison of *Caius* with the earlier texts provides evidence to indicate that *Caius* is shorter because it has been cut, with some care, by an editor, rather than as the result of having been copied from a damaged manuscript. The evidence for the presence of an editor is found in certain features of the *Caius* narrative. Specifically, the use of a series of carefully and consistently applied editorial strategies, all concerned with reducing the length of the text and attesting to literary awareness and purpose behind the reduction. As it is certain that *Caius* was not based directly on Auchinleck or Sloane (as described above), comparison can never show with total certainty or precision what was cut, added or re-arranged by the editor of *Caius* or, at an earlier stage, **Caius*. However, as all three are descended from the same redaction and for the most part correspond closely, line-for-line, comparison is still meaningful.⁸³ What is found is that those points at which the close line-for-line correspondence of the texts breaks down, all represent exceptions of a similar type. Altogether they are so consistent as to imply having been undertaken according to a consistent editorial design. That is, with all of them having been part of the same editorial project and representing the work of a single editor. Four key editorial techniques can be identified: 1. bridging couplets; 2. block cuts; 3. one or two couplet cuts; 4. reduction. These are described below:

Editorial technique 1: Bridging Couplets

There are a number of examples in which an episode or passage of description found in Auchinleck / Sloane has been replaced, in *Caius*, by a single couplet. That is, a couplet which bridges the narrative lacunae left by the extracted episode by offering a brief summary accounting for the material that the episode contained. The bridging couplet is

⁸² The Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* is of 10506 lines and *Reinbrun* is of 1521, so the text is a total of 12027 lines in Auchinleck. The CUL *Guy of Warwick* (including the first part of the Reinbrun story) is of 10748 lines, and the conclusion to the Reinbrun story is of 1227 lines, so the text is a total of 11975 lines in CUL. The AN *Gui de Warwick*, Ewert (1932-3), (including the first part of the Reinbrun story) is of 11656 lines, and the conclusion to the Reinbrun story is of 1270 lines, so the text of *Gui* is a total of 12926 lines.

⁸³ *Caius* parallels Auchinleck so closely that Weyrauch thought that they were both copied from the same source. Weyrauch (1901), pp.43 and pp.52-53. See also, Hibbard Loomis (1940; rept. 1962), pp.111-128. And see the conclusions to the analysis of the linguistic data in Chapter 3, section 2.5, below.

always formulaic, explanatory and unique to Caius (appearing in neither Auchinleck, Sloane, the other ME versions, or the AN source). A good example of the use of this editorial technique is illustrated by comparison of the section of narrative dealing with the wedding of Guy and Felice in Sloane and Caius. The Sloane text provides a 26-line description of lavish celebrations at the wedding, with music, entertainments and rich clothes, and giving details of the first days of Guy and Felice's married life, during which a son is conceived:

Sloane 179 - 204

þe Bridale þei helden Richeliche
 A fourten niȝt manschipliche
 Mynstrels many þer were
 Mo neuer at one fest nere
 þere was harp & Tympanie
 ffeþele Beme & Cymphanie
 And clerkes wiþ her sautrie
 þat coupe syngge wel myrie
 Beres & bole y bete þer were
 And Apes tumbled in many manere
 þere was al maner of gle
 þat man niȝt þenk oþer se
 Robes þat were of riche pris
 þe panes of veir & of gris
 þe heiȝe hors þe grete stede
 þe glemen hadden to her mede
 Whan þe fourten niȝt was gon
 Ech man hym went þennes home
 Now haþ Guy al his wille
 Of his lemman boþe loude & stille
 ffifty dayes togedere þei were
 No day more yfere þei nere
 It fel in þat first niȝt
 þat he lay by þat swete wiȝt
 And neiȝhed hir fleschliche
 A knaue child heo conseyued sikerliche

This lively and detailed descriptive account has been replaced in the Caius text by a brief interjection from the narrator reporting that in every respect the wedding was a fine affair:

Caius 4355 - 56

Whereto shuld y of more discrye
 Of all manere thinges ther was grete plente

This bridging couplet has been created using the recognised rhetorical device of *occupatio* whereby the narrator professes to leave description unmentioned because of a lack of knowledge or some reluctance to discuss the objects or events in question.⁸⁴ As an example of this devise Geoffrey of Vinsauf gives the phrase: "...but I pass this by as

⁸⁴ See the comments in Nims (1967), p.105.

well known...”.⁸⁵ This is comparable with the Caius couplet proclaiming that there is no need to go into detail. The appearance of this couplet is significant as it provides good evidence for the presence of an editor who deliberately removed the passage and, significantly, it implies an editor with some formal literary and rhetorical training.

At least six other examples of bridging couplets in Caius can be identified by comparison with Auchinleck:

i. A bridging couplet appears in Caius where the Auchinleck text has a 26-line scene involving discussion of preparations for battle. That is, whereas Auchinleck has this description (Auchinleck 1857-86), Caius has the 2-line summary: *And commaunded his dukes and baroñs aȝ / To bee redy in armes at euery caȝ* (Caius 1833 - 38).

ii. A bridging couplet in Caius replaces a battle description which in Auchinleck is of 14 lines:

Caius 2593-94

Thus thise sarasyñs wiȝ grete pride
Many *xpen* knyghtes to deth they leye a side

Replacing Auchinleck 2626 - 39

þe kinges sone of birrie
strong he was for þe maistrie
dan tebaud he felled þo
þurth þe bodi he dede þe launce go
& seþþe he slouȝ a freyns kniȝt
in bleyues he was born ariȝt
romiraunt com forþ snelle
a sarraȝin a strong wiȝ elle
y slawe he haȝ dan guinman
a strong kniȝt he was & an aleman
wiȝ þat come forþ an amireld
a sarraȝin of wicked erd
dan gauter he haȝ y slawe
& gode gilmin his felawe

iii. A bridging couplet in Caius replaces a 612-line description of battle in Auchinleck (4644 - 5255, involving Guy helping Tirri's father). That is, an entire battle sequence has been replaced, in Caius, with the summary: *So longe to bataille they beenȝ goo / That betwene theim moche sorowe is doo* (Caius 3749 - 50).

iv. A bridging couplet in Caius replaces an incident of fighting that hinders Guy's getaway after rescuing Oisel. Having killed Otes, Guy takes up Oisel in his arms and

⁸⁵ Nims (1967), l.1159.

begins to ride off, pursued by many furious Lombards. What happens next in Auchinleck is cut from Caius: Berard, Otes's kinsman, follows Guy and battles with him but Guy escapes, leaving Berard to return to the city and bury Otes whilst Guy reassures Oisel that she will soon be reunited with Tirri. This sequence in Auchinleck, in which Guy's getaway is hindered by Berard, is cut from Caius and replaced with a bridging couplet stating that the Lombards were unable to overtake Guy so gave up and went back to attend to the body of Otes: *And whan they him ne oueretake might / Ayene they comē to the body right* (Caius 4101 - 02).

v. On one occasion, two couplets, rather than one, form a bridge in Caius: *So longe they haue entreted so / With them the Erle Amys also / That aft they accorded bee / And for euere more betwene them treus and equite* (Caius 4149 - 56). This bridging section replaces a 446-line section in Auchinleck (Auchinleck 6206 - 6651) involving the restoration of peace and then, occupying the bulk of this section, the boar hunt and 'Earl Florentine' episode. So in Caius the bridging couplet here serves to summarise the restoration of peace, with the boar hunt and 'Earl Florentine' episode being completely omitted.

vi. The 26-line account of Oisel's reunion with Tirri that appears in Auchinleck, involving a description of Oisel weeping and swooning and then of Tirri's eventual recovery to full health (Auchinleck 4500-4525), is replaced in Caius with a two-line summary of Oisel's distress: *But euere she wepte and allas seide / Aft they had reuthe of that mayde* (Caius 3691-3692).

The passages omitted, then, are underwritten by a consistent editorial policy. All are either digressions or passages of static or repetitive description which do not directly forward the plot. Unsurprisingly, considering the criteria of this policy, two of the passages - ii. and iii. - are battle sequences with battles being typically repetitive in terms of the kind of action that is described, as well as a very common and often lengthy type of scene in this romance. Examples i. and vi. (and also the wedding scene from Sloane) seem to have been regarded as too laborious and too descriptive and as holding up the progression of the action. Whereas examples iv. and v. are digressions from the main development of the narrative. Significantly, here, the exclusion of iv. and v. would imply that the editor had a good knowledge of the plot and structure of *Guy of Warwick* before

editing began: it is only through this kind of detailed knowledge of the plot that the editor would have been able to identify scenes which represent self-contained digressions and which could be eliminated without loss of continuity or loss of information essential to the main story.

Editorial Technique 2: Block Cuts

The technique of cutting passages which constitute whole episodes or detailed descriptions also occurs throughout the text in examples where no bridging couplet is used. In these cases there is usually no need for a bridging couplet because the scene represents some sort of a repetition (especially in the case of battle scenes), summary or amplification which is sufficiently self-contained to be lifted out with no disruption of meaning. Typically, these episodes are shorter than those which use bridging couplets.

The presence of an editor is again discernible as the content of these passages attests to some literary awareness and editorial policy. Again, the sections cut represent episodes which do not directly forward the plot and, to this end, there is a tendency to exclude particular kinds of scenes. The types of material most commonly excluded are: battles; laments and emotional distress; speeches; preparations and negotiations:

Battles:

Block cuts to battle sequences occur frequently (reflecting the frequency and length of battles in the text). Block cuts most often appear in extended battle sequences and from passages which are highly descriptive and which tend to reiterate details. The repetitive nature of such accounts (especially in the longer sequences where descriptions have the effect of listing blows, artillery or bloodshed) allows for large cuts of this kind to be made without loss of sense, for example: compare Caius 2893-2896 with Auchinleck 3246-3271; and compare Caius 2931-2934 with Auchinleck 3314-3335.

This kind of straightforward, wholesale removal of material, however, is not possible with short, individual battles where it is important to retain a certain number of references to the fighting in order to ensure narrative sense and continuity. In these cases the editor employs a technique whereby the main bulk of the description is removed whilst the couplets which 'bracket' it are retained. An example of this technique can be found by comparing Caius 1771-74 with Auchinleck 1771-92, where the editor has removed the

battle description whilst retaining the opening and closing couplets that announcing going to battle and then victory:

Auchinleck 1771-1790

Caius 1771-1774

gij is o3ain went wel sone	Than Guy ayene wente full sone
& al his feren mid ydone	And his felawes with him echone
þe lombardes þai leggen fast opon
nil þai spare neuer on
when þe kni3tes of þat cite
þis dede alle ysey3en he
to army he wel fast hy goþ
gij wel gode socour hij doþ
& seþþen þai went forþ ari3t
& gij socourd ful wele apli3t
swiche strokes men mi3t þer se
togider smiten þo kni3tes fre
boþe wiþ launce & wiþ swerd
þai 3iuen mani strokes herd
þer mi3t men se stray þe steden
so mani kni3t cri & greden
þat wer þurth þe bodi wounde
& ded fellen on þe grounde
¶ michel him peyned sir gij
& herhaud of ardern sikerly
þis almayns þai han ouercome	The Almaynes they haue ouerecome
sum yslawe & sum ynome	Some sleyne and some nome

This technique of retaining the opening and/or closing couplets which bracket and serve to ‘signpost’ the piece description is used a number of times and removes the need for the creation of an editorial bridging couplet. For example: for the retention of an opening couplet before the removal of a battle scene compare Caius 2203-04 with Auchinleck 2172-83; for the retention of both opening and closing couplets compare Caius 3613-20 with Auchinleck 4388-4405.

The description of Guy’s battle with the dragon in Northumberland (at the end of the second move) is also of interest here as it provides a variation on this technique. In Auchinleck the battle with the dragon is of 72 lines (Auchinleck 6830-6901). The Caius editor drastically reduces this battle to 8 lines by retaining only two blows: those that are, in Auchinleck, Guy’s first and last blows, ‘bracketing’ the battle description. That is, the first: *With a spere he him smote strangly / That was keruyng sharply / The spere to shyuers al to-flighe / And the body ne come it not nyghē* (Caius 4247-50, cf. Auchinleck 6830-33), and the last: *Benethe the wynges he him smote / Thurgħ the body that swerde bote / That the body he karf in two / Dede he felled him*

to grounde tho (Caius 4251-54, cf. Auchinleck 6900-03). Thus in Caius, sense and narrative continuity are maintained but the description is drastically reduced.

Laments and emotional distress:

There is a notable tendency to exclude laments and other descriptions of characters' emotional distress. Examples of laments include: Guy's love lament at Auchinleck 407-16 is absent from Caius (cf. Caius 515-18); Guy's lament at the loss of so many of his men is significantly shorter in Caius than in Auchinleck with, most notably, Guy's extended lament at having not taken heed of his father's advice being absent in Caius (cf. Auchinleck 1381-98 with Caius 1465-6). Examples of emotional distress include: the description of Heraud's sorrow that appears in Auchinleck (3640-45), involving a short lament, cries of 'alas' and Heraud tearing his hair, is absent from Caius (see Caius 3135-38); the description of Guy's feelings of anxiety when he is unable to find Oisel that appears in Auchinleck (4448-55) is absent from Caius (see Caius 3655-58).

Speeches:

Speeches which run to any length are often excluded, presumably because they tend to constitute a pause in the action, with spoken or reported recapitulations or summaries of events being especially prone to editorial exclusion. For example: in Auchinleck, Guy's address to his troops before battle consists of some basic instructions (Auchinleck 3080-89) followed by a morale raising speech⁸⁶ (Auchinleck 3080-3103) but the 'morale raising' section is absent from Caius (see Caius 2807-18). The emperor's 12-line speech that appears in Auchinleck (2990-3001) on hearing that Guy is leaving, is absent from Caius (cf. Caius 2747-50). The treacherous steward's allegations of misconduct against Guy and Clarice, and his advice to the emperor as to how Guy should be dealt with, appear in Auchinleck as a 24-line account (Auchinleck 2874-99), of which Caius contains only 6 lines (Caius 2675-80). The pilgrim's account summarising to Guy the feud between his and another family appears as a 74-line spoken account in Auchinleck (1625-98) but, due to the absence of what appears to be a carefully selected section from the

⁸⁶ This speech follows the literary topos of the leader rousing his troops before battle. Probably the best known example of this literary topos appears in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Act 4, Scene 3, ll.18-67, Alexander (1951; rept. 1992). For further examples of this motif, from a range of sources, see Burnley (1991), pp.175-186.

middle of this narration, the Caius text has only 20 lines of this account (see Caius 1681-1700).⁸⁷

Preparations and negotiations:

Also important is the exclusion of any kind of preparation which could be described as ancillary description. This includes negotiations, discussion or visual description which appears prior to the commencement of the key, climactic action of an episode. For example: the description of the dragon (that precedes Guy's battle with it in Northumberland) is of 22 lines in Auchinleck (6774-95) but of only 12 lines in Caius (4209-20). Two other examples appear in the scenes just prior to Guy's single-handed raid on the Sultan's pavilion. Firstly, having sent for all his barons, the emperor asks for a volunteer to take the perilous job of messenger to the Sultan. In the Auchinleck text (3420-57) Sir Tristor then makes a speech emphasising the great dangers that this task involves, commenting that he would have volunteered in his youth when he did not fear death but now, in his advanced years, is not up to the job (he 'has not had a hauberk on his back for fifty years', Auchinleck 3448-9⁸⁸) and warning that it is a suicide mission. This speech provides a context for Guy's willing acceptance of the task (Auchinleck 3460-63) but it is absent from Caius in its entirety (cf. Caius 3015-20), presumably because it delays the main action of this episode which occurs in the Sultan's pavilion. Secondly, the description of Guy arming himself before he sets out for the pavilion is of 14 lines in Auchinleck (3488-3501), including visual descriptive details of hose, hauberk, helmet, with its band of gold and precious stones, enchanted sword, and shield. In Caius, however, this description only includes the final two items (sword and shield) and is therefore of only 4 lines (Caius 3045-48). Both of these descriptions could be described as functioning, in Auchinleck, to build suspense and emphasise the danger into which Guy is heading before he reaches the pavilion. But their omission from Caius suggests that they were regarded as too laborious and as creating too tardy a pace.

These kinds of omissions in Caius result in more rapid plot development, however, they can also result in a weakening of overarching themes and structures. For example, Sir Tristor's speech (Auchinleck 3420-57) and, earlier, Guy's lament at having not heeded his father's advice (Auchinleck 1381-98⁸⁹) both contribute to a debate on youth versus age

⁸⁷ The section of narrative absent from the Caius text here appears to have been 'carefully selected' for removal as its absence does not result in severe disruption of sense or continuity and sufficient information is retained to convey the key elements of the story.

⁸⁸ *it is now gon mo þan fifti zer / þat ich on rigge hauberk ber*, Auchinleck MS, 3448-9.

⁸⁹ This example is also mentioned in the discussion of 'laments and emotional distress' above.

which runs throughout the text. As both are omitted, this debate and the youth/age theme is significantly weakened in the Caius text.⁹⁰

Similarly, the elimination or reduction of certain scenes significant to the overall structure of the narrative can result in loss or distortion of the symmetry that is crucial for definition of the various narrative moves.⁹¹ An example of this is found in stage C of move two.⁹² The centre (C stage) of both the first and second moves is marked by the appearance of a woman who represents a potential threat to Felice in her role as Guy's beloved. The C-stage of move two in Auchinleck (3790-3805) includes: the preparations for Guy's marriage to Clarice; the calling off of the wedding mid-ceremony due to Guy's sudden illness induced by revived memories of Felice; the sorrow of the court, of Guy and of Guy's pet lion following the cancellation of the marriage; and, finally, Guy seeking counsel from Heraud. This whole sequence of events emphasises how close Guy comes to marriage to Clarice, with the extended period of sorrow and counsel emphasising the revived memories of Felice, and Guy's feelings for her, and recalling the ultimate motivation for Guy's 'exile' in this second move. The complete removal of the jilting at the altar scene and accompanying scenes of sorrow and counsel in the Caius text (cf. Caius 3253-6), then, disrupts the symmetry of the exile-and-return structure. In this, the second move of the Caius text offers no parallel with the structural symmetry of the first move and loses the reminder that Felice is Guy's ultimate motivation.

Editorial Technique 3: One or Two Couplet Cuts

Throughout the Caius text there seems to have been a tendency to regularly cut individual couplets of certain kinds. An individual couplet may be extracted when it constitutes the kind of ancillary description which allows for its removal without disruption of the sense or flow of the narrative. It is a technique that allows the editor to slightly shorten scenes which are essential to the plot, with the overall effect of producing a narrative that unfolds at a faster pace. For example: early in the narrative the somewhat lengthy descriptions of Guy's love sickness are reduced in Caius by removal of some of the repeated references to swooning and crying (appearing at Auchinleck 179-182, 327-330 and 371-375); there is a tendency to remove descriptive details of surrounding scenery or setting (appearing in Auchinleck, for example, at 1731-32 and 4126-7); there is also a tendency to remove or

⁹⁰ For further discussion of the youth versus age debate in *Guy of Warwick* see Barnes (1993).

⁹¹ As discussed in section 2, above.

⁹² See the plot synopsis and structural breakdown of the narrative in section 2, above.

reduce descriptions of the value of rewards and prizes (as appear, for example, at Auchinleck 2484-87 and 2508-9).

In addition to this usual function, this technique has a very specific stylistic application. On at least two occasions traditional ‘oral’ references appear in Auchinleck but not in Caius: cf. Auchinleck 789-792 with Caius 885-888 and Auchinleck 3270-71 with Caius 2895-98. Further, a number of examples of ‘epic style’ phrases appear in Auchinleck but not Caius, most notably: the comparisons between a knight in battle and *a lyoun* hunting in Auchinleck 1233-34 and 2030-31 but absent from Caius (cf. Caius 1337-40 and 2067-70); the comparison between mounted knights and *foule* that *flep* in Auchinleck 2580-81 but absent from Caius (cf. Caius 2553-56).⁹³ In displaying these particular preferences the editor indicates a distaste for certain traditional stylistic features which seem to have been perceived as archaisms.

Editorial Technique 4: Reduction

There are several instances of passages having been reduced, rather than cut wholesale, using a combination of editorial techniques 2 and 3 (‘block cuts’ and ‘one and two couplet cuts’). Reduction allows for a large quantity of material to be discarded whilst the sense and flow of the narrative is maintained with, crucially, information essential for understanding the story retained. This technique involves picking out lines for retention from those already existing in the text (in contrast, for example, to the bridging couplets which seem certain to have been written by the editor). Again, here, material to be reduced is that which is descriptive and static: long speeches, visual descriptions, repeated actions in battle, digressions. An example of the use of this technique, of identifying a passage then reducing it to its key points, is found in one of the scenes reporting Guy’s love sickness early in the narrative. What appears in Auchinleck as a 26-line soliloquy is in Caius of only 12 lines:

Auchinleck 273 - 298

þer in he made sorwe anouȝ
& his cloþes al to drouȝ
vnder heuen nas þat it ne miȝt haue rewþe
of his sorwenes & of his trewþe

Caius 405 - 416

There he made sorowe and sorowe enough
His clothes he rende his heer he drough
... ..
... ..

⁹³ See Smithers’ definitions of epic features in romance, Smithers (1957; rept. 1969). Smithers comments that epic similes are “...highly stylised...” and often involve animals and birds “...especially from the chase or from the predatory pursuit of one animal or bird by another...”, for example the deer and the lion.

of loue he bi ment strongliche
 for whom þat he loued so miche
 loue he seyð slake now mi sore
 þat is dedeliche as y seyð ore
 loue of þis ʒongling
 makeþ me iuel fonding
 loue bring me of þis wodenisse
 & bring me in to *sum* lisse
 for to reste me aþrowe
 þat y miʒt meseluen knowe
 sore me menep for me smert
 miche care is in mine hert
 michel ich am y cast of miʒt
 al to fer wiþ vnriʒt
 loue me doþ to grounde falle
 þat y ne may stond stef wiþ alle
 loue doþ min cloþes done
 & after me clepeþ wreche sone
 hou schal y liue hou schal y fare
 hou long schal y liuen *in* care
 leuest þing me were to dye
 & ich wist bi wiche weye

Of loue he bemeneth him strongely
 ffor whom he hath sorowe gretly

 Loue a slake me of this wodenesse
 And respite graunte me more or lesse
 That y might reste me a throwe
 Wherthugh my sorowe may ouere blowe

 To farre y am kaste in vnmygh̄te
 My herte is heuy and noo thinḡ lighte

 What shaft̄ y doo how shaft̄ y fare
 I may not lyue longe in this kare

This passage provides an indication of the editor's working methods. Significantly, this speech has been identified and handled as a unit: it has been internalised and an assessment has been made of its key points before material has been excised. In order to ensure a coherent and also well-balanced narrative the editor's cuts must re-shape each individual narrative unit eloquently, and this is only possible through understanding and consideration of each narrative unit, as shown above. It is in this sense of the editor carefully and fluently re-shaping and re-forming each narrative unit that his authorial status becomes most apparent.

Other examples of this technique can be found in the parting scene between Guy and Tirri before Guy returns to England where what appears as an account of 64 lines in Auchinleck is reduced to 6 lines in Caius (cf. Auchinleck 6672-6737 with Caius 4171-78), with the lines of the reduced Caius speech being based on existing lines. Also, in the episode featuring Guy in the sultan's pavilion (cf. Auchinleck 3526-3629 with Caius 3069-3128). It is also used in Guy's lament for the loss of his men (see especially Auchinleck 1361-2, 1365-8, 1379-99 which do not appear in the corresponding Caius passage, Caius 1449-68).

As has been noted, reduction involves a combination of editorial techniques 2 and 3 and what is found is that there are examples of scenes in which all four techniques appear in one scene or episode. The combined use of all four techniques in this manner is usually in order to sustain drastic reductions to a lengthy sequence whilst maintaining narrative

coherence and some sense of literary and stylistic balance. For example: all four techniques are combined in the lengthy battle sequences with the Saracens: cf. Auchinleck 2620-2795 with Caius 2589-2618.

Another indication of the methods by which the Caius / *Caius editor was working is provided by the tendency for progressively longer and longer sections to be cut the further the narrative proceeds. This can be illustrated by breaking the narrative into approximately 1000-line sections and comparing the relative length of each part in Auchinleck and Caius:

First part: Auchinleck 569-1936 corresponds to Caius 661-1884.

Auchinleck is 144 lines longer than Caius, or **10.5%**.

Second part: Auchinleck 2014-3079 corresponds to Caius lines 2055 - 2806.

Auchinleck is 314 lines longer than Caius, or **29.4%**.

Third part: Auchinleck 3080-4115 corresponds to Caius 2807-3404.

Auchinleck is 438 lines longer than Caius, or **42.3%**.

Fourth part: Auchinleck 4116-5255 corresponds to Caius 3405-3750.

Auchinleck is 794 lines longer than Caius, or **69.6%**.

Fifth part: Auchinleck 5256-6925 corresponds to Caius 3751-4274.

Auchinleck is 1146 lines longer than Caius, or **68.6%**

Much more material is excluded from the second half of the narrative, with the most drastic cuts occurring in the final parts. This pattern is partly the result of the content of the narrative at the various stages: battle sequences were found to be more suitable for drastic reduction and these do not occur in the first part of the narrative. Nevertheless, the data would suggest that the editor worked chronologically through the narrative, gradually excising more material as he progressed, becoming more ruthless or exasperated as he continued.

In conclusion, then, these editorial strategies are important for understanding the Caius *Guy*. The fact that it is possible to show that the sections left out of the Caius text represent well-defined episodes - not random chunks of text - indicates that they have been intentionally omitted rather than representing a damaged exemplar. Further, the

tendency toward cutting certain kinds of material indicates the presence of an editor undertaking a literary exercise and with certain design prerogatives in mind. There is clear evidence that the editor knew the text and that he was working through it systematically. The fact that, for the most part, sense and continuity are maintained highlights the care and control with which the editor has undertaken this enterprise. It is somewhat inevitable that the reductions to the Caius narrative have resulted in some loss or distortion of the structural symmetry and thematic content of the narrative. Nevertheless, the editor's skilful application of these techniques, both individually and combined, his knowledge of the narrative and regard for the shape of each narrative unit, provided him with a working method that ensured production of a highly coherent and eloquently balanced re-working of the text which also fulfilled the criteria of being of significantly reduced length.⁹⁴

It was commented above that the Caius text has been updated linguistically, with dialectal archaisms removed. This is also true of other features of the language of this text: there is a concern to remove the number of certain stylistic archaisms ('oral' references and epic phrases), to drastically reduce the battle sequences, and to generally produce a narrative which develops more rapidly and less laboriously than earlier versions had been found to. All of these could be described as representing a concern to update the text and indicates the preferences of a new early fifteenth-century audience for *Guy of Warwick*.⁹⁵ In this, they are also very much at odds with the editorial preferences of the fifteenth-century E-version *Guy of Warwick* in CUL MS Ff.2.38 which are described in the following discussion.

⁹⁴ The methods of the editor of this text can be compared with the working methods of the author of the D-version (now represented in the NLW/BL fragments). Mills and Huws (1974), pp.12-14, identify some of the working methods of the D-version redactor. Like the editor of *Caius the D-version redactor was concerned "...to reduce the daunting length of *Gui* to a more manageable compass..." (p.12) and made "...increasingly frequent...subtractions from the original material..." (pp.12-13). Unlike the editor of *Caius the author of the D-version "...shows no real preference for one kind of story-material over another...", abbreviating in what was, from a thematic point of view, a rather arbitrary manner. It can, however, be said of both that they are "...markedly reluctant to follow the scholarly stereotype of a ME redactor of French romance, at home with the scenes of comradeship and fighting, but uncomfortable with long sentimental passages..." (p.13).

⁹⁵ For further consideration of the nature of this audience and the scribes who copied the Caius MS see Chapter 2, section 5.3 and Chapter 3, sections 2.3.iii and 6.3.i, below.

The E-version: Fifteenth-Century Adaptations

There are two surviving copies of the E-version *Guy of Warwick*: i. in a complete form in CUL MS Ff.2.38 of c.1500; ii. in two passages that have been incorporated into the latter part of the Caius MS text of c.1400. The first Caius MS E-version passage is of 774 lines (Caius 4413-5186) and corresponds to a 764-line section of narrative in the CUL text (CUL 7281-8024). That is, Caius is a total of only 10 lines longer than CUL here. The second E-version passage in Caius is of 1419 lines (Caius 5778-7196) and corresponds to a 1330-line section of narrative in the CUL text (CUL 8545-9874). So, here Caius is a total of 89 lines longer than CUL (approximately 7% longer).

There is no great disparity in length, then, and what is found is that both texts for the most part correspond line-for-line with individual couplets that have been added or omitted distributed throughout each. Examples of groups of lines of more than one couplet are rare and, in general, it would be difficult to find evidence for any consistently executed editorial pattern or preferences. In a number of cases omissions can be seen to represent scribal error. For example, there is a group of five lines found in Caius (4992-96) but absent from CUL which can be regarded as having been omitted due to ‘eye-skip’: a common kind of scribal error found in verse texts and resulting from the scribe losing his place on the column of text. The passage containing these lines in Caius is given below with the section that is absent from the CUL text indicated in bold:

Caius 4990 - 4997

Aff I loste both more and lesse
 Tho went I fro my contree
Tyll it myght after better be
Thus will I walke in this estate
Tyll his wrath be a bate
When he and I accordyd be
Then will I wende to my contree
 Now quod the kyng so free

As can be seen, the last line of the omitted group and the last line before the omitted group both end in *contree*. When the scribe’s eye returned to the page after copying the first *contree*, it mistakenly set on the second *contree*, five lines down, resulting in the omission of the intervening lines.

Richmond regards the CUL text's "...many small revisions..." as indicating a "...preference for robust action, unimpeded by ancillary descriptive details...".⁹⁶ Whereas this would certainly be true of the text of the A-version Caius text, with its extensive cuts, Richmond's argument here is not convincing and is contradicted, for one thing, by the addition of a descriptive scene at 385-428 (discussed below). Though modified in certain places and linguistically updated (in terms of dialect and phraseology), the pace and detail of the CUL narrative is very similar to that of the Anglo-Norman and Auchinleck texts and to the E-version passages represented in Caius.⁹⁷

Despite this lack of evidence for a continuous editorial presence throughout the text, what are of note are a number of small additions made to the CUL narrative which seem clearly to have been motivated by specific editorial design. Firstly, there are two conventional 'oral' references, consisting of interjections from the narrator, in the CUL text which do not appear in Caius. The CUL text has (with the lines that are additional to CUL given in italics):

CUL 7389 - 7390 *God þat dyed on a tre*
 Saue Gye fro schame & vylane
Now turne we a geyne & speke of Gye
As we fynde in owre storye

CUL 7549 - 7550 *But ther of be as be may*
 Let vs be mery y yow pray
But when hyt wyste þe Sowdañ
þat hys sone so was slayne⁹⁸

As these lines do not appear in *Gui de Warwic*, or in the comparable places in the other ME texts, it seems certain that they were created and added to the text by a scribe/editor (rather than having been part of the original translation which were then omitted from the text found in Caius). There are five other traditional 'oral' references in CUL which cannot be compared with Caius (as they occur in sections of narrative outside of those preserved in the two Caius passages) but which are also likely to have been added to the text by a later editor, all being absent from *Gui de Warwic* and the Auchinleck texts and all being similar in style. The repetition of the phrase *ffylle the cuppe*, and the

⁹⁶ Richmond (1996), pp.110-117.

⁹⁷ Though Richmond's comments on the characterisation of Felice and the general tendency for more realistic touches to be given to characters in the CUL text is more convincingly argued. Richmond (1996), pp.110-117.

⁹⁸ Compare CUL lines 7549 -7550 with *Gui de Warwic* 8024. Fewster (1987), p.27.

consistent positioning before or at the narrative junctures indicated by enlarged capitals, would further support the idea these lines were all the additions of the same scribe/editor:

- CUL 5859 - 5862 *ffor seynt Thomas loue of Cawnturberye*
ffylle the cuppe and make vs mery
Now haþ Gye all hys wylle
 In the courte boþe lowde & stulle⁹⁹
- CUL 6687 - 6690 *Also so god geue yow reste*
ffylle the cuppe of the beste
Now wendyþ Gye faste a way
 He wolde not 3elde hym þat day
- CUL 7117 - 7120 *ffor the gode that god made*
ffylle the cuppe and make vs glade
Hyt was in a somers tyde
 That Gye had moche pryde¹⁰⁰
- CUL 10749 - 10750 *Now lordyngys lystenþ of þe noyse*
Of gode syr Tyrrye of Gormoyse
- CUL 10779 - 1086 Hys loue so he quytt hym all
 The Abbey standeth & euer schall
ffor to prey for gode syr Gye
That god on hys sowle haue mercy
And that god schylde from woo
Hys sowle and owres alsoo
Of Gye an endynge y muste make
To Cryste crowned kynge y hym be take
And to hys modur also now ryght
That they vs brynge to þat blys bryght
LYSTENYTH NOW Y SCHAÐ YOW TELLE¹⁰¹

By deliberately increasing the number of conventional ‘oral’ references, this later re-working of the E-version consciously archaïses the text. The references are not evidence for the persistence of an oral tradition, but, as they have been added later and deliberately, should be regarded as having a literary function. As Fewster argues: they have both a structural function whereby they are “...used as an ironic break, and one which dissociates the reader from the action at the crucial stage...” and are used in order to “...project a

⁹⁹ Compare CUL lines 5859-5860 with *Gui de Warwic* 6274. See Fewster (1987), p.27 and Zupitza (1975-6), pp.406-407.

¹⁰⁰ Compare CUL lines 7117-7118 with *Gui de Warwic* 7562. See Fewster (1987), p.27 and Zupitza (1975-6), pp.406-407.

¹⁰¹ This passage follows Guy’s death and burial at the very end of the Guy story and directly preceding the conclusion to the Reinbrun story. Zupitza p.448 comments that “...The French has nothing like ll. 10779-10786. The last line is a little strange after what precedes. Perhaps the passage has been tampered with, if not entirely added, by the scribe...”. In view of the other, comparable additions, the awkward changeover from lines 10778-79, and the lack of a source for this passage, this would certainly seem to be the case.

certain image of romance...” through the evocation of the authority of a past tradition.¹⁰² The adaptations of this reviser, then, can be seen to have specific and self-conscious generic function.¹⁰³

There are four other passages from the CUL text for which there is no known source and which represent significant deviations from *Gui* and from the other versions of *Guy*. None of these is within a section of narrative that is also found in the Caius E-version passages. However, consideration of the content of these passages, and comparison with external evidence, would imply that these too represent the work of a fifteenth-century scribe/editor. Significantly, all four passages are concerned with either Guy’s armour or Guy’s hermitage and, in this, all represent creation of an explicit link between the romance and the local legend of Guy that was perpetuated at Warwick.

The first of the passages concerning Guy’s armour and knightly apparel appears at CUL lines 387-422 and provides a detailed description of the ceremony at which Guy is knighted at Warwick. The ceremony is described in detail with focus given to the material details and, in particular, the key objects involved in the ritual: Guy’s sword and spurs. There is a sword for each knight, hanging on the hilt of which is “...A peyre of sporys newe gylte...” (CUL 401-402). When Guy takes his turn to be knighted, the Earl of Warwick takes the spurs from the sword and “...set the spurres on hys [Guy’s] fote...” (CUL 415) before knighting him with the sword.¹⁰⁴ As Zupitza comments: “...Neither the French original nor the Auchinleck and Caius MSS have anything corresponding to this whole passage...”¹⁰⁵

The second passage concerning Guy’s armour appears at CUL 10141-10164 and again, as Zupitza comments: “...There is nothing like this passage either in the French work (at least, in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS) or in any other ME version...”¹⁰⁶ This passage follows the scene in which at King Athelstan’s request the disguised Guy agrees to be England’s champion in the battle with the Danish army’s giant Colebrond. When no “...mete armowre...” (CUL 10148) can be found for the disguised Guy he

¹⁰² Fewster (1987), p.28. According to Fewster’s thesis, the image of romance that is projected is essentially traditionalist.

¹⁰³ For discussion of the relationship of traditional ‘oral’ references to the issue of the actual performance of romances see section 8, below.

¹⁰⁴ A description of this scene is also provided in Richmond (1996), p.111.

¹⁰⁵ Zupitza (1875-6), p.352.

¹⁰⁶ Zupitza (1875-6), p.441.

suggests to Athelstan that he borrow Guy of Warwick's armour, saying that he has heard that *ther was a knyght / Some tyme dwellyng in Warwyk towne / Large & longe from fote to crowne / And but hys armowre wyll serue me / Y trowe in ynglonde none ther bee* (CUL 10152-6). The armour is sent for, which Felice has kept and maintained in pristine condition, so that: *hyt was not peyred before nor behynde* (CUL 10164).

The addition of the solemn knighting ceremony and of the description stating that Guy wore his own armour during battle with Colebrond, including the details of the armour having been kept at Warwick castle and personally maintained by Felice, can be seen to have been of special interest to the local legend of Guy of Warwick that was perpetuated at Warwick during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Significantly, as part of the paraphernalia associated with the legend, a suit of armour alleged to have been worn by Guy was owned by the late medieval Earls of Warwick.¹⁰⁷ And as Severs notes: "...Guy's sword, armour, and statue are still displayed at Warwick Castle...".¹⁰⁸ Further, that these references to Guy's armour represent a direct knowledge of the local legend is endorsed by comparison with the other two additions to the CUL text.

The other two additions to the CUL text constitute embellishments to existing descriptions of the hermitage to which Guy retreats in later life. The shorter of these two additions appears at Guy's death and is concerned with creating a more official and more publicly witnessed scene at the hermitage than is presented in *Gui* and in the other ME versions. Felice arrives at the hermitage just before Guy's death and, following the Anglo Norman, is described as attended by a few knights. An additional couplet in the CUL text, however, significantly increases this entourage, commenting that in addition to these knights Felice is also accompanied by *Erllys barons & abbottys tho / Archebyschopes & byschoppes also* (CUL 10653-54). Though Zupitza describes this additional couplet as "...an absurdity..." it seems that it was added with the specific intention of increasing the significance and grandeur of this scene at the hermitage:

¹⁰⁷ Fewster (1987), p.124.

¹⁰⁸ Severs (1967), p.31. The two-handed sword now displayed at Warwick and traditionally associated with Guy measures 5 feet 5.25 inches and weights 15 lbs 1oz. The description given in the Warwick armoury comments that the sword must have had a purely symbolic character and was "...presumably made in the early-fourteenth century to fit an extant tradition concerning the Saxon Guy of Warwick...". In the first year of the reign of Henry VIII (1509), William Hoggeson was appointed by the King as 'Keeper of Guy of Warwick's Sword' for which he was given 11d per day, and in the household accounts of Elizabeth I this fee is registered at £3 per annum: evidence that the sword was of widespread and long-standing fame and was regarded as a precious and important artifact.

transforming it from a private moment between husband and wife to a moment of public significance.¹⁰⁹

The other addition involves the location and identity of the hermitage when Guy first goes to it. Frankis and Fewster have compared the CUL text to the Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warwic* here, noting that *Gui* emphasises the remoteness of the hermitage: it is the dwelling place of a hermit who “...qui loinz en la forest maneit...” (11419); it is a hermitage that “...Qui tant ert loinz en cel bosage...” (11422); and when a messenger goes to fetch Felice he tells her that Gui “...Loinz en la forest le laissai...” (11536).¹¹⁰ This vague, non-particularised description of the hermitage also appears in the other ME versions and all follow the common romance motif in which the hermitage is located in a remote place in the forest.¹¹¹ This is in marked contrast to the description of the hermitage in the CUL text:

CUL 10525 - 10530

Besydes Warwykk go he can
 To an ermyte þat he knewe or þan
 On a ryuere syde hys hows he hadde
 A full holy lyfe he there ladde
 Besydes Warwyke þat was hys
 That Gybbeclyf clepyd ys

Here, the description refers to an actual medieval hermitage that was close to Warwick (not remote from it) that had come to be associated with Guy. As Frankis describes:

Gibcliff (in various spellings) was the original name of a place on the Avon about a mile north of Warwick, where there is a well-authenticated medieval hermitage, in use at least from the early fourteenth century onwards. Some time in the late Middle Ages, presumably because of its proximity to Warwick, the hermitage came to be associated with the legendary Guy of Warwick, just as various places in England came to be associated with legendary heroes such as King Arthur or Robin Hood and were named accordingly; by the end of the fifteenth century the association with Guy became so strong that the name was changed from Gibcliff to Guy's Cliffe, which is still its name today.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Zupitza (1875-6), p.447, comments that these lines “...are very likely to be spurious. Neither the French (at least the Cambridge and the Royal MSS) nor the other English versions have anything like them. Nor have we any reason to think the translator himself so stupid as to add such an absurdity...”.

¹¹⁰ Frankis (1997), p.84. All line references to *Gui de Warewic* are to Ewert's edition (1932-3).

¹¹¹ The Caius text follows *Gui* and the messenger tells Felice that the hermitage is located “...In the forest a ryght fer weye...” (Caius 7981). The Auchinleck text also follows *Gui* in presenting a remote hermitage that is only described in vague terms: “...Out of toun he went his way / Into a forest wenden he gan / To an hermite he knewe er þan...” (Auchinleck 10296-98). Frankis (1997), p.84. Fewster (1987), p.114.

¹¹² Frankis (1997), p.85.

In this, then, the fifteenth-century re-working, displays a very definite concern to emphasise the relationship between the romance and the local legend of Guy of Warwick, specifying local allegiances. The literary hermitage of *Gui de Warwic* has been transformed, in the CUL text, into "...a real hermitage that has been given a literary or quasi-legendary status...".¹¹³

This reference to 'Gybbeclyf' is also significant as it gives a *terminus a quo* for these additions to the CUL text. The association between Guy's hermitage and Gybbeclyf was in place in the fifteenth century, with the name Gybbeclyf beginning to be replaced by 'Guy's Cliffe' from c.1500, but there is no evidence for its existence prior to 1400.¹¹⁴ Further, the rise of the cult of Guy's hermitage can be given more precise dating within the fifteenth century through the references to Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1382-1439), having built a chapel at this site, and statue of his legendary ancestor Guy, during the 1420s. In 1422 Beauchamp acquired Gybbeclyf from its monastic owners, going to some lengths to do so. He obtained a licence in 1423 to build a chantry chapel on the site and construction was apparently completed in the same year. On his death in 1439 he directed more building to the chapel and this was undertaken in 1449-50 and 1459-60. As Frankis comments, Beauchamp's acquisition of the site at Gybbeclyf and the construction of the chapel and statue appears to indicate:

...a desire in the years after 1420 to revive and foster the Guy legend and to give it a cult-centre in Warwick, presumably for reasons of family prestige and perhaps out of simple romantic enthusiasm.¹¹⁵

The creation of this centre and the revived interest in the hermitage, then, can be dated to 1423 and, as there is no earlier evidence for this kind of interest in the hermitage, it seems likely that the additions to the E-version *Guy of Warwick* which refer to Gybbeclyf were made after this date.

Frankis, somewhat misleadingly, described 1423 as a *terminus a quo* for the production of the 'text' itself (and there is a tendency generally among critics to refer to the CUL text as 'the fifteenth-century version').¹¹⁶ This discussion (along with the description of the versions in Chapter 3) should have clarified this point: both E-version texts are descended

¹¹³ Frankis (1997), p.87. Sections 6 and 7, below, provide detailed discussion of the perpetuation of the Guy legend at Warwick and its significance for reading and understanding of the romance.

¹¹⁴ Frankis (1997), p.85.

¹¹⁵ Frankis (1997), p.86.

¹¹⁶ See: Zupitza (1875-6); McSparran and Robinson (1979).

from a fourteenth-century translation (attested by the survival of the E-version in the c.1400 Caius MS), but the text preserved in the CUL MS shows evidence of having been revised by a fifteenth-century editor. That is, the *terminus a quo* of 1423 is for the editorial additions only, not for the original translation of the E-version.

In conclusion, then, the traditional 'oral' references and the references to the objects and paraphernalia associated with the local legend at Warwick could be described as representing a closely connected editorial purpose: both are concerned with authority and tradition. As Fewster has argued, the oral references serve to emphasise the traditional and archaic features of the genre and, here, what can be seen is that their combination with a number of references to the legend further serve to emphasise that this is a story that has the authority of both a literary tradition and a historical legend. The editor expresses a concern to traditionalise and to evoke the authority of the past and uses these strategies to do so.

5. Critical Responses

The survival of *Guy of Warwick* not only in multiple copies but also in multiple versions is an indication of its contemporary success and appeal. It is useful to compare this to the survival rate of other ME romances. About fifty, almost half, of the Middle English romances survive in only one manuscript and just over a quarter survive in three or more medieval manuscripts.¹¹⁷ In this context it is remarkable that there are nine romances surviving in multiple copies: there are ten surviving manuscripts of *Robert of Sicily*, nine of *Isumbras*, seven each of *Bevis* and *Richard*, six of *Lybeaus*, *Eglamour*, *Degare*, and *Partanope*, and five of *Guy of Warwick*. Where a story survives in a number of manuscripts, or there are in several versions of it, it was evidently popular.¹¹⁸ And in addition to this, the surviving manuscripts of *Guy of Warwick* indicate that these texts were geographically widespread, that multiple versions existed, and that the story had an enduring appeal, with manuscripts ranging in date from the early fourteenth to the late fifteenth century, all factors that support the claim that many more manuscripts of this romance existed.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ See Guddat-Figge's catalogue of romance manuscripts (1976).

¹¹⁸ This point is made by Reiss in his consideration of the popularity of romance (1985), pp.108-120.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 3, below.

Something of the success of *Guy of Warwick* is also implied by Chaucer's satire *Sir Thopas*. The attention Chaucer gives to the subject provides an insight into how well known the genre was within his circle, all be it outdated by the standards of the fashionable literati of the day. *The Canterbury Tales* fictionalises its own audience reception throughout and what is imagined in *Sir Thopas* is the Host's particularly potent hostility to popular Middle English romance:

“Namooore of this, for Goddes dignitee,”
 Quod oure Hooste, “for thou makest me
 So wery of thy verray lewednesse
 That, also wisly God my soule blesse,
 Myne eres aken of thy drasty speche.
 Now swich a rym the devel I biteche!
 This may wel be rym dogerel,” quod he.¹²⁰

Popular romance is dismissed with a kind of playful contempt, first by the satire and then literally by the Host who puts a stop to the tale. The Host cuts short the tale mid-line, abruptly bringing to a halt, with his exasperated criticism, its jangling meter and banal and halting clichés. He is made so irritated and weary by it that he uses his power as overseer to forbid the teller to continue with anything more in verse,¹²¹ sanctioning instead “...a litel thyng in prose...”.¹²² The satire represents popular romance as hackneyed and facile, loaded with overworked stereotypes and motifs, and serving only as entertainment for the simpleminded. It is a tale which sees a pointed departure from Chaucer's usual poetic usage in order to imitate the metre, rhyme, and diction of the contemporary metrical romances.¹²³

The satire works from detailed knowledge of and allusion to the language of Middle English metrical romance and verbal parallels with *Sir Thopas* can be found in a range of metrical romances.¹²⁴ The satire also implies more specific targets and, using a device

¹²⁰ Benson (1987), ll.906-912.

¹²¹ The Host tells the narrator character: “...Sire, at o word, thou shalt no lenger ryme...”, Benson (1987), l.932.

¹²² Benson (1987), p.216, l.937.

¹²³ For a description of Chaucer's use of stanza form, his loose rhyming technique, metrical peculiarity, and choice of diction see the explanatory notes to *The Prologue and Tale of Sir Thopas* by J.A.Burrow in Benson (1987), pp.917-918.

¹²⁴ Romances which show verbal parallels with *Sir Thopas* are listed by Burrow who suggests *Guy of Warwick* to be the chief model but also includes *Bevis of Hampton*, *Lybeaus Desconus*, *Sir Launfal*, *Perceval of Gales*, *Sir Eglamour*, and *Thomas of Erceldoune*, along with *Horn Child* and *Ypotys* referred to in the list of heroes of “...romances of prys...”. Benson (1987), p.917. For the standard collection of parallels, taking into account all previous work, see Hibbard Loomis in Bryan and Dempster (1941), pp.486-559.

characteristic of romance, the knight Sir Thopas is compared with a list of romances heroes, including Guy of Warwick:

Men speken of romances of prys,
Of Horn child and of Ypotys,
Of Beves and sir Gy,
Of sir Lybeax and Pleyndamour -
But sir Thopas he bereth the flour
Of roial chivalry!
[ll.897 - 902]

Chaucer's response is a useful piece of evidence in that it indicates that this kind of criticism, which dismisses the romances on the grounds of perceived artistic merit and literary sophistication, was alive at least by the latter part of the fourteenth century and not, as Wittig asserts, simply a twentieth-century 'problem'.¹²⁵ Yet this function for *Sir Thopas* has been overworked by literary critics who find themselves unable to account for the contemporary success of romances like *Guy of Warwick*.

Thopas is Chaucer's legacy to Middle English popular romance and has been echoed repeatedly as the archetypal literary critical response to romances like *Guy of Warwick*.¹²⁶ The host's exasperation with the metrical romances expresses what is frequently felt by twentieth-century critics who struggle to understand the vast contemporary appeal of literature which is regarded as relentlessly "...pedestrian and clichéd...".¹²⁷ The editors of the *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, for example, say of *Guy of Warwick*:

Its incidents are unduly repetitive and prolix; the Middle English adapters show no inventiveness or critical sense; and the metrical inconsistency of the Advocates version is scarcely effective. Appropriately, Chaucer in the tale of *Sir Thopas* parodies *Guy* more completely than any other romance.¹²⁸

And Edmund Reiss finds it necessary first to take on *Sir Thopas* in his attempt to get beyond conventional dismissals of the genre:

¹²⁵ Wittig (1978), p.46. Wittig argues that difficulties with defining and comprehending this highly stylised genre are a result of cultural divide.

¹²⁶ And one which does not account for Chaucer's debt to the popular romances in English which Pearsall has called "...profound..." (1985), p.43, and which is likewise acknowledged by Brewer (1966), pp.1-38. Mills (1988), p.9, makes similar comments with regard to *Horn Childe*: "...Ever since the black day on which Chaucer the Pilgrim spoke of its hero in the same breath as his own Sir Thopas, *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* has received as bad a press as almost any other tail-rhyme romance...".

¹²⁷ Wittig (1978), p.46.

¹²⁸ Severs (1967), p.31.

the romances...reveal more erudition and craftsmanship than the modern reader, misled by a superficial understanding of Sir Thopas, is prepared to find¹²⁹

The type of dismissal of the genre that Reiss refers to dominates all but the most recent of two centuries of literary scholarship on *Guy of Warwick*. As Legge comments "...Ellis's judgment on the romance [*Specimens of Early English Romances*, ii (London, 1805), p.4], published in 1805, has been endorsed by all subsequent critics: 'Guy of Warwick is certainly one of the most antient [*sic*] and popular, and no less certainly one of the dullest and most tedious of our early romances.'..."¹³⁰ Pearsall asks the question: why were such bad romances so very popular?¹³¹ Kane, with no acknowledgment at all of their contemporary popularity, provides evaluations which simply reject the popular romances as "bad", "flat", "crude", and "pedestrian".¹³² Richmond comments that the conventional view of Middle English romances has been that they are "...tedious and uninspiring..." found by modern readers to be "...long and repetitive, abounding in undistinguished detail which somehow was tolerated by less critical men and women of the Middle Ages who had no better resources..."¹³³

The problems with understanding individual romances have been accompanied by the uneasy task of defining the genre. The diversity of the genre renders fixing a precise definition an impossibility; the genre is more suited to being characterised according to the combinations of distinct features that its texts typically tend to contain. On this subject Pearsall refers to the "...dangers of treating such an amorphous group of poems as genre..." but acknowledges that it is possible to attempt "...some generalisations..." concerning its character.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, the impulse of the critic has been to categorise and to classify: attempting to impose some order on this muddled genre in the effort to understand it.¹³⁵ As a result, various literary criteria have been applied to the romance genre in order to divide it into related categories.

¹²⁹ Reiss (1985), p.114.

¹³⁰ Legge (1963), p.167.

¹³¹ Pearsall (1980), p.105.

¹³² Kane (1951), pp.13-14, 19.

¹³³ Richmond (1975), pp.2-3. For further discussion of criticism of the romances see Reiss in Heffernan (1985), p.113.

¹³⁴ Pearsall (1977), p.143; see also Mills (1973).

¹³⁵ See, however, Kane for a refusal, for the purposes of his evaluation at least, to subject the romances to any classification at all on the grounds that "...the usefulness of classifications of the romances according to their subject, kind, form or manner is diminished for our purpose of evaluation by their refusal to run true to form...", Kane (1951), p.9.

Earlier scholars favoured classification according to the three *matières*, “...de France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant...”, their relevance justified by referring to in the famous twelfth-century passage in Jean Bodel who first uses the terms.¹³⁶ Hibbard Loomis, in her study of the romances outside the major story-cycles, uses three categories to provide classification according to subject matter: ‘Romances of Love and Adventure’, ‘Romances of Legendary English Heroes’, and ‘Romances of Trial and Faith’.¹³⁷ These categories were recycled fifty years later by Mills who revises the titles to the simpler ‘Chivalrous’, ‘Heroic’ and ‘Edifying’. Mills describes them as useful for providing a ‘basic vocabulary’ for the discussion of romance, though admits to their significant limitations, commenting that “...our three terms will often prove more useful to describe parts of romances....than wholes...”.¹³⁸ It is a system which does not, as Mills points out, easily accommodate *Guy of Warwick* which is a romance that moves successively through all three of the categories.¹³⁹ This is partly indicative of this system’s limitations but also a result of *Guy of Warwick* being particularly difficult to classify, being a lengthy and, as Mills later puts it, and as has been discussed above in section 2, a comprehensive romance or “...romance that has everything...”.¹⁴⁰

Mehl rejects classifications based on the *matières* or on content alone along with rejection of the possibility of classification based on geographical or sociological data, commenting that:

Most classifications discussed so far seem to confine themselves to some rather accidental and superficial features of the romance and are therefore bound to be inadequate.¹⁴¹

Mehl instead favours the simpler system of grouping the romances according to their approximate length. He suggests that it is a method particularly well suited to the Middle English romances as the issue of length “...seems particularly relevant because they were so obviously written for recitation and with an audience in mind...”, an issue which has since been disputed on several occasions.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ See the use of these categories for classification by Baugh (1948), p.174; Schofield (1906), p.145; and in the standard reference works edited by Wells (1916) and (1940).

¹³⁷ Hibbard Loomis (1924).

¹³⁸ Mills (1973), p.vii.

¹³⁹ Mills (1973), pp.vii-viii.

¹⁴⁰ Or, at least, everything in these three categories. Mills (1992), pp.54-55. See also the final chapter of Richmond (1975) and section 2, above.

¹⁴¹ Mehl (1968), p.35. For a well informed discussion of the problem of classification see Mehl’s chapter on the subject, pp.30-38.

¹⁴² Mehl (1968), p.36. See section 8 below for discussion of this issue and objection to the idea that the romances were written for recitation.

In addition to these examples, the attempt has been made to classify according to the larger patterns of the story, with *Guy of Warwick* being described as an ‘exile-and-return’ romance (see section 2, above). Associations have also been made between stanzaic form and theme, with the accompanying suggestion that poetic form thus provides a useful and relevant criteria by which to group romances.¹⁴³

The generic definitions most pertinent to the reception of *Guy of Warwick* are those concerned with *Guy of Warwick* as a ‘historical romance’ and as a ‘pious’ or ‘exemplary’ romance. Both of these criteria have been the subject of considerable critical discussion. These generic classifications are reviewed now in sections 6 and 7 of this chapter. Here, the usefulness of these generic categories is compared against the extant, though somewhat fragmentary and scattered, contemporary evidence for reception.¹⁴⁴

6. *Guy of Warwick* as a History

Literary interpretations have emphasised the importance of historical themes to *Guy of Warwick* and to those other romances which deal with England’s past heroes and the interpretation of historical themes has been tied in with the wider question of the generic definition and classification of romance. Hibbard Loomis’s study, for example, emphasises the importance of the historicity displayed by many of the romances and places *Guy of Warwick* within the category ‘Romances of Legendary English Heroes’ (shortened by Mills to the category ‘Heroic’ romance) which defines those texts that take historical or quasi-historical material as their subject.¹⁴⁵

The significance of these themes and the question of how romances dealing with historical material should be regarded has, however, caused some problems for modern readers. Field, for example, compares chronicle and romance in order to discuss the question of their relationship and the problem of how, to modern readers at least, romances based on historical themes can seem to fall between two stools, on the one hand representing romance and on the other history, but not satisfying the requirements of either.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Mehl notes the similarities often to be found between chronicle and

¹⁴³ Mills (1973), pp.vii-ix.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion of some of the problems posed by limited evidence see Thompson (1992), p.82.

¹⁴⁵ Hibbard Loomis (1924) and Mills (1973).

¹⁴⁶ Field (1991), pp.163-4.

romance and comments on the close affinity perceivable between their didactic intentions: both forms describing exemplary heroes and actions in order to present moral and political lessons from the past, and both producing a brand of history that has an instructive function and which is blended with myth and legend in a way very different from today's more rigid scientific approaches.¹⁴⁷

Another important interpretation of the romances as historical texts comes from Legge and has been discussed in some detail in section 3, above. Legge's category 'ancestral romance' defines a group of Anglo-Norman romances of English heroes, including *Gui de Warewic*, which were produced to function something like family chronicles. However, that these romances functioned in this way as 'Insular histories' is disputed by Dannenbaum who favours a broader interpretation of them, and, through analysis of their content, describes them as responses to their wider social and political context.¹⁴⁸ The disagreement over whether these Anglo-Norman romances were 'Insular histories' means that their historical status remains in question.

The most successful discussions of the historicity of particular romances are those which include examination of manuscript context and, where possible, consideration of other external evidence for reception. It is evidence that can indicate with some conviction contemporary attitudes towards the historicity of these texts and the meaning or function of these themes. The following discussion reviews the manuscript evidence which could be used to suggest the reading of romances as historical sources. The discussion then goes on to consider the manuscript, chronicle, and regional evidence for the particular case of *Guy of Warwick*.

The expression of interest in historical themes varies significantly between manuscripts: from cases where historical texts have been loosely grouped together within miscellanies, to examples of romances having clearly been treated as historical sources. The 'Findern Anthology' is an example of the former: its arrangement indicates that an association has been made between the romance it contains and its other historical texts.¹⁴⁹ This copious anthology is comprised mainly of love lyrics but also contains the romance *Sir Degreuant* which is followed in the manuscript by 'The cronekelys of seyntys and

¹⁴⁷ Mehl (1968), p.21.

¹⁴⁸ Legge (1963), pp.139-175. Dannenbaum (1981-2).

¹⁴⁹ Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.6. Guddat-Figge (1976), cat. no. 11., pp.90-94.

kyngys of yngelond' and the 'Arms of the kings of Europe', both in prose. These form items twenty-seven to twenty-nine in the manuscript and their grouping together would indicate conscious association of the romance and the historical texts.

Romances are also found within specifically historical collections, indicating a definite interpretative reading and use of romance. This occurs in the miscellany Bodleian Library MS Digby 185, a family manuscript from the mid-fifteenth century containing items mostly of historical interest, including the *Brut*, but also containing the romance *King Ponthus of Galicia*.¹⁵⁰ There are also manuscripts which display very specific historical interests and which include romances among their historical sources. These include the fifteenth century MS CUL Mm.5.14 which is made up of three items: the first two being Latin prose tracts (the *Historia destruccionis Trioie* and the *Liber Alexandri*) and the third the English romance the *Siege of Jerusalem*.¹⁵¹ Guddat-Figge describes it briefly thus: "...Purely historical manuscript. The *Siege of Jerusalem* included as a historical source, though the only English text..."¹⁵²

Comparable to this is the elaborately decorated mid-fourteenth century MS College of Arms Arundel 22 containing the romance *The Siege or Batayle of Troye*, from f.1a, followed from f.8a to f.83, by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.¹⁵³ Following Monmouth's chronicle, the fall of Troy was considered a prelude to the history of England and formed a traditional literary opening to poems with historical themes, hence its appearance at the opening of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Wynnere and Wastoure*.¹⁵⁴ In this sense, as a foundation myth, the Troy story had a quite defined historical significance. The presentation of the romance here in MS Arundel 22 also has this function as a traditional introduction, but this time prior to Geoffrey of Monmouth's history.¹⁵⁵ The beautiful and elaborate decoration on the opening folio is unusual for a romance manuscript and it appears that because the romance was here intended as an opening for the following chronicle such elaborate treatment was reckoned to be appropriate. The romance has gained prestige through its

¹⁵⁰ Guddat-Figge (1976), cat. no. 72, pp.255-257.

¹⁵¹ Guddat-Figge (1976), cat. no. 17, pp.108-109.

¹⁵² Guddat-Figge (1976), p.108.

¹⁵³ Guddat-Figge (1976), cat. no.56, pp.214-215. See also the discussion of this manuscript provided by Mehl (1968), p.21.

¹⁵⁴ See: Turville-Petre (1989), p.41, ll.1-3, and the notes on these opening lines of *Wynnere and Wastoure*.

¹⁵⁵ The point is made by Mehl (1968), p.21.

association with the chronicle, an important indication of the significance of the context not only for the meaning of the romance but also for the status and the regard that it may be given.

The romance *Richard Coer de Lion* has been put to very specific use. It survives in three romance manuscripts but also in two entirely historical manuscripts and in the latter, in both cases, the romance is used as an interpolation into the story of the reign of Richard I. In MS College of Arms Arundel 58, a very finely illuminated production, the romance is interpolated into a the section on Richard I in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* and in the much plainer MS BL Harley 4690 it is included within the ME prose *Brut*.¹⁵⁶ In both manuscripts the romance is added to the chronicles as a supplement, while also being clearly distinguished by physical factors. That is, it is acknowledged to be a different kind of writing but one which could, nevertheless, be read as a type of history.¹⁵⁷ The short history of *Arthur* proves to be a similar case: the single extant copy survives as an interpolation in the Latin prose *Brut* of the Red Book of Bath, here serving as an interpolation but also with some physical markers indicating that it is a different kind of text.¹⁵⁸ While supporting their classification as different genres, then, the *Richard* and *Arthur* manuscripts confirm the affinities of the poems to historiography.

The Auchinleck Manuscript provides a particularly interesting presentation of historical themes. Produced during the 1330s it has been described as a manuscript which, as a whole, reflects patriotic themes indicative of the pervasive political atmosphere on the eve of Edward III's first attacks on France.¹⁵⁹ The historical and patriotic themes are presented and emphasised by the construction of the manuscript. That is, by the thematic grouping of its texts and the intertextual relationship between the *Short Metrical Chronicle* and several of the romances.¹⁶⁰ The *Short Metrical Chronicle* contains a lengthy insertion into the account of Richard the Lionheart taken directly from the romance *King Richard* that appears a little further in the manuscript. Similarly, the

¹⁵⁶ Both manuscripts are discussed by Guddat-Figge (1976), pp.39-40. Description of the illumination of MS College of Armes Arundel 58 is provided by Guddat-Figge (1976), p.215.

¹⁵⁷ The *Richard Coer de Lyon* manuscripts are discussed by Finlayson (1990).

¹⁵⁸ Guddat-Figge (1976), cat. no.62, pp.232-235.

¹⁵⁹ See Turville-Petre (1996), especially chapter 4, pp.108-141, which focuses on the Auchinleck Manuscript. See also Finlayson (1990) for further discussion of this aspect of the Auchinleck.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 4 in Turville-Petre (1996) which discusses and makes a strong case for the presence of these themes in Auchinleck. See, also, the discussion of Auchinleck in Finlayson (1990), pp.101-102, which argues convincingly that the final five texts of the manuscript form a distinct group concerned with historical themes.

Chronicle's description of the presentation of gifts to King Athelstan apparently has its source in the romance *Roland and Vernagu*, also part of the Auchinleck collection.¹⁶¹ Also, Guy's role is more developed in the Auchinleck *Chronicle* than in any other manuscript branch and includes the most detailed account of Guy and his battle against the giant Colebrond:

In Apelstones tyme ich vnderstonde
Was Gwi of Warwyk in Engelonde
& for Englelond dude batail
With a geaunt gret sam fail
þe geaunt het Colbron
He was slayn þoru Gwi his hond
At Wynchestre þe batail was don
& suþþe dude gwi neuere non¹⁶²

The account offers a direct allusion to the romance of *Guy of Warwick*, also contained in the manuscript. This unusual and very precise intertextual borrowing within a single manuscript encourages a very directed kind of reading: presenting the romances as expanded portions taken from the history of England which can be linked to one another along the time line presented in the *Chronicle*.¹⁶³

The combination of romances and histories in the surviving manuscripts, then, provides a useful general indication of an interest in historical themes and of the reception of certain romances as historical texts: most notably the Troy and Richard and Arthur romances but also *Guy of Warwick* in the Auchinleck MS. It is evidence which demonstrates the way in which romances could be and were read as historical stories, often in conjunction with or as supplements to historical chronicles. Their intertextual relationship promotes this kind of reading. In order to examine the further intertextual links between *Guy of Warwick* and other historical texts, providing evidence for this kind of historical engagement with the text, other examples referring specifically to *Guy of Warwick* will now be considered.

From the early-fourteenth century Guy of Warwick is mentioned in a number of chronicles of the tenth-century reign of King Athelstan. The incident most often reported from the Guy of Warwick story is that of Guy defeating the champion Colebrond to save

¹⁶¹ Turville-Petre (1996), pp.108-112. Turville-Petre's interpretation of the Auchinleck MS is discussed in greater detail with regard to the production of Auchinleck in Chapter 2, section 2.2, below.

¹⁶² Zettl (1935), ll.1659-1670.

¹⁶³ Borrowings and internal references elsewhere in the manuscript have also been used as evidence for various theories regarding the production of the Auchinleck MS. For full discussion of this see Chapter 2, section 2.1 - 2.3.

England from Danish invasion. This scene appears in the Auchinleck *Short Metrical Chronicle*, mentioned above. Pre-dating this, it appears in the French verse *Chronique d'Angleterre* (which breaks off at the year 1306). This French chronicle was written by Peter Langtoft, an Augustinian canon from Bridlington, then translated into English by Robert Mannyng in 1338. Here in Langtoft's chronicle the Guy and Colebrond story has been employed for a specific patriotic purpose and the themes of the Guy story are manipulated to resonate with the political circumstances of the first part of the fourteenth century. Langtoft's chronicle ends with the reign of Edward I and is concerned to portray the king favourably and vindicate his conquests against Scotland. These aims are achieved by paralleling Edward's reign with that of Athelstan, who was revered as a great king. Athelstan's reign is described as beginning with the overcoming of the Welsh which is paralleled with Edward's uniting of England and Wales in 1284, Athelstan's calling of parliament is then described paralleling Edward's assembling of the 'Model Parliament' of 1295. The account of Athelstan's reign goes on to include the story of Guy and Colebrond rendered in such a way as to form a favourable historical parallel with Edward's Scottish defeats: the story of Guy of Warwick saving England by his defeat of the Danish giant Colebrond usually involves a single battle located at Winchester, Langtoft's chronicle, however, directly links it to the battle of Brunanburh and resolves the obvious discrepancy of location by describing two battles. In the first battle Constantine of Scotland joins with Dane Anlaf who brings in many ships, these are defeated "...At Bruneshurh on Humber...".¹⁶⁴ Anlaf then takes refuge at Sandwich from where he sends a second challenge to Athelstan at Winchester. Guy's legendary battle and the battle of Brunanburh are thus directly associated and form a parallel with Edward I's battles with the Scots suggesting, by historical and legendary association, the chivalrous status of Edward's battle.¹⁶⁵

A detailed account of the Colebrond incident is also included in Gerard of Cornwall's Latin prose account *Historia Guidonis de Warewyke*, of unknown date.¹⁶⁶ Another account of Guy of Warwick which again foregrounds the Colebrond incident is included

¹⁶⁴ Hearne (1810), p.31.

¹⁶⁵ Richmond (1996), pp.65-76.

¹⁶⁶ The *Historia Guidonis de Warewyke* was identified as the eleventh chapter of the book *de gestis regum Westsaxonum* and survives as an addendum to Higden's *Polychronicon*, Magdalen College, Oxford, MS 147, ff.227-227v. The only other surviving references to Gerard of Cornwall are the attributions to him in two fifteenth-century chronicles by Thomas Rudborne and from John Lydgate who acknowledges the *Historia Guidonis de Warewyke* as the basis for his poem on the subject. Richmond (1996), p.68.

in the fifteenth-century Latin monastic chronicle of Knighton (fl.1366). Knighton was a Augustinian canon of Leicester and the unusual inclusion of the Guy story in a Latin monastic account can be understood if Knighton's circumstances are taken into account. Like many other monastic chroniclers Knighton's views on social history were strongly influenced by the local circumstances affecting him and his religious house, the abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows which was patronised by the Earls of Leicester and Dukes of Lancaster.¹⁶⁷ The Guy episode is sufficiently unusual for Knighton to find it necessary to mention its inclusion, commenting that "...since the story of the so-called Guy over the course of the centuries has warranted a praiseworthy memory, I have taken care to include it in the present history...".¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it provided a sufficiently good opportunity for compliment to the Lancastrian, to whom Knighton held his loyalty, for its inclusion to be justified.¹⁶⁹

Havelok also appears in Knighton's chronicle, which is accounted for by Knighton at the same time and on the same grounds as the inclusion of Guy and which, it should be noted, is significantly shorter than the appearance of Guy in the same chronicle. With this exception, however, the other heroes of the so-called Matter of England romances (including Horn and Bevis) do not feature in chronicles of England, and the treatment of Guy by successive chroniclers is an important indication of his status and renown. It indicates the prior perception of Guy of Warwick as a historical figure which could be brought to the text by contemporary readers. It is particularly significant that Guy appears in the English chronicle of Mannyng and the *Short Metrical Chronicle*. These chronicles, written in English, were a new phenomenon in the fourteenth century and were primarily for lay audiences.¹⁷⁰ This is stated by Mannyng who opens his chronicle stating he has written it "...In symple speche as I couthe..." and that it is intended for the edification "...of symple men / þat strange Inglish can not ken...".¹⁷¹ Likewise, the *Short Metrical Chronicle* was designed to appeal to a lay audience with an interest in the history of England and also with an emerging antiquarian interest, to which the descriptions of the origin of place names and details of existing tombs and relics in different regions of the country would appeal. They are then, a very different in outlook

¹⁶⁷ For consideration of the way the political and historical outlook of monastic chroniclers was influenced by the circumstances of their house see John Taylor (1965). For further description of Knighton and his audience see John Taylor (1987), pp.17, 53-54; and Richmond (1996), pp.72-75.

¹⁶⁸ The translation from the Latin is Richmond's (1996), p.73.

¹⁶⁹ Knighton's prose *Chronica de Eventibus Angliae*. See John Taylor (1987), pp.17, 53-54 for a description of Knighton and his audience.

¹⁷⁰ Chronicle writing prior to this being dominated by the monastic houses.

¹⁷¹ Furnivall (1901), l.73, then, ll.77-78.

to the monastic chronicles and indicate an interest in the Guy of Warwick story that can also be thought of as motivated by a kind of early antiquarian interest.¹⁷² This interest is emphasised by the strong regional associations that Guy came to acquire, with the Guy story becoming very important to the local identity of Warwick and Winchester.

Warwick has the most important regional connections with Guy of Warwick and these associations were cultivated by the Beauchamp family throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Bevis of Hampton and Havelok have connections with their respective towns of Southampton and Grimsby, but the affiliation between Guy and Warwick is exceptionally strong.¹⁷³

Claiming the legend of Guy as the story of their ancestor, the Beauchamps show a persistent interest in Guy and from the late-thirteenth century every earl of Warwick leaves some evidence of a link with the story.¹⁷⁴ A list of books given to Bordesley Abbey in 1305 indicates that the family owned a copy of either *Gui de Warewic* or *Guy of Warwick*, and the context provided by the other romances owned suggests that the interest in these romances was their ancestral connection with the family.¹⁷⁵ A drinking bowl, or mazor, survives from the early fourteenth century decorated with a picture of a knight slaying a dragon, with the inscription “Guy of Warwick is his name, who here slays the dragon”, and bearing the contemporary coat of arms of the Beauchamps, linking the legend of their ancestor with the family of the day. In the 1270s William Beauchamp named his son ‘Guy’ though it was not a traditional family name. That the name was linked with the legendary ancestor is explicitly suggested in the poem *The Siege of Caerlaverock*.¹⁷⁶ Then, in the 1340s three sons were named Guy, Thomas, and Reynborne: the use of both Guy and Reynborne confirming that the names had the romance as their source. In addition to these references are those of the late fourteenth century which refer to a Warwick son being left the famous Guy’s armour; the possession of an arras, dorsers, and costers containing the story of Guy of Warwick in 1397; and then the building of Guy’s Tower and Guy’s Hermitage and the naming of Guy’s Cliff. In the fifteenth century the ‘Rous Rolls’ produced by John Rous, local man and priest of the

¹⁷² See J. Taylor (1965) for a description of the different types of chronicles and their uses.

¹⁷³ For discussion of the regional associations of *Bevis* and *Havelok* see Fellows (1979) and Smithers (1987).

¹⁷⁴ See: Fewster (1987); Richmond (1996); Frankis (1997). See, also, the discussion of the local legend in section 4, above, and section 7, below.

¹⁷⁵ This point has been argued by Fewster (1987), pp.104-108. Description and analysis of the list of books given to Bordesley Abbey is provided by Blaess (1975).

¹⁷⁶ See Fewster (1987), p.107.

chantry chapel at Gibcliff, contributed to the legend by placing Guy within the history and genealogy of the Earls of Warwick. Rous was widely read and his work succeeded in giving authority and legitimacy to the Guy legend, calling on his knowledge of the written authorities of the day. As Richmond comments, he was “...important to Guy’s legend because he provided a genealogy that was accepted as historical and cited for centuries...not until the eighteenth century was Guy’s identity as a person of history systematically destroyed...”¹⁷⁷

The Beauchamps’ concern to propagate a sense of their hereditary authority and their links with an English past history is strong and it is perhaps useful to compare the way that the Beauchamps fostered Guy of Warwick with the way that the Percy family used the figure of Hotspur to create a myth of the lords of the north.¹⁷⁸ The Beauchamp’s response to *Guy of Warwick* is one which, to an extreme extent, uses the romance directly as a historical source to be mined for details. Incidents from Guy’s life are extracted from the text, elaborated upon, and given some tangible reality with the building of Guy’s Tower and Hermitage, the naming of Guy’s Cliff, the ‘discovery’ of his armour, and the naming of the sons of Warwick after Guy and Reynborne. It is external evidence which, in addition to that provided by the chronicles, indicates that the character Guy of Warwick developed fame and a reputation that went beyond the Anglo-Norman and Middle English romances which spawned his legend.

In addition to the ‘cult’ of Guy which developed in Warwick, there is also an association between the Guy legend and Winchester. The importance of the particular local association of Guy with Winchester is displayed in the chronicles’ common references to Winchester as the location for Guy’s battle with Colebrond. Particularly important is the Latin account produced by Gerard of Cornwall (fl. 1350?) which works to strongly perpetuate this association. Gerard of Cornwall’s account is limited to the story of Guy’s battle with the giant Colebrond which here becomes quite precisely localised: the account uniquely refers to the battle occurring at Hyde Mede, near to Winchester, and describes how, after his victory, Guy was led in a celebratory procession from Hyde Mede to Winchester Cathedral where, to this day, is kept ‘Colebrond’s axe’.¹⁷⁹ In addition, the rubric identifying Gerard states that his book was kept on a writing table close to the high

¹⁷⁷ Richmond (1996), p.128.

¹⁷⁸ For further discussion of the use of the legend for self-promotion by the Beauchamps see, especially, Fewster (1987), pp.112-126.

¹⁷⁹ Richmond (1996), p.106, note 66, records that: “The axe was kept in the treasury of St. Swithun’s priory until the Dissolution of the monasteries.”

altar of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Winchester. The account goes on to describe that the hospice in Winchester, where Guy spent the night, and which is located "250 paces in a northerly direction, where a new monastic building has now been built".¹⁸⁰ It should also be noted here that Winchester Cathedral may have had a wall painting illustrating the fight between Guy and Colebrond. The existence of this painting was reported by Thomas Warton in the eighteenth century. Warton claimed that he saw it in the north transept of the Cathedral when he was a boy.¹⁸¹

The presentation of Colebrond's relic axe at the Cathedral, perhaps a wall painting representing the story, along with a copy of Gerard of Cornwall's highly localised version of the Guy and Colebrond story, which includes the detail of the location of the hospice in which Guy stayed, and which was given its own position of honour on a table 'close to the high altar', all demonstrate that the Cathedral was actively promoting its connection with the legend and the hero Guy.¹⁸² This kind of association with a legendary hero would serve to raise the prestige of the place and encourage visitors. It would perhaps have been an attraction that provided an opportunity for raising funds in similar, though secularised, manner to the way that the story of the martyred Thomas Becket at Canterbury and the relics of Our Lady at Walsingham proved to be highly lucrative as well as increasing the fame of those towns.

What the evidence indicates is that, as well as the general historicity of the text, the importance of precise period and region should be emphasised for understanding the historicity of *Guy of Warwick*. The strongly politicised and patriotic readings of the story, found in the Auchinleck and in Langtoft and the Mannyng's chronicles, are all from the first part of the fourteenth century and their meanings would not resonate in the same way at the end of the fifteenth century when these texts were still circulating. Similarly, the particular associations of the Guy story with Warwick and Winchester are likely to have encouraged specific, and perhaps more enlivened, responses from the readers living in or visiting those areas.

¹⁸⁰ Richmond (1996), p.70.

¹⁸¹ Warton, (1774-1781), p.97, note 1. The observation is noted by Richmond (1996), p.106. Also indicative of the importance of Winchester's association with the Guy and Colebrond story and of the role of the church in encouraging the association, is the reference to the performance at Winchester Cathedral priory of the 'song of Colebrond' during the fourteenth century, discussed below in section 8 and by Chesnutt (1987), p.60.

¹⁸² Richmond (1996) p.106.

7. *Guy of Warwick* as a Pious Romance

As the promotion of a link between Guy of Warwick and Winchester Cathedral has begun to suggest, the role of Guy as religious pilgrim and hermit was important to his identity and to the perception of his character in the late medieval period. This dimension of the story was taken up particularly enthusiastically at Warwick in the fifteenth century where Richard Beauchamp commissioned the building of a chapel at ‘Gibcliff’ or ‘Guy’s cliff’ just outside the town, next to the cave which had come to be associated with Guy’s hermitage.¹⁸³ What should be emphasised here is the way that this hermitage was specifically promoted as a pilgrimage site and the potential significance of this for reading the romance, especially the later, adapted, version preserved in CUL MS Ff.2.38.

The promotion of the chantry chapel and cave at Gibcliff as a pilgrimage site can be seen especially in the writings of John Rous, chantry priest at the chapel. Rous wrote a history of the Earls of Warwick¹⁸⁴ emphasising local interests and aspects of the legend. It states that both Guy and Felice were buried at Gybcliff and that, though they were translated by Guy’s friend and sworn brother Tirri, Gybcliff remains holy, its holiness attested by healing miracles:

un to thys day God for hys sake to tho that deuoutly seke hym for her sekens with other greuis ar by myracle soen remedyed and in remembrans of hys habit hyt were ful conuenient, youe that his plesyd, sum good lord or lady to fynd in the same place ij pore men that cowd help a prest to syng on of them to be there continually present weryng hys pilgrime habit and to show folk the place and thery [*sic*] habitacion myght be ful wel set over hys caue in the roke¹⁸⁵

Rous is describing a religious shrine visited by pilgrims. The pilgrim habit and the cave recall Guy’s life of poverty, as *imitatio*. It is Guy’s life as hagiography. Further, that Rous records the occurrence of miracles, whereby the devout sick are healed, is crucial to defining the place as a pilgrimage site: a place defined by its potential for direct spiritual intervention.

The significance of this pilgrimage site to the way that the romance was read arises from the very nature of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is founded upon stories: it was only through the many stories surrounding the martyrdom and miracles of Thomas Becket, told pictorially in the stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral and later printed by Caxton, that the huge

¹⁸³ As described above in section 4.

¹⁸⁴ See the description of the ‘Rous Rolls’ in section 6, above.

¹⁸⁵ BL Additional MS 48976 (Rous Roll), cited by Richmond (1996), p.132

pilgrim trade at Canterbury maintained momentum and, indeed, existed at all. The hermitage at Warwick presents precisely the same kind of combination of a marvelous story with surviving tangible relics and named locations that are typical of shrines and pilgrimage sites. The creation of Guy's hermitage, including a statue of Guy, and with the references in the Rous Rolls to use of the pilgrim's habit to recall Guy's life of devout poverty, represent precisely the kinds of props and trappings which were imbued with meaning and significance by being associated with a marvelous story. What this indicates is the way that the romance of *Guy of Warwick* could be read as a pilgrimage text: providing the story to accompany the site and its artifacts.

If a pilgrimage text is one which is concerned, in particular, with emphasising the significance of the surviving objects or 'relics' of the revered individual's life, the adapted fifteenth-century text of the romance in CUL MS Ff.2.38 must be given special mention here. As described above in section 4, this text was re-worked during the fifteenth century, at which time very specific references to Guy's armour and the hermitage at Warwick were added. The motivation behind the addition of these references is brought into sharper focus if this text is regarded as having functioned as a pilgrimage text. The references to Guy's armour and Guy's hermitage in the text both, uniquely, transform a generalised, literary reference (unspecified armour, hermitage) into a specific reference to the existing place or object (the armour alleged to be Guy's and hanging at Warwick; the cave and chapel at Guy's cliff outside Warwick). Whether the adaptation of this text was commissioned by Richard Beauchamp or John Rous, or another local enthusiast, cannot be established. But that the adaptations directly refer to the pilgrimage site is not in doubt: they are too specific and precisely engineered to be anything else and, as such, are convincing evidence that this *Guy of Warwick* was read as a pilgrimage text.

This evidence has shown that the local cult of Guy generated much of its energy from the pious aspects of the Guy of Warwick story. In terms of scale, however, it is important to recognise that as a pilgrimage site Guy's hermitage never came anywhere near the popularity of, for example, Canterbury or Walsingham. Richard Beauchamp's creation of the hermitage and John Rous's records should, it seems, be regarded as representing a particularised and localised response: one which was generated out of enthusiasm for the local legend and its significance for promoting the Beauchamp family but which did not gain national momentum. It would, for example, be misleading to describe Richard

Beauchamp and John Rous as ‘propagandists’ as there is no evidence that their activities at Warwick were ever communicated to mass audiences in the way which is fundamental to this modern term.

In addition to this very particularised response, there is also a significant body of evidence relating more generally to the broader issue of the relationship of piety and romance. Critics have repeatedly observed that the romances of England are marked by a strong strain of religious and moral commitment, with various studies arguing that some of the Middle English romances are so distinctly characterised by their pious tone as to constitute an independent genre of ‘exemplary romance’ or ‘secular hagiography’.¹⁸⁶ Dieter Mehl asserts that *Guy of Warwick*’s popularity is a result of its piety, and describes Guy as “...above all a model of Christian piety and penitence...”.¹⁸⁷ Velma Richmond argues that much of the appeal of the Middle English romances lay in their pious tone, arguing in particular that it was didactic Christian themes that made the legend of Guy of Warwick compelling for contemporaries and going on to assert that the text’s appeal lay in the successful balance of piety and lay interests in a way which characterises the literature of the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Crane summarises this approach by commenting that:

To many readers, it has seemed that Guy of Warwick’s conversion to God’s service, Isumbras’ willing acceptance of divinely imposed trials, and Athelston’s repentant submission to his archbishop exemplify the union of religious and secular material in a harmonious and mutually supportive symbiosis.¹⁸⁹

Importantly, and in common with a number of other romances, *Guy of Warwick* has a saint’s life as a major narrative source.¹⁹⁰ The Life of Saint Alexis provides a framing structure and gives much of the pious tone to the latter part of *Guy of Warwick* in which Guy, having been married to Felice for two weeks, repents his past life and chooses to become a pilgrim in the service of God. It is comparable with the strong similarities of content, structure and theme between the Life of St. Eustace and the romance *Sir Isumbras*. Braswell, using the case of *Sir Isumbras*, argues that the interaction between hagiography and romance represents the easy and successful combination of religious and secular. In contrast, Crane emphasises the differences between hagiography and romance, arguing that the tenets of the church were not fully compatible with the

¹⁸⁶ Crane Dannenbaum (1984), p.351.

¹⁸⁷ Cited by Richmond (1975), p.151.

¹⁸⁸ Richmond (1996), p.50.

¹⁸⁹ Crane Dannenbaum (1984), p.351.

¹⁹⁰ See the discussion of sources and, specifically, the Life of St. Alexis, in section 2, above.

secular values that informed romances, and that romances like *Guy of Warwick* and *Sir Isumbras* deny the church's claim to surpass the claims of family, country, and personal advancement.¹⁹¹

Whether compatible or incompatible, what this critical debate serves to emphasise is that there was no sharp dichotomy between religious and secular, hagiography and romance. The distinction between religious and secular is one of those persistent dichotomies applied to medieval literature which fails to account for the constant interplay between genres.¹⁹² Romances co-existed and inter-acted with other genres and literary styles and identifying this interplay can be crucial to understanding the effectiveness and purpose of a text. The following discussion reviews in detail the various evidence which is relevant to understanding the interplay between piety and romance and considers its significance for understanding the way romances were received.

The close relation of Middle English romances to religious literature that is emphasised in literary interpretations has also been shown to be reflected in the testimony of the manuscripts. Romances and pious texts are repeatedly included together; as Dieter Mehl comments "...nearly all romances have survived in large collections containing for the most part religious and didactic literature...".¹⁹³ Similarly, McSparran and Robinson assert that the pious romances must be viewed in the light of the 'literary environment' in which they generally appear:

Most of the Middle English romances are preserved in miscellanies containing religious, didactic and educational works, and this literary environment must have affected the choice of romance; it helps to explain the prevailing piety, the occasional expurgations of the text of romances and the frequency of introductions expressing high moral purpose.¹⁹⁴

A word of caution is required here, however. As Boffey and Thompson have observed, religious verse dominates collections up until the late-fourteenth century and until this time there existed comparatively little secular poetry in English to be incorporated into anthologies.¹⁹⁵ As a corollary, it is found that "...Apart from their dominance in major

¹⁹¹ Crane Dannenbaum (1984), p.363.

¹⁹² Burnley's comments (1991), p.175, regarding the epic/romance dichotomy should be observed here as they are comparable. He comments that the epic/romance dichotomy accepted by earlier scholars, but now no longer believed, has been replaced instead by a recognition that "...different emphases were placed in literary representation upon aspects of cultural and social ideals which co-existed and slowly evolved together...".

¹⁹³ Cited by Richmond (1975), p.4.

¹⁹⁴ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xii. See also the discussion of *Guy of Warwick* in CUL MS Ff.2.38, containing a large collection of didactic and devotional texts, in Chapter 2, section 6, below.

¹⁹⁵ Guddat-Figge (1976) agrees with this assessment, pp.23-25.

romance collections like the Auchinleck Manuscript...such English secular poems as were ‘published’ almost inevitably accompanied religious texts...”.¹⁹⁶ It is this inevitability, due to the relative quantities of religious and secular material, that indicates the need for caution when considering the way that religious verse may provide a context directly relevant to accompanying romances. The tendency for religious and romance verse to be contained together in manuscripts is likely to be as much to do with available material as with any perceived compatibility between the texts

The general overview of the manuscripts, then, seems problematic. But it is possible to identify examples of individual romances which medieval audiences and compilers would seem clearly to have associated with religious literature. The couplet version of the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, *Titus and Vespasian*, appears almost exclusively in religious miscellanies (the only exceptions to this being its appearance in two manuscripts of historical theme, containing texts describing the fall of the cities of Thebes, Troy and Jerusalem).¹⁹⁷ A second example can be found in the manuscript treatment of the very popular romance *Robert of Sicily* which indicates that as well as being recognised as a romance it was also read and regarded as an essentially pious and moral tale, a saint’s life. The text is found in MS CUL Ff.2.38 copied with the romances (which include *Guy of Warwick*), but in Oxford Trinity College Manuscript D.57 it is given the title *Sancti Cicilie Vita Roberti*, and in five manuscripts is given a purely religious context.¹⁹⁸ These examples do provide some indication of attitudes to romances as pious texts, however, as they are exceptional it seems difficult to build on this point and their significance to the genre more generally is inconclusive.

A perhaps more useful indication of contemporary perception is provided by analysis of literary technique. It is important to recognise that, by incorporating hagiographic motifs and story patterns, romance writers were drawing on religious-based emotion. Something of the significance and resonance of the figure of the hermit Guy, whose story is based on the Life of St. Alexis, is indicated in the reference to the man who is unmoved by the story of the Passion of Christ yet brought to tears by the tale of Guy of Warwick.¹⁹⁹ It is

¹⁹⁶ Boffey and Thompson (1989), p.279.

¹⁹⁷ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.41.

¹⁹⁸ Cambridge, Caius MS 174; CUL MS li.4.9; BL MS Harley 1701; BL MS Additional 22283; Bodley MS Eng. poet. a.1. See the description provided by Guddat-Figge (1976), p.40.

¹⁹⁹ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.14, citing MS Harley 7322, f.49.

an indication of the power of religious-based emotion when combined with a dramatic and compelling narrative.

It is a technique which is comparable with the use of love lyrics by Franciscan preachers, exhibited, notoriously, in the Grimstone and Harley lyrics.²⁰⁰ The ‘Spring Song on the Passion’ from Harley MS 2253 begins as a traditional love lyric with a description of spring, burgeoning nature and accompanying feelings of *loue-longynge*.²⁰¹ As it is a traditional opening for a love lyric, it evokes and anticipates emotions associated with sexual love and desire and these are then harnessed for devotional purposes: directed and focused, by the narrator, towards an impassioned contemplation upon Christ’s crucified body. Using the idea of Christ as lover, the narrator declares that Christ has been *cheosen...to lemmon*²⁰² and that *my ioie ant eke my blisse / on him is al ylong*.²⁰³ Placed within the framework of a love lyric, the poem encourages a kind of Crucifixion piety that is charged with the emotions of sexual love. It is an example which is representative of the way that authors were ready to exploit the techniques of secular or religious literature as they thought would best suit their purposes. And just as preachers were prepared to exploit emotions associated with sexual love and desire through the literary techniques available to them from love lyrics, so were romance authors willing to exploit religious-based emotion. At the level of literary techniques, the border between secular and religious literature was permeable.

More evidence of this permeability is provided by those doctrinal texts which incorporate features from romance in order to convey their message. The explicit or tacit use of romance heroes or of the romance ‘mode’ supports the idea that romance could be seen to have a moral instructive function that was compatible with conventional doctrinal tracts. A vernacular homilist admits to the popularity of romance and its usefulness for exemplary instruction:

Many men deliten moche to heren of other mennys fameuse dedes; and the more worthi that such dedis ben, the more men profiten bi such ensaumplis²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ As Brook notes (1968), p.14, religious and secular influences are both important to the Harley Lyrics: “...These influences cannot be kept distinct from each other, and often traces of all of them are to be found in a single lyric...”

²⁰¹ Brook (1968), poem no. 18, pp.54-55, l.3

²⁰² Brook (1968), poem no. 18, l.33.

²⁰³ Brook (1968), poem no. 18, ll.9-10.

²⁰⁴ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.13, from MS Harley 2276, f.55.

Based on this kind of popular appeal there are examples of preachers who in various ways and to different degrees incorporated features of romance into their sermons. The tale of Guy of Warwick and the dragon actually appears in one of Felton's sermons.²⁰⁵ The *Gesta Romanorum*, a text that provides a storehouse of allegorical sermon tales illustrating various moral points, includes a tale designed to illustrate true friendship based upon an episode from *Guy of Warwick* concerning Guy and his friend Tirri.

Guy of Warwick also appears in the text which has come to be known as the *Speculum Gy de Warewyck*.²⁰⁶ The text takes the form of a piece of doctrinal instruction that imagines itself being told to Guy of Warwick. In an extended preface, Guy of Warwick is pictured in the moments after his conversion and before setting off on pilgrimage, he asks the advice of the wise hermit Alcuin and the main body of the text that follows constitutes the advice of Alcuin to Guy. This structure brings a dramatic context and setting to the moral instruction and has the appeal of featuring a well-known popular character. The inclusion of the preface was presumably intended as a way of appealing to those who enjoyed romance stories and it is significant that the *Speculum Gy* refers its setting to a specific moment from the Guy romance: it indicates that the romance was well known to the author and that it was also expected to have been well known to his audience.

This direct use of romance figures and stories occurs less commonly than the use of the romance mode: echoing the stylistic and narrative features of romances rather than providing direct references to pre-existing texts. Though the *Gesta Romanorum* only once uses a well known romance story (*Guy of Warwick*, as described above), the use of the romance mode is employed throughout.²⁰⁷ Hagiography adopted the verse forms and the dramatic narrative presentation of romance. Clemence of Barking's *Life of St. Catherine*, the *Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan*, the legend of St. Eustace, and Capgrave's *Life of St. Katerine* are all influenced in their design by the romance genre: appropriating fabulous, affective, and dramatic elements from romance when they can make the image of holy life more compelling.²⁰⁸ The Auchinleck *Seynt Mergrete*

²⁰⁵ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.15. The example is taken from Harley MS 4, f.31.

²⁰⁶ See the edition by Morrill (1898).

²⁰⁷ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.14 provides a description of the use of the romance mode in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

²⁰⁸ Crane Dannenbaum (1984), p.355.

and *Seynt Katerine*, for example, have opening lines similar to the style typical of romance.²⁰⁹ *Seynt Katerine* begins:

He þat made heuen & erþe
 & sonne & mone for to schine
 bring ous in to his riche
 & scheld ous fram helle pine
 herken & y 3ou wil telle
 þe luf of an holy virgine
 þat treuli trowed in ihus crist
 hir name was hoten katerine
 [Auchinleck, f. 21rb, ll.1 - 8].

The use of the opening prayer, the call to the audience to ‘herken’, and the use of inclusive tags like ‘heuen & erþe’, ‘sonne & mone’, are all characteristic of the romance mode.

Another example of this kind of permeability between genres is provided by the *Cursor Mundi* poet who prefaces his collection of religious stories with a substantial list of the romances that men ‘yearn’ to hear:

Men 3ernen iestes for to here
 And romaunce rede in dyuerse manere
 Of Alisaunder þe conqueroure
 Of Iulius cesar þe emperoure
 Of greke & troye þe longe strif
 þere mony mon lost his lif
 Of bruyt þat baron bolde of honde
 Furste conqueroure of engelonde
 Of kyng Arthour þat was so riche
 Was noon in his tyme him liche
 Of wondris þat his kny3tes felle
 And auntres duden men herde telle
 As wawayn kay & oþere ful abul
 For to kepe þe rounde tabul
 How kyng charles & rouland fau3t
 Wiþ Sarazines nolde þei [neuer be] sau3t
 Of tristram & of Isoude þe swete
 How þei wiþ loue firste gan mete
 Of kyng Ion and of amadas
 Storyes of dyuerse þinges
 Of princes prelatiſ & of kynges²¹⁰

Positioned at the opening of the text, this list functions to attract and draw in readers who enjoy secular, vernacular writings, such as romance. Through association, the prologue introduces the *Cursor Mundi* as an entertaining narrative, one which will be as

²⁰⁹ Auchinleck ff.16rb-24vb, see editions by Horstmann (1881).

²¹⁰ Morris (1874 and 1893), Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.8, ll.1-22.

dramatic, lively and engaging as a romance.²¹¹ It is significant that the list of heroes in the prologue alludes to the tradition of listing the Nine Worthies, though it excludes the Christian and biblical aspects of this tradition. As Thompson has remarked, reference to the Nine Worthies tradition indicates that “....a major part of the purpose of the heroic allusions in these opening lines seems to be to introduce the idea that the *Cursor Mundi* is itself another book of heroic stories...”.²¹² The poet is aware of and sympathetic to the appeal of the Nine Worthies theme and manipulates it for his own purposes. The *Cursor Mundi* poet goes on to contrast ephemeral, worldly love, as found in secular stories, with the enduring love of the Virgin, asserting that a man may be known by what he reads and that the wise man will read religious histories and stories of the Virgin Mary, for all else is “bot fantum o þis world”.²¹³ The *Cursor Mundi* poet, then, indicates that his narrative provides morally edifying material in a form as appealing and readable as heroic romance. The poet frames biblical heroes with the heroes of romance.

It is significant that, as Owst has recorded, examples of the use of romances and the romance style by religious writers tend to be the exceptions and characters and stories from romances were used relatively little by preachers and religious writers when compared to other subjects, for example, and as noted above, their use of the lyric genre. Owst finds this ‘surprising’ in view of the popular appeal of the romances and, also, when one considers the demand for examples to demonstrate points of religion and the range and variety of other topics employed by preachers and writers.²¹⁴ The general tendency to avoid romance as an area from which to extract moral examples has in the past been accounted for with reference to the large number of hostile comments from religious writers condemning romances as unsuitable reading material.²¹⁵ There are many examples of these condemnations and whereas the evidence of literary style and technique demonstrates permeability and interplay between the genres, the poses struck by narrators imply opposition by conforming to a conventional stand off between

²¹¹ See also the comments of Thompson (1994), pp.100-101, that “...the material in the *Cursor Mundi* seems designed to attract listeners and readers who were equally likely to have been drawn to a range of different types of short vernacular items, including romances, saints’ lives, independent temporale narratives, and even lyric poetry...”.

²¹² Thompson (1994), p.114.

²¹³ Morris (1874 and 1893), l.91.

²¹⁴ As described by Owst (1961; rept. 1966), pp.10-15. The only use of romance in the *Gesta Romanorum* is once, of *Guy of Warwick*: a testament to the popularity of this particular romance, but the lack of any other examples is marked.

²¹⁵ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.13.

religious and non-religious literature. Their claims portray an image or idea of romance as directly oppositional to pious and edifying reading material.

Whereas the late thirteenth century *Cursor Mundi* poet has been shown to allude to romance in order to draw readers in, if, by contrast, we move forward in time to the fourteenth century, poets writing in English show concern that they are in direct competition with other English works. It is clear that during the century of so which separates the *Cursor Mundi* and William of Nassyngton's *Speculum Vitae*, audience experiences and expectations had changed. Nassyngton's didactic *Speculum Vitae* was produced in the late fourteenth century and provides perhaps the most frequently cited objection to romance:

I warne 3ow furst at my bygynnyng
I will make no vayne karpynge
Of dedes of armes ne of amoures
As don mynstralles and gestoures
þat mane karpynge in many place
Of octauyon and ysombrace
And of many oþer gestes
Namly when þei cum to festes
Ne of þe lyue of bewce of hamptoun
þat was a knyght of grete renoun
Ne of syr gye of werwyke²¹⁶

Nassyngton directly attacks secular writings in these lines and is anxious to disassociate his writings from the 'vayne karpynge' of romance. Whereas the *Cursor Mundi* poet is sympathetic to the attractions of romances, Nassyngton speaks in the stern voice of pulpit condemnation. Thompson comments that Nassyngton's stance reflects the anxious times in which he lived (with the *Speculum Vitae* scrutinised, and approved, in 1384), and that it also reflects the reading public's considerable and often indiscriminate demand for texts in English.

There are a significant number of other examples of comparable objections to romance from the fourteenth century. Crane comments that "...Again and again religious writers complain that secular tales, while less true, valuable, and important than the stories of Christ and the saints, are nonetheless more appealing to lay audiences..."²¹⁷ In a preface found in some manuscripts of the *South English Legendary* the author gives open recognition of the need to compete with the romances in both subject matter and style:

²¹⁶ The prologue to William of Nassyngton's *Speculum Vitae* is here quoted from MS Takamiya 14, a description of which is provided in Takamiya (1995), pp.189-193.

²¹⁷ Crane Dannenbaum (1984), p.353.

Men wilneþ muche to hure telle . of bataille of kyng
 And of kniȝtes þat hardy were . þat muchedel is lesynge
 Wo so witneþ muche to hure . tales of suche þinge
 Hardi batailles he may hure . her þat nis no lesinge
 Of apostles & martirs . þat hardy kniȝtes were
 Þat studeuast were in bataile . & ne fleide noȝt for fere.²¹⁸

The abbot Gevard, preaching in the Chapterhouse on a certain festival, begins his sermon:

There was once a king named Arthur²¹⁹

At this the audience of monks are roused from their sleepy state only to be chastised for their quick response by the Abbot who comments: "...when I was speaking to you about God, you fell asleep; but as soon as I began a secular story, you all woke up, and began to listen with eager ears..."²²⁰

Similarly, despair is expressed over the man who is unmoved by the story of Christ's Passion read in the Gospel for Holy Week, but who is stirred to tears when he is read aloud the tale of Guy of Warwick.²²¹

Robert Mannyng of Brunne says in *Handlyng Synne* that men love to listen to vain talk:

For many ben of swyche menere,
 Þat talys and rymys wyl bleþly here;
 Yn games, & festys, & at þe ale,
 Loue men to lestene troteuale²²²

The Nun's Priest of the *Canterbury Tales*, in a brief pause during his story, expresses scepticism about romances and the naiveté of their audiences, here, in particular, their female audience:

This storie is also trewe, I undertake,
 As is the book of Launcelot de Lake,
 That wommen holde in ful greet reverence.²²³

It is significant here that the criticism is represented as again coming from a religious man but this time a town priest: a literate man and a member of the clergy, but not of high academic or social status. It suggests that this kind of critical objection to romance is one

²¹⁸ d'Evelyn and Mill (1956-9), *Prologue*, ll.59-64.

²¹⁹ Scott and Swinton (1929), p.233.

²²⁰ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.233. Cited by S.Crane (1986), p.96.

²²¹ Also noted above. Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.14. Citing MS Harley 7322, f.49.

²²² Furnivall (1901), ll.45-48.

²²³ Benson (1987), p.258, ll.3211-3214

that may come from all levels of the clergy and, in many ways, is an objection to romance as a non-learned genre.²²⁴

Another objection to romance appears at the opening of the metrical life of *St. Robert of Knaresborough*:

Vhenn frendes fares well at a fest
 And glewmen glanddes þaim wyth gest,
 Of harpyng som has lyst to here
 And som of carpyng of tales sere
 Of Arthure, Ector, and Achilles²²⁵

The author goes on to consider all such tales to be vanity, declaring that he will tell of something better: the Life of St. Robert. The romances are listed, then dismissed as trivial and potentially corrupting entertainment and finally they are contrasted with the edifying story which follows. Romances are dismissed as worthless minstrel entertainment. This is also the technique used by Nassyngton in the *Speculum Vitae*, and this kind of condemnation, specifically of minstrel reciters by religious writers is common: the Franciscan Nicholas Bozon exhorts young men to flee minstrelsy as the hare flees at the sound of the huntsman's horn.²²⁶ *Jacobs Well* declares that "...if thou be a menstrall, a bourdour, and shewyst bourdefull woordys and many iapys for wynnyng, so honeste be savyd, it is venyall synne...".²²⁷ MS Harl. 45, fol.164.b. links minstrels with such "yvel lyvyng men" as "harlottes", "flateres" and "glosers". And priest and religious writer Langland refers to those storytellers who perform at feasts as the "develes disours".²²⁸ By linking the romances, wholesale, with the image of their minstrel recitation, condemnation is further enforced.

There has been considerable disagreement over the significance of the condemnatory comments by William of Nassyngton and other religious writers. They are accounted for by Owst and Legge as simply professional rivalry among writers for audiences. Braswell dismisses their significance as condemnations, finding irony in William of Nassyngton's comments regarding *Sir Isumbras* because, she argues, romances like *Isumbras* are more instructive about Christian faith than the *Speculum Vitae*. Both of these

²²⁴ Richmond (1975), p.6, also makes this connection between what is popular and what is non-academic based on *Guy of Warwick* as a popular romance contemptuously regarded by scholars.

²²⁵ Cited by Baugh (1967), ll.34-38.

²²⁶ Owst (1961; rept. 1966), p.13, cites J.A.Herbert *Catalogue of Romances in the MS Dept. of the BM*, vol.iii, no.47, p.105.

²²⁷ Brandeis (1900), p.136.

²²⁸ Schmidt (1978; rept. 1993), Passus VI, l.54.

explanations, however, are found by Susan Crane to be inadequate: she refuses to dismiss the criticisms as the result of jealousy of the success of other authors and suggests that what Nassyngton failed to see in *Sir Isumbras* is probably not worth mentioning.²²⁹ Crane takes these complaints seriously and treats them as genuine anxieties not just literary poses. Braswell and Crane both acknowledge the large number of the complaints by religious writers, but whereas one chooses to find them insignificant, the other uses them to reject out of hand the generic definitions 'pious romance' and 'exemplary romance'.

Interpretation of the condemnation of Nassyngton and others is problematic because, as demonstrated, it is highly stylised in format and underpinned in attitude by literary convention. There has been an uneasy co-existence between sacred and profane letters throughout Christian history, from the moment when an angel accused St. Jerome of preferring Cicero to the Bible and Alcuin accused the monks of Lindesfarne of preferring secular legends to the story of Christ. On the other hand, and as discussed above, religious authors have always been prepared to use the techniques and content of secular literature to attract a religious audience, by epic, lyric and romance.

In order, then, to approach a more informed interpretation of the hostile comments by religious writers, beyond one which either dismisses them out of hand or accepts them at face value, it seems important to consider their literary construction and context in some detail. It has been shown that the technique of the religious writers is to preface their didactic poems by presenting a particular idea of romance which is the antithesis of what they believe their own work to be. To do this the romances are referred to *en masse*, producing a critical viewpoint which dismisses what are, for example, in the Auchinleck Manuscript very long romances as merely the typical performances of minstrels at a feast.²³⁰

The presentation of the romances in the Auchinleck Manuscript, however, tells a very different story to that of William of Nassyngton. A very different idea of romance is presented. Produced in the 1330s, this manuscript contains a substantial collection of eighteen Middle English romances, most in their earliest version. The opening lines of the romance *Kyng Alisaunder* are now lost from Auchinleck but the text begins in MS

²²⁹ Crane Dannenbaum (1984), pp.354-355.

²³⁰ Burnley, (1996).

Laud Misc. 622 by commenting on the edification to be gained from stories of the good and the famous, such as the story of the deeds of Alexander. Significantly, the preface also deplores those who prefer to listen to scandalous tales and drink ale rather than hear of the deeds of good men:

For Caton seiþ, þe gode techer,
 Oþere mannes lijf is oure shewer.
 Napeles, wel fele and fulle
 Beep yfounde in herte - and shulle -
 þat hadden leuer a ribaudye
 þan here of God oiþer Seint Marie,
 Oiþer to drynk a copful ale
 þan to heren any gode tale.
 Swiche Ich wolde weren out bishett,
 For certeynlich it were nett.
 For hij ne habbeþ wille, Ich woot wel,
 Bot in þe gut and in þe barel.²³¹

These lines contrasting obscene tales with edifying stories grounded in true religion have been added to *Kyng Alisaunder* by the English poet.²³² Here, in the romance *Kyng Alisaunder*, enthusiasm is expressed for edifying reading material concerning the Virgin Mary and a strong objection to corrupt entertainment is expressed, both of which are reminiscent of Nassyngton. The objections of Nassyngton and the *Kyng Alisaunder* poet to a particular brand of tavern entertainment can be usefully contrasted with the opening to the romance *Havelok*,²³³ in which the narrator declares:

At þe beginning of vre tale,
 Fil me a cuppe of ful god ale;
 And [y] wille drinken er y spelle,
 þat Crist vs shilde alle fro helle!²³⁴

Here in *Havelok*, and typically within romance, is represented exactly the kind of narrative setting that both Nassyngton and the narrator of the romance *Kyng Alisaunder* react against.

The Auchinleck romance *Of Arthour and of Merlin* is similarly at pains to emphasise its own respectability and edifying properties. After a fairly conventional opening prayer is a description of the value of reading for the spiritual education of children:

²³¹ Smithers (1951; rept. 1961), ll.17-28.

²³² Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.65.

²³³ See Smithers notes on the text (1957; rept. 1969), p.65. He remarks that the contrast "...is reminiscent of the terms in which Thomas de Chabham, subdean of Salisbury c.1214-30 (C.R.Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (1941), 54), speaks in the Penitential printed by E.K.Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 262. Cf. Chambers op. cit., i. 48 ff; and Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen age*, 67-70; also *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 43 ff...".

²³⁴ Smithers (1987), ll.13-16.

Childer þat ben to boke ysett
 In age hem is miche þe bett
 For þai mo witen & se
 Miche of godes priuete
 Hem to kepe & to ware
 Fram sinne & fram warldes care²³⁵

This preface is concerned to reassure the reader of the moral respectability of the romance and seems to be an attempt to actively disassociate the romance that follows from the image of the ale-house ‘karpyng’ of minstrels. The image of literacy, of reading from a book, provides a entirely alternative image to that of the minstrel performing in front of an audience. Macrae-Gibson, in his edition of *Arthur and Merlin*, notes that “...the construction of the whole introductory passage [lines] 1-30 is clumsy, and suggests addition by a less competent poet than the main one...”²³⁶: it is a unique passage which appears to have been added by an editor-scribe in order to emphasise the respectability and suitability of the romance to a pious and literate audience, such as would have read the Auchinleck Manuscript.

William of Nassyngton and *Arthur and Merlin* provide two representations of romance, one of reading and one of listening, and they are essentially opposed: the one condemning romance and the other defending it. In this sense, these contrasting representations of romance indicate that the appropriateness of the generic category ‘pious / exemplary romance’ is dependent as much upon context and audience as upon the content of the romance in question. It is evidence that indicates that different ideas and images of romance co-existed in the fourteenth century and which suggests that the critical arguments made for and against the generic category ‘pious romance’ are each relevant and are not exclusive of one another.

8. The Question of Performance

It seems significant that, in order to condemn, religious writers use images of orality and, in order to reassure and to portray respectability, the prefaces to the romances *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Arthur and Merlin* employ images of literacy. The emphasis of the preface to *Arthur and Merlin* is upon the importance of book learning for moral

²³⁵ Macrae-Gibson (1973), ll.9-14.

²³⁶ Macrae-Gibson (1979), p.76.

improvement and the image presented is of a child seated before a book. What remains in question is the relationship of these images to social practice. In order to investigate further these images of occasions for reading romances, and before returning again to them, I want next to consider what Guddat-Figge has called ‘the minstrel problem’ and to examine the troublesome and enigmatic figure of the fourteenth-century minstrel reciting romances.

The narrator of *Guy of Warwick* follows the forms and conventions typical of the genre. For example, the stanzaic text in Auchinleck opens with a prayer to the listeners:

God graunt hem heuen blis to mede
þat herken to mi romaunce rede²³⁷

Points of closure, the commencement of new episodes, or re-locations of the action in the text are often identified with expressions like:

Lete we now of gij be stille
more 3e schul here 3if 3e wille
of þat maiden hou sche was nome²³⁸

Of gij ichil lete now
& more after y schal tel 3ou²³⁹

The narrator may summarise the action: *swiche liif ladde gij sikerliche / al þat seuenni3t holeliche*;²⁴⁰ or interrupt the action with single line expressions (the following examples appearing amid the heated description of a battle scene):

wharto schuld ich 3ou telle more²⁴¹

what schuld y make tale muche²⁴²

At times the narrator refers directly to the presence of the audience with comments such as:

Listeneþ now & sitteþ stille²⁴³

herkeneþ now lordinges gladli²⁴⁴

²³⁷ Auchinleck 6926-6927.

²³⁸ Auchinleck 4410-4412.

²³⁹ Auchinleck 1513-1514. See also: Auchinleck 6008-6009 and the narrator’s closing comments, *now haue 3e herd lordinges of gij / þat in his time was so hardi*, Auchinleck 10495-10496.

²⁴⁰ Auchinleck 349-350. For another example of this see Auchinleck 7442-7444 beginning *now herken & 3e may here / in gest 3if 3e wil listen & lere / hou gij as pilgrim 3ede* and continuing with a summary description of Guy’s initial travels as a pilgrim.

²⁴¹ Auchinleck 3212. This, or similar expressions, also occur at Auchinleck 3270, 3765, 4404, 4778, 4966-4969.

²⁴² Auchinleck 3238.

²⁴³ Auchinleck 3630.

And sometimes such comments include an interpretative element with the narrator commenting on the forthcoming action:

Lordinges listeneþ to me now
of a tresoun ichil telle 3ou²⁴⁵

Or, using hyperbolic comment, the narrator may suggest extreme circumstances or the greatness of a situation:

þat ich ne can þe noumbre telle
noþer in rime no in spelle²⁴⁶

In addition to the inclusion of the narrator-characters, presenting a picture of the performance situation, are the commonly found images in romance narratives of the minstrel who chants tales of romance at feasts and wedding banquets. At the wedding feast of Guy and Felice there are "...minstrels of mouþe & mani dysour...".²⁴⁷ At the rich feast ordered by King Alisaunder, in the romance of that name, they "...Leigh3en, singen, and daunces make, / Dysoures talen and resouns crake...".²⁴⁸ *King Edward and the Shepherd* describes minstrel storytelling: "...At festis and at mangery / To tell of Kynges þat is worthy - / Talis þat byn not vyle...".²⁴⁹ And, famously, in *Havelok* the entertainments at the coronation feast include "...romanz-reading on þe bok...".²⁵⁰

Such representations have been treated as descriptions of the actual performance situation as well as leading to assumptions about the minstrel authorship of the romances.²⁵¹ Baugh, for example, amasses an impressive collection of examples, taken from all the Middle English romances, and it is largely on these that he bases his argument concerning the production and presentation of the romances, frequently taking the descriptions given in the romances to be directly representative of reality. He assumes a direct correspondence between actual performance situation and the descriptions of performances in the romances, concluding from the internal evidence from romances that "...we cannot doubt that they were a common accompaniment of elaborate feasts..." and

²⁴⁴ Auchinleck 3923.

²⁴⁵ Auchinleck 2250-2251. See, also, Auchinleck 9286-9287, *Now herkenep a litel striif / hou he saued þe pilgrims liif*.

²⁴⁶ Auchinleck 3254-5.

²⁴⁷ Auchinleck 7122.

²⁴⁸ Smithers (1951; rept. 1961), ll.6978-81.

²⁴⁹ Cited by Baugh (1967), ll.7-9.

²⁵⁰ Smithers (1987), l.2328. See Baugh (1967) for more examples of the appearance of performing minstrels included within romances.

²⁵¹ See Crosby (1936) and Baugh (1967).

going on to describe other performance situations according to internal references. Oral references in *Sir Degrevant*, *Sir Eglamour* and *Alexander A*, are said to "...appeal to the knightly class..." along with the assumption that "...The most natural place for an audience of this kind to be is in a baronial hall...". In contrast, the references in *Havelok*, *Gamelyn*, and *Horn Child* are cited as evidence that these particular romances were "...clearly addressed to a popular audience..." and "...to a company which the poet or the reciter addresses as equals..."²⁵²

It is conceivable that at weddings, banquets, and other such occasions a professional reciter could be employed to recite instalments from romances. However, generous assumptions about the audience for specific romances and the occasions for their reading based upon the representations of minstrels in the romances should be made with caution.

Derek Pearsall warns of the danger of assuming too much about an audience from what is fictionalised by the text:

we should no more expect a heroic romance to be listened to by warriors in clanking armour than we would expect *Patience* to be listened to by professional preachers or *Pearl* by an audience composed of bereaved fathers²⁵³

The picture, of the minstrel reciting to a public audience has been described as one of those "...persistent 'images' of medieval poetry and its audience which seem peculiarly tenacious once established...". Its tenacity is such that it has survived numerous 'scholarly knocks'.²⁵⁴

In one recent attempt to reassess assumptions based on the oral references in romances the question is asked:

whether these literary sources describe reality, or whether the picture of the reciting minstrel is an imaginative - perhaps archaising - convention²⁵⁵

It is a question that Fewster attempts to answer in her assessment of the narrator figure of romance and what that figure represents. It is her assertion that:

over the whole period during which Middle English romances were produced, production references that are at first mainly literal develop a function that is mainly generic²⁵⁶

²⁵² Baugh (1967), pp.10-14.

²⁵³ Pearsall (1985), p.44. See also, for a comment along these lines, Turville-Petre (1977), p.38.

²⁵⁴ This comment is made by Pearsall (1985), p.39. For attempts to dislodge the 'minstrel' as the prevailing image of the genre, see the discussion in Brunner (1961); Mehl (1968), pp.7-13; and Pearsall (1977), pp.113-116 and 143-149.

²⁵⁵ Chesnutt (1986), p.53.

As described above, in section 4, Fewster demonstrates her point with the examples of oral references having been added to the fifteenth-century CUL MS Ff.2.38 text of *Guy of Warwick*. Fewster describes these as evidence for what have been seen as the conventions characteristic of oral delivery being, in actuality, “...increasingly used as deliberate generic signals, growing more sophisticated rather than diminishing with time...”.²⁵⁷ It is an assessment of romances which considers them not to actually be oral transcriptions but to imagine themselves to be so and to increasingly employ this technique for a specific literary purpose.

Attempts to substantiate the notion that the romance text representations are closely related to social reality has involved comparison with extant empirical evidence. This evidence, however, is often problematically vague. Only a few Elizabethan references provide any substantial detail of the performances and there is no evidence that these instances from the sixteenth century bore any specific relation to the practices of the previous two and a half centuries.

The application of Elizabethan material to earlier practices can be demonstrated to be inappropriate with the example of a minstrel who performed before the queen in 1575. The record describes him with a gentle mockery: he is said to be of forty-five years old and dressed in a green gown with the arms of the town of Islington displayed on a scutcheon hanging from his neck (the heraldic symbolism of which he was particularly skilled at describing). The description goes on to detail his ‘sollem song’ of King Arthur which is prefaced by a little preparatory ritual involving clearing his throat, spitting, wiping his lips, and a ‘littl warbling on hiz harp for a prelude’. The overall picture is antiquated and comical. Far from being, as Michael Chesnutt takes it, evidence for a social practice continuous with the previous two centuries, it appears, rather, to be an example of an Elizabethan audience finding much amusement in the spectacle of an eccentric and archaic manner of entertainment, enjoying the presentation of something unusual, and slightly ridiculous, from history.²⁵⁸

Some references to minstrels do exist from the medieval period but these also present certain problems. A number of references have been traced which go back to the early-

²⁵⁶ Fewster (1987), p.26

²⁵⁷ Fewster (1987), p.27.

²⁵⁸ Chesnutt (1987), pp.53-61.

thirteen century and relate to the licensing of minstrels and attempts to control and tax them. These, however, fail to specify whether the individuals referred to were simply instrumentalists or if they also included singers, improvisers, or reciters performing poetry.²⁵⁹ Records relating to the payment of domestic minstrels also exist, including the household records from the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, along with a decree from Edward II, which all refer to minstrels of some kind and include reference to their musical ability.²⁶⁰ Bullock-Davies has assembled and catalogued a large number of these of references, presenting them as a register of ‘Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels, 1272-1327’. What is notable from this register is the dominance of references specifying instrumentalists: most common are references to trumpeters, vielle players and harpers; also common but somewhat less frequent in number are the references to crowders, organists, gigators, guitarists, geige players, nakerers, taborers, citole players and psaltery players; there are also references to an estive player, a piper, a bagpiper (*Cheueretter*), a lutenist and a minstrel with bells.²⁶¹ They are references which indicate that these individuals were an important constituent of the royal retinue but which, significantly, do not specify that they were anything other than instrumentalists.

Other entertainers listed as ‘minstrels’ in the documents scrutinised by Bullock-Davies include: fools, waferers (ie. those who made wafers), acrobats (including a woman, ‘Matilda Makejoy’), dancers (including a fool who performs the ‘sword and buckler dance’), a snake charmer, those who game with board or dice, singers (including choristers) and individuals performing miracle plays.²⁶² It is important that these references consistently refer to performers in a precise and individual manner, according to their skill or craft: crowder, trumpeter, snake charmer, fool, acrobat, nakerer or waferer, rather than unspecified ‘entertainer’ or ‘performer’. This individual referencing was necessary in order to calculate and record payments (with payments varying depending on the status of the performer and the kind of performance) and, as a result, the records provide, amid more generalised references to ‘making minstrelsy’ and ‘performing’ (pp.45, 49, 63, 64, 67, 84), a quite detailed breakdown of the numbers and

²⁵⁹ Chesnutt (1987), pp.56-58.

²⁶⁰ Bullock-Davies (1978) and (1986).

²⁶¹ Bullock-Davis (1986): examples of references to trumpeters can be found at pp.39, 45, 50, 61, 65; vielle players pp.49, 51, 59, 66; harpers pp.51, 54, 58, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68; crowders pp.34, 35, 39; an organist p.81; a gigator p.37; a guitarist p.66; geige players pp.58, 60, 68; nakerers pp.50, 54, 56; taborers pp.61, 63, 65; a citole player p.50; a psaltery player p.78; estive player p.51; piper p.62; bapiper p.76; lutenist p.75; minstrel with bells p.119.

²⁶² Bullock-Davies (1986): examples of references to fools appear at pp.71, 167, 171, 201, 205; waferers pp.46, 60, 151; acrobats pp.109, 136; dancers pp.38, 191; the snake charmer p.32; gamers pp.42, 70, 167; singers pp.53, 116, 155; performers of miracle plays pp.34, 181.

kinds of different artists. Considering this level of precision, if romances were performed or recited some reference to them would be expected but there are, in fact, no definite references to such performances.

There are only two references which may imply performers who recited stories of some kind and, significantly, both are questionable and neither indicates any specific applicability to romance. Firstly, there is a reference to *Reginaldus le Mentour*. Bullock-Davies records that "...from Classical times, *mentiri* carried the meaning 'to feign', 'to invent poetical fiction'; so that Reginald could have been a fabulist or storyteller..." though, equally, it "...may be no more than a surname..."²⁶³ Secondly, there is a reference to *Ricard le Rimour*. The name would suggest a poet or storyteller, however, in the record this individual is specified as a player on the crowd: evidence against the suggestion that 'Rimour' signified his profession.²⁶⁴

Even in these occasional early references which might specifically refer to recitation or 'rhyming', the question remains of what the relationship was between this performed material and that of the kind that comes down to us today and is written. To take one example of a relatively detailed reference: there is a record that at Winchester Cathedral priory in 1338 a *joculator* named Herbert is reported to have sung two songs in the prior's apartment; one of these was the "song of Colebrond".²⁶⁵ Chesnutt glosses this reference to the "song of Colebrond" with the explanatory comment "...i.e. the romance of *Guy of Warwick*..." but whether this "song of Colebrond" bore any relation to the ten-thousand line Middle English romance that has come down to us today is not indicated by the record itself and remains, therefore, very much in question. A comment by Pearsall concerning minstrels indicates the caution with which such records must be assessed: "...no doubt popular entertainers, of whom there were many kinds, often had deboshed [*sic*] forms of romance in their repertoire, but these by their very nature would be unlikely to survive in written form..."²⁶⁶ According to this assessment, it is more likely that the performer was using a version of the story adapted to his particular requirements (i.e. short enough to be followed by the second performance that is

²⁶³ Bullock-Davies (1978), p.153.

²⁶⁴ Bullock-Davies (1986), pp.155 and 185.

²⁶⁵ Chesnutt (1987), p.60.

²⁶⁶ Pearsall (1977), p.146. It is perhaps useful here to recall as a comparison the traditional distinction in Old French between the *aventure* and the *conte* and *lai* treatment of it, the former providing a narrative account and the latter a lyric song. For a discussion of these distinctions see Bliss's introduction to *Sir Orfeo* (1954), pp.27-29.

described and in a form that was sung) than that he was working with a text along the lines of that found in the Auchinleck manuscript.

Guddat-Figge approaches what she calls ‘the minstrel problem’ through analysis of the surviving manuscripts. The so-called ‘holster books’, that, being transportable and suitable for performance reading, have been assumed to have been of minstrel ownership, are scrutinised and found, on closer inspection, unlikely candidates for such usage. Overall, no conclusive evidence or immediate proof of a minstrel tradition is found to be indicated by the manuscripts. And one piece of evidence emerges which provides indisputable proof that at least the only extant version of *Sir Ferumbras* was composed pen in hand: the inside of the parchment wrapper of Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 33 (c.1380) is covered with a draft of *Sir Ferumbras* containing many alterations and corrections, with the poem then neatly copied into the manuscript by the same hand.²⁶⁷ It indicates the form that the written process has taken here: the adaptation of the text was worked upon through successive drafts and then copied into the manuscript in a finished form here, with the process of adaptation and copying being undertaken by the same scribe.

What Guddat-Figge’s survey of Middle English romance manuscripts does indicate is that these texts are most commonly found surviving in miscellanies that frequently contained a range of texts, are often dominated by religious texts, and that are only very occasionally secular collections.²⁶⁸ This would indicate the existence of a quite different context for the reading of Middle English popular romances to that which is represented in the romances themselves: suggesting that domestic use and reading aloud to small groups among book-owning households were likely to be relatively common practices.

What is also found is that though the romances contain many minstrel references, they also contain descriptions of the practice of reading in a domestic environment. Frequently cited as an illustration of informal group reading is the scene of Pandarus’ arrival at Criseyde’s house in *Troilus and Criseyde*:

Whan he was come unto his neces place,
 ‘Wher is my lady?’ to hire folk quod he;
 And they hym tolde, and he forth in gan pace,
 And fond two othere ladys sete and she,
 Withinne a paved parlour, and they thre

²⁶⁷ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.33.

²⁶⁸ Guddat-Figge (1976), pp.22-30.

Herden a mayden reden hem the geste
Of the siege of Thebes, while hem leste.²⁶⁹

Similarly, the French romance *Floire et Blancheflor* begins with the narrator's description of how he overheard the story: he describes how, after dinner one evening, a group of sisters retired to a private room where the elder sister told the story of *Floire et Blancheflor*. She had hear the story from a clerk who had read it from a book:

Or sivrai mon proposement
Si parlerai avenaument.
En une chambre entrai l'autrier
Un venredi après mengier
Pour deporter aus damoiseles,
Dont en la chambre avoit de beles....

.... m'assis pour escouter
Des puceles qu'oï parler;
Les dames estoient serours,
L'une a l'autre parlent d'amours.
L'ainznee d'une amor contoit
A sa serour, que moult amoit,
Qui fu ja entre deus enfanz,
Bien a passé plus de sept anz,
Més a un clerc dire l'oït,
Qui l'avoit leü en escrit.
El conmença avenaument,
Einsi dit el commencement:²⁷⁰

[Now I will follow my proposal/intention, and I shall speak appropriately (?elegantly). I went into a chamber the other day, one Friday after dinner to amuse myself with the ladies, of whom there were some pretty ones in the room. I sat down to listen to the girls that I heard speaking. The women were sisters; and one talked to the other of love. The elder one told her sister, whom she loved dearly, of a love [affair] which had taken place between two children. It had been over seven years ago but she had heard it told by a clerk who had read it in a book (lit. *in writing*). She began properly, and said thus at the beginning:]

Another example of private reading is found in Dante's *Inferno* where there is a description of how the lovers Paolo and Francesca were brought together by reading the romance of *Lancelot du Lake*; this is particularly interesting as it is an example of one person reading to one other, rather than the more usual image of reading to a small group.²⁷¹

In addition to these examples is the description of the accomplishments of the heroine of *Bevis of Hampton* and, in the story of Reinbrun in *Guy of Warwick*, of the similar domestic accomplishments of an African princess:

Meche 3he koupe of menstralcie,

²⁶⁹ Benson (1987), Book II, ll.78-84, p.490.

²⁷⁰ Pélan (1956), ll.35-38, 45-56.

²⁷¹ Musa (1971), Canto V, ll.127-141.

Of harpe, of fiþele, of sautri,
Of romance reding.²⁷²

And a further example, portraying an individual of less exalted social status, is provided by the description of a ‘fair maid of Ribblesdale’ from the Harley Lyrics. Her mouth and lips are pictured reading romances:

Heo haþ a mury mouht to mele, *to speak*
wiþ lefly rede lippes lele, *true*
romaun3 forte rede²⁷³

Her association with romance reading is appropriate in the sense that the maid is, herself, constructed from a series of literary commonplaces for feminine beauty, and the narrator reports that her reputation is widespread *pourh tale as mon me tolde*.²⁷⁴ The association with romance would seem to be part of her portrayal as a kind of literary fantasy. Nevertheless, it remains significant that a young country girl is here portrayed reading romances, and portrayed as such through a very intimate kind of description, as it presents a very different image of transmission to that of public, minstrel recitation.

These descriptions, though much less plentiful than those of the minstrels and of reading at large-scale formal occasions, are perhaps more useful as evidence of contemporary social practice because rather than being integral to the traditional form and generic demands of the narrative structure, they are incidental details.

The examples from *Bevis* and *Reinbrun* are both from texts that are included in the Auchinleck’s substantial collection of Middle English verse romances. The layout and presentation of the manuscript suggests that this was a book to be looked at. It is a book which is carefully penned, includes miniatures at the headings of texts, thoughtful rubrication, and spacious layout almost entirely in double columns.²⁷⁵ Importantly, Auchinleck contains texts which provide material for basic doctrinal instruction and declare themselves to be for “...children and wimmen and men / Of twelue winter elde and more...”²⁷⁶ and for “...Lewede men, þat ne be3 clerkes...”²⁷⁷ The version of Psalm L that survives in Auchinleck displays evidence of having been adapted to cater

²⁷² Zupitza (1883, 1887, 1891), ll.142-4.

²⁷³ Number 7, lines 37-39, in Brook (1968), p.38.

²⁷⁴ Brook (1968), l.9.

²⁷⁵ For further description and discussion of these features see Pearsall and Cunningham’s introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript (1977), p.viii.

²⁷⁶ Kölbing (1886), ll.112-3.

²⁷⁷ Kölbing (1886), l.3.

specifically to the needs of reading in small groups. The Latin Psalm and later adaptations of it employ first person singular forms whereas this Middle English writer has systematically replaced them with their plural equivalents. The translation found in the Thornton Manuscript, for example, reads “...God þou haue mercy of me, / And thi mercy mekill of mayne; / God þou haue mercy on me, / And purge my plyghte *with* penance playne...”²⁷⁸ and this can be contrasted with the simpler version in Auchinleck which uniquely reads: “...Lord god to þe we call / þat þou haue merci on ous alle...”²⁷⁹ What can be envisaged is reading within the household which involved small groups of listeners as well as readers.²⁸⁰

This setting for the reading of Auchinleck complies with the image in the Auchinleck preface to *Arthour and Merlin*, discussed above, of a child reading and learning from a book. The added preface to *Arthour and Merlin* can be usefully compared with the opening added to the *Short Metrical Chronicle*. Along with other surviving versions, the Auchinleck *Chronicle* begins with a conventional oral style address to an imagined audience which is concerned with ‘hearing’ and ‘telling’:

Herkenþ hider ward lordinges
 3e þat wil here of kinges
 jchil 3ou tellen as y can
 hou jnglond first bigan²⁸¹

However, in the case of the Auchinleck version this address is preceded by a rubric of contrasting tone:

Here may men rede who so can
 hou jnglond first bigan
 men mow it finde jn englische
 as þe brout it telleþ y wis²⁸²

It is a rubric which emphasises the writtenness of the text: it may be ‘rede’, it is ‘jn englische’, and its source is the ‘brout’. The description of the *Chronicle* as being of “...hou jnglond first bigan...” is re-used in this rubric suggesting that it is an adapter or editor’s attempt to re-write the opening in order to fit in with the particular reading context. Both the preface to *Arthour and Merlin* and the *Short Metrical Chronicle* appear to have been added by the Auchinleck scribe-editor and both are concerned to

²⁷⁸ See the transcription of this text from the Thornton MS in Thompson (1988).

²⁷⁹ Auchinleck f.280rb.

²⁸⁰ Thompson (1988).

²⁸¹ Auchinleck MS, f.304ra, ll.5-8.

²⁸² Auchinleck MS, f.304ra, ll.1-4.

emphasise the 'writteness' of the texts and to counteract conventional public and oral style openings. The Auchinleck was designed to be read to small groups of listeners and the presentation of its texts, it seems, is specifically concerned with emphasising a distinction between reading aloud which is public and performed, and reading aloud which is private and located within the household and the domestic environment.

This analysis of the evidence for the public and private reading of the Middle English romances, then, throws a certain amount of light on the condemnatory images of romance presented by writers like William of Nassyngton.

To believe too literally the condemnations of religious writers would be to ignore several features of their construction. There is a strong element of literary stereotype in the use of the figure of the minstrel. There is also an element of convention in the condemnations, with the conflict between religious and secular being one that dates back to Jerome and Alcuin. Further, to understand romance according to William of Nassyngton's image of it would be to ignore the reading context provided by manuscripts like Auchinleck that indicate a lay readership genuinely concerned with education and piety and with the good examples to be taken from stories of Christian men and women. Further, it is important not to ignore the suggestions that the clergy were as likely to be guilty of enjoying entertaining romance stories as anyone else: it is a congregation of monks that Abbot Gevard chastises for their interest in King Arthur; the 'song of Colebrond' was sung in a prior's apartment at Winchester Cathedral; the *Cursor Mundi* poet displays knowledge of many romances and uses them to attract an audience for his religious stories; the eminent theologian Capgrave shows detailed knowledge of *Havelok the Dane* in his version of *St. Katerine*; and there is much evidence elsewhere of the ownership of romances in the libraries of religious houses.²⁸³

In the case of the *Speculum Vitae* it seems important to acknowledge a correlation between Nassyngton's stern objections and the increased production and lay ownership of texts written in English. The *Speculum Vitae* was produced during anxious times and in response to other writings in English. Nassyngton declares that his text is written specifically for a non-academic and non-clerical audience and states in no uncertain terms

²⁸³ For example, a document in French describes a list of books given to Bordesley Abbey by the Beauchamp family in 1305 which included a collection of romances. The contents of the document are described by Blaess (1975).

that their mission is to draw readers away from other writings in English. The increased availability of a range of texts written in the mother tongue and available for personal ownership within the household, of which the Auchinleck Manuscript has traditionally been seen as a historical landmark, is at sufficient remove from clerical control to cause serious anxiety.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries alternative responses and contrasting ideas of romance co-existed and the evidence for the reception of romance indicates the importance of acknowledging a range of contexts. The complexity of the evidence for the reception of Middle English romance and the problems with its interpretation means that it is difficult to do more than to create what Pearsall has called "...a blurred impression of complexly overlapping and ill-defined categories..."²⁸⁴ What emerges from the evidence is the need to emphasise the range of contexts within which a text may live, along with the need to fully acknowledge the regional, social, and historical differences that contribute to the distinct variation between response

²⁸⁴ Pearsall (1985), p.45.

Chapter 2

Manuscripts and Early Printed Books

1. Introduction

Chapter 1 has offered an approach to *Guy of Warwick* whereby understanding of the text is reconstructed through its literary and cultural contexts. The present chapter considers the *Guy of Warwick* manuscripts and, in this, is also concerned with providing a reading context for *Guy of Warwick*: each manuscript is here assessed for the generic context it can provide and, also, for the information it offers about its earliest reading communities. As there is no other account of all the *Guy* manuscripts,¹ such as would usually be provided by an edition, and as the evidence of the manuscripts is so important to any understanding of the text, the objective here has been to provide an account which is as full and detailed as the scope of this study will allow. To this end, the account of each manuscript includes: (i.) a record of any editions of the text and facsimile editions of the MS; (ii.) a full physical and codicological description, including an assessment of production methods and content; (iii.) details of the particular presentation of *Guy of Warwick* within the manuscript; (iv.) an assessment of the likely or known earliest owners of the manuscript and of the earliest reading communities within which it was involved. Though this is the general format, the order and emphasis of the discussion varies in order to accommodate the particular problems and peculiarities of each volume.

The romance survives in five manuscripts (three complete texts and two fragments) each of which has been dealt with independently and consecutively in sections 2 - 6. The manuscripts and fragments are:

- i. MS NLS Advocates 19.2.1 ('Auchinleck' MS).
- ii. MS BL Sloane 1044
- iii. MS BL 14408 and NLW Binding Fragments 572

¹ Guddat-Figge (1976) includes each of the manuscripts in her catalogue. However, her accounts are very brief and only intend to provide the basic framework of data required for a catalogue entry. There is no scope for further discussion in her account and, as the entries are distributed throughout the catalogue, there is no opportunity for comparison of the various manuscript contexts. Guddat-Figge's account, then, falls short of the kind of consideration of manuscripts which would be expected of an edition or a detailed study.

iv. MS Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 107/176

v. MS CUL Ff.2.38

The romance was also published in print at an early stage, with seven books or fragments of books surviving, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Copland and Ferbrand and dating from between c.1497 and c.1609. A description of these early printed books is given in section 7.

The Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* is the version most often referred to and cited by critics. This is probably because Auchinleck provides the earliest complete text of *Guy of Warwick* but its renown as an important literary collection is also likely to have been an influential factor. Evans makes the point with reference to *Sir Degare* and *Sir Orfeo*:

It is a convenient and frequent shorthand for literary critics of the poem to deal with the Auchinleck versions as *the* versions of *S[ir] D[egare]* and *S[ir] O[rfeo]*, and there may well be a preference for the more faery versions and so-called “better texts” in Auchinleck. Nevertheless, an examination of variants of each manuscript version of the works in its manuscript context encourages a more accurate view, not only of the poems, but also of the contexts in which they exist....such an examination alters our classification of the poems by virtue of their distinct and multi-generic contexts.²

In this way, then, and by undertaking detailed consideration of every manuscript, this chapter foregrounds the number and range of ‘distinct and multi-generic contexts’ within which *Guy of Warwick* existed. The importance of this is, partly at least, due to the need to counteract the past emphasis on Auchinleck. The manuscripts in which any given text survive are crucial to reconstructing meaning within that text. One of the questions to be asked of this range of manuscripts will be concerned with cultural change and with the significance of manuscript context as indicative of fluctuations in taste and in interest in the romance and its appeal throughout this period. That is, the analysis will consider whether a consistent tradition could be said to be evident from the manuscripts or whether they represent a diversity of contexts within which *Guy of Warwick* was read.

²Evans (1995), p.101.

2. National Library of Scotland Advocates Manuscript 19.2.1 ('Auchinleck' MS)

2.1. Introduction

The Auchinleck Manuscript version of *Guy of Warwick* has been published twice. Firstly in 1840 by Turnbull for the Abbotsford Club, though this edition was of limited availability with only a small number printed and for 'private circulation'.³ It also lacked any critical apparatus⁴ and contained several errors which have been acknowledged by Zupitza:

[A] leaf is missing after l.2336 (where Turnbull is wrong in indicating a gap of only four lines), and the larger part of the third after l.1936 (where Turnbull is alike inaccurate, at the same time disregarding the ends of some 30 lines).⁵

Zupitza's more adequate edition was published between 1883 and 1891 for the EETS. In this edition for the EETS the Auchinleck text is published parallel with the text from Caius MS 107/176. It was reprinted in 1966 and remains to this day the standard edition.⁶

Auchinleck has had three interesting literary associations in its history. It was presented to the Advocates' Library in 1744 by Alexander Boswell, father of James Boswell the biographer of Samuel Johnson. The manuscript achieved some notice in 1803 when Sir Walter Scott published an elaborate edition of the Auchinleck text of *Sir Tristram*, including an introduction describing the manuscript. It has also been linked to Chaucer by Hibbard Loomis who suggests the poet read the manuscript during his formative years.

Hibbard Loomis's argument regarding Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS has implications for the question of Auchinleck's earliest readers/owners: in view of Chaucer's parentage, it is a theory which would be highly compatible with Pearsall's proposal (reviewed below) that Auchinleck was intended for wealthy London merchants.⁷ The relevance of Hibbard Loomis's theory to the question of reception, and the reliance of her analysis upon *Guy of Warwick*, makes the Chaucer/Auchinleck issue particularly relevant to the

³ Turnbull (1840).

⁴ The text lacks line numbers, a commentary and a critical introduction.

⁵ Zupitza (1875-6; rept. 1966), pp.v-vi.

⁶ A review of Zupitza's edition including list of errors is provided in Appendix J.

⁷ See section 2.4, below. For an account of Chaucer's family and their involvement within the London business community see Pearsall's critical biography (1992), especially pp.9-23.

concerns of this chapter and as there has been no previous attempt to challenge the theory it seems important here to provide some review of its validity.

The *Tale of Sir Thopas* shows that Middle English romances of the kind found in Auchinleck were extremely familiar to Chaucer. The question, then, is of whether it was the Auchinleck MS itself that Chaucer knew and not some other, similar collection. Hibbard Loomis's claim that it was Auchinleck that Chaucer knew rests on two proposals: (i.) Hibbard Loomis asserts that *Thopas* exhibits frequent and precise verbal indebtedness to both the Auchinleck couplet and stanzaic texts of *Guy of Warwick*; (ii.) Hibbard Loomis states that it was *only* in the Auchinleck MS that couplet and stanzaic versions of *Guy* appeared together, if fact, that it was *only* Auchinleck that contained a copy of the stanzaic *Guy* (because, she claims in an earlier article, this text was the unique innovation of poet-scribes working in a London 'bookshop').⁸ Hibbard Loomis regards the stanzaic *Guy* as unique to Auchinleck and therefore able to be used as a 'marker' indicative of knowledge of this manuscript. Indebtedness to the stanzaic *Guy* is used as evidence for knowledge of Auchinleck. This emphasis on the stanzaic *Guy* (from which Hibbard Loomis takes most of her examples) is, however, highly problematic. Firstly, *Thopas*'s supposed indebtedness to the stanzaic *Guy* is not as convincing or clear cut as Hibbard Loomis asserts. Secondly, there is good reason to think that the stanzaic *Guy* was not unique to the Auchinleck MS. These two points on which Hibbard Loomis's theory can be challenged are described in more detail in (i.) and (ii.) as follows:

(i.) Hibbard Loomis sidelines similarities between *Thopas* and other stanzaic romances, especially *Launfal* and *Lybeaus*, in order to imply that the stanzaic *Guy* "...exercised the primary influence on *Thopas*...".⁹ For example, much is made of Chaucer's use of the tail-rhyme sequence *contree : see : free* (*Thopas*, stanza 2) which is compared to the stanzaic *Guy*. However, comparison with the MS Cotton Caligula A.ii romances shows that sequences involving *see* and *free* were extremely common (being easily rhymed with a large number of words).¹⁰ Likewise, the use of *doughty swayn* (*Thopas* stanza 3) is

⁸ For full discussion of Hibbard Loomis's 'bookshop' theory see sections 2.2 and 2.3, below.

⁹ Hibbard Loomis (1940; rept. 1962), p.145 note 35.

¹⁰ *Emare* has: 471-80 *se : gle : fre : be*; 786-92 *thre : be : fre*; 831-40 *fre : le : poweste : Emarye*; 963-72 *fre : the : Crystyante : the*. *Lybeaus* has: 63-72: *fre : be : me : he*; 87-96 *fre : pe : be : se*; 798-807 *be : se : fre : pe*. *Launfal* has: 842-51 *fre : fle : ble : be*. For editions see the TextBase bibliography, Appendix L.

compared with the stanzaic *Guy's douhti man* (stanzas 10 and 74) but similar phrases using *doughty* appear frequently in the Cotton Caligula A.ii romances: 2x in *Octavian*, 3x in *Lybeaus* and 3x in *Launfal*.¹¹ Similarly, Hibbard Loomis notes that the description of Guy's wedding celebration in the stanzaic *Guy*, like *Thopas*, "...combines *game and gle, minstrels* and a list of musical instruments...".¹² This, however, is an extremely common romance convention, in no way peculiar or special to the stanzaic *Guy*: for example, the Cotton Caligula A.ii MS *Lybeaus* uses the phrase *game and gle* 4x and *Emare* 1x and references to *minstrels* or *menstralcyte* occur in the Cotton Caligula A.ii MS *Lybeaus* 6x, *Emare* 6x, *Octavian* 3x and in *Launfal* 1x, very often including lists of musical instruments as in *Thopas*.¹³ There are also phrases from *Thopas*, claimed by Hibbard Loomis to represent indebtedness to the stanzaic *Guy*, which can in fact be shown to be closer to other stanzaic romances. For example, the lines *sir Thopas, he bereth the flour / Of roial chivalry*¹⁴ are compared by Hibbard Loomis to the phrase from the stanzaic *Guy*, *In warld pai bere pe flour*¹⁵ but are equally close, if not closer, to *Octavian* from MS Cotton Caligula A.ii which, like *Thopas*, includes the mention of chivalry: *Of chyualrye he hadde pe flour*.¹⁶ Further, throughout, *Thopas* shows significant and direct indebtedness to other stanzaic romances, in particular the stanzaic *Launfal* and *Lybeaus*.¹⁷

Whether or not Chaucer knew Auchinleck, a certain number of echoes between *Thopas* and the stanzaic *Guy* would not, in any case, be surprising: *Thopas* mimics what is a

¹¹ *Octavian* has: 189, 1555 *dou3ty knyzt*. *Lybeaus* has: 6 *dou3ty man*; 18 *dou3ty chyld*; 704 *dou3ty was of dede*. *Launfal* has: 1 *dou3ty Artours dawes*; 7 *dou3ty Artour*; 723 *do3ty kny3tes*. For editions see the TextBase bibliography, Appendix L.

¹² Hibbard Loomis (1940; rept. 1962), p.146 note 38.

¹³ The phrase *game and gle* appears in *Emare* at 474 and in *Lybeaus* at 684, 1677, 2100 and 2126. References to minstrels appears in *Emare* at 13, 132, 319, 388, 468 and 867, in *Octavian* at 67, 1270 and 1298, in *Lybeaus* at 1429, 1776, 1783, 1802, 1806, 2116, and in *Launfal* at 666. Of these, *Emare* 388, *Octavian* 67, *Lybeaus* 1776 and *Launfal* 666 all include lists of musical instruments. For editions see the TextBase bibliography, Appendix L.

¹⁴ Benson (1987), p.216, ll.900-901.

¹⁵ Stanza 67, line 12.

¹⁶ *Octavian* 27. For editions see the TextBase bibliography, Appendix L.

¹⁷ As Hibbard Loomis herself describes (1940; rept. 1962), p.140 note 18, p.141 notes 22 and 23, p.143 note 31, p.144 note 33, p.145 note 35, p.148 note 41, verbal echoes can be found between *Thopas* and *Isumbras*, *Ipomydon*, the *Seven Sages*, *Lybeaus*, *Launfal* and *Thomas of Erceldoune*. Robinson, p.842, states that: "...No particular romance seems to have been singled out by Chaucer for imitation or attack...". And as Hibbard Loomis herself admits (1940; rept. 1962): "...This was my own opinion, four years ago, even after concluding a prolonged study of *Sir Thopas* for the volume of *Sources and Analogues of the 'Canterbury Tales'*, ed. by Bryan and Dempster...". See also Gamoun (1927) arguing for the direct influence of *Lybeaus Desconus* on *Thopas*.

highly stylised and cohesive genre within which echoes can be identified between most texts. Romances are built from parallel phrasing and the stanzaic romances in particular frequently repeat versions of the same phrases and traditional rhyme sequences. The tendency for a particularly high level of borrowing and inter-relations to occur between stanzaic romances, with their demanding rhyme schemes, is well documented.¹⁸ Further to this, the sheer length of the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* significantly increases the probability of being able to find examples of phrases from its various parts which will echo those from *Thopas*.

(ii.) As discussed in section 2.3 of this chapter and in Chapter 3 section 3, below, there is good evidence to suppose that the stanzaic *Guy* (B-version) had a life independent of Auchinleck: it is a self-contained romance and represents the work of a different author from a different region to the other parts of the Auchinleck *Guy*. That is, then, even if Hibbard Loomis's arguments regarding verbal indebtedness to the stanzaic *Guy* could be accepted, they would not prove, once and for all, a knowledge of the Auchinleck MS.

There is, then, no evidence which is conclusive, or even, it seems, especially compelling or persuasive, to support the idea that Chaucer was one of the early readers of Auchinleck. It is a theory which, it seems, drastically over-simplifies the circumstances of fourteenth-century reading and book ownership and which is misleading in terms of its implications for the number of books that were in circulation and the efficiency with which they were produced, both of which are discussed in section 2.2 below.

Auchinleck is a high quality manuscript which preserves a large number of English verse texts from a very early date. As such it has come to be well known as an important English literary collection. Most texts in Auchinleck are in their earliest form, with many in unique copies, and it is unusual to find such a substantial manuscript written almost entirely in English before the late-fourteenth century. Auchinleck has also been used as evidence for book production and ownership in the early-fourteenth century and though

¹⁸ See the discussion in Chapter 3 sections 3 and 4 below and the work of Trounce (1932; 1933; 1934) who notes that *Amis and Amiloun* was composed by a method which involved direct borrowing from *Guy*.

the actual circumstances of its production have been variously interpreted its importance has been repeatedly agreed upon.¹⁹

The widely acknowledged importance of Auchinleck resulted in the publication, in 1977, of a facsimile edition of the whole manuscript, edited by Derek Pearsall and Ian Cunningham. The facsimile provides high quality reproductions of every folio, including fragments, and the introduction provides what is generally a clear and accurate description of the codex. A number of minor problems were noted in a review published soon after the facsimile and include the slight confusion in Cunningham's description of Scribe II's ornament, the failure to refer to Laing's important colour facsimile from the nineteenth century, and the lack of any discussion of the language of the manuscript (though this latter seems less important as this is not a subject generally covered by facsimile editions, usually being the territory of editions of individual texts).²⁰ Further to this, it seems that the facsimile would have been usefully supplemented by reproductions of the ultraviolet photographs of the badly damaged fragments, now held in the National Library of Scotland as MS 8894.

The introduction to the manuscript is now seriously outdated, especially those parts which consider production and audience. Auchinleck is a manuscript which has been subjected to repeated analysis, with much important work having been produced in the last quarter of the twentieth century, after the facsimile was published. In order to review these developments in scholarship and to bring description of the manuscript in line with current knowledge, the physical description below includes consideration of the often contradictory ways in which the physical evidence has been interpreted and the implications of this for understanding the construction and compilation of the manuscript. The views expressed by Pearsall, published in the facsimile and representing the beliefs generated by much of the earlier scholarship on Auchinleck, are here, then, reassessed in the light of more recent research agendas. Most notable is the work of Mordkoff (1981), Mordkoff and Cunningham (1982), Shonk (1981) (1983) (1985) and Turville-Petre (1996) in reviewing and supplanting earlier established theories on production methods and audiences.

¹⁹ See the work by Hibbard Loomis (1942), Walpole (1945), Smyser (1946), Robinson (1972), Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), Mordkoff (1981), Shonk (1983) (1985) and Christianson (1990) which is discussed below in *Production* in 2.2.

²⁰ Stanley (1979), p.157, referring to Laing's colour facsimile (1837), title page.

2.2. Physical Description

Scholarship

Kölbing was the first modern scholar to examine Auchinleck closely and his physical description, published in 1884, though modified and adjusted a number of times, has formed the basis for subsequent accounts of the make-up of this manuscript. Corrections and supplements to his work were provided by Bliss in 1951 and then by Cunningham in 1972, who was able to examine the manuscript when it was taken apart for rebinding. The major conclusions of Kölbing's description were adopted by Cunningham in the introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript (1977) and in the studies of Guddat-Figge (1976), Mordkoff (1981), and Shonk (1981 and 1985). The only serious objection to the view, proposed by Kölbing and then Bliss, that Auchinleck was the work of six scribes has come from Robinson (1972) who argued that Bliss's Scribe I and Scribe VI are in fact one scribe (her Scribe D) and Scribe II and Scribe IV are also one scribe (her Scribe B). However, Robinson's theory has not generally been taken up: Mills, for example, comments that her proposal "...fails to convince..."²¹

Individual editions of Auchinleck's texts also provide descriptions of the manuscript. For example, current editions of *Kyng Alisaunder* (1957; rept. 1969), *Of Arthour and of Merlin* (1979), *Sir Orfeo* (1954; rept. 1966), and *The King of Tars* (1980) each provide a succinct and accurate description of Auchinleck (its physical make-up, known history, contents) along with some more detailed discussion of the particular presentation of the individual text with which each edition is concerned.²² Embree and Urquhart's edition of *Pe Simonie* (1991) should also be mentioned here as it provides one of the most up to date summaries of past scholarship relating to the production of Auchinleck. Further, Mills' edition of *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* (1988) considers in some detail the evidence for whether this text may originally have been illustrated with more than one miniature.²³ As the current edition lacks an introduction, this kind of description which gives detailed attention to the manuscript presentation of individual text is not available for *Guy of Warwick*.²⁴

²¹ Mills (1988), p.11.

²² Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), pp.4-6; Macrae-Gibson (1979), pp.35-40; Bliss (1954; rept. 1966), pp.ix-xi; Perryman (1980), pp.9-11.

²³ See the discussion in 2.3, below.

²⁴ And as described above, in the Preface to this thesis, part of the purpose of this Chapter is to fulfil such a role.

Date

The dating of the manuscript has been fixed at c.1327-1340. This is based on palaeographical evidence and on the unique ending added to *The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* (item 40)²⁵ which refers to the death of Edward II and has a prayer for “...þe 3ong king edward...”²⁶ who came to the throne in 1327.

Binding

The present binding is at least the manuscript's third. The first binding is known only from the sewing holes which show that the manuscript was bound on six raised cords. That this was not the original binding is suggested by pencil notes indicating that the folios of gathering 47 were disarranged in the eighteenth century. The second binding took place in the first half of the nineteenth century, probably in the 1820s during a period when the Advocates Library had many of its older manuscripts rebound. The binding which the manuscript has today was carried out by HMSO Bindery in Edinburgh in 1971, when the cover of the 1820s binding was worn and the cords broken.²⁷

Damage and Condition

The manuscript is now made up of 331 folios and 14 stubs. An additional 10 folios survive separately, having been discovered elsewhere. Four folios are in Edinburgh University Library, four in St. Andrews University Library, and two in the University of London Library. The Edinburgh fragments (Edinburgh University Library MS 218) are ff.1-2 from gathering 3 (a fragment of *The Life of Adam and Eve*) and ff.3-4 from gathering 48 (a fragment of *Richard Coer de Lyon*).²⁸ Laing made known his ownership of these fragments in 1857, describing how they had been given to him years before by a friend as examples of early writing, previously having been used by a St. Andrews professor as notebook covers.²⁹ The two St. Andrews fragments (St. Andrews University Library MS PR.2065 A.15 and R.4) were discovered separately. A.15 is a

²⁵ I use Pearsall and Cunningham's numeration throughout (1977), pp.xii-xiii, and see Table 1 below.

²⁶ Auchinleck MS f.317rb.

²⁷ Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.xvi.

²⁸ The *Adam and Eve* fragment has been published by Horstmann (1878), pp.139-147, and Kölbing (1884), p.180. The Edinburgh fragments of *Richard* have been published by Kölbing (1885), pp.115-119.

²⁹ Laing (1857), p.ii. The 'friend' has subsequently been identified by Bushnell, Librarian of St. Andrews University, as Thomas Tullideph, first Principal of United College 1747-1777. See, Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.vii.

fragment of *Kyng Alisaunder* discovered in 1949 by N.R.Ker in the binding of a 1543 edition of Horace in the St. Andrews University Library.³⁰ R.4 is a fragment of *Richard Coer de Lyon* discovered in 1949 by Bushnell in the binding of an eighteenth-century notebook also in St. Andrews University Library.³¹ The London fragment (London University Library MS 593) was acquired from Miss W.A.Myers whose source was known to be Scottish but was unidentified and is another fragment of *Kyng Alisaunder*.³² As has been mentioned above, ultraviolet photographs of these fragments are available in the National Library of Scotland.³³

Further losses to this manuscript are the result of folios having been cut out (leaving only a stub). This destruction seems certain to represent the work of miniature hunters as it is usually the first leaf of a new text that has been excised (and with the start of a text always being the place where a miniature was positioned). There are also examples, in a number of places, where just the miniature itself, rather than the whole leaf, has been removed, resulting in a series of lacunae, now patched, throughout the manuscript. As well as the loss of the miniatures themselves, this has resulted in serious losses to the texts in this manuscript, particularly to the beginnings and endings of texts. The efficiency of these vandals leaves only five miniatures in Auchinleck and represents the worse damage within the surviving volume. In its original condition, displaying a miniature at the head of almost every item, this manuscript would have been highly decorative and visually attractive, especially in the sense of the unity and coherence that the miniatures would have given to the volume. Now with only five miniatures remaining, it is important not to under-emphasise the impact and symbolic potential that the originally large number of miniatures would have had.³⁴

Including fragments and stubs, then, the now incomplete manuscript consists of 355 folios. In its original state Cunningham estimates its length to have been of over 386 folios and Mordkoff gives a yet more generous estimate, suggesting that it probably had “...well over 400 leaves...”.³⁵ The eighteenth-century foliation and descriptions by Bishop Percy, Ritson and Walter Scott all indicate that the manuscript has been in this depleted state since its acquisition by the Advocates Library in 1744.

³⁰ See the description in Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), pp.4-6, and the text in Smithers (1951; rept. 1961).

³¹ Printed by Smithers (1949).

³² Printed by Smithers (1969).

³³ NLS MS 8894. See section 2.1 above.

³⁴ The significance of the miniatures is discussed below in *Miniatures*.

³⁵ Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.xi. Mordkoff (1981), p.12.

Though the manuscript has suffered serious losses both of folios and miniatures, and some of the separate fragments are damaged, the surviving folios within the main volume are otherwise generally of very good condition. The folios are of fine vellum, consistently good in quality. Flesh sides are on the outside of each quire and are white by comparison with the hair sides which are slightly yellow: though they now appear very similar, having been subjected to handling and general wear. Folios are now 250 x 190mm though they have undergone trimming and should be compared to the London *Richard Coer de Lyon* fragment which measures 264 x 203mm and may represent their original size.³⁶

The text which is now the final text in the manuscript, *Pe Simonie*, has the original item number *lx*. This has been taken to represent the most likely 'minimum number' of items as the manuscript ends imperfectly and it is possible that text *lx* was originally followed by a few more items.³⁷ A minimum original item count of sixty, then, indicates that over one quarter of Auchinleck's items have been lost. Forty-three texts survive in the manuscript (if the couplet and stanzaic parts of *Guy of Warwick* are regarded as one text as they are in the original item numbering of the MS), in addition to which the original item numbering suggests that seventeen items have been lost, making a total of sixty items. The lost seventeen items are as follows: five items have been lost at the start of the manuscript as the first item bears the number *vi*; five more have been lost between items *xxxvii* and *xliii*; four are lost between *xlvi* and *li*; and three are lost between *lvi* and *lx*.

These calculations rely, of course, on the accuracy of the item numbering of the lost leaves and do not take account of the scribe's sometimes erratic numbering. At one point the item numbers leap from *xvii* to *xxi*, which serves to incorrectly add three to the item count. There are also two cases of the repetition of numbers (*xvii* and *xxvi*) and two cases of the skipping over of texts (*Sir Orfeo* and the *Seven Sages*) which mean that the item count will also be short by four texts. So, with an additional three, and short by four, the numbering can be shown from the surviving contents to work out as inaccurate by being short of one item. It is quite possible that similar inconsistencies occurred in the lost sections of the manuscript, with numbers having been repeated and some texts left

³⁶ See also the Edinburgh fragment which is 260 x 200mm.

³⁷ Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), pp.vii-xiv.

unnumbered. If this is so, the extant item numbering will not, of course, accurately represent the actual original number of items in the manuscript.

Content, Foliation and Collation

The collection as it now stands is almost entirely in English. The only exceptions to this are: the five macaronic quatrains (alternatively English and Anglo Norman) of *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20); the Latin insertions of *The Harrowing of Hell*, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, and the translation of *Psalm L* (items 8, 10 and 36); and the list of Norman names (item 21).

The manuscript is almost entirely in verse and a wide range of genres are represented.³⁸ There are a variety of types of religious texts (saints' lives, other religious narratives, texts offering basic doctrinal instruction), as well as a chronicle, a list of names of Norman barons (the only item not in verse), humorous tales and poems of satire and complaint. The volume is, however, best known for the romances which dominate it. Eighteen of its forty-four surviving items are romances, occupying three quarters of its total surviving mass.³⁹ Eight of the romances are unique copies and, with the exception of *Floris and Blancheflour*, all the others are in their earliest copy. Of the twenty-six non-romance texts, fifteen are in unique copies.⁴⁰

³⁸ Pearsall comments that "...Within it are represented most types of English poetic writing of the period...", Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.viii.

³⁹ These figures follow Pearsall (1977), pp.vii-viii. However, it should be noted that the figures are reached by counting the *Guy* material as three items and with the inclusion of *The Seven Sages of Rome* as a romance. There is considerable overlap between the genres which is not accounted for by the division of the texts into 'eighteen romance' and 'twenty-six non-romance': *Seynt Mergrete* and *Seynt Katerine*, for example, use some of the stylistic conventions typical of romance while the 'romances' *Pe King of Tars* and *Amis and Amiloun* have much in common with the religious material with which they are placed. The figures are negotiable, but I follow the convention set by Pearsall here as it provides a useful indication of the general proportions of different kinds of texts within the manuscript.

⁴⁰ Non-romance texts in unique versions are: *The Life of Adam and Eve*, *Seynt Mergrete* (though this text is related to earlier versions), *Seynt Katerine* (a revised version exists in Caius College Cambridge MS 175), *Owayne Miles* (two manuscripts exist of a later couplet version), *Pe Desputisoun Bitven Pe bodi & Pe Soule* (six other variant versions), *The Clerk Who Would See The Virgin*, *Life of St. Mary Magdalene*, *On Pe Seuene Dedly Sinnes*, *Pe Pater Noster Vndo On Englissch*, *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*, *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (related to MS St. John's College Cambridge 112), *Pe Wenche Pat [Lou]ed [A K]ing*, *Psalm L*, *The Four Foes of Mankind*, and the *Alphabetical Praise of Women*. Romances in unique versions are: the stanzaic continuation of *Guy of Warwick*, *Reinbrun*, *Of Arthour and Of Merlin* (though the first quarter of the text is found in four other manuscripts), *Lay le Freine* (though the prologue is not unique), *Roland and Vernagu*, *Otuel a Kniȝt*, *Sir Tristram*, and *Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild*.

Table 1 below represents the present collation of the manuscript:⁴¹

Table 1
Auchinleck MS: Foliation and Collation

<u>Fa</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>Fo</u>	<u>MS no.</u>	<u>Pres. no.</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>S</u>
					{5 items indicated to be lost. Four leaves lost at the beginning of fascicle 1, therefore, in order to accommodate five texts (unless these five were very short) another fascicle must have been lost before this.}	
1	1-2	1r-6v	vi	1	[<i>The Legend of Pope Gregory</i>]	I
	2-3	7ra-13vb	vii	2	<i>De King of Tars</i>	I
	3-4	14ra-16rb	viii	3	[<i>The Life of Adam and Eve</i>] Fragment, Edinburgh University Library MS 218.	I
	4	16rb-21ra	ix	4	<i>Seynt Mergrete</i>	I
	4-5	21ra-24vb	x	5	<i>Seynt Katerine</i>	I
	5-6	25ra-31vb	xi	6	[<i>Owayne Miles</i>]	I
	6	31vb-35ra	xii	7	<i>De Desputisoun Bitven þe Bodi & þe Soul</i>	I
	6	35rb-37 rb or va	xiii	8	[<i>The Harrowing of Hell</i>]	I
	6	37rb or va - 38vb	xiiii	9	[<i>The Clerk Who Would See the Virgin</i>]	I
2	7-8	39ra-48rb	xv	10	[<i>Speculum Gy de Warewyke</i>]	II
	8-9	48rb?-61a va	xvi	11	[<i>Amis and Amiloun</i>]	I
	9-10	61a va? - 65vb	xvii	12	[<i>Life of St. Mary Magdalene</i>]	I
	10	65vb-69va	xvii	13	<i>Anna our Leuedis Moder</i>	I
3	11	70ra-72ra	xxi	14	<i>On þe Seuē Dedly Sinnes</i>	III
	11	72ra-72rb or va	xxii	15	<i>þe Pater Noster Vndo on Englissch</i>	III
	11-12	72rb or va - 78ra	xxiii	16	[<i>The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin</i>]	III
	12-13	78rb - 84a rb?	xxiiii	17	[<i>Sir Degare</i>]	III
	13-14	84a rb ?- 99vb		18	[<i>The Seven Sages of Rome</i>]	III
					{Quire 15, containing 1 item, lost}	
	16	100ra-104vb	xxvi	19	[<i>Floris and Blancheflur</i>]	III
	16	105ra-rb	xxvi	20	[<i>The Sayings of the Four</i>]	II

⁴¹ Key to table: Fa: fascicle, Q: quires, Fo: folios, MS no.: number assigned to item in the manuscript, Pres. no.: modern item numbering, Item: title of the item where one is given in the ms, otherwise, the title assigned to it by modern editors is given in square brackets, S: scribe. A question mark following the folio number of an item indicates the assumed or likely position of a text where only a stub exists. For convenience I have followed throughout the titles, quire and folio numbers, and modern item numbers established by Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), pp.vii-xxiv. For a visual representation of the quiring see Cunningham's diagram (1977), pp.xii-xiii.

					<i>Philosophers</i>]	
	16	105v-107r	xxvii	21	[List of Names of Norman barons]	IV
4	17-22	107a?- 146vb	xxviii	22	[<i>Guy of Warwick</i>]	I
	22-24	146vb-167rb		23	[<i>Guy of Warwick</i> - stanzas]	I
	24-25	167rb-175vb	xxix	24	<i>Reinbrun Gij Sone of Warwike</i>	V
5	26-29	176ra-201ra	xxx	25	<i>Sir Bevis of Hampton</i>	V
	29-36	201rb-256vb	xxxix	26	<i>Of Arthour & Of Merlin</i>	I
	36	256vb-256a		27	<i>De Wenche þat Loued a King</i>	I
	36	256a-259rb	xxxiii	28	<i>A Penniwork of Witte</i>	I
	36	259rb-260vb	xxxiiii	29	<i>Hou Our Leuedi Saute was Ferst Founde</i>	I
6	37	261ra-262a	xxxv	30	<i>Lay le Freine</i>	I
	37	262a va ?- 267vb	xxxvi	31	[<i>Roland and Vernagu</i>]	I
7	38	268ra-277vb	xxxvii	32	<i>Otuel a Kniȝt</i>	VI
					{Quire 39 (and others?), containing 5 items, lost}	
8	40-41	278ra-279rb	xliii	33	[<i>Kyng Alisaunder</i>] Fragments, St. Andrews University Library MS PR.2065 A.15 and London University Library MS 593.	I
	41	279va-vb		34	[<i>The Thrush and the Nightingale</i>]	I
	41	280ra		35	[<i>The Sayings of St. Bernard</i>]	I
	41	280rb-vb		36	<i>David þe King</i>	I
					{5 leaves missing from quire 42, 4 items lost}	
9	42-44	281ra-299a	li	37	[<i>Sir Tristrem</i>]	I
	44	299a-303ra		38	[<i>Sir Orfeo</i>]	I
	44	303rb-vb	lii	39	[<i>The Four Foes of Mankind</i>]	I
10	45-46	304ra-317rb	liiii	40	<i>Liber Regum Anglie</i>	I
	46-47	317va-323vb	liiii	41	<i>Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild</i>	I
	47	324ra-325vb	lv	42	[<i>Alphabetical Praise of Women</i>]	I
11	48	327	lvi	43	<i>King Richard</i> . Fragment, St. Andrews University Library MS PR.2065 R.4.	I
					{Quires 49-51 (and others?) lost. 3 items lost}	
12	52	328r-334v	lx	44	<i>De Simonie</i>	II
					{Items lost after <i>De Simonie</i> ?}	

The manuscript was made in fascicles. That is, in groups of continuously copied quires. 'Continuously copied' refers here to texts written one after another with no spaces between them. The only spaces in the manuscript occur at the very ends of fascicles with the exception of f.104vb (where Scribe III ends his stint) in which the final half column is left blank (Scribe II beginning the next item on f.105ra): here, in the middle of quire 16,

Scribe III acknowledges the end of his stint by writing in large letters *.E.X.P.L.I.C.I.T.* In total 47 quires survive and these constitute 12 fascicles of between one and nine quires each.⁴² Some of the fascicles have quires missing: Cunningham estimates that there were originally at least 52 quires and Mordkoff provides a more generous estimate, suggesting there were probably originally over 60.⁴³ Mordkoff's estimate would, then, suggest that almost one quarter of the original bulk of Auchinleck has been lost.

Each quire is made up of eight folios (or four bifolia) with the exception of quire 38 which is made up of ten folios and which, containing the whole of *Otuel* (item 32), is a self-contained unit with regard to content. Quire 52 containing only *Pe Simonie* (item 44) was also likely to have been a self-contained unit, though this cannot be stated with complete certainty as this final quire ends imperfectly (the last folio of this quire and the rest of the manuscript, if it did continue beyond this text, now being lost). The other 45 quires are not independent in terms of content and fall into ten groups (fascicles) each containing between two and nine continuously copied items.

As Table 1 shows, there is a tendency to place major poems at the beginning of new fascicles (as is the case with fascicles 4, 5 and 7-12 headed by *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Otuel*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Sir Tristram*, *Short Metrical Chronicle*, *Richard* and *Pe Simonie*), with shorter pieces used as fillers at the ends of fascicles.⁴⁴ Space is economised so efficiently in the manuscript that, as Mordkoff notes "...in all but two of the fascicles of which the ends are intact the last filler item ends in the second column of the verso of the final leaf..."⁴⁵

Each fascicle has some integrity of content. It is useful to provide a summary of these (which here provides an overview of the character of each fascicle but without taking into account the smaller 'filler' items): fascicles I and II are of religious theme; fascicles IV, V, X, and the remains of XI and IX deal with heroes of England or material which is

⁴² It should be noted that Table 1, following Cunningham's quiring, takes account of calculable losses and therefore labels the quires 1-52.

⁴³ Mordkoff (1981), p.12. See also Mordkoff's estimate that the MS would have been of well over 400 leaves as compared with Cunningham who estimates it would have been of over 386, described above.

⁴⁴ Shonk notes that of the seven major romances, that is those of over ten folios, five begin on new fascicles. The two that do not begin on new fascicles, *Amis and Amiloun* and *Arthur and Merlin*, are found in fascicles which were begun by scribes other than Scribe I and their positioning seems to be the result of a concern not to waste space in the manuscript. Shonk (1985), p.76.

⁴⁵ Mordkoff (1981), p.13. Nine fascicles have their ends intact (fascicles 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10) of which fascicles 3 and 2 do not end in the final column.

natively English and patriotic; fascicles VI and VII are concerned with French heroes; fascicle IX contains two romances of different styles, *Sir Tristram* and *Sir Orfeo*, but which are both primarily concerned with the theme of love; fascicle VIII containing *Kyng Alisaunder* is less easily categorised but Mordkoff suggests it "...may be considered the volume's bow to antiquity...".⁴⁶ Only fascicle III appears to display no unity of content and in this is exceptional.⁴⁷

Signatures and Catchwords

Clues as to how the fascicles were organised and arranged during the various stages of production are not easily found or interpreted as no regular system of signatures has survived on the manuscript. There are letters on some gatherings, written on the right-hand side of the lower margin of rectos, but these conform to no obvious pattern. A first group of signatures are in brown ink and a second set are in red so it appears that some of the first set were trimmed off during an early stage of production and then replaced by the same hand, possibly during the rubrication stage but before the volume was bound.

That the existing fascicles are in their original order is confirmed by the catchwords which correctly refer to what follows and by the item numbers which run throughout the manuscript. Thirty-seven catchwords survive in the manuscript, appearing in the lower right-hand corner of the last verso of a quire.⁴⁸ Thirty-six of these were definitely written by Scribe I who wrote catchwords linking his own quires, linking his quires to those of Scribes II (f.38v), III (f.69v), IV (f.107v links the quire finished by Scribe IV to one begun by Scribe I) and VI (f.267v), and linking quires successively written by another scribe (for example, f.168v, links two quires copied by Scribe V).⁴⁹ His catchwords, then, provide links of some sort for the work of every scribe and this has provided important evidence to support the hypothesis, put forward by Shonk and discussed below, that Scribe I had an editorial role, with each section of the manuscript returning to him for organisation and compilation after it had been copied.

⁴⁶ Mordkoff (1981), p.15.

⁴⁷ See Pearsall's table of contents (1977), p.ix and discussions by Pearsall (1977), p.ix, and Mordkoff (1981), p.14.

⁴⁸ Some have presumably been lost where quires 9, 15, 18, 25, 39, 40 and 49-52 end imperfectly.

⁴⁹ Bliss (1951), p.657, suggests that the catchword on f.107v was written by Scribe IV but he is clearly in error here and other subsequent commentators have correctly identified this as the work of Scribe I, Cunningham (1977), p.xi, note 14, also Shonk (1985), pp.82-83.

It has been suggested by Bliss that the other surviving catchword, on f.99v, was written by Scribe III as it links two sections of his work.⁵⁰ This proposal has been supported by Cunningham who, in addition, proposes that Scribe III always wrote his own catchwords but that these have been lost through cropping as they were written low on the page (at least 35mm below the text as compared with Scribe I's, written 15-20mm below the text).⁵¹ Mordkoff takes this line of analysis a stage further. Citing Cunningham's observation that, with no catchwords appearing on their work, Scribes II and VI either did not write catchwords or they have been cropped, Mordkoff suggests that Scribe III also wrote catchwords for these sections (that, low on the page, have been cropped), speculating that Scribe III "...could have functioned as 'editor' prior to Scribe I...".⁵² The evidence to support this speculation is slim and Shonk's analysis of the catchwords provides a far more credible alternative to all of the above. Shonk disagrees that the f.99v catchword was written by Scribe III assigning it instead, after detailed examination of the hand, to Scribe I. Shonk's assertion is that Scribe I took responsibility for producing all the catchwords in the manuscript and that this was a stage in the compilation process. According to this argument, that the few quires completed by Scribes II and III do not contain catchwords can be explained as the result of Scribe I only requiring catchwords on the folio preceding a scribe's stint and on the final folio of the stint to put the work into its proper order.⁵³

Item numbers

Item numbers run throughout the manuscript, appearing as lower case roman numerals in the centre of the upper margin of every recto. For example, for item thirty, *xxx* appears at the head of every folio from the beginning to the end of that item. These numbers are all in the same hand, first identified by Cunningham as that of Scribe I.⁵⁴ Changes in the colour of the ink indicate that these numbers were not all written at the same time. Likewise, the leap from item *xvii* to item *xxi*, where the catchword indicates that no section of the manuscript is missing, is not an error which one would expect to occur if numeration was done consecutively, straight through from beginning to end.⁵⁵ The

⁵⁰ Bliss (1951), p.657.

⁵¹ Cunningham (1977), p.xi, is in error recording these measurements as '350mm' and '150-200mm' (which would be between 15 and 35 cms below the text).

⁵² Mordkoff (1981), p.75. Mordkoff's argument is that the production of Auchinleck was complicated, involving several stages through which the scribes were involved in constant close collaboration.

⁵³ Shonk (1985), p.84.

⁵⁴ Cunningham (1977), p.xiv. It is difficult to tell from the numerals but the evidence points to Scribe I.

⁵⁵ There are some other errors in the numeration: *xvii* is used twice (for items 12 and 13); *xxvi* is used twice (for items 19 and 20) and was at first written as *xvi*; f.149 has *xviii* where it should read *xxviii*;

numbers, then, seem to have been written in batches. It is therefore likely that they were added by reference to an index which listed and numbered every item of the manuscript, and such as survives for the Vernon manuscript, ff.1ra-3rb.⁵⁶ The process of reproducing item numbers in batches would, it seems, require this sort of reference aid. Whether this was simply a compiler's tool or was included within the manuscript but now is lost (the MS now imperfect at the beginning and end), is open to speculation.

The arrangement of certain item numbers indicates that they were added to the manuscript after rubrication and illumination. For example, Scribe III fails to leave any space at the head of item 15 for a miniature and as a result the miniature has been placed to the side of the text. The item number has then been placed, uniquely, to the far side of the miniature, indicating that it must have been inserted after the miniature was in position. Also, on f.290r the item number can be seen to be drawn over some ornamentation, again showing that the number was added last. These examples provide important evidence for the order of production and for Scribe I's role as editor: after copying, the manuscript was passed to the illuminator and rubricator before returning to Scribe I for numbering. That is, Scribe I was responsible for ensuring that the decoration was completed; he was present in an organisational role right up to the final stages of production.

Titles

Titles are in red ink and have been added to most items.⁵⁷ They were added after the copying and decoration of the manuscript was completed, perhaps at about the same time as the item numbers. They appear to have been an afterthought, squeezed into any available space. For items 27 and 29, for example, the title has been placed away from the beginning of the text, and for items 4, 5, 7, and 24, the title is inserted, confusingly, into the space after the *explicit* of the previous article. Cunningham's proposal that the titles were added by the rubricator during the latter stages of the decoration of the manuscript has been convincingly rejected by Shonk.⁵⁸ Through careful examination of

and item 37 is *li* and 39 is *lii* (where there is an item lost between the two) so one of these must have been repeated.

⁵⁶ Bodleian Eng. Poet. A.1. See the facsimile edition edited by Doyle (1987). See also Serjeantson (1937) and Mordkoff (1981), pp.75-76.

⁵⁷ Of those items where the first folio survives intact only items 10, 20, 21, 39, and 40 do not have titles. Of these items 10, 20 and 21 are by Scribes II and IV whose work often displays inconsistency with the rest of the manuscript, and item 40 has a rubricated introduction which functions in a way not unlike a title.

⁵⁸ Cunningham (1977), p.xv, and Shonk (1985), p.85.

the hands Shonk asserts that two titles were written by Scribe III and the others by Scribe I, the only exception being the *Short Metrical Chronicle* (item 40) which was possibly added by a rubricator. Along with the item numbers, then, here is more evidence that the manuscript came back into the hands of the editor Scribe I after decoration. Mordkoff agrees with this order of production but provides some additions. Based on the observation that different types and shades of inks have been used for the titles she suggests that, as with the item numbers, they were not added from start to finish or in one continuous stint but in batches, perhaps as work returned from the illuminator. Fascicles V, X and XI appear to have been done at the same time and, as they are of “comparable content”, concerned with the subject of English history, Mordkoff is led to suggest that “...at some stage of putting the manuscript together this group was one continuous segment...”.⁵⁹ Mordkoff goes on to suggest that the manuscript was originally intended as two volumes - one religious the other patriotic and historical - before the two were expanded and combined to become a single large volume.

Miniatures

In most cases (the exceptions being a few of the shorter filler texts) each item was originally preceded by a miniature. Unfortunately most of these have been lost to miniature hunters who either removed just the miniature (with the hole later patched) or cut out the entire folio containing it, resulting in considerable losses to the beginnings and endings of many texts. Five miniatures remain, though one of these has been defaced, and are described in Table 2 below:

Table 2
Miniatures in the Auchinleck MS

<u>Folio and Text</u>	<u>Scene</u>	<u>Size, Border, Other Notes</u>
Heads <i>Pe King of Tars</i> (item 2), f.7ra.	Blue figures on diapered gold background. The image is divided into two scenes: the left-hand scene illustrates a man praying to a statue of a heathen god, the right-hand scene illustrates a man and a woman praying to a representation of Christ crucified which is upon an altar.	31 x 62mm. Red frame. The image directly represents the scenes, central to the narrative, in which the heathen king is converted. See ll.625-792 in the text, Perryman, 1980, for the scene in which the king prays to his heathen god then prays to Christ with his Christian wife and receives a miracle.
Heads <i>Pe Pater Noster Vndo on</i>	Red and blue figure on dotted gold background.	30 x 24mm. Red and blue frame.

⁵⁹ Mordkoff (1981), pp.166-167.

Englisch (item 15),
f.72r.

The figure is Christ throned, appropriate to the item it illustrates.

The scribe had left no room at the head of the text for a miniature so this small miniature has been fitted in between the columns. It is likely that its small size and particularly modest quality explain why it was not removed by miniature hunters.

A scroll extends from the seated figure of Christ but, containing no writing, it appears to be unfinished.

Heads *Reinbrun Gij
Sone of Warwicke*
(item 24), f.167rb.

Grey tower with brown door. White horse. Blue and grey, and, red and grey figures. Diapered gold background.

68 x 66mm. Red and blue frame.

The scene is a castle with two towers and with two knights apparently engaged in combat. The white horse stands behind the knight who stands on the left-hand side of the illustration.

The castle makes it most likely that the image represents the scene in which Reinbrun battles with Haslak whilst defending the Duke of Marce's castle, stanzas 111-120 (ll.11826-11933).

Heads *De Wenche þat
[Lou]ed [a K]ing*
(item 27), f.256vb.

Blue figures on a diapered gold background. Has now been defaced but would have featured two characters in bed together.

52 x 56mm. Blue and red frame.

The damage to the miniature, and to the half column of text below it, appear to have been intentional and the rest of the text has been removed from the manuscript. As Mordkoff suggests, this damage was probably politically motivated: removing the immodest references in text and image to Edward II.⁶⁰ It is likely to have occurred early in the manuscript's existence and thus is a useful indication of the view of an early owner.

Heads *King Richard*
(item 43), f.326ra.

Red standards. Brown boat. Red and green figures. Grey tower. Green and brown sea. Dotted gold background.

42 x 68mm. Green and red frame.

The scene depicts on the left a boat, bearing the English standard, full of armed soldiers. Richard is at the helm of the boat holding up a large axe. On the right of the picture is a tower within which other armed soldiers are visible. It illustrates a scene from *Richard*.

This image should be compared to the similar illustration in Ashmole Rolls 50 (Ashmole catalogue 1773), an Anglo-Norman manuscript containing a genealogy of the kings of England to Edward I. Plate XLIX, ms no.519, in Pächt and Alexander (1973).⁶¹

The illustration relates very closely to the narrative which describes how "...Richard þat was so gode / Wiþ his ax afor schippe stode..." (Edinburgh fragment f.4rb, line 2, published by Kölbing, 1884). Richard's use of an axe made of twenty pounds of steel and

⁶⁰ Mordkoff (1981), p.88 note 166.

⁶¹ Mordkoff (1981), p.214 note 298.

designed "...to cleue sarra3ins bones..." (St.Andrews fragment R4 f.1vb, line 3, published by Smithers, 1949) is emphasised both verbally and visually. Its potent symbolism as an English weapon enforcing the patriotic associations with *Richard*.

The issue of the production of these miniatures has provoked some disagreement. The miniatures are all of the same style and seem to be the work of the same craftsman. Robinson, Mordkoff and then Shonk suggest they were from the same *atelier* that produced the exquisite Queen Mary Psalter, British Library MS Royal 2.B.vii.⁶² The gold and diapered backgrounds and figures with slim bodies and feminine faces which are a feature of the Auchinleck miniatures are also characteristic of the work of this *atelier*.⁶³ However, the attribution has raised objection on the grounds that the Auchinleck miniatures are of inferior quality to those of the Queen Mary Psalter. Hibbard Loomis notes, and Embree and Urquhart later agree, that the Auchinleck miniatures are by comparison "...small and perfectly commonplace...".⁶⁴ It is perhaps the case that the artist knew the work of the Queen Mary Psalter *atelier* though was not actually employed there.

The close relation between each image and the narrative which it heads, especially those illustrating *De King of Tars* and *Richard*, is of interest. It shows good knowledge of the texts, typical of this highly-integrated volume, implying that the illuminators had been given very specific instructions as to the kind of images to be inserted at each point. Such directions would most likely have involved careful specifications from a compiler or editor, suggesting another potential editorial duty for Scribe I.

Throughout most of the manuscript scribes have left spaces for miniatures to be added and this provides clear proof of planning. There was an attempt to produce the miniatures according to a unified design format, with each major text headed by a miniature representing part of its story or relevant to its subject matter. As with the use of numbers

⁶² Robinson (1972), p.135. Mordkoff (1981). Shonk (1985), pp.81-82.

⁶³ Robinson (1972), p.135, asserting that J.J.G.Alexander had attributed the miniatures as products of this *atelier*.

⁶⁴ Hibbard Loomis (1942), p.598. Embree and Urquhart (1991), p.9. Reproductions of the Queen Mary's Psalter miniatures and drawings are available, published in Warner (1912).

and titles it is a feature of the *ordinatio* which shows an attempt to present a unified volume.

There are a few inconsistencies in the use of miniatures which point to the possibility that this design decision was made after some of the texts had already been copied. Scribe II left no space for miniatures in any of his three poems (his first and third poems being introduced by large initials). Scribe IV's text, the list of Norman names, also contains no miniature, though as a list contains none of the drama or action usually illustrated it may have been thought inappropriate to include a miniature for this text. There are two items which have decorated initials rather than miniatures. The *Short Metrical Chronicle* (item 40, f.304ra, copied by Scribe I) has a foliate initial, six lines high with ornamentation extending into the margins. The initial is blue, is on a red and gold background, and has brown and green leaves and sprays. *Bevis of Hampton* (item 25, f.176ra, copied by Scribe V) has a historiated initial, six lines high featuring a blue, grey and red figure on a diapered gold background with red and green foliation and with ornamentation extending along the margin in blue and red. The only articles which entirely lack ornament at the beginning are: those written by Scribes II and IV (items 10, 20, 21, 44, the *Speculum Gy*, *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers*, the list of Norman names and *Pe Simonie*), the first text written by Scribe III (item 14, *On Pe Seven Deadly Sinnes*), and one very short item written by Scribe I (item 39, *The Four Foes of Mankind*, of 111 lines).

Format

As with the miniatures, the format of the codex is dominated by a consistent design though some irregularities have been tolerated. Ruling is generally of forty-four lines to the column.⁶⁵ Texts are written in double columns with three exceptions: the list of Norman names, in four columns, and the first and last items of the manuscript which are written in long lines. With item 1 it appears that Scribe I began by experimenting with the long-line format but, finding it unsatisfactory, switched to double columns for the remainder of the volume.⁶⁶ The use of four columns is, of course, appropriate for the list of names (item 21) and saves space. Bliss suggests that the final item, as it was a complete gathering written by Scribe II, was not originally intended for the manuscript.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ The exception is Scribe II when he rules lines for his own work. His larger hand means he rules fewer lines to the column, as described below.

⁶⁶ Pearsall (1977), p.viii.

⁶⁷ Bliss (1951), p.656.

Illumination and Ornamentation

The decoration of the codex also displays sufficient uniformity to imply that a design plan was in place at an early stage in the manuscript's making, though the work of Scribe IV and Scribe II is remarkable in its inconsistency from the rest. Throughout the codex the first letter of every line is picked out in red ink. Scribes I, III, and V separate the initial letter of each line from the rest of the line. All scribes (including Scribe II most of the time) isolate the initial letter of the line with a ruled column. Each scribe designates space for the rubricator's paraps and capitals. Sections written by Scribes I, III, V, and VI have alternately red and blue paragraph signs which were added by a rubricator following the marks of the scribes (they use, respectively, a horizontal line, a letter *q*, a short vertical mark, and two horizontal lines).

The colour and design of the decoration is consistent but there are different styles of paraps, indicating that the manuscript was decorated as a unit within an *atelier* where several craftsmen worked. That changes in the style of the paraps occur at new gatherings (rather than at the opening of a new poem or change of scribe) indicates that craftsmen worked on the manuscript gathering by gathering. With the exception of Scribe IV's section (the list of Norman names), texts are divided up with large blue initials with red ornamentation, following the marginal and intercolumnar letters of the scribes. The capitals are consistent in style, suggesting that these were the work of a single artist throughout the codex.

Mordkoff provides an analysis of the inconsistencies in the format of the manuscript which concludes with the hypothesis that the work heading fascicles III, V and X (that is, Scribe III's items 14-16, Scribe V's item 25 and Scribe I's item 40) was produced at about the same time and was early work on the manuscript, completed before a uniform format was established. Further to this is the work of Scribe II which is most striking in its incompatibility with the rest of the manuscript, so much so that Scribe II appears to have made very little effort to conform to the general format. There is a case to be made that his two major poems were very early work and may not originally have been conceived of as part of the Auchinleck. His hand is much larger than those of the other scribes resulting, when he rules his own lines (in items 10 and 44), in fewer lines to the

folio than elsewhere in the manuscript.⁶⁸ As indicated above, of those scribes that copy literary texts (Scribes I, II, III, V and VI) only Scribe II did not separate out the first letter of each line in its own column. In contrast to the rest of the manuscript, where paraphs alternate red and blue, Scribe II's items 10 and 44 have all red paraphs which are in a hand which does not appear anywhere else in the manuscript.⁶⁹ His item 10 is headed by a foliated letter rather than a miniature, and this and the first initial in the text are of unique design within the manuscript⁷⁰; as the subsequent initials of this text and all those of item 44 are consistent with the rest of the manuscript, Mordkoff proposes that "...these items existed prior to and were assimilated into the plan of the Auchinleck MS after the copying had been completed and the decoration had been begun...". This hypothesis is supported by the slightly different quality of the vellum of item 10.⁷¹

These hypotheses regarding how inconsistencies arose are also highly relevant to consideration of how the scribes collaborated to produce this manuscript and here this analysis of the work of Scribe II is significant with regard to production. Mordkoff's hypothesis implies that Scribe II was on the scene before Auchinleck was conceived of as a unified volume and that he remained in contact with Scribe I in order to return later and produce the filler text (item 20) which is in line with the design format of the manuscript. That is, a degree of sustained contact between Scribes I and II is implied.⁷² It indicates that when distributing work to be copied the editor, Scribe I, would often use the same scribes. It is information which helps to build a picture of a working environment: one which involved scribes who would take on freelance jobs and, crucially, which involved a community of craftsmen who retained contact and may have worked together, on and off, over extended periods in the book-making industry.⁷³

⁶⁸ Items 10 and 44 vary between 24 and 31 lines per column. Mordkoff (1981), p.105. Where Scribe II has to use another scribe's ruling in item 20 he has to compress his writing to fit it into the smaller space.

⁶⁹ Cunningham's suggestion that Scribe II inserted his own paragraph signs should be noted, Cunningham (1977), p.xv. However, the paraphs of the filler item that he produced, item 20 are in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript.

⁷⁰ The design of this initial, which is outlined simply with dots, should be contrasted with the design of almost every other initial in the manuscript which consist of scrolls, lines, and flourishes, Mordkoff (1981), p.106.

⁷¹ Mordkoff (1981), p.107.

⁷² It should also be noted that Scribe II's work appears in more than one place in the manuscript - unlike all other scribes except Scribe I. Mordkoff refers to the idea that the manuscript may have been begun as two volumes and draws attention to the appearance of Scribe II's work in both books.

⁷³ For further discussion the 'distribution copying' as a production model for Auchinleck see *Production*, below.

In summary, then, the evidence of the *ordinatio* leads to several conclusions. The use of a unified presentation format with titles, running headings, item numbers and miniatures is important as it indicates the intention to construct a volume with internal coherence. This is a book conceived of as a unified volume, in a manner not found in casually produced miscellaneous collections or commonplace books.⁷⁴ The relative degree of consistency implies that the decision to produce such a volume was made fairly early on in the manuscript's production.⁷⁵ The inconsistencies that occur have been explained by Mordkoff as the result of the very earliest stages of production, before the volume was planned, and, as is described below, by Shonk as the inevitable result of piecemeal production. Both of these are acceptable and it seems likely that a combination of both occurred.

Scribes

Understanding the way that the six Auchinleck scribes worked and collaborated is crucial to any assessment of how the manuscript was produced. None of the scribes has had his work identified elsewhere.⁷⁶ All use varying shades of brown ink. Ruling is in ink and was generally done by the scribe who was to write the gathering. When a change of scribe occurs within a gathering the new scribe either uses the ruling as it is or adapts it. The scribes share quires but never the copying of a single poem. Consideration of which scribes copied which texts produces a rather mixed picture: there is no obvious division of labour or delegation whereby major works were copied by a 'master' scribe with assistants filling up the remaining leaves of a fascicle. Rather, the scribes vary in their roles throughout the manuscript, Scribe I taking the major portion of the copying (producing about 72% of its surviving bulk) and the other scribes taking different kinds of work during their various stints.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Turville-Petre (1996) argues that this is represented in the literary and thematic construction of this volume. See the discussion of *Production*, below.

⁷⁵ Macrae-Gibson (1979), p.36, agrees with this assessment.

⁷⁶ Tracing any of the Auchinleck scribes in other contemporary documents would be of great interest: providing information as to the career of a professional scribe in the early fourteenth century and the range of documents he might work on, both of which would be important in relation to the production of Auchinleck. Mordkoff, whose thesis concludes that Auchinleck is a monastic production, suggests that the place to look for other copying work done by Scribe II is among religious liturgical manuscripts (1981), p.187, the hand of Scribe III, however, suggests Chancery documents may be the place to look, see *Handwriting*, below.

⁷⁷ See Mordkoff (1981), pp.69-76, for more detailed listings and analysis of the relationship between the scribes.

LALME provides linguistic profiles for each of the Auchinleck Scribes and further discussion of Scribes I and V (who copy the Auchinleck *Guy* and *Reinbrun*) is provided in Chapter 3, sections 2.3.i and 4.3. Scribe III is from London, Scribes I and V are from areas of Middlesex and Essex bordering London, and Scribes II and VI are from points close together on the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire border. The manuscript is thought to have been produced in London and this is strongly supported by the appearance of Scribes I, III and V from the London area.⁷⁸ The close proximity of Scribes II and VI to each other in an area some distance from London is interesting, though it is only possible to speculate upon whether these two had professional links or, indeed, knew each other at all.

Handwriting

Palaeographical analysis provides some additional information about each of the scribes. Scribe IV wrote only item 21, the list of Norman names, and his is a square, formal bookhand. The style of this hand and its formality is well suited to the presentation of this item, the only non-verse text in the manuscript, and Turville-Petre speculates that this item was added by an early owner of the manuscript with a special interest in this list of names, and with the formal script employed specially for the purpose.⁷⁹ Scribes I and VI are described as having clear and straightforward bookhands, similar but with different letter forms.⁸⁰ Scribe V's hand is scratchy and is described by Bliss as ugly, disjointed and difficult to read. The hands of the other two scribes have some particularly interesting features. Scribe II has what has been described as a formal and 'almost liturgical'⁸¹ bookhand: a feature made much of by Mordkoff in order to support her thesis that the manuscript was the product of a monastic scriptorium.⁸² Scribe III is described by Brunner as "...obviously a French Norman..." due to his confusions over certain English characters (his tendency to use *ʒ* for *p*, *ht* for *th* and *sch* for *ch*; his confused choice of graphs for the velar fricative, using *gʒ*, *g*, *pʒ*, or *w* or omitting it altogether rather than the using the usual *gh* or *ʒ*; his additions of initial *h*; mixing up of *g* and *k*; doubling of consonants and so on).⁸³ Scribe III has a cursive bookhand described by

⁷⁸ For a discussion of the London origins of this manuscript see *Production*, below.

⁷⁹ Turville-Petre (1996), p.137.

⁸⁰ Bliss (1951), Cunningham (1977), p.xv. Their similarities lead Robinson to suggest they were one scribe, see p.8 above.

⁸¹ Bliss (1951).

⁸² Mordkoff (1981).

⁸³ For a list of examples to illustrate these points and some further discussion see Brunner (1933), p.ix-x. Brunner compares these peculiarities to similar occurrences in Trinity College Cambridge MS B 1.4.39, CUL Gg.1.1, and Harley MS 525. Brunner notes that Scribe III uses *-eʒ* for *-ep* (third person

Parkes as an early idiosyncratic form of Anglicana Formata.⁸⁴ Bliss has described his hand as showing some evidence of chancery training, commenting that:

...the length of *f*, *r* and long *s* (all of which run well below the line), shows the influence of chancery hand.⁸⁵

This is highly significant with regard to manuscript production. Scribe III is the only scribe whose dialect is located actually within London so a hypothesis strongly suggests itself: this scribe either worked within chancery and would supplement this work with freelance piecework, such as his stint of copying on the Auchinleck Manuscript, or, he was an entirely freelance copyist working in London, sometimes within chancery. The appearance of this hand also argues strongly against Mordkoff's notion that Auchinleck was a monastic production, endorsing, further, the likelihood that it represents an enterprise that was lay and commercial.⁸⁶

Production

There has been continued debate over the precise circumstances of this manuscript's production and it has been necessary to make reference to this in the above description in order to demonstrate how the physical evidence has been interpreted in different ways. The debate over production was inaugurated by Hibbard Loomis and much subsequent scholarship has been in response to her work. In her "epoch-making"⁸⁷ article of 1942 Hibbard Loomis uses the links between many of Auchinleck's texts together with the collaboration of the six scribes as evidence that the manuscript was produced in a 'bookshop', a commercial lay enterprise where both translating and copying were undertaken. The theory relies heavily on the evidence of the links, parallelisms, and borrowings between the texts which are regarded as features that must have developed during 'bookshop' production: with production having included the translation and creation of texts.⁸⁸ The idea of the text of *Guy* having been dismantled into three parts by poet-scribes is, in this sense, important to Hibbard Loomis's theory.⁸⁹

singular and plural present) and it should be noted that this *-e3* form is also used in this way by Scribe V (for which there are many examples in the two texts he copies, *Reinbrun* and *Bevis*).

⁸⁴ Parkes (1969), p.xvii. Cunningham (1977), p.xv.

⁸⁵ Bliss (1951), p.653. Also noted by Shonk (1985), p.74 and p.89.

⁸⁶ Mordkoff (1981). Shonk (1985), p.89, makes this comment regarding the significance of Scribe III's hand for understanding the production of Auchinleck.

⁸⁷ Coss (1985), p.38.

⁸⁸ Hibbard Loomis (1942). An array of textual evidence has been built up. The many verbal links and borrowings between Auchinleck's items include those suggested between: *Amis and Amiloun* and *Guy of Warwick*; *Guy of Warwick* and the *Short Metrical Chronicle*; the *Short Metrical Chronicle*, *King Richard* and *Roland and Vernagu*; *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel*; *Sir Degare* and *Lay le Freine*; *Sir Orfeo* and *Lay le Freine*; *Pe King of Tars*, *King Richard* and

Hibbard Loomis's bookshop theory was at first enthusiastically received and articles by literary historians followed, identifying other links between Auchinleck's texts offering further textual evidence for production within a commercial scriptorium where translation as well as copying was undertaken.⁹⁰ In particular, much support was provided by scholars working on the English Charlemagne cycle material and its sources. Walpole and Smyser suggested that the Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu* and the fifteenth-century Fillingham manuscript *Otuel and Roland* both originated from the Auchinleck bookshop and had a lost common source.⁹¹ It was proposed that the Charlemagne material came to England as a unified poem, which did not include the Otuel material, and that the bookshop poets/scribes divided it into two separate poems and interpolated *Otuel* between them: with the part that is now found in the Fillingham manuscript having originally also appeared in Auchinleck after *Otuel* where a few leaves are now lost.⁹² In this, presenting a similar argument to Hibbard Loomis's theory regarding the dismantling of *Guy of Warwick* and *Reinbrun*. Walpole went on, in a second article, to argue that the composite Edwards manuscripts were "...lodged on the shelves of [the] London bookshop as one of the treasured source-books of the Master...", providing an immediate source for the Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu* and the Fillingham *Otinell and Rolande*.⁹³ By 1972 the bookshop theory had been further refined by Robinson who argued for the modular - or 'booklet' - construction of the manuscript within a lay scriptorium or bookshop. This refined theory was subsequently adopted by Pearsall and Cunningham in the 1977 facsimile.⁹⁴

A degree of support for the bookshop theory has been retained, particularly by literary scholars who, in some instances, have added to the range of relevant texts.⁹⁵ That the manuscript was produced in London has been widely accepted on the grounds of its

Kyng Alisaunder; Seynt Mergrete and Seynt Katerine; and Of Arthour and of Merlin, Kyng Alisaunder, King Richard and The Seven Sages of Rome. Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), pp.x-xi.

⁸⁹ See section 2.3, below, for a discussion of the *Guy of Warwick* material in Auchinleck.

⁹⁰ See the discussion provided by Mordkoff (1981), pp.18-30, and the work of Geist (1943), Faust (1935) and others cited below.

⁹¹ See the work of Paris (1865; rept. and enlarged 1905), O'Sullivan (1935), Walpole (1945) and (1946), Smyser (1946), and Hibbard Loomis (1945) and (1952).

⁹² Walpole (1945). The same conclusion was reached by Smyser (1946).

⁹³ Walpole (1946).

⁹⁴ Robinson (1972). Pearsall and Cunningham (1977).

⁹⁵ As Mills observes (1988), p.79, citing the work of Perryman (1980), pp.35-41 and Jacobs (1982), pp.294-301.

occasional London references⁹⁶, predominant dialect (Scribes I, III and V being from London or the bordering counties of Essex and Middlesex), and the argument, adopted by Pearsall and Cunningham, that in early fourteenth-century England only London could have supported a commercial book-making operation.⁹⁷ The wider argument over the possible early existence of commercial lay scriptoria has also found some degree of support in more recent work. Ross implies the existence of a lay scriptorium producing French works in the thirteenth century and Christianson believes that workshops employing scribes, binders and illuminators did exist in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁹⁸

Despite these examples which potentially, at least, support the theory, manuscript historians, especially palaeographers and codicologists, have been far more sceptical and their work has convincingly demonstrated the theory's fundamental flaws. In a seminal article of 1978, Doyle and Parkes state unequivocally that no evidence exists for a centralised, highly organised lay scriptorium, such as could be described as a bookshop. Crucially, their work on early fifteenth-century copies of *The Canterbury Tales* provides an alternative model for production. The model was taken up and applied by Shonk to Auchinleck, superseding the work of Hibbard Loomis, Robinson, Pearsall *et al.* Using the evidence of catchwords and running titles and by reconstructing the order of copying and the collaboration of the six Auchinleck scribes, Shonk identifies Scribe I as 'editor' who distributed sections of work to the other scribes and took responsibility for the compilation of the complete volume. It is a model of piecework production on a bespoke basis which convincingly accounts for the awkward transitions within the manuscript and the presence of Scribe I at all stages of production.

Shonk's model is also supported by work which rejects the use of links between texts as evidence for bookshop production. Weiss successfully dispels Walpole and Smyser's romantic assumption that the Edwards Manuscripts were once on the shelves of the

⁹⁶ See, especially, those topographical references in the *Short Metrical Chronicle* which tell that Brutus was buried on the site of Westminster, that Julius Caesar renamed Hengisthom as London and built the tower, that the origin of the name 'Charing Cross' came from OE *cierring*, 'turning', and that St. Peter consecrated Westminster church. See also the London street-battle found in this version of *Bevis of Hampton* ll.4287-4538. Turville-Petre (1996), p.111, and Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.ix.

⁹⁷ Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.ix.

⁹⁸ Ross (1969) and Christianson (1990), p.20, citing Pollard (1937 b) and Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.8-24.

Auchinleck bookshop⁹⁹: demonstrating, through examination of those Edwards texts alleged to have provided source material, that all but one are in different versions to those found in Auchinleck. That is, there is a strong case for the *non*-usage of the Edwards volume and, in addition to this, Weiss challenges the idea that the Edwards manuscripts were even bound into one volume by the fourteenth century. Further, Hibbard Loomis's specific examination of the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* and her claim that its divisions represent the work of poet-scribes, an analysis which is crucial to constructing and supporting her theory, has been shown in this thesis to misinterpret the manuscript and textual evidence.¹⁰⁰

Also important here is the work of Coss who re-examines the internal links between Auchinleck's texts that are so important to Hibbard Loomis's notion of a bookshop where texts are translated as well as copied. Dialect evidence indicates that Auchinleck's texts originated from diverse areas of the country, that a significant number of texts had already been in circulation for some time, that is, these were not texts produced for Auchinleck.¹⁰¹ Further, in many cases, multiple versions of texts existed.¹⁰² Coss combines these factors with evidence for contemporary networks of efficient textual exchange attesting to the constant and rapid circulation of English texts across the country, with London being especially well supplied as texts were drawn into the capital in response to commercial demand.¹⁰³ Hibbard Loomis herself makes the point that if the six Auchinleck scribes did not work in the same place then "...we must assume...a rapid, early, and widespread circulation of English texts...".¹⁰⁴ Rather than the "...strong improbability..."¹⁰⁵ that Hibbard Loomis suggests this to be, these were, it seems, exactly the circumstances which furnished the Auchinleck compiler with a wide supply of texts.

⁹⁹ Weiss (1969).

¹⁰⁰ See: section 2.3 below for consideration of the manuscript evidence regarding the presentation of *Guy of Warwick*; Chapter 3, section 2, below for a discussion of the linguistic data; and see also Chapter 1, section 2, above, for further discussion of the structure of *Guy of Warwick* and the point that the kind of division of the *Guy* material that appears in Auchinleck is not unique.

¹⁰¹ *Tristram, Horn Childe* and *The Four Foes of Mankind*, for example, are all of Northern origin, Carr (1918), McIntosh (1978), Mills (1988).

¹⁰² Coss (1985). Turville-Petre (1996), pp.113-114. As Mordkoff points out, that Auchinleck's various pious texts are found in different combinations and versions in Digby 86, the Vernon MS and the *South English Legendary* MSS gives the impression not of these manuscripts being linked to Auchinleck in a line of descent but of the existence of a large body of manuscript containing different combinations and versions of this pious material which were constantly being recopied and recombined in different ways. Mordkoff (1981), pp.187-206

¹⁰³ The Northern *Four Foes*, which appears in Auchinleck was not composed until the early-fourteenth century and this alone implies rapid transmission to London. Coss (1985), pp.38, 64-65.

¹⁰⁴ Hibbard Loomis (1942), pp.621-622. Cited by Coss (1985), p.65.

¹⁰⁵ Hibbard Loomis (1942), pp.621-622. Cited by Coss (1985), p.65.

As Coss argues, to use the links between the Auchinleck texts as evidence for their common authorship within some kind of bookshop is to heap “...too much...upon the shoulders of the Auchinleck entrepreneur...” and to ignore the circumstances of textual production during the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶ The evidence for the existence of multiple texts and for the rapid circulation and exchange of texts, shows how it would have been possible for the Auchinleck compiler to construct this large volume just from access to the material available around him. This is in direct contrast to Hibbard Loomis’s presumption that such conditions did not exist and that, to assemble such a large collection of texts at this early date, the Auchinleck compiler must have been supplied with his own source of textual production.

These reassessments reject Hibbard Loomis’s interpretation of the evidence and strongly support Shonk’s model of distribution copying, involving flexible arrangements between craftsmen and in which the copying and compilation are separate activities from translation. The style of this manuscript also suggests certain factors about production. The size and high cost that would have been involved in the production of the volume makes it unreasonable to suggest that it was produced on speculation: as Turville-Petre points out, “...it is difficult to imagine that there could have been any kind of steady demand for productions of this sort...”.¹⁰⁷ It is most likely that it was commissioned, perhaps through the initiative of the editor figure Scribe I, and custom made according to the requirements of its patron. Shonk envisages Scribe I to have been “...a professional copyist, who compiled, copied and sold books...”, comparing him to the fifteenth-century John Shirley.¹⁰⁸ More precise details of who he was and how he operated remain intriguing. Questions concerning whether he was based at a commercial premises (Shonk’s ‘office’), how the distribution of work to different scribes was organised, how commissions and sales were made, whether he was one of the ‘stationers’ referred to in contemporary documentation, and so on, remain open to investigation and speculation.

With regard to this question of the role and influence of the compiler is the work of Turville-Petre. His analysis of Auchinleck argues that its contents were very carefully selected to represent specific interests and develop particular themes. It is an analysis which relies upon the identification of intricate links, borrowings and parallelisms

¹⁰⁶ Coss (1985), pp.38, 64-65. For a discussion of the number of different versions of Auchinleck texts and their links with different manuscripts see Mordkoff (1981), pp.19-30.

¹⁰⁷ Turville-Petre (1996), p.113.

¹⁰⁸ Shonk (1985), p.88. For a detailed account of the life of Shirley and his activities in the world of book production see Connolly (1998).

between the various texts: between the *Short Metrical Chronicle* and the narratives of *Guy, Richard, Arthour* and others, and in the shared themes and tone of the manuscript as a whole. The manuscript is envisaged as a ‘handbook of the nation’ which is concerned with social and historical themes with a strong emphasis on ‘Englishness’. The various stories of saints and knights are described as a succession of pageants displaying models of chivalry which can be mapped historically along the chronological grid provided by the *Short Metrical Chronicle*. The *Short Metrical Chronicle* is the ‘backbone’ of the volume, cohering the disparate characters along a historical time line. *Pe Simonie*, the final text in the manuscript, serves as a coda: contrasting with the models of perfection presented elsewhere in the volume, it provided a bleak portrait of the nation now, calling for national reform and echoing the ‘call to crusade’ which is recurrent throughout the book.¹⁰⁹

What is emphasised is the way that texts overlap and lock together to create a volume which is highly organised and coherent both structurally and thematically. Where this becomes crucial to the question of production is in Turville-Petre’s assertion that it would not have been possible for the Auchinleck compiler to have found ‘ready made’ copies of texts (especially, for example, the *Short Metrical Chronicle*) that would “...so perfectly...match the shape and purposes..” of the volume.¹¹⁰ It is argued that the level of coherence exhibited by Auchinleck, its very precise and thematically consistent type of intertextuality, would only have been possible if composition had also taken place. Turville-Petre envisages for Auchinleck:

...an editor who took responsibility not only for selecting and organising the material, but also for reworking and adapting some texts, and perhaps even for composing works or commissioning their composition and translation.¹¹¹

In this, Turville-Petre is proposing what is essentially a version of Hibbard Loomis’s bookshop theory only involving a more humble bookshop, centred around Scribe I. There is, here, a reluctance to suggest that such a highly themed and highly organised manuscript, bound by the interrelations of its texts, could have been created without the compiler having been involved in the authorship of its texts. Intertextuality and thematic coherence are regarded as, necessarily, the result of common authorship and of texts

¹⁰⁹ Turville-Petre (1996), pp.109-141. Clearly, Turville-Petre’s theory provides a reading context for *Guy of Warwick* and this is discussed in section 2.4, below.

¹¹⁰ Turville-Petre (1996), p.112.

¹¹¹ Turville-Petre (1996), p.112.

having been tailor-made for the manuscript. And this, it seems, presents an oversimplified picture which fails to take full account of the manuscript evidence.

There are several factors which allow Shonk's theory, in which the copying and translating of texts are separate activities, to be reconciled with Turville-Petre's description of Auchinleck as a highly-themed and highly-organised book. Firstly, one of the correspondences noted by Turville-Petre is between the *Short Metrical Chronicle* and *Horn Childe*, the first and second items of fascicle 10. Mills has shown, on linguistic grounds that *Horn Childe* cannot reasonably be included with the number of texts proposed to have been produced in a London bookshop establishment.¹¹² It is, therefore, of great significance that the *Short Metrical Chronicle* was copied into fascicle 10 first and that a delay is evident before *Horn Childe* became available to be copied (attested by the change in Scribe I's hand between copying of these two texts¹¹³): this order of copying shows that, even though the *Chronicle* makes reference to it, *Horn Childe* was not available until after copying of the *Chronicle* had been completed. That is, it shows that the *Chronicle* was procured first, then, following this, texts were found which were appropriate for the context that it provided. Texts did not always have to be *adapted* in order to provide a context for one another, they could be *found*. The high level of thematic consistency displayed by this volume, then, should be regarded as a tribute, first and foremost, to the compiler's knowledge of the texts that were available and his skill in procuring them.

That it was possible at all to find texts that provided precise contexts for one another and which exhibit intertextual links is, of course, also the result of several aspects of fourteenth-century textual production. The romance genre works essentially through intertextuality: shared phrases, stories, motifs, names of characters and references to other romances pervade and characterise the genre. The mention of Guy of Warwick in the romance *Bevis of Hampton* and the appearance of Guy of Warwick in the *Speculum Gij* are typical of the shared relationships between well-known texts and simply serve in this case to indicate how well known a character Guy of Warwick was. Another good example of this is the case of the borrowings of *Amis and Amiloun* from the stanzaic

¹¹² It was produced in the North and Mills (1998) has shown that it exhibits numerous phonetic differences to its sister texts *The King of Tars* and *Amis and Amiloun* which would not have occurred if they were produced in the same circumstances.

¹¹³ Mills (1988), p.61, note 134.

Guy of Warwick. This is used by Hibbard Loomis as evidence for bookshop collaboration but further investigation of the texts shows that all four English versions of *Amis* derive from the same English version and all show the same borrowing from *Guy*. That is, it was in the source of *Amis* that the borrowing took place.¹¹⁴ A similar case is the *Short Metrical Chronicle*'s borrowing from the romance *Richard Coer de Lyon*. Hibbard Loomis, Zetl and Turville-Petre emphasize that this passage is taken directly from the copy of *Richard* which appears later on in Auchinleck.¹¹⁵ However, as Mordkoff's re-examination shows, the wording in the *Chronicle* does not agree most closely with the Auchinleck *Richard* and as Mordkoff concludes:

Zetl is perhaps quite right that the "author" of the Auchinleck *Chronicle* "actually had a copy of [*Richard*] in front of him from which he took over comparatively long passages" but it is clear that it was not the Auchinleck *Richard*.¹¹⁶

That is, the *Short Metrical Chronicle* was, as Turville-Petre observes, re-written with reference to well-known romances, but there is no evidence to suggest that this took place at the Auchinleck stage of production. As Chapter 1 has shown, there was a strong association between romance and history, and the inclusion of romance figures within the *Short Metrical Chronicle* should not be regarded as particularly unusual or unique and should certainly not be taken to imply that this text was specially commissioned for Auchinleck.

Such borrowings are evidence for texts having been repeatedly reworked and recopied, but not necessarily at the Auchinleck stage of production.¹¹⁷ The re-working and re-combination was a fundamental part of the nature of textual production. In such an environment, borrowings and parallelisms between texts can be expected to have been present within the source exemplars from which Auchinleck was copied. It also would have made it possible for a knowledgeable and skilled compiler to have found texts, ready made, which exhibit close correspondences. This compiler was clearly someone who had

¹¹⁴ For a consideration of other cases of borrowing between stanzaic romances in Auchinleck see the discussion of *Horn Childe*, *The King of Tars* and *Amis and Amiloun* in Mills (1988). For a more general discussion of occurrences of borrowings between stanzaic romances see Chapter 3, sections 3 and 4, below, and also Trounce (1932; 1933; 1934).

¹¹⁵ Loomis (1942), p.180; Zetl (1935), p.xcvi; Turville-Petre (1996), p.112.

¹¹⁶ Mordkoff (1981), p.53, citing Zetl (1935), p.xcvi note 4.

¹¹⁷ It should also be noted that Turville-Petre is relying upon Hibbard Loomis's idea that the Auchinleck *Guy* was dismantled by poet-scribes in a bookshop. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, section 2, above, and as the detailed discussion in section 2.3, below, shows, this theory for the production of the Auchinleck *Guy* is highly spurious and has here been revised according to the manuscript and language evidence and in line with Shonk's model of distribution copying.

access to a very considerable number and range of texts and, with a specific brief, was searching out texts which would fulfil particular thematic requirements.

In this way Auchinleck challenges the modern understanding of ‘authorship’ at more than one level. Auchinleck is multi-authored in the sense that it is a volume produced from multiple exemplars, each the product of re-workings and re-combinations and therefore representing the creative input of more than one individual. In addition to this, the role of the editor/compiler as a selector of texts was highly creative: his influence is imprinted on the volume in the themes, parallels and interrelations that occur between the texts and which are highly apparent once assembled together within the covers of one book. In this, the work of the editor/compiler, selecting, shaping and overseeing construction in order to produce a unified and highly themed volume, gives him an authorial status.

2.3. *Guy of Warwick* in the Auchinleck Manuscript

The *Guy of Warwick* material occupies all of the fourth fascicle of the manuscript, ff.108ra-175vb. This fascicle begins and ends imperfectly: the leaf following f.175 is missing and the leaf before f.108 (now named f.107a) has been cut to a thin stub, probably by miniature hunters. The catchword on the lower right-hand corner of f.107vb reads “here ginneþ sir gij” and confirms that *Guy of Warwick* opened this fascicle.

There is some evidence to suggest that *Guy of Warwick* may have been headed by a large miniature or half-page illustration. The Anglo-Norman and the Caius 107/176 text each have an introduction of close to 122 lines and comparison with Auchinleck shows some disparity here. Scribe I consistently writes forty-four lines to a column and the miniatures in Scribe I’s section approximate to 10 lines in length (of the other miniatures and patched holes in the MS the largest is *Reinbrun* at 18 lines and the smallest *The King of Tars* at 5 lines but these are exceptional and most are of 10 or 11 lines). The 122-line introduction estimated to be missing from *Guy*, plus a 10-line miniature, then, would occupy exactly three manuscript columns, that is 132 lines, leaving another 44 lines (or 1 column) unaccounted for. It is implausible that this would have been left blank or have been taken up by a short text: the preceding catchword on f.107vb indicates that *Guy of Warwick* started on column f.107a ra (in the same manner as many of

Auchinleck's romances which begin on a new fascicle).¹¹⁸ Either, it seems, the opening of the Auchinleck *Guy* was longer than other surviving versions, expanded at some stage by a redactor as occurs in *Of Arthour and Merlin* and *Richard Coer de Lyon*,¹¹⁹ or it contained a much larger illuminated miniature than those that are found elsewhere in the MS, perhaps occurring because of this text's perceived importance within the collection as a whole.¹²⁰

There are two other lost leaves from mid-way through the couplet part of *Guy of Warwick*: f.118a (after f.118) and f.120a (after f.120) of quire 18. The section of narrative lost after f.118 is a battle scene against Tirri of Gurmoise and the scene lost after f.120 describes peace negotiations with Tirri. In both cases stubs remain showing that the folios have been cut out in the same way as those removed by miniature hunters elsewhere in the manuscript. In both places the number of lines lost is greater than in the other manuscript versions of the poem, suggesting that illustrations may have occurred at these points. Mordkoff suggests that the appearance of mid-text miniatures within the couplet *Guy of Warwick* was possible, though unlikely, and Mills draws the same conclusion based on similar evidence for *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* in Auchinleck.¹²¹ The possibility that such miniatures existed should be acknowledged, though it is unprecedented in the known manuscript and variations in the length of texts is common between manuscript versions.

Its physically central position within Auchinleck (at least as the manuscript stands now), the possible inclusion of a large miniature and the appearance of the figure of Guy elsewhere in the manuscript (in the *Short Metrical Chronicle*, in the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, and in the list of heroes in *Bevis of Hampton*) have led to suggestions that *Guy of Warwick* was designed as the centrepiece of the manuscript, the 'great prestige item of the collection'.¹²² Certainly, one later owner noticed the importance of

¹¹⁸ See *Content, Foliation and Collation* above, where the tendency to place major poems at the beginning of new fascicles is noted, as is the case with *Bevis of Hampton*, *Otuel*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Sir Tristram*, *Short Metrical Chronicle*, *Richard* and *Pe Simonie* heading fascicles 5 and 7-12.

¹¹⁹ Macrae-Gibson (1979), p.76, provides a discussion of the opening of *Of Arthour and Merlin*. See also Chapter 1, sections 7 and 8, above, for discussion of this passage. For discussion of the opening passages of the Auchinleck *Richard* see Turville-Petre (1996), pp.122-123 and Finlayson (1990).

¹²⁰ For suggestions that *Guy of Warwick* is the manuscript's 'prestige item' see the discussion below in 2.3 and also Pearsall and Cunningham (1977), p.x; Richmond (1996), p.54; Turville-Petre (1996), p.116.

¹²¹ Mills (1988), p.16.

¹²² Pearsall (1977), p.x.

Guy of Warwick to the collection, indicated by some disparaging lines of commentary on the Guy story.¹²³ And Turville-Petre speculates upon a specific significance for the prominence of Guy in the manuscript: suggesting that it may indicate a link to the manuscript's earliest owners.¹²⁴

The aspect of the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* that has generated most discussion concerns the structure of the text. The 'fragmentary' condition of the Auchinleck *Guy* narrative has been variously interpreted by literary critics and manuscript historians and has been used as evidence for different production and reception theories. This subject was broached in Chapter 1, section 2, above, but it is important to review the issues and evidence here in detail because of their significance for understanding this romance and also Auchinleck as a whole.

The Guy legend appears in Auchinleck in three discernible parts. The first section of the text, up to f.146vb, is in couplets. That is, to the point in the story when Guy defeats the dragon in Northumberland and returns to Warwick where the dragon's head is displayed. The section from ff.146vb to 167rb is in twelve-line tail rhyme stanzas and continues the story until Guy's death. The narrative material concerning Guy's son *Reinbrun* follows this, is headed with its own miniature on f.167rb and is also written in twelve-line tail rhyme stanzas.

Hibbard Loomis makes much of this tripartite division, emphasising that such manipulation of the text was unique and proposing that it was the innovation of poet-scribes working in a 'bookshop'. According to this model, the poet-scribes are envisaged dismantling the text into more easily manageable parts better suited to oral recitation. Crucially, the translation and copying of the text are regarded as having occurred during the same stage of production: both being the responsibility of the poet-scribes and both taking place in the proposed 'bookshop'. Fundamental to the theory is the idea that the text was intentionally and deliberately divided into three parts according to the creative preferences of the poet-scribes.

¹²³ The comment is at the head of f.101v, is in a sixteenth or seventeenth-century hand and is the longest comment in the manuscript: "...He that wrought the book had so little to doe / I woulde as he had this againe so we had a newe / he speaks of Gij of Warwick and manie other good knights / that he himself did nev[er] durst to see thim fight / he was an idler fellow as this doth appe[ar]...". Richmond (1996), p.54, ascribes the inspiration of these verses to the "...ubiquitous presence..." of Guy in the manuscript. Such objections to chivalric romance were commonplace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹²⁴ See Turville-Petre (1996), pp.137-138. This point is also discussed in 2.4., below, in more detail.

The presentation of the *Guy* material in Auchinleck has troubled and confused literary critics who have had problems in describing and accounting for its structure. The problems they have experienced are partly a reflection of the fact that their work is underpinned by the presumption that the tripartite division of the Auchinleck *Guy* represents conscious and deliberate creative choices by poet-scribes. For example, disagreement has involved considerations of internal structure: some critics describe the change from couplets to stanzas as strangely sudden and inappropriate and have problems accounting for it¹²⁵ whereas others regard the change as intentional, occurring at a natural break in the narrative. Pearsall describes it as a deliberate policy: a shift from ‘epic’ couplets to ‘lyrical’ tail-rhyme stanzas which reflects a change in tone and subject matter.¹²⁶ Critics have also been puzzled by the apparently contradictory signals given, on the one hand, by the literary content of the text (the change to stanzas and traditional opening at the start of the stanzaic *Guy*) and, on the other, by the *ordinatio* of the manuscript (the lack of any visual or spatial break at this point). The change in metrical form and recapitulation which introduces the stanza section,¹²⁷ and the change of scribe, use of a title, new item number and a miniature at the head of *Reinbrun*, have led Mehl, Pearsall, Hibbard Loomis and Richmond to describe these as three completely separate poems.¹²⁸ Guddat-Figge, Cunningham, Mordkoff and Fewster, by contrast, disagree with this assessment and consider the use of one item number for both the couplet *Guy* and stanzaic *Guy*, and that there is no spatial break or miniature between these two parts, to indicate that this material should be regarded as one romance and *Reinbrun*, with its title, item number and miniature, as a second romance.¹²⁹ Differing again, Evans proposes that the presentation of *Reinbrun* indicates that it was regarded as a separate work but that, continuing on the same column as *Guy* unlike other Auchinleck romances which begin on new columns, it may also “...credibly be regarded as a sequel to the earlier poems, loosely connected to them...”¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Loomis (1942), pp.609-613.

¹²⁶ Pearsall (1965), p.99. Richmond (1996) also finds the divisions to be “...quite intelligible...”, p.56, and agrees with Pearsall’s analysis of the change in metrical form being a deliberate accompaniment to a change in tone.

¹²⁷ The stanza section begins in a style typical of the opening introduction to many romances: “God graunt hem heuen blis to mede / þat herken to mi romaunce rede / al of a gentil kniȝt / þe best bodi he was at nede / þat euer miȝt bi striden stede / & freest founde in fiȝt / þe word of him ful wide it ran / ouer al þis world þe priis he wan / as man most of miȝt / balder bern was non *in* bi / his name was hoten sir gij / of warwike wise & wiȝt.” Lines 6926-6937.

¹²⁸ Mehl (1967), Pearsall (1977), Hibbard Loomis (1942), Richmond (1996).

¹²⁹ Guddat-Figge (1976), Cunningham (1972), Mordkoff (1981), Fewster (1987).

¹³⁰ Evans (1995), p.13.

These analyses fail or are confused because they assume that the scribes controlled not only the presentation but also the content of these texts. It is also to assume that *ordinatio* and literary content will always give the same signals.

Now, in this ‘post-bookshop’ era, Hibbard Loomis’s production model no longer has validity for the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* and re-assessment of the *Guy* texts also confirms the inappropriateness of the model to understanding *Guy*. An alternative explanation for the fragmentary condition of the Auchinleck *Guy* can be reached by combining Shonk’s model of distribution copying with four other key pieces of evidence concerning the text. Crucially, these pieces of evidence emphasise that translation and copying did not take place at the same stage of production and are as follows:

(i.) The linguistic evidence shows that the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*, Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and Auchinleck *Reinbrun* all represent different versions (versions A, B and C, respectively). Each was produced by a different author, attested by differences in phrasing and dialect. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the A-version (couplet *Guy*) was produced in the South East in an early fourteenth-century London romance *koine*, whereas the B (stanzaic *Guy*) and C (*Reinbrun*) versions were produced in slightly different regions of the East Midlands and were both written in a primarily East Midland romance *koine*.¹³¹

(ii.) Auchinleck Scribe I copied both the Auchinleck couplets and the Auchinleck stanzas. They are continuously copied, there is no visual apparatus (spatial break, miniature, title) signifying any division or new text, and a single item number runs continually through both parts to signal that this is one continuous text. There is editorial continuity: continuity in terms of the *ordinatio*. Despite this editorial continuity there is a literary juncture. There is a change of metrical form and also the stanzaic part of *Guy* has the kind of traditional opening that conventionally signals the beginning of a romance (it has a prayer, a call to the audience and a recapitulation). These literary features confirm the idea (implied in i.) that A and B were produced completely independently of

¹³¹ Significant evidence to show that the three parts are descended from three archetypes in different dialects has been assembled by Ikegami (1988). Examples of differences of dialect and phrasing are also provided by Möller (1917). The analysis in Chapter 3, below, provides a detailed consideration of the dialect of the archetype of each part (sections 2.2, 3.2 and 4.2) and, using computer-enabled searches, analyses differences of style and phraseology (section 3.1).

one another: with B conceived of as a romance in its own right. In addition to these literary differences, Auchinleck Scribe I's hand alters notably between copying of the couplet and stanzaic *Guy* and is significantly larger in the copying of the stanzaic part. This sudden and marked change in his hand at the start of this item denotes either a change of exemplar or a lapse of time between copying stints. There was certainly, then a change of exemplar at this point and perhaps also a time delay before the second exemplar became available.

(iii.) Several features of the *ordinatio* signal that the 'Reinbrun' material represents a separate romance in its own right: it has a title, new item number and a miniature. These are also confirmed by literary features: *Reinbrun* has a traditional romance opening (with prayer, call to the audience and recapitulation), confirming the idea (implied in i.) that this text of *Reinbrun* was conceived of as an independent romance in its own right. Further to this, there is a change of scribe between the copying of the stories of *Guy* and *Reinbrun* (with *Guy* copied by Scribe I and *Reinbrun* copied by Scribe V). As there are no examples of scribes sharing the copying of a single text in Auchinleck, the change here is important as it would suggest either that *Reinbrun* was copied from a third exemplar, or that if it was copied from the same exemplar as the stanzaic *Guy* that they were, in this source exemplar, clearly demarcated as two separate texts. That is, then, all the extant evidence indicates that the stanzaic *Guy* and *Reinbrun* each existed as independent romances before they reached Auchinleck.

(iv.) There are three surviving copies of the A-version *Guy* all of which end at (or very close to) the point in the narrative describing the wedding of *Guy* and *Felice*.¹³² The Sloane and Caius texts, that continue furthest with the A-version narrative, include *Guy*'s conversion scene at the opening scene of 'move three'. It is highly unlikely that the author of the A-version ended the text at the beginning of a move. Therefore, it seems that at an early stage in the history of the A-version the latter part (containing the third and fourth moves) of an important copy of the text was damaged. This would account for the condition of the Sloane fragment and the Caius MS *Guy* as well as providing an

¹³² The Auchinleck A-text ceases just after the dragon's head is displayed at Warwick, that is, just prior to the re-union of *Guy* and *Felice*. The Sloane A-text ends just before *Guy*'s speech in the conversion scene at the beginning of the third move, that is, after the wedding. The Caius text continues for slightly further than Sloane. See Chapter 3, section 2.3.ii, below, where a table is given illustrating the precise correspondences of these texts.

explanation for why copying of the couplet *Guy* ceased at the end of the second move in Auchinleck.

These four pieces of evidence from the manuscript and from the other surviving texts of *Guy of Warwick*, combined with Shonk's model of distribution copying provide an alternative hypothesis for the way that the Auchinleck *Guy* was produced. The physical and literary 'junctures' which appear in the Auchinleck text do not represent restructuring by poet-scribes but another production scenario, involving a series of pragmatic problems that the editor/compiler of the manuscript had to overcome. First of all, the (A-version) couplet *Guy* was copied from an exemplar which was incomplete or damaged in the latter parts. Because of this, and in order to complete the legend, the Auchinleck editor/compiler procured copies of the B and C versions to cover the third and fourth moves. That is, due to damage, the editor/compiler 'pieced together' the legend from three different versions. That the 'piecing together' of the A-version (couplet *Guy*) and B-version (stanzaic *Guy*) occurred at the Auchinleck stage of copying is attested by the sudden and marked change in Scribe I's hand between copying of these parts (implying a change of exemplar and perhaps a delay before the second exemplar became available). A third exemplar is implied by the change of scribe and the *ordinatio* at the start of *Reinbrun*, though this could also be accounted for if the stanzaic *Guy* and *Reinbrun* were contained in the same exemplar but clearly demarcated there as separate texts.

The Auchinleck scribes and the editor/compiler worked according to the material that was available to them: in this case, three originally-separate texts were available to represent a single legend. In presenting this material the editor/compiler seems to have taken his cues, regarding the presentation of the text, from his prior knowledge of the romance: the decision to make the couplet and stanzaic *Guy* texts visually and spatially continuous but to divide off the *Reinbrun* material seems partly due to prior knowledge of the legend, according to which the *Guy* story was perceived as a single piece whereas the *Reinbrun* material was regarded, as Evans puts it, as 'loosely connected' in the manner of a sequel.¹³³

¹³³ Evans (1995), p.13.

The conflicting signals given in Auchinleck by, on the one hand, literary content and, on the other, manuscript *ordinatio*, result from the fact that - unlike modern texts - this *Guy of Warwick* went through more than one stage before it reached the pages of the Auchinleck Manuscript. In this, the Auchinleck *Guy* effectively demonstrates that the authoring and copying of medieval texts were not necessarily activities which took place at the same time. The tendency of critics to have overlooked this fundamental factor in the past has resulted in unnecessary confusion.

This revised hypothesis for the production of the Auchinleck *Guy* is important as it highlights certain factors about the production process. Firstly, it shows that the compiler/editor went to some lengths to procure copies of the A, B and C versions in a way that implies a strong desire to have a copy of the *Guy* legend in its most complete form. Secondly, it seems certain that the B (stanzaic *Guy*) and C (*Reinbrun*) texts each also had a life elsewhere, circulating independently. Further, it demonstrates that the Auchinleck editor/compiler had a good knowledge of the different versions of *Guy of Warwick* in current circulation in his region and was able to locate and gain access to them as required. The likely delay between copying of the couplet (A-version) and stanzaic (B-version) parts of *Guy of Warwick* indicates that access to texts was not instantaneous: these texts were not, as has previously been imagined, sitting on the bookmaker's 'shelves',¹³⁴ but had to be borrowed or exchanged or copies procured from fellow book-makers or book-owners.

It is useful to compare this analysis of the production of *Guy of Warwick* with Mills' analysis of *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild*. Mills considers the evidence which could possibly be used in favour of bookshop production: (i.) the fact that *Horn Childe* shares material with other texts (*Amis and Amiloun* and the *King of Tars*) and (ii.) that it exhibits the kind of "...idiosyncratic re-structuring..." that is comparable with the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick*.¹³⁵ However, bookshop production is rejected for *Horn Childe* due to the "...numerous discrepancies between the spellings and the phonetic values of the words in rhyme..." of *Amis*, *Tars* and *Horn Childe* which would not have occurred if all three texts were produced in the same circumstances.¹³⁶ That is, *Horn*

¹³⁴ Walpole (1946).

¹³⁵ Mills (1988), p.80.

¹³⁶ Mills (1988), p.80.

Childe, like *Guy of Warwick*, exhibits evidence for having undergone some kind of restructuring but in both cases detailed consideration of the manuscript and textual evidence attests that it did not take place at the Auchinleck stage of production. As has been argued for the *Guy of Warwick* material, Mills argues for a “...lengthy and...tangled...” textual prehistory for *Horn Childe* with the text having come into Scribe I’s hands in a “...disorganised state...”.¹³⁷ Further to this, with *Horn Childe*, as with the stanzaic *Guy*, there is evidence to show that Scribe I had to wait for the text to be found:

the hiatus in the copying in the middle of Booklet 10 came about because the compiler was waiting, not for an existing text to be reworked to suit its projected manuscript context, but for a text appropriate to that context to come to hand.¹³⁸

That is to say, in both cases the MS evidence implies that the editor/compiler knew of the existence of the desired text but that access was not instantaneous: it had to be procured, by exchange or borrowing, through the appropriate channels.

In this it seems most appropriate to think of the Auchinleck editor/compiler as a book producer who must have had many contacts within the book trade and an excellent knowledge both of available contemporary texts and of the channels through which they could be acquired. That the Auchinleck *Guy* is patched together from a S.Eastern and two texts in East Midland dialects attests to efficient channels of textual exchange having existing between these two regions at an early date.¹³⁹ And this principle can be applied to the Auchinleck MS as a whole. The manuscript stands to represent textual exchange in action: large in size and with its contents dictated by specific themes, Auchinleck is testament to the existence of efficient networks of textual exchange in and around London. The compiler stands at the centre of this network and the Auchinleck manuscript itself, the nub of the nexus. It is a dynamic model, one which relies upon a community of book-makers and book-owners and the open and fluid exchange of texts within this community.

¹³⁷ Mills (1988), pp.80-81.

¹³⁸ Mills (1988), p.80-81.

¹³⁹ For further discussion of the implications of this and the of dialect of these texts see Chapter 3.

2.4. The Reception and Earliest Owners of the Auchinleck Manuscript

As described above, Auchinleck was presented to the faculty of Advocates by Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck in 1744, with a note on the flyleaf of the manuscript indicating that it came into his possession in 1740. The previous history of the manuscript is entirely unknown. All that can be safely conjectured is that it is likely that Boswell acquired the manuscript in Scotland: its presence in Scotland for some period prior to 1740 being implied by the discovery of fragments (which had become detached from the MS by 1740) in the bindings of various books connected to the University of St. Andrews, including some eighteenth-century notebooks.¹⁴⁰

The following names appear on the manuscript:¹⁴¹

Table 3
Names on the Auchinleck MS

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>
f.183r	<i>William Barnes</i>	fourteen or fifteenth century
f.183r	<i>Richard Drow (?) and William Dro...</i>	fourteenth or fifteenth century
f.183r	<i>Anthony Elcocke and John Ellcocke</i>	fourteenth or fifteenth century
f.107r	<i>Mr. Thomas Browne, Mrs. Isabell Browne, Katherin Browne, Eistre Browne, Elizabeth Browne, William Browne, Walter Browne, Thomas Browne, Agnes Browne</i> [Listed, in one hand.]	fifteenth century
St. Andrews fragments, from quire 48,	<i>Walter Brown</i>	fifteenth century? (as at f.107r?) ¹⁴² (St. Andrews University Library MS PR.2065 R4)
f.107v	<i>William Gisslort (?)</i>	sixteenth century
f.300r	<i>John</i>	seventeenth century
f.205r	<i>Christian Gunter</i>	eighteenth century
f.247r	<i>John Harreis</i>	eighteenth century

¹⁴⁰ A description of these fragments is provided above in 2.2 *Damage and Condition*.

¹⁴¹ The dates given here follow those provisionally set by Cunningham (1977), p.xvi. Folio 183, where many of the earliest names appear, contains *Bevis of Hampton* (ff.170ra - 201ra); the names on f.107r are in a list in the space remaining after the list of the names of Norman Barons; f.107v is a blank leaf at the end of a gathering which would have been opposite to the beginning of *Guy of Warwick*; f.300 contains *Sir Orfeo*; and ff.205 and 247 contain *Of Arthour and Of Merlin*; *Walter Brown* is on the *Richard* fragment.

¹⁴² This name is not listed by Cunningham.

With the original owners of the manuscript remaining anonymous, along with the scribes and the history of the volume prior to 1740, these names are clearly of some interest. However, none of the names or groups of names have yet been successfully traced and the motivation for the production of the manuscript and its likely earliest owners must be assessed through analysis of content and composition.

The idea that Auchinleck is an early example of that species of manuscript known as the ‘household book’ and had an “...aspirant middle-class...” audience, perhaps merchants, was set out by Pearsall in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the manuscript and has persisted as a widely-held theory for understanding the type of book that Auchinleck is.

To take the first part of this proposal. Pearsall comments that Auchinleck represents “...the first, and much the earliest, of those ‘libraries’ of miscellaneous reading matter, indiscriminately religious and secular, but dominated by the metrical romances, which bulk large in the popular book-production of the Middle Ages in England...”. The descriptive category ‘household book’ has only loosely defined boundaries and is readily applied to a range of late medieval manuscript collections. The danger of relying too much on this description is that the individual problems and peculiarities of the manuscript in question can tend to be overlooked. Almost two centuries divide Auchinleck and other so-called household books, like the Lincoln Thornton and CUL MS Ff.2.38, and the differences in social and political environment, as well as the development of literature in English and its associated technologies need to be acknowledged.¹⁴³

Comparison with other collections show that Auchinleck’s pious texts do represent a standard selection of the pious reading material available in English in the early fourteenth century.¹⁴⁴ But this does not indicate a manuscript tradition which provides a model for Auchinleck as a whole and such similarities should not be overstated. In many ways Auchinleck does not sit happily within the descriptive category ‘household book’: the use of miniatures, the unified presentation of its contents, the emphasis on knightly history and English patriotism and the lack of those practical domestic and advice texts so

¹⁴³ This comparison is discussed further in section 6.iv, pp.98-107.

¹⁴⁴ As mentioned above, at note 81, versions of Auchinleck’s pious texts appear in Digby 86, the Vernon MS, and in the *South English Legendary* MSS.

common in other household manuals stand out and indicate that any description of Auchinleck as a household book must be accompanied by some qualifying statements.

The motivation for the production of Auchinleck would be better understood if similar manuscripts could be identified. Perhaps the most productive line of comparison would be between Auchinleck and the collections of Anglo-Norman romances which were in circulation when Auchinleck was produced. Some of these contain the same stories as Auchinleck but what is especially striking is their use of miniatures, sometimes in a style very similar to Auchinleck. Of all the Middle English romance manuscripts only Auchinleck shares this feature with the Anglo-Norman collections and a useful hypothesis to be explored would begin by proposing that Auchinleck took the Anglo-Norman romance collections as its model.¹⁴⁵ The miniatures provide an important visual display, presenting Auchinleck as a focused volume. As such, they seem important to the reception of the MS as a whole and to understanding its potential significance as a symbolic object. When the manuscript was intact the miniatures would have presented a procession of historical characters underlining the integrated nature of the volume, its patriotic themes and its function as, to use Turville-Petre's term, a 'handbook of the nation'.¹⁴⁶ The miniatures illustrate visually the assembly together, within the covers of a single volume, many stories relating to English history and society, from different regions and historical periods. If it represents a sense of nationalism, it is of a fragmented, rudimentary kind. But the sense of purposeful patriotism is well defined. This is not immediately apparent now, with so many miniatures lost, but the idea that on the eve of the Hundred Years War with France Auchinleck provided some kind of English counterpart to a genre of decorated French manuscripts needs to be considered.¹⁴⁷

The second part of Pearsall's proposal is that the content of Auchinleck implies an audience with an interest in 'high society':

¹⁴⁵ Useful here is the appendix to Mordkoff's thesis (1981) which provides a list of those Anglo-Norman Manuscripts with affiliations to Auchinleck. See also the 'Suggestions for Further Research' in the final conclusions to this thesis, below.

¹⁴⁶ Turville-Petre (1996), see also the discussion above in *Production* of Turville-Petre's account.

¹⁴⁷ Mordkoff provides a list of French manuscripts with affiliations to Auchinleck as an appendix to her thesis (1981). Other French manuscripts which may be of interest for comparison with Auchinleck include: BL Royal MS 16.G.VI, BL Additional MS 21143, BL Additional MS 15269, all containing *Les Chroniques de France ou de St. Denys* with numerous miniatures. See also BL Royal MS 15.E.VI, a manuscript given to Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI, by John Talbot and containing a genealogical table, chronicles, histories of Alixander and of Charlemaine and four prose romances *Quatre Fils Aimon*, *Pontus & Sidoine* and prose versions of *Guy of Warwick* and *Haraud of Ardernnes*. The manuscript has many miniatures and was produced before 1415.

The taste that it appeals to and is designed for is that of the aspirant middle-class citizen, perhaps a wealthy merchant.¹⁴⁸

The view is expressed more clearly in an earlier article in which Pearsall proposes that:

The audience of the Middle English romances is primarily a lower or lower-middle class audience, a class of social aspirants who wish to be entertained with what they consider to be the same fare, but in English, as their social betters.¹⁴⁹

This seems pure supposition and in every aspect this statement is problematic. Little is known of the tastes of merchants from the first half of the fourteenth century and Pearsall's statement relies upon the idea that a lack of sophistication is indicative of what he calls a 'middle class' taste, as distinguished, presumably, from a more refined 'aristocratic' taste. The notion that good taste - itself an arbitrary enough term - is a quality which is linked to high social rank is contradicted by examples from throughout history.¹⁵⁰ The suggestion that rich merchants were unable to read French is not only unlikely but is disproved by examples of late medieval merchants and craftsmen using French in their day to day business. The little that is known of the reading interests of London merchants indicates that they were more interested in French than English literature.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, and as Coss points out, the idea that one can "...aspire to gentility through a language eschewed by the gentle..." seems highly implausible.¹⁵² The description of merchants as 'middle class' is in itself misleading and is based on a nineteenth-century division of trade and land.¹⁵³ Too much, it seems, has been made of the division between civil servant, merchant and gentleman: all three contributed considerably to the cultural life of the capital and had close social and business links.¹⁵⁴ The early audience of the Auchinleck, it seems, must be understood in another way.

The content and construction of the manuscript indicates some important features about its earliest owners. The list of Norman names suggests an owner who was either part of the list or who would be comfortable with it. The list includes many contemporary

¹⁴⁸ Pearsall (1977), p.viii and note 3.

¹⁴⁹ Pearsall (1965), pp.91-92. See also Doyle (1983) who judges the manuscript to have been "...adapted for less sophisticated tastes than those implied by the French sources and their translation to be scarcely requisite for the courtly reader or listener of that time, and so perhaps intended for a wealthy bourgeois public..."

¹⁵⁰ As Turville-Petre comments (1996), p.138, "...the English upper classes...have never been distinguished by their refined taste...". Coss (1985) also makes the point.

¹⁵¹ Coss (1985), p.40, citing Riley (1860), ii, pp.216-218; Fisher (1964), pp.87-81; Wilkins (1983), pp.185-186. See also Thrupp (1948), pp.162-163 and Jewell (1982), pp.134-138.

¹⁵² Coss (1985), p.41.

¹⁵³ Turville-Petre (1996), p.137.

¹⁵⁴ See discussions in Stanley (1979), p.158; Turville-Petre (1996), p.134-138; Tout (1929), pp.365-398; and Coss (1985), pp.40-42.

fourteenth-century knightly families and implies a patron with an interest in contemporary knighthood as well as in the history of chivalry. Stories of past chivalry are juxtaposed with the list of names of contemporary families in Auchinleck to suggest a sense of continuity between the two. Likewise, history is described through both chronicle and romance and heroes appear in both genres in this single collection. Turville-Petre emphasises the “...sustained attention...” given to the subject of crusading and suggests that perhaps “...the family was one of those, or retained by one of those, that had a long tradition of crusading, such as the Beauchamps or the Percies...”.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, the Beauchamps are perhaps particularly appropriate because of the focus on Guy of Warwick in Auchinleck.¹⁵⁶

The original owners of Auchinleck remain unidentified but what seems certain is that English was chosen for its political resonances not because of the patron’s low level of literacy. The use of English is entirely in keeping with the patriotic concerns of this collection and that the patron was prepared, at this early date, to commit himself so decisively to the use of English shows definite purpose. The manuscript is symbolic of this purpose and, in this, also stands to prefigure the status and prestige that the English language came to attain.

¹⁵⁵ Turville-Petre (1996), p.136.

¹⁵⁶ Turville-Petre (1996), p.136, notes that the books given to Bordesley Abbey by the Beauchamps were of a ‘strong crusading flavour’.

3. British Library Sloane Manuscript 1044

Edition, Transcription and Scholarship

The Sloane *Guy* fragment has been transcribed and published by Zupitza (1873, 1880). However, as Zupitza's text is not widely available, contains some errors, and has been edited, Appendix D provides a diplomatic transcription.¹⁵⁷

Outline descriptions of this *Guy* fragment appear in Ayscough's *Catalogue* for the British Library (1782) and in Guddat-Figge's catalogue of romance manuscripts (1976), with Guddat-Figge following the principle points of Ayscough's description. Zupitza also provides some description in his 1873 article, notable because it reassesses the dating of this fragment.

The Sloane 1044 Collection

BL Sloane MS 1044 is a collection of miscellaneous manuscript fragments and leaves that includes a single folio from a manuscript of *Guy of Warwick*.¹⁵⁸ The collection contains numerous leaves and fragments, of parchment and paper. Some of the fragments date back to the eighth century and include those from bibles, homilies, decretals, service books and lives of saints among other kinds of books. It was originally in the library of John Bagford (1650-1716), acquired after his death by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) whose extensive collections were purchased for the British Library on his death in 1753.¹⁵⁹ There has been considerable confusion over the numbering of this manuscript which, as it pertains to the earliest known history of the volume, it is relevant to outline here.

In the early-eighteenth century Sloane acquired several volumes containing 'specimens of writing'. The first of these was numbered by Sloane in his catalogue as MS 932 and described as 'Samples of parchment papers and writings of several hands &c in fol.', after which a librarian has added 'by John Bagford'. Another librarian's note indicates that this MS 932 was then split up into MS A 798 and MS A 800, and that these numbers were

¹⁵⁷ The errors are described in Appendix D the transcription of the Sloane fragment.

¹⁵⁸ See the *British Museum Catalogue of Sloane Manuscripts 1-1091* where the fragment is described in the list of items 'most deserving of notice' as a 'Leaf of the romance of *Guy of Warwick*' and incorrectly ascribed to the fifteenth century.

¹⁵⁹ The purchase of the collection from Sloane's executors was made by the Act of Parliament which also established the BL Additional MSS 5018-5027, 5214-5308, also from Sloane's collections.

later changed so that MS A 798 became MS 975 and MS A 800 became MS 978. In his catalogue, Sloane's entries for these items come soon after the entry for MS 932 and read:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| MS 975 [previously MS A 798] | Prints of ancient ways of writing, specimens of old hands and in fol. [librarian adds:] by John Bagford. |
| MS 978 [previously MS A 800] | Specimens of writing on vellum, ancient books &c. in fol. |

Sloane's catalogue was renumbered when the British Library received the collection after 1753. Confusion arose at this stage as the volumes were not checked against Sloane's numbering and MS 932 was re-numbered as BL MS 1044 despite the fact that it no longer existed, having been split into two volumes. Sloane's manuscripts from 975 to 978 were renumbered as BL MS 1083-1086. When Ayscough made his catalogue of the Sloane manuscripts in the 1780's he failed to find MSS 1083 and 1084 and replaced them with two manuscripts of medical recipes from another part of the collection. His failure to find BL MS 1083 (previously 975 and before that A 798) was because it had been wrongly identified as the apparently missing BL MS 1044. Why BL MS 1084 could not be found is not clear but Madden in the nineteenth century suggested it was most likely that it had been bound into what is now BL MS 1044.¹⁶⁰

The leaf of *Guy of Warwick*, then, which is now part of BL MS 1044 must have been included in the volumes numbered by Sloane as MS 932, 975, and 978. These volumes were acquired through John Bagford in the early-eighteenth century when, as records show, Bagford and Sloane were searching together in London for books and material relating to the history of printing.¹⁶¹

Physical Description of the Fragment

This is a single folio of *Guy of Warwick* and has the item number 248 in the manuscript.¹⁶² It is approximately 290mm x 190mm, though seems originally to have been significantly larger, having been trimmed very closely around all sides of the text with the first letter of most of the lines of f.248ra sliced away. It is on vellum of a good

¹⁶⁰ See Nickson (1983) (1994) for further discussion of the life and collections of Sloane and his collaborations with Bagford and for further discussion of the Sloane 1044 volume.

¹⁶¹ The printed items from MS 1044 were removed and taken to the Department of Printed Books in 1891.

¹⁶² As a result of the removal of the printed material from Sloane 1044 the existing item numbers in the volume no longer run consecutively. Former numbers for this item were: 345, 483, 625. Zupitza (1873), p.623. Guddat-Figge (1976), p.213.

and even quality. The text is copied in double columns of 54 lines. No rulings or prick marks are visible.

Date

In his catalogue of 1782, Ayscough incorrectly dates this fragment to the early-fifteenth century.¹⁶³ This date was revised by Zupitza to the fourteenth century, based on the evidence of the script and the language and this earlier dating has been taken up by Hibbard Loomis, Mills and Severs and is concurred with here.¹⁶⁴

Handwriting

The hand is a professional-looking Anglicana Formata, upright, though very slightly forward sloping at some points. Features of the script and language place the text within approximately the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Features of the hand include: the use of both short and long-tailed *r*; long *s* and short terminal *s* based upon the capital form; 8-shaped two-compartment *g*; *b* is distinct from *y*; minims are distinctly formed; the shaft of the *t* always extends above the headstroke so it is quite distinguishable from *c*; *ff* is used for *F*; *i* generally lacks a diacritic mark; dotted *y* is used throughout.¹⁶⁵

The scribe uses the usual Latin-derived abbreviations for *er*, *ar*, *ra*, *m*, *n*, and *ri*. *pou* is abbreviated as *p* with superscript *u*. *e*, very often final *e*, is abbreviated with a backward curving stroke above the word. The scribe has a preference for matching rhyme words visually by matching abbreviations and letter forms as well as spelling.

Decoration and Ornamentation

The ornamentation also displays professionalism. The first letter of every line is struck through with red ink and certain words within the body of the text, usually proper names, also have their first letter picked out in red. End rhymes are bracketed in red ink, each bracket neatly formed with three straight strokes. The text is divided by large capitals in

¹⁶³ In her catalogue of romance manuscripts, Guddat-Figge (1976) follows Ayscough here and reproduces this incorrect dating for the Sloane fragment.

¹⁶⁴ Zupitza (1873), p.623. Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.128. Mills (1991), p.210. Severs (1967), p.28. See the discussion of palaeography in this section and see, also, the discussion of the language of the scribe who copies this fragment in Chapter 3, section 2.3.ii.

¹⁶⁵ See Parkes (1969; rept. 1979), pp.xvi-xvii, for a description of Anglicana Formata and cf. plate 16.ii., the mid-fourteenth century Oxford, Merton College MS.O.2.1., f.217r, col. b.

red and/or blue: l.23 (col.ra) has a red capital *G* two lines deep; l.59 (col.rb) has a red capital *P*, six lines deep, intruding into the text for four lines; l.95 (col.rb) begins with a blue paraph mark; l.117 (col.va) has a blue capital *P* with red ornamentation, five lines deep, intruding into the text for four lines; l.173 (col.vb) has a blue capital *W* two lines deep touched with red; l.205 (col.vb) has a blue capital *I*, twelve lines long, intruding upon the text for seven lines and accompanied by some rubricated ornamentation along this column. Small intercolumnar *P* / *W* / *I* are visible beside ll.59, 95, 73, 205, having been marked by the scribe as a reference for the illuminator. Any corresponding letters beside *G* and *P* in columns ra and va have been cropped. The trimming also means that if there was an item number, a running title, a catchword or any marginal comments on this folio they are now lost. This is unfortunate as this kind of editorial apparatus may have indicated something of the original size of the manuscript and how it was produced.

The coloured capitals seem to conform to a general design format: the *G* and *P* of the recto side are red whereas the *P*, *W*, and *I* of the verso side are blue touched with red. Perhaps this alternation between red and blue reflects a pattern that was followed throughout the text. There is only one paraph sign on this folio, it is blue and is on the recto side which has the red *G* and *P*, suggesting that paraphs either were always blue or were always of the alternate colour to the surrounding coloured capitals.

In her brief description of this fragment, Guddat-Figge comments that the Sloane fragment is a leaf from what was "...a probably rather handsome, large MS., well written...".¹⁶⁶ It is possible to confirm and also to build on these speculative comments by Guddat-Figge by comparing the decoration of Sloane with that of Auchinleck and Caius, the two most lavish *Guy* manuscripts. Auchinleck and Caius are among the most lavish and carefully produced of all of the surviving manuscripts of Middle English romances and are therefore particularly useful for comparison here.¹⁶⁷ The original manuscript from which the Sloane fragment survives would have been of a similar format to Auchinleck but larger: both are in double columns but the writing space in Sloane is 290 x 190mm (two columns of 54 lines) whereas in Auchinleck the writing space is of

¹⁶⁶ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.213.

¹⁶⁷ For comparison with the other manuscripts containing ME romance see Guddat-Figge's catalogue (1976), in particular, with regard to decoration see pp.42-48 and 54-55.

only 197 x 146mm (two columns of an average 44 lines). That is, the writing space in Sloane is 32% longer and 23% wider than Auchinleck.

Comparison of the decoration of Auchinleck and Caius with Sloane would suggest that Sloane was from an equally lavish volume.¹⁶⁸ In fact, the decorated initials on the Sloane leaf would suggest a manuscript that was more highly decorated (in respect of initials) than Auchinleck or Caius.¹⁶⁹ The single surviving folio (four columns of text) has five decorated initials: *G*, *P*, *P*, *W*, *I*. That is, an average of 1.25 decorated initials per column. The Auchinleck couplet *Guy* is now of 156 manuscript columns (39 folios) with 126 decorated initials. That is, it has a much lower average of 0.8 initials per column. The Caius MS has a lower average again. Pages 1 - 149 have 87 decorated initials and pages 150 - 271 have 26 initials. That is, the first 149 pages have an average of 0.6 initials per column and the latter 121 pages of only 0.2 initials per column.

Of course, it is possible that the Sloane folio had an exceptionally high number of decorated initials compared with the rest of the original Sloane MS. This, however, is unlikely. In the 39 folios of the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* only 11 folios have frequency of 1.25 or 1.5 initials per column.¹⁷⁰ That is, only 28% of folios from the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* have a frequency of initials as high or higher than the Sloane fragment.

The size and style of the initials in Sloane is also more lavish than in Auchinleck and Caius. Throughout Auchinleck initials are two-lines deep and are blue with red lacework ornamentation. Similarly, in Caius initials are generally two-lines deep and in blue with red ornamentation, though on all three of the occasions that *I* appears as a decorated initial (pages 2 and 9 near the beginning of the text and page 150 just after the change of scribes) it is eight or nine-lines deep. In Sloane, by contrast, initials vary in colour: the two on the recto side are in red whereas the three on the verso side are in blue with red ornamentation. Two of Sloane's initials are of two lines deep like those in Auchinleck and Caius (*G* on column ra and *W* on column vb), but the other three are larger: *P* (column va) is of five lines, *P* (column rb) is of 6 lines and *I* (column vb) is of 12 lines.

¹⁶⁸ See the catalogue of romance MSS by Guddat-Figge (1976).

¹⁶⁹ Though, of course, there is no evidence as to whether the volume that the Sloane leaf was from had any illumination or miniatures as appear in Auchinleck and Caius.

¹⁷⁰ Like the Sloane fragment, each of Auchinleck's folios has four columns. In the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* there are 4 folios (ff.114, 119, 127, 129) with 5 initials each, an average of 1.25 initials per column, and 2 folios (ff.113 and 137) that have 6 initials each, an average of 1.5 initials per column.

As Caius also indicates, it seems that because of the shape of the capital letter ‘I’ there was a tendency to make it larger, extending the letter along the side of the column of text. Nevertheless, the large size, alternating colours and high frequency of its initials, together indicate that the Sloane fragment must have come from a manuscript that was high in quality, produced with care and attractively decorated. This evidence regarding the quality of the Sloane fragment is important as it implies a costly production and, therefore, a rich owner/patron who regarded *Guy of Warwick* as a valuable text.

Condition

The folio is of generally good condition. However, it appears to have been folded in half and stored as such for some time. The fold is horizontal across approximately the middle of the folio, with the verso having been on the outside when folded. There is some damage along this fold line on the verso side: there are cracks on the right-hand side of this section of the text (ll.190-194) and the left-hand side is quite dirty and faded with parts of ll.135-139 difficult to make out. The recto is in much better condition, cleaner and brighter, with the fold line barely visible. The fold suggests that this folio was perhaps used in the binding of a book before 1700 when it came into Bagford’s possession. It is a theory which would account for its reasonably good condition and its survival apart from the rest of the text. It is also supported by Bagford’s description of the sources of the ‘specimens’ that he collected. He describes how:

I have made my observation & speculation from ye ould fragments of paper at ye endes of ould Bookes.¹⁷¹

And goes on to acknowledge the kindness of the bookseller “Mr Christopher Beatman” (i.e. Bateman) for allowing him to check through his books and take out the “Wast fragments of ould writinges ye blank wast leave title pages Grate Letters devis[e]s headpeces &c”. This evidence from Bagford helps to refute the nineteenth-century charge of biblioclasm against him as well as suggesting a context for the survival and pre-eighteenth century history of this *Guy* fragment.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Nickson (1983).

¹⁷² Nickson (1983).

4. British Library Manuscript 14408 and National Library of Wales Manuscript Binding Fragments 572

4.1. Introduction

The fragments of this copy of *Guy of Warwick* are now preserved as two manuscripts: BL MS 14408 and NLW MS Binding Fragments 572. The BL fragments were first noticed by Thomas Phillipps who published them in 1838 in a limited print run of 50 copies. For some reason Phillipps did not transcribe all parts of the fragment and the columns of text that he does publish are incorrectly ordered.¹⁷³ His edition also fails to give any additional descriptive detail about the text, providing little more than the information that it was “...found in the cover of an old book...”¹⁷⁴

The NLW fragments were discovered in 1971 and published by Mills and Huws in 1974. Their edition includes an introduction and edited versions of both the NLW and BL texts. All of the surviving parts of the manuscript have been re-organised into their proper order and indication is provided of the sections of the text now missing from the fragments. Guddat-Figge also provides an accurate description of the manuscript, though it is rather brief and Mills and Huws’ edition provides the only detailed account.¹⁷⁵ In their introduction Mills and Huws provide a physical description, discussion of provenance and an analysis of language and textual affiliations. Their text is accurate, the introduction is reliable and thorough and their work on textual affiliations, though somewhat limited by the scope of their edition, provides the only serious consideration of this issue for any *Guy of Warwick* text, the main conclusions of which are summarised below.¹⁷⁶

In the discussion of textual affiliations the BL/NLW fragments are labelled ‘F’ and are compared with the text printed by Copland c.1565 and labelled ‘d’. The text d is not derived directly from F but their close relationship indicates that they share a common source (Fd). The relationship of this source, Fd, to the surviving *Gui de Warewic* manuscripts can be outlined with some precision. It is found that MS BL Additional

¹⁷³ A detailed review of Phillipps edition is provided by Mills and Huws (1974), p.1.

¹⁷⁴ Phillipps (1838). Phillipps edition has, however, been of some value as certain lines (or fragments of lines) were transcribed by Phillipps which are now lost from the manuscript. These lines are reproduced in Mills and Huws’ edition of the text, taken directly from Phillipps transcription. Mills and Huws describe this process (1974), p.2.

¹⁷⁵ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.73.

¹⁷⁶ See below ‘Thesis Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research’.

38662 (from the α -group redaction of *Gui* and the text which forms the basis of Ewert's edition) most frequently represents the Anglo-Norman source of F and d, with the phrasing of F in particular staying very close to Additional 38662 for the majority of the time.¹⁷⁷ However, it is also found that in places F and d are closer to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 50 (a manuscript from the β -redaction but the least radically altered text from this group and which is used in Ewert's edition to fill the gaps in the text of the Additional MS)¹⁷⁸ and on a few occasions they are found to be closer to the more radical β -group reworking of *Gui* found in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Aug. 87, 4. Mills and Huws emphasise the importance of the Corpus Christi MS 50 text, especially to the early stages of F and d, and conclude from the available evidence that the source Fd would have resembled the Corpus Christi MS 50 text with a shift at a latter section to a source text resembling the Herzog August Bibliothek MS text.¹⁷⁹

4.2. Physical Description

The Manuscripts Containing the Fragments

In the second half of the fifteenth century this copy of *Guy of Warwick* was cut up and eight bifolia were used as the pastedowns and flyleaves of two manuscripts, both produced for the same customer. These eight bifolia are all that survive of this text.

The book into which the BL fragments were bound contains Lydgate and Burgh's English translation of *De Regimine Principis*, an English translation of the first book of Vegetius's *Epitome Institutorum Rei Militaris*, and an English translation of the *Consilia Isidori*. The book into which the NLW fragments were bound contains medical recipes and a herbal. Both books are the work of the same professional scribe who wrote in an Anglicana Formata script. Both are decorated with the same red and black initials and their paper shares the same watermark. These features, along with the fact that they use sections of the same text in their bindings, indicates that they were produced either consecutively or within a very short period of one another. The scribe's

¹⁷⁷ Mills and Huws (1974), p.19 note 30, and p.11.

¹⁷⁸ Ewert initially describes Corpus Christi MS 50 as part of the α group but in the stemma it is indicated to be the least radically altered of the β group. See Ewert (1932-3), pp.xv-xvi, and Mills and Huws (1974), p.11.

¹⁷⁹ Mills and Huws (1974), pp.6-13.

colophon on the BL manuscript allows production of these books to be specifically dated to precisely 1473.¹⁸⁰

The BL fragments have been removed from their original position in the binding and are now bound together at the end of the manuscript. The NLW fragments are in a fragile condition and since re-binding of the manuscript in 1915, when they were removed from their place in the binding of this book, have been kept separately as ‘Binding Fragments 572’.

It seems likely that this *Guy of Warwick* was originally gathered in eights. The BL manuscript used the whole of one quire (four bifolia) for its binding. The NLW manuscript also used four bifolia but in this case three from one quire and one from another.¹⁸¹ Mills and Huws calculate the original disposition of the eight surviving bifolia to have been:

quire I (1/8, 3/6, 4/5) comprising NLW fragment ff.1-3; quire III (complete) comprising BM fragment; quire V (3/6), NLW fragment f.4¹⁸²

Each bifolium measures approximately 260 x 235mm. The stain marks on the fragments indicate that the bifolia were paired (and overlapped) to form four larger sheets (in the BL manuscript these are approximately 365 x 260mm and in the NLW manuscript they are approximately 395 x 280mm). One of each of these large sheets was used at each end of the two fifteenth-century books. Each sheet was trimmed to fit the binding of the manuscript. Each was folded in half along its longer side and sewn to the bands of the book through the hinge, so that one half formed the pastedown with the other half folded over to become the flyleaf.¹⁸³

Damage to the Fragments

Damage has occurred to the pastedown at the beginning of the NLW manuscript and to the flyleaf at its end. The corners of the pastedown at the beginning of the book have been cut or torn away and most of the end flyleaf has been lost, having been cut away.

¹⁸⁰ The colophon reads: *Explicit. Scriptori merita mater pia redde Maria. Anno domini millesimo CCCC^o lxxiii^o.*

¹⁸¹ Leaves 1 and 8, 3 and 6, 4 and 5 from one quire. Why the other bifolia from this quire (leaves 2 and 7) was not used is not clear.

¹⁸² Mills and Huws (1974), p.5.

¹⁸³ Mills and Huws provide a diagram to illustrate this (1974), p.1. As Mills and Huws note “...The preservation of the [original] cover means that the original binding of the NLW [fragments] can be visualised with some certainty...” (p.2).

There are also cuts and holes in all four leaves. The condition of the other surviving pieces is not good either. They are often badly marked with stains, folds and general soiling and wear. As a result, the text is often difficult to read and in many places is entirely gone. The BL fragments are also folded and soiled, being very darkened in places, and a section of the folio has been lost from f.76. Mills and Huws' edition provides transcription of all readable text but, as they comment, in a number of places the text is so badly faded or soiled that it is "...beyond reading with whatever aid...".¹⁸⁴

Physical Description of the Fragments

This copy of *Guy of Warwick* was produced in the early-fourteenth century.¹⁸⁵ It is on vellum and is all in one hand: an Anglicana script, inconsistent in quality and often quite compressed with poorly defined letters. The frequent poor quality of the hand further increases the problem of reading the soiled fragments.

The text is in double columns of between 40 and 58 lines, occupying a written space of approximately 230 x 130mm. Vertical ruling in drypoint can still be seen but no horizontal rulings are now visible. Mills and Huws observe a deterioration in presentation quality after the first couple of pages: at the beginning the scribe offers "...a few gestures towards formality and calligraphy...", with more generous spacing between lines, more distinct minims, and exaggerated ascenders and descenders at the top and bottom lines of folios 1 and 2. However, the scribe quickly "...lapses into what must have been his everyday practices...".¹⁸⁶

Throughout, the text is divided by enlarged (two-line) initial capitals in red. These appear at the beginnings of sections and the opening of the text has one of these rubricated capitals. Rubricated paraph signs are also used to divide the text (for example at line 902). The initial letter of each line is touched in red and is usually separated from the rest of the line by the space of two letters (though this separation does not occur on the first leaf). Rhymes are often linked by red brackets. No signatures or catchwords are evident on the existing fragments.

¹⁸⁴ Mills and Huws (1974), p.6.

¹⁸⁵ The features of the hand makes this dating quite certain. See the discussion by Mills and Huws (1974), p.5.

¹⁸⁶ Mills and Huws (1974), p.5.

4.3. Earliest Owners and History of the Fragments

The soiled and fragmentary state of this *Guy of Warwick* manuscript means that it is difficult to achieve an idea of its original quality. Its small size and the often uneven quality of the hand indicate that it was a fairly modest production. The rubrication of capitals, paraphs and initial letters, along with the scribe's initial efforts towards calligraphy, all represent simple decoration and show that though the volume was plain rather than prepossessing there was some concern with presentation. There is no indication whether this was a single-text manuscript or whether this *Guy of Warwick* originally came from an anthology of some sort.

The text of *Guy of Warwick* was translated and copied in the North and attention is given to the issue of precise region in the discussion of dialect, Chapter 3, section 5, below. The evidence gleaned from tracing names on the manuscripts indicates that by the third quarter of the fifteenth century this Northern *Guy of Warwick* had made its way south to Somerset. Nothing is known of its original early fourteenth-century owners or how, or at what point, it reached Somerset.¹⁸⁷ There is, however, some evidence identifying the Somerset owners of the two fifteenth-century books into which it was bound. In the fifteenth-century BL manuscript, below the scribe's colophon in a different but contemporary hand is written: “..Cest livre appertient Nycholas de Saint lo Chevalier...” and at a point before this in the margin of the text (in what Mills and Huws describe as a ‘slightly later’ hand) is “...Nycholas Sayntlo esquiar...”. Another connection with Sir Nicholas St. Lo is evident in the NLW manuscript. His name appears in one of the four fifteenth-century deeds which were used as reinforcing strips in the binding of this manuscript.¹⁸⁸ All four deeds relate to the Somerset area and Mills and Huws have been successful in tracing some of the names mentioned. Clearly, the name of most interest is Nicholas St. Lo of Sutton and Mills and Huws summarise the information relating to him as follows:

...references to him and his wife Agnes are not scarce. Of present relevance is the fact that when granted a general pardon in 1471 he is described as knight, late esquire. He died in 1486. The ‘Nycholas Sayntlo esquiar’ who also wrote his name in BM may have been a younger son of Sir Nicholas or the grandson of that name who died in 1508.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ See also Chapter 3, section 5, for further discussion of the circulation of this text.

¹⁸⁸ Mills and Huws describe their use in the binding as follows: “...They are four strips of parchment, 265-285mm long and 35-50mm wide, used to line the hinges of the middle bifolia of quires...No such strips survive with BM, but offsets show that they once existed...” (1974), p.3.

¹⁸⁹ Mills and Huws (1974), p.4.

The appearance of the name Nicholas St. Lo on the BL manuscript and on the deeds in the binding of the NLW manuscript indicates that these fifteenth-century manuscripts were made for him, perhaps later being passed on to his son or grandson. The binder of these manuscripts seems to have been working in Sutton and using any unwanted parchment that came to hand there. Further, as the deeds used as binding fragments belonged to Nicholas St. Lo it is likely that the copy of *Guy of Warwick* used in the binding was also his. That is, it seems that Nicholas St. Lo commissioned the binding of the two books in the fifteenth century and also provided scrap documents for the binding: including a copy of *Guy of Warwick*.

It remains possible that the binder obtained the scraps of *Guy of Warwick* from a different source but, based on the available surviving evidence, it is most likely that Nicholas St. Lo was the final owner of this *Guy of Warwick*. In this Nicholas St. Lo is the only late medieval owner of a surviving copy of *Guy of Warwick* for whom a name and some biography are known. Perhaps significantly, he was a knight and a man of some means. The Northern dialect of this text, its age by this time and modest quality may all have contributed to the decision to dispose of this *Guy of Warwick*.

There are no other marks of ownership on the BL manuscript before the eighteenth century when, as marginal notes and the comments of Phillipps indicate, it seems to have come to London.¹⁹⁰ It was purchased by the BL in 1843. Recipes, notes and a name in Welsh in the margins of the NLW manuscript suggest that it probably came to mid-Wales in the sixteenth century where it remained. It was bequeathed to the NLW by Richard Williams of Celynog in 1906.

¹⁹⁰ Phillipps (1838).

5. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Manuscript 107/176

5.1. Introduction

The Caius 107/176 *Guy of Warwick* has been edited by Zupitza and published in parallel with the Auchinleck text (1883-91). There is no introduction to this volume but the Caius manuscript is mentioned once in Zupitza's preface to the CUL Ff.2.38 text (1875-6) where it is described briefly as "...a parchment MS. written about the beginning of the 15th century by two scribes...".¹⁹¹

Unlike the Auchinleck and CUL manuscripts, which are repeatedly described in editions of the many texts they each contain, Caius 107/176 contains only *Guy of Warwick* and has received very little attention. There are three descriptions of the manuscript but none of them attempts to provide a comprehensive account. The catalogue entry of James (1907-8) lists some of the manuscript's vital statistics. That of Guddat-Figge (1976) goes a stage further, giving a more detailed account than that of James and including some useful suggestions for further investigation. Most recently, Richmond's study of the *Guy of Warwick* legend selects a few of the manuscript's features for particular discussion.¹⁹²

5.2. Physical Description

Date

Caius was produced some time around 1400, with opinion varying as to whether it is a product of the late-fourteenth or the early-fifteenth century. James (1907-8) and Richmond (1996) date it to the late-fourteenth century (though Richmond's decision here is perhaps partly determined by her concern to include the Caius text within her chapter on the *Guy* story in the fourteenth century) whereas Zupitza (1875-6) puts it as early-fifteenth century and Guddat-Figge (1976) as fifteenth century. Chapter 3 (sections 2.3.iii. and 6.3.i.) considers the script and language of the two scribes who copy this manuscript and the results of this linguistic analysis favour the early-fifteenth century as a production date.

¹⁹¹ It should be noted that Zupitza's edition is outdated in that the manuscript is referred to as 'Caius MS 107'. Since James's renumbering (1907-8) it has had the reference 'Caius MS 107/176'.

¹⁹² References to each of these descriptions are given below in 5.2, the Physical Description.

Foliation and Collation

Folios are of vellum and are 263 x 177mm,¹⁹³ though the loss of some of the marginal decoration indicates that margins have been much trimmed.¹⁹⁴ The manuscript now consists of 136 folios comprising eighteen quires.¹⁹⁵ Quires 1-17 are grouped in eights whereas quire 18, at the end of the manuscript, is made up of only two folios (ff.135 and 136). Nothing has been lost from the end of the text indicating that the final two folios were added to complete copying of *Guy* not because part of a quire has been lost. Table 4 below shows the collation, pagination and the stints of the two scribes who copied the manuscript.

Table 4
Caius MS: Foliation and Collation

Quire	Folios	Pagination	Scribe
1	1-8	1-16	Pages 1-2 by Scribe I. Pages 3-16 by Scribe II.
2	9-16	17-32	II
3	17-24	33-48	II
4	25-32	49-64	II
5	33-40	65-80	II
6	41-48	81-96	II
7	49-56	97-112	II
8	57-64	113-128	II
9	65-72	129-144	II
10	73-80	145-160	Scribe II to the end of p.149, then Scribe I from the start of p.150.
11	81-88	161-176	I
12	89-96	177-192	I
13	97-104	193-208	I
14	105-112	209-224	I
15	113-120	225-240	I
16	121-128	241-256	I
17	129-134	257-268	I
18	135-136	269-272	I

Damage and Condition

Two leaves have been lost from folio 17 (so that it now has six leaves rather than its original eight): the two missing leaves are consecutive in the manuscript and would have followed what is now folio 131 (pp.261 and 262). They would have been the fourth and fifth leaves of the original eight-leaf quire, that is, they would have formed the two conjoined, consecutive leaves in the middle of the quire. The part of the text preceding

¹⁹³ There are slight variations between folio sizes and these measurements approximate to the largest folios. Folios are as small as 254 x 166mm (folio 1).

¹⁹⁴ There are many examples of this but see especially p.222 and p.244. In its original state the manuscript was probably just under A4 size.

¹⁹⁵ A librarian has numbered the beginning of each new quire in pencil. '2' appears in the bottom right hand corner of p.17, '3' on p.33, '4' on p.49, and so on.

this lost section contains the episode in which Guy saves England from the Danes by his defeat of the giant Colebrond and then reveals his identity privately to King Athelstan. The section of the text which has been lost would have contained: the description of Guy's parting from Athelstan; the story of how he joined poor men at the castle gates and, unrecognised, was fed daily through the charity of his wife Felice; and the story of how he became a hermit in his final days and received a vision from an angel prophesying his imminent death.

Otherwise the surviving manuscript is generally in good condition. The only serious exception to this is the illuminated recto side of the first folio which is heavily stained and rubbed.¹⁹⁶ Minor damage includes that to the final folio (f.136v) which is creased and stained, though less severely than f.1r. Both this first and the last folio are marked with a brown strip of about 20mm extending around the outer edge of the three sides away from the spine, so it appears that the outermost leaves of the manuscript, were at some stage unprotected by a binding. Other minor cases of damage in the manuscript are: p.3 where a square has been cut out of the top left-hand corner of the page; small vertical tears at the head or foot of the page occur at pp.5, 7, 61, and 81; a series of short upward cuts appear at the foot of p.193; there is a larger tear (57mm) on p.267; there are small holes in the vellum at the top of pp.269 and 271; smudging occurs at the beginning of the text on p.135. There is also damage to several of the rubricated initials which are heavily smudged and rubbed and where there appears to have been an attempt to treat or perhaps copy these letters using some sort of abrasive.¹⁹⁷

There are not a great number of scribbles or marginal additions on the body of the manuscript. In addition to the Latin verses added on p.271 and the names that appear mostly on p.271, both of which are discussed below, are the following. The scribe has written *Amen* at the end of the text of *Guy of Warwick*, p.270, and this has been copied out by later readers. On p.149 across the right hand margin in large black letter script is written *S^r Guy of Warwick*. The writing is very large, filling half the length of the writing space. It is perhaps significant that this is the final page of Scribe II's portion of copying. In the same large script on p.271 is written *warwick*. Underneath the marginal title on p.149 in a sixteenth-century hand appears *gui of warwick that noble knight*

¹⁹⁶ The damage to this illuminated is described below in *Format, Ornamentation and Illumination*.

¹⁹⁷ Rubbed initials appear on pp.7, 24, 28, 33, 35, 46, 48, twice on 49, 108, 110, 127, 164, 172, 177, 193, 228, 231, 244 and 246. That is, on 20 initials of the 113 in the manuscript.

and, in the same hand under that on p.172 appears *guy earle of warwick warwick warwick* (the emphasis on Warwick here is perhaps notable). Amid the Latin verses on p.172 are the words *God haffe marcy on Gye es sole amen*. Scribe II occasionally leaves two-line spaces before coloured initials and in two cases, both in the same hand, a commentator has written in this space: on p.126 has been written *Gui of warwick is my name, how like yow the l'ame* and on p.129 *Then laid Gui thoo*. Some lines of Latin appear beside the text on p.3. Some brief indecipherable comments appear on pp.4 and 119. On pp.56 and 57 in pencil appears to be the name *John...(?)* and *Guy of W...*, but these are faint. A librarian has written 83 in ink at the bottom right hand corner of p.101. Pen trials appear on pp.162 and 271.

Signatures and Catchwords

If a system of signatures existed these have now been lost, probably casualties of trimming. Guddat-Figge comments "...a few signatures [are] still visible..."¹⁹⁸, however, I have failed to find evidence of any surviving on the manuscript.¹⁹⁹ The only possible candidate is the faint arabic 4 which appears at the foot of p.4.

Catchwords are used consistently and link every quire in the manuscript. They are written by the scribe working on the corresponding section of the manuscript and appear on the lower right-hand corner, verso, of the final folio of every quire (with the exception of f.136v which, as the final folio of the manuscript, would not have required one). On two occasions the orthography of catchword and text do not match up.²⁰⁰

Format, Ornamentation and Illumination

Guddat-Figge describes it as a manuscript "...produced with unusual care..."²⁰¹ and this is a point which should be emphasised. It is a professional production of consistently even quality. The text is in single columns with 30 lines to the page and throughout the writing space has been carefully ruled in ink. The text is copied continuously: the only spaces

¹⁹⁸ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.80.

¹⁹⁹ Guddat-Figge does not cite the location of these signatures so it is difficult to know what is being referred to and to follow up the observation.

²⁰⁰ The signature at the end of the fifth quire, p.80, reads "Sir for godde" (the final *e* of *godde* abbreviated with a hook) and the text opening the sixth quire, p.81, expands the abbreviation and reads "Sir for godde". The signature at the end of the eleventh quire, p.176, reads "he smote full fast" whereas the text beginning the twelfth quire, p.177, reads "he smote full faste".

²⁰¹ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.80.

that occur are the occasional two-line breaks left by Scribe II before some coloured initials.

Page 1 is skilfully and elaborately decorated, though has suffered much damage. This opening page has a large initial 8 lines deep (40 x 50mm, extending into the margin for a further 20mm). The initial is in red, though this is now much blackened, with a gold background and red and blue entwining foliage. The gold of the background extends along the left-hand margin, providing a border at this side of the text, edged with red and blue. Surrounding the text of p.1 on all sides is a feathered border in gold, red, blue and green. Large red and large blue leaves sprout alternately from the left and right sides of the feathered border. The fronds of the feathered border are tipped with green. Fifteen of the fronds have been enlarged to form gold-centred flowers sprouting alternately from left and right between the larger red and blue leaves.²⁰²

Throughout, the manuscript is decorated with red and blue initials which divide up the text. Decorated initials are a common feature of manuscripts but these are particularly finely executed, being of a consistently high quality and their intricate extensions displaying skilled penmanship. These initials are generally two lines deep and intrude into the text. They are all in blue with red lacework extending into the margins above, below and behind the letter. Larger initials appear on pp.2, 9 and 150.²⁰³ These larger initials are of the same blue with red lacework but do not intrude onto the text. The initial on p.2 is of 10 lines (60mm) and those on pp.9 and 150 are each of 8 lines (50 and 53mm). Page 150, it should be recalled, is the point at which the change of scribe occurs. The appearance of the larger initial here seems to serve to mark this point though it does not appear at the first line written by the new scribe.

There are 113 initials. On three occasions there are two initials per page, elsewhere only one initial appears on a page.²⁰⁴ The distribution of the initials varies slightly in the parts of the manuscript copied by the two scribes. Pages 1-149 contain 87 initials (on three occasions with two on one page) whereas pages 150-271 contain only 26 initials (with never more than one per page). That is, to page 149 initials occur about every 1 or 2

²⁰² In many cases the gold tips of the feathering have been heavily rubbed.

²⁰³ This has been noted above in section 3 where the decoration of the Sloane fragment is compared to that of the Auchinleck MS and MS Caius 107/176.

²⁰⁴ Two initials appear on pages 49, 110 and 141.

pages, but from page 150 onwards they only occur about every 5 pages.²⁰⁵ Time or money may have constrained the number of coloured initials added to the second part of the manuscript. Alternatively, decoration may simply have been regarded as less important in the latter parts than at the opening of the volume. All of the initials appear to have been produced by the same artist or rubricator. They are very similar in colour and style, displaying the same repeated patterns throughout.

Scribes and Production

Scribe I uses a version of Anglicana Formata and Scribe II uses a bastard secretary script, a script often used in Books of Hours.²⁰⁶ Scribe II deliberately varies his script for details of presentation, using formal and calligraphic features: after every coloured initial a bold Textura script is used for one or two words, with the effect of a display script; the first letter of every page is enlarged so that it is bold and sometimes highly embellished; exaggerated ascenders are used on the top line of each page and exaggerated descenders on the bottom line; and throughout catchwords are enclosed within a drawing of a curled scroll. In these ways, and because of the highly flourished nature of this scribe's handwriting, his work is consistently more elaborate than that of Scribe I. Both are careful copyists but Scribe II's work is characterised by particular care and attention to artistic detail.²⁰⁷

There has been some confusion over which lines were copied by which scribe on the first page of the manuscript, an issue not aided by the blackened state of this page. Zupitza and then James propose that Scribe I wrote pp.1-2 and then pp.150-271, Scribe II copying pp.3-149.²⁰⁸ However, Guddat-Figge proposes Scribe I copied from line 9 of page 1 to the end of page 2, then pp.150-271, with Scribe II copying lines 1-8 of page 1 and then pp.3-149. Guddat-Figge's attribution of the first eight lines of page 1 to Scribe II seems to be in error and I agree with the conclusions of Zupitza and James that these first 60 lines are all the work of Scribe I. The hands of the two scribes share some features (the duct is similar as are certain letter forms), however, pages 1 and 2 can be confidently assigned to Scribe I as they display his distinctive letter forms: compressed *h* with a looped ascender

²⁰⁵ This point has been noted above in the discussion of the Sloane fragment, *Decoration and Ornamentation*.

²⁰⁶ For consideration of the significance of Caius Scribe II's script and orthography for dating of this manuscript see Chapter 3, section 2.3.iii., below.

²⁰⁷ For a discussion and description of the use of flourishes and abbreviations by both Caius scribes see Appendix K, the Transcription Policy.

²⁰⁸ I follow Guddat-Figge's naming of the scribes as I and II, (1976) p.80.

which crosses back over the upstroke; *d* with a tail descending below the line; and *w* with an initial tail. Scribe II's hand has none of these features and they are the most common forms used by Scribe I. The hand of these first eight lines is continuous with that which follows and the use of looped *h*, the abbreviation *w^t* for *with*, and the use of *p* and *3* are all characteristic of Scribe I and are rarely or never used by Scribe II. In addition, the slightly sloped duct of Scribe II's hand and the varying thickness of line used in the formation of letters (by turning the pen) very clearly distinguish Scribe II's secretary-influenced hand.

The relationship between the two scribes is central to considerations of how the manuscript was produced and the way that the copying is distributed between the two scribes suggests certain things about the organisation of production. Caius Scribe I copies pages 1 and 2 and pages 150-271 and Caius Scribe II copies pages 3-149. That Scribe I appeared at the beginning of the manuscript but remained available, reappearing to copy the second half, indicates that the two were in close contact. That Caius Scribe I was present at the start and end of the manuscript would suggest he was responsible for overseeing that production was completed and therefore implying that he had some sort of editorial or organisational role which may have extended to include responsibility for taking the initial commission for the manuscript and for arranging illumination, binding, payment and so on.

When considering the order of copying, the question arises of why Caius Scribe I copied the first two pages of the manuscript when the rest of the copying up to page 150 was to be delegated to Caius Scribe II. One possibility is that Caius Scribe I began copying then, after only two pages, an unforeseen eventuality demanded that he immediately pass copying of the first part of the manuscript over to Caius Scribe II. His workload, perhaps, was suddenly increased. This would be to propose that copying was undertaken chronologically, from page 1 to page 271, through the manuscript.

Certain details on page 2, however, suggest an alternative explanation for the order of copying. Throughout his work copying pages 3-149 Caius Scribe II consistently 'decorates' his work in the following ways: (i.) he always produces a large, elaborately-flourished initial for the first letter of each new page, and (ii.) for lines headed with a large, coloured initial, he always copies the first two or so words of the line in an enlarged Textura display script. Both of these are very distinct and they never appear in the work

of Caius Scribe I, pages 150-271. It is remarkable, then, that page 2 is copied by Caius Scribe I but contains the decorative features which are distinctly and certainly the work of Caius Scribe II (the flourished first letter and, following a coloured initial, two words in the large display script).

If the hypothesis is followed that copying occurred chronologically through the manuscript, then these features show that whilst he was copying pages 1 and 2, Caius Scribe I must have known that he was about to pass copying to Caius Scribe II: it is only with this prior knowledge that that he would have left space for Caius Scribe II to add his flourished first letter and two words in enlarged display script. And this, of course, rules out the possibility that the switch from one scribe to another was the result of some unforeseen, unexpected circumstance.

Caius Scribe I's copying of the first two pages, it seems, must be accounted for some other way and further examination of these opening two pages provides an alternative hypothesis. Remarkably for a ME romance manuscript, the first page has a handsome illuminated initial and foliate borders. What is significant to the present issue is that copying of the text has had to be fitted carefully around the large initial. In particular, the first eight lines of the text have had to be copied with care according to the available space: with Caius Scribe I here having reduced the size of his script and used more thorns and abbreviations in order to save space.

What is clearly indicated, then, is that these lines were copied after the illumination had been done. This is highly significant and implies an order of production which was not chronological through the manuscript and which emphasises the importance of Caius Scribe I's role as 'editor' or 'overseer'. This order of production can be described as follows:

- (i.) Caius Scribe I received a commission for a single-text manuscript of *Guy of Warwick* with an illuminated opening page and decorated initials. The commission included a date by which the manuscript was to be completed.
- (ii.) Caius Scribe I realised that the illumination of the opening page would present a delay and potential problem in meeting his deadline. This was primarily due to the fact that illumination of the first page had to be completed before the text was copied onto that

page (perhaps because there was uncertainty as to the size or type of illumination). Bearing in mind these factors, and with a deadline to work to, Caius Scribe I devised a production order which ensured maximum efficiency.

(iii.) Firstly, he immediately delegated copying of the first half of the manuscript to Caius Scribe II. Having consulted the text of *Guy of Warwick* that was to be copied, he instructed Caius Scribe II to begin copying on the third page of quire 1, starting from line 60 of *Guy of Warwick*. Further, in order to ensure a consistent format between page 2 and the rest of Caius Scribe II's stint, Caius Scribe II was instructed to add the two appropriated decorative features to page 2 in advance of this page being copied (the flourished first initial *A* on line 1 and *-N Englund* in display script on line 7).

(iv.) Once Caius Scribe II had completed his stint of copying, pp.3-149, his role in the production of this manuscript was over. The completed first half of the manuscript was returned to Caius Scribe I and the first 9 quires were sent off to be illuminated.²⁰⁹

(v.) Whilst illumination of the first 9 quires was being done, Caius Scribe I picked up from where Caius Scribe II had left off in quire 10 and continued copying the rest of the manuscript. It is significant that, as noted above, pages 150-271 have only 26 initials, compared with 87 initials in the first 149 pages. This would support the idea that the first part of the manuscript was illuminated whilst the second part was being copied, with fewer initials included in the second part because it was estimated in advance that less time would be available for colouring of the later initials.

(vi.) Once the first part of the manuscript had been illuminated it was returned to Caius Scribe I who then copied the first 60 lines of text into pages 1 and 2, fitting these lines in around the illumination and decorative features added by Scribe II.

This, it seems, offers the only adequate explanation for the order of copying between the two Caius Scribes. One point of particular interest is that this somewhat unorthodox order of copying seems to have been devised because the manuscript was produced under pressure of time. Copying was to begin as soon as possible and the editor Caius Scribe I was not prepared to wait for the illumination to be completed before copying of the first

²⁰⁹ Of course, it is possible that the first quire (which required the extra decoration) was sent off for illumination before the other eight, or that each was set off as soon as it became available.

half of the text began. The illumination (unusual in a ME romance manuscript) implies that this would certainly have been a manuscript produced on specific commission and the idea that it was a commission that had to be fulfilled by a certain date may suggest that it was produced as some sort of gift or for presentation at a particular special occasion. As this manuscript was completed and survives intact, it was presumably finished on time to fulfil the commission and, in this, should be regarded, above all, as a testament to Caius Scribe I's expertise and experience as a book producer.²¹⁰

5.3. Reception and Earliest Owners

Nothing certain is known of the history of the Caius manuscript prior to 1659 when it was presented to Caius College by William Moore. Moore (1590-1659) attended Caius between 1606 and 1613 and spent most of his life within the University, holding the office of University librarian between 1653 until his death in 1659. Cambridge UL MS Dd.iv.36 contains a list of his books and Bradshaw describes him as well known to all the literary men of his time. Clearly he was well positioned to acquire rare books, but how this *Guy of Warwick* manuscript came into his possession is not known.²¹¹

The manuscript is unusual in that it has been designed to contain only one romance, is carefully produced and contains some handsome decoration. The cost of such a production would have been considerable, implying an owner who thought a great deal of this *Guy of Warwick*. Few manuscripts containing single romances survive, even fewer with high quality with illumination.²¹² This is often taken as evidence that romances were regarded as unworthy of such special and careful attention and manuscripts like Caius 107/176 show that such volumes did exist. It is evidence for a fifteenth-century patron who was willing and able to pay for, not a *de luxe*, but a quite lavishly produced manuscript, reflecting a special enthusiasm for romance and regard of *Guy of Warwick* as a prestigious item to own.

²¹⁰ Further discussion of these scribes is provided in Chapter 3, sections 2.3.iii and 6.3.i, following consideration of language and dialect.

²¹¹ DNB vol. xxxviii, Lee (1894), p.386.

²¹² It would be worth comparing Caius 107/176 to the second part of British Library MS Royal 17.B.xliii an early fifteenth-century manuscript originally only containing *Gowther*, the first page of which is framed by a coloured border. Also, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 595 ('Laud Troy Book') from the early fifteenth century, containing only *Bellum de Troye*, professionally produced with blue and red initials.

Several of the names on the manuscript present interesting possibilities for its earliest ownership. There is one name within the body of the manuscript and several on the final page (p.271, f.136v):

Table 5
Names on the Caius MS

<u>Page</u>	<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Date</u>
p.162	<i>Arthur Styward ffrettenham Lancastr...</i>	Fifteenth century
p.271	<i>Bolenbrock. Henricus Bolenbrookus.</i>	Sixteenth century
p.271	<i>Ja. Calthorpe</i>	Sixteenth century
p.271	<i>T.Corniers</i>	Sixteenth century
p.271	<i>Jaqns de apibus. Jackanopes.</i>	Sixteenth century
p.271	<i>Knyvett</i>	Sixteenth century
p.271	<i>Wm. Wightman</i>	Sixteenth century

The inscription on p.162 may suggest a connection with the manor of Frettenham in Norfolk (the village of Frettenham is located 7 kilometres north of Norwich), though Guddat-Figge's attempt to trace the name in the Norwich Record Office was unsuccessful in finding a steward named Arthur there in the fifteenth century.²¹³ The possible connection with Norfolk that it suggests, however, is also of interest with regard to the signature *Knyvett*, which may refer to a connection with the Norfolk gentry family of the Knyvetts. It is possible that *Knyvett* could refer to Sir Thomas Knyvett, of this Norfolk family, who collected books during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries and at his death in 1618 had amassed over 70 manuscripts and 1400 printed books.²¹⁴ It is possible that the Caius *Guy* was part of this library, and would be supported by the possible connection of the manuscript with Norfolk, suggested by *ffrettenham*, where Knyvett spent the majority of his life and from where he acquired many of his books.²¹⁵ However, there are also several compelling features which would imply that Sir Thomas Knyvett is an unlikely owner. Sir Thomas Knyvett's catalogue of his manuscripts (now CUL MS Ff.2.30) contains no reference to any manuscript which could possibly be what is now MS Caius 107/176.²¹⁶ It is also significant that, though his collection was wide ranging, it is notable for its paucity of English poetic material, the only notable exception being the volume which is now CUL MS Ff.I.6 (the 'Findern Anthology'), a collection of

²¹³ Guddat-Figge (1976), pp.80-81.

²¹⁴ McKitterick (1978), p.2.

²¹⁵ McKitterick (1978).

²¹⁶ See McKitterick (1978) who provides a study of this catalogue and of Sir Thomas Knyvett's library.

love lyrics and poetical texts including the romance *Sir Degrevant*.²¹⁷ Further, the signature on the Caius manuscript would be uncharacteristic of Sir Thomas Knyvett. As McKitterick observes:

Throughout his collecting career it was his practice to add, on nearly every book which he possessed, his signature in two forms on the title page, in italic at the head and in secretary about half-way down the page. Many of the books he acquired when he was still a young man bear his signature in mauve or violet ink...Later on he changed to black ink, and also periodically added the date of purchase and the price, but he did this only sporadically.²¹⁸

The signature on the Caius manuscript displays none of these characteristic features: appearing on the final page of the manuscript, in black ink, accompanied by no other notation and bearing no especially striking resemblance to other examples of Knyvett's signature.²¹⁹ It would be possible to explain the position of the signature at the end of the Caius manuscript as necessitated by the illumination covering the title page. It is also possible that Sir Thomas Knyvett's catalogue is incomplete. However, the combination of features would argue against Knyvett himself having owned the book and it seems more likely to have belonged to another member of the family.

It is certain that in the fifteenth century the Knyvetts were a book-owning family. Further, they are known to have possessed at least one Middle English romance manuscript: Trinity College, Cambridge MS O.5.2, a richly illuminated manuscript, inscribed with different versions of the Knyvett coat of arms and containing the romance *Generides* and two Lydgate texts. This manuscript was owned by Anne Knyvett Thwaites (d. 1541) and was probably decorated soon after her marriage, between 1480 and 1490.²²⁰ The name *Knyvett* also appears on f.108v. of the illuminated but unfinished copy of Chaucer's *Troilus* (now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 61). It is also of interest that various close family alliances were maintained between the Knyvetts and the Lynne family into which bookman John Shirley was married.²²¹ The evidence, then, would certainly suggest that there were members of the fifteenth-century Knyvett family who would have been interested in a copy of a ME romance, who had the financial means to purchase expensively-illuminated books and had contacts within their community of associates who would have been able to facilitate access to such volumes. It would suggest a highly-literate gentry readership for *Guy of Warwick* and Anne

²¹⁷ Guddat-Figge (1976), pp.90-94, item no. 11 in the catalogue. In Sir Thomas Knyvett's catalogue of his books (CUL MS Ff.2.30) the Findern Anthology appears as MS 55.

²¹⁸ McKitterick (1978), p.5.

²¹⁹ For other examples of Sir Thomas Knyvett's signature see McKitterick (1978), plate 3.

²²⁰ Guddat-Figge (1976), p.88.

²²¹ Connolly (1998), p.63.

Knyvett Thwaites' ownership of *Generides* may also imply a particular interest in Middle English romance from the female members of the family.

Richmond suggests that the appearance of *Henricus Bolenbrookus* on the manuscript could point to Henry IV as an early owner, commenting that "...having a new English version of a famous romance would have suited the first king to take the oath of office in English since the Norman Conquest...".²²² However, it is highly questionable how appropriate it is to use a name in a sixteenth-century hand as evidence for early fifteenth-century royal ownership and Richmond here over-interprets what is a very limited piece of data. The production of the manuscript would have been contemporary with Henry IV's arrival on the throne (his coronation took place 13 October 1399) but there is no real evidence for a more specific link.

A fifteenth-century owner has added six lines of Latin verse with musical notation on p.271. A single text manuscript provides very little in the way of context for understanding how its text was read so the significance of these medieval additions should be given consideration. The six lines are from the *Disticha Catonis de Moribus*. They are presented in pairs in the manuscript and read:

Omnia si perdas famam servare memento
Qua semel amissa posta nullus eris

Si famam servare cupis dum vivis honeste
Augenda serva ne sis quem fama loquatur

Exerce studium quamvis preceperis artem
Ut cura ingenium sic et manus adjuvat usus²²³

The verse opens with the reminder that 'if you serve fortune you could lose everything' and continues by advocating honest living and offering instructions to 'practice what you preach'. At the beginning of the second pair of these lines, in the same hand, appear the words: *God haffe marcy on Guy es sole amen*. An arrangement which has led Richmond, rightly it seems, to suggest that the Latin maxims were written in by a reader who was making a direct connection with the romance. The commentator deliberately selecting an appropriate moral comment to acknowledge the exemplary nature of *Guy of Warwick*.

²²² Richmond (1996), p.55.

²²³ The lines are transcribed by Smith in the *Catalog [sic] of Manuscripts in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*. An edition of the poem is available in Loeb and translated by Wright Duff and Duff (1934).

It is unusual to find a manuscript which includes Latin alongside a Middle English romance²²⁴ and who this commentator might have been is perhaps indicated by the verses themselves. The *Disticha Catonis de Moribus* were a popular collection of simple Latin maxims used in schools, forming an important part of school exercises in the fourteenth century.²²⁵ Richmond concludes from this that the verses are evidence for this *Guy of Warwick* having often been used as the reading material of schoolchildren, comparing it with the way the story became a children's favourite in the eighteenth century.²²⁶ Richmond's comparison with eighteenth-century 'schoolchildren', however, fails to take account of a medieval context and the fact that this is a fine, costly manuscript which, containing only *Guy of Warwick*, indicates that the text was regarded as something of a prestige item. Clearly, these fifteenth-century pupils were members of a very elite kind of 'school' if this is a sample of one of their reading books. These must have been the privately-tutored students of a very rich family; recipients of aristocratic or gentry household training of the kind described and recorded by Orme.²²⁷ In this, what is indicated above all is a wealthy and highly-literate readership for *Guy of Warwick* in the fifteenth century.

In conclusion, then, the evidence would suggest that this was one of the books owned and used by a wealthy household: produced as a prestige item, perhaps for a special occasion, which came to be read by the less literate members of the household, and which was admired for its moral and exemplary value. It offers a model of a very different kind of readership to that often suggested for romances and based on the presentation fictionalised within the romances themselves.²²⁸

²²⁴ As Guddat-Figge notes (1976), p.44-45.

²²⁵ It is commented of the Miller of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* that "...He knew nat Catoun, for his wit was rude...", Blake (1980), *Miller's Prologue* l.3221.

²²⁶ Richmond (1996), pp.56-57.

²²⁷ See Orme (1984) (1989) (1973). In particular, see Orme's discussion of the education of the nobility and gentry in (1973), pp.29-36.

²²⁸ See Chapter 1, section 8.

6. Cambridge University Library Manuscript Ff.2.38

6.1. Introduction

The CUL MS Ff.2.38 text of *Guy of Warwick* was published by Zupitza as a single text edition between 1875 and 1876.²²⁹ The edition of this text is superior to Zupitza's later volume containing the Auchinleck and Caius versions of *Guy of Warwick*. It includes a preface and notes on the text and the text itself is considerably more accurate than Zupitza's Auchinleck and Caius texts.²³⁰

The CUL MS *Guy of Warwick* has not been edited since Zupitza's edition but a facsimile edition of the whole manuscript has been produced, with an introduction by McSparran and Robinson, 1979. The importance of the manuscript is emphasised in the facsimile, where its role in the preservation of ME romances and its significance as a representation of fifteenth-century bourgeois reading tastes is described.²³¹ Editions of other texts from CUL Ff.2.38 also provide some description and discussion of the manuscript. Useful examples include: *Le Bone Florence of Rome*, edited by Heffernan (1976); *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, edited by Richardson, EETS 256 (1965); and *Syr Tryamowre*, edited by Schmidt (1937).

6.2. Physical Description

Date

CUL MS Ff.2.38 was produced in the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. It has been assigned to this period by its irregular handwriting and the watermarks, the earliest examples of which are from 1479-84.²³²

²²⁹ The old number of the manuscript, as Zupitza notes, was CUL MS 690.

²³⁰ The accuracy of each text is discussed in Appendix J, the Review of Zupitza's Edition, which includes a full list of errors in this edition.

²³¹ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.vii. Also, Mehl notes the importance of the manuscript (1967), p.260.

²³² Robinson (1979), p.xii. For identification of the watermarks see Haewood (1929). Heffernan (1976), p.2, also provides some discussion of the palaeographical evidence for the dating of this manuscript and notes its resemblance to certain early sixteenth-century hands. Schmidt (1937), p.1, and Richardson (1965), p.xii, both suggest that copying of the manuscript should be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the work, primarily by Robinson, has shown the late-fifteenth or early-century to be more likely.

Foliation and Collation

This is a large paper manuscript of 247 folios. 14 leaves can be calculated to have been lost (ff.1, 2, 22-27, 141, 144 and 157-160) with an unknown number missing from the end of the volume. The foliation of Bradshaw (University Librarian 1867-1886), from ff.3-261, accounts for missing leaves and is followed here.²³³ There are thirteen quires, originally gathered in groups of twenty leaves with the exception of quire xii which has 21 (f.230 having been inserted as an extra leaf).²³⁴ The manuscript is constructed from two booklets. The first consists of quires 1-8, the second quires 9-13. The present collation of the manuscript, then, is: 1²⁰ (ff.1-20; wants 1-2 [ff.1-2]); 2²⁰ (ff.21-40; wants 2-7 [ff.22-27]); 3²⁰ (ff.41-60); 4²⁰ (ff.61-80); 5²⁰ (ff.81-100); 6²⁰ (ff.101-120); 7²⁰ (ff.121-140); 8²⁰ (ff.141-160; wants 1 [f.141], 4 [f.144], 17-20 [ff.157-160]); 9²⁰ (ff.161-180); 10²⁰ (ff.181-200); 11²⁰ (ff.201-220); 12²⁰ + 1 [f.230] before 10 (ff.221-241); 13²⁰ (ff.242-261). The collation, quiring and contents of the manuscript are represented in Table 6 below:

Table 6
CUL Ff.2.38: Foliation and Collation

Booklet	Quire	Folios	Modern item no.	Item: number and title ²³⁵
				{Folios 1 and 2 lost}
1	1	3r-6r	1	[<i>William Lichfield's</i>] <i>Compleynt of God</i>
	1	6r-10r	2	<i>Pe ix Lessons of / Dyryge Whych ys Clepyd Pety Joob</i>
	1	10r-14v	3	<i>Pe Prouerbis of Salamon</i>
	1	14v-19r	4	<i>The Markys of Medytacyouns</i>
	1	19r-20v	5	<i>The Profitis of Erpeli Anger</i>
	1/2	20v-21v	6	<i>Pe Mirroure of Vices & of Vertues Which Also ys Clepid pe Seuene Ages</i>
				{Folios 22-27 lost}
	2	28r-31v	7	[<i>Thomas Brampton's</i>] <i>The Seuene Salmes</i>
	2	31v-32r	8	<i>A Salutacion of Oure Lady</i>
	2	32r	9	<i>Pe x Commaundementis of Almyzt God</i>
	2	32r-v	10	<i>Pe vij Werkis of Merci Bodili</i>
	2	32v	11	<i>Pe vij Werke of Merci Gostli</i>
	2	32v	12	<i>The v Bodyly Wyttyis</i>

²³³ The manuscript was originally numbered 1-247. Bradshaw was the first to realise where folios were missing and his renumbering means that there are now two sets of handwritten numbers in the top right-hand corner of each folio.

²³⁴ This extra leaf occurs in *Guy of Warwick* and is discussed in section 6.3, below.

²³⁵ The titles are taken from the manuscript title or colophon, where one appears. Where there the MS provides no title and a modern editor's title has been attributed to a piece it is given in square brackets.

	2	32v	13	<i>De v Goostly Wyttys</i>
	2	32v	14	<i>De vij Deedly Synnes</i>
	2	32v	15	<i>The vij Virtues Contrarie to De vij Dedli / Synnes</i>
	2	33r	16	<i>De xij Articlis of De Beleeue</i>
	2	33v	17	<i>De vij Sacramentis / Schortly Declarid of Seynt Ed / monde of Pounteneye</i>
	2	33v	18	<i>A Tretice of Pre / Arowis Pat Schullen be Schett on / Domesday Azenste Pem Pt Schullen / be Dampnedd</i>
	2	35r-v	19	<i>De viij Tokenes / of Mekenes</i>
	2	35v-37r	20	<i>De Life of Marye / Mawdelyn</i>
	2	37r-38r	21	<i>The Lyfe of Seynte / Margaret</i>
	2	38r-40r	22	<i>De Life of Seynt Thomas</i>
	2/3	40r-45r	23	[<i>The Assumption of the Virgin</i>]
	3	45r-47v	24	<i>De Lyfe of Seynt Kateryn</i>
	3	47v-50v	25	<i>De Chartur of Criste</i>
	3	50v-53r	26	<i>De xv Tokenys Be / fore the Day of Dome</i>
	3	53r-54r	27	<i>How the Goode Man / Taght Hys Sone</i>
	3	54r-55r	28	<i>A Good Ensaumple / of a Lady Pt Was in Dyspeyre</i>
	3	55r-v	29	[<i>A Lament of the Blessed Virgin Mary</i>]
	3	55v-56r	30	[<i>The Lamentation of the Blessed Virgin</i>]
	3	56r-57v	31	[<i>Story of the Adulterous Falmouth Squire</i>]
	3	57v-59r	32	<i>How a Merchande / Dyd Hys Wyfe Betray</i>
	3/4	59r-63r	33	<i>A Gode Mater of / The Marchand and Hys Sone</i>
	4	63r-70v	34	<i>The Erle of Tolous</i>
	4	70v-79r	35	<i>Syr Egyllamoure / of Artas</i>
	4/5	79r-90r	36	<i>Syr Try / amowre</i>
	5/6	90r-102v	37	[<i>Octavian</i>]
	6/7	102v-134r	38	[<i>Bevis of Hampton</i>]
	7/8	134r-156v	39	[<i>The Seven Sages of Rome</i>]
				{9 folios lost from quire 8}
				{Most of f.156vb blank}
2	9-12	161r-239r	40	[<i>Guy of Warwick</i>]
	12/13	239v-254r	41	[<i>Le Bone Florence of Rome</i>]
	13	254r-257v	42	[<i>Robert of Cisyle</i>]
	13	257v-261v	43	[<i>Sir Degare</i>]
				{MS ends imperfect. The next quire is lost. Librarian notes on verso of final page of ms "about four more leaves are required to finish Sir Degare"}

There has been some disagreement over the physical construction of the manuscript. Zupitza describes it as "...in the same hand of the fifteenth century, yet two originally

distinct volumes are united, the Romance of *Guy* heading the second...".²³⁶ Guddat-Figge disagrees with this description of one scribe but two manuscripts. Instead, she identifies two scribes (the second scribe completing f.93a, col.2, 1.6 to f.156b, col.2, 1.6) working on a single manuscript made up of two booklets.²³⁷ A third description, provided by Robinson in the introduction to the facsimile, is the most accurate.²³⁸ Robinson agrees with Guddat-Figge that these should be regarded as two booklets which represent stages in the production process of this large homogeneous manuscript, rather than having been designed as two separate volumes. Robinson, however, disagrees with Guddat-Figge's identification of two scribes, preferring, instead, Zupitza's proposal that the booklets are all the work of a single scribe. The variations that occur in the scribe's script are not surprising: gradual variations would be expected of a scribe copying for an extended period of time and more sudden alterations denote changes of exemplar or lapses of time between stints of copying.²³⁹

Scribe and Handwriting

The scribe was a careful copyist, correcting and deleting mistakes as he worked.²⁴⁰ He wrote in a mixed kind of cursive script which incorporates the features of two hands: combining an Anglicana book hand, a script peculiar to late medieval English manuscripts, with stylistic features and letter forms taken from a secretary hand, a continental script with no traditional English counterparts. The mixed hand is itself a feature of late fifteenth-century handwriting, as is the tendency for the hooks of ascenders to cross into the body of letters and for descenders to be long.²⁴¹ The scribe also occasionally used a Textura script for titles and to highlight key words or Latin headings in the text as, for example, at f.33v and f.34r.²⁴²

²³⁶ Zupitza (1875-6), p.vii.

²³⁷ Guddat-Figge (1974), p.98. Richardson, in his edition of *Sir Eglamour of Artois* (1965), p.xii, also concludes that there are two hands in the manuscript. He describes the hands as follows: "...There seem to be two hands in the manuscript: the first small and close, covering ff.1-93r and averaging 39-41 lines on each page; the second larger and clearer, covering ff.93r-159v and averaging 33-34 lines...".

²³⁸ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xi.

²³⁹ Some discussion of these variations is provided in McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xiv.

²⁴⁰ Occasionally part of a line is recopied where an omission is spotted: for example, in *Guy of Warwick* a line is added in the margin after being omitted (f.181vb, line 3232). Robinson (1979), p.xv. See also Zupitza's edition of this text (1875-6) in which he notes most corrections made by the scribe: words or letters added over the line; words or letters blotted out. There are a few errors, either made by this scribe or carried over from his exemplar, for example: an extra word is added at 978 and 1627; reversed couplets occur at 1723-4 and 1793-4; a word is omitted at 1809 and 1882; *f* is mistakenly copied for long *s* at 662; *ermytage* is copied for *ermyte* at 1247; see also, Chapter 1, section 4, above, where an example of omitted lines is given.

²⁴¹ See the description provided by Heffernan (1976), p.3.

²⁴² The scribe's use of Textura for some titles is described in more detail below.

Ink varies from light brown to black with several changes of ink occurring throughout the manuscript (for example, at f.64r-67r and 42r which are in a darker ink). The marked change to a darker ink that occurs at ff.93r-156v coincides with the looser and more 'opened out' handwriting and is partly responsible for the suggestions that this indicates the work of a second scribe.²⁴³ No punctuation is used other than the capital letters at the beginning of each line. There are a few examples of the scribe annotating texts: the speech direction *God* appears in item 1 (f.3va); in item 3 attention is drawn to three passages with a *nota* or a *nota* and pointing finger (f.10va, f.11rb and f.13va); and in item 4 two Latin headings appear, *De penis purgatorij* (f.15v) and *De miseria humana* (f.16v).

Format

Folios are 297 x 210mm. Margins are wide and the writing space is approximately 195-205 x 150-170mm, varying according to the length of the lines of the text in question. Copying is in double columns with between 32 and 39 lines per column. Ruling is in hard point; no ruling is visible but that the scribe did not use the chain lines in the paper as a guide is indicated by the slope of the writing which differs from the lines on the paper.

The book follows a standard format and there are only a few examples of minor inconsistencies within the entire volume. Texts are presented in double columns with only two exceptions. Item 33, *The Marchand and hys Sone*, is mostly in single columns as a result of the very long lines of this text, and a twenty-five line section of item 40, *Guy of Warwick*, is in a single column (discussed below). Texts are continuously copied throughout, the only space in the manuscript (other than the single blank column on f.230 of *Guy of Warwick*) is column vb of f.156. As the manuscript now stands, f.156 is the sixteenth leaf of quire 8 but it forms the final leaf of the first booklet (as leaves 17-20 of this quire are wanting). *The Seven Sages of Rome* ends on f.156va and it is plausible to suggest that this was always the last text and that the final four leaves of the booklet were canceled.²⁴⁴ This would account for the final column being blank. The only evidence against this argument is that there is no catchword at the

²⁴³ See the discussion above and the suggestions made by Guddat-Figge (1976) and Heffernan (1976), p.2.

²⁴⁴ And that f.156v is soiled, implies that it has served as the outer leaf of this quire of some time.

end of this quire but it may simply have been that the binder did not consider it necessary to use a catchword to join the two booklets.²⁴⁵

Titles

There is some inconsistency in the presentation of titles and headings. At the beginning of the book headings are written in the same hand as the text (that is, for items 2-5, the beginning of item 1 being lost). However, the scribe subsequently used a display script for the titles of item 6, items 8-28, and items 32-36 (the beginning of item 7 being lost and items 29-31 having no titles).²⁴⁶ For items 37-43, that is, for the final three items of booklet 1 and all four items of booklet 2, the scribe has allowed space for headings before each text but this space has been left blank. Where the display script is used for a heading the scribe has often also written the first line of the text in this script. This also occurs for items 29-31 and, as a result, though they lack titles their openings are visually marked in a way which gives the appearance of continuity within the manuscript.

Decoration and Ornamentation

Decoration is modest and is in the same hand throughout, consisting of plain red initials, 2-4 lines deep which occur at narrative divisions within texts and at the beginning of every text (except item 13 *Pe v Goostly Wyttys* which forms a counterpart to the preceding text, *Pe v Bodyly Wyttis*: as they are both very short - 12-lines each - and are clearly linked, it seems that the use of a rubricated initial for only the first was deliberate). The initials are either filled in red or are given a red dog-toothed pattern, with no regular pattern or alternation between the two. In many cases the colour has oxidised so they now often appear almost black or have a metallic sheen. Folios 71r (the first page of *Syr Egyllamoure*) and 88v (near the end of *Syr Tryamowre*) have had the first letter of each line touched with red. The general appearance of the manuscript is, to use Guddat-Figge's phrase, "unprepossessing".²⁴⁷ It is, however, neatly and clearly produced and the volume is notable for its homogeneity, particularly considering its large size and the number of its texts.

²⁴⁵ Robinson assumes that a catchword appeared on f.160 and has been lost along with the leaf.

²⁴⁶ It should also be noted that the beginning of item 23 is torn (f.40) and most of the title lost. The tops of the letters of the title, however, remain visible and show that the display script was used.

²⁴⁷ Guddat-Figge (1976), see the catalogue entry for CUL MS Ff.2.38.

Condition and Damage

The manuscript survives in generally good condition and the writing is well preserved. There are, however, a few losses and some minor damage. As noted above, the manuscript is imperfect at beginning and end and 14 leaves have been lost in all. What is now the final quire is intact and ends with a catchword, indicating that at least one other quire has been lost. About four more leaves are required to finish *Sir Degare* so, assuming that this lost quire was of the usual 20 leaves and that leaves were not left empty at the end of the manuscript, either leaves were canceled or at least one other text has been lost in addition to the ending of *Sir Degare*. The corners of pages have become rounded through wear. Lower outer corners are often very worn and torn from page turning (especially ff.70-81 and 90-95). On folios 40 and 188 the lower outside corner has been completely torn away; there are tears on ff.79 and 134; a strip of 30-40mm has been torn from the bottom of f.99; a strip of 20mm has been torn from the outer edges of ff.203, 206, 216 and 229; and ff.40-45 and 191-261 have worm holes.

The most seriously damaged folios are f.135, which has been torn completely in half with the lower half lost, and f.140 which has two large holes and a tear along its length. The damage on f.140 occurred at an early stage in the history of the manuscript, indicated by the patching of these holes with sections from an early printed book. The three fragments from this early printed book are now bound separately at the end of the manuscript.²⁴⁸ They are from a primer but the specific volume has not been identified. Robinson suggests it was probably pre-Reformation though it could be from as late as 1550. Further identification is difficult as the primer was such a popular type of book.

The outer leaves of each quire are very soiled and the edges of f.161 (the opening leaf of the second booklet) are extremely ragged.²⁴⁹ This is significant to the question of the production and compilation of the volume as it suggests that this miscellany was left unbound for some time.

Catchwords

Catchwords appear at the end of each quire (except quire viii, as discussed above).²⁵⁰ They are written on the final outer leaf of the quire, under the second column and are

²⁴⁸ The damaged folio since having been repaired by a modern binder.

²⁴⁹ The outer edges of this folio have had to be sealed by the binder to prevent further flaking and deterioration.

²⁵⁰ That is, catchwords appear on ff.20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120, 140, 180, 200, 220, 241 and 261.

usually drawn within a box. The catchword at the end of quire vi, on f.120v, is within a rough drawing of a fish. Sometimes the orthography of the catchword differs from the words on the following page, for example, as occurs at f.180.²⁵¹ The catchwords are all in the same hand, of the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century, but they were not written by the scribe who copied the rest of the manuscript. Zupitza proposes that the scribe who wrote the catchwords also wrote the marginal *per me Robertum* of f.163b.²⁵² This is possible as the letter forms and the duct are certainly similar but it is difficult to build much of a case with such a small amount of writing. The more idiosyncratic letter forms of *per me Robertum* do also feature in the catchwords: the hooked *b* appears in the f.60 catchword, the large *e* appears in the f.80 catchword, and the long descender of *p* occurs in the catchwords on ff.80 and 100. On the other hand, there are no examples from the catchwords of the use of the hooked *t* that is used in *Robertum* and the *per me Robertum* differs generally in that it is more flourished.

Binding

Despite the catchwords the manuscript was misbound at an early stage, as is indicated by the sixteenth-century signatures. The last two leaves of quire 1 (now ff.19 and 20) were bound at the end of quire 2 (their conjoint leaves, now ff.1 and 2, already being lost by this stage). And the outer bifolia of quire 2 (now ff.21 and 40) was used as the outer bifolia of quire 1. With the outer leaves thus incorrectly assembled the catchword on f.20v still linked up to the text beginning on the next quire but it meant that quires 1 and 2 were put in the wrong order (so that quire 2 came first). Table 7 below compares the first two quires when correctly rebound and renumbered against their early numbering and the original order when they were put together in the sixteenth century:²⁵³

²⁵¹ The catchword on f.180v reads “That thu haste” whereas the text on f.181ra reads “That þu haste”. The point is also made by Guddat-Figge (1976).

²⁵² In addition, Robinson suggests it is possible that *per me Robertum* of f.163b and *Liber iste constat mihi* on f.170 are in the same sixteenth-century hand. McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xvii.

²⁵³ With regard to reading the table: for example: what is now (in the now correctly bound manuscript with numbering which takes account of lost leaves) folio 3, was in the sixteenth-century manuscript in the position of leaf 23 (with the quire signature *aiii*) and when the manuscript was first numbered (when disarranged and with lost leaves accounted for in the numbering) this was folio number 16. To give another example: folio 23 was in leaf position 3 of the sixteenth-century volume (with quire signature *iii*) by the time the manuscript was first numbered this leaf had been lost so was not given a number.

Table 7
CUL Ff.2.38: Numbering and Re-numbering of Folios

<u>Current folio numbering</u>	<u>First set of folio numbering</u>	<u>Sixteenth-century position of leaves in the manuscript. Signatures are given in italics where they occur in the ms and in brackets where the leaf has been lost</u>
(MS rebound in correct order. Numbering takes account of lost leaves).	(MS disarranged. Numbering does not take account of lost leaves).	
1 (Lost but numbered.) (First folio of quire 1)	Lost	Lost
2 (Lost but numbered)	Lost	Lost
3	16	23 <i>aii</i>
4	17	24 <i>aiii</i>
5	18	25 <i>aiv</i>
6	19	26 <i>av</i>
7	20	27 <i>avi</i>
8	21	28 <i>avii</i>
9	22	29 <i>aviii</i>
10	23	30 <i>aix</i>
11	24	31
12	25	32
13	26	33
14	27	34
15	28	35
16	29	36
17	30	37
18	31	37
19	13	20
20	14	21
21 (First folio of quire 2)	15 (First folio of quire 2)	22 (First folio of quire 2) <i>aj</i>
22	Lost	2 (<i>ii</i>) (First folio of quire 1 - a leaf incorrectly assumed to be missing before this one.)
23 (Lost but numbered)	Lost	3 (<i>iii</i>)
24 (Lost but numbered)	Lost	4 (<i>iv</i>)
25 (Lost but numbered)	Lost	5 (<i>v</i>)
26 (Lost but numbered)	Lost	6 (<i>vi</i>)
27 (Lost but numbered)	Lost	7 (<i>vii</i>)
28	1 (First folio of quire 1)	8 <i>viii</i>
29	2	9 <i>ix</i>
30	3	10 <i>x</i>
31	4	11
32	5	12
33	6	13
34	7	14
35	8	15
36	9	16
37	10	17
38	11	18
39	12	19
40	32	39

A mid-sixteenth century reader noticed the mistake in the ordering and provided annotations to indicate where the texts had been split up:

The Conclusyon of this mater is xix leyve3 he aftyr etc
[foot of f.39v, referring to item 22]

The conclusion of this mater is xviiij leyve3 aforre this etc
[foot of f.31v, referring to item 4]

The manuscript must have been bound in the wrong order in the first half of the sixteenth century. This is indicated by the way that one of the items has been defaced. Item 22, *The Life of St. Thomas* has been crossed out and the person who did this also inadvertently crossed out the beginning of item 4 *The Markys of Medytacyouns*. These items are now divided from each other by several folios and were only juxtaposed when the manuscript was misbound. The crossing out of the saint's life is likely to have occurred soon after the Reformation when attempts were made to destroy the cult of St. Thomas and devotion to him was banned, indicating that the misbinding also occurred before or during this period.

The proper order of the first two quires was restored when the manuscript was rebound in 1972 by Douglas Cockerell and Son.²⁵⁴ The nineteenth-century brown calf binding (from the only other recorded rebinding of the manuscript) was replaced by boards covered with marble paper and a red leather spine.

Signatures

The rest of the book has always been in its correct order and a regular system of signatures is in place. Signatures appear on the leaves in the first half of each quire in the lower right-hand corner of the recto page, consisting of a letter (for the quire) followed by a roman numeral (for the leaf). Quires iii-vi were signed b-e and quires vii-xiii (that is, the second booklet) were signed a-g.²⁵⁵ The disarrangement of quires 1 and 2 explains why quire 2 has only leaf signatures, no quire signatures. That ff.28, 29 and 30 have the signatures *viii*, *ix* and *x* indicates that ff.23-27 were lost after the signatures had been written and would have had the signatures *ii-vii* (the first folio of this sequence having

²⁵⁴ As the librarian of the time has noted at the front of the manuscript "...When this volume was rebound in 1972, the true order of the leaves...was restored. The 16th century notes at the foot of ff.18v and 39v refer to the disordered state (as in column 2) and no longer apply...". A note on the back cover gives the name of the binder. It reads: "...Rebound Douglas Cockerell and Son 1972...".

²⁵⁵ It should be noted: the first two leaves of quire iii are signed *ba* but from the third leaf it is signed *b*.

been incorrectly assumed to have been lost, probably causing the confusing over the ordering of quires 1 and 2).

Contents

The content of the manuscript is entirely in English and the 43 texts are systematically grouped and with considerable consistency. The volume begins with religious pieces, largely instructional or meditative didactic works; next are a group of texts concerned with secular and domestic responsibility and honesty in business; and the remainder of the volume makes up what McSparran and Robinson have referred to as the 'entertainment section', consisting mostly of romances.²⁵⁶ In terms of the number of individual texts, the religious pieces account for almost two thirds of the content of the volume (28 of the 43 items). However, being much shorter than the romances, they occupy only about one fifth of the bulk of the manuscript.

Clearly, the compiler was aware of thematic and generic similarities between the texts and considered this a good way to organise the manuscript. It seems, however, inappropriate to overstate the distinction between the 'religious pieces' of the first part of the volume and the 'secular' and 'entertaining' pieces of the latter part. The romances and domestic texts of the latter part of the book largely take the form of moral examples and are characterised by their pious and moralistic overtones. Likewise, several of the 'religious pieces' provide moral instruction in the form of an exemplary life told through a dramatic and compelling narrative, full of wonders and marvels and capable of rivaling many romances for entertainment value.²⁵⁷

Production

The organisation of texts into groups is also revealing with regard to the question of how the volume was produced. The groupings suggest that this was a planned production, always intended as one volume. The groupings of texts also show that the scribe had several sources available to him which he augmented to produce this large collection; copying several texts from each and following the order of the source. Groups of items occur in Ff.2.38 in a similar order, and sometimes the same order, as in other manuscript collections, indicating that the same standard source texts were being used by several scribes for the production of popular volumes. Items 1-8 and 11-15 are also found in

²⁵⁶ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.x.

²⁵⁷ For example, the life of St. Thomas fulfils all these requirements.

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1584 in almost the same order as in Ff.2.38; items 9-14 and 9-15, respectively, occur in BL Harley 1706 and BL Harley 2339; items 20-24 all belong to Merk's *Festial*; and items 27-33 represent a group of largely secular exemplary tales which were likely to be from the same source.²⁵⁸

It is possible from the other physical evidence of the manuscript to further reconstruct some of the circumstances of its production. The volume is restricted in its content, lacking any of the scientific and medical texts common to other such anthologies. This may be the result of available material but more likely is that it reflects the choice of a patron who required a specific kind of book. The large size of the manuscript, use of two booklets and changes of ink suggest that work on the manuscript was broken up into stages. However, the consistency with which the standard format is applied shows that production must nevertheless have continued relatively uninterrupted, and that the 'stages' should be regarded as having been necessary for the management of such a large volume.²⁵⁹ The water marks occur in batches in the manuscript, suggesting that paper was bought as needed.²⁶⁰

Clearly this is a professional production but various possibilities remain for the way that the scribe was working. It is possible to suggest that he worked within some kind of bookshop environment: producing booklets of texts for which there was a high demand, with prospective purchasers selecting completed booklets according to their requirements. However, the continuity apparent between the two booklets argues against the notion that they were produced as independent units: the section of the volume containing romances begins in the first booklet and continues through the second, showing continuity, and, also, that the titles are unfinished from item 37 of the first booklet through to the end of the second booklet likewise implies that their production was always linked. That is: the booklets represent stages in construction of what was always conceived of as a single volume.

The soiled outer quire leaves and different hand of the catchwords indicate that once completed the quires were left unbound for some time. It seems most likely, then, that the volume was commissioned as a whole and that the patron received it unbound, having it later bound under his own direction (perhaps adding the catchwords, which are in a

²⁵⁸ McSparran and Robinson (1979), pp.xvi-xvii.

²⁵⁹ See Mehl (1967), p.261.

²⁶⁰ Richardson (1965).

second hand, himself and perhaps, as Zupitza suggests, being the ‘Robert’ of *per me Robertum*). With regard to this, it is useful here to refer to the circumstances under which William Ebesham produced John Paston’s *Grete Booke* in the fifteenth century. The self-employed scribe Ebesham often worked for the Paston family, undertaking different clerical tasks. A bill survives written by Ebesham requesting payment from Paston: it lists the work he had done on a manuscript, specifying the texts that he copied and their length and including payment due for rubrication of the volume. The content of the bill indicates that Paston had drawn up an arrangement with Ebesham, commissioning a specific set of texts and their rubrication. The bill also implies that though copying of the manuscript was completed, with the rubrication of the entire volume done and the bill for production sent, the volume was as yet unbound, with no mention made of payment due for binding. Binding would have involved a different craftsman and presumably Ebesham regarded his work on the volume as finished, it being the responsibility of the patron to decide where and how the volume was to be bound.

The large size and restricted content of Ff.2.38 suggest that, like Paston’s *Grete Booke*, it was commissioned by a patron with a specific set of requirements. Further, for both volumes it seems that binding was a separate and later stage of production. The *Grete Booke* and Ebesham’s bill illustrate an example of a fifteenth-century lay patron’s transactions with a professional scribe and as such it provides a useful contemporary model for the circumstances in which Ff.2.38 may have been produced

6.3. *Guy of Warwick* in CUL MS Ff.2.38

This is the latest manuscript version of *Guy of Warwick* that survives. It was produced a century after the Caius text, 130-200 years after the other three texts and fragments and its production was contemporary with the versions of *Guy of Warwick* being printed in London by de Worde c.1497 and Pynson c.1500-1.

Guy of Warwick occupies ff.161ra-239vb (the conclusion to the story of Reinbrun occupying ff.231va-239vb).²⁶¹ It forms the first item of the second booklet, the fortieth

²⁶¹ This is not clearly stated in McSparran and Robinson’s facsimile where the *Guy* and *Reinbrun* material is indexed together as item 40 but the folio numbers of this item are listed as “ff.161ra-231ra” (i.e. the folios containing the *Guy* material only).

item within the manuscript as a whole, and is the fourth of the group of seven romances. At 78 folios it is by far the longest item in the manuscript, occupying about 30% of the manuscript's total bulk and almost half (45%) of the romance section. At 31 folios the second longest romance, *Bevis*, seems brief by comparison and the other romances are all much shorter.

There are some unusual features in the *ordinatio* and construction of the manuscript at the point at which the second instalment of the Reinbrun story begins. The Guy material ends on f.231ra.²⁶² Column 231 rb is left blank and the Reinbrun story re-commences on f.231va, opening with a large coloured initial and with its first line in a Textura display script. Further, and unique in the manuscript, is the insertion of f.230 as an extra leaf (inserted before the tenth leaf of quire vii).

It seems unclear what these features indicate about the source with which the scribe was working or how the Guy and Reinbrun material was regarded. Either a title or a space left for a title marks the beginning of most texts in the manuscript and occurs for every text in the second booklet. That there is not a title at the start of *Reinbrun*, or space allotted for a title, implies, according to the system of the manuscript, that it was not regarded as a separate item. However, other features of the *ordinatio* here do suggest that *Reinbrun* was being regarded as a new item: the use of Textura display script for the first line is elsewhere commonly used, all be it somewhat erratically, for the opening of new texts. There is a four-line coloured initial at the start of this text, as is always used at the opening of texts.²⁶³ Most significantly there is the blank column left between the end of the *Guy* material and the start of *Reinbrun*. This is very unusual in this manuscript where almost every other text continues directly after the previous one in the same column. The only exception is the *Seven Sages of Rome* (ff.134-156) but, as has been proposed above (p.6), it seems likely that the blank column f.156vb can be accounted for as space at the end of the booklet, making the gap between *Guy* and *Reinbrun* unprecedented in a continuously copied volume.

That the Reinbrun story is here signaled by the *ordinatio* to be a new item is at odds with the literary content as this is only the second part of the Reinbrun story not, as in

²⁶² The lines in this column correspond to ll.10762-86 of Zupitza's 1875-6 edition of the text.

²⁶³ Unlike the line of display script, however, the use of coloured initials is not reserved only for the opening of texts and three- or four-line patterned or plain initials also occur mid-text at important narrative divisions in all the romances.

Auchinleck, the entire Reinbrun move. Further, whereas the Auchinleck Reinbrun material can be said to represent an independent, re-worked romance, in the CUL text it is integral to the story of *Guy* (and, unlike Auchinleck, both are parts of the same version). It seems likely that the CUL scribe has here taken his cues for the *ordinatio* from his prior knowledge of the legend. That is, that he was familiar with a version or versions of the romance in which the Reinbrun story was divided off from the story of *Guy* (as in some of the Anglo-Norman texts, Auchinleck and Caius, where the second part of the Reinbrun story is excluded altogether).²⁶⁴ This resulted in the decision to mark some sort of hiatus between the end of the story of *Guy* and the re-commencement of Reinbrun, despite the fact that this *ordinatio* does not sit very easily with the literary construction of the text.

Robinson suggests that “...This layout, and the insertion of an extra leaf (f.230) into quire xii...may suggest that the scribe or his director was responsible for some reorganisation of the material here...”.²⁶⁵ She seems to be implying, in this, similar circumstances to those proposed by Hibbard Loomis for the Auchinleck *Guy* text, with the scribes working as editors, adapting and dividing up the text. However, it seems entirely implausible that the CUL scribe was involved in the reconstruction work of adapting texts. This scribe was working as a copyist, producing very popular texts for sale and, as has already been shown above, his highly efficient production method involved augmenting a few standard sources. The reasons for the extra leaf (f.230) remain unclear but it may simply be that the extra leaf is a remnant of an early stage of planning which was later abandoned. Certainly, this kind of minor inconsistency is tolerated in the majority of manuscripts.

6.4. Reception and Earliest Owners of CUL MS Ff.2.38

The manuscript was owned by John Moore (1646-1714), Bishop of Norwich and then Ely and collector of books and manuscripts. After Moore’s death his library was purchased by George I and given to CUL in 1715.²⁶⁶ Nothing is known of the earlier history of the manuscript.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ See Chapter 1, section 2, above.

²⁶⁵ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xiii.

²⁶⁶ See Sayle (1916), p.92.

²⁶⁷ As Mehl comments, it is “...regrettable that we know so little about the origin of this important anthology...” (1967), p.261.

Marginal annotations and scribbles give no indication of who the manuscript's earlier owners might have been. Robinson identifies "...ten sixteenth-century hands..."²⁶⁸ These include an alphabet (f.10v); pen trials where lines are copied from the text (ff.28r and 167r); the word *welbeloued/welbelouyd* appears twice (ff.155r and 241v); in one hand on f.112v is *Item pd for mystres Beattrine Habeford xs* and on f.101r *Item pd for mystres my [...]*; in a later hand on f.200v *Item pd; Then there was in that* (f.119v); *per me Robertum* (f.183v) and perhaps in the same hand *Liber iste constat mihi* (f.170v); *animay mei domyne* (242r); *Omne artificism post sinum ex artuum caput incremente* (f.153r). Two sets of verse also appear: there are four lines of a Latin verse on f.152v and a fragment of a popular song on ff.147r and 179v, 'Adewe my prettye pussey'.²⁶⁹

Though specific individuals cannot be named as owners for the manuscript, it is possible to reconstruct some idea of who its original audience was. McSparran describes the manuscript as a good index representing the reading tastes of a fifteenth-century bourgeois household.²⁷⁰ The original patron must have been of reasonable financial means to afford such a large volume, professionally produced on good quality paper. The content clearly indicates a lay audience and the group of texts offering advice on how to conduct oneself within the domestic and business world reflect bourgeois concerns (especially, item 27 *how the goode man / taght hys sone*, item 32 *how a merchande / dyd hys wyfe betray* and item 33 *the marchand and hys sone*).

There are also texts offering very rudimentary instruction in basic religious doctrine and this, along with the choice of the vernacular throughout, suggests a manuscript intended for the household, including children and catering for a range of literacy levels. It is relevant here to consider the background to the production of these religious texts in order to provide a more accurate picture of the context in which they were received. An important influence on the history of the production of these texts was the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which called for improved training of the clergy in the fundamentals of

²⁶⁸ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xvii.

²⁶⁹ A more detailed description of these marginal scribbles is provided in McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xvii. The song 'Adewe my prettye pussey' was found in sixteenth-century printed broadsides, a copy appearing in Bodley, MS Ashmole 48 (ff.137-8), a MS compiled from printed broadsides 1557-1565. It suggests some of the other favoured reading material of one sixteenth-century owner of Ff.2.38.

²⁷⁰ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.vii.

church belief in order to bring about the better education of their parishioners. This was followed up by the 1281 Council of Lambeth, Archbishop Pecham's *Ignorantia sacerdotum* and then in 1357 Archbishop Thoresby's *Catechism*, all of which laid out a programme to implement the ordinations of 1215. Thoresby is specific in calling for the instruction of children in the basic points of doctrine: the ten commandments, seven deadly sins, seven virtues, seven sacraments, twelve articles of the faith, the corporal and spiritual works of mercy and the five bodily wits and five ghostly wits. The material from the first part of Ff.2.38, items 9-14 and 16-17, offers simple instruction covering all but one of these specified points of doctrine.²⁷¹ They are texts which stem from the goals set at the 1215 council and should be seen in the context of the movement encouraging lay education in doctrinal and spiritual matters. They are succinct and clearly structured, often doing little more than providing a list and rarely being of much over a column in length. As such they are well suited to their purpose: providing rudimentary teaching to be read or heard and easily memorised. The manuscript also contains devotional texts which would provide material for readers with higher levels of literacy within the household: the exemplary legends and Passion lyrics.²⁷²

It is useful here to consider the manuscript within the context of an early fifteenth-century document, now held in the Throckmorton muniments, Coughton Court, Warwickshire, which provides 'instructions for a devout and literate layman'.²⁷³ The instructions provide a valuable insight into how a pious routine was incorporated into the day to day life of a fifteenth-century lay household and what is notable is that literacy has an important role within this.²⁷⁴ The instructions are arranged according to a daily routine, beginning with instructions relating to getting out of bed in the morning and ending again just before bedtime. The following instructions relate to dinner time, when the household are gathered around the dinner table:

Eque cito deferatur liber ad mensam sicut panis
Et ne lingua proferat vana seu nociva, legatur nunc ab uno, nunc ab alio, et a filiis statim cum
sciant legere...
...Aliquando exponatis in vulgari quod edificet uxorem et alios.

²⁷¹ As McSparran points out, the only one of the above points of doctrine not covered by the manuscript is the seven virtues though it was perhaps intended that this would be included: the title of item 15 promises *The vij vertues contrarie to þe vij dedli synnes*, what follows instead is a poem on the Passion.

²⁷² For example: items 15, 29, 30 are Passion lyrics and items 20-24 are all saints lives or legendary histories.

²⁷³ The document is described by Pantin (1976).

²⁷⁴ It is unlikely that the instructions were all followed down to the last detail but they do, nevertheless, provide a valuable insight into fifteenth-century lay piety.

Let the book be brought to the table as readily as the bread.
 And lest the tongue speak vain or hurtful things, let there be reading, now by one now by another, and by your children as soon as they can read...
 ...Expound something in the vernacular which may edify your wife and others.²⁷⁵

The kind of book to which the spiritual advisor who wrote this document is referring may very well have contained a collection of texts closely resembling the first part of CUL MS Ff.2.38. The simple texts in the vernacular could be read by the youngest or least literate members of the household: giving instruction in the basic knowledge that it was necessarily for all to know and perhaps being used to teach them to read.²⁷⁶ The document itself, being in Latin, indicates that its owner was himself highly literate. The dinner time instructions continue:

Quando non legitur, habeatis meditationes vestras, et sint ille tres sole saltim isto anno, scilicet: Ave Maria; Qui plasmasti me miserere nostri et mei; In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti liberemur. Amen.
 Poteritis facere crucem (in mensa) de quinque micis, set nullus hoc videat excepta uxore...

When there is no reading, have your meditations; and let there be these three at least this year [?], that is to say: 'Hail Mary', 'Thou who hast made me, have mercy upon us and upon me', 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost may we be delivered Amen.' You can make a cross on the table out of five bread-crumbs; but do not let anyone see this, except your wife

When instruction in basic doctrine is not taking place, meditation and inner contemplation are encouraged to occupy the mind and this too is supported by a body of literature that is represented in Ff.2.38. These include item 8, *a salutacion of oure lady*, which praises the Virgin and incorporates a 'Hail' anaphora, and the three poems on the Passion (items 15, 29 and 30). The Passion lyrics represent a popular form of 'Crucifixion piety' which developed in the fifteenth century and encouraged meditation upon the suffering Christ and Virgin at the Crucifixion. Devotees were encouraged to think often of the suffering Christ and to recall to mind the images from lyrics and paintings.²⁷⁷ The creation of a cross of five bread crumbs, representing the five wounds, would serve as a reminder and as a point of departure for such meditations, encouraging recollections from Passion lyrics such as items 15, 29 and 30 from Ff.2.38 (29 and 30 focus on the Virgin as mother and are designed to appeal specifically to women, implying a household and female readers for this manuscript).²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Transcribed and translated from the Latin by Pantin (1976), pp.400-401, 421.

²⁷⁶ Barratt (1975) provides examples of the primer being used to teach children to read.

²⁷⁷ Text and image were often placed side by side in Books of Hours and in other Passion texts, for example, in de Worde's version of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Life of Christ* woodcuts representing the Passion accompany the text.

²⁷⁸ Item 15 is a dramatic monologue narrated by Christ as he hangs on the cross. It focuses on the physical details of His suffering and encourages contemplation by mentioning each of the wounds in turn and calling on the reader to look at them, behold them, and think on their significance. It opens:

This is an audience attempting to live the ‘Mixed Life’. That is, they live in the world but are concerned to live well and to make piety an important part of their daily lives. Importantly, as has been shown, the piety of these devout and literate lay people relies on a body of popular didactic literature in the vernacular which had been assembled by the fifteenth century and which provided both rudimentary instruction and material for meditation. Only through literacy could this more personal kind of piety develop. Ready access to vernacular texts allowed for a piety which flourished within the domestic environment and which involved the kind of introspection and inner contemplation which reading and close engagement with texts provokes.²⁷⁹

The primer should also be mentioned here as having a significant influence on the development of this kind of vernacular pious literature.²⁸⁰ The primer was one of the most widely owned books of the fifteenth century. It can be described as essentially a “devotional manual” containing a constant set of core items (formed by the Hours of the Virgin and sections of the Psalter) with additional items varying between different books but characteristically encouraging devotion to the wounds and the suffering of Christ.²⁸¹ The inclusion in Ff.2.38 of two standard primer items (item 2 is based on the Office of the Dead and item 7 is based on the seven penitential psalms) along with the inclusion of

“...Wyth scharpe þornes þat weren full keene / Myn hedde was crowned 3e mon well seene / The blood ranne downe all be my cheke / Thou prowde man þefore be meke....”, continuing further on “...beholde my feet þat are for bledde / And naylyd faste vpon the tree / Thanke me þefore all was for thee...”.

Items 29 and 30 are also dramatic monologues, this time narrated by the Virgin Mary. In item 29 Mary tells the story of “...how yewys demyd my sone to dye...” (f.55ra). The violence of the Crucifixion is poignantly framed by the intimate mother-son relationship. Her role as a bereaved mother and her personal, human relationship with her son are played up, emphasised by the refrain “...The chylde ys dedde þat soke my breste...” (the poem is written in quatrains and the refrain occurs every eighth line).

Item 30 opens with a direct address to all mothers, calling on each, as she dances her child on her lap, to compare herself to Mary holding her dying son in her lap: “...Off all wemen þat euer were borne / That bere chyleer abyde & see / How my sone lyeth me before / Vpon my skyrte takyn fro þe tree / Youre chyleer ye daunce vpon yowre kne / *With* laghyng kyssyng & meny chere / Be holde my chylde be holde wele me / ffor now lyeth dedd my dere sone here...”. The poem goes on to form other poignant and sometimes shocking contrasts between the happy mother playing with her child and Mary weeping over the body of Christ, for example, the image of a mother putting a cap on her child is contrasted with the woe of Mary as she picks the thorns out of her son’s head one by one. The imagery is taken from the domestic and the everyday and is specifically designed for a lay audience. Also, notably, and as with the cross of five bread crumbs, it sets up everyday actions to serve as recollections of the stages of the Crucifixion, this time specifically catering to women.

²⁷⁹ Nicholas Love’s officially sanctioned text encourages this ‘looking inwards’ and, similarly, in item 30 Mary calls to mothers saying “...O women lokyth to me a geyne...” (f.56ra).

²⁸⁰ The importance of this point about the primer is emphasised by McSparran. McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.ix.

²⁸¹ Barratt (1975), p.264.

items connected with the secondary devotional material of the primer (item 8 and the three Passion lyrics, all of which are discussed above) give an indication of the important influence the primer had for the construction of such collections and imply, as McSparran argues, "...not only a poet but also an audience familiar with the Primer..."²⁸²

The final ten items of the manuscript (items 34-43) form an associated group. They are all longer narratives, dominated by romances. There is considerable consistency of tone and theme in the narratives selected which is of interest to how these texts were read and regarded. Included together with the romances are *The Seven Sages of Rome* and *Robert of Sicily* (items 39 and 42). *Robert of Sicily* is often classified as a romance but its didactic content has much in common with exemplary legends (for example, *The King of Tars*) and in most manuscript copies it occurs alongside unequivocally devotional material.²⁸³ Similarly, *The Seven Sages of Rome* is a popular collection of short exemplary tales which it would be difficult to classify as a romance at all according to the definitions of modern scholarship. Despite these apparent generic differences all the texts in this manuscript group show marked consistency in terms of tone and themes and share many narrative motifs. Importantly, the romances that have been selected are especially pious and exemplary, providing significant compatibility with the *Seven Sages* and *Robert of Sicily*.

It is clear that, in terms of grouping texts together, the compiler regarded theme and tone to be far more important than, for example, metrical form. Pearsall's literary critical distinction between couplet and tail-rhyme romances, which he proposes corresponds to a more fundamental division between 'epic' and 'lyric' themes, is rightly challenged by McSparran with regard to the Ff.2.38 romances. She comments that:

[The] occurrence here [of the tail-rhyme romances] with the three couplet romances in a group closely interconnected by story motifs and treatment suggests that the epic/couplet, lyric/tail-rhyme distinction cannot be pressed too far

In the same way, the inclusion of *The Seven Sages of Rome* and *Robert of Sicily* within this group challenges the traditional romance/non-romance dichotomy imposed by literary scholars.

²⁸² McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.ix.

²⁸³ See the discussion of the manuscripts containing this text in Guddat-Figge (1976).

Ff.2.38 is comparable to the Lincoln Thornton manuscript and with the first, early, part of BL Cotton Caligula A.ii, both of which contain a substantial collection of romances along with a selection of orthodox religious pieces designed for those living the Mixed Life. The similarities between these three manuscripts, and the large number of romances they contain, suggest that they are representative of an important audience for fifteenth-century romance. An audience of devout and literate lay people, reading texts within the context of the household and with particular interests in the pious and exemplary qualities of romances. That these manuscripts share texts and that groups of texts, as has been shown, repeatedly re-occur together in different manuscripts, implies the repeated copying from standard source books and the sharing and borrowing of texts and manuscripts between communities of like-minded readers.²⁸⁴

McSparran makes a comparison between Ff.2.38 and the Auchinleck manuscript but this seems less appropriate than the comparison between Ff.2.38 the Thornton and Caligula A.ii manuscripts. There are many examples of texts shared between these four manuscripts (though usually in different versions) but there are some fundamental differences between Auchinleck and the three fifteenth-century volumes. Auchinleck is a more lavish production and, importantly, it is characterised by its very particular and systematically expressed interest in historical and patriotic themes. The other three manuscripts are characterised by their representation of a brand of piety which became popular, and generated a significant body of literature, during the fifteenth century. McSparran argues that these differences in Auchinleck are relatively superficial: representing slight changes in taste over the hundred and fifty or so years that divide Auchinleck from Ff.2.38. However, the concerns of the earliest owners of Ff.2.38 with living the Mixed Life and 'living well' in the world dominate the volume, shaping it and providing a very important reading context for *Guy of Warwick* and the other Ff.2.38 romances.²⁸⁵ The proposal that Ff.2.38 and Auchinleck are evidence for continuity in the clientele for whom these kind of manuscripts were produced does not do enough to acknowledge the differences between them.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ The late date of CUL MS Ff.2.38, produced perhaps as late as the early-sixteenth century, would perhaps make it relevant to consider whether it could, in any way be described as an antiquarian project concerned with the preservation of older romances.

²⁸⁵ It is useful to compare this evidence for reception with the discussion in Chapter 1, section 7, above, of *Guy of Warwick* as a pious romance and, in particular, with the discussion of the figure of the 'hermit Guy'.

²⁸⁶ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.vii. McSparran does note the differences but, as I've mentioned, qualifies this by stating that these differences are somewhat cosmetic.

7. Incunabula and Early Printed Book Versions of *Guy of Warwick*

The romance was printed several times from the late-fifteenth through to the early-seventeenth century. The surviving books and fragments are listed below in their most likely chronological order:

Table 8
Early Printed Books

	<u>DATE</u>	<u>PRINTER</u>	<u>LIBRARY CAT. NO. AND STC NO²⁸⁷</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
i.	c.1497	Wynkyn de Worde, London	Bodley Douce e.xiv <i>STC</i> no.: 12541. Brief details of the fragment are included in the Illustrated Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (IISTC) CD but there is no image.	Single leaf. In 95mm Textura with an early form of w2 and tail on final <i>m</i> and <i>n</i> . An offprint.
ii.	c.1500 / 1501	Pynson, London	British Library IA 555 33 <i>STC</i> no.: 12540. Brief information and a scanned image of the full fragment can be viewed on the IISTC CD.	Three leaves: 1, 7, and 8. In bastarda types.
iii.	c.1550 / 1553	William Copland, London	British Library C.40.b.67 <i>STC</i> no.: 1254.5.	Fragment of a single leaf, the top of Nii. In 95mm Textura with w5a.
iv.	c.1550 / 1553	William Copland, London	British Library Harl. 5995/205 <i>STC</i> no.: 1254.5. A microfilm copy of Harl. 5995 is available at the British Library: Mic.B.815/19.	Leaves Cii and Ciii. Cii is complete but the verso side is badly blurred. Only the vertical left side of Ciii remains. In 95mm Textura with w5a. Ciii recto contains a woodcut.
v.	c.1565	William Copland, London	British Library C.21.c.68. <i>STC</i> no.: 12542.	Imperfect book, begins at leaf Fi. In 95mm Textura with w5b. Contains four woodcuts.
vi.	c.1565	William Copland, London	Harvard <i>STC</i> no.: 12542.	Book, lacks title page. In 95mm Textura with w5b.
vii.	c.1609	F.W.Ferbrand, London bookseller c.1598-1609	Washington <i>STC</i> no.: 21378.	Based on ii. above, Pynson's edition.

²⁸⁷ STC no. refers to the *Short-Title Catalogue*, Pollard and Redgrave (1986).

Editions and Transcriptions

An edition of Copland's c.1565 printed book has been published by G.Schleich (1923) based on the Harvard book which, lacking only its title page, contains a complete copy of the text. Schleich comments in his introduction that the starting point for his work was Zupitza's unfinished notes on the Copland text.

I have not been able to visit the Washington and Harvard books but have examined the imperfect book (STC 12542) and three fragments (BL IA 55533, BL C.40.b.67, and BL Harley 5995/205) held in London and the fragment (Douce e.14) at Oxford. As they are unpublished, transcriptions of all four of these fragments are provided in the appendices to this thesis (Appendices E, F, G and I). For the purpose of comparison with the earlier Copland fragment (BL C.40.b.67) the corresponding section of the imperfect book BL C.21.c.68 (a later Copland print) is also provided, given in Appendix H.

The Earliest Printed Books: Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson

The single page offprint by de Worde from c.1497 (Appendix F) and the three-page fragment of Pynson's text of c.1500-1 (Appendix E) are all that survive of these earliest printings of *Guy of Warwick*. Wynkyn de Worde published texts according to their commercial viability, selecting from a wide range of subjects including many religious items, practical books on courtesy and hunting, various tales of Robin Hood, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Skelton's *The Bowge of Court*. Malory's *Mort d'Arthur* was published by de Worde but of all the metrical romances only a select few were chosen and, as well as *Guy of Warwick*, these included *Bevis of Hampton* (c.1500) and *Sir Eglamour* (c.1500). *Guy*, *Bevis* and *Sir Eglamour* all appear in CUL MS Ff.2.38 and *Eglamour* appears in both the Lincoln Thornton and Cotton Caligula A.ii among other compilations, suggesting that the community of pious, bourgeois householders who owned these MSS were also the target audience of these early printers.²⁸⁸ De Worde's selection of these particular romances for publication reflects his awareness of the tastes of a potential target audience and his decision to print these particular texts is a testament to the persistent popularity of the older romances through into the sixteenth century.

²⁸⁸ See Guddat-Figge's catalogue of romance manuscripts (1976). Index II, pp.317-319, lists all the manuscripts in which each romance occurs.

Mid-Sixteenth Century Printed Books: William Copland

William Copland published *Guy of Warwick* twice during the sixteenth century: the first time during c.1550/53, then again, some ten or fifteen years later, in c.1565. The STC catalogues both c.1565 books together and comparison of Schleich's edition (which is based on the Harvard copy) with the imperfect BL C.21.c.68 confirms that these are exact copies of the same edition. All that survives of Copland's earlier (c.1550/53) publication are two fragments: (i.) a fragment of a approximately half of a single page (BL C.40.c.67, Appendix G); and (ii.) a fragment of one and a half pages, of which the verso side of the one full page is badly blurred (BL Harley 5995/205, Appendix I). Comparison of the half-page fragment BL C.40.b.67 from this earlier printing with the corresponding section of text from Copland's later, c.1565, edition (represented in Schleich's edition of the Harvard copy and in BL C.21.c.68), shows that Copland had modified the text by the time of the later printing.

William Copland's *Guy of Warwick* represents the same version as that found in the BL/NLW fragments.²⁸⁹ Mills and Huws provide a consideration of these two texts in which striking readings, often contrasting with the other versions, and shared errors or awkward phrasing confirm the soundness of the grouping of these two texts together (originally established by Zupitza).²⁹⁰ Mills' comments indicate that Copland may have chosen this version for his publication for reasons of style and content as well as availability. One of the objectives of the author of this version was to try to reduce the length of his source text during translation, resulting in a much shorter rendition of the romance than is represented by the other versions.²⁹¹ Mills describes the translator's approach to the original as having produced "...a rather stark piece of work, that sticks firmly to the narrative business in hand, prefers to deal in facts than in hypothesis, and has little time for literary graces...it offers a version of *Guy* that could hardly be rougher at the edges; a genuine 'primitive', which from time to time generates a charm (and even power) of its own...".²⁹² It is the swift moving and stark nature of this text which seems to have appealed to Copland's purpose: its condensed form and robust style deemed to be

²⁸⁹ Zupitza was the first to set out a classification of the versions in which Copland's text and the BL/NLW fragments were both 'version III'. Zupitza (1873). For the reasons set out in Chapter 3, section 1, below, the versions have here, for the purposes of this thesis, been referred to as A - E, with the BL/NLW and Copland texts representing version D.

²⁹⁰ Mills and Huws (1974), pp.6-15. Zupitza (1873).

²⁹¹ Mills and Huws (1974), p.12.

²⁹² Mills and Huws (1974), pp.14-15, and see Mills' notes to 69 and 1910-13.

well-suited both to the demands of production and to the tastes of the sixteenth-century audiences for printed books.

Woodcuts

The fragment BL Harley 5995/205, from Copland's early printing of the text, includes a section of a woodcut. This fragment is badly damaged and the page on which this woodcut appears has been cut in half vertically, with the outer half of the page and woodcut lost. In this condition it is difficult to make out what the picture represents at all. It features an object of some kind, or perhaps a woman, standing on a staircase beside a window or doorway. The fragment is of page C.ii and C.iii and it is therefore not possible to compare it to the c.1565 Copland book BL C.21.c.68 (all the pages before page F.i in BL C.21.68 being missing). Comparison of this fragment with the Harvard Copland of c.1565 would be interesting as it would show whether the same woodcut was used on page C.ii in both the c.1550 and the c.1565 printings and, if it was, the Harvard version would provide a copy of this woodcut intact.

The imperfect book BL C.21.c.68 contains four woodcuts, each appearing next to the scene in the narrative it illustrates. Two are larger, of three-quarter page size compared to the other two which are approximately half-page size. The first three woodcuts all appear within four pages of each other. On page Cc.1, recto, is a woodcut of 50 x 70mm (occupying 90 x 70mm when the scrolled borders above and below are included). It is a picture of a ship on the sea and illustrates Guy's return to England, the section of the narrative below the picture beginning: "...Guy tooke leaue I vnderstande / and passed fayre into Englande...". It appears that this woodcut was designed for a different story as some kind of apparition or image of Christ appears in the top left corner of the picture, clearly not relevant to this part of the story. The second woodcut is on page Cc.3, verso, and is of 100 x 90mm. The image features a man and a woman richly dressed, standing side by side in a garden. There are scrolls above the head of each, both of which are blank. The image is intended to illustrate the wooing of Felice and appears directly above the point in the narrative when Guy tells Felice how he has refused the love of many fine and rich ladies for her sake. The third image appears on page Cc.4, verso, is approximately 70 x 60mm and is intended to illustrate the marriage of Guy and Felice: the final lines of this page being "...then was guy and Phelis dight, / and wedded together anone right...". The image is of a crowded scene featuring seven characters. On the right-hand side is a richly dressed man seated on an elaborate chair, presumably a royal or

churchman, and on the right, kneeling before him are two robed figures holding up their hands as if in prayer. Both kneeling figures appear to be women and, again, it seems clear that this woodcut was not produced specifically for *Guy of Warwick* but that the editor had simply chosen an available 'crowd scene'. The fourth image appears on page li.1, verso, is approximately 110 x 88mm and illustrates the scene in which Guy battles with the giant Colebrond. In the foreground are two figures wielding spears, the left-hand figure being much larger than the right-hand figure. In the background is a cityscape and a woman can be seen looking on from a window. The woodcut is directly above the section of the narrative which describes the scene and begins "...Then came Colbronde forth anone...", it illustrates precisely what is described in the narrative and it is possible that this woodcut was designed specifically to illustrate the Guy and Colebrond story. Certainly, this was the best known scene in the romance.

Chapter 3

The Linguistic Data and the Versions of *Guy of Warwick*

1. Introduction

This chapter assesses the information that the language of the *Guy of Warwick* texts provide about their production history. It is not intended to provide a full linguistic description and the account limits itself to those features of spelling, rhyme, inflection and vocabulary which are of most significance for the localisation and dating of the various versions of the narrative.

Zupitza was the first to attempt to classify the texts. His conclusions are outlined in the *Preface* to his first volume of *Guy of Warwick* (1875-6) and are based on the analysis presented in his earlier article 'Zur Literaturgeschichte des *Guy of Warwick*' (1873). Zupitza's starting point is the French text. He then looks at three passages from the various manuscripts, showing that certain manuscripts share lines which are inconsequential to the story or rhyme pairs. By doing this, manuscript texts are classed together as from the same redaction. His conclusion is the grouping of the manuscripts into four different versions of the story, which he labels I - IV as follows:¹

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <u>Zupitza's 'Version I':</u> | i. The Auchinleck couplet <i>Guy</i>
ii. The first part of the Caius MS text
iii. The Sloane fragment |
| <u>Zupitza's 'Version II':</u> | i. The Auchinleck stanzaic <i>Guy</i> and <i>Reinbrun</i> |
| <u>Zupitza's 'Version III':</u> | i. The BL Additional MS 14408 fragments |
| <u>Zupitza's 'Version IV':</u> | i. The CUL MS Ff.2.38 <i>Guy</i> text
ii. Two passages from the second part of the Caius MS text. |

Subsequent research has provided an important revision to this classification of the texts by Zupitza. Work by Möller and then Ikegami refutes Zupitza's proposal that the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and the Auchinleck stanzaic *Reinbrun* are derived from the same archetype (Zupitza's 'version II'). Using the evidence of rhyme, dialect, phraseology and style, Möller argues that the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*, Auchinleck

¹ Zupitza (1875-6), pp.v-ix. This description of the versions is also outlined in Wells (1916), p.16.

stanzaic *Guy* and Auchinleck *Reinbrun* were each by different authors.² That is, he provides evidence to show that the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* was pieced together from three independent redactions rather than two.³

In order to revise Zupitza's proposal in line with this work (to include five rather than four versions) it has been necessary here to revise Zupitza's naming of the versions as 'I - IV'.

There are two other existing sigla that have been used for the different Auchinleck versions but none of these is suitable for adaptation. Möller refers to the Auchinleck texts as *A*, *a* and *ao* and Hibbard Loomis refers to the Auchinleck texts as *Guy*, *A*¹, *Guy*, *A*² and *Reinbrun*, neither of which could be added to without awkwardness.⁴ It would be possible to add to Zupitza's original scheme of names (I - IV) but this also presents problems: by labeling the Auchinleck *Reinbrun* 'version V' the chronology of the texts would be lost, whereas the alternative (which would be to maintain the chronology of the scheme by designating the Auchinleck *Reinbrun* as 'version III' and then renaming Zupitza's versions III and IV as IV and V respectively) is equally unsatisfactory as this kind of partial renaming based on Zupitza's original scheme is potentially confusing, especially so if referring back to Zupitza's work on these texts. Because of these limitations a new set of names has been devised for the five versions. They are referred to here as A - E.

In summary, then, the 8 texts, or sections of texts, which are held in 5 manuscripts, have been classified as descended from five independent redactions, to be referred to here as A - E.

Further to this, there are three more points from Zupitza's original proposal which are either inaccurate or in need of updating. Firstly, NLW Binding Fragments 572 were discovered in 1971 and were therefore not included by Zupitza, writing in the 1870's. These fragments should be listed along with BL Additional MS 14408 (the NLW fragments being more of the same text). Secondly, the classmark reference for the Caius

² Möller (1917). Ikegami (1988), pp.17-18. I am grateful to Maldwyn Mills for providing me with a copy of the relevant parts of Möller's 1917 thesis.

³ Möller (1917), p.105. Ikegami (1988), p. See, also, the discussion in Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.129, reviewed above in Chapter 2, section 2.3.

⁴ Möller (1917). Hibbard Loomis (1942; rept. 1962), p.609.

MS should be updated, the collection having been renumbered since Zupitza's time.⁵ Finally, in his 1875-6 *Preface*, Zupitza notes regarding 'version I' that "...As far as *a* [Auchinleck couplets] goes, *b* [Caius] has...the same version...".⁶ This comment is misleading as in the Caius manuscript Zupitza's 'version I' in fact goes beyond the point at which the Auchinleck text halts (occupying, to be specific, Caius pp.1-149).

There is also one important point on which Zupitza is unclear. As has been described, Zupitza identifies the first part of the Caius *Guy* as 'version I' (my version A) and two passages in the latter part of the Caius *Guy* as 'version IV' (my version E). Zupitza, however, does not comment on the remaining, interspersed passages in the latter part of Caius. The implication is presumably that these were also to be regarded as part of the A-version. However, the consideration of these passages below, in 2.4., shows that they could not be descended from the same, original A-archetype as the Auchinleck couplets, Sloane fragment and pp.1-149 of the Caius *Guy*. Rather, they would seem to represent a later continuation of the A-version, by a different author, and as such are referred to here as the "α passages".

By modifying Zupitza's original proposal in accordance with these revisions, the manuscript texts of *Guy of Warwick* have been classified as follows:

(The full reference is given for each text followed in brackets by its shorthand name).

The Versions of *Guy of Warwick*

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| <u>A-version</u> | i. Auchinleck MS couplet <i>Guy</i> , ff.108-146. ('Auchinleck couplets') |
| | ii. BL Sloane MS 1044. ('Sloane fragment') |
| | iii. Caius, Cambridge, MS 107/176, pp.1-149. ('Caius I') |
| <u>α passages:</u> | Two passages in the latter part of Caius, Cambridge, MS 107/176, lines 4413-5186 and 5778-7196 |
| <u>B-version</u> | i. Auchinleck MS stanzaic <i>Guy of Warwick</i> , ff.146-167. ('Auchinleck stanzas') |
| <u>C-version</u> | i. Auchinleck MS stanzaic <i>Reinbrun</i> , ff.167-175. ('Auchinleck <i>Reinbrun</i> ') |
| <u>D-version</u> | i. NLW MS Binding Fragments 578 and BL Additional MS 14408. ('NLW and BL fragments') |

⁵ As described in Chapter II, section 5.

⁶ Zupitza (1875-6), p.vi.

- E-version
- i. The two E-version passages in the latter part of Caius, Cambridge, MS 107/176, lines 4413-5186 and 5778-7196.
 - ii. CUL MS Ff.2.38 *Guy of Warwick* and *Reinbrun*, ff.161-239. ('CUL Ff.2.38')

It is useful also, here, for the sake of clarity, to delineate the versions in terms of the manuscript texts to which they correspond:

Table 1
The Versions of *Guy of Warwick* and MS Correspondences

MANUSCRIPT (Given in approximate chronological order)	VERSION(S) OF <i>GUY OF WARWICK</i> THE TEXT OF THIS MS REPRESENTS
BL MS 14408 and NLW MS Binding Fragments 572.	D-version
NLS Advocates MS 19.2.1, 'Auchinleck MS'.	A-version: lines 1 - 6925 B-version: lines 6926 - 10506 C-version: lines 10507 - 12027
BL MS Sloane 1044.	A-version
Caius, Cambridge, MS 107/176.	A-version: lines 1 - 4412 E-version: lines 4413 - 5186 α -version: lines 5187 - 5777 E-version: lines 5778 - 7196 α -version: lines 7197 - 8160
CUL MS Ff.2.38.	E-version

The consideration of the linguistic data in this chapter is organised according to these five versions A - E. For each version the language of the archetype is considered first, followed by consideration of the scribe (or scribes) who copied the descendant text (or texts). Where more than one manuscript of a version survives (as is the case with the A and E versions), the evidence for the language of the archetype is considered for each manuscript in turn. Though this results in a certain degree of repetition, it allows for greater clarity when discussing the evidence and serves to test how closely the different

manuscript texts can be seen to represent the dialect of an ultimate, shared archetype (as is demonstrated in the case of 2.2.i., below).

The concept of scribes as translators and the expressions ‘active repertoire’, ‘spontaneous usage’, ‘passive repertoire’, ‘constrained selection’, ‘show-through’ and ‘relict’ appear in the following discussion. Throughout, the use of these terms and concepts is with reference to Benskin and Laing’s seminal article ‘Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts’ (1981), where full definitions are provided along with discussion of the implications of these ideas. As Benskin and Laing state, they are ideas which are essential to the discussion of “...the linguistic interplay of copyists and their exemplars...”⁷

⁷Benskin and Laing (1981), p.58.

2. The A-Version

2.1. Introduction to the A-Version and Survey of Previous Scholarship

As described above, there are three surviving texts descended from the A-version: the Auchinleck couplets, Caius I and the Sloane fragment. This section provides a discussion of the language of these three texts: the language of the archetype is discussed first (in 2.2. i - iii), followed by discussion of the language of the scribes (2.3. i - iii).

A significant amount of work has been produced on the language of Auchinleck Scribe I and this is described in 2.3.i., below. In contrast, there has been no previous work considering the language of the scribes who copied Caius I and the Sloane fragment. As the Caius and Sloane manuscripts provide few clues as to their place of origin or earliest owners (as discussed in Chapter 2), analysis of the dialect of these scribes has proved to be especially important here as an indicator of provenance.

Regarding the A-archetype, this analysis of the rhyme words would concur with Hibbard Loomis' statement that the original, from which the other A-version texts are ultimately descended, was produced c.1300.⁸

Regarding the dialect of the A-archetype, the first attempt to localise its language was by Brandl (1893) as part of his wider survey of *Mittelenglische Literatur (1100-1500)*. In dealing with ME romance, Brandl discusses at §37 "...das südöstliche Mittelland..."⁹ and proposes that the Auchinleck *Guy* was originally composed in the South West Midlands, perhaps in South Warwickshire.¹⁰ Brandl added no further discussion or examples from the text to support his suggestions. Nevertheless, his idea of a Warwickshire original was taken up with some enthusiasm by later commentators: cited by Hibbard Loomis in her survey of *Mediæval Romance in England* and presented in Wells' *Manual* and Severs' *Handbook*.¹¹

⁸ Hibbard Loomis (1924).

⁹ Brandl (1893), p.635.

¹⁰ Brandl (1893), p.636. Also cited by Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.128.

¹¹ Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.128, cites Brandl directly. Wells (1916), p.16 comments that the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* "...is perhaps of South Warwickshire...". Severs (1967), p.27-8 comments that "...An early translation...may have been made ca. 1300 in Warwickshire...".

The only other consideration of the language of the A-archetype is offered by Ikegami. The primary aim of Ikegami's study is to demonstrate that "...the Auchinleck *Guy* is not the work of one author but each of the tripartite versions is composed by different poets..."¹² However, in the course of demonstrating this point Ikegami succeeds in showing that all three parts are characterised by rhymes which attest in each case to an archetype in a broadly Southern and Eastern dialect. As such, her work stands as a refutation of the notion that any of the Auchinleck texts was composed in a Warwickshire dialect.¹³

The conclusions reached here, regarding the A-archetype, coincide with the findings of Ikegami and reject the notion of a Warwickshire original in favour of a South Eastern dialect. More specifically, based on some distinct rhymes and certain affiliations with contemporary London texts, this discussion concludes that the A-archetype was most likely to have been composed by a London author.

2.2. The Language of the A-Archetype

2.2.i. Auchinleck Couplet *Guy*: Language of the A-Archetype

Set out below is a discussion of the linguistic data from the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* that provides information about the archetype of the A-version. Analysis here has been restricted to the rhyme words as, inevitably, it is the rhyme words which provide most information about the language of the original.

Ideally, discussion of the language of the archetype would have involved only discussion of rhymes occurring in all three of the manuscripts, or, at least, in two manuscripts. However, this has proved difficult because of the fragmentary state of the Sloane text and the revised and reworked state of Caius I. There is no overlap at all between Auchinleck and Sloane, therefore no direct comparison at all is possible between them, and comparison between Auchinleck and Caius I is also limited as Caius I is 40% shorter than the Auchinleck text; resulting in many passages in the longer Auchinleck text for which there is no direct comparison in Caius.¹⁴

¹² Ikegami (1988), p.17.

¹³ See 3.1. and 4.1., below, for discussion of the idea of a Warwickshire origin for the B and C versions.

¹⁴ For detailed comparison of the Auchinleck, Sloane and Caius texts see Chapter 1, section 4.

Direct comparison of rhymes, then, is only possible some of the time. Specifically, between Auchinleck and Caius I in those passages retained in the latter text; and between Sloane and Caius I for the 'wedding scene' (though, again, Caius I offers a significantly shortened version). Further to this, Caius I appears to have undergone significant revision and rephrasing, resulting in differences with Auchinleck at several points in the narrative. For pragmatic reasons, then, the analytical method employed has involved individual analysis of the rhyme words of each text, making direct comparisons between manuscripts only where possible and relevant.

In addition to this, the usual difficulties for dialect analysis presented by the language of popular romances have been encountered in these texts. The way that popular romances were composed problematises any attempt to localise the language of the original. The number of rhyme words that are useful for localisation is limited by the high proportion of self rhymes, repetitive rhymes and traditional tags and phrases. Such formulaic tags and phrases and fixed rhymes were the 'stock in trade' of romance writers and these are, therefore, of very limited use for localisation: their currency, as traditional generic or poetic words, allowing for their occurrence in diverse geographical regions.¹⁵

The case of Thomas of Chester illustrates the point. The majority of meaningful rhymes in his works, the 'Southern' *Octovian*, *Sir Launfal* and *Lybeaus Desconus*, attest to localisation of his dialect within the S.E.Midlands.¹⁶ However, *Lybeaus Desconus* is marked by a series of typically Northern and N.Midland rhymes as well as some typically Western or West Midland rhymes. Many of these Northern and Western rhymes also appear in the Southern *Octovian* and *Sir Launfal*. These apparently 'discrepant' rhymes are the result of Chester having borrowed rhymes from other romances: as Mills comments, they "...tell us less about his own dialect than about the dialects of some other writers of romances, from whose work he borrowed extensively..."¹⁷

It is a method of composition that is reliant upon a kind of linguistic intertextuality, whereby Chester not only borrowed motifs and phrases but also whole rhymes, even, as Mills describes "...when these last depended upon linguistic developments that had not

¹⁵ See the discussion in McSparran (1986), p.33.

¹⁶ Mills (1969), p.34.

¹⁷ Mills (1969), pp.33-4.

taken place in his own dialect...".¹⁸ It is a practice particularly well suited to a genre constructed from the repetition of formulaic phrases, easily borrowed from one romance to another.

Analysis of dialect, then, must take into account that the rhyme words are likely to represent the composer's generically determined 'romance repertoire', which will be somewhat distant from his everyday written repertoire. With regard to this, the information provided by LALME should be applied to romances with caution: it is information gleaned from a wide range of different kinds of documents and does not attempt to account for how genre may have influenced the distribution of any particular form.

These factors and this method of romance composition have been found to be crucial to understanding the language of the A-archetype *Guy of Warwick*. Having taken these potential pitfalls into account, this analysis of the rhyme-word evidence concludes that the A-archetype was written in a South Eastern dialect and that its language exhibits a series of marked similarities with the so-called '*Kyng Alisaunder* group' of romances.

The *Kyng Alisaunder* group contains *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Arthour and Merlin*, *The Seuen Sages* and *Richard Coer de Lyon*. They are regarded as a 'group' as they have been shown by Smithers to display such close linguistic similarity as to warrant the suggestion that they were all the output of a single (London) author.¹⁹ Whether or not they represent the work of a single author, what is of great significance here is their distinctive use of language. They are an example of production, in London, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, of a series of popular metrical romances all written in a dialectically mixed but nonetheless very distinctive romance *koine*.

There are certain irregularities peculiar to *Guy of Warwick*. Nevertheless, the linguistic affiliation that is exhibited is highly significant to forming an understanding of the circumstances within which the A-archetypal was composed. It would indicate that the composer of the archetypal A-text *Guy of Warwick* was familiar with the distinctive romance *koine* represented in the language of the *Kyng Alisaunder* group of texts and would point to London as the most likely region of composition.

¹⁸ Mills (1969), p.35.

¹⁹ Smithers (1957), pp.40-55. Regarding the issue of authorship see, especially, p.41.

The data relevant to these conclusions is set out below:

(a.)

OE \bar{a} is usually <o>. Attesting rhymes: 3896-7, 4114-5 *fro* : (*do*) ‘from : do (infin.)’; 5266-7 *euermo* : (*do*) ‘evermore : do (infin.)’; 2376-7, 2932-3, 3438-9, 6767-8 *non* : (*don*) ‘none : done’; 1845-6 *also* : (*do*) ‘also : do’; 1318-7 *gon* : (*on*) ‘go (infin.) : on’; 926-5, 1452-1, 2074-5, 2495-4, 2521-20, 3123-2, 5809-10, 6395-4, 6762-3 (*to*) : *go* ‘to (prep.) : go’; 827-8, 875-6, 2386-7, 3059-8, 3346-7, 3625-4, 3732-3, 5824-5, 6230-1, 6792-3 *so* : (*to*) ‘so : to (prep.)’; 381-2, 4453-2, 5542-3 (*do*) : *wo* ‘do : woe’; 527-81706-5, 1886-5, 2364-5, 3470-1, 5499-98, 5849-8 (*do*) : *go* ‘do : go’; 261-2, 1113-4, 5605-4, 6120-1 (*do*) : *mo* ‘do : more’; 3118-9 *lo* : (*do*) ‘lo! : do’.²⁰

A line from the Ribble to the Lindsey / Kesteven-Holland border marks the southern limit for OE \bar{a} retained as an unround vowel spelled <a, ai, ay>.²¹ This would exclude the North.

However, OE \bar{a} is also occasionally <a>: 3420-1 *aros* : (*was*) ‘arose (OE *arās*) : was’; 3834-5 (*plas*) : *pas* ‘place : those’; 6490-1 (*y slawe*) : *to blowe* ‘slain : blown (from OE *blāwen*).

The occurrence of a few examples of *a*-forms should be compared to *Arthour and Merlin* and *Kyng Alisaunder*, both of which also attest to a few examples of *a*-forms for the reflex of OE \bar{a} in the original and both of which have been shown to have been produced in early fourteenth-century London.²² Smithers accounts for the occurrence of *a* before *w* in *Kyng Alisaunder* with the comment that ME \bar{o} from OE \bar{a} reverted to *a* before *w* in South Eastern dialects.²³ Liedholm, on the other hand, accounts for these forms in *Arthour and Merlin* as “...sporadic N[orthern] \bar{a} -variants...”,²⁴ commenting

²⁰ This is not a comprehensive list. There are many other examples of OE \bar{a} as <o>.

²¹ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38, p.283 and Map 17. See the discussion in 5.3. (a.), below, of Jordan and Moore, Meech and Whitehall who differ slightly to Kristensson in where they place this boundary.

²² For example, Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.47, records occurrence of the rhymes 5621 *blawen* : *dawen* and 723 *biknowe* : *slawe* in *Kyng Alisaunder*. For cases of OE \bar{a} as *a* in *Arthour and Merlin* see Liedholm (1941), p.51 and pp.53-56, who records, for example: 69 *mare* : *fare*; 3835 *dale* : *smale*; 6421 *abade* : *sade*.

²³ Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.47. Also cited by Ikegami (1988), p.33.

²⁴ Liedholm (1941), p.56.

that "...we may expect to find sporadic forms deviating from an author's normal speech habits, which do not affect the validity of the evidence afforded by the main body of rhymes..."²⁵ That is, that these forms should be regarded as intentional rhyme variations on the part of the author.²⁶

The majority of the evidence, then, would exclude the North and comparison with other texts would show that a few examples of the *a*-type may be acceptable as traditional rhymes within certain early fourteenth-century London texts. Specifically, occasional *a*-forms were part of the 'romance repertoire' of the early-fourteenth-century London composer of *Arthour and Merlin* and *Kyng Alisaunder*.

With regard to this, a comment and observation made by Ikegami should be mentioned here. Ikegami observes that the variant vowel pronunciations /a:/, /ɔ:/, /e:/ and /ɛ:/ for the words 'there' and 'were' are all attested as original in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*.²⁷ These variant forms usually occur in traditional *-are* rhymes, nevertheless, their occurrence, especially in combination with some examples of OE \bar{a} as *a* outside the *-are* sequences (given above), would usually be associated with the North Midlands. Ikegami, however, rejects this interpretation and, instead, explains these forms along similar lines to the way Smithers and Liedholm (and also Mills in his discussion of *Lybeaus Desconus*) account for the inconsistent forms in *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Arthour and Merlin*, commenting that:

The occurrences of such Northerly forms in distinctively Southern texts as the Auchinleck *Guy* is noteworthy. It suggests that there was a rhyming tradition in which poets were allowed to use forms that were incompatible with their everyday speech.²⁸

That is, then, the appearance of certain apparently Northern / N.Midland rhymes in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* should be seen as part of a literary pattern which appeared in the language of certain early fourteenth-century South Eastern romances.

²⁵ Liedholm (1941), p.180.

²⁶ See also, with regard to this, Mills discussion of the language of *Lybeaus Desconus*, described above.

²⁷ Ikegami (1988), pp.26-28.

²⁸ Ikegami (1988), p.28.

(b.)

OE *a* before a nasal is <a>. Attested by: 2240-1 (*ozan*) : *man* ‘again : man’. Also attested by the following rhymes on proper names, with the spellings of these names confirmed elsewhere: 2604-5 (*redmadan*) : *man* ‘Redmadan : man’; 2758-9 (*cosdram*) : *man* ‘Cosdram : man’.

However, there is one example in which OE *a* is <o>: in the rhyme 791-2 (*sonne*) : *conne* ‘sun : can’.

The rhyme evidence, then, indicates that the original had *a*-forms but also the occasional *o*-form.

In Middle English, forms with *o* were retained only in the West: the *o/a* limit commencing in N.Lancashire then running South East through Lancashire and Derbyshire, South through Warwickshire, and then South West through Gloucestershire.²⁹

The far West is excluded here by the high proportion of *a*-forms but use of the occasional *o*-form may suggest a region bordering the western limit of *a*, that is, within one of the ‘transition areas’ identified by Kristensson which, for this form, constitute a bridge between the West and Central Midlands (see Map 1 in section 8, below), namely, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire or Derbyshire.³⁰

Though this would be technically possible, comparison should also be made with Liedholm’s comments on OE *a* before nasal consonants in the London romance *Arthur and Merlin*. Liedholm observes that there are no certain forms with *o* before a nasal in rhyme but that “...a few rhymes might indicate an *o*-sound...”.³¹ These are: *men* : *on* (preposition); *pouermen* : *euerichon*; *man* : *Vterpendragon*; *men* : *Vterpendragon*. Liedholm dismisses the latter two, reasoning that they involve a foreign proper name and therefore cannot be assigned any conclusive value. The remaining two are accounted for with the comment that “...In all probability, *men*...should be replaced by *man*, rhyming

²⁹ See Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.51-2, and see the dialect map, p.53, adapted from Moore, Meech and Whitehall.

³⁰ Kristensson (1987), where it appears as map 4.

³¹ Liedholm (1941), p.5.

with *an*, a doublet of *on*; the *o* in *on* is not of W[est]M[id]L[and] origin but found in all ME dialects...”.³² Liedholm’s observations indicate that the *o* : *a* rhyme was acceptable to the composer of *Arthour and Merlin* and that the occurrence in romance of what Liedholm refers to as “...a few rhymes...indicat[ing] an *o*-sound...” should not be regarded as specific only to the W.Midlands.

That is, then: despite the usual west / east, *o/a* distribution, both forms were quite scattered across the country. More specifically: occasional *o*-forms were acceptable within the language of early fourteenth-century London romances, as represented by the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group text *Arthour and Merlin*.

(c.)

OE *æ* appears as <a>: 4084-5 (*take*) : *blake* ‘take : black’; 91-2, 354-3, 3744-5, 4273-2, 6913-2 (*plas*) : *was* ‘place : was’; 73-4, 1087-8, 1502-1, 1691-2, 4021-2, 4431-30, 4673-2, 5563-2, 5674-5, 5688-9, 6015-4 (*cas*) : *was* ‘case : was’; 873-4 *was* : (*gras*) ‘was : grace’; 1231-2 *was* : (*ras*) ‘was : race’; 3728-9 *was* : (*bras*) ‘was : brass’; 3748-9, 4986-7, 5812-3 *was* : (*allas*) ‘was : alas’; 6134-5 *was* : (*solas*) ‘was : solace’.

There are also a few cases in which OE *æ* appears as <e>. Attesting rhymes: 3646-7 *hedde* : (*bedde*) ‘had : bed’; 53-4 *w[e]ter* : (*beter*) ‘water : better’; 2176-7 *les* : *wes* ‘lost : was’.³³

Jordan records that “...the WML (including Worc[ester]) as well as Kent retained the more fronted sound (mostly <e>, in the former territory also written <ea>)...”.³⁴ However, Jordan also notes that *wes* and *hedde* also occurred in the North and in romances also penetrated southwards, for example, occurring commonly in *Arthour and Merlin*.³⁵ A search of the Auchinleck Manuscript confirms Jordan’s assertion. To take the case of *wes*: it never occurs in the line in the manuscript but is relatively widespread in the rhyme position: occurring very frequently in *Amis and Amiloun* and *Arthour and Merlin* and also, though less commonly, in the stanzaic *Guy, Roland and*

³² Liedholm (1941), p.5.

³³ The meaning of *les* here is certainly ‘lost’. The context is: *on aiper side mani on dyed y wise / ac þe douke wers bi fallen is / for miche of his folk he les / al aunteousliche þer he comen wes*.

³⁴ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.54.

³⁵ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.57.

Vernague, Sir Tristram, Horn Childe, Sir Degare, Reinbrun, Bevis and, of the non-romances, the *Short Metrical Chronicle, Patrick* and the *Harrowing of Hell*. Its currency as a romance rhyme, or generally as a widespread but traditional literary rhyme, then, makes it of limited value for localisation.

The occurrence of *w[e]ter* is more unusual and may therefore be of more significance for localisation in Kent or the W.Midlands, though this is somewhat weakened as this is an editorially restored form.

(d.)

For the reflex of OE *æ + g + d* or *n*, <a> is attested as an original form by the rhymes: 3036-7 (*made*) : *seyde* 'made : said'; 4364-5, 6562-3 *sade* : (*made*) 'said : made'; 2800-1 (*glad*) : *seyd* 'glad : said'; 2240-1 *o3an* : (*man*) 'again : man'. In the early-fourteenth century this form was restricted to London and the South East Midlands (being replaced by *e*-forms by the second half of the fourteenth century). For example, with Smithers recording its occurrence in *Kyng Alisaunder*.³⁶ It is therefore highly significant for localisation of the A-archetype within London and the South East.

(e.)

The reflex of OE *y* regularly appears as <e>. Attesting rhymes: 4990-1 (*snelle*) : *hille* 'bold : hill' (to form a full rhyme the original must have had the form *helle*); 3620-1 *hulle* : (*snelle*) 'hill : bold' (again, to form a full rhyme the original must have had *helle*); 1107-8 (*sweri*) : *miri* 'swear : merry' (again, to form a full rhyme the original must have had the *e* form *meri*); 3330-1 (*sende*) : *mende* 'send : mind'; 4224-5 (*ferred*) : *pride* 'company / armed men : pride'; 6850-1 *dent* : (*schent*) 'dint : ruined'.

Forms with *e* occurred in South Eastern and East Midland dialects, including London (see Map 2 in section 8, below, for the western limit of the *hell* form of 'hill').³⁷ Jordan observes that frequent *e* rhymes occur in the Southern and Eastern romances *King Horn, Arthur and Merlin, Kyng Alisaunder, Seuen Sages, Octovian, Lybeaus Desconus* and *Richard Coer de Lyon*. Also commenting, however, that *e*-forms

³⁶ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.176. Smithers (1957), p.47. See, also, discussion of this feature in Ikegami (1988), p.23.

³⁷ Kurath (1954), where it appears as map 5.

“...were often borrowed on account of the rhyme possibility, particularly before *nd*, *nt*...in the romances up into the North...”³⁸

These rhymes on *e*, then, would be most compatible with South Eastern (including London) or East Midland original but do not completely exclude localisation further North.

(f.)

OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is often <*e*>, as attested by the rhymes: 2016-7 *men* : (*flen*) ‘men : flee (infin.)’; 2960-1 *men* : (*ben*) ‘men : be (infin.)’; 3330-1 *sende* : (*mende*) ‘send : mind’. However, there is one rhyme where *a* is implied: 475-6 *wimen* : (*can*) ‘women : can’. The rhyme 6718-9 *pani* : (*chalangij*) ‘penny : challenge’ may also imply that the original had the *a*-type *pani*, though strictly speaking here the *an* rather than the *en* form of ‘penny’ cannot be confirmed as the rhyme falls on the end of the word not on the vowel sound.

The *a*-type is significant for localisation. It was restricted to the South East Midlands and London, where it was the chief form up until the mid-fourteenth century (after which it was replaced by *e*-forms). It is a form which was typical of the early London dialect, originating from Essex, and as Jordan records, attesting material is especially furnished by the Essex-London texts *Vices and Virtues*, *Poema Morale*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Arthour and Merlin* and by London place names.³⁹

It is useful to compare these forms with the London text *Kyng Alisaunder* which, as Smithers records, exhibits “...at least 11 examples (alongside at least 41 of *e*)...” of the Essex-London development.⁴⁰ That is, a significant proportion, about 20%, of these rhymes exhibit the Essex-London development in *Kyng Alisaunder*. Macrae-Gibson, in his edition of *Arthour and Merlin* notes that there are “...In A[rthour and]M[erlin] 38 certain rhymes on *a*, 28 on *e* (accepting as certain rhymes on proper names whose original form is sufficiently established by other unambiguous rhymes, etc.)...”⁴¹ That is,

³⁸ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.67.

³⁹ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.58.

⁴⁰ Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.47, item 2.

⁴¹ Macrae-Gibson p.61, footnote no.1.

approximately 58% of the rhymes in *Arthur and Merlin* take the *an*-form. To argue for very close affiliation with these London romances, then, a higher proportion of *an* rhymes might be expected in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*.

(g.)

OE *ea* before *l*-combinations is commonly <e>. Examples of attesting rhymes: 3892-3 *beld* : (*weld*) 'bold : possess'; 2770-1 *beld* : (*scheld*) 'bold : shield'; 1429-30 (*weld*) : *eld* 'possess : old'; 1173-4, 1873-4 (*zeld(e)*) : *held* 'yield : hold (infin.)'; 1665-6 *held* : (*feld*) 'hold (infin.) : field'.

Forms with *e* point to localisation South of the Thames (including London in the earlier period). In the early fourteenth century *e*-forms were common in rhyme in Southern and Eastern romances, notably in the *Kyng Alisaunder* group: Jordan recording the regular use of these rhymes in *Arthur and Merlin*, *Seuen Sages*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Richard Coer de Lyon*, *Octovian*, *Lybeaus Desconus*, *Sir Launfal*, *Floris and Blancheflour*, the Auchinleck *Reinbrun* and the *Siege of Troy*.⁴²

There are three very specific types of rhyme in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* which are highly significant for localisation of the A-archetype within the South East and which bear remarkable similarity to the language of the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts. These features are recorded in the work of Smithers and Ikegami but are also cited here in some detail as they are so significant to characterisation of the language of the A-archetype:

(h.)

Several rhymes in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* suggest that comparison should be made with Smithers' comments on the occurrence of OE æ^1 in *Kyng Alisaunder*:

An undiphthongised type for OE. æ^1 (i.e. preceded by a front consonant) is combined with the Essex-London \bar{a} in the remarkable *zare* 6950 (: *care*), which is characteristic of the K[*ying*] A[*lisaunder*] group (S[*euen*] S[*ages*] 554, A[*rthur and*] M[*erlin*] 6771, R[*ichard*] C[*oer de*] L[*yon*] 2772) but otherwise exceedingly rare⁴³

⁴² Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.92.

⁴³ Smithers (1957; rept. 1969) p.48.

This rhyme occurs 5x in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*: 1025-6, 1719-20, 4552-3, 7136-7, 7322-3 *zare* : (*fare*) ‘ready : go (infin.)’.

(i.)

Significant for localisation is the point made by Ikegami who records that rhymes between /v/ and /w/ in this text indicate a change in pronunciations (whereby /v/ has changed to /w/) which would provide more evidence of a South East Midland dialect (including Norfolk, Kent and East Sussex).⁴⁴ The attesting rhymes are: 4912-3 *sorwe* : *for corue* ‘sorrow : cut apart’; 2822-3 *haue* : *plawe* ‘have : play’; 1409-10 *graue* : *y slawe* ‘bury : slain’; 189-90, 3294-5, 3825-4 *drawe* : *haue* ‘draw : have’.⁴⁵

(j.)

Another feature found in *Kyng Alisaunder*, again recorded by Ikegami, can also be confirmed as original to the A-archetype *Guy of Warwick*. The rhymes *forp* : *worþ* (‘forward : worth’ at 3818-9 and 4750-1) and *hors* : *wors* (‘horse : worse’ at 5754-5) indicate that ME /u/ had been lowered to /o/ in *worþ* and *forp*. That both *Kyng Alisaunder* and the A-archetype of *Guy of Warwick* contain this kind of rhyme, which was unusual in Middle English, provides further confirmation of an affiliation between the A-version *Guy* and the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group and, again, would provide more evidence to characterise an early fourteenth-century London romance *koine* known to the authors of all these texts.⁴⁶

The following features of the morphology are significant for localisation:

(k.)

The third person singular of the present indicative takes *-þ*. Attesting rhymes: 373-4 *dop* : (*sop*);⁴⁷ 5260-1 (*zaf*) : *hap*.⁴⁸ The northern limit of this form follows a line from, approximately, the Wash to Chester, confirming that a northern provenance can be excluded for the original.

⁴⁴ See Ikegami (1988), p.24, citing Jordan i 300.

⁴⁵ See Ikegami (1988), p.24.

⁴⁶ As recorded by Ikegami (1984), pp.19-20, and (1988), p.25.

⁴⁷ 372-4: & *seppe me comeþ swouninges þre / for anguis swoune it me dop / tuiis or priis y say for sop*.

⁴⁸ 5206-1: *pat him forþ brouzt & armes him zaf / iuel zolden he it him hap*.

(l.)

Present plural verbs take *-þ*. Attesting rhymes: 2322-3, 2560-1, 2950-1 *bep* : (*dep*) 'are : death';⁴⁹ 2394-5 *gop* : (*op*) 'go : oath';⁵⁰ 3180-1 *dop* : (*mi nop*) 'do : my oath';⁵¹ 3976-7, 6188-9 (*wrop*) : *gop* 'go : angry'.⁵²

The use of this form indicates a Southern or S.W.Midland original (see Map 3 in section 8, below, giving the isogloss established by Moore, Meech and Whitehall defining the northern and eastern limit of present plurals in *-(e)th*).⁵³ It was also regularly used in London up until the latter part of the fourteenth century.⁵⁴ For example: the *Proclamations of Nicholas Brembre* (MS Guildhall, Letter Book H., f.clxxij⁵⁵) of c.1383-4 uses the *-th* form of the plural;⁵⁶ and, confirmed by rhyme, the early fourteenth-century London romances *Arthour and Merlin* and *Kyng Alisaunder* have *-þ* for the present plural in the majority of cases.⁵⁷

(m.)

There are two rhymes which confirm the use of the Northern *-s* inflection in the original for the third person singular of the present indicative: 2310-11 (*aros*) : *gos* 'arose : goes'.⁵⁸ The present plural also takes *-s* and is confirmed as original at: 2448-9 *gos* : (*ros*) 'go : deer (pl.)'.⁵⁹

These Northern forms can be accounted for without difficulty and should not be seen as contradictory to the conclusion that the original was composed by a London author. There is evidence that in the fourteenth century London scribes were aware of and occasionally used the Northern-derived *-s* inflection. For example, it sporadically occurs

⁴⁹ 2322-3: *on ich halue bi sett we bep / nis her nouzt bot þe dep*. 2560-1 *his armes alle avenimed bep / þat venim is strong so þe dep*. 2950-1 *to þemperour y wraid we bep / alle he wil don ous to þe dep*.

⁵⁰ 2394-5: *ac þe barouns bitvene hem gop / & þemperour swore his op*.

⁵¹ 3180-1: *þis cristen our men to dep dop / ac bi cariot y swere mi nop*.

⁵² 3976-7: *þat he is sori & swiþe wrop / alle ozaines him þai gop*. 6188-9: *to ward gormoise hij gop / mani man þai made wel wrop*.

⁵³ From Kurath (1954), p.8, adapted from Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935).

⁵⁴ London documents indicate that the *-th* / *-þ* ending was regularly used in London until the 1380's, after which the originally Midland *-n* became the preferred form.

⁵⁵ Printed in Chambers and Daunt (1931), pp.31-33.

⁵⁶ For example: I, 1.2 *habbeth*; I, 1.14 *willeth, graunteth*; II, 1.11 *comandeth*.

⁵⁷ Liedholm (1941), p.175. Smithers (1957), p.51.

⁵⁸ 2310-11: *þemperour bi þe morwe aros / in to his forest he rideþ & gos*.

⁵⁹ 2448-9: *to her wille an hunting hij gos / to chance þe hert & þe ros*.

in line in the work of Auchinleck Scribe I and occasionally in rhyme in the early poetry of Chaucer: confirmed by rhyme as original in *The Book of the Duchess* (c.1369-1372) are *telles* at 73 and *falles* at 257, in *The House of Fame* (c.1379-1380) is *tellis* at 426, and in *The Reeve's Tale* a group of examples of this form occur representing the students' northern dialect (*boes*, *wagges*, *falles*).⁶⁰ The London romance *Kyng Alisaunder* has the *-(e)s* inflection for the 3 person present singular in rhyme where it is confirmed as original at least 7x.⁶¹ And Macrae-Gibson observes that though the *-(e)s* inflection does not occur in rhyme in *Arthur and Merlin* there are "...certain forms in A[uchinleck] [which] may suggest that the original had *-es*...".⁶²

The sporadic occurrence of this form amid a majority of Southern inflections, then, would be most compatible with a London provenance, especially as, again, this feature is also found in the romances of the *Kyng Alisaunder* group.

(n.) Present Participle

The form *-inde* was used in the original as an alternative beside *-inge* occurring in rhyme in the couplet *Guy* 61x and confirmed as an original form 10x at: 965-6, 2513-2 *doinde* : *finde* 'doing : find'; 4596-7 *finde* : *helpinde* 'find : helping'; 1189-90 *prikeinde* : *finde* 'riding : find'; 2596-7, 2624-5 *prikeinde* : *kinde* 'riding : kind'; 1839-40 *pousinde* : *helpinde* 'thousand : helping'; 3218-19 *kerueinde* : *behinde* 'carving : behind'; 1519-20 *secheing* : *finde* 'searching : find' (where to form an exact rhyme the original must have had *secheinde*); 459-60 *wepeinde* : *beminde* 'weeping : lament'.⁶³

Jordan states that this form is Southern and this would be confirmed by the information recorded in LALME (dot map 349 showing these forms to be restricted to the South and S.W.Midlands with a few examples across the East Midlands).

⁶⁰ Benson (1987; rept. 1988), p.xxxii.

⁶¹ Smithers (1957), p.50. There are 7 examples recorded by both manuscripts and a further 2 examples supported by only the B manuscript.

⁶² Macrae-Gibson (1979), p.61.

⁶³ A note should be made here on *biminden* (verb), an original form. It appears that this was not a common word in Middle English and the only example of the form *biminde* recorded in the MED is this one from the couplet *Guy*. This should be compared to the form *bimēning* (gerund) of which the MED records only two examples: one in the E.Midland text *Genesis and Exodus* l.2484 and one in the London text *Kyng Alisaunder* l.535, suggesting that this word was restricted to the SE and E.Midland regions.

Further to this, it is a form which is favoured by the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts. A search of the Auchinleck Manuscript shows that, in addition to the occurrences in the couplet *Guy*, the *-inde* form it occurs 11x in the line and 8x in rhyme, where it is confirmed as original, in *Arthour and Merlin*⁶⁴ and 2x in rhyme in the *Seuen Sages*, where it is confirmed as original (1419-20 *rominde : binde* ‘roaming : bind’, 2383-4 *kinde : misdoinde* ‘kind : misdoing’) though is elsewhere rare in Auchinleck.⁶⁵ Smithers’ account of the language of *Kyng Alisaunder*, which is based primarily on the Bodleian Laud Misc. MS 622 text,⁶⁶ records that the present participle form *-ynde* appears in rhyme and is confirmed as an original form 11x: 7366-7 *braundynde : wynde*, 5473-4 *conseilynde : Ynde*, 3683-4 *dryuynde : fynde*, 4197-8 *habbynde : wynde*, 6542-3 *fynde : keruynde*, 5305-6 *meruelynde : byhynde*, 6460-1 *mysfarynde : byhynde*, 5707-8 *sekynde : fynde*, 4887-8 *shetynde : pousynde*, 5791-2 *stondynde : fynde*, 2265-6 *fynde : vprisynde*.⁶⁷

The data indicates that the *-inde / -ynde* form of the present participle was Southern and was acceptable within the early-fourteenth-century London romance *koine* of the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts. Once again emphasising similarity between the language of the couplet *Guy* and the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts.

The following lexical features are significant for localisation:

(o.)

In the work of Auchinleck Scribe I the 3 person plural nominative pronoun is generally *pai* (‘they’), less often *hij*. However, on 10 occasions the rhyme confirms that the original had the form *he* (‘they’): 1775-6, 2063-2, 2128-9, 2152-3, 2238-9, 2528-9, 3504-

⁶⁴ These occurrences in *Arthour and Merlin* are also recorded in Liedholm’s study (1941), pp.175-6.

⁶⁵ See Appendix L for a description of the TextBase which enables computerised searching of the whole Auchinleck MS.

⁶⁶ See Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.41.

⁶⁷ Smithers comments (1957; rept. 1969), p.52, that “...These are not necessarily established by a rhyme on *ynde*, since the rhyming of *-nd* and *-ng* is a recognised assonance in ME...”. For example, as Brook (1968), p.20, notes “...Assonance sometimes takes the place of rhyme...” in the Harley Lyrics and “...the most frequent examples are of *m : n* and *ng : nd* (eg. *tyme : pyne* 23.23, *wepinge : monkynde* 20.7)...”. Nevertheless, as Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.52, concludes “...in practice it is unlikely that all these examples are assonances...”. That is, it seems certain that *-inde* was the original form.

5 (*cite*) : *he* ‘city : they’; 2656-7 (*fle*) : *he* ‘flee : they’; 3714-5 (*meyne*) : *he* ‘company : they’; 5670-1 (*fre*) : *he* ‘free : they’.

This form seems generally to have been restricted to the East Midlands with LALME dot map 33 recording this form sporadically throughout most of East Anglia and Essex, with a few examples in the W.Midlands. It is also the form used in the East Midland romance *Havelok* (localised to Norfolk), appearing once in rhyme at 555 and also used in the line.⁶⁸

(p.) HILL

The word *doune* for ‘hill’ occurs once in rhyme which it is confirmed as original: 3068-9 *doune* : (*doune*) ‘hill : down’. It also occurs 6x in the line: 2682, 3171 *doun*, 2685, 3513, 3671, 6349 *dounes*. This form is rare elsewhere in the work of Auchinleck Scribe I (the only other occurrences of *doun(e)(s)* in Scribe I’s stint on the Auchinleck MS are 4x in *Arthur and Merlin*, 2x in the stanzaic *Guy of Warwick*, and 1x in *Soul and Body*). As this word occurs a significant number of times in the couplet *Guy*, then, it seems likely that it was part of the phraseology of the original. The MED indicates that this form appears mainly in South Eastern and East Midland texts: occurring in the *Trinity Homilies*, *Vices and Virtues*, *Genesis and Exodus*, John Trevisa’s translation of *Bartholomew de Glanville’s De Proprietatibus Rerum* and the *Shoreham Poems*. There are examples of occurrences of this form in texts from further West (in *Pearl* and the c.1460 (Oxfordshire) Osney Register), however, it was most common in the SE and E.Midlands.

(q.) UNTIL

The form (*al*) *what* occurs for ‘until’ 11x in line: *what* 5x at 2244, 2783, 4523, 5065, 5491; *al what* 4x at 2115, 2124, 2856, 5707; *alle what* 2x at 3743, 6637. As it occurs in the couplet *Guy* a significant number of times it seems likely to be part of the phraseology of the original.

Forms of (*al*) *what* are highly geographically restricted, with LALME only recording examples in Kent (LALME dot map 1085).

⁶⁸ Smithers (1987), p.lxxxii. For discussion of the Norfolk localisation of *Havelok* see McIntosh (1976).

It is useful to compare this evidence from LALME with the distribution of *(al) what* in the Auchinleck Manuscript. A search of Auchinleck shows that in addition to the 11 occurrences in the couplet *Guy* there are a total of 28 other occurrences of *(al) what*: *what* occurs 24x (18x in *Arthour and Merlin*, 3x in the *Short Metrical Chronicle*, 2x in the *Life of Mary Magdalene* and 1x in the fragmentary *Kyng Alisaunder*) and *al what* occurs 4x (2x in *Arthour and Merlin*, 1x in the stanzaic *Guy* and 1x in *Gregory*).

What is remarkable here is the rarity of this form outside of the couplet *Guy* and the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts: of a total of 39 occurrences in Auchinleck only 7 occur outside of the couplet *Guy* and the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts (the form occurring 11x in the couplet *Guy*, 20x in *Arthour and Merlin* and 1x in the fragmentary *Kyng Alisaunder*). The evidence from LALME and the Auchinleck MS, then, would suggest that *(al) what* forms of ‘until’ primarily occurred in Kent but were also in use in certain early fourteenth-century London texts, including the romance *koine* of the *Kyng Alisaunder* group. Further, this would be highly compatible with Smithers’ characterisation of the early London dialect as containing a proportion of Essex and Kentish forms.⁶⁹

The form *fort* also appears for ‘until’ and should be mentioned here. It occurs 7x in line at 516, 530, 3588, 3839, 5948, 5986, 6639, also *al fort* 1x at 3050, and *alle fort* 3x at 4261, 5194, 5502. LALME dot map 1078 shows that the *fort* type was widespread across the South, therefore providing more evidence to confirm a Southern provenance for the A-archetype.

(r.) THOUSAND

The form *pousinde* is confirmed as original by the rhymes: 1839-40 *pousinde* : *helpinde* ‘thousand : helping’; 2292-3 *pousinde* : *finde* ‘thousand : find’.

LALME indicates that forms of ‘thousand’ ending *(y/i)nd(e)* (that is, *thousind(e)*, *thowsynd(e)*, variants with *p*, and so on) were highly restricted: occurring only in the

⁶⁹ Smithers (1957), pp.42-3.

southern part of the Central Midlands: S.Warwickshire, E.Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, with one occurrence as far east as London (see Maps 4a and 4b in section 8, below). The restricted nature of this form would make it very significant for localisation of the dialect of the original.

It may be of interest, in view of Brandl's claim that the A-archetype was in a S.Warwickshire dialect, that according to the information available in LALME the only region in which the present participle ending *-ind(e)* and the form *pousinde* co-occur is S.W.Warwickshire.

This information, however, should be tempered by consideration of the value of *pousinde* as a romance word. That is, as a literary word used in certain romance traditions. With regard to this, a search of the Auchinleck MS reveals that, in addition to its occurrence 4x in rhyme in the couplet *Guy*, *pousinde* also occurs 72x in *Arthur and Merlin* (57x in rhyme and 15x in the line, the high occurrence of this word being, in part, due to the high number of battle scenes in this romance).⁷⁰ Further, the form *pousynde* also occurs in rhyme in the Bodleian Laud Misc. MS 622 text of *Kyng Alisaunder* where it is confirmed as an original form: for example, 1435-6 *pousynde : fynde*, 2003-4 *comynde : pousynde* and 2521-2 *pousynde : byhynde*.

The data shows, then, that though LALME indicates that this was a West-Central Midland form, it was also acceptable within the language of the London *Kyng Alisaunder*-group romances. Once again, localisation within London cannot be excluded and further affiliation with the *KA*-group texts is apparent.

Further, this point shows how it can sometimes be inappropriate to use LALME (which records linguistic data systematically and mechanically, without taking account of genre) when undertaking analysis of a highly stylised text, where the language is determined by genre as much as region.

There are two apparently relict forms occurring in the line which are outstanding in terms of their distribution in the Auchinleck Manuscript and their dialect significance and which would be compatible with a South Eastern predecessor for the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*:

⁷⁰Liedholm (1941), p.177, seems to be mistaken in recording 56 occurrences of this form in rhyme.

(s.)

Auchinleck Scribe I's usual form for the 3 person plural accusative pronoun is *hem* ('them'), however, the form *es* occurs once in line in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* at 3487, occurring nowhere else in the Auchinleck MS.⁷¹ Smithers describes the restricted nature of this form's geographical distribution as "striking", noting that it tends only to appear in South Eastern and East Midland texts and recording its appearance in the SE texts *Vices and Virtues*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Arthour and Merlin* and *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, and in the East Midland texts *The Bestiary*, *Genesis and Exodus* and *Havelok*. The only exception that Smithers records is the occurrence of this form in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*.⁷²

(t.)

Forms of the verb 'to ask' beginning *ox-* occur 17x in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*: *oxed* 11x, *oxy* / *oxi* 5x, and *oxep* 1x. This form does not occur anywhere else in the Auchinleck Manuscript: indicating that it is generally rare in Middle English and that it is not part of Scribe I's usual, passive, repertoire (here LALME is misleading in listing these *ox-* forms as part of Scribe I's regular repertoire.⁷³ LALME only elsewhere records occurrences of this form in the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, written in Canterbury, Kent, 1340.⁷⁴ Jordan also records that the *ox-* form is particular to Kent.⁷⁵

The forms *es* and *oxi*, then, appear to be relicts and are of particular significance here because they are highly exceptional within the work of Scribe I and are of very restricted geographical distribution. Whether this South Eastern strand that these relicts seem to represent means that they are descended from the language of the original cannot, of course, be determined with certainty. But they have been mentioned here as they are certainly highly compatible with the dialect of the other rhyme-word data for the language of the A-archetype.

⁷¹ Computer-enabled searches of all the texts in the Auchinleck MS, using the TextBase, has made accurate retrieval of this kind of data possible. For a full description of the TextBase see Appendix L.

⁷² Smithers (1987), p.112.

⁷³ See Auchinleck Scribe I's linguistic profile, LALME vol.iii, p.305, where his forms of 'ASK' are recorded as: ask-, ax- (*oxi*, *oxy*, *axse*). This point should be compared with the discussion of Auchinleck Scribe I's repertoire in 2.3.i, below, especially the remarks following 2.3.i. (a.) - (d.) where another feature of LALME's profile for Auchinleck Scribe I is called into question.

⁷⁴ LALME vol.iv, p.123, records the forms *oksi* and *oxi* occurring in the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*. See also Gradon (1979).

⁷⁵ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.45 and p.170.

Conclusions

The majority of the evidence consistently indicates that the A-archetype was composed in a South Eastern dialect early in the fourteenth century. Most significant for this conclusion c.1300 are: (d.), (e.), (f.), (g.), (h.), (l.), (n.), (o.), (p.), (q.), (s.) and (t.).

In addition to this there is a series of features which are either unusual in Middle English generally or which would appear to be inconsistent with the mainly South Eastern forms attested elsewhere in this text. Significantly, these features can all be shown to have been acceptable within the romance *koine* of the early fourteenth-century London *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts. These features are: the number of *a*-forms (amid a majority of *o*-forms) given in (a.); the number of *o*-forms given in (b.); the number of *e*-forms given in (c.); the rhymes given in (i.), (j.), (l.), (m.), (n.) and the forms specified in (q.), (r.) and (s.).

The dialect, then, would confirm localisation within the South East for the A-archetype. More specifically: the forms given in (d.) and (f.) would be particularly characteristic of the early fourteenth-century London dialect and these, combined with the similarities to the London romance *koine* represented in the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts, would make it most likely that the A-archetype was written by a London author.⁷⁶ It is notable, however, that though the similarities with the *KA*-group texts are marked they occur less frequently in the A-version *Guy of Warwick* than in, for example, *Kyng Alisaunder* or *Arthour and Merlin*. This would, most likely, suggest that the A-version *Guy of Warwick* was written slightly later than the *KA*-group texts: whereas the *KA*-group texts were produced c.1290, the A-version *Guy* is likely to have been produced in London a decade or so later.⁷⁷ This would concur with Hibbard-Loomis' statement that the A-version *Guy* was produced c.1300.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ In the Auchinleck Manuscript, Scribe I copies all of the *KA*-group texts as well as *Guy of Warwick*. The possibility must be considered, then, that his input may have served to emphasise the linguistic similarities of the *KA*-group texts in Auchinleck, and that he may have had a hand in emphasising the linguistic similarities between the *KA*-group texts and the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*. However, as the same sort of language is represented in the Laud Misc. MS 622 version of *Kyng Alisaunder*, and as the significant forms discussed here are all confirmed by rhyme, Scribe I's potential input should not be regarded as influencing these results.

⁷⁷ For dating of the *KA*-group texts see Smithers (1957), pp.40-55.

⁷⁸ Hibbard Loomis (1924).

2.2.ii. Sloane Fragment: Language of the Original (A-Version)

With only 108 couplets, the Sloane fragment provides limited evidence for determining the dialect of the original. There are only a few rhymes in which forms significant for localisation can be confirmed as belonging to the archetype and it would be difficult to build a coherent picture from the evidence that these provide. Of most significance here is that the rhyme-word data of the Sloane fragment is generally consistent with what has been established about the dialect of the A-archetype from analysis of the Auchinleck couplets, above, and Caius I, below.

2.2.iii. Caius I: The Language of the Original (A-Version)

The discussion below considers the evidence that the rhyme words of Caius I provide for reconstructing the language of the original, authorial text of the A-version. As Caius I is approximately 40% shorter than Auchinleck it provides significantly fewer examples of attesting rhymes.⁷⁹ As would be expected, however, there is significant repetition of material in the two texts, further confirming their shared origin from the A-archetype. Where relevant, direct comparison or reference to the discussion of the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* has been made.

(a.)

OE \bar{a} is <o>. Attested by the rhymes: 2479-80 *stones* : (*nones*) ‘stones : very / indeed’; 2935-6 (*wrothe*) : *clothe* ‘angry : clothes’; 299-300, 2448-9 (*doo*) : *foo* ‘do (pres. sg.) : foe’; 1799-1800 (*doon*) : *foon* ‘do (infin.) : foes’; 337-8 *foo* : (*to*) ‘foe : to (prep.)’; 2774-5, 1239-40 *foon* : (*anoon*) ‘foes : anon’; 2053-4 *foon* : (*echoon*) ‘foes : each one’; 2221-2 (*vpon*) : *foon* ‘upon : foes’. The southern limit for OE \bar{a} retained as an unround vowel spelled <a, ai, ay> is marked by a line from the Ribble to the Lindsey / Kesteven-Holland border.⁸⁰ This excludes the far North.

⁷⁹ This difference in length is mentioned above in this chapter in 2.2.i and comparison of Auchinleck, Sloane and Caius is provided in Chapter 1, section 4.

⁸⁰ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-8, p.283 and Map 17.

(b.)

OE *a* before a nasal appears to have been <a> but is only attested by rhymes on proper names (though the spellings of these are confirmed elsewhere): 2895-6 (*Sowdan*) : *man* ‘Sowdan : man’; 1273-4 (*Amodan*) : *man* ‘Amodan : man’; 2823-4 (*Elmadan*) : *man* ‘Elmadan : man’.

There is one rhyme suggesting that the authorial version also had <o> for OE *a* before a nasal: 785-6, 1791-2 (*come*) : *man* ‘come (infin.) : man’.

As described above at 2.2.i. (b.), though the west / east, *o* / *a* distribution was most usual, both forms were quite scattered across the country and occasional *o*-forms were acceptable within the *KA*-group texts.

(c.)

OE *æ* is usually <a>. Examples of attesting rhymes: 113-4, 835-6, 1195-6 *was* : (*caas*) ‘was : case’; 975-6, 1334-3 *was* : (*cas*) ‘was : case’; 197-8 *was* : (*plaas*) ‘was : place’; 221-2, 469-470 *was* : (*place*) ‘was : place’; 211-2 *was* : (*has*) ‘was : has’; 3195-6 *was* : (*bras*) ‘was : brass’; 3215-6 *was* : (*allas*) ‘was : alas’; 4105-6, 4117-8, 4361-2 *was* : *solas* ‘was : solace’; 545-6 (*chekmate*) : *that* ‘checkmate : that’; 1443-4 *that* : (*myshap*) ‘that : misfortune’.

There are also some examples of inexact rhymes where the original form is indicated to have been <e>. For example: 1067-8 *water* : (*better*) ‘water : better’;⁸¹ 3137-8 (*bedde*) : *hadde* ‘bed : had’;⁸² 43-4 (*Citees*) : *was* ‘cities : was’; 135-6 (*pees*) : *was* ‘peace : was’.

The *e*-forms were restricted to the W.Midlands (primarily Hereford and Worcester⁸³) and Kent. However, *wes* and *hedde* had currency as romance rhyme words and occur

⁸¹ This rhyme is also confirmed as original by the Auchinleck couplets: Auchinleck couplet *Guy* 963-4 *w[e]ter* : *better*.

⁸² This rhyme is also confirmed as original by the Auchinleck couplets where it appears uncorrupted: Auchinleck couplet *Guy* 3646-7 *bedde* : *hedde*.

⁸³ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.54, cited above in 2.2.i (c.).

commonly in *Arthour and Merlin* (as recorded in 2.2.i. (c.) above). The appearance of both forms here, then, proves little.

(d.)

OE *eo* is <e>. Examples of attesting rhymes: 549-50, 1406-5 *herte* : (*smerte*) ‘heart : pain’; 2209-10 (*vpsterte*) : *herte* ‘start : heart’. This excludes the W.Midlands.

(e.)

OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is <en>. Attested by the rhymes: 2725-6 *men* : (*been*) ‘men : be (infin.)’; 2057-8 *men* : (*floen*) ‘men : flee (infin.)’. However, on one occasion it appears that the OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is <an>: 569-70 *women* : *kan* ‘women : can’ where the rhyme indicates that the original had the form *woman* for the plural ‘women’.⁸⁴

Thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century material from the East Saxon and London regions exhibits the *a*-forms (*man* ‘men’, *sanden* ‘to send’, *wanden* ‘to wend / to go’, and so on) with examples furnished by the romances of *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Arthour and Merlin* and in London place names (for example, *Fanchirch*, *Thames*).⁸⁵ The occurrence of the *-man* form for the plural, then, is good evidence for London or the East Saxon region.

(f.)

OE *ea* before *l*-Combinations is <e>. Attested by the rhymes: 425-6 *holde* : (*welde*) ‘hold : possess’ (indicating an *e*-form in the original); 967-8, 1635-6 *telde* : (*felde*) ‘told : field’; 1279-80 (*yelde*) : *holde* ‘yield : hold (infin.)’ (indicating an *e*-form in the original).⁸⁶ These rhymes are Southern.

⁸⁴ This rhyme is also confirmed as original by the Auchinleck couplets: Auchinleck couplet *Guy* 475-6 *wimen* : *can*.

⁸⁵ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.58.

⁸⁶ Caius 1279-80 *yelde* : *holde* occurs in the same place in the Auchinleck couplet text: see Auchinleck couplets 1173-4 *zeld* : *held*.

(g.)

How the reflex of OE *y* appeared in the original is not easily determined with complete certainty as there has been significant scribal interference with these rhymes. The attesting rhymes are as follows:

The reflex of OE *y* appears as *e*. Attested by the rhymes: 2677-8 *dede* : (*yede*), 'did : went'; 2413-4 *pride* : (*mede*), 'pride : reward / prize', where Caius Scribe II or a scribe from an earlier copying has replaced the original form *prede* with their preferred *i*-form.

The reflex of OE *y* also appears as <e>, <i> and <u> in rhymes where it is not possible to confirm the original form. For example: 2113-4 *dude* : (*worshipped*) 'did : worshipped'; 2343-4 *dude* : (*stede*) 'did : place'; 153-4, 331-2 *didde* : (*stede*), 'did : place'; 1521-2, 2879-80, 3278-7, 3302-1 *ded(d)e* : (*stede*) 'did : place'; 783-4 *stent* : (*turnement*), 'stint : tournament'; 819-20 (*turnement*) : *dent*, 'tournament : dint'; 892-1, 2593-4, 4358-7, 1270-69 *pride* : *side*, *tyde*, *ride*, 'pride : side, tide, ride'; 1310-09 *ryde* : *side* 'ride : side'. In these examples the forms in rhyme may be scribal replacements (that is, with the forms *worshippud*, *stude*, *turnemint*, and so on, being possible and recorded in LALME).

It can be confirmed, then, that the reflex of OE *y* appeared as *e* in the authorial text, but whether in the authorial text the reflex of OE *y* also appeared as *i* and *u* cannot be confirmed. The occurrence of OE *y* as *e* is often regarded as characteristic of the SE and the E.Midlands, however, its use was relatively widespread, also commonly occurring in the S.W.Midlands and spread across the Central Midlands and the South (as is illustrated by LALME dot map 399). As Mackenzie records, it was common to find all three forms in the dialect of early fourteenth-century London.⁸⁷

(h.)

OE *æ*¹. Smithers observes that the rhyme *zare* : (*care*) is rare but is characteristic of the *Kyng Alisaunder* group and, as noted in 2.2.i (i.), above, and occurs in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*. The rhyme also occurs once in Caius I: 1721-2 *yare* : (*fare*) 'ready : go'.

⁸⁷ See Mackenzie who gives many examples of all three forms occurring in London during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (1928), pp.57-67.

(i.)

The 3 sg. of the present indicative takes *-th*. Attested by the rhymes: 777-8, 3395-6 (*yaf*) : *hath* 'gave : has'; and 2317-8 *gooth* : (*forsoth*) 'goes : truly'. The northern limit for this form follows a line east from approximately the Wash to Chester (see Map 3 in section 8, below), confirming that a Northern localisation for the original should be excluded.

(j.)

The 3 pl. of the present indicative takes *-th*, as attested by the rhymes: 3315-6 (*wroth*) : *gooth* 'angry : go'; and 3645-6 (*forth*) : *gooth* 'forward : go'.⁸⁸ This form was used in the South and the South West Midlands: its northern limit following a line which runs from the Thames, north-west along the eastern border of Oxfordshire, through Warwickshire from its south-eastern corner where it borders Oxfordshire to its north-western corner bordering Staffordshire, then west through Shropshire to the Welsh border. This indicates a Southern or S.W. Midland original and is the form most commonly used in *Arthur and Merlin* and *Kyng Alisaunder*.⁸⁹

(k.)

There is one occurrence, confirmed by rhyme, of the Northern inflection *-s* for the 3 sg. present indicative, occurring at 211-2 (*was*) : *has* 'was : has'. This form also appears in rhyme in the Auchinleck couplets, which it is confirmed as original.⁹⁰ This form was used north of the line running approximately from the Wash to Chester but occasional examples of this form occur further South, especially in the work of London writers, and it should not therefore be regarded as contradictory to the conclusions of (i.) and (j.) (see the examples of use of this form by London writers, given above in 2.2.i. (m.)).

⁸⁸ There are also two couplets in which plurals ending in *-(e)th* but as they rhyme on each other they are not confirmed as original: *dryueth* : *slyuereth*, *gooth* : *dooth*. There is also one couplet in which plurals ending *-en* rhyme on each other and are, therefore, likewise, not confirmed as original: *dorsten* : *musten*.

⁸⁹ For the occurrence of this form confirmed by rhyme in *Arthur and Merlin* see: Macrae-Gibson (1979), p.61, and Liedholm (1941), p.175. For its occurrence confirmed by rhyme in *Kyng Alisaunder* see: Smithers (1957; 1969), p.51.

⁹⁰ See 2.2.i. (m.), above, where this form is recorded in the rhymes *aros* : *gos* and *gos* : *ros* from the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*.

(1.) Present Participle

The form *-inde* / *-ynde* was used in the original as an alternative beside *-inge* / *-ynge*. In this text *-inde* / *-ynde* has been substituted by the preferred scribal form *-yng(e)* / *-ing(e)* throughout but it is attested as original by 6 corrupt rhymes: 37-38 *wonnynge* : *fynde*; 1069-70 *doynge* : *fynde*; 1295-6 *priking* : *fynde*; 2350-49 *helping* : *kynde*; 2567-8 *priking* : *kynde*; 2502-1 *doyng* : *fynde*.

Discussion of this form in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* (in 2.2.i. (n.) above) has shown that it confirms provenance in the South or S.Midlands and appears in the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts.

Conclusions

Caius I exhibits many examples of scribal substitution of rhyme words. Where original (c.1300) forms would have been unusual within the London dialect of c.1400 (when the Caius manuscript was copied), these have been replaced by more current forms at the expense of the rhyme. For example: cases where, in the original, the reflex of OE *æ* was *e* have been substituted with *a*-forms (*water*, *hadde*, *was*); cases where, in the original, the *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal was *a* have been substituted with *e*-forms (*women*); cases where, in the original, the present participle was *-ind(e)* have been replaced with *-ing(e)*.

Nevertheless, in the main the rhyme words of Caius I are consistent with those of the Auchinleck couplets. The conclusions for Caius I, then, concur with those presented by the Auchinleck couplets and can be tabulated as follows:

The North is excluded by (a.) and (i.). The W.Midlands is excluded by (d.). The E.Midlands is excluded and the South is implied by (j.). Evidence for localisation in the East Saxon region is presented by the data given in (e.), (f.) and (g.). In addition to this, similarities with the London *Kyng Alisaunder* group of texts are described in (b.), (c.), (f.), (h.), (j.) and (l.) and would be highly compatible with a London / East Saxon origin.

2.3. The Language of the Scribes

2.3.i. The Language of Auchinleck Scribe I

The couplet section of *Guy of Warwick*, ff.108ra-146vb, was copied by Auchinleck Scribe I, the main scribe of the Auchinleck Manuscript. No work by this scribe has been identified outside of the Auchinleck Manuscript, however, repeated study of Auchinleck has resulted in a considerable amount of detailed information having been assembled about this scribe, the key points of which are described below:⁹¹

In his seminal article of 1963, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', M.L.Samuels analyses the language of Auchinleck Scribe I and localises it within, broadly speaking, the London region c.1330-1340.⁹² Since Samuels' study the language of Auchinleck Scribe I has come to represent and be recognised as a 'clear linguistic entity'⁹³: an early stage of Standard English representative of Samuels' 'Type II' London Standard.

More recently, the publication of LALME has provided a linguistic profile for this scribe, outlining his written repertoire and localising his language specifically within Middlesex by comparison with attesting anchor texts for the area (LALME recording Auchinleck Scribe I as linguistic profile ('LP') number 6510, in Middlesex). Based on this work and on study of the Auchinleck Manuscript, it has been established that Scribe I originated in Middlesex but at some point prior to or during the third decade of the fourteenth century moved into London, where the Auchinleck MS is most likely to have been produced.

With considerable detailed work already available, then, a general analysis of the language of this scribe is unnecessary here. There are, however, some points to be made concerning irregularities which occur in Scribe I's repertoire during his copying of the couplet *Guy of Warwick*. The LALME profile for Auchinleck Scribe I is based on samples of his copying from *St.Mergrete*, *St.Katerine*, *Guy of Warwick* and *Sir Orfeo*. By sampling from a range of texts in this way LALME provides a general 'manuscript wide' survey, establishing this scribe's most commonly used forms. Access

⁹¹ See Chapter II for a discussion of Scribe I's contribution to the Auchinleck Manuscript.

⁹² Samuels (1963), see especially, pp.87-88.

⁹³ Macrae-Gibson (1979), p.62.

to machine-searchable versions of all of the texts in the Auchinleck Manuscript has enabled comparison of this 'manuscript wide' repertoire with Scribe I's repertoire in the couplet *Guy*. These computer-enabled searches have made possible production of a very precise and revealing set of data which shows that a series of exotic forms occur in line in the couplet *Guy*.

These exotic forms, representing deviations from Scribe I's regular repertoire, are of particular interest because of their rarity in the work of a scribe who generally adheres to a preferred linguistic standard. The exotic forms are either unique to the couplet *Guy* or extremely rare anywhere else in Scribe I's lengthy contribution to the Auchinleck MS. Further to this, and of great significance to their interpretation, they form a group which can be localised within a fairly specific geographical region. These exotic forms are as follows:

(a.) BRIDGE

LALME does not include this item in the profile of Auchinleck Scribe I. A search of the manuscript reveals that Scribe I's usual form is *brigge* which is used in line 22x in his stint. There are two exceptions to this: the form *bregge* occurs once in line in *Sir Tristram* (at 2390) and the form *brugge* occurs once in line in the couplet *Guy* (at 4251).

The reflex of OE *y* appeared as <u> in the W.Midlands and S.West where it was retained until unrounding reached the West in the fourteenth century.⁹⁴ This is illustrated by the isoglosses established by Moore, Meech and Whitehall, in which the SW and W.Midlands are defined as West of the line representing the eastern limit of OE *y* retained as front round vowels /y(:)/ (spelled <u> or <ui> or <uy>): line 5 on Map 5 in section 8, below.⁹⁵ Although *e* is the earlier London form, evidence from London documents show that *u*-forms also occurred in London (Mackenzie, for example, gives many examples from London documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.68-9.

⁹⁵ Map 5 is taken from Kurath, (1954), p.8, adapted from Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935).

⁹⁶ Mackenzie (1928), pp.58-59, 63-7, 98 and 106-108.

(b.) FIRE

The LALME profile of Auchinleck Scribe I records his form as: “fire (fer)”. There is one exception to this in line: in the couplet *Guy fure* occurs at 3538.

The remarks in (a.) above concerning the reflex of OE *y* appearing as <u> also apply here. Further, LALME dot map 412 illustrates the point that this form was most common in the West Midlands, also appearing scattered across the South.

(c.) HILL

LALME records Auchinleck Scribe I’s form to be: “hille”. However, Scribe I also uses *hulle / hulles* 7x in line during his stint of copying in Auchinleck. Significantly, the distribution of these 7 occurrences is highly restricted: *hulle(s)* occurs 1x in line in the stanzaic *Guy* at 8900 and 6x in line in the couplet *Guy* at 3106, 3118, 3261, 4284, 4317, 6265.

Again, the remarks in (a.) above concerning the reflex of OE *y* appearing as <u> apply here. And LALME dot map 995 illustrates the point that this form was very common in the West Midlands, also appearing scattered across the South.

(d.) FIRST

The LALME profile of Auchinleck Scribe I records his form as: “first (furst)”. However, a search of the manuscript reveals that the form *furst* is rare. It occurs only four times: once in line in the *Short Metrical Chronicle* (844), once in line in the stanzaic *Guy* (9949) and twice in line in the couplet *Guy* (3123, 6594).

The remarks in (a.) above concerning the reflex of OE *y* appearing as <u> also apply here.

A note should be added here, then, regarding the LALME profile of Scribe I. Examples of the reflex of OE *y* are recorded by LALME for Auchinleck Scribe I as follows:

CHURCH:	chirche
DO <i>pt-sg</i> :	dede
FILL:	file
FIRE:	fire (fer)
FIRST:	first (furst)

HILL:	hille
KIND <i>etc.</i> :	dint, dent
LITTLE:	litel (lutel, lite <i>rh</i>)
PRIDE:	prede, hidde
SIN:	sinne

This profile over-represents Scribe I's use of *u*-forms of the reflex of OE *y*. LALME is misleading in recording *lutel* and *furst* as forms regularly used by Scribe I: searches of the whole Auchinleck Manuscript show that there are no occurrences of *lutel*, which appears to be an error in LALME, and that there is a manuscript total of only 4 occurrences of *furst*, as noted in (d.). The occurrence of *u*-forms in any work by Auchinleck Scribe I should be regarded as unusual and not, as LALME would indicate, a regular, all be it secondary or 'spontaneous', feature of his repertoire.⁹⁷

By tabulating the data presented in (a.) - (d.), the exceptional nature of the appearance and distribution of these forms is given sharper definition:

Table 2
Examples of OE *y* as <u> by Auchinleck Scribe I

	brugge 'bridge'	furst 'first'	fure 'fire'	hulle 'hill'	TOTAL
All Scribe I texts from the Auchinleck MS that include the specified form:					
Couplet Guy of Warwick	x1	x2	x1	x6	= x10
Stanzaic Guy of Warwick	-	x1	-	x1	= x2
Short Metrical Chronicle	-	x1	-	-	= x1

This table illustrates that *u*-forms are extremely rare outside of the couplet *Guy*. Their relative frequency in the couplet *Guy* would, therefore, indicate that these are relict forms 'showing through' from the exemplar from which Scribe I copied this text.⁹⁸ This is significant as it is data which probably weakens LALME's Middlesex location for Auchinleck Scribe I by giving less of a Western emphasis to his profile.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the terms 'passive' and 'spontaneous' repertoire see Benskin and Laing (1981), especially pp.58-9.

⁹⁸ For discussion of this concept of 'show through' see Benskin and Laing (1981), especially p.58.

(e.) MAN

LALME records Scribe I's form as: "man". A computerised search of Auchinleck reveals one exception to this in line: in the couplet *Guy monschip* ('manship') occurs once in line at 3736.⁹⁹

In cases of OE *a* before a nasal, /ɔ/ was retained only in the West Midlands: therefore *mon*. This is illustrated by the isogloss established by Moore, Meech and Whitehall (line 6 on Map 5, given in section 8, below, defines the conventional boundary for WM *mon* / EM *man*) and by LALME dot map 95 (Map 6 in section 8, below).

(f.) ANSWER

This item is not included in the LALME profile for Auchinleck Scribe I. A computer-enabled search of Auchinleck reveals that Scribe I's usual form is *answere*. There are 3 exceptions to this in line: the form *onswer-* occurs 3x in line in the couplet *Guy: onswere* at 3570 and *onswerd* at 3738 and 3882.¹⁰⁰

As stated above in (e.), *o*-forms of OE *a* + nasal were restricted to the West Midlands: this included *onsware*, *onswere* 'answer'.¹⁰¹ This is illustrated by LALME dot map 352 (Map 7 in section 8, below). LALME's 'County Dictionary' provides a more detailed breakdown of the form, from which Map 8 in section 8, below, has been created, plotting only the forms *onswer*, *onswer-* and *onswere*.¹⁰² Further, Map 8 illustrates that this particular form was of highly restricted geographical distribution: it was very common in West-Central Warwickshire and it was also common in Shropshire, with a few examples extending east into N.Staffordshire and N.Derbyshire. It is extremely rare outside of these regions: LALME records 13 cases in West-Central Warwickshire, 21 cases in

⁹⁹ The form *mon* also appears once in the *Short Metrical Chronicle* but as it occurs in rhyme (at 1585, in rhyme with *Apelston*) it is not relevant to consideration of Scribe I's repertoire here.

¹⁰⁰ There are four other exceptions to use of the usual form *answere* but as these occur in rhyme they are not significant here: the form *answare* occurs 3x in rhyme, in *Kyng Alisaunder* at 6862 where the next line is gone, in rhyme with *fare* in the stanzaic *Guy* at 119 and in rhyme with *zare* in *Gregory* at 539; the form *answord* occurs once in the *Short Metrical Chronicle* in rhyme with *l[o]rd* at 2165.

¹⁰¹ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.50.

¹⁰² That is, unlike dot map 352, Map 7 in the appendix excludes *onsar*, *onsquare*, *onsuar*, *onsuar-*, *onsuer*, *onsuere*, *onswar*, *onswar-*, *onsware* and *onsware*.

Shropshire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire, and only 1 case outside of these regions (in Rutland).

(g.) EARTH

The form *uerd* occurs once in rhyme with *swerd* ('sword') at 4168-9. It cannot be confirmed as original (a form without initial *u-* being possible here), yet it cannot be attributed to Auchinleck Scribe I as it is unique within his work. It is therefore to be regarded as a relict form.

This form is of particular interest as it is of highly restricted geographical distribution. Forms with initial *u-/v-* occur only in the West Midlands: LALME records 16 examples occurring from Northern Derbyshire throughout Staffordshire to Warwickshire and South Shropshire: Map 9 in section 8, below, plots all examples of 'earth' with initial *v-* recorded in LALME.

More specifically than this, what is found is that *uerd* co-occurs within the same region as *onswer*, *onswer-*, *onswere*: Map 10 in section 8, below, plots all forms of *onswer*, *onswer-*, *onswere* and forms of 'earth' with initial *u-/v-* that are recorded in LALME and illustrates that they co-occur only within Central Warwickshire and the Shropshire to Derbyshire region.

The forms presented in (a.) - (g.), then, have been shown to be either unique to the couplet *Guy* (*mon*, *onswer-*, *fure*, *brugge* and *uerd*) or extremely rare outside of this text (*hulle* and *furst*). These forms can be classed together because each is characteristic of the W.Midlands and as a group this combination of forms could only occur within this region. When plotted together on a map, according to the information provided by LALME, these forms are found to co-occur only within Central Warwickshire and the Shropshire / Derbyshire region.

Their restricted distribution within the manuscript combined with their restricted geographical distribution indicates that they represent a layer of relict forms 'showing through' from the exemplar from which Scribe I was copying this text.¹⁰³ That is, indicating that Scribe I copied the couplet *Guy* into the Auchinleck Manuscript from an

¹⁰³ See the discussion of relict forms in Benskin and Laing (1981), especially pp.58-9.

exemplar that contained a large number of forms specific to West-Central Warwickshire or S.Shropshire. It would be difficult to account for a series of such specifically distributed and precisely localisable exotic forms in any other way.

Section 2.2., above, shows that the language of the A-version archetype was dominated by South Eastern forms and this, alone, would confirm that this group of Western relicts could not be descended from the original. Further confirmation of this point is provided by the rhyme *hulle* : *snelle* 'hill : quickly' 3620-1. This corrupt rhyme shows that the original had *hell* and that *hull* is a scribal substitution: indicating that, at an earlier stage, translation took place from a South Eastern into a Western dialect, not the other way around.¹⁰⁴

That is to say: the A-archetype was composed in a London dialect c.1300 and Auchinleck Scribe I copied the text into a London dialect c.1330-40, however, the exemplar from which Auchinleck Scribe I was working contained a significant number of Warwickshire or Shropshire forms, indicating that it had been previously copied by a scribe writing in a Warwickshire or Shropshire dialect.

There is one further point to be made here. It is notable that the majority of these relict forms occur within a limited section of the text: most of the forms occurring within what is, approximately, the 'middle thousand' lines of the Auchinleck couplets. To be more specific: of the 17 relict forms listed here (that is, including the examples of *hull* and *much* which occur in rhyme), 15 occur within 1212 lines of one another, with the first 11 of these occurring within 777 lines of one another (with 15 occurring between 3106 and 4317 and 11 of these appearing before 3882).¹⁰⁵

As the rhymes in this section otherwise appear consistent with the rest of the text there would not appear to be any reason to suspect that a different version had been used here. It would be possible that the exemplar from which Scribe I was working had been copied by more than one scribe, with this particular section having been copied by a Warwickshire or Shropshire scribe. Alternatively, this distribution may suggest that Scribe I's exemplar was entirely in a dialect which contained a significant number of

¹⁰⁴ The same point, it seems, is also confirmed by the rhyme *muche* : *strongliche* at 3238-9. This is the only appearance of the Western *muche* in the Auchinleck *Guy* and *u*-forms of 'much' are extremely rare in Scribe I's stint.

¹⁰⁵ The two cases which fall outside of these brackets are *hull* at 6265 and *furst* at 6594.

Warwickshire / Shropshire forms but that Scribe I generally only carried over these forms during this ‘middle thousand’ lines of the text. That is to say that, for some reason, Scribe I underwent a temporary lapse in his copying during which he retained a number of forms from his exemplar, elsewhere converting forms into his preferred, distinctive standard.

2.3.ii. The Language of the Sloane Scribe

The Sloane fragment has been dated palaeographically to the mid-fourteenth century and this is confirmed by the available linguistic data. As it is a fragment of only 216 lines it provides limited information. Analysis is made more problematic by the fact that there is very little to compare this text with (as mentioned above, there is no overlap with Auchinleck and the comparable section of narrative is 63% shorter in Caius).¹⁰⁶ It does, nevertheless, include one or two features of outstanding interest to the issue of the textual history of the A-version.

The work of the Sloane Scribe has not been identified anywhere else and it is difficult to localise his dialect both because of the limited evidence and also because of the mixture of forms which occur in line in his work. The features most significant for localisation can be summarised as follows:¹⁰⁷

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} is most often <o> (*bope* ‘both’ at 3, 47, 198 and *holy* ‘holy’ at 44) but 2x appears as <a> (*hamward* ‘homeward’ at 56 and 123). The *a*-forms are Northern and the *o*-forms Midland or Southern and the use of both is usually regarded as evidence for localisation in a N.Midland border region.¹⁰⁸ However, it is significant that both examples of OE \bar{a} as <a> occur in the compound *hamward* ‘homeward’. The vowel appearing before two consonants may be an indication that shortening had occurred and, therefore, that this should not be regarded as a valid example of the lengthened form. This form can be compared to the occurrence of *stan* (rather than the usual *ston*) for

¹⁰⁶ For comparison of Sloane and Caius see Chapter 1, section 4, above.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix D provides a transcription of the Sloane fragment.

¹⁰⁸ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38 and p.283. See also Map 17 in Kristensson. For a discussion of the use of both *o* and *a*-forms in texts written in the dialect of N.Midland border regions see Smithers (1987), p.lxxxix, and see, also, the discussion at 3.2. (a.) below.

‘stone’ in the Bodley Laud Misc. MS 622 *Kyng Alisaunder* and in *Havelok* when, in each text, the word appears in the compound ‘stone dead’:

*Bope laien standeden*¹⁰⁹

*So pat he stan-ded fel þor dune*¹¹⁰

In both of these cases, the appearance of OE \bar{a} before two consonants has resulted in shortening of the vowel to unlengthened a . The similarity here with *hamward* in the work of the Sloane 1044 scribe would suggest that *hamward* should not, on its own, be regarded as evidence for localisation in the North / N.Midlands.

(b.)

The 3 person present plural ends in *-ep* or *-en*. The *-ep* form occurring 11x (*[þonk]ep* ‘thank’ at 1; *prayep* ‘pray’ at 3; *kisseþ* ‘kiss’ at 9; *clippeþ* ‘embrace’ at 9; *telleþ* ‘tell’ at 47; *talkeþ* ‘talk’ at 47; *bep* ‘are’ at 61; *haueþ* ‘have’ at 64 and 103; *wolleþ* ‘will’ at 74; *turneth* ‘turn’ at 80). And the *-en* form occurring 4x (*ben* ‘are’ at 26; *maken* ‘make’ at 48; *syngen* ‘sing’ at 124; *riden* ‘ride’ at 126). The *-ep* form is Southern or S.W.Midland and the *-en* form is N.Midland and East-Central Midland.¹¹¹ The *-en* / *-eth* border runs through Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire then through Middlesex and London.

(c.)

The reflex of OE y is most often $\langle i/y \rangle$ (*kyng* ‘king’ at 25; *Bridale* ‘bridal’ at 179; *myry* ‘merry’ at 210 and 215; *kist* ‘kissed’ at 161) but also appears as $\langle e \rangle$ (*þenk* from OE *þyncan*, *þincan* ‘intend / determine’ at 131 and ‘dream / imagine’ 190¹¹²) and $\langle u \rangle$ (*cusseþ* ‘kisses’ at 45).¹¹³ A region in the Midlands or London (where a mixture of forms might be expected) would be the most likely place to find all these forms co-occurring.

¹⁰⁹ *Kyng Alisaunder* 2260, Smithers (1952).

¹¹⁰ *Havelok* 1816, Smithers (1987).

¹¹¹ See: Moore, Meech and Whitehall (1935).

¹¹² At 131 *þenk* appears in the question *Whan þenkestow forto wyve?*, with the sense: ‘When do you intend / determine to marry?’. At 190 it appears in the context *Þere was al maner of gle / Þat man miȝt þenk oper se*, with the sense: ‘There was every kind of entertainment one could imagine’.

¹¹³ See: Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.66-72; Moore Meech and Whitehall (1935).

Consideration of the scribe's lexis is useful here as it contains several features which are significant for localisation and which would point to the West or Central region of the South Midlands. These are:

(d.) THEM

The Southern and S.Midland form *hem* is used for the 3 person pronoun 'them' (see LALME dot map 40).

(e.) ANY

The form *eny* 'any' is used: occurring at 34. This would point to the South, the S.E.Midlands or the S.W.Midlands.¹¹⁴

(f.) MUCH

Forms of 'much' with *y/i* occur 3x: *myche* at 16 and 112, *miche* at 97. And a form with *u* occurs 1x at 209: *muche*. These spellings would point to a Central Midlands or the West Midlands.¹¹⁵

(g.) SAY

The form *segge* 'say' is used: occurring at 24 and 86. This would point to the South or the S.W.Midlands.¹¹⁶

There is one other feature which is crucial to confirming localisation within the West or West - Central part of the Midlands:

(h.) SHE

The feminine nominative singular pronoun appears as *heo* throughout: occurring 8x, at 11, 12, 23, 42, 75, 85, 150, 204. By the mid - late fourteenth century this form was primarily restricted to the South West and the West Midlands, with a few cases in the far South (Hampshire and Sussex): see LALME dot map 17 given in section 8, below, as Map 11.

¹¹⁴ See the map provided in Samuels (1963), p.90, and LALME dot map 98.

¹¹⁵ See the map provided in Samuels (1963), p.86.

¹¹⁶ See LALME dot map 506.

So, the combination of *-en* and *-ep* for the third person present plural would point to a region on the *-en/-ep* border, which ran through Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire and then Middlesex and London. The number of Southern and Western forms would be compatible with this and would suggest a region of the South Midlands bordering the West, perhaps S.Staffordshire, Warwickshire or Oxfordshire. This is the most likely region within which these forms would have co-occurred in the mid-fourteenth century.

Heo is crucial to localisation this far West as it was, by the mid-fourteenth century, a form very much restricted to Western regions. The only notable exceptions recorded in LALME involve the use of *heo* by two Essex scribes, though what is found is that in both of these cases *heo* occurs as a relict rather than as part of either scribe's regular repertoire: in the profile of Essex scribe LP 6200 is the remark "...Some Western relicts, notably *heo* 'she', *whuche* 'which'..." to which can be added *hure* 'her', *hure* 'their', *pruyde* 'pride' and *sugge* 'say'; and in the profile of Essex scribe LP 6090 is the note "...The scribe accepted *heo* 'she' as the main form, probably to represent the flavour of the *Brut* original..."¹¹⁷

This latter is of potential interest with regard to this *Guy of Warwick*. It may suggest that the Sloane scribe was not from as far West as his language would imply but was retaining certain Western features from his exemplar in order to represent the 'Western flavour' of the language of his exemplar, in a way deemed to be appropriate to a West Midland ('Warwick') story and in a manner similar to the Essex LP 6090 scribe. If this was the case it does, at any rate, indicate a West Midland copying at an earlier stage, with the Sloane scribe having carried over the forms from his exemplar.

Alternatively, it may be that this scribe was working in London and as a result of exposure to a range of spoken and written dialects in the capital was highly tolerant of a range of dialectal forms, often carrying over forms from his exemplar into his own copying and resulting in a varied kind of *Mischsprachen*. Again, under these circumstances an earlier West Midland copying is implied. Though possible, these circumstances are less convincing than the idea that the scribe originated in the West - Central Midlands (S.Staffordshire / Warwickshire / Oxfordshire) or, at least, are

¹¹⁷ LALME vol.iii., p.117.

circumstances which should be regarded as additional to the idea that he originated in this region.

The evidence in favour of the idea that this scribe originated in the West-Central Midlands and retained certain West-Central Midland features in his copying is compelling. This is especially so in view of the proposal (in 2.3.i. above) that the Auchinleck A-text was copied from a text containing a significant number of Warwickshire / Shropshire forms. The linguistic features of these texts suggest a hypotheses relating to the history of the A-version: it raises the question of whether Sloane and Auchinleck were copied from the same Western-influenced exemplar. With no overlapping portion of text between Auchinleck and Sloane this is impossible to substantiate.¹¹⁸ What remains crucial, however, is that the link with the West - Central Midlands suggested by the Auchinleck text is here further endorsed by the language of the Sloane text. It is difficult to established their precise relationship to one another or to a predecessor but what seems certain is that early in the history of the A-version the text was copied by a scribe from the West, possibly Warwickshire.

2.3.iii. The Language of Caius Scribe II

Caius Scribe II copied pages 3-149 of the Caius MS *Guy of Warwick*.¹¹⁹ Work in his hand has not been identified in any other manuscript. Several aspects of his work here indicate that he was a London scribe working on this manuscript at beginning of the fifteenth century. Scholars have agreed on a dating of the manuscript at somewhere around 1400 but vary in describing it as either 'late-fourteenth' or 'early-fifteenth' century.¹²⁰ Language, script and orthography each suggest that the early-fifteenth century is the more likely date of production and the features of script and orthography relevant to this conclusion should be mentioned here first before moving on to discussion of the language proper.

¹¹⁸ See the introductions to 2.2.i. and 2.3.ii., above, for description of the discrepancies between Auchinleck, Sloane and Caius I.

¹¹⁹ Strictly speaking, copying of the A-version part of the Caius *Guy*, pp.1-149, was shared by the two Caius scribes. However, as Caius Scribe I copied such a small portion (the first two pages) only Caius Scribe II is considered here.

¹²⁰ See the discussion of this manuscript in Chapter II.

Caius Scribe II writes in a form of Bastard Secretary script. The Secretary script reached England from the continent in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, however, as Parkes notes, the Bastard Secretary form only began to appear in documents from the beginning of the fifteenth century,¹²¹ providing evidence that the manuscript was a product of the early-fifteenth rather than the late-fourteenth century.

Caius Scribe II's orthographic style further suggests that the first decade of the fifteenth century is the earliest possible period from which this manuscript can be dated. Throughout <th> is used for /θ/ and /ð/, the scribe never using <þ>, and the only use of <ʒ> is for /z/ or /s/, as in the plural *present(e)ʒ* (908, 932, 955) and *besauntʒ* (3810). Of these features Jordan notes that:

<þ>...was gradually replaced by <th> after about 1400 especially near Lond[on]...<ʒ> is still retained in provincial texts and Records in the 15th cent[ury]¹²²

Even, then, placing the manuscript in the later part of the agreed period of the manuscript's dating, that is, the first part of the fifteenth century, these orthographic features and the Secretary-influenced hand attest to a scribe who was very much up to date with current developments in script and orthography. That is, a scribe who was more likely to be working in the metropolitan region, where new written styles were first to be taken up, than in the provinces.

The linguistic features most significant for localisation and dating of the language of Caius Scribe II are presented and discussed below. These features attest to an early fifteenth-century London dialect. None could be described as unambiguously characteristic of London but as a whole the features, combined with the paleographic and orthographic evidence cited above, suggest early fifteenth-century London to be the most likely date and localisation for this scribe.

Firstly, the main phonological features of Caius Scribe II's repertoire are consistent with what is known of the written dialect of early-fifteenth century London.

¹²¹ Parkes (1969), pp.xxi-xxii. For more detailed description of Caius Scribe II's hand see Chapter II, section 5.

¹²² Jordan (1974), discussion of 'Script and Writing', p.33.

(a.)

OE \bar{a} appears as <o> and, in the final position, <oo>. For example: 406, 649, 4434 *clothes* ‘clothes’; 1930 *foo* ‘foe’; 1.2886 *fome* ‘foam’; 96, 141, 344, 3146 *fro* ‘from’; 979, 1220 *olde* ‘old’; 3481 *rope* ‘rope’; 2068, 4030 *stone* ‘stone’; 778, 978, 1098 *tolde* ‘told’; 306, 482, 540, 1086, 1223 *woo* ‘woe’. This excludes the area north of a line from the Ribble to the Lindsey / Kesteven-Holland border where OE \bar{a} was retained as an unround vowel written <a, ai, ay>. ¹²³

(b.)

OE *a* before a nasal is <a>. For example: 219, 365, 1045, 3089 *answer-* ‘answer’; 1048, 3200, 3318 *kanne* ‘can’; 316, 592, 1070, 1270, 3133, 3365, 4205 *man* ‘man’; 99, 157, 862, 3090 *name* ‘name’; 1968, 2086, 2938, 3176 *shame* ‘shame’. This excludes the West Midlands where /ɔ/ was retained appearing as <o>. ¹²⁴

(c.)

OE *eo* is <e>. For example: 344, 414, 463, 531 *herte* ‘heart’; *self* ‘self’ 246, 272, 318, 2081, 2236; and 244, 1086, 1212, 2738 *werk* ‘work’. This also excludes the W.Midlands. ¹²⁵

(d.)

OE $\bar{æ}$ is <a>. For example: 2075, 3064, 3069 *-bak-* ‘back’; 476 *blak* ‘black’; 53, 105, 243 *that* ‘that’; 2876, 4223 *sat* ‘sat’; 549, 729, 1051 *had* ‘had’; 2317, 2318, 2516 *bare* ‘bare’; 1074 *late* ‘late’; 156, 216, 504, 1131 *fader* ‘father’. This excludes Kent and the W.Midlands (Herefordshire and Worcestershire) where the more fronted sound was retained (mostly <e>). ¹²⁶

(e.)

OE $\bar{æ}^1$ is <e>. For example: 1523, 2145, 2826, 3218 *dredde* ‘dreaded’; 565, 1152, 1705, 2229 *rede* ‘to advise’; 3149, 3519 *slepe* ‘sleep’; 2798, 3596 *speche* ‘speech’; 1660, 2317

¹²³ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38, p.283 and Map 17.

¹²⁴ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.50-1.

¹²⁵ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.97-8.

¹²⁶ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.54.

strete ‘street’. This excludes Essex. These are the forms favoured by Chaucer and the London Records.¹²⁷

(f.)

OE *y* generally appears as <*i/y*>. In the following cases the *i*-form is either exclusively or predominantly the form used in line by Caius Scribe II: *bisy* ‘busy’; *brigge* ‘bridge’; *dynte* ‘dint’; *first, fyrst* ‘first’; *hill, hyll* ‘hill’; *king, kyng* ‘king’; *kirtell*; *kisse, kiste, kissed* of ‘kiss’; *kynd* ‘kind’; *kynne* ‘kin’; *litell* ‘little’; *mynd* ‘mind’; *pride* ‘pride’; *stynte* ‘stint’; *thinke* ‘think’. The use of this form by the scribe is consistent with Mackenzie’s characterisation of later London English, in which the *i*-type is the predominant form.¹²⁸

The reflex of OE *y* also occurs as *e*, though these forms tend to be restricted to particular words. In some cases the *e*-form is the only form used by the scribe, as with: *beryed* ‘buried’ and *mery* ‘merry’. In other cases the *e*-form is a regularly used alternative to the dominant *i*-form, as with *euyl/euyll* used beside the form *yuel* ‘evil’. This is again consistent with what is known of the later London dialect. Mackenzie records that though the *i*-forms were the most common in the later London dialect, forms with *e* also occurred in all types of London documents.

The reflex of OE *y* also appears as *u* though this is restricted to the form *dude* ‘did’ which occurs in line 14x beside the scribe’s dominant spelling *dide*. The relatively high number of occurrences indicates that though *dude* is not the preferred form, it was tolerated as a secondary form or part of his ‘passive’ repertoire.¹²⁹ Mackenzie records that forms with *u* are well represented in the later London dialect, especially in “...semi-official and less formal documents of the 15th c., relating to the middle classes...” with *u*-forms coming to outnumber the *e*-forms by the end of the fifteenth century,¹³⁰ for example, the late-fourteenth-century London scribe of the *Kyng Alisaunder* B MS includes the form *dude* within his repertoire.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.78.

¹²⁸ Mackenzie (1928), p.98.

¹²⁹ For a discussion of ‘passive’ and ‘spontaneous’ repertoire see Benskin and Laing (1981), p.59, i 2.2.1.

¹³⁰ Mackenzie (1928), pp.87, 106-8, 126-9.

¹³¹ Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.56. Heuser (1914) pp.50-52.

Further to this, there are two apparently relict forms where the reflex of OE *y* appears as *-uy-*: 1217-18 *huyde* : *ride*, ‘hide : ride’ and 2061-2 (*smyte*) : *luyte*, ‘smite : little’. From the rhymes alone, in isolation, it would not be possible to determine whether these forms belonged to the archetype or are scribal substitutions. However, as the language of the archetype has been shown to be primarily Southern and Eastern (see section 2.2. above), whereas these forms were restricted, very specifically, to the S.W.Midlands, they seem certain not to be archetypal. As they are also incompatible with Caius Scribe II’s dialect, they should be regarded as relicts representing the dialect of an earlier copyist.

LALME records a total of 81 examples in which the reflex of OE *y* appears as *uy* or *ui* (these appearing under the entries for ‘Pride *etc*’ and ‘Kind *etc*’). Of these 81 examples only 9, or 11%, occur outside of the SW and the S.W.Midlands (here the SW refers to Somerset and Wiltshire, with the S.W.Midlands extending as far east as to include Warwickshire and Oxfordshire).

The 9 examples of *-ui-* / *-uy-* from outside the SW and S.W.Midlands are recorded from six scribes: 2 from Hampshire (LP 5610 and LP 5520), 2 from Sussex (LP 5670 and LP 5710), 1 from Essex (LP 6200) and 1 from Surrey (LP 5651).¹³² Significantly, and as mentioned above in the discussion of Sloane, 2.2.ii., all of these 6 scribes include some relict Western forms within their repertoire and most of them include marked Westernisms, indicating that either these scribes were migrants from the W.Midlands, or, that the *-uy-* / *-ui-* forms were in these cases relicts carried over from the copytext and not native to these scribes. For example: the LALME editors note that the text copied by Essex scribe LP 6200 includes “...Some Western relicts, notably *heo* ‘she’, *whuche* ‘which’...”; Hampshire scribe LP 5520 includes the forms *heo* ‘she’, *hure* ‘her’ and (*wulle*) ‘will’; Sussex scribe LP 5710 includes the forms (*hure*) ‘her’, (*bup*) ‘are’ and *much* ‘much; and Hampshire scribe LP 5610 includes the forms *much* ‘much’, *aftur* ‘after’ and *yut* ‘yet’.

Ultimately, then, the evidence from LALME would indicate that the *-uy-* forms should be regarded as highly specific to the S.W.Midlands and, therefore, that these forms should be regarded as relicts from a previous copying by a S.W.Midland scribe. Of great

¹³² See LALME vol.iii ‘Linguistic Profiles’.

significance here is that these relicts are, according to the information provided by LALME, forms which would co-occur within the same geographical region as the relict forms found in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*. Specifically, if all *-ui-/-uy-* forms of 'little' are plotted with the relicts *onswer-* and *uerd* from the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*, the only regions in which all three forms are found to co-occur are Central Warwickshire and S.Shropshire: see Map 12 in section 8, below, which plots all cases of *onswer-*, *uerd* and *luyte* recorded in LALME.

(g.)

OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is *en*. For example, *men* 'men' (145, 147, 865, 988, 1109, 1551, 1904, etc); *sende*, *sendeth* 'send' (1811, 2437, 2989, 3007, 3912, 4171); *penyes* 'pennies' (138). This is compatible with the later London dialect. As Mackenzie notes, the *en*-type was established in the later London dialect (in contrast to the earlier Essex-influenced London dialect in which OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal appeared as <a>, *man*, *sand* and so on).¹³³ For example, both Hoccleve and the late-fourteenth-century London scribe of the *Kyng Alisaunder* B MS use the *en*-forms.¹³⁴

The evidence of the phonology, (a.) - (g.), can be tabulated as follows. (a.) excludes the North. (b.), (c.) and (d.) exclude the W.Midlands. (e.) excludes Essex. (e.), (f.) and (g.) are compatible with the later London dialect.

Further to this, Jordan's somewhat tentative comments are of interest here with regard to the forms discussed at (c.) and (e.):

Social graduations in the language permit few observations in ME. *er* > *ar* (*harte* 'heart')...seem[s] to have penetrated first into the lower class in London...Also the East Saxon \bar{a} < æ , which is lacking in Ch[aucer], can have been in Lond[on] a more vulgar pronunciation, as in minstrel-like romances. That the vowel shift in the 15th century arose from the lower classes is probable, however, it is difficult to prove on the basis of the material.¹³⁵

It would seem significant that Caius Scribe II, writing sometime soon after c.1400, maintains the same forms as Chaucer. They are forms which point to a scribe working within an elevated social stratum or who was aware of the prestigious literary language used by Chaucer and the court poets.

¹³³ Mackenzie (1928), p.87.

¹³⁴ Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.56. Furnivall and Gollancz (1892; rept. 1937).

¹³⁵ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.32.

Caius Scribe II's morphology is also consistent with the later London dialect:

(h.)

In the line the 3 pr. pl. ends in *-(e)th* or *-en*, for example:

- i. In *-(e)th*: 783 *doth*; 1225, 1837 *quoth*; 1570 *Befalleth*; 1572 *hath*; 2480 *bereth*; 2837 *launceth*; 4138 *destroyeth*; 4203, 4214 *seith*.
- ii. In *-en*: 2067 *stricken*; 2652, 3416 *growen*; 3503 *dryuen*.

The *-(e)th* and *-en* forms occur in line with approximately equal frequency. Generally, *-en* present plural inflections were characteristic of the Midlands and London (this, for example, being the form used by Chaucer¹³⁶), whereas forms with *-th* were restricted to the South.¹³⁷ The use of both forms may here, then, would seem to suggest localisation along the *-en* / *-eth* border: which extends through Middlesex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire.

London, however, should not be excluded. As Duncan records, though the *-th* ending is only occasional in Chaucer, it appears "...rather more frequently in fifteenth century London documents..."¹³⁸

Duncan's claim can be confirmed by searches of London documents using the TextBase which show that although the *-th* ending for present plural verbs is not the most common form, it does appear in certain late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth-century London texts. For example: the following London texts contain the *-th* ending for present plural verbs:¹³⁹

- i. *The Proclamations of Nicholas Brembre* of 1383-4: proclamation number *I* has *habbeth* 'have' at 1.2; *Comaundeth* 'command' at 1.4; and *willeth* 'allow' and *graunteth* 'grant' at 1.14; number *II* has *bryngeth* 'bring' at 1.7 and *comandeth* 'command' at 1.11; and number *III* has *comandeth* 'command' at 1.1 and *haueth* 'have' at 1.8.

¹³⁶ Benson (1987), p. xxxii.

¹³⁷ See Moore, Meech and Whitehall's isogloss map for endings of present tense verbs which shows that in the East the *-en* / *-eth* boundary followed the northern borders of Kent, Surrey and Berkshire.

¹³⁸ Duncan (1981), p. 172.

¹³⁹ Full references to the texts referred to here are given in Appendix L, the description of the TextBase.

ii. The hunting manual *The Master of Game* uses both *-en* and *-eth / -ep* endings for the present plural. With, for example, use of the *-eth* form in: *abideth* ‘abide’ (p.5, 8); *acharneþ* ‘to become bloodthirsty’ (p.34, 8); *beep* ‘are’ (p.59, 25); *clepeþe* ‘call’ (p.60, 4); *commethe* ‘come’ (p.4, 33); *commep* ‘come’ (p.7, 36 and p.16, 8); *croteþ / croteith / croteieþ* ‘to void excrement (of deer and hare)’ (p.78, 16; p.18, 20; p.18, 25); *goop* ‘go’ (p.18, 27); *lakketh* ‘lack’ (p.6, 21); *thenketh* ‘think’ (p.5, 12); *yeueth* ‘give’ (p.8, 28).

iii. *The Book of the Foundation of St.Bartholomew’s Church in London*, c.1425 has cases of *-th* forms of the present plural. For example, in: *callith* (p.39, 7 and p.62, 13); *hath* (p.7, 2); *maketh* (p.24, 10); *poluteth* (p.32, 24); *scornyth* (p.32, 24); *wytnesseth* (p.2, 25).

iv. Some examples of the *-th* present plural ending are found in the proclamations concerning the war with France from the second decade of the fifteenth century. For example: in the *Proclamacio*, Guildhall Letter Book I, f.clxvi v., of 1416, *buth* ‘are’ occurs at l.2; and in the *Proclamacio*, Guildhall Letter Book I, f.clxxviii v., of 1416, *beth* ‘are’ occurs at l.2.

v. There are also examples of the use of this form occurring in the fourteenth and fifteenth-century *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, volumes 3 and 4 (1397-1425): RP 3 452, l.43, *hath* ‘have’. RP 4 289, l.62 *cometh* ‘come’. RP 4 258 (c.1423), l.20 *nedeth* ‘need’.

These examples indicate that though *-en* was the most common ending for present plural verbs in the language of London, certain scribes of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century also used the *-th* form. That is, the use of both *-en* and *-th* forms by Caius Scribe II should be regarded as indicative of either a region close to the *-en / -th* border (Middlesex / Berkshire / Oxfordshire), or, of London.

Caius Scribe II’s lexis is characterised by those features which would be expected of an early fifteenth-century written London dialect.

(i.)

Generally, Caius Scribe II's orthographic forms can be characterised as somewhere between what Samuels has identified as 'Type III' and 'Type IV' London written standards.¹⁴⁰ Samuels' Type III represents the London written of c.1370-1430 and is typified by the writings of Chaucer.¹⁴¹ Type IV represents the post-c.1430 London written standard and is typified by the language of Chancery documents. The language of Caius Scribe II consists of a combination of features from both Types. To be precise, his work exhibits 10 of the forms characteristic of Type III and 4 of the forms characteristic of Type IV (complying with 14 of the 20 forms that Samuels lists as suitable criteria for identification of Types III and IV London language).¹⁴² The appearance of a significant number of Type IV forms provides further evidence in favour of dating the work of this scribe as early-fifteenth rather than late-fourteenth century. The Type III and IV forms used by the scribe are set out below:

Table 3: Types III and IV Orthographic Forms Used by Caius Scribe II

Forms used by Caius Scribe II: (Unless otherwise stated, in each case the form or forms listed are the only ones used by the scribe).	Forms from Types II, III and IV, listed here for comparison:
TYPE III FORMS USED BY CAIUS SCRIBE II:	
i. old(e)	cf. Type II eld(e)
ii. world	cf. Type II werld, warld
iii. they, thei	cf. Type II þai, hij
iv. though	cf. Type II þei(3)
v. -yng	cf. Type II -and, -ind, -end
vi. neither	cf. Type II noiþer, noþer
vii. woll, will	cf. Type II wil
viii. thurgh	cf. Type IV thorough, þorow(e)
ix. thise	cf. Type IV these
x. bot	cf. Type IV but [NB. The dominant form used by Scribe II is <i>bot</i> , however, the Type IV form <i>but</i> is used twice at the start of his stint and five times towards the end of his stint.]
TYPE IV FORMS USED BY SCRIBE II:	
i. not	cf. Type III nat
ii. such	cf. Type III swich [NB. The dominant form used by Scribe II is <i>such</i> , however, <i>swich</i> occurs once in line at 121, apparently a relict form.]
iii. their	cf. Type III hir(e)
iv. shulde	cf. Type III sholde

¹⁴⁰ Samuels (1963) see especially, pp.83, 88-9.

¹⁴¹ Samuels (1963), pp.87-8.

¹⁴² Samuels (1963), pp.88-9.

These forms are used consistently throughout Caius Scribe II's stint and are important for characterising and localising his dialect as that of early-fifteenth-century London.

(j.)

The 3 per. pl. pronominal forms used by Caius Scribe II are: nominative *they* or *thei*; accusative *theim*; genitive *their*. That is, this scribe always uses the Scandinavian-derived *th*-forms. These forms originated from settlements in the Danelaw and their use gradually progressed further South until they were accepted as the standard forms.

The written pattern of forms most commonly used by later London scribes is exemplified by the work of Chaucer and Hoccleve where the *th*- form for the nominative is used but *h*- forms for the accusative and genitive, so: *they*, *hem*, *hir(e)*.¹⁴³

Though *th*-/*h*-/*h*- is the dominant pattern in literary texts there is documentary evidence to attest that *th*- forms of the genitive had reached London by 1384 and that *th*- forms of the accusative had reached London by the second decade of the fifteenth century. For the accusative, the *Book of London English* records the forms *theym* and *them* in a range of documents between 1415 and 1420 and, for the genitive, records *ther* in two differently authored documents of 1384 and then the forms *ther*, *their*, *pere* and *theyre* in a range of documents between 1413 and 1420.¹⁴⁴ The London *Scale of Perfection* scribe recorded in LALME as LP 6380 uses *pey*, *hem*, and either *here*, *peyre* or *peire*. And the early fifteenth-century Guildhall Letter Books exhibit regular use of all three *th*-forms: using *they* / *pey* / *pei*, *hem* or *theym*, and *their*, *peir*, *here* or *pair*. These documents provide evidence that the *th*-form of 'them' and the Type IV *their* were in common use in the written dialect of London by the early-fifteenth century and, once again, the early-fifteenth rather than the late-fourteenth century is shown to be the most acceptable date for the production of this manuscript.

¹⁴³ This pattern is also used, for example, by the scribe of the *Mirror of Simple Souls* in Cambridge, St. John's College MS 71 (C.21), who uses: *pei*, *hem*, *her*. See LALME LP 6430.

¹⁴⁴ Chambers and Daunt (1931). For example: the form *them* occurs in the Ordinances of the Grocers' Company of c.1418, the will of John Rogerysson of 1419-20 and the will of John Broune of c.1420-1; *ther* occurs in The Appeal of Thomas Usk against John Northampton (MS Pub. Rec. Off., Ex. Misc. 5/28) of 1384, A Memorandum of a Deed of John Chirtsey (MS Pub. Rec. Off., Ancient Deeds, A 1779) of c.1384, and the will of Richard Yonge of 1413; and the form *theyre* appears in A Petition of the King's Tenants at Banstead, Surrey (MS Pub. Rec. Off., Anc. Petitions, no.4576) of 1413-19.

What is exceptional in the work of Caius Scribe II is that he uses the *th*- forms so consistently, never using *h*- forms. This presents something of a contrast to the other early-fifteenth century London documents which, though they may use all *th*- forms for all three 3 person forms (*they, their, them*), tend to alternative these with the *h*- forms *her* and *hem*. As, for example, is the case with the Guildhall Letter Books, cited above.

There are two possibilities to account for this feature of Caius Scribe II's lexis. (i.) That the Caius MS was copied later in the fifteenth century than has previously been proposed (when all *th*- forms were in more common use). Or, (ii.) That Caius Scribe II copied this *Guy of Warwick* from an exemplar which was written in a Northern or N.Midland dialect, with the consistent use of *th*- forms here being an example of 'constrained selection'.¹⁴⁵ That is to say: if the scribe's spontaneous repertoire contained a combination of *h*- and *th*- 3 person pronominal forms (in a fashion resembling the Guildhall Letter Books cited above), when copying from an exemplar containing only the *th*- type it is very likely that he would always simply have copied the form offered by his exemplar.

The first of these options is unreasonable as all the other evidence from the Caius manuscript would point to an early-fifteenth century date for production.¹⁴⁶ The second option, however, would be highly compatible with the evidence of (k.), below, and with the conclusions of 2.4., below, which state that the Caius *Guy of Warwick* was copied from a text representing a Northern or N.Midland re-rendering of the A-version *Guy of Warwick*.

(k.)

Exceptional in the work of Caius Scribe II are 13 occurrences of the Northern form *m(i/y)kel(l)* 'much': *mikel* appears 4x at 155, 261, 374, 1125; *mikell* 7x at 161, 173, 479, 1266, 1575, 2312, 386; and *mykel* 2x at 3367, 3441.

These forms are highly unusual in the work of this scribe who otherwise adheres very carefully and consistently to a repertoire of high-status, South-Eastern forms. As such

¹⁴⁵ For discussion of this term see Benskin and Laing (1981), pp.72-5.

¹⁴⁶ See the discussion of the dating of this manuscript in Chapter II, section 5.

they would appear to be relicts, carried over from the scribe's exemplar during copying. These are forms, then, which would suggest that Caius Scribe II copied the Caius *Guy* from a Northern or N.Midland exemplar: a hypothesis which is highly compatible with the conclusions of 2.4., below.

Conclusions

Caius Scribe II's language represents an early fifteenth-century stage in the development of what was to become Standard English. His language shares many features with Chaucer along with several features of what was to become part of the new Chancery Standard.

In terms of attempting to identify this scribe and the nature of his working life this information should be combined with several other pieces of evidence. It is significant that Caius Scribe II uses a secretary script: the script which was current in the offices of the London administration in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Further, it is significant that the language of his co-scribe (analysed in 6.3.i., below) is also representative of a London scribe with a highly-current repertoire of orthographic forms. It is also useful to compare this evidence from the Caius MS with that of the Trinity Gower manuscript, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.2 (581), which was also produced in London, as a collaborated commercial production, in the early-fifteenth century. Doyle and Parkes have observed that the Trinity Gower MS was copied by five professional London or Westminster scribes who were working as an '*ad hoc* team': independent craftsmen operating on a freelance basis.¹⁴⁸ Of interest is that one of these scribes was Hoccleve, poet and Clerk of the Privy Seal, with his stint on the manuscript representing "...the only instance yet found of Hoccleve's copying an English work other than his own...".¹⁴⁹ Hoccleve's appearance on this manuscript indicates that, in London, scribes trained or employed by the civil service or official administration would sometimes also take on freelance commercial copying. In many ways, then, Hoccleve may here be seen to provide a model for understanding the identity and working life of

¹⁴⁷ Doyle and Parkes (1978), p.206. It is the script used by Hoccleve and also by 'Scribe C' of the Trinity Gower Manuscript (discussed below), with Doyle and Parkes suggesting that the script of 'Scribe C' "...closely resembles one of the styles found in documents of the offices of state..." (1978), p.206.

¹⁴⁸ Doyle and Parkes (1978), p.185.

¹⁴⁹ Doyle and Parkes (1978), p.205.

Caius Scribe II. Like Hoccleve on the Trinity Gower MS, Caius Scribe II is working on a commercial production involving the loose collaboration of professional London scribes. Like Hoccleve on the Trinity Gower MS, Caius Scribe II seems to have had work delegated to him rather than being the individual responsible for organising or overseeing production.¹⁵⁰ Further, and crucially, the language and script of Caius Scribe II indicates that he may have been employed by, or at least trained in, one of London's offices of official administration. Of course, it is difficult to substantiate this hypothesis without identifying further work by this scribe, but it is information which may indicate the most appropriate places to search for more examples of his work.

Other features of the language of Caius Scribe II, relevant to tracing the previous history of this text, are as follows:

Some Northern colouring is observable in line in the consistent use of Scandinavian-derived *th*- forms and regular use of Northern / N.Midland *mikel*. These markedly Northern / N.Midland features support the proposal put forward in 2.4., below, that the A-version went through a Northern / N.Midland re-rendering during the fourteenth century. That is, that the Caius *Guy* was copied from a text in a Northern dialect (translated into a Southern dialect in the process), with the few Northern features being the result of Caius Scribe II's tolerance of certain originally Northern forms.¹⁵¹

There is one further feature of the language which is significant to the textual history of the A-version. The two examples, in rhyme, where the reflex of OE *y* is *-uy-*: *huyde* 'hide' and *luyte* 'little'. These are relict forms of highly restricted geographical distribution: occurring only in the South West Midlands and, specifically, within the same region that the relict forms of the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* were found to co-occur.¹⁵² When mapped with the Auchinleck relicts (*uerd* and *onswer*) the only areas in which all forms co-occur are again found to be Central Warwickshire and S.Shropshire (see Map 12 in section 8, below). These features are made more significant by the fact that Auchinleck Scribe I and Caius Scribe II each exhibit a concern to adhere to their own preferred repertoire, with relict forms rare in their work. These relicts in Caius I, then,

¹⁵⁰ See Doyle and Parkes (1978) and the physical description and consideration of the production of the Caius MS in Chapter 2, section 5.2, above.

¹⁵¹ For discussion of a very similar, all be it hypothetical, example see Benskin and Laing (1981), p.58, i 2.1.1.

¹⁵² See the discussion of relicts in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* in 2.3.i., above.

provide further evidence in favour of the hypothesis, put forward in 2.3.i., above, that at an early stage in its history the A-version was copied by a Warwickshire scribe.

2.4. The Questionable Passages in the Latter Part of the Caius MS *Guy of Warwick*

This examination of the A-version *Guy of Warwick* as it appears in the Caius MS has so far considered only the section of the Caius MS referred to here as ‘Caius I’. That is, pages 1-149 in the manuscript, which is the section that can be confirmed, with certainty, through line by line comparison with the Auchinleck couplets and Sloane fragment, to represent the A-version.

The rest of the Caius MS, pp.150-271, to be referred to here as ‘Caius II’, deals with the story from after Guy’s marriage to his death. This section contains two lengthy passages which can be decisively classified as representatives of the E-version: line by line comparison with the CUL text showing that these two texts are consistently either identical or very close in their rhymes, phrasing and couplet order. What remains in question, however, is the identity of the sections of text which occur in between these two E-version passages in Caius II.

It is useful, here, for clarity, to set out the structure of the whole manuscript in diagram form. The uncertain passages occurring between the E-version passages in Caius II are here referred to as the “ α ” passages:

Table 4: The Structure of the Caius MS *Guy of Warwick*

Scribe	Line Numbers	Version	Length (in lines)
<u>‘Caius I’</u>			
Scribe I: pp.1 - 2			
Scribe II: pp.3 - 149	1 - 4412	A	4412
<u>‘Caius II’</u>			
Scribe I	4413 - 5186	E	773
Scribe I	5187 - 5777	α	519
Scribe I	5778 - 7196	E	1418
Scribe I	7197 - 8160	α	964

Comparison with the CUL text would indicate that the α passages do not represent the E-version. It would seem most likely, then, as these passages are in couplets, and as the A-version appears as the first part of the manuscript, that they too are descended from the A-version. This, however, is difficult to confirm as there is no other A-version text with which to compare these passages (there being no other manuscript preserving any of the A-version after the point in the narrative where Guy marries Felice). It is a problem reflected in the work of Zupitza, who neglects to make any specific comment on these passages: his method of establishing the different versions being reliant upon the kind of close textual comparison which is not here available.¹⁵³

The only decisive comments on these passages are provided by Mills who takes it that they are descended from the A-version.¹⁵⁴ He goes on to propose that the scribe/adaptor of the text preserved in the Caius manuscript must have been working from a very damaged copy of the A-version, using the passages from the E-version to fill in two large gaps in the second half of the text. Mills commenting in a footnote that the Caius *Guy* “...has many lacunae in its version of the later part of the story ...[and]...supplements its basic text by borrowing, on the largest scale, from a M.E. version in the same tradition as c [i.e. the E-version, which is the same version as the CUL text]...”.¹⁵⁵

It is a model of the Caius *Guy* in which the A-text is seen as a matrix into which the two E-version passages were inserted. Essential to this is the idea that there was a single, continuous A-version text from which the scribe/adaptor was working: a text of the A-version that did not stop after Guy's marriage but continued with the story up to the deaths of Guy and Felice.

In the absence of any other A-text containing the latter part of the story, the only way of testing whether this continuation of the story was descended from the same A-archetype as Caius I, the Auchinleck couplets and the Sloane fragment is to compare their dialect. Considerable consistency would be expected between the dialect of all parts of the ‘A-version matrix’ in Caius if they were ultimately descended from the same, continuous archetype. What is found, however, is that no such consistency exists. Whereas the

¹⁵³ See Zupitza's designation of the versions (1975-6), p.vi and p.viii, described above in 1.

¹⁵⁴ Mills' grouping the α passages with the Auchinleck couplets, Sloane and Caius I as all representatives of the same version (1991), p.210.

¹⁵⁵ Mills (1991), p.215.

rhymes of Caius I attest to a broadly Southern and Eastern dialect, the rhymes of the α passages are marked by a series Northern / N.Midland features. The most significant of these are:

- i. OE \bar{a} appears as <a>. Attested in the rhymes: *mare* : (*fare*) ‘more : go’ 5212-3, 5684-5, 7242-3, 7215-6, 7349-50, 7643-4, 8109-10; *sare* : (*care*) ‘sore : care’ 5360-1, 5508-9.
- ii. The present participle form *-ande* appears as an alternative beside *-ing*. Attested in the rhymes: (*undyrstonde*) : *weldande* ‘understand : wielding’ 5702-3; *byddand* : (*land*) ‘bidding : land’ 7435-6; *lyvand* : (*hand*) ‘living : hand’ 7455-6; *tydand* : (*undyrstond*) ‘tiding (n.) : understand’ 7946-7.
- iii. The form *mykell* ‘much’ appears in line at 5596 and 5615. As the scribe is Southern (see 6.3.i., below) and his usual form is *much* or *moch* this appears to be a carried over from his exemplar.
- iv. OE *ea* + *ld* is attested as <o> by the rhyme: 7605-6 (*gold*) : *hold* ‘gold : hold’. This would point to the N.Midlands or Lincolnshire rather than the North.

The α passages, then, appear to be descended from a N.Midland, or possible Northern, archetype. Crucially, they exhibit too many dialectal differences to Caius I, the Auchinleck couplets and Sloane fragment to be descended from the same archetype.

What is also of interest here, considering that both the α and the E-version passages were composed in a N.Midland dialect¹⁵⁶, is the Northern colouring of the language of Caius I, described above in 2.3.iii. (j.) and (k.). Though the dialect of both the A-archetype (from which Caius I is descended) and Caius Scribe II (who copies Caius I) are both South Eastern, the dialect of this text contains relict Northern *mikel* forms of ‘much’ and a consistent preference for *th*- forms of the 3 person pronouns, suggesting that it was copied from a Northern / N.Midland exemplar.

¹⁵⁶ For discussion of the E-archetype see section 6.2. below.

These dialectal features in the A-version part of the *Caius Guy*, plus the information about the dialect of the α and E passages, show Mills' proposal regarding this manuscript to be only partly tenable and to require modification.

Taking all these features into account, a revised hypothesis has been produced regarding the production of the *Caius Guy*; the main conclusions of which are as follows:

It has been established, above, that the A-archetype was produced c.1300 in a London/East Saxon dialect.¹⁵⁷ The *Caius Guy* would indicate that during the fourteenth century the A-version underwent a North Midland re-rendering. The text now preserved in the *Caius MS* is a direct reflection of the A-version having undergone this N.Midland re-rendering before being translated, again, into a Southern dialect when copied by the *Caius* scribes during the early years of the fifteenth century. It is a hypothesis which accounts for the various northernisms in the *Caius Guy* and for its construction from different versions.

It is necessary to give a detailed description of each of these stages and the evidence for them:

1: Creation of a Northern / N.Midland Re-Rendering of the A-Version Guy

The α passages are evidence for a N.Midland continuation having been added to the A-version, further, the Northern 'colouring' of *Caius I*, described above in 2.3.i. (j.) and (k.), is evidence of having been copied from an exemplar in a Northern dialect. This translation of the A-version into a Northern dialect and addition of the α -continuation would have provided a complete, continuous couplet *Guy of Warwick*, in a Northern / N.Midland dialect throughout. This Northern text (**Caius*) provided the source for the text which now appears in the *Caius MS*.

2: The Inclusion of the E-Version Passages

The N.Midland continuation at some stage came to include the two E-version passages and there are two possibilities as to when this occurred. On the one hand, the E-version passages may have always been part of the N.Midland continuation: incorporated by the original N.Midland composer as he worked. Alternatively, the text may have become

¹⁵⁷ See 2.2.i., above.

damaged and, during a subsequent copying, in the manner that Mills proposes, the available E-version passages were used to patch up it up.

The first of these would seem to imply a rather unusual method of composition (whereby the adapter/composer produced the N.Midland *Guy* partly from the A-version, partly from the E-version and partly from the α passages, which he may have composed himself). The second possibility would therefore seem preferable. As the E-version is Northern / N.Midland it seems most likely that this 'patching up' occurred whilst the text was in the North rather than at the Caius stage of copying.¹⁵⁸

3: The Text is Copied into the Caius MS

Finally, in the early-fifteenth century, this N.Midland rendering of the A-version (*Caius) came to be copied into the Caius MS by two London scribes. The resulting text reflects the dialect of these scribes with the exception of the Northern rhymes preserved in the α and E passages and the relict *mikel* 'much' forms which appear throughout.

This analysis of the Caius *Guy*, then, using manuscript and dialect evidence, provides very important information about the textual history of the A and E versions. Perhaps most significantly, what is emphasised is that many more copies of the A-version existed than would be indicated by today's survivals. Further, the circulation of the A-version was not restricted to one geographical region. It is evidence to suggest that the circulation of the text in different parts of the country gave rise to proliferating adaptations.

¹⁵⁸ For discussion of the dialect of the E-version see section 6, below.

2.5. The A-Version: Final Conclusions and Summary of Results

2.1 - 2.4 above provide an analysis of the language of the three surviving manuscript texts of the A-version *Guy of Warwick*. The main conclusions derived from this analysis are as follows:

Conclusion 1: The A-Version Archetype

The information provided by the rhyme words indicates that the archetypal text of the A-version, from which the Auchinleck couplets, Caius I and the Sloane text are descended, was composed in the London region.

The rhyme words show that the language of the archetype was dominated by South Eastern forms and include a number of forms typical of London. In addition to this, the rhyme words show that the language of the archetype contained several unusual or apparently inconsistent features which also occur in the *Kyng Alisaunder* group of romances. It is well established that the *Kyng Alisaunder* group of texts were composed in London c.1300 and that the A-version *Guy of Warwick* displays many affiliations with this group, especially with *Arthur and Merlin*, presents a strong case for localisation within the same region. That is, the archetype of the A-version *Guy of Warwick* seems to have been written in a romance *koine* that was specific to the London region of the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century.

This conclusion has important implications for understanding contemporary reception of the romance of *Guy of Warwick*. Brandl's notion that the text was produced in South Warwickshire carries with it the implication that production was motivated by a local interest in the story. The discussion here, on the other hand, has shown that any local 'Warwickshire' interest in the story could only have arisen *after* the archetype had been composed.

That the *Guy of Warwick* A-archetype was produced in London and that the only two complete surviving versions (in the Auchinleck and Caius MSS) are most likely to have been produced in London, would attest to its appeal to metropolitan audiences. This is not surprising: popular romances, especially those of epic or heroic style and featuring English heroes, like the A-version *Guy of Warwick*, are shown to have appealed to

audiences in fourteenth-century London by the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts and the contents of the Auchinleck MS.

Conclusion 2: The Scribes who Copied the Surviving A-Version Texts

The language of Caius Scribe II has been shown to represent that of a London scribe of the early fifteenth century. Further to this, this scribe's linguistic register, combined with the fact that the Caius MS is a high-quality production, indicates that he was working within the higher echelons of London society.

With the Auchinleck MS produced in London earlier in the fourteenth century and also being a manuscript which attests to a wealthy patron, they together serve as a testament to the enduring appeal of this romance to socially-elite London audiences throughout the fourteenth century.

Conclusion 3: Stages in the Textual History of the A-Version

As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.3, above, that all three A-version texts break off at about the same point in the narrative would strongly suggest that at an early stage an important copy of the A-version was damaged, with the latter part of the text lost. This evidence for a damaged or incomplete text is important as it accounts for why both Caius and Auchinleck texts of *Guy of Warwick* have been pieced together from more than one version.

There is a series of relict forms occurring in line in the Auchinleck couplets (reflex of OE *y* is *u*; *mon*; *onswere*) and in rhyme in the Auchinleck couplets and Caius I (*uerd*; reflex of OE *y* is *-uy-*) which are highly characteristic of the West Midlands and which can be shown to co-occur only in West-Central Warwickshire. Further, the Sloane fragment retains a number of Western features (most notably *heo*) confirming the significance of this early Western text to the tradition of the A version.

The occurrence of these relicts in both texts is particularly compelling and points to a Warwickshire or Shropshire 'stage' early in the history of the A-version. It points to an early copying by a SW-Central Midland, probably Warwickshire, scribe. This is to propose that though the A-archetype was not composed in a Warwickshire dialect, a later connection (the nature of which remains enigmatic) with this region remains possible.

Information about another stage in the textual history of the A-version is provided by language of the *Caius Guy*. The Northern colouring of Caius I along with the Northern / N.Midland continuation which has been added to this text (the α - and E-version passages) show that during the fourteenth century the A-version underwent a Northern / N.Midland re-rendering and that it was a copy of this Northern manifestation of the A-version that provided the exemplar from which the *Caius Guy* was copied c.1400.

This evidence for re-copying stands as a testament to the popularity of the A-version in different regions throughout the fourteenth century. The complexity of its textual history, a direct result of frequent copying and of an enthusiasm for new renderings and adaptations of the text as it came into the hands of different scribes and editors.

3. The B-Version

3.1. Introduction to the B-Version and Survey of Previous Scholarship

As described above in 1, the only surviving text descended from version 'B' is preserved in the Auchinleck Manuscript, ff.146-167 (referred to here as the stanzaic *Guy*). Unlike many of the Auchinleck romances, the stanzaic *Guy* is completely intact.¹⁵⁹ The text is copied by Auchinleck Scribe I. There has been a significant quantity of scholarship devoted to describing the language of this scribe and as this is outlined in section 2.3.i, above, and as there are no remarkable divergences from his usual repertoire in the copying of this text, no further general discussion of his language is required here.

Previous scholarship has offered the following conclusions based on consideration of the language of the B-version:

Concerning dialect, Wells *Manual* and then Hibbard Loomis follow Brandl's localisation of the A-archetype to South Warwickshire (discussed above in 2.1) then add that the stanzaic *Guy* is of a "...slightly more northern origin...".¹⁶⁰ It is a localisation based on the assumption that the B-archetype was composed in the same region as the A-archetype only further to the North, to account for the examples of retention of OE \bar{a} (described below).

This proposal is incorrect and can be dismissed on three accounts. Firstly: as has been shown above, the A-version was not composed in Warwickshire. Secondly: wherever the A-archetype was composed there is, anyway, no evidence to suggest that the composition of the A and B versions was connected in the sense of representing the collaboration of Warwickshire poets. Thirdly: the retention of OE \bar{a} in this text is restricted to certain traditional, literary rhymes and, as is discussed below, it is inappropriate simply to use this feature to shift localisation further north. As Trounce notes, also rejecting a Warwickshire origin for the Auchinleck *Guy* poems:

¹⁵⁹ See Pearsall and Cunningham's facsimile of the manuscript (1977).

¹⁶⁰ Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.128. Wells (1916), p.16.

The N.Midland area, which might seem to be here indicated as a centre for the [*Guy of Warwick*] poems, is in fact a mere abstraction, arrived at by a mechanical analysis of the rhymes.¹⁶¹

Other proposals regarding the dialect of the B-version agree that it was produced in the East Midlands though vary in how precisely they localise the text within this region. Ikegami characterises the language of all three Auchinleck *Guy*-texts as primarily Southern and Eastern and notes similarities between the stanzaic *Guy* and certain East Anglia poems.¹⁶² Wilda's account concludes that the text arose in a region bordering on Essex.¹⁶³ Whereas Trounce is the most precise in the region he proposes, concluding that the stanzaic *Guy* was most likely to have been produced in Suffolk.¹⁶⁴

The analysis of the evidence for the language of the archetype in 3.2., below, agrees that, along with many of the other tail-rhyme romances, the stanzaic *Guy* was produced in the East Midlands or East Anglia. Having established this, the evidence is considered for localisation within either the more northerly or southerly part of this region along with an assessment of some of the particular difficulties for interpretation presented by these kinds of texts.

It has been important to set out a detailed discussion of the dialect evidence here in order (i.) to allow for reconsideration of Wilda's conclusions in the light of Trounce's survey, (ii.) to consider some of the limitations of Trounce's study, (iii.) to allow for comparison of the stanzaic *Guy* with *Sir Orfeo*, *Havelok*, *Octovian*, *Horn Childe* and *Lybeaus Desconus*, all of which are relevant to consideration of the stanzaic *Guy* and which have been published since Wilda and Trounce's studies and (iv.) in order to provide an account which lists examples from the text (Trounce's survey only summarising the data and giving occasional examples).

In addition to consideration of provenance, previous studies have been concerned to establish the relationship of the three Auchinleck *Guy* texts to one another. This study concurs with the conclusions of Weyrauch, Möller and Ikegami that the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*, Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and Auchinleck *Reinbrun* were by different

¹⁶¹ Trounce (1933), p.42, n.1.

¹⁶² Ikegami (1988), p.28 and p.30.

¹⁶³ See Wilda (1888), pp.46-55. Also cited by Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.128.

¹⁶⁴ Trounce (1933), p.47.

authors.¹⁶⁵ This is indicated by the conclusions of the dialect analysis at 2.2, above, and 3.2 and 4.2, below, indicating that A is from further South and B and C are from slightly different parts of the East Midlands. This dialect evidence is further supported by the evidence of rhyme scheme and phrasing and before proceeding with analysis of the dialect it seems important first, here, to provide consideration of these features.

A is written in couplets and, as discussed above (in 2.2 and 2.5) is affiliated to a London romance *koine*. In this, A is distinct from B and C which are both written in 12-line stanzas and in another traditional *koine* (discussed in 3.2 and 4.2, below) characterised by quite different rhymes to A. Though both in stanzas and in the same distinctive *koine*, B and C can be distinguished from one another in terms of the different techniques they exhibit in managing their rhyme schemes (a feature which has not, as far as I am aware, been previously recorded).

B and C both use a combination of two highly conventional rhyme schemes for the 12-line tail-rhyme stanza, referred to here as 'scheme 1' and 'scheme 2'.¹⁶⁶ Scheme 1 follows the pattern: *aa b aa b cc b dd b*. Scheme 2 follows the pattern: *aa b cc b dd b ee b*. Scheme 1, then, is the most demanding as it involves two sets of 4-rhyme sequences (the *a* rhymes as well as the tail rhymes) whereas scheme 2 only involves one 4-rhyme sequence (the tail rhymes, lines 1, 2, 4 and 5 forming two separate couplets). The B-version employs scheme 1 for the first 45 stanzas, then switches to scheme 2 for most of the remainder of the text (that is, stanzas 46 - 299). After stanza 45 there are only 11 stanzas which use scheme 1 and these usually occur individually and are scattered throughout the text. They are: stanzas 50-52, 57, 88, 92, 98, 135, 184, 210, 252. The rhyme scheme of this text, then, is characterised by a well-defined switch from one scheme to another after stanza 45.¹⁶⁷ The C-version, on the other hand, employs scheme 1 for 29 stanzas and scheme 2 for 98 stanzas and continually alternates between these two forms, as illustrated in the table below:

¹⁶⁵ Weyrauch (1901). Möller (1917).

¹⁶⁶ See the discussion of the use of stanza and rhyme in the tail-rhyme romances in Trounce (1932), p.86 and (1933), p.34.

¹⁶⁷ Kölbing (1885, 1886, 1894; rept. 1978), p.xi, notes that a change of rhyme scheme or metre occurs mid way in the texts: *Bevis of Hampton* (change of rhyme scheme), *Roland and Vernagu* (change of metre), *Sir Ferumbras* (change from alternately rhymed lines to tail-rhymed stanzas) and the Auchinleck MS *Richard Coer de Lyon* (a text in couplets but which opens with two twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas). This kind of switch, then, is not uncommon in the romances.

Table 5
Rhyme Scheme of the Auchinleck MS *Reinbrun*

STANZA NUMBER (1-127)	RHYME SCHEME (1 OR 2)	TOTAL BEFORE EACH CHANGE OF RHYME SCHEME
1-6	2	6
7-8	1	2
9-25	2	17
26	1	1
27-65	2	39
66-78	1	13
79-84	2	6
85	1	1
86-92	2	7
93	1	1
94-98	2	5
99-100	1	2
101-110	2	10
111	1	1
112-113	2	2
114	1	1
115-119	2	5
120-122	1	3
123	2	1
124-127	1	4

(Stanza 126 is actually *aa b aa b cc b cc b*).

B and C, then, use the same, very common, rhyme schemes but manage them differently and in this respect there is no similarity or continuity from B to C.

To recapitulate: A, B and C can be distinguished from one another in terms of dialect; A and B/C can be distinguished from one another in terms of *koine*; and B and C can be distinguished from one another in terms of management of the rhyme scheme. These are all features which concur with the work of Weyrauch, Möller and Ikegami and which would indicate that A, B and C were by different authors. It is possible here to further supplement the work of Weyrauch, Möller and Ikegami, and to confirm what is indicated by dialect, *koine* and rhymes, by analysis of the phrasing of each of these three texts. By exploiting the opportunities offered by computer-searchable texts it is possible here to provide an analysis which is more exhaustive and more precise than has previously been possible. What has been found, through successive computer-enabled searches of the texts, is that A, B and C exhibit significant differences in phraseology and style, each

displaying certain idiosyncrasies not contained in the other two. The results of this analysis are as follows:¹⁶⁸

As would be expected, A, B and C share a certain number of the kind of common phrases, tags and formulae that re-occur throughout the romance genre.¹⁶⁹ For example: the inclusive tag *day and nizt* appears in A 4x, B 4x and C 1x¹⁷⁰ and the half-line tag *sop(e) to say* appears in A 9x, B 3x and C 3x.¹⁷¹ This pool of shared phrases is inevitable. What is significant is the number of unique and idiosyncratic features characterising the phraseology of each text. B has a number of phrases, occurring repeatedly, which do not appear in A or C. For example: interventions by the narrator beginning *In gest* occur 7x¹⁷² and only in B; *quit & skere* occurs 3x¹⁷³ and only in B; and the phrases *...of gret bounde* and *wip sorwe & careful bounde* occur 5x and only in B.¹⁷⁴ Further to this, the style of B is distinct from A and C in that it has a much higher density of alliteration, with a considerable number of alliterating phrases unique to B. Phrases of similar construction alliterating on *wede* appear 7x in B, for which A and C have nothing comparable:

7042 *Pat worply were in wede*
 7132 *Pat worpliche were in wede*
 7990 *no non so worpliche wede*
 7291 *pray herhaud wizt in wede*
 7365 *he is walked in pouer wede*
 7555 *ded wounded vnder wede*
 7218 *in joie to won wip angels wede*

¹⁶⁸ Searches have been of the three Auchinleck texts as Auchinleck provides the only texts of the B-version and C-version and the most complete text of the A-version. So, where examples are given in the following analysis examples of 'A' always refer to the Auchinleck couplet *Guy*, examples of 'B' always refer to the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and examples of 'C' always refer to the Auchinleck *Reinbrun*. As always, line numbers always refer to the transcriptions provided at the end of this thesis.

¹⁶⁹ For a structural analysis of the phrasing of romances see Wittig (1978), pp.3-46, whose analysis incorporates the tagmetic assumption that "...language is generated by means of the substitution of variables within a stable framework...", p.38. See also Lord (1960) and Pike (1967).

¹⁷⁰ A: 366, 5717, 6742, 6842. B: 6989, 7140, 7941, 9700. C: 10673. Significantly, A (Auchinleck couplets) is by far the longest text, followed by B (Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy*), then, the shortest, C (Auchinleck *Reinbrun*), and this is reflected in the number of examples yielded by each: A is of 6925 lines; B is just over half the length of A, at 3581 lines; and C is less than a quarter of the length of A, at only 1521 lines.

¹⁷¹ A: 516, 1193, 2253, 2271, 2419, 3881, 5459, 5843, 6439. B: 6938, 6950, 6953. C: 10585, 10651, 11343.

¹⁷² B: *In gest al so we rede* 7141; *In gest as y zou say* 7345; *In gest as so men fint* 8032; *In gest zif ze wil listen & lere* 7443; *I gest as y zou telle* 9972; *In gest as so we rede* 10257.

¹⁷³ B: 7741, 8056, 9603.

¹⁷⁴ B: *...of gret bounde* 6940, 9495; *wip sorwe & careful bounde* 8779, 9453, 9625.

Similarly, unique to B are the occurrences, 4x, of phrases of similar construction alliterating on *bern(e)(s)*:

6935 *balder bern was non in bi*
 7512 *better berns were non born*
 7123 *to glad þo berns blipe*
 7164 *to bedde went þe bernes bold*

Other alliterating phrases occurring on multiple occasions and unique to B include:

list(en) & (lere / lipe) 4x¹⁷⁵
sorwe & sikeing sare 4x¹⁷⁶

schon...sonne (simile) 3x¹⁷⁷
bright in bour 3x¹⁷⁸

doun & dale 2x¹⁷⁹
grimli gore 2x¹⁸⁰
miri...on mold 2x¹⁸¹
tong...telle 2x¹⁸²
wise & wizt 2x¹⁸³

And alliterating phrases occurring 1x each and unique to B include:

bird so blipe 6976
bird so brizt 7006
frely folk in fere 7108
grille he was on grounde 7690
al maner mentracie 7116
miri may 7104
mirþe and michel anour 7099
mouþe to mede 7036
as prince proude in pride 7156
told in tour 7096

Here, then, are a significant number of phrases which are not only unique to B among the three texts but which are also homogeneous in style, projecting a marked stylistic preference. B is a text which, when compared to the other *Guy* texts, can be characterised by its more highly wrought and patterned style and high density of alliteration.

¹⁷⁵ B: *listen & lere* 7443; *list & lipe* 7129; *listen & lipe* 10314, 10422.

¹⁷⁶ B: 7151, 7326, 7498, 9879. Also *sikeing sare* appears at 7370 and *siked s(o/a)r* appears at 7868 and 9705.

¹⁷⁷ B: *þe halle schon perof as sonne of glas* 8022; *as brizt as ani sonne it schon* 8886, 9905.

¹⁷⁸ B: 7051, 7102, 7143.

¹⁷⁹ B: 7270, 7421.

¹⁸⁰ B: 8156, 10047.

¹⁸¹ B: *...miriest may on mold* 8386; *mirier was non on mold* 9918.

¹⁸² B: *...no tong may telle in tale* 7124; *wip tong as y þe telle* 7666.

¹⁸³ B: 6937, 9315.

This tendency towards tightly controlled and patterned phrasing in B can also be seen in the way that certain common tags and phrases, shared by all three texts, are, in B, used in a very precise and very structured way within repeated formula. The tag *glad & blipe* occurs in all three texts: in A 11x, B 7x, C 1x. Of the 7 occurrences in B the tag is always incorporated within the same structural formula¹⁸⁴:

slots:	1	2	3	4
	(Alle) pan	was	þe king (ful)	glad & blipe
	þo	were	Tirri	
			(sir) Gij	
			þai	
			he boþe	

The C text, however, which has only 1 example of *glad & blipe*, does not use this structure, and in none of its 11 cases of *glad & blipe* does the A text include examples of repeated or paralleled structures.¹⁸⁵

Another example is provided by versions of phrases involving the expression ‘heart break’. This expression appears in all three texts but, whereas in A and C it is never repeated within the same parallel structure, in B it is part of the same structural formula on multiple occasions (6x)¹⁸⁶:

¹⁸⁴ B:

alle þan were þai glad & blipe 6968.

þan was he boþe glad & blipe 7004.

þan was sir gij glad & blipe 7088.

þan was gij glad & blipe 7445.

þo was tirri glad & blipe 7481.

þan was þe king glad & blipe 9835.

þan was þe king ful glad & blipe 9889.

¹⁸⁵ For a discussion of these kind of repeated phrase structures see Wittig (1978), pp.3-46, especially pp.31-32 and 37-41. It represents what Wittig describes as “...the same formulaic pattern...”, involves lexical repetition, p.31. The *slot* is defined as “...one functional position in a syntagmatically ordered sequence of such positions, while the individual set members are paradigmatically related by virtue of the fact that any one of the members could be substituted for any other without altering the functional nature of the slot itself...”, Wittig (1978), p.38.

¹⁸⁶ B:

þat min hert it wil to-breke 7497.

mine hert wald to-breke 8734.

mine hert brekeþ ato 8440.

mine hert wil breken on þre 7789.

mine hert wil breke o fiue 8773.

mine hert wil breken on fiue 9804.

slots:	1	2	3	4
	(pat) min(e) hert	(it) wil wald	(to-)breke breken brekep	(ato) (on pre) (o(n) fiue)

Another example is provided by the very common inclusive tag for ‘everyone’. All three texts have versions of this tag but only B ever has the elements *earl / baron / knight* together, with, in B, this combination occurring 6x within the same repeated parallel structure:¹⁸⁷

slots:	1	2	3	4
	(of) (wip) (douk)	(h)erl baroun	no or & mani a	kni3t

The B-version, then, can be seen to exhibit certain idiosyncratic features of style and phrasing: its number of unique phrases, especially of alliterative phrases, its higher proportion of alliteration throughout, and its tendency toward structured phrases and formulaic phrases which use lexical repetition. In combination with the evidence of rhyme, *koine* and dialect, these features mark this text out as having been produced by a different author to the other two. An author not only with a different repertoire of romance phrases, but who also used different literary techniques and had different stylistic preferences

B, then, can be distinguished stylistically and what is found is that, based on the evidence of the phrasing, A and C are also very unlikely to have been by the same author as one another. Firstly, there are a number of phrases unique to A: *att(e) from* 16x; *worþ (of) a slo* 5x; *bot lite* 5x.¹⁸⁸ There are also a number of phrases unique to C: *erdest and / ne a game* 2x; *make my mone* 1x.¹⁸⁹ Also relevant in distinguishing C from A (as well further distinguishing B from A) are a number of phrases which occur in both of the stanzaic texts (B and C) but never in A: both B and C mark time in ‘winters’ B 2x and C

¹⁸⁷ B:

herl baroun no kni3t 8698.

erl baroun no kni3t 9747.

of erl baroun & mani a kni3t 6990.

wip erl baroun & mani a kni3t 7109.

douk erl baroun or kni3t 8712.

douk erl baroun no kni3t 8742.

¹⁸⁸ A: *att(e) from* 20, 356, 401, 618, 820, 1058, 1332, 1748, 2518, 3249, 3365, 3569, 4247, 4315, 5935, 5987; *worþ (of) a slo* 17, 1218, 2585, 3283, 4697; *bot lite* 492, 746, 1758, 2021, 4757.

¹⁸⁹ C: *erdest and / ne a game* 11795, 11942; *make my mone* 10518.

3x;¹⁹⁰ the inclusive tag 'less and more' occurs 4x in B and 2x in C;¹⁹¹ *toun & tour* occurs 3x in B and 2x in C.¹⁹² Further, parallel versions of *Of blis icham al bare* occur 4x in B and 1x in C¹⁹³ and parallel versions of *douhti man of dede* occur 5x in B and 3x in C¹⁹⁴ (with A never using these structures):

slots:	1	2	3	
	<i>Of blis</i>	<i>(hou) icham pai were</i>	<i>al bare</i>	
slots:	1	2	3	4
	<i>(Pat)</i>	<i>dou(3/h)ti</i>	<i>(man)</i>	<i>of dede</i>
	<i>(And)</i>		<i>(bep)</i>	
	<i>(Pou art)</i>		<i>(were)</i>	
			<i>(was)</i>	

In addition to the other linguistic evidence, then, the evidence of the phrasing would attest to the independent authorship of A, B and C.

One further point should be made here regarding the appearance of the manuscript at the opening of the stanzaic *Guy*. As described in Chapter 2, there is an obvious change of ink between the copying of versions A and B in Auchinleck and a discernible change in Scribe I's hand which is somewhat larger at the opening of the stanzaic *Guy*. Mordkoff observes a gradual development in Scribe I's hand which progressively enlarges during his copying of the Auchinleck MS. According to this observation she accounts for the change of ink and hand at this point in *Guy of Warwick* as being the result of a lapse of time occurring between copying of the couplet and stanzaic parts.¹⁹⁵

This feature is of interest here as it provides strong evidence to suggest that the couplet and stanzaic parts of *Guy of Warwick* were copied by Auchinleck Scribe I from

¹⁹⁰ B: 8019, 9006. C: 10544, 10546, 11716.

¹⁹¹ B: *lesse & mare* 7373; *lasse & mare* 7101, 9714; *more & las* 9180. C: *more & las* 11995; *lasse & more* 11038.

¹⁹² B: *toun & tour* 7723, 9660, 1-168. C: *toune & tour* 11678; *toures & pe tounes* 10715.

¹⁹³ B: *Of blis icham al bare* 7180, 7225, 7477; *Of blis hou icham bare* 7495. C: *Of blis pai were al bare* 10854.

¹⁹⁴ B: *pat douhti man of dede* 7039, 7045; *pat douhti bep of dede* 7288; *pat douhti were of dede* 7807; *pou art douhti of dede* 10161. C: *pat dou3ti wes of dede* 10943; *dou3ti man of dede* 11075; *and dou3ti man of dede* 11204.

¹⁹⁵ Mordkoff (1981). See the discussion of *Guy of Warwick* in the Auchinleck Manuscript in Chapter II section 2.iii above.

different exemplars. With Scribe I having to wait until the second exemplar became available before he could commence copying of the stanzaic *Guy*.

Palaeography, then, supports linguistic analysis in demonstrating that the couplet and stanzaic part of *Guy of Warwick* were of different origin. Moreover, it shows that it was at the Auchinleck stage of copying that they were put together to form a continuous narrative, not before. That is, it shows that the Auchinleck 'editor' decided, for some reason, to piece together the *Guy of Warwick* narrative from more than one exemplar. As for the question of this was a choice made out of preference or necessity, it seems most likely that it was necessitated by a damaged or incomplete exemplar, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3, and in section 2.5, above, of this chapter.

3.2. The Language of the B-Archetype

Set out below is a discussion of the linguistic data from the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy*. The discussion only considers data significant for localising the dialect of the archetype.

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} appears as <o> or <a>.

Forms with <o> are frequently attested in rhyme as original and occur in a wide variety of rhymes. For example: 7243 *gon* : (*don* : *slon*) 'go (infin.) : do (infin.) : slay (infin.)'; 7514-5, 8255-6 *more* : (*forlore*) 'more : lost'; 7900 *born* : *more* : (*bifore* : *forlore*) 'born : more : before : lost'; 7967-8 (*do*) : *mo* 'do (infin.) : more'; 8267-8 *so* : (*do*) 'so : do'; 8276-7 *gon* : (*on*) 'go (infin.) : on'; 8398 (*don*) : *bon* 'do (infin.) : bone'; 8429-30, 9002-3, 9441 (*don*) : *gon* 'done : go'; 8438-9 (*don*) : *non* 'do (infin.) : none'; 8924-5 (*tresore*) : *more* 'treasure : more'; 9313-4 *ato* : (*do*) 'in two : done'.

Forms with <a> appear in certain rhyme sequences:

There are 10 examples, which can be confirmed as original, of the rhyme sequence in

-are: 7180 *nare* : *sare* : (*bare* : *care*) ‘never : sore : bare (adj.) : care’; 7325-6 (*care*) : *sore* ‘care : sore’; 7360 *ware* : *bare* : (*fare* : *care*) ‘were : bore (pt.) : fare : care’; 7468 *sare* : (*fare* : *care* : *bare*) ‘sore : fare : care : bare (adj.)’; 7492 *sare* : *ware* : (*fare* : *bare*) ‘sore : were : fare : bare (adj.)’; 8788 *pare* : *ware* : *sare* : (*fare*) ‘there : were : sore : fare’; 9705 *sare* : *ware* : *mare* : (*fare*) ‘sore : were : more : fare’; 9873 *were* : *sore* : (*fare* : *care*) ‘were : sore : fare : care’ (where to form an exact rhyme the original must have had the forms *ware* and *sare*); 10173 *mare* : (*fare* : *spare* : *care*) ‘more : fare : spare : care’.

There are 5 examples of the rhyme sequence in -awe: 8560 *rawe* : *knawe* : *sawe* : *trawe* ‘row : know : saw : promise (1 sing.)’; 9609 *rawe* : *fawe* : *lawe* : *knawe* ‘row : willing / happy (adj., OE *fægen*) : low (adj.) : know’; 9897 *fawe* : *lawe* : *rawe* : *schawe* ‘eager (adj., OE *fægen*) : law : row : show’; 10245 *slawe* : *lawe* : *fawe* : *rawe* ‘slain : law : happy / joyful (adj., OE *fægen*) : row’; 10353 *rawe* : *knawe* : *fawe* : *schawe* ‘row : know : happy / joyful : show’.

There are, then, a high number of both *a* and *o* forms confirmed in rhyme, though it is notable that the *a* forms only occur in the -are and -awe sequences. Trounce calculates that the stanzaic *Guy* has, in rhyme, a total of 54 *o*-forms against 26 *a*-forms.¹⁹⁶ That is, the ratio of *o* to *a* forms is about 2 : 1.

The occurrence of a significant number of both *o* and *a* forms in one text may be the result of production in a North Midland ‘border region’: somewhere on the *o/a* boundary.¹⁹⁷ This is the case with *Havelok* in which, as Smithers comments, the “...dual reflex...” of OE \bar{a} provides a “...profoundly important criterion...” for identification of this text as representative of the English of Lincolnshire.¹⁹⁸

Alternatively, a combination of both *o* and *a* forms may be indicative of a composer borrowing sets of conventional rhymes that represent a different dialect from his own. This is the case with *Lybeaus Desconus* which is written in a predominantly South

¹⁹⁶ Trounce (1933), p.45.

¹⁹⁷ A line from the Ribble to South Lindsey in Lincolnshire marks the southern limit for OE \bar{a} retained as an unround vowel spelled <a, ai, ay>. See the discussion in 2.2.i. (a.) above.

¹⁹⁸ Smithers (1987), p.lxxxix.

Eastern language but which also contains a couple of examples of the *-are* rhyme sequence apparently learnt from other romances and exploited for their rhyme possibilities.¹⁹⁹

This use of what appear to be dialectically ‘foreign’ rhyme sequences also occurs in many East Midland stanzaic romances. Though whereas *Lybeaus Desconus* simply borrows occasional *-are* rhymes, the East Midland romances are characterised by including high proportions of these ‘Northern’ sequences. That is, in the East Midland romances the *-are* and *-awe* sequences (among others) are not simply casual borrowings but characterise a literary *koine* associated with this region.²⁰⁰

Trounce outlines this kind of literary usage of these forms, arguing that: “...these sequences in poems are not to be connected with the north of England at all, unless other circumstances suggest it...”.²⁰¹ Interpretation of these sequences in the stanzaic *Guy*, then, will depend on the ‘other circumstances’. That is, will depend on the context provided by this text’s other linguistic features.

(b.)

The reflex of OE *a* before a nasal is <a>. Attested by: 8045-6, 9633 (*bigan*) : *man* ‘began : man’. This would provide evidence to suggest exclusion of the West Midlands.

(c.)

The reflex of OE *æ* is <a>. Attested by the rhymes: 7583-4 *was* : (*cas*) ‘was : case’; 7676-7 *was* : (*place*) ‘was : place’; 9086-7, 9195-4 *was* : (*plas*) ‘was : place’. This would suggest exclusion of the West Midlands (Herefordshire and Worcestershire) and Kent.

¹⁹⁹ Mills (1969), pp.34-5. See also the discussion above in the introduction to 2.2.i.

²⁰⁰ Trounce (1933). The conventional *-are* and *-awe* rhyme sequences occur, for example, in *Amis and Amiloun*, *Reinbrun*, *Roland and Vernagu*, *King of Tars*, *Athelstane* and *Sir Amadace*.

²⁰¹ Trounce (1933), p.46.

(d.)

OE *æ + g + d* or *n* is <e>: 7898-9 *sede : (rede)* ‘said : counsel (vb.)’; 9478-9 (*ded*) : *y leyde* ‘dead : laid’; 9300 (*sen : bitven : flen*) : *ozen* ‘see (infin.) : between (prep.) : flee (infin.) : again’.²⁰² This is Southern or South Eastern.²⁰³

(e.)

The reflex of OE *y* regularly appears as <e>. Attesting rhymes: 10066-7 *dent : (went)* ‘dint : went’; 10126-7 *dint : (went)* ‘dint : went’ (where the original must have had *dent* to form an exact rhyme);²⁰⁴ 7226-7, 7295-6 (*hende*) : *kende* ‘noble : kind’; 7024 *kende : (hende : wende : ende)* ‘kind : noble : goes : end’; 7060 *kende : (hende : frende : ende)* ‘kind : noble : friend : end’; 7258 *kende : (hende : fende : ende)* ‘kind : noble : enemy / fiend : end’; 8272 *kende : (frende : hende : wende)* ‘kind : friend : noble : go (infin.)’; 10281 *mende : (hende : sende : ende)* ‘mind : noble : send (infin.) : end’; 7984 *prede : schrede : (rede : wede : ferred)* ‘pride : dress (infin.): advises : attire : company’;²⁰⁵ 9549 *prede : schrede : (lede : zede)* ‘pride : dress (infin.) : lead (infin.) : went’; 10461 *prede : (lede : wede : rede)* ‘pride : lead (infin.) : attire : read (infin.)’.

Forms with <i> appear in the tail-rhyme sequence where *pride* or *ride* is rhymed with *-side : -tide : abide*. This sequence occurring 4x, at 7012, 7084, 8464, 10149. This sequence is conventional: occurring in other tail-rhyme romances, for example, *Athelston*, *Emaré*, *Launfal* and the ‘Northern’ *Octavian*.²⁰⁶

Elsewhere, forms with <i> occur far less frequently than *e* forms. The following can be confirmed as original: 8284 *fille : (skille : tille : wille)* ‘fill : skill : to : will’; 6988 - *kinne : (blinne : tvinne : winne)* ‘kind : cease (infin.) : part / separate : win (infin.)’.

Forms with *e*, which are dominant here, occurred in Kent, the South East (Sussex and Surrey), London and the S.E.Midlands (especially Essex and Suffolk).²⁰⁷ As noted above

²⁰² These examples are recorded and discussed by Ikegami (1988), p.23.

²⁰³ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.176 (i 191).

²⁰⁴ Here, *de* has been erased before *dint* in the manuscript.

²⁰⁵ This stanza has 15 lines rather than the usual 12 and therefore 5 tail rhymes rather than the usual 4.

²⁰⁶ McSparran (1986), p.33.

²⁰⁷ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.66 (i 39, 40).

in 2.2.i. (e.), rhymes on the *e*-form were often used in romances from further north.²⁰⁸ However, the high proportion of these rhymes here indicates that this form should be regarded as significant for localisation, that is, of South Eastern / S.E.Midland influence.

(f.)

OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is <e> in: 7094-5, 7388-9, 7394-5 *sende* : (*hende*) ‘send : noble’; 8836 *sende* : *wende* : (*schende* : *hend*) ‘send (infin.): go (infin.) : ruin / destroy (infin.) : noble’; 9945 *sende* : *wende* : (*hende* : *ende*) ‘send : go (infin.) : noble : end’; 10281 *sende* : (*hende* : *mende* : *ende*) ‘send (infin.) : noble : mind : end’. That is, this text does not include the Essex/London *a*-type development. In this the B-version differs from the A- and C-archetypes which do exhibit this development, suggesting comparatively less of an Essex influence in the dialect of the B-archetype.

(g.)

The reflex of OE *ea* before *l*-combinations is <e> or <o>.

Forms with *e* are certain in the following 5 cases: 8116 *welde* : *beld* : (*feld* : *scheld*) ‘rule (infin.) : bold : field : shield’; 8282-3 *aqueld* : (*feld*) ‘killed : field’; 9029-30 *teld* : (*feld*) ‘told : field’; 9957 *weld* : *held* : (*feld* : *zeld*) ‘rule (infin.) : hold : field : yield’; 9109 *weld* : *eld* : *held* : (*feld*) ‘rule (infin.) : old : hold : field’.

Forms with *o* are certain in the following 3 cases: 8380 *hold* : (*gold* : *schold* : *mold*) ‘hold : gold : should : world’; 8918 *hold* : (*gold*) ‘hold : gold’; 9909 *-hold* : (*schold* : *gold* : *mold*) ‘-hold : should : gold : world’.

The following 3 rhymes indicate *o*-forms or possible *a*-forms: 7793-4 *bold* : (*schold*) ‘bold : should’; 9360 *bold* : *told* : (*nold* : *wold*) ‘bold : told : would not : would’; 9789 *bold* : (*schold* : *wold* : *nold*) ‘bold : should : would : would not’.

One rhyme would seem to confirm an *a*-form but its value as evidence is questionable as it involves a proper name: 9751-2 (*herhaud*) : *bald* ‘Heraud : bold’.

²⁰⁸ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.67.

The high number of *e*-forms is indicative of Southern influence. The combination of *o* and *e*-forms might be regarded as indicative of the South Midlands.

The following features of the morphology are significant for localisation:

(h.)

The third person singular of the present indicative takes *-þ* in the rhyme: 10113 *geþ* : *seþ* : (*deþ* : *teþ*) ‘goes (3 singular present) : sees (3 singular present) : death : teeth’. This confirms exclusion of the North.

(i.)

The third person plural of the present indicative takes *-þ*: 7649-50 *bep* : *deþ* ‘are (3 plural present) : death’. This would point to localisation in the S, S.W.Midlands or London (see the discussion of the appearance of this form in London texts, above).

(j.)

There is one instance in which the *-þ* ending for the present plural has been reduced and assimilated into the stem, ending *t*: 8032 *fint* : (*dint* : *hint* : *flint*) ‘find (3 plural present) : dint : held / carried (OE *hentan*) : flint’. This is characteristic of Southern dialects, occurring, for example, in *Sir Orfeo* and Chaucer’s works.²⁰⁹

(k.)

The past participle often takes the prefix *y-*. For example, at 9267, 9985, 10006, 10076. These cannot be confirmed with certainty as original as they are not essential to the rhyme. Nevertheless, the high frequency would suggest that they were part of the phraseology of the original and would suggest Southern influence.

The following lexical features are significant for localisation:

(l.)

The third person plural pronoun appears in rhyme as *he*, where it is confirmed as an original form: 7867 *he* : (*ble* : *pe* : *me*) ‘they : face / expression : you : me’; 10192-3 *he* :

²⁰⁹Bliss (1966) l.239: *fint*. Benson (1987) l.103: *fyght*. This form has approximately the same regional distribution as *eld* ‘old’.

(cite) ‘they : city’. As noted above in 2.2.i (o.), this appears to have been primarily an East Midland form: LALME (dot map 33) recording most occurrences in East Anglia and Essex and this form appearing in the Norfolk *Havelok*.²¹⁰

(m.)

The form *owy* ‘away’ occurs in rhyme 2x where it is confirmed as original: 7538 *folly* : *maistrie* : *owy* : *cri* ‘folly : mastery : away : cry’; 8990-1 *gjj* : *owy* ‘Guy : away’.

This form also occurs 3x in rhyme in *Sir Orfeo* where it is attested as original: 95-6 *cri* : *owy*; 491-2 *owy* : *fairy*; 561-2 *o-owy* : *fairy*. Bliss comments, in his edition of *Sir Orfeo*, that this form is “...excessively rare...” in Middle English and “...points very strongly to the south-east...” as an area for localisation of the language of the original. This conclusion is based on the association of *owy* with Kent. As Bliss comments: this form “...must be associated with OE *wig* for *weg*, several times attested in the *Late Kentish Glosses*...”²¹¹

Bliss’s claim for the rarity of this form can be confirmed using computer-enabled searches of a range of Middle English texts. Within the collection of texts in the TextBase (see Appendix L for full description and list of these texts) there is only one occurrence of *owy* (outside of the occurrences in the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and *Sir Orfeo*) and this appears in the Auchinleck MS *Lay le Freine*: 301-2 *aspie* : *owy*.

The following features of the vocabulary are significant as they appear to have been of restricted geographical distribution.

(n.)

The word *perk* ‘dark’ occurs in the line: 8142 *perkenes*. Trounce describes ME *perk* as “...pure East-Anglian...”²¹² Bliss proposes a less specific region than Trounce, commenting that this word (which occurs in line in *Sir Orfeo*) seems to have been

²¹⁰ Smithers (1987), p.lxxxii.

²¹¹ Bliss (1966), p.xx, citing “...J.Zupitza, ‘Kentische Glossen des neunten Jahrhunderts’, *ZfdA* xxi (1878), 1-59: *wig* 772, *wige* 207, 475, 812, beside *weogas* 21; *wiferend* 137...”.

²¹² Trounce (1933), p.50. Trounce is here commenting on the appearance of this word in *Reinbrun* and misses its occurrence in the stanzaic *Guy*.

restricted to the East Midlands, noting that *thurk* has been recorded as a Norfolk word and a number of forms have been listed in use in the eastern counties.²¹³

Computer-enabled searches of a range of Middle English texts would not contradict this claim that *perk* was restricted to the East Midlands: the form *perk* (and its variants, with initial *th-*, medial *-u-*, *-i-*, *-y-*, or final *-e*) is found only to occur in four texts (in addition to the stanzaic *Guy*), all romances from the Auchinleck MS: *Sir Orfeo* (1x in line at 370); *Reinbrun* (2x in line at 377 and 933); and *Bevis* (1x in line at 2790).

(o.)

The evidence so far presented, in (a.) - (n.), would point to a South Eastern or East Midland original but there is no evidence which would specifically indicate East Anglia, which is crucial to Trounce's localisation of the stanzaic *Guy* within his proposed 'East Anglian school' of tail-rhyme romances.

The following 12 examples of words and phrases occur in the stanzaic *Guy* and are listed by Trounce as significant for identification of this text as from an East Anglian original and as a representative of the East Anglian 'school'. He describes *rewely chere*, *qued*, *out braiding* and *deled ato* as characteristic of East Anglia and the remaining 8 forms are described as "...characteristic of the Auch[inleck] group [which Trounce argues to be East Anglian] (and to some extent of all the tail-rhyme poems), and met with only rarely elsewhere..."²¹⁴

As these forms are so important for localisation of the text, it has been necessary to test Trounce's claims for their significance. Computer-enabled searches of the range of Middle English texts (listed in Appendix L), combined with information from the MED, to some extent confirm Trounce's claims but reveal that the significance of these forms is very often less specific than he suggests. The TextBase contains a majority of texts which are Southern and Eastern and this, of course, has influenced the results: in several cases forms have been found to occur only in Southern, South Eastern and East Midland texts, whereas, in reality, they may also have occurred in the North, the West or the Central Midlands. Despite the somewhat distorted overall picture that the TextBase is likely to represent, it succeeds in showing that Trounce's claim that these forms were

²¹³ Bliss (1966), p.54.

²¹⁴ Trounce (1933), p.46.

restricted to East Anglia can very rarely be supported and that most of these forms were widespread throughout (at the very least) the East Midlands and South East.

Each form given by Trounce and appearing in the stanzaic *Guy* is discussed below individually. All of the texts listed in Appendix L (the description of the TextBase) have been searched:

i. *vnride* 'bad / evil' or 'enormous' (adj.), also 'devil' (n.)

Occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* at 7516 and 7464 (both in rhyme). This form is more widespread than Trounce suggests and seems generally to have been acceptable within a range of poetic texts, its distribution being determined by genre rather than geography. It occurs 5x in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander*, a text probably produced in Lancashire, where it is always an alliterating word;²¹⁵ 1x in the N.W.Midland alliterative *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, where it is an alliterating word;²¹⁶ 6x in the Lincolnshire couplet romance *Havelok*.²¹⁷ Also in the Auchinleck MS texts: *Sir Tristram* (x5), produced in the North;²¹⁸ *Arthour and Merlin* (x1), produced in London;²¹⁹ *A Disputation between the Body and the Soul* (x1);²²⁰ and in the tail-rhyme romances *The Kyng of Tars* (x2)²²¹ and *Horn Childe* (x4).²²² Further, the MED records use of this word in a Northern text, the *Northern Homilies*.²²³

In addition to its occurrence in E.Midland tail-rhyme romances, then, this word appears as a rhyme word in couplet romances from the N.Midlands and London, as an alliterating word in two North Western alliterative romances, and also in the *Northern Homilies*. The only common denominator is that eight of the ten texts it has been found to occur in are romances,²²⁴ providing evidence which would dismiss the idea that *vnride* is a useful

²¹⁵ At 459, 565, 637, 861 and 993. See Duggan and Turville-Petre (1989), p.xlii, for a discussion of the most likely region in which the archetype was composed.

²¹⁶ At 1432.

²¹⁷ In the line at 1986 and 1796 and in rhyme at 965, 2675 and 2948.

²¹⁸ In rhyme at 2366, 2712, 2757, 2773 and 2849.

²¹⁹ In rhyme at 886.

²²⁰ In rhyme at 71.

²²¹ In rhyme at 145 and 1073.

²²² In rhyme at 51, 111, 387 and 633.

²²³ (a 1425) *N.Hom. (1) Gosp. (Ash 42)* 136a. See the list of 'Regional Texts' in the MED 'Index and Bibliography', Kurath (1954), pp.11-12.

²²⁴ The only non-romance texts being the *Disputation between the Body and the Soul* and the *Northern Homilies*.

indicator of region. If anything, it might be described as an indicator of genre (a common romance word).

ii. *qued* 'bad / evil' (adj., n.)

This word occurs 2x in the stanzaic *Guy*: in rhyme at 7840 and 8815. This word is more widespread than Trounce proposes and the evidence from searching a range of Middle English texts would not suggest that it is especially characteristic of the tail-rhyme romances. It occurs in two tail-rhyme romances: 1x in the Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu* in rhyme at 764 and 1x in the Cotton Caligula *Lybeaus* in rhyme at 1315. However, it also occurs as an alliterating word 1x each in the N.W. Midland alliterative poems *Cleanness* (at 567) and *Patience* (Prologue, 4); 1x in *Piers Plowman* as an alliterating word (Passus 14, 189); 1x in the *Confessio Amantis* (in the line at V 3568); and 15x in the Laud MS *Kyng Alisaunder*.²²⁵ It also occurs another 34x in the Auchinleck MS where it is distributed among 7 of the non-romance texts²²⁶ and 4 of the London couplet romances.²²⁷ Further, the MED records its occurrence in two South Eastern texts, the Shoreham Poems and the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, and in two South Western texts, the romance *Firumbras* and the comic collection *The Fox and Wolf in the Well*.²²⁸

iii. *ferred* 'company'.

This form occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* 4x: at 7552, 7996, 9088 and 10450 (all in rhyme). Of the texts searched in the TextBase, *ferred* is found only to occur in the Auchinleck MS where, in addition to the four occurrences in the stanzaic *Guy*, it occurs 35x: 1x in rhyme in *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* (314); 2x in rhyme in the tail-rhyme *King of Tars* (1020, 1156); the remaining occurrences being distributed in three London couplet

²²⁵ In rhyme 5x at 1107, 2154, 6285, 7863 and 7892 and in the line 9x at 1241, 1280, 4218, 4230, 5610, 6065 (twice), 7004, 7213, 7427.

²²⁶ 1x in the saint's life *St. Katerine* in rhyme at 590, 1x in *A Disputation between the Body and the Soul* in rhyme at 128, 1x in *The Harrowing of Hell* in rhyme at 8, 1x in *A penniwork of witte* in the line at 342, 3x in the *Short Metrical Chronicle* in rhyme at 592, 930 and 1440, 3x in the *Speculum Gy* in rhyme at 48, 654, 862 and 2x in the *Sayings of the Four Philosophers* in rhyme at 64 and in the line at 67.

²²⁷ 7x in the couplet *Guy* in rhyme at 285, 485, 1372, 1500, 1588 and 3216 and in the line at 360, 6x in *Arthur and Merlin* in rhyme at 1332, 1498, 4325, 5231 and 5508 and in line at 8398, 1x in the fragmentary *Kyng Alisaunder* in line at 7004, and 8x in the *Seuen Sages* in rhyme at 742, 1123, 1701 and 2630 and in line at 247, 1387, 1489 and 1915.

²²⁸ *Shoreham Poems* 63/1769. *Ayenbite of Inwyt* 16/13, 17/16. *Firumbras (1)* (Ashm) 1535. *Fox and W. (Dgb)* 224. See the list of 'Regional Texts' in the MED 'Index and Bibliography', Kurath (1954), pp.11-12.

romances: the couplet *Guy* 16x;²²⁹ *Arthur and Merlin* 13x in rhyme;²³⁰ and the fragmentary *Richard* 3x in rhyme.²³¹ However, the MED also records occurrences in two South Western texts, the romance *Firumbras* and the fourteenth-century Gloucester Chronicle.²³² Certainly, then, use of this word was far more widespread, at least across the South, than Trounce has proposed. It appears frequently in the South Eastern and East Midland romances of the Auchinleck MS, with the MED indicating that it was also used in the South West.

iv. The phrase (*meche of*) *mounde* (as epic compliment).

The stanzaic *Guy* has *of gret mounde* at 7503 and *of michel mounde* at 7537, 8776 and 10452. As with iii., this appears to be a phrase which would be best described as occurring in romances produced in the East (that is, the South East and East Midlands), occurring in: the Cotton Caligula *Launfal* (x1);²³³ the Laud MS *Kyng Alisaunder* (x10);²³⁴ and the Auchinleck *Legend of Pope Gregory* (x1),²³⁵ *King of Tars* (x1),²³⁶ *Roland and Vernagu* (x1),²³⁷ *Reinbrun* (x1),²³⁸ *Bevis* (x1),²³⁹ couplet *Guy* (x2),²⁴⁰ *Seuen Sages* (x3),²⁴¹ *Arthur and Merlin* (x22)²⁴² and the fragmentary *Richard* (x1).²⁴³

v. The phrase *bryzt in bour*

Occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* at 7051, 7102 and 7143. It elsewhere occurs in the Cotton Caligula *Launfal* (2x);²⁴⁴ in the Laud MS *Kyng Alisaunder* (1x);²⁴⁵ the Auchinleck

²²⁹ 2x in the line at 1870 and 6215 and 14x in rhyme at 1158, 1209, 1795, 1843, 2144, 2955, 3125, 4104, 4221, 4224, 4360, 4427, 4683 and 5217.

²³⁰ At 1680, 1761, 1778, 3823, 5853, 6266, 7624, 7940, 8119, 8211, 8581, 8697 and 8765.

²³¹ At E f.327ra 13, E f.327 va 24 and S f.2ra 38.

²³² *Firumbras* (1) (*Ashm*) 2060. *Glo.Chron.A. (Clg)* 2917. See the list of 'Regional Texts in the MED 'Index and Bibliography', Kurath (1954), pp.11-12.

²³³ The phrase *mochell mounde* occurring at 596.

²³⁴ The phrase *of mounde(s)* occurring at 179, 2203, 3738, 4457, 5583 and 7394. And the phrase *of [grete / rich / mychel] mounde* occurring at 2424, 2651, 3023 and 5344.

²³⁵ The phrase *michel of mounde* occurring at 645.

²³⁶ The phrase *michel of mounde* occurring at 549.

²³⁷ The phrase *michel of mounde* occurring at 852.

²³⁸ The phrase *so meche mounde* occurring at 1353.

²³⁹ The phrase *of meche mounde* occurring at 3678.

²⁴⁰ The phrase *of gret mounde* occurring at 52 and 59.

²⁴¹ The phrase *of gret mounde* occurring at 226, 567 and 1108.

²⁴² The phrase *of [more / mest / gret] mounde* occurring at 3307, 3704, 3846, 3954, 4191, 4478, 5341, 5490, 5626, 5824, 5906, 5943, 6253, 6495, 7605, 8708 and 9338; the phrase *of mounde* occurring at 3091, 6585, 8808 and 8817; the phrase *o mounde* occurring at 6018.

²⁴³ The phrase *of so michel mounde* occurring at S f.2rb 32.

²⁴⁴ *Launfal*: *bryzt berde yn bour* at 548 and *bryzt yn bour* at 628.

MS *Amis and Amiloun* (5x);²⁴⁶ as well as 1x in Chaucer's parody of popular metrical romance, *Sir Thopas*.²⁴⁷ Again, then, this appears to be a phrase used in romances produced in the East generally.

vi. *aqueld* rhyming with *teld* 'killed : told'

Occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* at 7628-9, 7634-5. Of the other texts searched it occurs in two East Midland tail-rhyme romances (the *King of Tars* 1x at 1188 in rhyme with *beld* : *feld* : *scheld* 'bold : field : shield' and *Roland and Vernagu* 1x at 834 in rhyme with *seld* : *weld* : *feld* 'sold : rules (3 sing. present) ; field') and in three of the London couplet romances (the couplet *Guy* 1x at 6600-1 in rhyme with *eld* 'old'; *Arthur and Merlin* 4x at 400, 6432, 6682 and 7330 where it is always in rhyme with *teld* 'told'; and in the fragmentary Auchinleck *Kyng Alisaunder* at 7864 in rhyme with *yteld* 'told' and the Laud MS *Kyng Alisaunder* 2x at 1062 and 7865 in rhyme with *afeld* and *yteld*). Again, then, this appears to be a rhyme used in romances produced in the East.

vii. *fale* (OE *feala*) in rhyme with words like *sale*.

The stanzaic *Guy* has this rhyme 3x, at: 7264 *tale* : *fale* : *dale* : *bale*; 7418 *tale* : *fale* : *dale* : *sale*; 7576 *tale* : *fale* : *sale* : *bale*. This rhyme occurs elsewhere in: the Cotton Caligula *Octovian* (1x),²⁴⁸ *Lybeaus* (2x),²⁴⁹ *Launfal* (2x),²⁵⁰ and in the Auchinleck *Amis and Amiloun* (x4),²⁵¹ *Roland and Vernagu* (x1),²⁵² *Floris and Blancheflour* (x1)²⁵³ and *Bevis* (x10).²⁵⁴ It also occurs in the Auchinleck couplet *Guy* (x1)²⁵⁵ and the fragmentary Auchinleck *Richard* (x1).²⁵⁶ That is, then, a word used in

²⁴⁵ Laud *Kyng Alisaunder*: *bri3th in bour* at 3271.

²⁴⁶ *Amis*: 334, 430, 560, 578 and 1518.

²⁴⁷ *Thopas*: *bright in bour*, *Canterbury Tales*, Section 10, 742.

²⁴⁸ In rhyme with *tale* : *bredale* : *sale* at 57.

²⁴⁹ In rhyme with *smale* : *vale* : *tale* at 1006 and in rhyme with *bredale* : *tale* : *sale* at 2110.

²⁵⁰ In rhyme with *Launfale* : *tale* : *dale* at 480 and in rhyme with *Launfal* : *ryall* ('royal') : *sale* at 496.

²⁵¹ In rhyme with [*hale*] : *tale* : *sale* at 435; in rhyme with *sale* : *bridale* : *smale* at 1516; in rhyme with *sale* at 1894; in rhyme with *hale* : *tale* : *bale* at 2346.

²⁵² In rhyme with *Durindale* at 848.

²⁵³ In rhyme with *tale* at 759.

²⁵⁴ In rhyme with *tale* at 244, 1539, 1901, 2214, 2253, 3983, 4275; with *sale* at 506; with *bale* at 3675; with *smale* 'small' at 4401.

²⁵⁵ In rhyme with *tale* at 1832.

²⁵⁶ In rhyme with *tale* at 4.

romances from the East, occurring occasionally in the London couplet romances but being, as Trounce proposes, most common in the East Midland tail-rhyme romances.

viii. The phrase *rewely chere* (also *reuly chere*).

Occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* 1x in rhyme at 9606. It occurs in other tail-rhyme romances: in the *King of Tars* 1x (in rhyme at 372), 2x in *Amis and Amiloun* (in rhyme at 1355 and 2358) and 1x in *Reinbrun* (in rhyme at 10890). But also occasionally in the London couplet romances: appearing 1x in the Laud MS *Kyng Alisaunder* (in rhyme at 6897) and 1x in the Auchinleck *Arthour and Merlin* (in rhyme 1x at 8506). As with vii., above, then, this form occurs in romances from the East Midlands and South East and appears to be most common in the East Midland tail-rhyme romances.

ix. The phrase *deled ato*.

Occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* at 9313. Of the texts in the TextBase, *delen ato* occurs 1x in the Auchinleck *Sir Orfeo* (in rhyme at 125) and *dele ous ato* occurs 1x in the Auchinleck *Amis and Amiloun* (in rhyme at 587), both East Midland tail-rhyme romances. The MED also records an example of *ideld atuo*, in the South Western romance *Floris and Blancheflour*.²⁵⁷ This could, then, be described as a romance phrase, and one which was probably most common in the East Midlands. The limited evidence, however, makes this difficult to substantiate.

x. *fende* (OE *findan*)

Occurs in the stanzaic *Guy* 6x at 7404, 7431, 7718, 7747, 7775 and 9393 (all in rhyme). This form is elsewhere only found to occur 1x in rhyme in the couplet *Guy* at 6803 and 1x in rhyme in *Horn Childe* at 268. It is, then, most commonly represented in East Midland tail-rhyme romances.

xi. The phrase *in hert(-d) to hide*.

The stanzaic *Guy* has *in herd is nouzt to hide* at 7162. Again, and as Trounce claims, this form is rare outside of the tail-rhyme romances: it occurs only in the Cotton Caligula *Emaré* (2x at 120 and 996) and *Launfal* (1x at 57) and the Auchinleck *Saint Patrick's*

²⁵⁷ c.1300 (1250) *Floris (Cmb)* 99/548. See the list of 'Regional Texts in the MED 'Index and Bibliography', Kurath (1954), pp.11-12.

Purgatory (1x at 420), *Amis and Amiloun* (1x at 501) and *Horn Childe* (6x at 39, 57, 189, 396, 669 and 729).

xii. The phrase *out braiding*.

Occurs 2x in the stanzaic *Guy* (1x in rhyme at 8187 and 1x in the line at 10072) and has not been found in any of the other texts.

In summary: (o.) i. and ii. (*vnride* and *qued*) were widespread forms, insignificant for localisation; (o.) iii., iv., v. and vi. (*ferred*, *-of mounde*, *bri3t in bour* and *aqueld : teld*) occurred in romances throughout the East (that is, the South East or E.Midlands); (o.) vii., viii., ix. and x. (*fale : sale*, *rewely chere*, *deled ato* and *fende*) are most commonly represented in E.Midland tail-rhyme romances but are not exclusively restricted to these texts, also occurring in some other romances; (o.) xi. and xii. (*hert to hide* and *out braiding*) are rare and exclusive to the E.Midland tail-rhyme romances.

What has been found is that the TextBase almost inevitably shows that the forms are of wider distribution than Trounce proposes. Where the information is available, examples recorded in the MED further widen the regional distribution of any given form. Both resources demonstrate the importance of access to a wide range of texts before it is possible to make claims for regional or generic patterning.

The vocabulary and phrasing of the stanzaic *Guy*, then, as presented in (o.) i.-xii. above, represents what would be expected of a romance produced in the East Midlands, East Anglia or the South East: with certain words and phrases (most notably *hert to hide* and *rewely chere* but also perhaps *out braiding*, *fend*, *fale* and *deled ato*) perhaps exhibiting special affiliation to what could be described as an East Midland tail-rhyme *koine*.

There are no other lexical features which could be described as specifically and indisputably East Anglian. For example, none of the words recorded in LALME as being typically or exclusively East Anglian (like <x> for etymological 'sh-' in dot map 149 or *werd* for 'world' in dot map 295) occur in the stanzaic *Guy* to provide convincing evidence that localisation must be restricted within East Anglia. There is one occurrence of *splents* at 9982 (*splentes of stiel* to describe Amoraunt's hauberk) which the

Promptorium Parvulorum lists as a word only recorded within East Anglia.²⁵⁸ However, this alone would be insufficient as evidence for a specifically East Anglian dialect and does no more than to support localisation generally within the East Midland region.

Trounce's use of these phrases, along with other linguistic features, as evidence for a specifically East Anglian 'school' has been shown to overplay their significance. These features, along with the use of the tail-rhyme stanza, should it seems be regarded as characteristic of the East Midlands more generally and be regarded as a literary *koine* associated with this area. That is, the use of these features and this poetic form should be regarded as having been in wider and more general use than the notion of an 'East Anglian school' would imply. Certainly, this would be supported by the comments of the fourteenth-century Lincolnshire writer Robert Mannyng of Brunne in his *Chronicle of England* who states that he has chosen not to write in tail-rhyme: in *ryme couwee*.²⁵⁹ That is, Mannyng, from Lincolnshire, not East Anglia, knew of this form and saw writing in it as an option available to him, implying that use of the tail-rhyme form should not be regarded as having been restricted to East Anglia alone.

Conclusions

This conclusion makes three points regarding the language of the B-archetype. The first point states what can be deduced with certainty from the linguistic data presented above in 3.2. The second discusses the problems and limitations presented by the data when attempting more specific localisation of the text. Taking the issues discussed in ii. into account, the third point tentatively proposes a precise region for the localisation of this text.

²⁵⁸ Mayhew (1908).

²⁵⁹ See especially lines 85-92: *If it were made in ryme couwee, / or in strangere or enterlace, / þat rede Inglis it ere inowe, / þat couthe not haf copped a kowe, / þat outhere in couwee or in baston / som suld haf ben fordon, / so þat fele men þat it herde / suld not witte howe þat it ferde.* Furnivall (1887).

i.

The West is excluded by (b.), (c.), (d.) and (e.). The North is excluded by the examples of rounding of OE \bar{a} cited in (a.) and in view of the fact that OE \bar{a} is retained only in fixed sequences. The North is also excluded by (d.), (h.), (i.), (j.), (k.) and probably (e.).

That the South East / South East Midlands is an important influence is indicated by (d.), (e.), (g.) and (m.). And Southern rather than Midland influence is emphasised by (i.), (j.) and (m.).

The combination of this primarily Southern and Eastern colouring combined with a high proportion of conventional rhyme sequences in which the reflex of OE \bar{a} appears as *a* (given in (a.)) is indicative of the traditional practice of East Midland tail-rhyme romances.²⁶⁰ An East Midland rather than South Eastern provenance would be confirmed by the spelling and word forms given in (j.), (n.) and (o.) and would also be suggested by the significant proportion of *o*-forms given in (g.).

This analysis, then, would indicate that the stanzaic *Guy* was produced in the East Midlands. Detailed searches of the stanzaic *Guy* furnish many examples of forms and rhyme sequences (given in (a.) and (o.)) thought to be generally characteristic of tail-rhyme romances produced in this region and it is clear from this data that the composer of the B-version archetype was highly familiar with these conventions.

A comment should also be made here on the B-version composer's choice of subject matter. The opening of the stanzaic *Guy* (with its recapitulation and address to the audience) indicates that this was the original starting point for this text (it is not the case that this romance is incomplete, with the story of *Guy*'s early life being lost). Also, the B-version composer chose to exclude the Reinbrun material, which in the Anglo Norman is partly interspersed with the story of *Guy*'s later life. The composer, then, had chosen only to deal with the latter part of *Guy*'s life: to focus on the story of *Guy*'s religious conversion and his life as an anonymous pilgrim and then a hermit.

The choice of material is significant here: as Trounce observes, one of the preferred themes of the East Midland tail-rhyme poems involves stories of 'long suffering', of the

²⁶⁰ As outlined by Trounce in his survey (1932; 1933; 1934).

‘Eustace’ or the ‘Constance’ type, as exhibited, for example, in *Octovian*, *Isumbras* and *The King of Tars*.²⁶¹ That the composer of the stanzaic *Guy* chose to adapt the pious, devotional section of the *Guy of Warwick* diptych (or triptych if you include the story of Reinbrun) is consistent with the idea that this composer was consciously working with kind of East Midland *koine* and that this *koine* was traditionally associated with particular subjects as well as with particular linguistic features.

The stanzaic *Guy* has always in the past been regarded as a ‘continuation’ of the couplet *Guy*: referred to as ‘*Guy II*’ and proposed by Hibbard Loomis to have been commissioned especially as a continuation for the Auchinleck Manuscript couplet *Guy*.²⁶² When regarded as a text produced in affiliation with an East Midland tail-rhyme *koine*, however, it can be shown that this text was conceived of and created as a single unit by an author interested in the themes of piety and suffering. It seems important to consider that it is likely that this text (though only the Auchinleck copy now survives) circulated as an independent romance and was read and presented as such.

ii.

Identification of the B-version as written in a literary *koine* presents problems for more specific localisation. Trounce states that the East Midland tail-rhyme romances share so many features of language and style and exhibit so many interconnections that they can be described as written in a *lingua communis*. Any composer may use any forms established within its *lingua communis* and, therefore, at times the written language represented in the text may well have more in common with the *lingua communis* than with the composer’s own native language.²⁶³ The chasm between written and spoken, it seems, was seldom wider and this problematises dialect analysis.

An attempt at precise localisation would be possible by comparing the proportions of the various forms in order to place the text more towards the north or south of the region.

²⁶¹ Trounce (1932), pp.96-7.

²⁶² There has been considerable debate and disagreement concerning this issue of how the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick*, with its different but connected parts, would have been read and regarded. This is discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.iii where an outline is given of the various contributions to the issue made by Hibbard Loomis (1942), Pearsall (1965), Cunningham (1972), Guddat-Figge (1976), Mordkoff (1981), Fewster (1987), Evans (1995) and Richmond (1996). See also the conclusions to this thesis.

²⁶³ Most notable, for example, are the use of *-are* and *-awe* sequences by South Midland authors. For a more detailed discussion of the *-are* sequences and their significance as an element of the literary situation in fourteenth-century East Anglia see: Trounce (1933), pp.46-49.

And in traditional dialect analysis this approach is credible enough. This method, however, must be accepted as something of a theoretical exercise when dealing with a romance written in literary language, a *koine* or what Trounce calls a *lingua communis*. A *koine* is a linguistic system which admits into the dialect of an individual linguistic developments which have not taken place within their own dialect. It is, therefore, an abstraction from the spoken language which, though it may be associated with a broad regional boundary, exists on the page and has a life which is not geographically rooted. It is a system which is constructed socially or culturally. It is defined within social or literary boundaries rather than geographical ones.

iii.

Accepting (or despite) the comments made in ii. some description is given below outlining those features of the language which may indicate the particular area of the East Midlands within which the B-version archetype was most likely to have been composed. Though these may be to some extent theoretical in terms of localisation, they are useful in further characterising the language of the B-version.

The proportion of *o* to *a* forms for the reflex of OE \bar{a} in the stanzaic *Guy* is more suggestive of the southern than the northern part of the region. As discussed in (a.), the ratio of *o* : *a* forms in the stanzaic *Guy* is approximately 2 : 1 and, very significantly, the *a* forms are restricted to the conventional *-are* and *-awe* sequences. This contrasts, for example, with the Norfolk *Amis and Amiloun* where *o* and *a* forms occur in about equal proportions, with *a*-forms occurring in a wider range of rhymes than in the stanzaic *Guy*.²⁶⁴

It should also be noted here that there is a complete absence of the rare Norfolk vocabulary which characterises and confirms the localisation of *Amis* within the northern part of East Anglia. There is also a distinct lack of typically Northern words which might be expected of a text from the North of the region.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Trounce (1933), p.45.

²⁶⁵ Trounce (1933), p.45.

The high proportion of *e* forms for the reflex of OE $\text{æ} + g + d$ or *n* (given in (d.)) and for the reflex of OE *ea* + *l* (given in (g.)) would also point to the southern rather than the northern part of the region and is indicative of South Eastern influence. The very high proportion of *e*-forms of the reflex of OE *y* would strongly suggest the East.²⁶⁶ However, that there is no evidence of the Essex *a*-development for OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal (given in (f.)) perhaps suggests localisation should not be placed within Essex itself (where evidence of this development might be expected).

Marked Southern forms in the morphology should also be noted here. The number of examples confirmed by rhyme is limited but they remain significant: the 3 pl. pres. ends -*b* 1x; the 3 plural pres. form *fint* occurs 1x (a syncopated form of *findep* characteristic of the South); and the past participle often has the *y*- prefix.²⁶⁷

Also significant are the notable similarities with the vocabulary and phrasing of *Sir Orfeo*, localised by Bliss to Middlesex or London-Middlesex.²⁶⁸ The words *owy* 'away', see (m.), *perk-* 'dark', see (n.), and the phrase *deled ato* 'parted', see (o.), are rare and of restricted distribution in Middle English and all occur in both the stanzaic *Guy* and *Sir Orfeo*.²⁶⁹

It is possible that *Sir Orfeo* was known to the composer of the stanzaic *Guy*, or vice versa, and that these forms were learnt from reading the other text.²⁷⁰ Alternatively, however, these similarities could be used to argue that the stanzaic *Guy* was composed further South than has previously been suggested, in a region close to *Sir Orfeo*. That is, if Bliss's localisation of *Sir Orfeo* within Middlesex is accepted, the shared linguistic features of *Orfeo* and the stanzaic *Guy* could be used to localise the stanzaic *Guy* within a similar region: in Middlesex or Hertfordshire.²⁷¹ Certainly, the marked southernisms in

²⁶⁶ See (f.) and (d.) above.

²⁶⁷ See (g.) - (j.) above.

²⁶⁸ Bliss (1966), pp.xvii and xxi.

²⁶⁹ See (l.), (n.) and (o.) in 3.2.ii above.

²⁷⁰ Regarding the date of composition of *Sir Orfeo*, Bliss (1966), p.xxi, comments that: "...As far as the language is concerned, *Sir Orfeo* might have been written at any date in the second half of the thirteenth century...". Troncy (1934), pp.47-9, approximately dates the stanzaic *Guy* within the early fourteenth century.

²⁷¹ See LALME Key Map 6 which gives an outline of the county borders in the SE and E.Midlands and shows the region where Middlesex borders Essex.

the text and lack of certain crucial Essex or East Anglian features would support localisation in Middlesex or Hertfordshire.

The significant number of Southern elements in the language of the stanzaic *Guy*, plus the similarities with *Sir Orfeo*, would point to a region further south and further west than Suffolk, proposed by Trounce. Trounce's localisation of the text within Suffolk seems to depend too much upon a determination to fit all the texts within his overall schema (represented as a diagram in Trounce (1934) part III page 48).

Trounce describes his schema as an overarching "...framework..." for the tail-rhyme romances consisting of "...three main sections...", with the first section described as "...having its centre in *Guy-plus-Amis*..." and representing "...the climax of the purely East-Anglian and mainly Norfolk 'school', which probably had a very ancient lineage..."²⁷² It is a pattern designed to consider the development of the entire 'school'. However, its effect has been to distort rather than to cohere the evidence presented by individual texts; so that localisation has been determined by the schema, rather than the other way around.

The comments made by Mills in his introduction to *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* are relevant here. Mills rejects Trounce's localisation of *Horn Childe* in Norfolk, placing it further north, in the North or N.Midlands. Trounce's weak interpretation of *Horn Childe*'s dialect and place-name evidence is accounted for by Mills as the result of Trounce having been ruled by a desire to keep to "...his view of H[orn] C[hilde] as the earliest product of a school of tail-rhyme composition centred on Norfolk..."²⁷³

As is the case with *Horn Childe*, Trounce's localisation of the stanzaic *Guy* can be shown to have been determined by the schema, dictating that all the 'earlier' texts had their genesis in or near Norfolk. Trounce ignores the number of marked southernisms in the stanzaic *Guy* and plays down the differences to the language of *Amis and Amiloun* (which Kölbing has independently and convincingly established as originating in Norfolk). It is notable, for example, that *Amis* represents a dialect which is markedly

²⁷² Trounce (1934), pp.47-8.

²⁷³ Mills (1988), p.41.

more Northern in colouring than the stanzaic *Guy* and which also (as mentioned above) contains a significant sample of distinctive Norfolk vocabulary absent in the stanzaic *Guy*.²⁷⁴

The borrowing which occurs between *Guy* and *Amis* seems to be central to Trounce's theory that they are from adjacent regions. But this interpretation is unacceptable. As Trounce himself argues, it is the very nature of a literary language that a high degree of collaboration, borrowing and exchange between texts took place. As a result, borrowing between texts of the East Midland romances provides very little evidence for adjacent composition unless accompanied by significant similarities in dialect.

Trounce's broad outline of the tail-rhyme romances as representing an East Anglian school characterised by its distinctive use of language is only partially appropriate. Trounce's attempt to precisely localise and track the development of this school, along with his claim for its Norfolk origins, over simplifies the actual literary situation in thirteenth and fourteenth-century East Anglia. Moreover, his attempts to precisely localise individual texts have been shown, more than once, to be inaccurate.

The conclusions reached here, in this discussion of the B-version, indicate that it is not appropriate to describe the tail-rhyme romances, as Trounce does, as the products of an 'East-Anglian school'. As shown in (n.) and (o.), the features of vocabulary and phrasing common to these texts and claimed by Trounce to be specific to East Anglia were, in fact, found more widely across the East Midlands, in some cases also occurring South Eastern romances. Further, as has been shown regarding the precise localisation of the stanzaic *Guy* (and as Mills has shown in the case of *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild*), Trounce's model describing how the proposed 'school' developed according to distinct stages is a fallacy.

The tail-rhyme romances do not so much represent a specific 'school' as a genre associated with an area. They can to a certain extent be described as written in an East Midland romance *koine*: a distinctive literary language, characterised by certain traditional forms. But the use of this *koine* was more widespread and more flexible than Trounce's descriptions would suggest: having been used across the East Midlands

²⁷⁴ Kölbing (1884).

generally, not restricted to the East Anglian counties, and having been used by different authors from the region for an extended period, with no evidence for its use having been restricted to any particular region at a time.

4. The C-Version

4.1. Introduction to the C-Version and Survey of Previous Scholarship

As described above in 1, the only surviving text descended from version 'C' is the Auchinleck Manuscript stanzaic *Reinbrun* which appears in the manuscript after *Guy of Warwick*. It is in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas and the rhyme scheme is described above in 3.1. Unfortunately the text is incomplete, the outermost leaves of the fourth fascicle having been lost from the manuscript, with the final leaf presumably having come away when the first leaf was cut out by miniature hunters. As a result, the last two lines of stanza 127 and the conclusion to the story are lost from *Reinbrun*.²⁷⁵

The Auchinleck *Reinbrun*, ff.167rb-175vb, was copied by Auchinleck Scribe V. That this text was copied by a different scribe to the couplet and stanzaic *Guy* would suggest that *Reinbrun* was copied from another exemplar: with changes of scribe typically coinciding with changes of text or exemplar in this manuscript (as described above in Chapter II). Scribe V copies *Reinbrun* and the subsequent text (also a tail-rhyme romance, *Bevis of Hampton*); his stint completing the fourth fascicle of the manuscript (with *Reinbrun*) and opening the fifth fascicle (with *Bevis*).²⁷⁶ LALME provides a profile of the language of Auchinleck Scribe V based on samples from these two texts and, from this, localises Scribe V to South Essex (somewhere near to what is now Brentwood).²⁷⁷

The forms occurring in line in the Auchinleck *Reinbrun* never diverge in any remarkable way from those listed in the LALME profile for this scribe and it has therefore not been necessary to provide a profile of the language of this scribe here.

Section 4.2 considers the evidence for localisation of the language of the C-archetype. Previous scholarship offers various considerations of the language of the C-version archetype. Detailed discussion of this text has, however, been very limited. Brandl does no more than propose an area for localisation, including no examples from the text.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ See the physical description of the manuscript, Chapter II section 2.ii.

²⁷⁶ See the table in Chapter II section 2.ii.

²⁷⁷ LALME vol.III, p.129, profile: LP 6350.

²⁷⁸ Brandl (1893), p.635.

Trounce's discussion is limited to a brief, and rather selective, eleven-line summary of significant features.²⁷⁹ Möller's study is the most detailed and is important in establishing that the three Auchinleck texts were independently composed.²⁸⁰ It is, however, rather limited by its focus: concerning itself far less with *Reinbrun* than with the other two Auchinleck texts and being focused on providing a comparison of the Auchinleck texts rather than on providing individual profiles of the various versions which would be most useful for localisation. Ikegami's study is restricted by the same focus as Möller's but provides some detailed analysis and discussion relevant to the issue of localisation.²⁸¹

The major comments and conclusions presented by these studies are as follows:

Brandl proposes that *Reinbrun* was written in Warwickshire.²⁸² This conclusion was later taken up by Hibbard Loomis and relies on identification of the composer of *Reinbrun* with the composer of the A-version *Guy of Warwick*.²⁸³ It can be dismissed because Brandl's claim that the A-version *Guy of Warwick* was produced in Warwickshire has been shown to be incorrect (see the discussion in 2.1., 2.2., 2.5. and 3.1. above) and, also, because it is a mistaken assumption that the A, B and C versions were all composed in the same region. As Möller and Ikegami have shown, these three texts were by different composers and exhibit marked dialectal and stylistic differences.

Other commentators agree that the text should be localised within the East Midlands. Wells's *Manual* states that *Reinbrun* "...is probably from the East Midlands...".²⁸⁴ Trounce includes *Reinbrun* within his proposed 'East Anglian school' of tail-rhyme romances and, following Möller, proposes that it was produced in a region close to the stanzaic *Guy* only somewhat "...more south-eastern...", concluding that it was composed in "...Suffolk towards Essex...".²⁸⁵

It is of interest to note, here, the apparent importance of Möller's work on the Auchinleck *Guy* and *Reinbrun* material for the development of Trounce's theory about an East

²⁷⁹ Trounce (1933), pp.49-50.

²⁸⁰ Möller (1917).

²⁸¹ Ikegami (1988).

²⁸² Brandl (1893), i 37.

²⁸³ Hibbard Loomis (1924), p.140.

²⁸⁴ Wells (1916), p.16.

²⁸⁵ Trounce (1933), pp.49-50. Möller (1917).

Anglian tail-rhyme school. Möller demonstrates that the stylistically similar and apparently related stanzaic *Guy* and *Reinbrun* were most likely to have been by different composers. He also concludes that the close relationship exhibited between the stanzaic *Guy* and *Amis and Amiloun* was the result not of common authorship or imitation, but of the influence of a common centre.²⁸⁶ Both conclusions are highly compatible with Trounce's theory. Although, then, as Trounce points out, Möller had "...no theory at all about a tail-rhyme school of poets...", his 1917 thesis was a precursor to such a theory, setting the foundation for Trounce's survey of 1932-4.²⁸⁷

Interpretation of the relationship between the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and *Reinbrun*, then, has had an important impact on understanding the tail-rhyme romances as a whole and in this respect the question of their localisation has special importance.

The conclusions of 4.2 agree with the proposal that *Reinbrun* was produced in the East Midlands. More specifically, the proposal that 'Suffolk towards Essex' is the region which the language of the C-archetype was most likely to represent is here concurred with, though this conclusion is reached by a different method to Trounce.

4.2. The Language of the C-Archetype

Set out below is a discussion of the linguistic data from the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy*. The discussion only considers data significant for localising the language of the archetype.

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} appears as <o> or <a>. Forms with o are frequently attested in rhyme as original and occur in a wide variety of rhymes. For example: 10725-6 *non* : (*don*) 'none : do (infin.)'; 10792-3 (*y-do*) : *fro* 'done : from'; 11037-8 (*poure*) : *more* 'poor : more'; 11106-7 (*to*) : *go* 'to (prep.) : go'; 11160-1, 11616-7 *bo* : (*to*) 'both : to (prep.)'; 11748-9 *so* : (*do*) 'so : do (infin.)'; 11840 *bore* : *sore* : (*i-core* : *per fore*) 'born : sore :

²⁸⁶ Möller (1917).

²⁸⁷ Trounce (1933), p.45.

excellent (OE *cēosan*, past participle of *gecoren*) : therefore'; 11858-60 (*do*) : *to* 'do : two'.

There are 5 tail-rhyme *-are* sequences in the text, all of which can be attested as original: 10821 *ware* : (*care* : *fare* : *spare*) 'were : care : go (infin.) : spare'; 10845 *pare* : (*fare* : *care* : *bare*) 'there : go (infin.) : care : bare (adj.)'; 11612 *sare* : (*are* : *hare* : *care*) 'sore : before : hare : care'; 11660 *pare* : *sare* : (*care* : *y-fare*) 'there : sore : care : gone'; 11696 *ware* : (*care* : *y-fare* : *care*) 'were : care : gone : care'.

There are also 5 couplets containing *-are* forms: 10573-4, 10606-7 *pare* : (*fare*) 'there : go (infin.)' can be attested as original. The other 3 cannot be attested as originally having *a*-forms: 11211-2 *are* : *pare* 'are : there'; 11769-70, 11916-7 *pare* : *are* 'there : before'.

There is, then, a higher proportion of *o* than *a* rhymes in the text and the *a*-forms are always restricted to the conventional *-are* rhyme sequences (*ware*, *pare*, *sare* rhymed with *care*, *spare*, *fare* and so on).²⁸⁸

(b.)

OE *a* before a nasal is <a>. Attested by: 11541-2 (*began*) : *man* 'began : man'; 11924 *man* : (*cam* : *am* : *wan*) 'man : came : am : won'. This would provide evidence to suggest exclusion of the West Midlands.

(c.)

OE *y* appears as <e> 1x, in: 10581 *kende* : (*sende* : *wende* : *hende*) 'kind : send : go : noble'.²⁸⁹

And appears as <i> 3x, in: 11648, 11948 *kisse* : (*bliss* : *misse* : *pesternesse*) 'kiss : bliss : miss : thirst ('thirstyness')'; 11667-8 *kisse* : (*blisse*) 'kiss (infin.) : bliss'.

²⁸⁸ Compare, also, to 2.2.i. (a.) and 3.2.i. (a.), above.

²⁸⁹ Ikegami cites only the inconclusive rhyme *dede* : *stede* 'did : place' (11496) and comments that "...Except for this rhyme...[the Auchinleck *Reinbrun*]...does not have rhymes indicative ME *e* for OE *y*...", Ikegami (1988), p.29. The rhyme confirming *kende* 'kind', cited here, however, shows that Ikegami is incorrect on this point.

In addition, forms with <i> appear in the conventional rhyme sequence where *pride* and / or *ride* are rhymed with *-side*, *-tide*, *abide* and in one instance *glide*. This sequence appears 6x at: 11132 *ride* : *pride* : (*tide* : *side*); 11156 *ride* : (*abide* : *tide* : *side*); 11480 *ride* : (*beside* : *tide* : *glide*); 11576 *ride* : *pride* : (*abide* : *side*); 11720 *ride* : (*abide* : *side* : *tide*); 12006 *pride* : *ride* : (*tide* : *aside*) (in this last example these form the *a* rhymes in the rhyme scheme *aa b aa b cc b dd b* rather than the tail rhymes as elsewhere).

That there are no *u*-forms would confirm exclusion of the West. The occasional *e*-form may imply the influence of the South East or South East Midlands (though as noted above in 2.2.i. (e.) and in 3.2. (e.), rhymes on *e*-forms were also borrowed further North in romances).

This would confirm exclusion of the West and the occasional *e*-forms might suggest the influence of the South East.

(d.)

OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is <e> in the rhymes: 10581 *sende* : *wende* : (*kende* : *hende*) ‘send : kind : go : noble’; 10717-8 (*lende*) : *wende* ‘assemble : go’; 11406-7 (*hende*) : *wende* ‘noble : go’; 11588 *sende* : *wende* : *ende* : (*hende*) ‘send : go : end : noble’.

OE *i*-mutation of *a* + nasal is <a> in: 10879-80 *man* : (*parsan*) ‘men : parson’ (*pai nomen heraud & al is man / and brouzte hem before parsan*, with the spelling *parsan* confirmed at 10873 and 10921).

The occurrence of this *a*-form indicates East Saxon (primarily Essex) influence.²⁹⁰

(e.)

There are only a few examples in the text where the reflex of OE *ea* + *l* combinations can be confirmed as original. On 3 occasions it can be confirmed that the original had *e* for the reflex of OE *ea* + *l* combinations: 11058-9 *eld* : (*scheld*) ‘old : shield’; 11220-1 *teld*

²⁹⁰ Ikegami (1988), p.22, states that the *a*-type development does not occur in the stanzaic *Guy* and, as the example given above shows, is incorrect on this point.

: (*feld*) ‘told : field’; 11276 *eld* : *weld* : (*scheld* : *feld*) ‘old : rules (3 sing. pres.) : shield : field’. This is a Southern form.²⁹¹

(f.)

The reflex of OE *æ* + *g* + *d* or *n* is *e*: 10654-5 (*rede*) : *sede* ‘advise : said’; 10689 *sede* : (*nede* : *pede* : *blede*) ‘said : need : company : bleed’; 11864 *sede* : (*spede* : *drede* : *ferede*) ‘said : speed : dread : company’. Forms rhyming /e:/ or /ɛ:/ are Southern or South Eastern.²⁹²

(g.)

Ikegami notes that in this text there are certain verbs, confirmed as original, in which *-i-* is retained in the ending so “...the inflectional ending of the infinitive is given artificial stress and made to rhyme with ME /i:/ or /i:ə/...”. As is the case with the rhymes: 10636-7 *presenti* : (*fry*) ‘present (infin.) : free’; 11336 *soiurny* : (*menstralcie* : *leuedy* : *lye*) ‘sojourn (infin.) : entertainment : lady : lie (n.)’; 10657 *norsy* : *seruy* ‘nurse (infin.) : serve (infin.)’; 11478 *pasy* : *prouy* ‘pass (infin.) : prove (infin.)’. Use of this form in rhyme seems to be typical of the South and of the early London dialect: occurring in *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Ayenbite of Inwyt*.²⁹³

The following features of the morphology are significant for localisation:

(h.)

The 3 person singular of the present indicative is *-þ*. Attested by the rhyme: *geþ* : (*deþ*) ‘goes : death’. This would exclude the North.

(i.)

The past participle often takes the prefix *y-*. For example, at 10680, 10688, 10792, 10863, 10948, 11120, 11193, 11253, 11445, 11714, 11980. These cannot be confirmed as original with certainty as they are not essential to the rhyme. Nevertheless, the high

²⁹¹ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.91-2 (§ 61).

²⁹² Where, as Jordan comments (1925, 1934; 1974), p.176: “...Saxon and ...Kentish...OE palatal *ʒ* /j/ was lost before *d* and *n* with lengthening of the preceding vowel...” providing a significant dialectal criterion indicative of the South and South East. See also the discussion in Ikegami (1988), p.23.

²⁹³ See Smithers (1957; rept. 1969), p.51 and Gradon (1979), pp.99-101. For further discussion of this feature, and of the fact that in this text all of these rhymes involve words of French origin, see Ikegami (1988), pp.18-21.

frequency would suggest that they were part of the phraseology of the original and would suggest Southern influence.

The following features of the spelling and vocabulary are significant for localisation:

(j.)

The third person plural pronominal form *he* 'they' is attested in rhyme as an original form 5x: 10567-8, 11295-6 *cite : he* 'city : they'; 10579-80 *fre : he* 'free : they'; 11298-9 *he : be* 'they : are'; 11307-8 *se : he* 'sea : they'.

As noted above in 2.3.i. (l.) and 3.2. (k.), this form was most common in the East Midlands: LALME (dot map 33) records occurrences throughout most of East Anglia and Essex, with a few examples also in the West Midlands, and this form occurs in the Norfolk *Havelok*.²⁹⁴

(k.)

The third person plural pronominal form *pam* 'them' is attested in rhyme as an original form at 11802 *pam : fram* 'them : from'. LALME dot map 41 records "THEM: 'tham' type with simple medial *a(a)*", showing that occurrences are restricted to the North and the North East, reaching as far South as the Wash and North Norfolk (given in section 8, below, as Map 13).

(l.)

The word *perk* 'dark' occurs at 10883 and 11438. As described above in 3.2. (m.), this word was restricted to the East Midlands.

(m.)

The following words and phrases occur in *Reinbrun* and have all been shown in 3.2. (o.), above, to be restricted to romances produced in the South East and East Midlands, with *reuly chere* appearing most commonly in East Midland tail-rhyme romances:

i. *ferede*: occurs 1x at 11873 in rhyme with *me* 'me'.

ii. *meche of mounde*: occurs 1x in rhyme at 11858.

iii. *reuly chere*: occurs 1x in rhyme at 10890.

²⁹⁴ Smithers (1987), p.lxxxii.

Conclusions

As described in (a.), the reflex of OE \bar{a} appears as a on a number of occasions but always in conventional *-are* rhyme sequences. These should therefore be regarded as traditional rhymes not as evidence for localisation in the North. That the North should be excluded is also confirmed by: the *e*-forms listed in (c.), (e.) and (f.); the α -form given in (d.); the morphological features given in (g.) and (h.); as well as occurrence of many examples of rounding to o given in (a.).

As discussed in 3.2. (a.) above, the use of conventional *-are* rhymes often characterises the East Midland and East Anglian tail-rhyme poems and the following features of the language would confirm that this text was produced in the East Midlands:

The West is excluded by (b.) and (c.). The influence of the East is indicated by the *e*-forms given in (c.); by the words and phrases given in (m.) which represent what would be expected in the vocabulary of a South Eastern or East Midland romance; by the α -form given in (d.); by the forms *he* 'they' and *perk* 'dark', given in (j.) and (l.), which seem to have been restricted to the East Midlands.

More problematic is the question of specific localisation within this region. Features which might point to the Northern part of the East Midlands:

- i. The occurrence of the form *pam* 'them' (see Map 13 in section 8, below) which was generally restricted to the North, appearing also in the N.Midlands in the Northern parts of East Anglia.
- ii. The occurrence of a relatively small proportion of *e*-forms of the reflex of OE y . In the stanzaic *Guy* the ratio of $e : i$ forms for the reflex of OE y is approximately 2 : 1. In *Reinbrun*, by contrast, the ratio of $e : i$ is more like 1 : 6.²⁹⁵ A certain number of *e*-forms would be compatible with a N.E.Midland text, as occur in *Amis and Amiloun* but a higher number would be expected of a S.E.Midland / Essex text, as in the stanzaic *Guy*.

Weighted against these are the features which imply the Southern part of the region:

²⁹⁵ See 4.2.ii (d.) above.

- iii. For the reflex of OE \bar{a} , there is a higher number of rhymes with *o*-forms than *a*-forms.
- iv. The typically East Saxon plural form *man* 'men' is confirmed in rhyme once (primarily an Essex development).
- v. The forms given in (e.), (f.) and (g.) are indicative of Southern influence.

Trounce also cites *rabyte*, *forhel* and *at þe frome*, which occur in *Reinbrun*, as specifically indicative of the South Eastern part of the region. However, the significance of these forms seems questionable, to say the least. The word *rabyte*, for example, occurs 4x in the more northerly *Octavian* (in rhyme at 1078 and in the line at 1095, 1352 and 1415) and both *rabetis* and *forhelid* appear as alliterating words in the Lancashire alliterative poem *The Wars of Alexander*.

The features given in i. and ii. are suggestive of influence from the northern part of the region (north of Essex). The features given in iii., iv. and v., however, would make a N.Midland provenance unlikely. The Norfolk text *Amis and Amiloun*, for example, has a much higher proportion of rhymes where reflex of OE \bar{a} is *a* than *Reinbrun*.

Overall, then, i. - v. imply a region which would concur closely with that proposed by Trounce (though Trounce reaches this conclusion by comparison with the stanzaic *Guy*). That is, South Suffolk or, when it is considered that localisation should not, as Trounce asserts, be restricted specifically within East Anglia,²⁹⁶ Cambridge. The form *þam* 'them' remains somewhat unaccounted for but is perhaps less surprising when this is considered as a text produced within a literary system characterised by linguistic borrowing and exchange.

The conclusions of 3 and 4, then, position *Reinbrun* to the north of the stanzaic *Guy* (*Reinbrun* in S.Suffolk or Cambridgeshire, the stanzaic *Guy* in Middlesex or Hertfordshire) and reject Möller and Trounce argument that *Reinbrun* is the more south easterly of the two. Trounce's more northerly localisation of the stanzaic *Guy* relies too much on the idea that *Guy* was composed in an area not far from the Norfolk *Amis* and, crucially, is based on a very narrow selection of forms from both texts: ignoring, for

²⁹⁶ See the discussion of Trounce's theory in 3.3, above.

example, several of the Southern features in the stanzaic *Guy* as well as the fact that *Reinbrun* has, proportionally, less *e* forms for the reflex of OE *y* and less *o* forms for the reflex of OE *ā* than the stanzaic *Guy*.

Though precise localisation is problematic, then, it seems certain that relative to the stanzaic *Guy*, at least, *Reinbrun* should be confirmed as the more northerly text and that its language would appear most compatible with localisation in S.Suffolk or Cambridgeshire.

5. The D-Version

5.1. Introduction to the D-Version and Survey of Previous Scholarship

The only surviving text of the D-version *Guy of Warwick* is preserved as two sets of fragments: BL MS 14408 and NLW MS Binding fragments 572. As described in Chapter II, these fragments come from a single text which was cut up and used in the binding of a pair of books produced for the same patron.

Mills and Huws' 1974 edition provides the only previous consideration of the dialect of this text. They conclude that the dialect of both scribe and archetype is Northern and the findings of this study would concur with this. In this, Mills and Huws and this study would both reject the proposal in Wells' *Manual* that this text is "...perhaps of the North Midlands..."²⁹⁷

Mills and Huws' consideration of the dialect is restricted to the 'notes on the text' at the end of the volume.²⁹⁸ The note to line 21 lists as a "...group..." all the other notes which give "...northern..." features.²⁹⁹ A total of 13 features are listed: 6 occurring in the line and 7 attested in rhyme. These linguistic features succeed in demonstrating the Northern character of the language of both scribe and archetype. Nevertheless, the treatment of dialect is in several ways limited by the scope of the edition: examples of linguistic features significant for localisation are scattered throughout the notes, so that any discussion is very brief, and provide conclusions which are limited to two succinct statements.³⁰⁰

The discussion of the language of the original in 5.2. and of the scribe in 5.3., below, has inevitably involved a certain amount of repetition of the key features listed by Mills and Huws (and where this occurs it has been acknowledged) but it has been possible to build on their work. Additional examples and references have been provided (from the text but also giving comparisons with other texts and studies); the discussion organises the

²⁹⁷ Wells (1916), p.16.

²⁹⁸ Mills and Huws (1974), pp.87-110.

²⁹⁹ Mills and Huws (1974), p.87.

³⁰⁰ In the introduction, it is proposed, regarding the scribe, that "...a Northern provenance is clearly suggested by the language...", Mills and Huws (1974), p.5. Then, in the notes to the text, it is stated that the use of *y/i* after vowels as a mark of length "...seems to be a 'northern' feature to group with those indicated in the notes to 159, 243 f, 376, 387, 1101...2020 f...6, 70, 277 f, 481, 979 and 1017...", Mills and Huws (1974), p.87.

linguistic material so as to present a coherent account; and whilst concurring with Mills and Huws' localisation broadly within the North, this account has also been able to consider the case for more precise localisation of the language of the scribe.³⁰¹

5.2. The Language of the D-Archetype

The D-version archetype was written in a Northern dialect and this is confirmed by a series of characteristically Northern forms attested in rhyme. These are given below and most are also given, in summary form, in Mills' notes to his 1974 edition of the fragments.

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} is generally <a> with some examples of <ay, aa>.³⁰² Forms with <a>: (*hast*) : *mast* 'haste : most' 243-4; (*car*) : *mar* 'care : more' 255-6, 1451-50; (*car*) : *sar* 'care : sore' 774-5; *bath(e)* : (*skathe*) 'both : evil / wrong (n.)' 391-2, 574-5, 2365-4; *baht* : (*skaht*) 'both : evil / wrong (n.)' 2285-6; (*raith*) : *bath* 'quick : both' 586-7; (*rait*) : *baht* 'quick : both' 664-5; *ras* : (*pasas*) 'rose : pass' 450-1; *wahte* : (*late*) 'know : late' 1213-4; *wate* : (*state*) 'know : state / condition (n.)' 1896-7; *rad* : (*mad*) 'rode : made' 1516-7; *brad* : (*glad*) 'broad (adj.) : glad' 1882-3. Forms with <ay>: *gays* : (*pays*) 'goes : pace' 159-60. Forms with <aa>: (*paas*) : *gaas* 'pass (n.) : goes' 1004-5.

The exclusive use of *a*-forms localises the language of the archetype within the region north of a line which follows the Ribble through Lancashire, runs east through West Riding, then drops south to run east through Lindsey's border with Kesteven-Holland.³⁰³

LALME dot maps 637 and 635 (Maps 14 and 15 in section 8, below) would indicate that the use of *aa* and *ay* provide evidence for localisation within the more Northerly part of the region (north of the Humber). That is, they are specifically Northern forms. However, it cannot be confirmed with certainty that these forms are archetypal.

³⁰¹ There is an error in the line numbering of Mills and Huws edition which should be recorded here: p.55 of the text has the line number "1050" which should read "1505".

³⁰² See Mills (1974), p.87 note 21 and p.89 note 243.

³⁰³ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38, p.283 and Map 17.

(b.)

The reflex of OE *ea* + *ld* is <a> in the rhyme (*cald*) : *hald* ‘called : old’ 385-6. Forms with *a* are characteristic of the northern counties and confirms distribution within the region described in (a.) above, that is, north of the Ribble and Kesteven-Holland.³⁰⁴

(c.)

The reflex of OE *y* is <y/i>: (*tide*) : *pride* ‘tide : pride’ 113-4; *pride* : (*ride*) ‘pride : ride’ 2054-5; (*fynde*) : *kynde* ‘find : kind’ 2489-90; *kist* : (*wist*) ‘kissed : knew’ 2705-6. And is <e> in: *kest* : (*wist*) ‘kissed : knew’ 1485-6 where the *e* form *kest* seems to be a scribal replacement, the archetype having had *kist* in order to form an exact rhyme. This would imply exclusion of Lancashire (in the west of the region) which is within the territory dominated by *u*-forms.³⁰⁵

(d.)

The reflex of OE \bar{o} was probably <o>. This is implied by the rhymes *gud* : (*wod*) ‘good : mad’ 2169-70 and *gud* : (*blod*) ‘good : blood’ 2217-8. In both cases the *u*-forms of ‘good’ appear to be scribal replacements, with OE \bar{o} frequently appearing as *u* in line in the NLW/BL scribe’s repertoire. That no *u*-forms are confirmed in rhyme means that the language of the original cannot be localised with certainty to the most northerly part of the region (Northumberland, N.Cumberland or Durham). However, this region cannot be excluded as it is possible that the author had both forms as part of his repertoire.

(e.)

Present singular verbs end in -s.³⁰⁶ This is attested by the rhymes: (*Sarzyns*) : *tyns* ‘Saracens : loose (2 present singular, ON *tyna*) 930-1; (*paas*) : *gaas* ‘pass (n.) : goes (3 present singular, *G with hys folk ogayn thaym gaas*) 1004-5; *gos* : (*was*) ‘goes (3 present singular: ...*chester G than gos*) : was’ 2803-4.

³⁰⁴ Kristensson (1967), pp.46-8 and p.236 item 3.

³⁰⁵ Kristensson (1967), pp.116-120, p.238 item 14 and Map 6 in Section 8, below.

³⁰⁶ See Mills (1974), p.89 note 159.

This confirms localisation north of a line which runs east to west along the county borders of south Cheshire, north Leicestershire and south Lincolnshire (that is, from approximately North Wales to the Wash).

(f.)

There is one case of a present plural verb attested by rhyme and this ends in *-s*: (*thewes*) : *shewes* 'qualities / features : show (present plural: *And lere glally god thewes / The whilk that dothgti men shewes*)' 7-8. This would suggest localisation north of a line which runs south and east from N.Lancashire along Lancashire's eastern border, through West Riding and then through Lincolnshire along the Lindsey/Kesteven-Holland border.

(g.)

Present participle ends *-ing* or *-and*.³⁰⁷ Forms with *-and* are significant for localisation: (*hand*) : *ridand* 'hand : riding' 1319-20; *ridand* : (*land*) 'riding : land' 1482-3; *rynand* : (*hand*) 'running : hand' 2669-70. Again, this feature is characteristic of the North.

Conclusions

(a.), (b.), (e.), (f.) and (g.) confirm a Northern provenance. It is difficult to confirm any very specific area for localisation within this region based on the available evidence, however, the following features provide some indications:

(a.) and (b.) would exclude Kesteven-Holland and the region south of the Ribble. (c.) would exclude Lancashire. (f.) would confirm exclusion of Lancashire and the Kesteven-Holland region of Lincolnshire and would also exclude the southern part of West Riding.

The most likely region for localisation, then, would seem to be the region north of the Humber and east of the Pennines (that is, north of a line from the mouth of the Humber to Westmoreland) though N.Lincolnshire could also be possible.

³⁰⁷ See Mills (1974), p.91 note 388.

5.3. The Language of the NLW/BL Scribe

The NLW/BL text was copied by one scribe, for who no other work has been identified. The palaeography indicates that copying took place during the first quarter of the fourteenth century and the language represents, without doubt, a Northern dialect.³⁰⁸ In terms of more specific localisation, the analysis presented below concludes that the language is most likely to represent the dialect of either Northumberland or N.Cumberland.

All of the following examples occur within the line and all line numbers refer to Mills and Huws 1974 edition of the text. Where multiple cases of a form occur only five examples have usually been listed.

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} is <a>: *bath(e)* 'both' 89, 102, 176, 604, 752; *baht(e)* 'both' 386, 945, 967, 1513, 1580; *ga-* 'go' 157, 424, 694, 1213, 2521; *ham-* 'home' 447, 1846, 2086, 2263, 2708; *lang-* 'long' 190, 857, 1689, 2114, 2574; *-mar(e)* 'more' 156, 1202, 1702, 2434, 2687; *sar* 'sore' 695; *sa* 'so' 131, 278, 506, 1092, 1242; *swa* 'so' 151, 288, 695, 720, 1066; *stan(es)* 'stone(s)' 1094, 1244; *twa* 'two' 662, 667, 1543, 2160, 2296.

The use of α -forms by the NLW/BL scribe localises his language within the region north of a line which follows the Ribble through Lancashire, runs east through West Riding, then drops south to run east through Lindsey's border with Kesteven-Holland.³⁰⁹

OE \bar{a} also occasionally appears as <ay> and <aa> in *baythe* 'both' at 589 and in *k[naawyng]* 'knowing' at 455, *gaas* 'goes' at 588, and *naan* 'none' at 750. Both may represent a mark of length. LALME dot map 637 (Map 14 in section 8, below), recording *ai/ay* forms of the reflex of OE, ON \bar{a} , indicates that these forms were restricted to Lincolnshire and the region north of the Humber. LALME dot map 635 (Map 15 in

³⁰⁸ Mills and Huws (1974), p.5.

³⁰⁹ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38, p.283 and Map 17. Jordan and Moore, Meech and Whitehall differ from Kristensson in their localisation of the late-thirteenth and fourteenth-century boundary for the southern limit of OE \bar{a} retained as α . Whereas Jordan and Moore, Meech and Whitehall include Lindsey as part of the region in which rounding had taken place, Kristensson has shown that unrounded α -forms were predominant there: see the map adapted from Moore, Meech and Whitehall in Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.76.

section 8, below), recording *aa* forms of OE , ON \bar{a} , indicates that this form was rare and was restricted to the region north of the Humber. These forms, then, provide some evidence for localisation north of the Humber.

(b.)

The usual form of the indefinite article is *ay*; occurring, for example, at 21, 246, 620, 703, 955, 1061, 1258, 1432, 1993, 2220, with *ai* at 1894. Elsewhere *i/y* is used sporadically after vowels as a mark of length.³¹⁰ For example: *baythe* ‘both’ 589; *for-suyd* ‘for a fact / certainly’ 190; *goyd* ‘good’ 96; *hayd* ‘had’ 99, 149; *rayn* ‘ran’ 1624. Mills comments that this “...seems a ‘northern’ feature...”³¹¹

(c.)

The reflex of OE *ea* + *ld* is always <a>. For example: *bald* ‘bold’ 72, 278, 2107; *hald-* ‘hold’ 16, 576, 971, 2423, 2886; *tald* ‘told’ 363, 814, 908, 1527, 1902; *wald(e)* ‘would’ 150, 326, 428, 709, 1254.

The *a*-forms are, again, characteristic of the northern counties and Kristensson records that this feature follows the same distribution as OE \bar{a} retained as <a> (as described in (a.) above).³¹² Exclusive use of *a*-forms for the reflex of OE *ea* + *ld*, then, would confirm localisation north of the Ribble and Kesteven-Holland.

(d.)

The reflex of OE *a* before a nasal is always <a>. For example: *an(d)swerd* ‘answered’ 339, 484, 1243; *man* ‘man’ 35, 138, 1255, 1493, 2872; *sham* ‘shame’ 1929. This would exclude Lancashire (in the west of the region) where *o*-forms were dominant.³¹³

³¹⁰ This point is made in Mills and Huws (1974), p.87, note 21.

³¹¹ Mills and Huws (1974), p.87, note 21. As Mills notes, Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.73, records that the <ai / ay> spellings for the reflex of OE \bar{a} arose from the second half of the fourteenth century, whereas the palaeography confirms that the BL/NLW scribe copied this text during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

³¹² Kristensson (1967), pp.46-48 and p.236 item 3.

³¹³ Both Kristensson and Jordan include Lancashire within the Western *o* territory: Kristensson (1967), pp.8-10, p.238 item 2 and Maps 3 and 4; Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.51, and also the map adapted from Moore, Meech and Whitehall, p.53.

(e.)

The reflex of OE *y* usually appears as <i / y>, as in: *did* ‘did’ 76, 205, 609, 2414, 2657; *lytil* / *littel* / *litel* / *lytel* ‘little’ 178, 673, 801, 2851; *pryd* / *pride* ‘pride’ 361, 1002; *k(y/i)st* ‘kissed’ 1439, 2030, 2697; *k(i/y)rk* ‘church’ 125, 1541, 1548. But also occasionally appears as <e>: *deden* ‘did’ 457; *ferst* ‘first’ 106, 1559, 2857; *kesed* ‘kissed’ 920. This would exclude Lancashire (in the west of the region) which is within the territory dominated by *u*-forms.³¹⁴

(f.)

OE *ō* appears as <o> or <u>. Forms with *u* are significant for localisation, occurring only in the far North.³¹⁵ Examples from the text include: *du* / *dus* ‘do / does’ (present forms) 6, 153, 186, 188, 189, 204, 250, 510, 577, 1140, 1295, 1603; *for-suthe* ‘in truth / certainly’ 762; *gud(e)* ‘good’ 39, 435, 451, 604, 760, 974, 1128, 1168, 1208, 1294, 1313, 1489, 1530, 1698, 1906, 1921, 1943, 2216, 2292, 2505, 2567, 2660.³¹⁶

Kristensson records that in the early fourteenth century “...OE *ō* was fronted in N[orthum]b[erland], Du[rham] and (north) Cu[mberland], but south of this area no evidence of fronting is found...”.³¹⁷ Maps 22 and 23 in Kristensson (given as Maps 16 and 17 in section 8, below) illustrate this point: with the *u* forms *bruther* ‘brother’, *cruk* ‘crook’, *crukd* ‘crooked’, *gud(e)* ‘good’, *hud(e)* ‘hood’, *mudy* ‘bold’, *mur* ‘moor’ and *stud* ‘stud, herd or horses’, all being restricted to these most northerly counties. This evidence is, clearly, highly significant for localisation of the language of the BL/NLW scribe, indicating that his dialect originated from Northumberland, Durham or the northern part of Cumberland.

The following features of morphology and lexis further confirm a Northern provenance. More evidence is also provided here which would be compatible with the proposal that the language of the scribe is most closely representative of the dialect of Northumberland, Durham or N.Cumberland.

³¹⁴ Kristensson (1967), pp.116-120, p.238 item 14 and Maps 25-29.

³¹⁵ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.86. Kristensson (1967), pp.76-93 and p.238.

³¹⁶ Mills (1974), p.87, note 6, makes the point but gives no line references and does not discuss the specific significance of this feature for localisation within the most northerly part of the region.

³¹⁷ Kristensson (1967), p.238, item 11 and Maps 22 and 23.

(g.)

Present singular verbs end in *-(e)s*: *cums* 'comes' 872; *gas* 'goes' 157, 424, 694; *gase* 'goes' 259; *gaas* 'goes' 588; *as* 'has' 671; *haues* 'have' 1620; *sees* 'sees' 672; *tels* 'tells' 2595; *wendes* 'goes' 1868.

Moore, Meech and Whitehall propose that the southern limit of the 3 sg. present tense ending *-(e)s* follows a line which runs east to west along the county borders of south Cheshire, north Leicestershire and south Lincolnshire (that is, from approximately North Wales to the Wash), confirming that the language of the BL/NLW scribe must be located within the region to the north of this limit.

(h.)

Present plural verbs end in *-(e)s* or *-en*. There are 2 examples in the line ending *-(e)s*: *bryngs* 'bring' 1306; *lepes* 'leap' 1113. And there are 4 examples in the line ending *-en*: *haven* 'have' 3; *lepen* 'leap' 867; *lyen* 'lie' 663; *smyten* 'strike / smite' 1434.

Moore, Meech and Whitehall propose that the boundary between *-(e)s* and *-en* forms follows a line running south and east from N.Lancashire along Lancashire's eastern border, through West Riding and then through Lincolnshire along the Lindsey / Kesteven-Holland border. The use of both forms by the BL/NLW scribe may imply localisation at some point on this boundary. However, the importance of the scribe's use of both forms for localisation is perhaps questionable. The *-(e)s/-en* boundary reaches almost as far north as Westmoreland in the West to as far south as Holland in the East, crossing several counties. A degree of tolerance of both forms from scribes across the region might, then, be expected.

(i.)

The present participle ends *-ing* or *-and*. The *-and* form is significant for localisation and examples within the line include: *prikand* 'riding / galloping' 1417; *rydand* 'riding' 1870; *sekand* 'seeking' 286, 288; *s(i/y)ghand* 'sighing' 695, 1993; *spekand* 'speaking' 1696. This is a Northern form.

(j.)

The feminine nominative singular pronoun ('she') is usually *sho*; occurring at: 1583, 1859, 1861, 1901, 1940, 1941, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2017, 2022, 2030, 2470, 2658, 2659, 2669. On one occasion the form *shu* occurs (1582) and on one occasion the form *she* (1995). *sho* is a Northern form as, for example, is illustrated by LALME dot map 13 and attested in rhyme as original in the Yorkshire text *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild*.³¹⁸

(k.)

The 3 person plural pronouns used by the scribe are as follows:

THEY: The scribe's usual form is *thay* (for example, 11, 242, 452, 590, 665) or *tay* (for example, 588, 881, 1007, 1175, 1681). However, the forms *thai*, *they* and *tha* also occur once each at 117, 814 and 815.

THEIR: The scribe's usual form is *thayr* or *thair* (for example, 152, 821, 867, 1425, 2277) but in one case *tayr* occurs (at 1130).

THEM: The scribe's usual form is *thaym* (117, 978, 1052, 1148, 1910) or *tham* (337, 620, 750, 818, 1189) but the forms *tam* and *taym* also occur 2x each (747, 952, 1080, 2697).

Forms with initial *th-* were, in the early part of the fourteenth century, restricted to the North and N.E. Midlands. Forms with medial *a* and *ay/ai* were very common in the North (see LALME dot map 31).

(l.)

The lexis represents what would be expected in the language of a Northern scribe. The form *kirk* / *kyrk* appears throughout for 'church' (125, 1541, 1548); *mykel* / *mikel* appears throughout for 'much' (24, 92, 633, 754, 999, 1517, 1632, 2678, 2750);³¹⁹ the reflex of OE *sc* is <s> in the very commonly occurring forms *sal(l)* 'shall' (5, 205, 317,

³¹⁸ Mills (1988), p.38, records this form occurring at 979 *scho* : (*do*).

³¹⁹ The form *mykel* is the most commonly used, with *mikel* being less frequent. The form *mikil* also occurs 2x (90, 365) and *mykle*, *micil* and *mycel* occur once each (236, 609, 719).

443, 762) and *suld* ‘should’ (13, 240, 1280, 1853, 2482) and also in the forms *sul* ‘shall’ (368, 440, 840, 1175, 2601), *sold* ‘should’ (130) and *sud* ‘should’ (897, 1852); *swylk* / *swilk* (74, 242, 467, 1129, 2432) and *whilk* / *wilk* (457, 609, 697, 715, 1196) appear throughout for ‘such’ and ‘which’;³²⁰ and the forms *sen* ‘since’ (458) and *at* ‘that’ (1293, 1841, 2852) are used.³²¹ Together these forms characterise the scribe’s spelling system as Northern or N.E.Midland.

(m.)

The following lexical features are significant for more precise localisation within this region:

i. *er* ‘are’. LALME dot map 121, recording *er* forms of ‘are’ (all forms without final *-n-*), indicates that this form was primarily restricted to the far North and the North East. That is, occurring in Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland and Durham in the far North, the northern and eastern areas of Yorkshire, and in Lincolnshire. Examples outside of these regions are rare.

ii. *es* ‘is’. LALME indicates that this form was primarily restricted to the North and North East, having similar distribution to *er* (i.). LALME dot map 134 shows that it occurred in the far North (Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, Durham) and Yorkshire. Further south of this it generally only occurred in the East (primarily in Lincolnshire but extending as far south as Ely and Norfolk). Examples outside of these regions are rare.

iii. There are a number of occurrences of *qu-* for ‘wh-’ (etymological ModE *wh-*, OE *hw-*): *quat* ‘what’ (837); *qu(i/y)t* ‘white’ (946, 2024, 1245); *quar* ‘where’ (1994); *quy* ‘why’ (2025). There is also one occurrence of *q-*: *qen* ‘when’ (2495). LALME dot map 271 records *qu* + vowel forms and these are shown to be restricted to the northern part of East Anglia; the North West (Cheshire and Lancashire); and the region north of the Humber.

³²⁰ The form *swylc* ‘such’ also appears 1x at 231.

³²¹ See LALME dot maps 388, 106, 148, 66, 83 and 237 for *kirk*, *mykel*, *sal* / *suld*, *swylk*, *whilk* and *sen* forms, respectively.

iv. *fra* 'from'. LALME dot map 173 indicates that this form was primarily restricted to the region north of the Humber. Specifically: Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, Durham, North Riding, East Riding and the northern part of West Riding. It was also common in the counties of southern Scotland.

v. The form *mycht* / *micht* occurs for 'might' (144, 162, 221) and the forms *nicht* (248) and *brocht* (218) occur for 'night' and 'brought'. The data in LALME indicates that this *-cht* spelling was rare in Middle English but the geographical distribution of the forms that have been recorded is significant here.

The LALME County Dictionary records 10 occurrences of the *mVcht(e)* form of 'might'. 5 of these occurrences are scattered across England and form no discernible pattern: *m(i/y)cht(e)* occurring in Kent 1x, Worcester 1x, Warwickshire 1x, Suffolk 1x and West Riding 1x (this latter is not a primary form). The other 5 occurrences, however, are notable in that they all occur in the counties of southern Scotland: *mycht* occurring 1x each in Ayrshire, Berwickshire, East Lothian, Lanarkshire and Midlothian. Further to this, there is evidence that this spelling was also common further north in fourteenth-century Scotland: occurring often in rhyme in John Barbour's *The Bruce*, a text composed c.1375 and Barbour a native of the Perth-Aberdeen region, for example: *mycht : ficht* 'might : fight' 65-6, 115-6, 191-2; *nycht : ficht* 'night : fight' 197-8.³²²

It is evidence which would imply Scottish dialect influence and which would therefore be compatible with the hypothesis that the dialect of the BL/NLW scribe originated in the most northerly counties of England where certain Scottish features had penetrated south.

The major lexical features given in (l.) and (m.), then, confirm a Northern or N.E. Midland origin for the BL/NLW scribe. The features described in i. and ii. would suggest exclusion of Lancashire and the western part of West Riding; iii. and iv. would exclude the region south of the Humber; and v. suggests Scottish influence and would therefore be most compatible with localisation in one of the most northerly counties of England.

³²² John Barbour's *The Bruce*, St. John's College, Cambridge, MS G 23, c.1487, Book xvii. Taken from Sisam (1921; 1978), p.110.

Conclusions

The South and Midlands are excluded by (a.), (b.), (c.), (g.), (h.), (k.), (l.) and (m.).

The southern parts of Lancashire, West Riding and Lincolnshire are excluded by (a.). Exclusion of Lancashire is confirmed by (d.) and (e.).

The region to the south of Northumberland, Durham and N.Cumberland is excluded by (f.). And localisation within one of these most northerly counties would be supported by: (b.), by the spelling forms discussed in (m.) iii. and iv., and by the occurrence of the *-(e)s* ending for 3 present plural verbs, discussed in (h.).

Further to this, the *-cht* spelling forms given in (m.) v. suggests Scottish influence and would therefore be highly compatible with the idea that the dialect is representative of a border county and would therefore narrow the region for localisation to Northumberland or N.Cumberland.

The only data which could be seen as contradictory to this conclusion is given in (h.), where occurrences of *-en* forms for the ending of 3 present plural verbs are listed alongside *-(e)s* forms). Use of both would seem to suggest a region further south, closer to the *-en / -es* border. However, the importance of these few *-en* forms should not be over emphasised, especially when weighted against the very significant body of evidence to support localisation further north.

This conclusion, that the BL/NLW text was copied by a Northumberland or N.Cumberland scribe, suggests the possibility of some kind of regional interest: there is an episode in the story in which Guy travels to Northumberland to defeat a dragon terrorising the country there. This section of the story has been lost from the BL/NLW fragments (which are very damaged) but in the other texts specific reference to Northumberland is made: for example, in the Auchinleck couplets Guy announces, at 6802, that he shall go *into Norþ humberlond* to fight the dragon. Further to this, and important for the issue of regional interest, are two references which imply that the defeat of the dragon in Northumberland was one of the exploits for which Guy of Warwick was famous: one of the well-known parts of the story. The recapitulation which heads the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* includes the lines (6047-49) *for his loue ich vnder stond /*

he slou3 adragoun in norþ humberlond / ful fer in þe norþ cuntre. And the list of romance heroes in *Bevis of Hampton* refers to Guy with the lines (2607-8) *Gij of Warwijk, ich vnder-stonde / Slou3 a dragoun in Norþ-Homberlonde.*³²³ The line has the appearance of having been borrowed from the one text to the other but, nevertheless, what is emphasised is the status and renown of the Northumberland episode.

Though the D-archetype was composed in a Northern dialect, and the only surviving manuscript is also copied in a Northern dialect, what is known of the later history of this version is associated with the South. By 1470 the BL/NLW text had come to Somerset and by c.1550 the D-version was published in printed form by Copland.³²⁴ The prolonged success of this version in the North therefore remains in question. Also of interest is the issue of Copland's knowledge of the text. As mentioned in Chapter 2, section 7, it seems likely that it was the robust literary style of this version that appealed to Copland. What remains in question, however, is how well known was this version in the South prior to printed publication, and at what stage the majority of its Northernisms were removed, as they are in Copland's text. Did Copland seek out this version and adapt it for his purposes, or was it already in circulation in London, in an adapted and Southernised form, in the first half of the sixteenth century?

³²³ Kölbing (1885, 1886, 1894; 1978).

³²⁴ For descriptions of these manuscripts and printed books see Chapter 2 sections 4 and 7.

6. The E-Version

6.1. Introduction to the E-Version and Survey of Previous Scholarship

As described above in 1, there are two surviving texts descended from the E-version: the first is made up of two passages in Caius II; the other is complete and is preserved in CUL MS Ff.2.38.

There has been no previous consideration of the language of the E-version archetype or of the language of the scribe who copies Caius II, and consideration of the language of the CUL Ff.2.38 scribe has been restricted to brief comments.³²⁵ 6.2., below, considers the evidence for the language of the E-version archetype and 6.3. then goes on to describe the language of Caius Scribe I and the CUL Ff.2.38 scribe.

6.2. The Language of the E-Archetype

6.2.i. The E-Version Passages in Caius II: Language of the E-Archetype

As has been described above in section 2, after page 149 the Caius manuscript *Guy of Warwick* switches from the A-version to the E-version. There is no visual break in the manuscript here but the switch occurs within a few lines of the point at which copying passes from Caius Scribe II to Caius Scribe I. The E-version continues for two lengthy and clearly definable passages in Caius II (with these passages corresponding very closely to the CUL text, the only other representative of the E-version).

The analysis, below, considers the evidence for the dialect of the E-version archetype and is therefore, necessarily, restricted to the rhyme words of the two E-version passages: 4413-5186 and 5778-7196.

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} appears as <a> and is confirmed as an original form in the following rhymes: (*fare*) : *mare* ‘go : more’ 5848-9, 5923-2, 6054-5, 7117-8; *mare* : (*care*) ‘more

³²⁵ For example: those Heffernan (1976), pp.39-41, discussed above in 6.3.i.

: care' 4635-6; *sare* : (*spare*) 'sore : spare' 4615-6; *sare* : (*care*) 'sore : care' 4691-2, 6236-7; *sare* : (*fare*) 'sore : go' 7141-2; (*bye*) : *twaye* 'buy : two' 6070-1; *wote* : (*state*) 'know : state' 6765-6. In the following cases the manuscript has an *o*-form but the rhyme indicates that the original must have had *a*: (*gange*) : *long* 'go : long' 6394-5; *more* : (*fare*) 'more : go' 4833-4; (*sawe*) : *knowe* 'saw : know' 4909-10.

Occasionally the reflex of OE \bar{a} seems to have been <o>: (*therefore*) : *more* 'therefore : more' 5083-4; *sore* : (*before*) 'sore : before' 6456-7;³²⁶ *agone* : (*one*) 'ago : on' 6254-5; (*do*) : *so* 'do : so' 6527-8.³²⁷

The reflex of OE \bar{a} was *a* in the region north of the Ribble and Lindsey's border with Kesteven-Holland.³²⁸ A combination of *o* and *a*-forms in the original is indicative of a N.Midland border region and would be good evidence to indicate production in the Southern part of Lincolnshire (Kesteven-Holland).³²⁹

(b.)

The reflex of OE *y* is <y>. Attested by the rhymes: (*withynne*) : *synne* 'within : sin' 4448-9; (*tyde*) : *pryd* 'tide : pride' 4637-8; (*Ire*) : *fyre* 'anger : fire' 5183-4, 6920-19. The *i*-forms were widespread but the absence of any *e*-forms would suggest that the SE and E.Midlands should be excluded and the absence of any forms with *u* would suggest the exclusion of the W.Midlands and Lancashire.³³⁰

(c.)

OE *ea* before *ld* is attested as <o>: *hold* : (*gold*) 'hold : gold' 4799-4800,³³¹ 6748-7. Forms with *o* were Anglian and Kristensson defines the *a/o* boundary as marked by the Ribble and Lindsey's border with Kesteven-Holland.³³²

³²⁶ The same rhyme (*sore* : *before*) occurs in the same place in the CUL Ff.2.38 text: at 9207-8, see 6.2.ii. (a.) below.

³²⁷ Though it should be noted that Zupitza proposes that this latter rhyme (6527-8) is a corruption (i.e. not archetypal), comparing it to the same line in the CUL manuscript text.

³²⁸ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38, p.283 and Map 17.

³²⁹ For a discussion of the appearance of the reflex of OE \bar{a} as both *a* and *o* in these regions see Smithers' (1987) edition of *Havelok*.

³³⁰ Kristensson (1967), pp.116-120, p.238 item 14 and Maps 25-29. Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.66-71.

³³¹ The same rhyme (*hold* : *gold*) occurs in the same place in the CUL Ff.2.38 text: at 7649-50, see 6.2.ii. (d.) below.

³³² Kristensson (1967), pp.46-8 and p.236 item 3. Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), pp.91-92.

(d.)

For the present participle, the form *-and(e)* is frequently used as an alternative beside *-ing / -yng* and is confirmed in rhyme 24x: *aryvand : (land)* ‘arriving : land’ 5958-9; *byddand : (fande)* ‘bidding : found’ 6986-5; *bowand : lond* ‘bowing : land’ 6141-40; *dwellande : (Englonde / londe)* ‘dwelling : England / land’ 4948-7, 5917-6; *fleande : (lande)* ‘fleeing : land’ 4604-3; *growande : (londe)* ‘growing : land’ 4946-5; *fletand : (hand)* ‘floating : hand’ 6773-4; *l(e/y)vand(e) : (hand / hond / lande / -stonde)* ‘living : hand / hand / land / -stand’ 4427-6, 4585-6, 4785-6, 4956-5, 5124-3, 6275-4, 6937-8, 6943-4, 7182-1; *shynand : (lande)* ‘shining : land’ 6737-8; *s(i/y)ttand(e) : (fonde / honde)* ‘sitting : found / hand’ 4554-3, 4960-59; *sorrowand : (stonde)* ‘sorrowing : stand’ 6282-3; *travellande : (londe)* ‘travelling : land’ 6262-3; *weldande : (hande / londe)* ‘wielding : hand / land’ 5788-9, 6741-2. This confirms a Northern or N.Midland provenance for the archetype.

Conclusions

The evidence is somewhat limited. However, the following conclusions are indicated:

The high proportion of *a*-forms given in (a.) combined with the morphological evidence given in (d.) would point to the North. Within this region, (b.) would exclude Lancashire in the West, whilst the coexistence of the *o*-forms given in (a.) and (c.) with the *a*-forms given in (a.) would point to a region on the *o / a* border: perhaps South Yorkshire, North Derbyshire or North Lincolnshire where OE \bar{a} coexisted as *a* and *o* throughout the fourteenth century.

Further information about the language of the E-version archetype is presented in 6.2.ii., below, which discusses the rhyme-words of the CUL Ff.2.38 text.

6.2.ii. CUL MS Ff.2.38: The Language of the E-Archetype

The rhyme-word evidence from the CUL Ff.2.38 *Guy of Warwick* confirms the conclusions of 6.2.i., above, that the E-version archetype was composed in the fourteenth century by an author writing in a Northern / N.E.Midland, probably Lincolnshire, dialect. The linguistic features most significant for localisation are presented below.

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} is most commonly <a>. Attested by the rhymes: *wate* : (*estate*) ‘know : estate’ 1x: 4493-4; *brade* : (*made*) ‘broad : made’ 2x: 4289-90, 4299-4300; (*fare*) : *mare* ‘go : more’ appears 16x: 2283-4, 3229-30, 3517-8, 4789-90, 5671-2, 6157-8, 6177-8, 6685-6, 7189-90, 7219-20, 8619-20, 8799-8800, 9797-8, 11513-4, 11584-3, 11821-2. (*yare*) : *mare* ‘quickly : more’ appears 2x: 2287-8, 6307-8. (*care*) : *mare* ‘care : more’ appears 8x: 4097-8, 4312-1, 4315-6, 4363-4, 5071-2, 5194-3, 6630-29, 7112-11. (*bare*) : *mare* ‘bare (adj.) : more’ appears 1x: 7067-8. *sare* : (*care*) ‘sore : care’ appears 3x: 1269-70, 5202-1, 8987-8. *sare* : (*spare*) ‘sore : spare’ appears 2x: 1639-40, 7465-6. *sare* : (*fare*) ‘sore : go’ appears 3x: 1983-4, 5049-50, 9819-20. (*zare*) : *sare* ‘quickly : sore’ appears 1x: 8589-90.

However, the reflex of OE \bar{a} also occasionally seems to have been <o>: 5875-6 *more* : (*before*) ‘more : before’; 6503-4 (*therefore*) : *more* ‘therefore : more’; 9207-8 *sore* : (*before*) ‘sore : before’.³³³

It is notable that the majority of confirmed α -forms are found in traditional romance rhymes (couplets using the forms *sare* : *mare* : *care* : *fare* and so on). As has been described in sections 3 and 4 above, use of these traditional rhymes in which OE \bar{a} appears as <a>, especially alongside occurrence of OE \bar{a} as <o>, may provide evidence for composition within the East Midlands.

Though the East Midlands must remain as a possible region for localisation, the very high proportion of α -rhymes along with, crucially, the appearance of a number of rhymes which confirm α in the original but which are not traditional, literary rhymes (*wate* :

³³³ The same rhyme (*sore* : *before*) occurs in the same place in the Caius II E-version passages: at 6456-7, see 6.2.i. (a.) above.

(*estate*) 1x and *brade* : (*made*) 2x), would indicate that localisation further north is also possible. Specifically, at some point along the *o/a* border: South Yorkshire, North Derbyshire or North Lincolnshire. With regard to this, the appearance of both *o* and *a* forms confirmed in rhyme should be compared with *Havelok* and Robert Mannyng. As Smithers notes regarding *Havelok*: "...the dual reflex of OE /a:/...is decisive for Lincs..." with "...Useful confirmation of a general kind...provided by Robert Mannyng, and by links with his vocabulary as well as his phonology and accidence..."³³⁴

(b.)

The reflex of OE *y* is <i/y>. Attested by the rhymes: *pryde* : (*tyde*) 'pride : tide' 2621-2, 7120-19, 7488-7. (*syde*) : *pryde* 6691-2. *pryde* : (*abyde*) 10015-6. (*yre*) : *fyre* 'anger : fire' 8021-2, 8068-7, 9235-6, 9626-5, 11778-7. (*smyte*) : *lyte* 'smite : little' 11123-4. *hylle* : (*ylle*) 'hill : bad / evil' 3297-8, 3313-4, 11679-80. (*ynne*) : *synne* 'in : sin' 3785-6, 7295-6, 8107-8. The absence of any *u*-forms confirmed in rhyme would suggest that the West Midlands and Lancashire should be excluded.

(c.)

The evidence for the appearance of reflex of OE *a* + nasal in the original is very limited. It would seem that the original had <a>, attested by: (*than*) : *man* 'then : man' 115-6, 2840-50, 7811-2, 7959-60, 8040-1. The absence of any *o*-forms confirmed in rhyme would suggest that the West Midland and Lancashire should be excluded.

(d.)

The reflex of OE *ea* + *ld* is attested as <o> by the rhymes: *oolde* : (*golde*) 2351-2; *holde* : (*golde*) 'hold : gold' 7649-50.³³⁵

That the original also had <e> is attested by: *eld* : (*weld*) 'old : control / possess' 877-8; *belde* : (*felde*) 'bold : field' 11005-6.

Further, (*Toralde*) : *bolde* 'Torald : bold' may imply *balde* in the original (though this is less certain as the rhyme here relies upon a proper name).

³³⁴ Smithers (1987), p.lxxxix.

³³⁵ The same rhyme (*hold* : *gold*) occurs in the same place in the Caius II E-version passages: at 4799-4800, see 6.2.i. (d.) above.

The *a/o* border for OE *ea* + *ld* follows the same boundary as the *a/o* for reflex of OE \bar{a} . Forms with *e* are generally indicative of the South East but also, to some extent, East Anglia.

This combination of forms, then, would seem to represent some degree of poetic usage. Nevertheless, it would be most compatible with either localisation along the *a/o* border (South Yorkshire, North Derbyshire or North Lincolnshire) or within the East Midlands or East Anglia where use of occasional *a* or *e*-form alongside a majority of *o*-forms might be expected (as has been discussed in sections 3 and 4 above).

(e.)

The present participle form *-ande* frequently appears as an alternative beside *-ynge* and it is confirmed in rhyme as original 64x. For example: (*hande*) : *bytande* ‘hand : biting’ 6601-2. (*lande*) : *boweande* ‘land : bowing’ 8885-6. (*undurstande*) : *fyghtande* ‘understand : fighting’ 1857-8. *saylande* : (*lande*) ‘sailing : land’ 11243-4. *schynande* : (*hande*) ‘shining : hand’ 4133-4. *sorowande* : (*stande*) 9033-4. This provides evidence for localisation within the North or N.Midlands.

(f.)

Present singular verbs most commonly take *-s* but also take *-th*. Use of the *-s* form is attested as original 3x in the rhymes: (*rose*) : *gose* ‘arose : go 3 sg. pres.’ 1570-1, 7309-10. (*hors*) : *goys* ‘horse : go 3 sg. pres.’ 11061-2. The *-th* form is attested as original 1x by: (*clothe*) : *goyth* ‘clothe : go 3 sg. pres.’ 159-160.

The *-s/-th* border runs from approximately N.Wales to the Wash, through the most southerly parts of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. This combination of forms, then, may be regarded as highly compatible with localisation in the North Midlands.

(g.)

The following lexical features are significant for localisation:

- i. *tham* : *shame* ‘them : shame’ 7623-4. The form *tham* is indicative of a N provenance: see LALME dot map 41 (Map 13 in section 8, below).
- ii. Some Northern forms occur in line and seem likely to have been carried over from the scribe’s exemplar: *mykell* / *mekyll* / *mekull* forms of ‘much’ appear in line 23x and the form *warse* ‘worse’ appears in line 4x. (See discussion of the language of the scribe, 6.3.i. above, for list of references and the evidence for the localisation of these forms). These, then, cannot be proved to be archetypal forms but they are of interest because they are highly compatible with the conclusion that this text was produced and circulated in the North Midlands.
- iii. *fyrste* : (*tryst*) ‘first : trust’ appears at 10031-2, implying that the original must have had the form *fryst*. The form *fryst* is Northern. As the Middle English Dictionary records: descended from Old Norse *frest*.³³⁶
- iv. *mylke* : *swylk* ‘milk : such’ 537-8. LALME dot map 66 (Map 18 in section 8, below), recording *-lk* forms of ‘such’ (*swilk*, *silk* etc), shows that this form was restricted to the North East (including as far South as Lincolnshire, Ely and N.Norfolk).
- v. The adverbial suffix ‘-ly’ appears as *-lyke* and is confirmed as original in the rhyme: *sekerlyke* : (*warwyke*) ‘certainly : Warwick’ 8447-8. LALME records that this form was rare and its distribution primarily restricted to the N.E. / N.E.Midlands: occurring 4x in N.Norfolk, 1x in Ely and 1x in Lincolnshire. There are also 2 occurrences north of the Humber and 1 in Northamptonshire.

According to the information recorded in LALME, then, i., ii. and iii. are indicative of the North or N.Midlands; iv. is North Eastern; and v. was primarily restricted to the N.E.Midlands. The only place where i.-v. would co-occur is Lincolnshire.

(h.)

There are two minor points regarding the vocabulary of the text which should be made here as they would seem notable in exhibiting a high degree of compatibility with a Lincolnshire provenance:

³³⁶ Under the entry for ‘first’ the MED has: “...OE *fyrst*, *first*...& ON *frest* (whence the N forms)...”.

- i. *men : fenne* ‘men : fen / marshland’ 11068-9.

The word ‘fen’ had some general use in Middle English, referring broadly to marshland. However, the examples recorded in the MED would indicate that this kind of general use was not particularly common and was often in order to fulfil the demands of the alliterative line. Other uses of the word are notable because they appear to be more specific: referring specifically to the fen region around Lincolnshire and East Anglia, with this form appearing in the *Peterborough Chronicle* and carefully selected by Chaucer as applicable to the Cambridgeshire setting of the *Reeve’s Tale*. The appearance of this word, then, in the E-version *Guy of Warwick*, may be regarded as compatible with a Lincolnshire provenance as this was, to a certain extent, a local word.

- ii. The form *marke* ‘dark / cloudy’ (OE *myrc*) appears in line at 8462. As discussed in 4.2.ii., above, this form was to a large extent restricted to the East Midlands. The appearance here of an *a*-form is unusual (as the MED indicates, forms *y/i* and *m* were more common, *merk*, *mirc* and so on) and would seem to be a northern variant of the word (also occurring in the Yorkshire text cited in the MED by the incipit *Almighty god in trinity*, 37/106). The evidence that this was a northern version of a primarily E.Midland form, then, would be highly compatible with a S.Lincolnshire provenance.

Conclusion

The *a*-forms given in (a.) and the features given in (e.), (f.) and (g.) exclude any region south of the North Midlands (that is, they exclude any region south of S.Yorkshire, N.Derbyshire, N.Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Ely or Norfolk).

The occurrence of *o*-forms alongside *a*-forms in (a.) and (d.) would point to the North Midlands rather than the North (that is, excluding the region north of the Humber).

The lack of any Western forms, noted in (b.) and (c.), exclude Lancashire. And the occurrence of *e*-forms, given in (d.), would confirm localisation within the East.

That is, then, the region for localisation can be narrowed to the North East Midlands: Lincolnshire, Ely or Norfolk. Localisation within this region is confirmed by the lexical feature given in (g.) iv., (g.) v., (h.) i. and (h.) ii. Significantly here, the lack of any of distinctively East Anglian spellings or vocabulary, which would be expected of a text from Norfolk or Ely, would make Lincolnshire the most likely region for localisation.

6.3. The Language of the Scribes

6.3.i. The Language of Caius Scribe I

The latter part of the Caius MS is copied by Caius Scribe I, who also copies the first two pages of this manuscript. The analysis below concludes that Caius Scribe I's dialect represents the language of early fifteenth-century London. None of the forms given below could, individually, be used to confirm a London provenance, but together, and in addition to what has already been concluded about this manuscript,³³⁷ this particular combination of forms would seem to most closely represent what is known of the language of early fifteenth-century London.

Only forms occurring in line are considered. Where a form occurs on multiple occasions a sample of five references is usually given. Examples are taken from all sections copied by Caius Scribe I (that is, pages 1-2 and 150-271).

(a.)

The reflex of OE \bar{a} is <o>: *both* 'both' 5164, 5884, 6113, 7190, 7931; *clothes* 'clothes' 4434, 5543, 5652, 6724, 7084; *more* 'more' 4429, 5214, 5800, 6641, 8078; *sore* 'sore' 5194, 5426, 6039, 7148, 7236; *stone* 'stone' 5317; *two* 'two' 4509, 5042, 6979, 7423, 7698; *wo* 'woe' 5819.

³³⁷ See section 2.3.iii. above.

This would exclude the region North of a line which follows the Ribble through Lancashire, runs east through West Riding, then drops south to run east through Lindsey's border with Kesteven-Holland.³³⁸

(b.)

The reflex of OE *a* before a nasal is <a>: *answere* 'answer' 4838; *answeryd* 'answered' 4971, 5608, 6485, 6965, 7952; *can* 'can' 4432, 5802, 6259, 7074, 7137; *man* 'man' 15, 4485, 4531, 5116, 6228. This would exclude the W.Midlands.³³⁹

(c.)

The reflex of OE *æ* is <a>: *bak-* 'back' 5368, 5531, 7812; *blak-* 'black' 4725, 4727, 7286, 7678; *fader* 'father' 4453, 4463, 4958, 6535, 7149; *had* 'had' 4439, 4445, 4448, 6243, 6314; *late* 'late' 6875, 7436; *that* 'that' 4418, 5312, 5797, 6156, 6742. This would exclude Kent where the more fronted sound was retained (mostly <e>).³⁴⁰

(d.)

The reflex of OE *ea* before *l*-combinations is <o>: *bold* 'bold' 4421, 4581, 4845, 4954, 5170; *hold* 'hold' 5045, 5373, 5784, 6227, 6310; *old* 'old' 4847, 5718, 5918; *told* 'told' 4484, 4578, 4689. And once appears as <oo>: *oold* 5077.

In the earlier part of the period forms with *o* appear in the Midlands and forms with *e* appear in the South and London. However, by the end of the fourteenth century, the London dialect had shifted from *e* to *o*-forms. Bohman records that this shift took place during the third quarter of the fourteenth century³⁴¹ and Jordan observes that "...Chaucer consistently has *o* before *ld...*".³⁴² The consistent use of *o*-forms by this scribe, then, can be seen as indicative of either London or the Midlands.

(e.)

The reflex of OE *y* is generally <y/i>: *brygges* 'bridges' 5630; *bryggis* 'bridges' 7314; *chyrch-* 5628, 6408; *did* 'did' 5467, 5751; *dyd* 'did' 4592, 4757, 4815, 7081, 8019;

³³⁸ Kristensson (1967), pp.30-38 and p.283. See also Map 17 in Kristensson.

³³⁹ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.50 and map (adapted from Moore, Meech and Whitehall) p.53.

³⁴⁰ Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.54.

³⁴¹ Bohman (1944), p.89, cited in Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.92.

³⁴² Jordan (1925, 1934; 1974), p.92.

dynt- 'dint' 5356, 6617, 7738; *fyrste* 'first' 4661, 5761, 7377, 7640; *hill* 'hill' 6243; *hyll* 'hill' 6346, 6372, 6595, 6599, 6618; *-kynd* 'kind' 4979; *kyss-* 'kiss' 5614, 7053, 7580, 8006, 8018; *litiþ* 'little' 5461; *lytiþ* 'little' 4989, 5323, 5393, 6800, 6934; *lytyþ* 'little' 4471; *synne* 'sin' 4455, 5287, 5585, 6476. However, OE *y* appears as <u> 6x in: *church* 'church' 6644, 6682, 6986, 7410, 7421 and 7426.

The dominance of the *i/y*-forms would suggest exclusion of the W.Midlands and Kent (where *u* and *e* forms, respectively, were dominant) and is consistent with Mackenzie's characterisation of later London English.³⁴³ The appearance of a certain number of *u*-forms is also compatible with what is known of the later-London dialect with, as Mackenzie records, *u*-forms being well represented alongside the more common *i/y*-forms in London documents of this date.³⁴⁴

The following features of the morphology are significant for localisation:

(f.)

Present singular verbs take *-th*: *begynneth* 5336, 6251; *beth* 6001; *blynneth* 7319; *hath* 4481, 4522, 4543; *hateth* 5968; *hereth* 17; *knoweth* 6515; *lyeth* 7986, 8054; *lovyth* 4500; *oweth* 5962, 6966; *prayeth* 7320; *stablyssheth* 6742; *stondyth* 5107; *thynketh* 5587; *undirstondeth* 17; *weneth* 7455; *wonneth* 7982. This confirms exclusion of the North.

(g.)

Present plural verbs take *-en* or *-th*. Forms with *-th*: *beth* 5753, 5760, 6580; *groweth* 8027; *hath* 7; *knoweth* 8. Forms with *-en*: *setten* 4661; *seyen* 5272, 7285, 7762; *smyt(t)en* 5131, 5694.

As discussed above in 2.3.iii., Caius Scribe II also uses both of these forms for the present plural and they would point to localisation either on the *-en* / *-eth* border (Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Middlesex), or, in London.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ Mackenzie (1928), p.98.

³⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this point see: 2.4.i. (f.), above.

³⁴⁵ See the examples given in 2.3.iii. (h.), above.

(h.)

The present participle usually ends *-ing* but there is one case in line of the ending *-and*: *fleand* 4695. The *-and(e)* form is often confirmed in rhyme as an original form and, as discussed in 2.4.iii., above, there is some Northern colouring in the language of the Caius *Guy* suggesting that it was copied from a Northern / N.Midland exemplar. The single appearance in line of the present participle form *-and*, then, would support the hypothesis that this text was copied from a Northern / N.Midland exemplar.

The following lexical features are significant for localisation of Caius Scribe I's language:

(i.)

Caius Scribe I uses the following forms for third person pronouns:

THEY: The scribe uses the forms *they* (eg. 11, 4589, 4661, 5100, 5489) and *thei* (eg. 5689, 5746, 5768, 5878, 5880).

THEIR: The scribe's primary form is *her*, occurring, for example, at 5132, 5230, 5657, 6609 and 7129. However, *ther* occurs 4x (5184, 6306, 6604 and 7360) and *theire* occurs 2x (at 4652 and 5188).

THEM: The scribe's primary form is *hem*, occurring, for example, at 4484, 4610, 4850, 5781 and 7639. However, *them* occurs 10x (at 48, 4907, 5036, 5189, 5715, 5729, 5746, 5747, 6402 and 7654).

Caius Scribe I's use of forms with initial *h-* (*her* and *hem*) would exclude the North and the N.Midlands. His sporadic use of the Scandinavian-derived *th-* forms for the genitive and accusative (*ther* / *theire* and *them*) would exclude localisation within the South.

Most significantly, it can be shown is that the use of this combination of pronominal forms in an early fifteenth-century text would be most compatible with the language of London. The pattern of Caius Scribe I's favoured forms (*the(i/y)*, *her*, *hem*, that is the *th-*, *h-*, *h-* pattern) was the most common pattern in c.1400 London (used, for example, by Chaucer and Hoccleve).³⁴⁶ Further to this, the sporadic use *th-* forms for the genitive

³⁴⁶ As described above in 2.4.i. (m.).

and accusative (*ther* / *theire* and *them*) can be shown to be highly significant for identifying his language as that of early fifteenth-century London.

As described above, in 2.3.iii. (m.), these *th*- forms were in use in London by c.1400 and the combination of forms used by Caius Scribe I should be compared to the early-fifteenth-century Guildhall Letter Books to which they exhibit close resemblance. The Guildhall Letter Books use: *they* / *pei*; *their*, *here*, *pair*; and *hem*, *theym*. Also of particular significance here are the comments made by Samuels stating that the forms *their* and *them* “...appear first in London as isolated enclaves...”. Samuels records that the “...nearest point...” to London from which these forms could have spread was in the north Central Midlands and that “...there is no evidence that such forms reached London by southward shifts of isoglosses...”; thus leading Samuels to conclude that these forms reached London by immigration from the Central Midlands in the latter fourteenth century.³⁴⁷

Samuels’ comments indicate that at this date, early in the fifteenth century, in the period before standard London forms came to influence the rest of the country, the use of *their*/*them* in the work of a Southern scribe provides evidence to suggest that he was working in London. With, at this date, London providing an “...isolated enclave...” of these forms prior to their wider acceptance as part of a London-derived standard language.

So, with the language of this scribe having been characterised as either Southern or S.Midland, his sporadic use of the Scandinavian-derived *th*- pronouns would provide good evidence to suggest that he was working in the capital.

(j.)

As described above in 2.3.iii. (i.), Samuels has listed 18 key forms to characterise Types II, III and IV London English. Caius Scribe I’s spelling repertoire can be seen to be characterised by a combination of features from Types III and IV (Type III being represented chiefly by the language of Chaucer and Type IV by fifteenth-century Chancery documents):

³⁴⁷ Samuels (1963), pp.90-91.

Table 6
Types II - IV Orthographic Forms Used by Caius Scribe I

Forms used by Caius Scribe I: (Unless otherwise stated, in each case the form or forms listed are the only ones used by the scribe).	Forms from Types II, III and IV, listed here for comparison:
TYPE II FORMS USED BY CAIUS SCRIBE I	
i. nother	cf. Type III neither
TYPE III FORMS USED BY CAIUS SCRIBE I	
i. that ilk(e)	cf. Type II þat ilch(e), ich(e)
ii. old	cf. Type II eld(e)
iii. world	cf. Type II werld, warld
iv. they	cf. Type II þai, hij
v. though	cf. Type II. þei(3)
vi. whil(e)(s)	cf. Type II þerwhile(s), (þat)
vii. -yng / -ing ³⁴⁸	cf. Type II -ande, -ende, -inde
TYPE IV FORMS USED BY CAIUS SCRIBE I	
i. not	cf. Type III nat
ii. but	cf. Type III bot
iii. such	cf. Type III swich(e)
iv. their, her	cf. Type III hir(e)
v. these	cf. Type III thise
vi. thorough, thorow	cf. Type III thurgh
vii. shuld(e) ³⁴⁹	cf. Type III sholde

It is highly significant that this scribe's repertoire uses 7 of the 8 forms listed by Samuels as being characteristic of Type IV London English: the 'Chancery Standard'. These forms are important for characterising his dialect as that of early-fifteenth-century London.³⁵⁰

Conclusions

The North is excluded by (a.) and (f.). The West Midlands is excluded by (b.) and (e.). Kent is excluded by (c.).

³⁴⁸ There is one exception to the use of this form in the line: Type II *-ande* occurs 1x in line at 4695, as discussed in (h.), above.

³⁴⁹ However, Type II *schuld* occurs 1x in line at 15.

³⁵⁰ It is of interest to compare this table with the similar one for Caius Scribe II. The repertoire of both scribes is characterised by use of Type III and IV forms. However, whereas Caius Scribe II uses 10 Type III forms and 4 Type IV forms, Caius Scribe I uses 7 of each.

The N.Midlands and Central Midlands are excluded by present plural forms taking *-th*, given in (g.), and by the use of *h-* forms of third person pronouns, given in (i.).

The far South is excluded by (d.), by present plural forms also taking *-en*, given in (g.), and by the use of *th-* forms of third person pronouns at this early date, given in (i.).

The region for localisation, then, can be narrowed to London and the region around Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, close to the present plural *-en* / *-eth* border.

Of significance for characterising this scribe's language as that of early fifteenth-century London are the spelling features listed in (i.) and (j.): the scribe's use of pronouns has been shown in (i.) to resemble the early-fifteenth-century Guildhall Letter Books (and also to be forms which in the South at this date were likely only to have occurred in London), and the scribe's spelling has been shown in (j.) to contain a significant number of Type IV Chancery Standard forms.

6.3.ii. The Language of the CUL MS Ff.2.38 Scribe

The copying of Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38 has been dated (according to its palaeography and watermarks) to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. It is the latest *Guy of Warwick* manuscript: produced approximately a century after Caius 107/176 and between 150-200 years after Auchinleck and the other fragments.³⁵¹

Copied at this late date, the language of the Ff.2.38 scribe presents problems for dialect analysis. Samuels summarises the problem in the opening statement of his 1981 essay:

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the main obstacle to the localisation of texts on the basis of their dialectal characteristics is a fairly obvious one: the growth of standardisation and the displacement of local usage.³⁵²

By this period writers had begun to substitute their "...dialectically peripheral..."³⁵³ forms with those of either (i.) the Chancery standard or (ii.) other forms which were not

³⁵¹ See the physical description of this manuscript in Chapter II, section 6.2., for a discussion of this dating.

³⁵² Samuels (1981), p.43.

³⁵³ Samuels (1981), p.43.

Chancery standard but were of very widespread use. The latter resulting in what Samuels calls "...a 'colourless' regional language which may present almost as great an obstacle to exact localisation as standardisation proper..."³⁵⁴

As a result of this impulse towards standardisation and the production of dialectically 'colourless' writing, the majority of later texts are difficult to localise from their language evidence alone.³⁵⁵ This is the case with the language of the Ff.2.38 scribe and the scribe's 'colourless' language adds to the anonymity of a manuscript which lacks any other evidence (physical, internal or external) which would be indicative of provenance. As Robinson states: "...We know nothing about the origin or early history of Ff.2.38..."³⁵⁶

A significant number of the Ff.2.38 scribe's forms are the same as the Chancery Standard forms, for example:

Item	<u>Chancery Standard form used by the Ff.2.38 scribe</u>
BUT	<i>but</i>
GAVE	<i>gaf(e)</i>
GIVEN	<i>geuyn</i>
MUCH	<i>moch</i>
NOT	<i>not</i>
SELF	<i>self</i>
SHOULD	<i>shulde</i>
THEIR	<i>ther</i>
THEM	<i>them</i>
THESE	<i>these, þese</i>
THROUGH	<i>thorow(e), þorow(e)</i>

Throughout, the Ff.2.38 scribe generally adheres to a series of 'colourless', largely Central Midland-derived, forms which were also favoured by the Chancery Standard. According to this system the scribe usually adheres to the following: reflex of OE \bar{a} is <o>, OE a + nasal is <a>, OE ea before ld is <o>, OE y is often <y> (*dyd, fyre, hyll*, etc), present participle is *-yng*, pronouns 'she' and 'they' appear as *she* and *they*.

What is found, however, is that though 'colourlessness' characterises this scribe's general usage, his repertoire is peppered with a series of dialectically peripheral forms. These dialectically peripheral forms can be described as representing two groups. Firstly, there are a number of northernisms which may have been carried over by the scribe from his

³⁵⁴ Samuels (1981), p.43.

³⁵⁵ Samuels (1981), p.43.

³⁵⁶ McSparran and Robinson (1979), p.xvi.

exemplar (as they are compatible with the forms confirmed in rhyme; see 6.2., above, for a description of the language of the original). Secondly, there is a preference for certain Western forms which appear regularly throughout this scribe's work and therefore appear to be part of his regular favoured repertoire.

These dialectal features are described below and their significance for localisation is considered.

The following Northern forms appear in line:

- i. *mekyll* 'much' appears in line 19x at 1522, 2766, 3230, 3320, 4087, 4458, 4720, 5832, 7122, 7177, 9270, 10827, 11168, 11196, 11222, 11316, 11334, 11476, 11667. And *mykell* 'much' appear in line 1x at 11026. LALME dot maps 105 and 106 and illustrate that these *mVkVl(l)* types are Northern. (See also viii. below for occurrences of *mekull*).
- ii. *warse* 'worse' appears in line 4x at 3537, 4992, 10016, 11073. LALME dot map 593 illustrates that this is a Northern form.
- iii. *sternes* 'stars' appears in line at 7129. LALME dot map 889 (Map 19 in section 8, below) illustrates that this form was restricted to the North.
- iv. The present participle form *-ande* appears in line 4x: *prekande* 4733; *passande* 4966; *fleande* 7543; *carvande* 10278.
- v. *stadde* and *bestadde* 'bestead' appear in line at 8028 and 8930. Zupitza identifies these as forms especially used by Northern and Scottish writers.³⁵⁷
- vi. *repulde* appears in line at 9617: *And repulde hys face & hys chynne*. Zupitza, in his edition, provides some detailed notes identifying this as a Northern dialectal form.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁷ Zupitza (1875-6), p.421 (note to line 8028).

³⁵⁸ Zupitza (1875-6), p.436 (note to line 9617). "...It is N.E. *ripple*, which in the North has still retained the sense required here. Cf. the first of the Glossaries reprinted for the Dialect Society: '*Ripple*, v. to scratch.' Archbishop Trench, in his 'Select Glossary,' s. v. *ripple*, refers to a Glossary of Yorkshire

These forms, i.-vi., then, are undoubtedly Northern and can be described as occurring sporadically in line in the work of this scribe. Further, the scribe shows significant tolerance of northernisms appearing in rhyme: for example reflex of OE appearing as <a>, *whylk*, *-lyke*, present participle *-ande* and so on, as described in 6.2.ii., above. These are not consistent with the scribe's largely 'colourless' repertoire and, in view of the evidence (discussed above) that this text was produced and circulated in the North, seem likely to have been carried over by the scribe from a Northern / N.Midland exemplar.

What is important here to the question of localisation is the question of how much significance should be given to this scribe's tolerance of Northern forms. On this issue, Heffernan draws attention to the Ff.2.38's scribe's tolerance of northernisms in the *Bone Florence of Rome*: concluding that the scribe's tolerance of Northern forms at such a late date (that is, when standardisation had taken hold over most of the country) could only mean that he was Northern himself:

...by 1500, a scribe from the Midlands would be so conditioned by the London standard that he could not fail to note northern features and remove them. A northern scribe, on the other hand, less influenced by London, might still in 1500 retain and introduce into the text distinctly northern dialectal traits, especially if he were somewhat past middle age.³⁵⁹

This scribe's tolerance of non-standard, dialectically marked Northern forms (amid a broadly 'colourless' repertoire), then, would be most compatible with the idea that this was a Northern scribe.

The following Western forms appear in line:

vii. Noun plurals are often formed with *-us*. For example: *gyftus* 'gifts' 708; *bellus* 'bells' 1773, 3803, 4982; *bestus* 'beasts' 4470; *scheldus* 'shields' 2011, 2416, 8153; *feldus* 'fields' 2012, 2415; *swyrdus* 'swords' 8154. This was primarily a West Midland form, though it also appears scattered across the South: see LALME dot map 642 (given as Map 20 in section 8, below) for the distribution of this form in the North and dot map

Words and Phrases (1855), p.140: '*To ripple*, to scratch slightly as with a pin upon the skin, '...'. The form also appears in the Caius text as *replid*: *He replid hys face and hys chyn*, Caius 6907.

³⁵⁹ Heffernan (1976), p.41.

958 for its distribution in the South. In the North LALME records that its distribution was restricted, quite specifically to Lancashire and the far West of West Riding.

viii. The accusative feminine singular pronoun appears as *hur* 'her' throughout. As LALME dot map 23 (Map 21 in section 8, below) indicates, this is a Southern and W.Midland form (reaching as far North as Central Lancashire).

ix. Though the reflex of OE *y* is often <y>, as noted above, in the case of certain words the scribe preferred forms with <u>. This is the case, for example, with 'did', 'church' and 'first' where *dud* (for example at 231, 783, 2039, 2713, 6637), *church* (for example at 1570, 3934, 5996, 9159, 9926) and *furst* (for example at 413, 616, 5545, 9819, 10641) are predominantly the forms used. Forms with *u* were most common in the West (see line 5 on Map 5 in section 8, below).

x. There are several spellings ending in *-ur*: *wondur* 'wonder', *sundur* 'sunder' etc. LALME dot map 483 for forms of 'neither' ending *-ur* would indicate that this was a Southern and West Midland feature.

xi. *mekull* 'much' appears in line 3x at 3302, 4866 and 10871. LALME dot map 117 (Map 22 in section 8, below) indicates that forms of 'much' ending *-ull(e)* were restricted to the North West and N.W. - N.Central Midlands (S.Lancashire and the region around Derby and Nottinghamshire).

These Western forms appear with some regularity within the work of this scribe but seem certain not to have been archetypal (see 6.3.ii., below, which describes how the original appears to have been produced in the East of the region, not the West). This Western colouring, then, indicated by the forms given in vii.-xi., combined with the tolerance of northernisms given in i.-vi., would suggest that the Ff.2.38 scribe was most likely to have originated in the North West: perhaps Lancashire or the Western area of West Riding.

Conclusions

The scribe's generally 'colourless' dialect and preference for Chancery Standard forms are what would be expected of the language of a scribe of c.1500. These features, however, present difficulties for localisation which comes, to some extent, to be dependent upon the significance given to the scribe's tolerance of certain dialectically peripheral forms. Most notable are (i.) his tolerance of certain northernisms and (ii.) his tendency to regularly exhibit preference for certain westernisms, which have been used to suggest that this scribe originated in the North West, perhaps Lancashire or W. West Riding.

The contents of Ff.2.38 would support the idea that it was a manuscript that was produced in the North. Of the eight romances which appear in the manuscript at least four seem primarily, from available evidence, to have circulated in the North: the *Bone Florence of Rome*, this (E-version) *Guy of Warwick*, the 'northern' *Octavian* and *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. Significantly, the only other copies of the 'northern' *Octavian* and *Sir Eglamour* appear in the Yorkshire manuscript the Lincoln Thornton (items 5 and 10), a manuscript to which, as McSparran puts it, Ff.2.38 exhibits "...striking..." analogues.³⁶⁰ They are alike in content and character and also, it would seem, region of production and as such they provide evidence for a 'reading network' which involved the circulation of exemplars between groups of like-minded readers and which was place in fifteenth-century Yorkshire and Lancashire.

6.4. The E-Version: Final Conclusions and Summary of Results

The above consideration of the language of the surviving texts descended from the E-archetype provides the following conclusions:

³⁶⁰ McSparran (1979), p.vii. See the discussion of household books in Chapter II above. See also Heffernan's edition of *The Bone Florence of Rome* (1976). See also Guddat-Figge (1974), p.3, comparing Auchinleck and the Lincoln Thornton.

The E-archetype was written in a fourteenth-century Northern or N.Midland dialect. Most likely, it was produced in the Kesteven-Holland region of Lincolnshire or possibly in the city of Lincoln itself.

During the fourteenth century two passages from the E-version *Guy* were used to 'patch up' a damaged copy of a Northern / N.Midland continuation of the A-version of *Guy of Warwick*. The evidence from the Caius manuscript would indicate that this 'patching up' was undertaken in the North or N.Midlands (with the resulting text being in a Northern dialect). This Northern text, made up of passages from 'A', 'α' and 'E' passages, travelled to London by c.1400 where it was copied into the Caius manuscript and its northernisms largely removed.

It can, then, be confirmed that the E-version was in circulation in the N. / N.Midlands during the fourteenth century (being composed in Lincolnshire dialect and providing material to 'patch up' another text in a Northern / North Midland dialect before c.1400). In addition to this, as the Ff.2.38 manuscript has been shown to be most likely to have been produced in the North West it would suggest that the E-version *Guy* remained in circulation in the North / N.Midlands into the sixteenth century, to appear in MS Ff.2.38 c.1500.

7. The Linguistic Data and the Versions of *Guy of Warwick*:

General Conclusions and Overview

Summary of Findings

The Versions

This study of the language of the surviving *Guy of Warwick* texts confirms the existence of 5 different archetypal versions (A - E), plus a 'Northern continuation' to the A-version evidenced by the "α" passages in Caius.

Dating the Archetypes

The manuscript evidence shows that all five surviving versions and the α-continuation were originally produced before the end of the fourteenth century. The language would confirm that the A and D versions were the earliest to have been produced, at around c.1300.

Localisation of the Archetypes

This study proposes that the A-archetype was written in a South Eastern dialect and that its language is characteristic of the early fourteenth-century London romance *koine* of the *Kyng Alisaunder*-group texts. These features make it most likely to have been written by a London author.

The B and C archetypes were both written in the South East Midlands in a romance *koine* generally characteristic of fourteenth-century East Midland tail-rhyme romances. The language of the B-archetype is most likely to represent the dialect of Middlesex or Hertfordshire and the language of the C-archetype is closest to S.Suffolk or Cambridgeshire.

The D-archetype has been identified as Northern but the evidence does not permit specific localisation within this region.

The E-archetype has been localised to South Lincolnshire, based on marked Northern colouring combined with a series of Midland features.

The Language of the Scribes

It is already well established that London is the most likely place for the Auchinleck MS to have been produced. This study proposes that Caius MS 107/176 was also produced in London, copied in the early-fifteenth century by two scribes who were up to date with the most current developments in the language of the higher echelons of London society. It has been suggested that Caius Scribe I is most likely to have been fully engaged as a professional scribe, having an organisational role in the production of this copy of *Guy of Warwick*.³⁶¹ The language and script of Caius Scribe II suggest that he was perhaps trained or employed as a civil servant or court administrator of some kind, commissioned for certain freelance jobs as Hoccleve was for the Trinity Gower manuscript.

The Sloane fragment is most likely to have been copied by a scribe who originated from the West - Central part of the South Midlands (perhaps Warwickshire or Oxfordshire).

The language of the scribe who copies the single surviving copy of the D-version indicates that he originated from the most northerly region of England: Northumberland or N.Cumberland.

The language of the CUL Ff.2.38 scribe is more difficult to localise as it represents the kind of 'colourless' dialect, typical of late fifteenth-century documents, which avoids dialectal forms. However, a series of features which have some dialectal significance do occur in this scribe's copying of *Guy of Warwick* and have been taken to suggest that the Ff.2.38 scribe was most likely to have originated from the North West, perhaps Lancashire or the western part of West Riding.

³⁶¹ See Chapter 2, section 5.2, above.

Evidence for Earlier Stages of Copying

Only the A-version texts provide any really significant, compelling evidence for earlier stages of copying and there is evidence for two other stages of copying, now lost, which occurred earlier in this text's history:

The evidence for one of these copyings is provided by a series of relict forms in the Auchinleck couplets and Caius I. These relicts have been shown to co-occur only in Warwickshire (according to the information provided by LALME), implying that early in its history the A-version was copied by a scribe whose dialect contained many 'Warwickshire' forms. The language of the scribe who copied the Sloane 1044 fragment provides a further link with this region.

The evidence for the other lost copying is provided by the Caius MS. The Northern colouring of the A-version found in Caius, plus the appearance of the N / N.Midland α - and E-version continuation, show that the Caius *Guy* was copied from a N / N.Midland re-rendering of the A-version. This N / N.Midland re-rendering involved translation of the A-version into a Northern dialect and addition of the N / N.Midland continuation and must have taken place at some point during the fourteenth century (that is, between composition of the A-version, at c.1300, and copying of the Caius MS, at c.1400).

Regionalism

Brandl, Hibbard Loomis, Wells and then Severs propose that the A, B and C versions of *Guy of Warwick* all had their genesis in Warwickshire.³⁶² This theory has been rejected here and the A, B and C versions have been shown, instead, to have been produced in the S.E. and S.E.Midlands, with their various non-S.E. or non-S.E.Midland linguistic peculiarities having been shown to be variants occurring as a result of the affiliation of each text to a literary *koine*.

It seems that Brandl's misinterpretation of the linguistic evidence was the result of an overriding desire to link the origin of the text with the provenance of its protagonist. It

³⁶² Brandl (1893). Hibbard Loomis (1924). Wells (1916). Severs (1967).

seems also to have been driven by the assumption that the ME *Guy of Warwick* was produced under similar or the same circumstances as the AN *Gui de Warwic*; thought to have been produced at Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire in honour of the Abbey's patrons the Earls of Warwick. Brandl's theory may also have partly been driven by circumstantial evidence regarding the fourteenth-century Earls of Warwick, known to have been concerned to foster association with their alleged ancestor Guy. These factors are clearly of interest to understanding the reception of the legend in general (and in this respect are discussed in Chapter I) but they do not bear any primary relevance to interpretation of the linguistic evidence.

Further to this, it seems that Brandl's misinterpretation of the linguistic data was due to a failure to take into account the use of traditional, literary forms combined, perhaps, with the assumption that the occasional westernisms were archetypal. This chapter has discussed these potentially misleading factors and has shown that the A, B and C versions each display affiliation to a literary *koine* and that the series of Western, possibly Warwickshire, forms appearing in the surviving A-texts (*onswer*, *uerd*, *luyte* and so on) are relicts from an early copying by a Western / Warwickshire scribe, not evidence for the language of the archetype.

This Western / Warwickshire copying may provide evidence for a local interest in the text and was possibly a commission by a Warwickshire patron. However, with only a handful of relicts to go on, this can only remain as speculation. For example, it is certainly possible that copying by a W.Midland / Warwickshire scribe took place in London (with many W.Midland scribes known to have been working in London in the early fourteenth century³⁶³) and represents no specific link with a Warwickshire patron.

Perhaps surprisingly, considering the emphasis of previous scholars on the origin of the A-text, the best evidence for a specifically regional interest is not provided by the A-version at all but by the D-version. That is, with the only surviving text of the D-version

³⁶³ For example, two of the scribes who worked on the Auchinleck MS (Auchinleck Scribe II and Auchinleck Scribe VI) are shown by LALME to have originated from regions close together on the Gloucestershire / Worcestershire border (see LALME linguistic profiles 6940 and 7820). For further discussion of the phenomenon of West Midland scribes working in London in the fourteenth century see Samuels (1991), pp.1-7.

having been copied by a scribe whose dialect seems closest to that of Northumberland or N.Cumberland and therefore suggesting the possibility of a regional interest in Guy of Warwick's well-known exploits in this part of the country.

Possibilities and speculations regarding local interest persist, but what this study has shown is that the notion of a straightforward correspondence between local subject matter and a local audience (Warwickshire protagonist, Warwickshire audience) offers an oversimplified and somewhat sentimental way of understanding this kind of text.

As is well known, and as is demonstrated by *Havelok*,³⁶⁴ there are cases of romances closely connected with the region that their subject matter concerns. However, it has been shown here that it did not always necessarily follow that a romance with a regional theme was written by or for people of the same region: an assertion which would, it seems, call for the reassessment of some other texts. It would be of interest, for example, to reconsider the hypothesis that *Bevis of Hampton* was produced in Southampton.³⁶⁵

What should be emphasised above all is that the different versions of *Guy of Warwick* were geographically widespread and that this attests to the range of its appeal. What kind of appeal this text had within varying regions and periods needs to be considered with greater care and by full attention to specifics of the language, content of the text and cultural context. It seems important to consider the extent to which the East Midland tail-rhyme romances can be said to exhibit a special interest in themes of piety and long suffering. It also seems important to consider in what ways it was significant for fourteenth-century metropolitan audiences to read the stories of provincial characters (as they appear in the Auchinleck and Caius MSS). If, indeed, this dichotomy between metropolitan / provincial is appropriate: was there a sense of an 'urban' identity and, if so, what role did regional legends play in its construction?

³⁶⁴ See Smithers (1987).

³⁶⁵ Kölbing (1884, 1885, 1894; rept. 1978), p.xxi, comments that "...I think *Sir Beues* must have been composed on the borders of the western and the eastern parts of South England, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Southampton, where the fabulous hero of the poem is said to have been born...".

The language and dialect evidence discussed in this study, then, shows that in the case of *Guy of Warwick* the relationship between regionalism and reading romance is not as simple or straightforward as might previously have been presumed. On the contrary, this is a text with a complex textual history and a range of factors need to be considered in order to more fully understand the circumstances of its production and reception.

Overview: *Guy of Warwick* 1300-1500

Severs and Mills note that in many ways all the texts of *Guy of Warwick* are very close to *Gui de Warwick*. What has been shown here, nevertheless, is that the different Middle English versions do inevitably represent different responses to the task of translation.³⁶⁶ Study of the language has shown that these differences often depend upon the particular interpretation of romance that was traditional or prevalent within the composer's own region. As the texts came into the hands of scribes and editors they were each re-copied and re-cast in different, often individualistic, ways. Each manuscript text therefore provides its own set of information about region, period and the circumstances and constraints of production. As such, each demands to be read and regarded in its own right.

The texts of *Guy of Warwick* provide significant evidence for the movement of copies of the texts around the country. Most notable are: (i.) During the fourteenth century a copy of the A-version travelled from London to the North / N.Midlands, where it was adapted. Then, by the end of the fourteenth century a copy of this Northern / N.Midland re-rendering had travelled south again and was in circulation in London (where it was copied into the Caius MS). (ii.) The East Midland B and C versions were available in London by c.1330 (when they were copied into the Auchinleck MS). (iii.) The NLW/BL text, produced in the North and copied in Northumbria in the early-fourteenth century, was available to provide binding fragments in Somerset by the 1470s.³⁶⁷

The surviving texts of *Guy of Warwick*, then, attest to the existence of efficient networks of textual exchange which were in place in fourteenth and fifteenth-century

³⁶⁶ Severs (1967). Mills (1991).

³⁶⁷ See Chapter II for a discussion of the evidence which shows that the binding of the books they appear in took place in Somerset.

England, effecting the movement of texts across the country between readers, scribes and editors.

The existence of multiple versions, their circulation in different parts of the country and the subsequent re-copying and re-casting of the different texts in different manuscripts stands as a testament to the appeal of this text throughout the late-medieval period. It has resulted in a complex textual history, reflected in the surviving manuscripts, which, it seems certain, preserve only a small proportion of the original number of texts of *Guy of Warwick*.

8. Dialect Maps

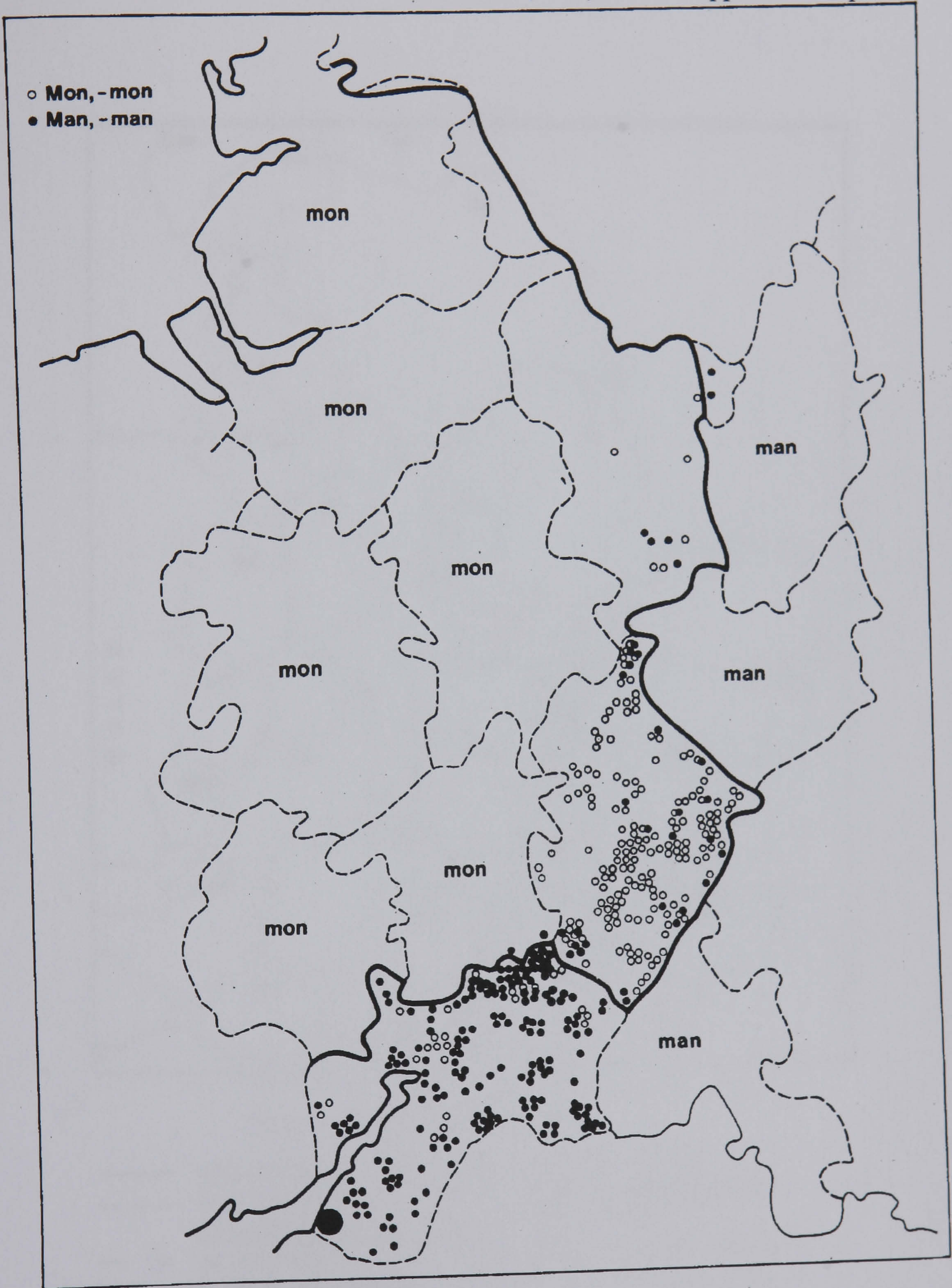
MAP DESCRIPTION

- 1 OE *a* + nasal, *o* / *a* boundary line 'transition areas' (Warwickshire, Gloucestershire and Derbyshire). From: Kristensson (1987) where it appears as map 4.
- 2 Reflex of OE *y*: western boundary of *hell* 'hill'. From: Kurath (1954).
- 3 Present tense endings: northern and eastern limit of *-eth* present plurals. From: Kurath (1954).
- 4a / b Forms of *pousinde* recorded in LALME: *thousind*, *thousynd*, *thowsynd*, *pousind(e)*, *pousynd(e)*, etc. From: LALME (1986).
- 5 Line 5: OE *y* retained as a front round vowel /y(:)/ spelled <u> or <ui> or <uy>. Line 6: OE *a*, *o* / *a* boundary: *mon* / *man* 'man'. From: Kurath (1954).
- 6 LALME dot map 95, MAN: *mon*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 7 LALME dot map 352, ANSWER: *onswer-*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 8 Forms of *onswer* 'answer' recorded in LALME: *onswer*, *onswere*, *onswer-*. From: LALME (1986).
- 9 Forms of 'earth' with initial *u-* / *v-* recorded in LALME: *urth(e)*, *vrth(e)*, etc. From: LALME (1986).
- 10 Forms of 'earth' with initial *u-* / *v-* and *onswer-* 'answer' recorded in LALME: *onswer*, *onswere*, *onswer-*, *urth(e)*, *vrth(e)*, etc. From: LALME (1986).
- 11 LALME dot map 17, SHE: *heo*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 12 Forms of 'earth' with initial *u-* / *v-*, *onswer-* 'answer' and *luyte* 'little' recorded in LALME: *onswer*, *onswere*, *onswer-*, *urth(e)*, *vrth(e)*, *luyt(e)*, *luit(e)* etc. From: LALME (1986).

- 13 LALME dot map 41, THEM: *pam*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 14 LALME dot map 637, OE \bar{a} : *ai, ay*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 15 LALME dot map 635, OE \bar{a} : *aa*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 16/17 OE \bar{o} , early fourteenth century. From: Kristensson (1967) where it appears as map 22, p.288.
- OE \bar{o} , early fourteenth century. From: Kristensson (1967) where it appears as map 23, p.289.
- 18 LALME dot map 66, SUCH: *-lk* forms. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 19 LALME dot map 889, STARS: *stern-* type. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 20 LALME dot map 642, noun plural *-us* ending. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 21 LALME dot map 23, HER: *hur*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).
- 22 LALME dot map 117, MUCH: ending *-ull(e)*. From: LALME vol.1 (1986).

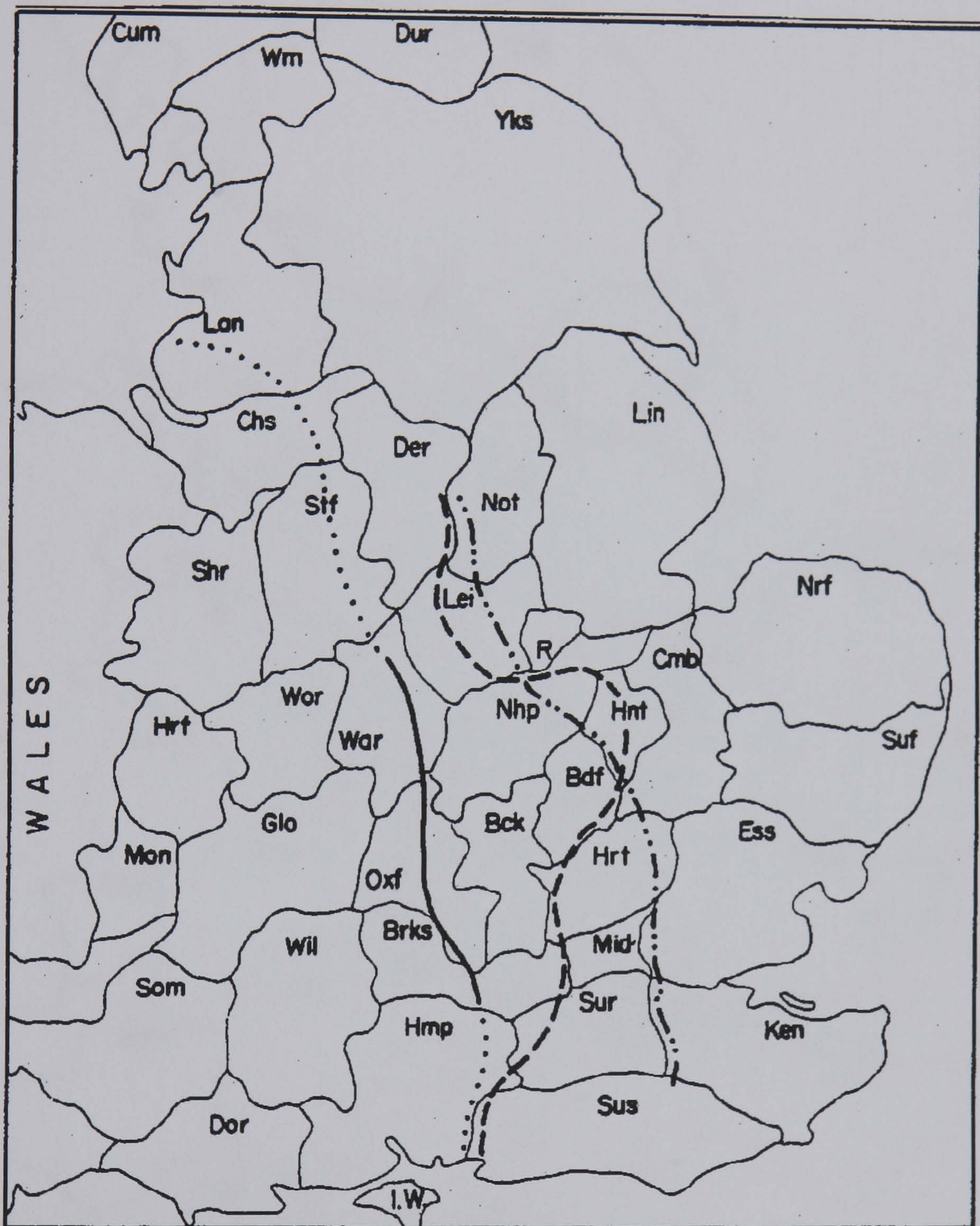
Map 1

OE *a* + nasal, *o/a* boundary line 'transition areas'
 (Warwickshire, Gloucestershire and Derbyshire).
 From: Kristensson (1987) where it appears as map 4.



Map 2

Reflex of OE *y*: western boundary of *hell* 'hill'.
From: Kurath (1954) where it appears as map 5, p.10.

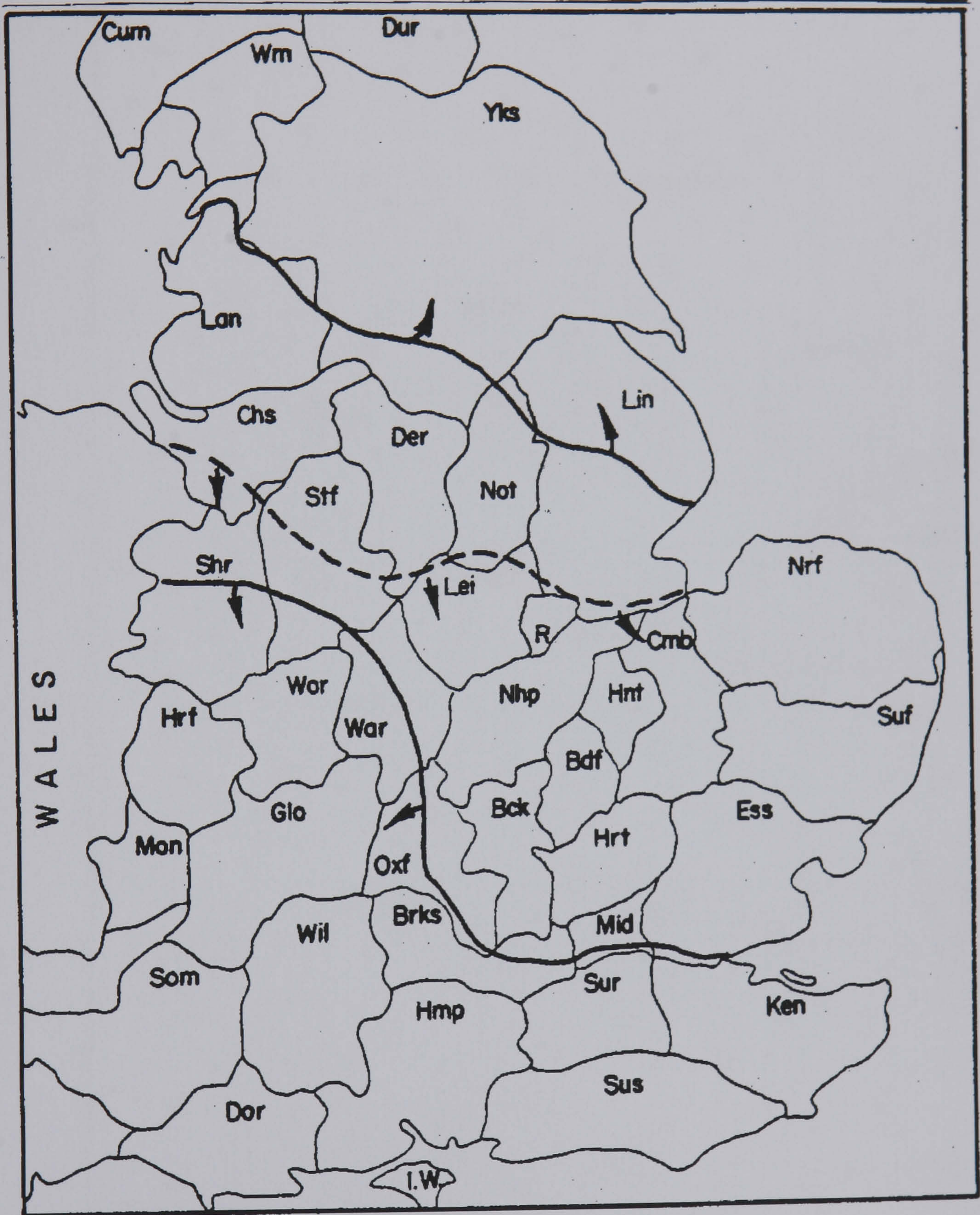


Map 5: E hil, hel / W hül

- according to Moore, Meech, Whitehall
- according to A. Brandl, Zur Geographie der altenenglischen Dialekte (1915), 66-75
- according to H. C. Wyld, Engl. Stud. 47(1913). 1-58 & 145-66 (as summarized by A. Brandl)

Map 3

Present tense endings: northern and eastern limit of *-eth* present plurals.
 From: Kurath (1954) where it appears as map 2, p.8, adapted from Moore, Meech and
 Whitehall (1935).



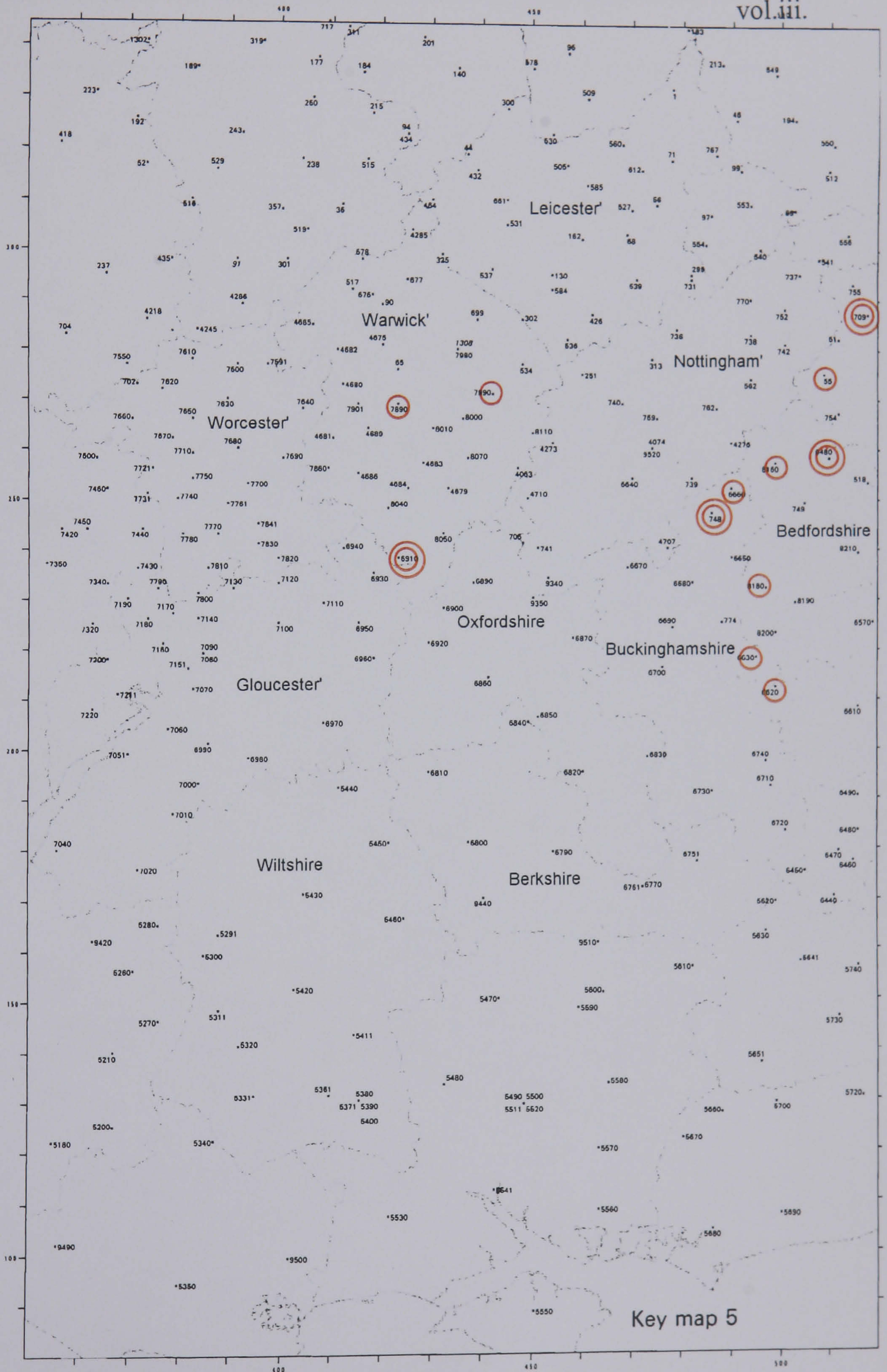
Map 2: Endings of the Present Tense

- N & nM *-es* / sM & S *-eth* (sg. 3)
 — N *-es* / M *-en* / S *-eth* (pl.)

Map 4a

Forms of *pousinde* recorded in LALME: *thousind*, *thousynd*, *thowsynd*, *pousind(e)*, *pousynd(e)*, etc.

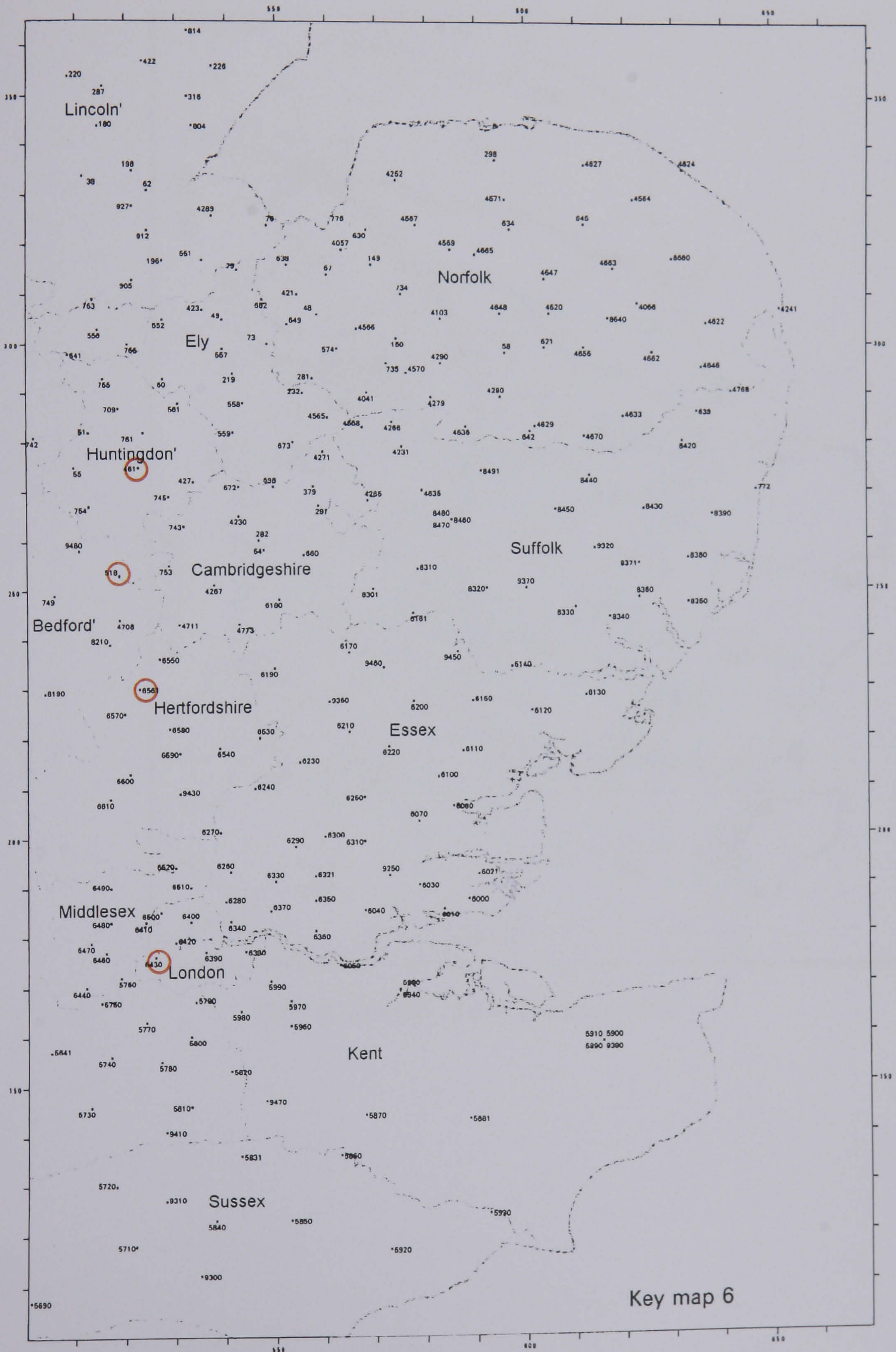
From: LALME (1986), key map provided in vol.iv and individual items recorded in vol.iii.



Map 4b

Forms of *pousinde* recorded in LALME: *thousand*, *thousynd*, *thowsynd*,
pousind(e), *pousynd(e)*, etc.

From: LALME (1986), key map provided in vol. iv and individual items recorded in
vol. iii.

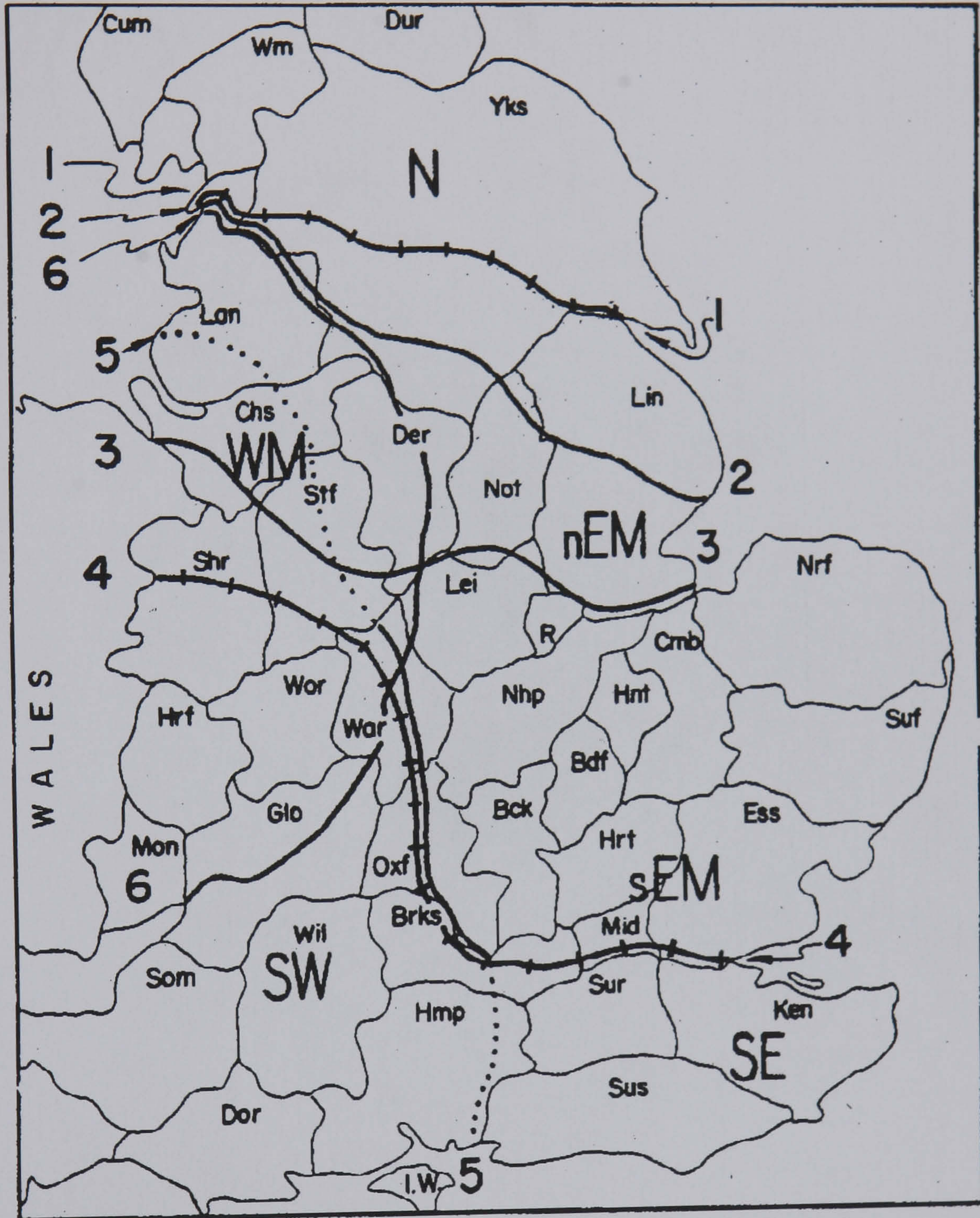


Map 5

Line 5: OE *y* retained as a front round vowel /y(:)/ spelled <u> or <ui> or <uy>.

Line 6: OE *a, o* / *a* boundary: *mon* / *man* 'man'.

From: Kurath (1954) where it appears as map 1, p.8.



Map 1: Dialect Areas (1400-1450)

Map 6

MAN: 'mon' type
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.328.



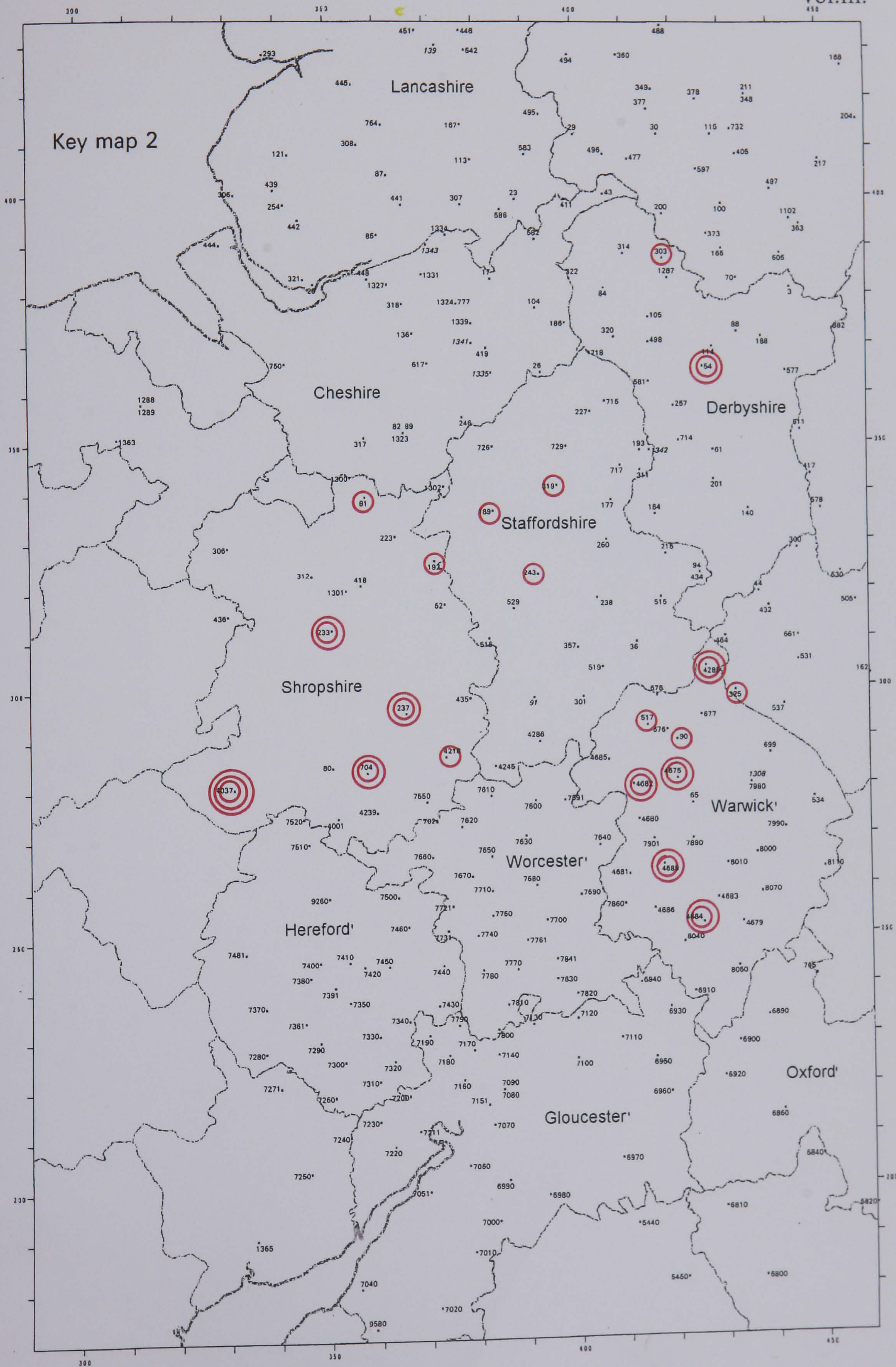
Map 7

ANSWER sb/vb: forms with initial *on-*
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.392.



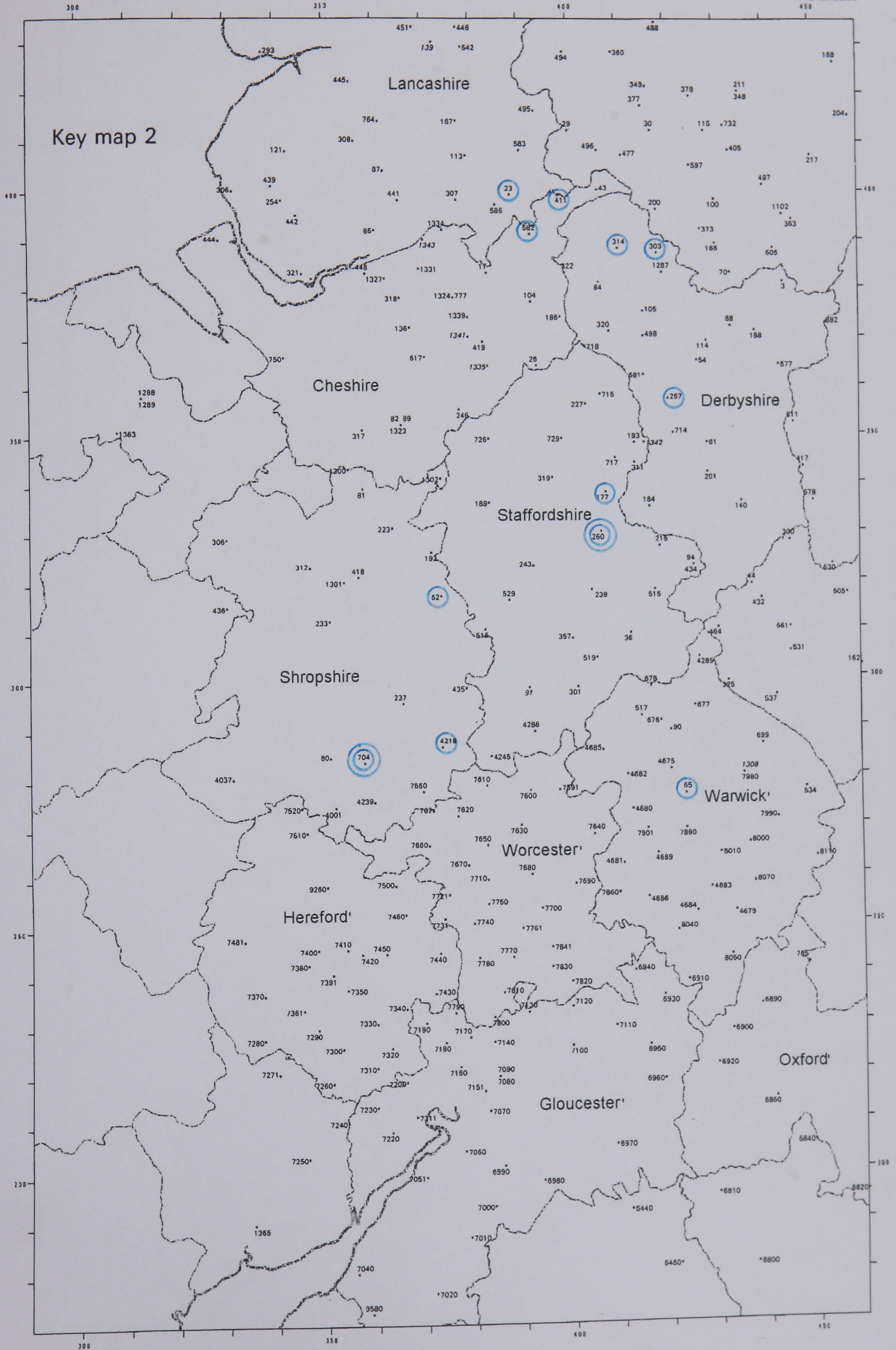
Map 8

Forms of *onswer* 'answer' recorded in LALME: *onswer, onswere, onswer-*.
From: LALME (1986) key map provided in vol.iv and individual items recorded in vol.iii.



Map 9

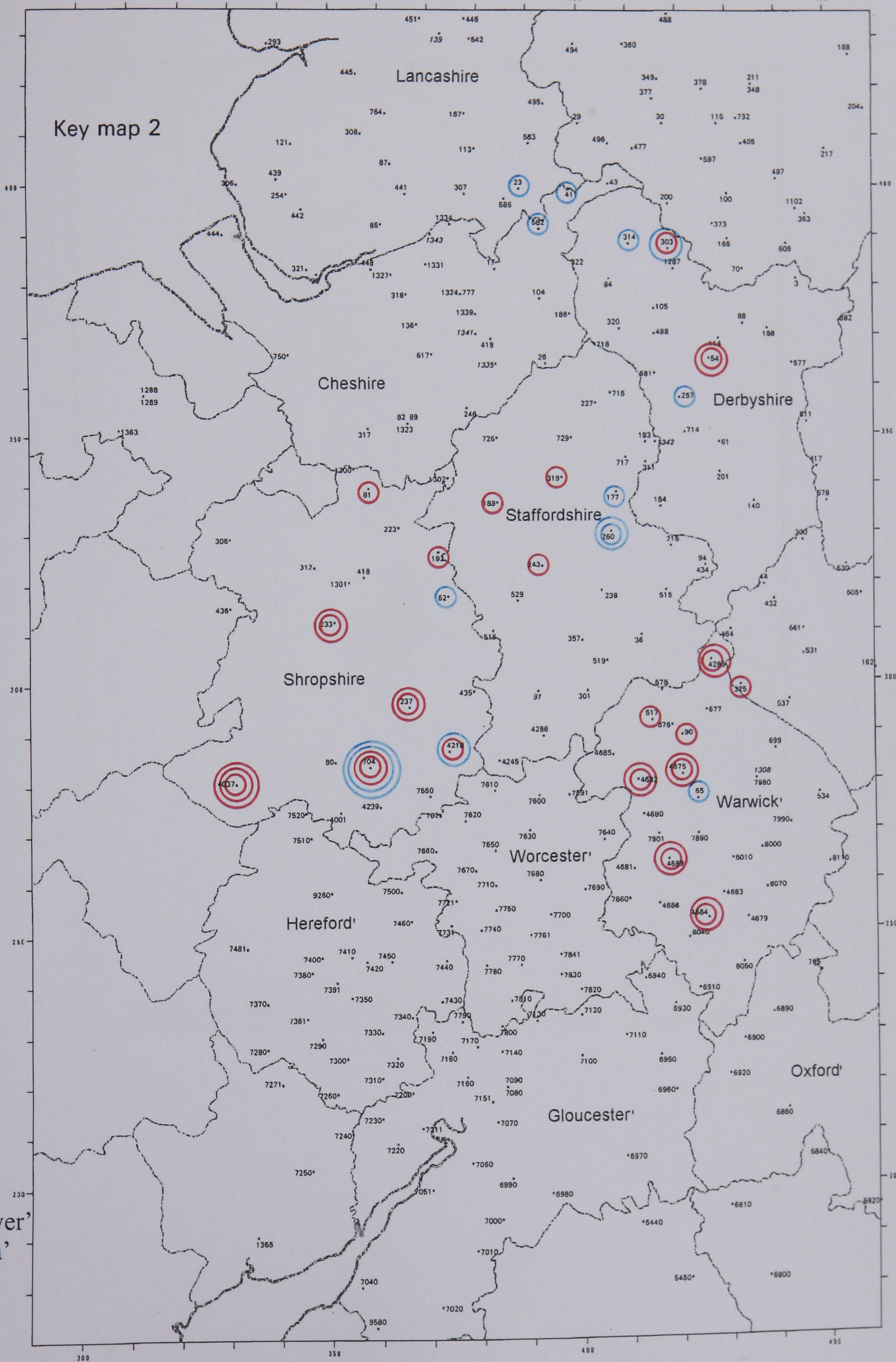
Forms of 'earth' with initial *u-* / *v-* recorded in LALME: *urth(e)*, *vrth(e)*, etc.
From: LALME (1986) key map provided in vol.iv and individual items recorded in vol.iii.



Map 10

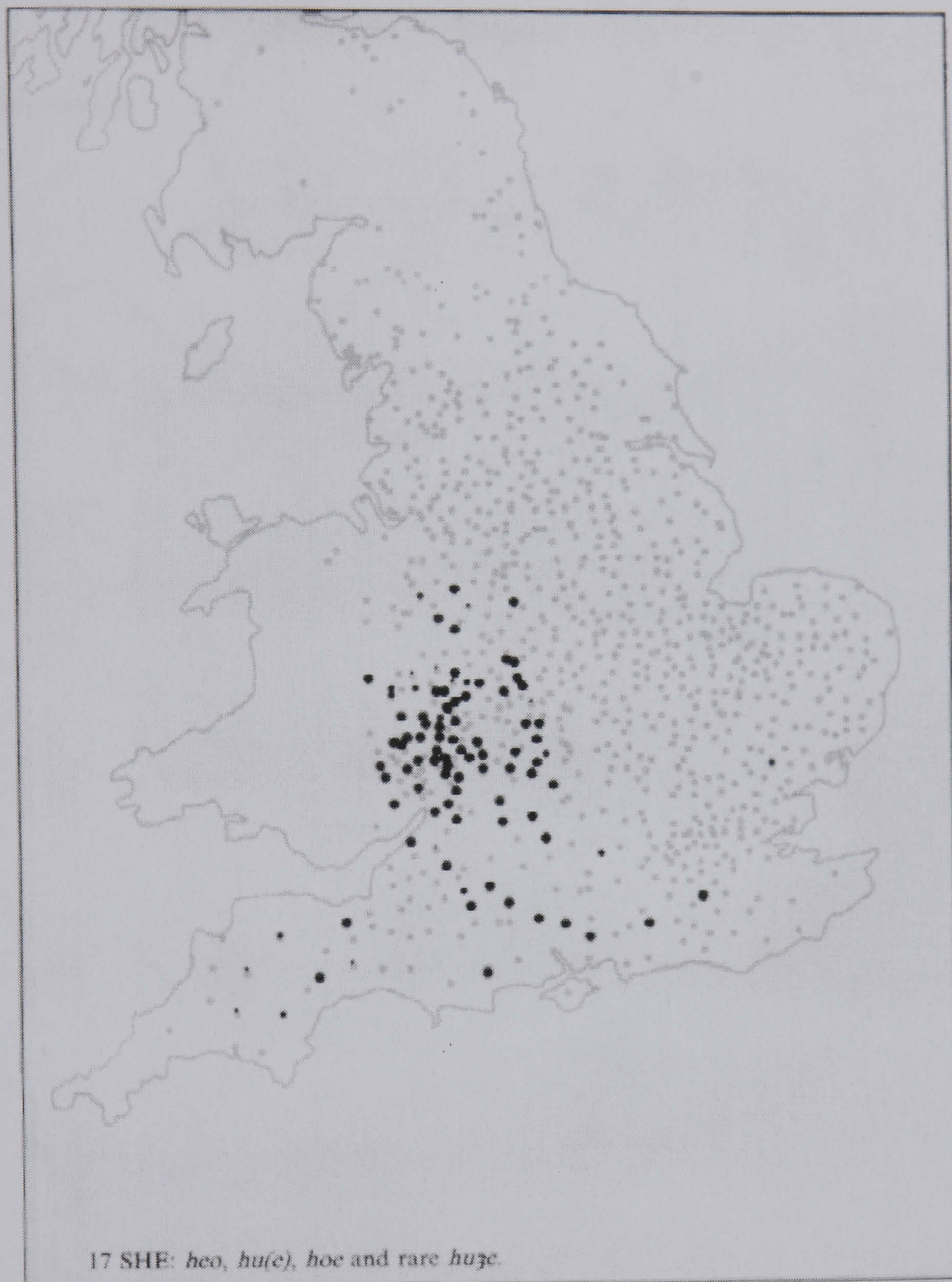
Forms of 'earth' with initial *u-/v-* and *onswer-* 'answer' recorded in LALME:
onswer, onswere, onswer-, urth(e), vrth(e), etc.

From: LALME (1986) key map provided in vol.iv, items recorded in vol.iii.



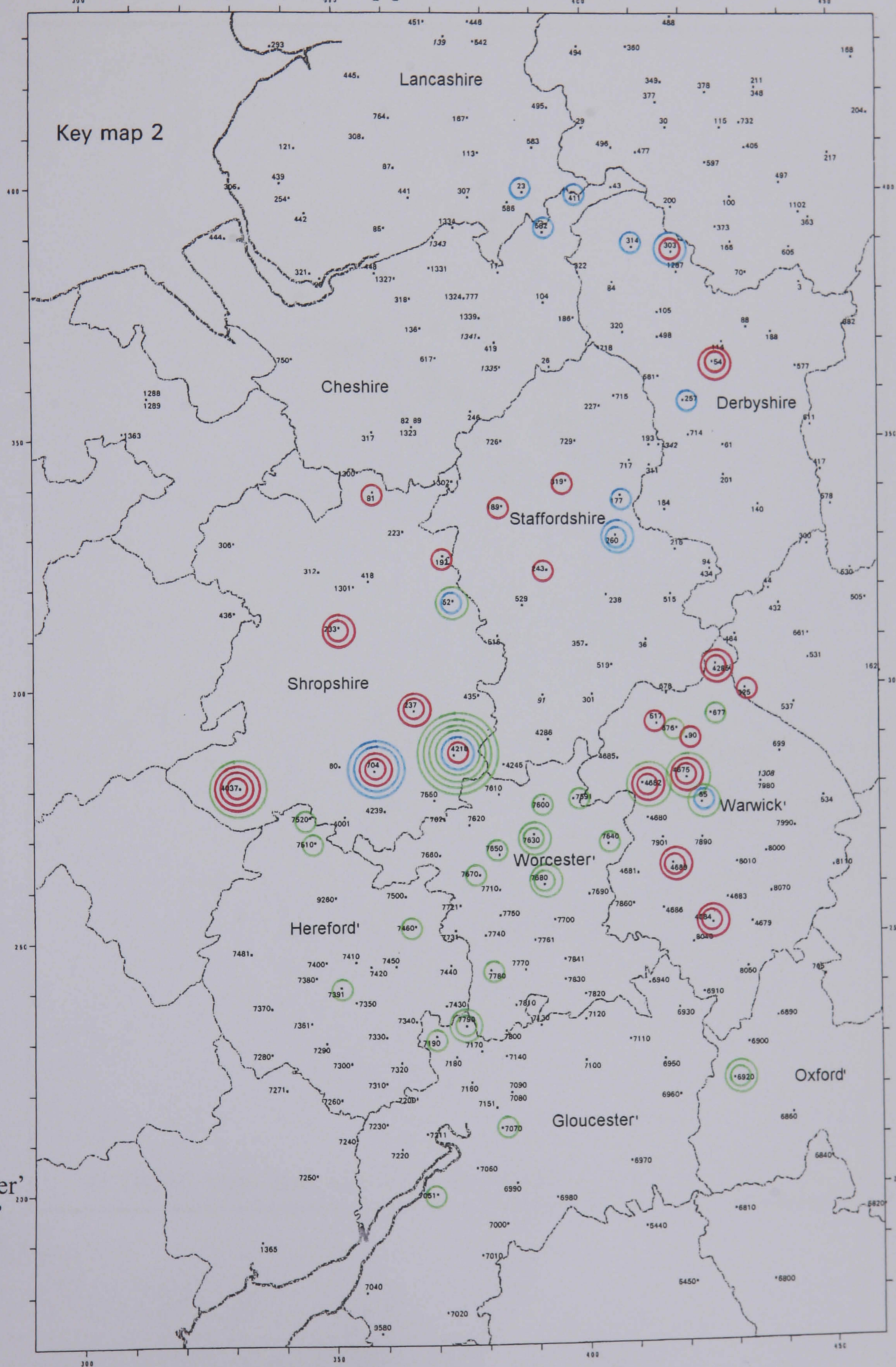
Map 11

SHE: '*heo*, *hu(e)* and rare *huʒe*'
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.309.



Map 12

Forms of 'earth' with initial u-/v-, *onswer-* 'answer' and *luyte* 'little' recorded in LALME: *onswer*, *onswere*, *onswer-*, *urth(e)*, *vrth(e)*, *luyt(e)*, *luit(e)* etc.
From: LALME (1986) key map provided in vol. iv, items recorded in vol. iii.



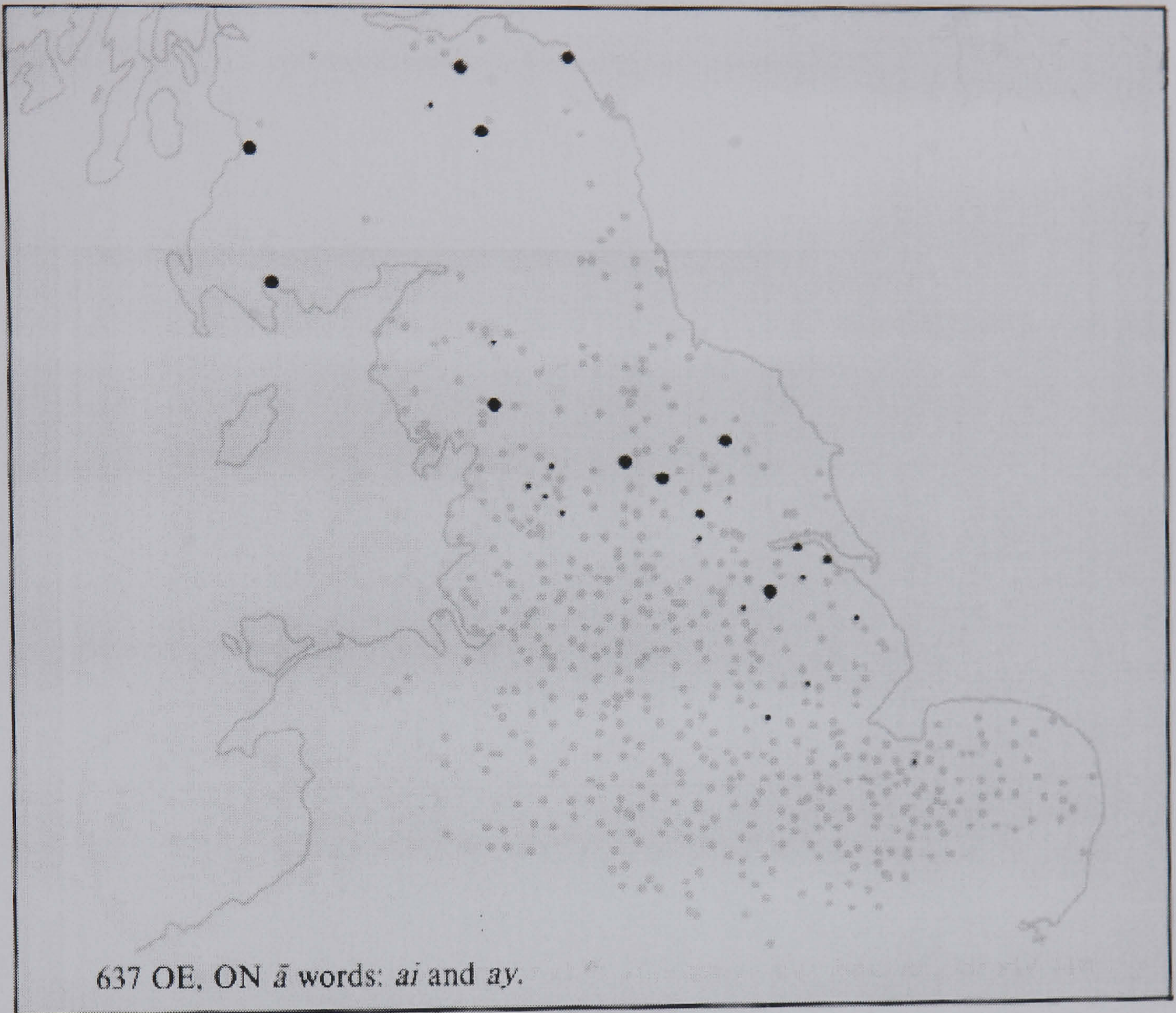
Map 13

THEM: 'tham' type, with simple medial *a(a)*.
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.315.



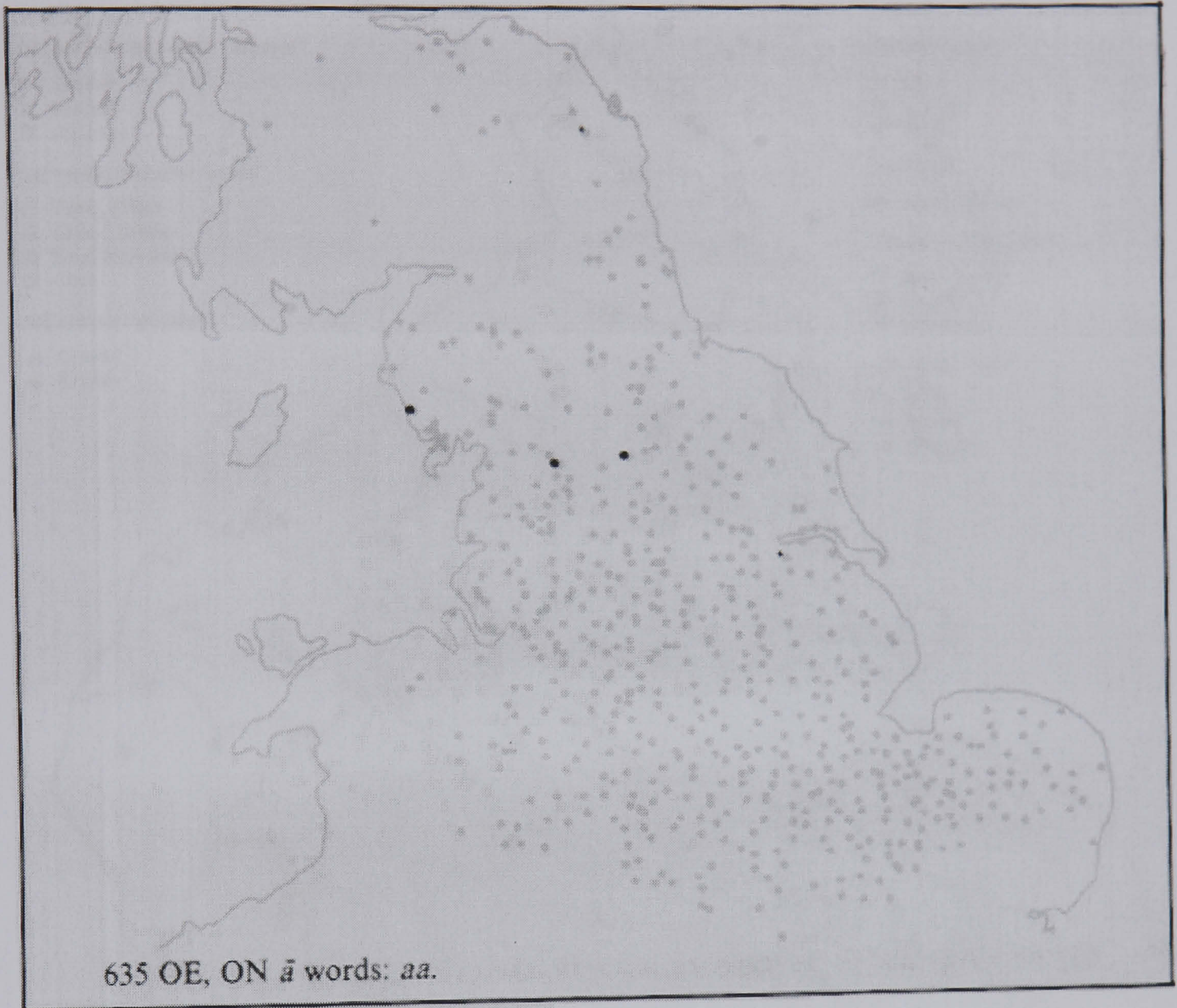
Map 14

OE, ON \bar{a} words: *ai* and *ay*
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.465.



Map 15

OE, ON \bar{a} words: *aa*.
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.464.



Map 16

OE \bar{o} , early fourteenth century.
From: Kristensson (1967) where it appears as map 22, p.288.

OE *brōðor*, ON *bróðir* 'brother'

- ▽ Brother
- ▽ Brothir-
- ▽ -bruther

OE **crōc*, ON *krókr* 'crook'

- Crok', Croke
- ▤ Croc-, Croke-
- Crucom(-um)
- Cruk-

ME *crōked* 'crooked'

- ◐ Crokd-
- ◑ Crukd-

OE *gōd* 'good'

- Gode
- ⊖ God(e)-
- Gud(e)-

OE *Gōda*

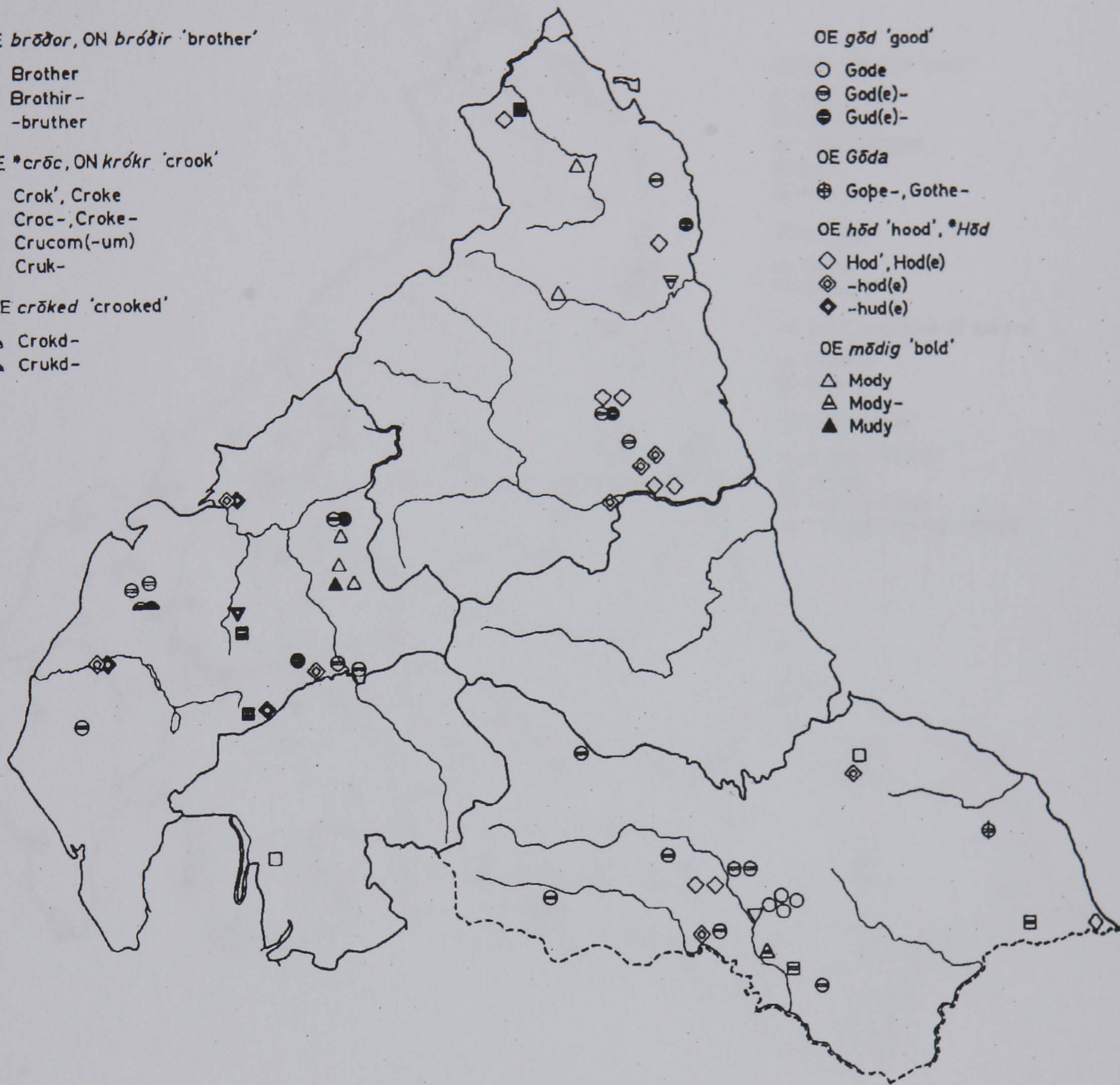
- ⊕ Gope-, Gothe-

OE *hōd* 'hood', **Hōd*

- ◇ Hod', Hod(e)
- ◊ -hod(e)
- ◆ -hud(e)

OE *mōdig* 'bold'

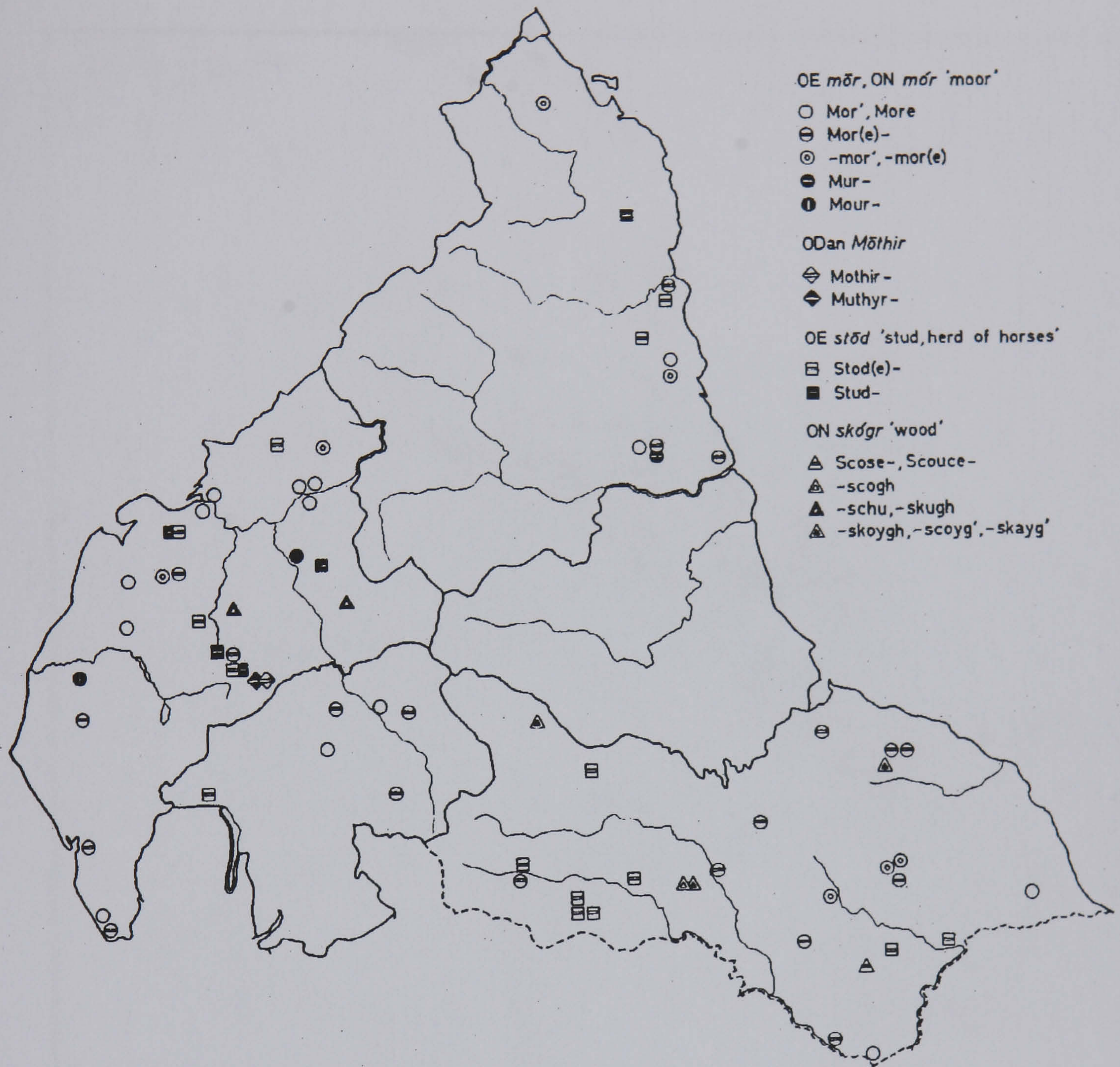
- △ Mody
- ▲ Mody-
- ▲ Mudy



Map 17

OE \bar{o} , early fourteenth century.

From: Kristensson (1967) where it appears as map 23, p.289.



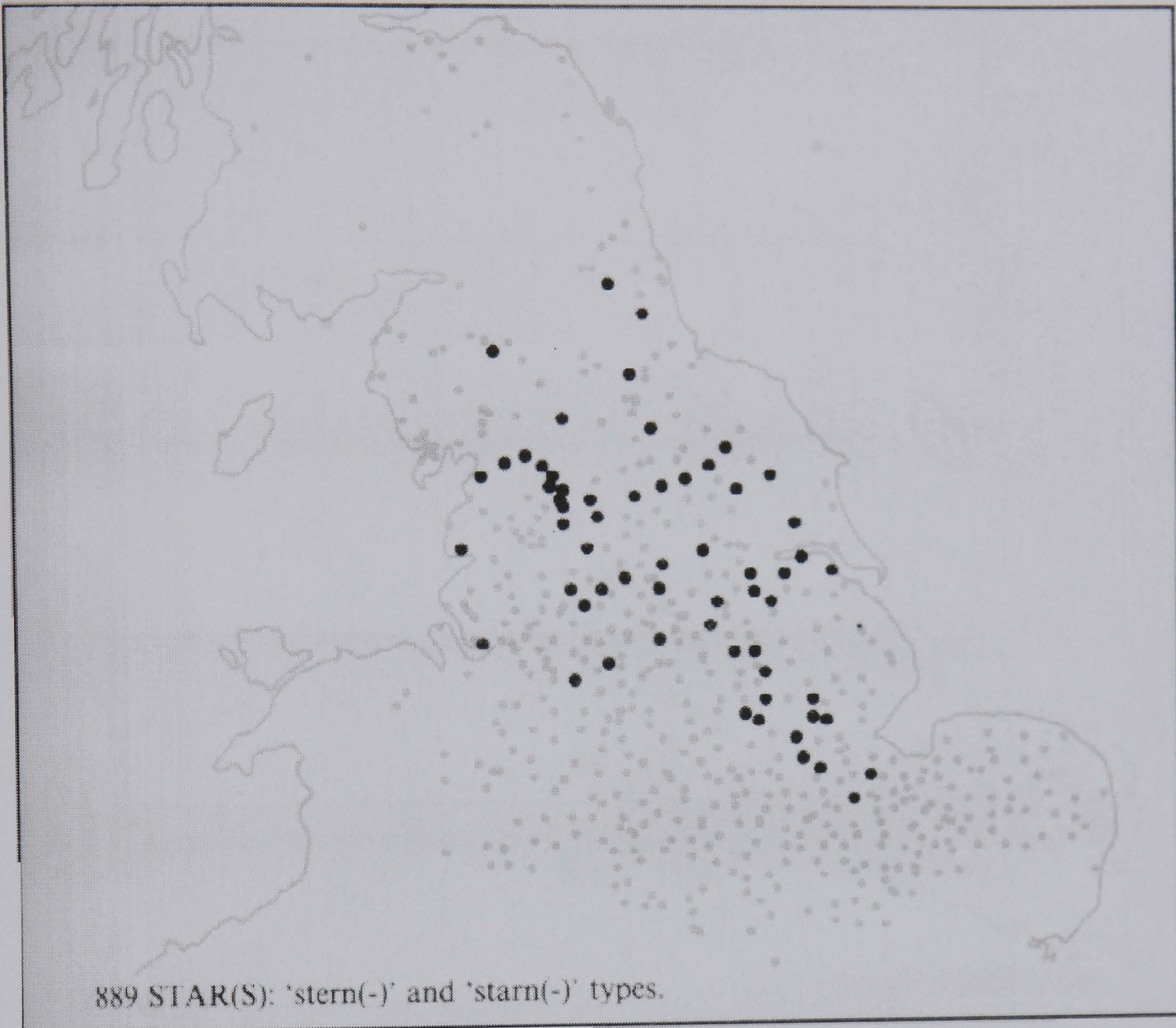
Map 18

SUCH: all forms with *-lk(-)*
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.321.



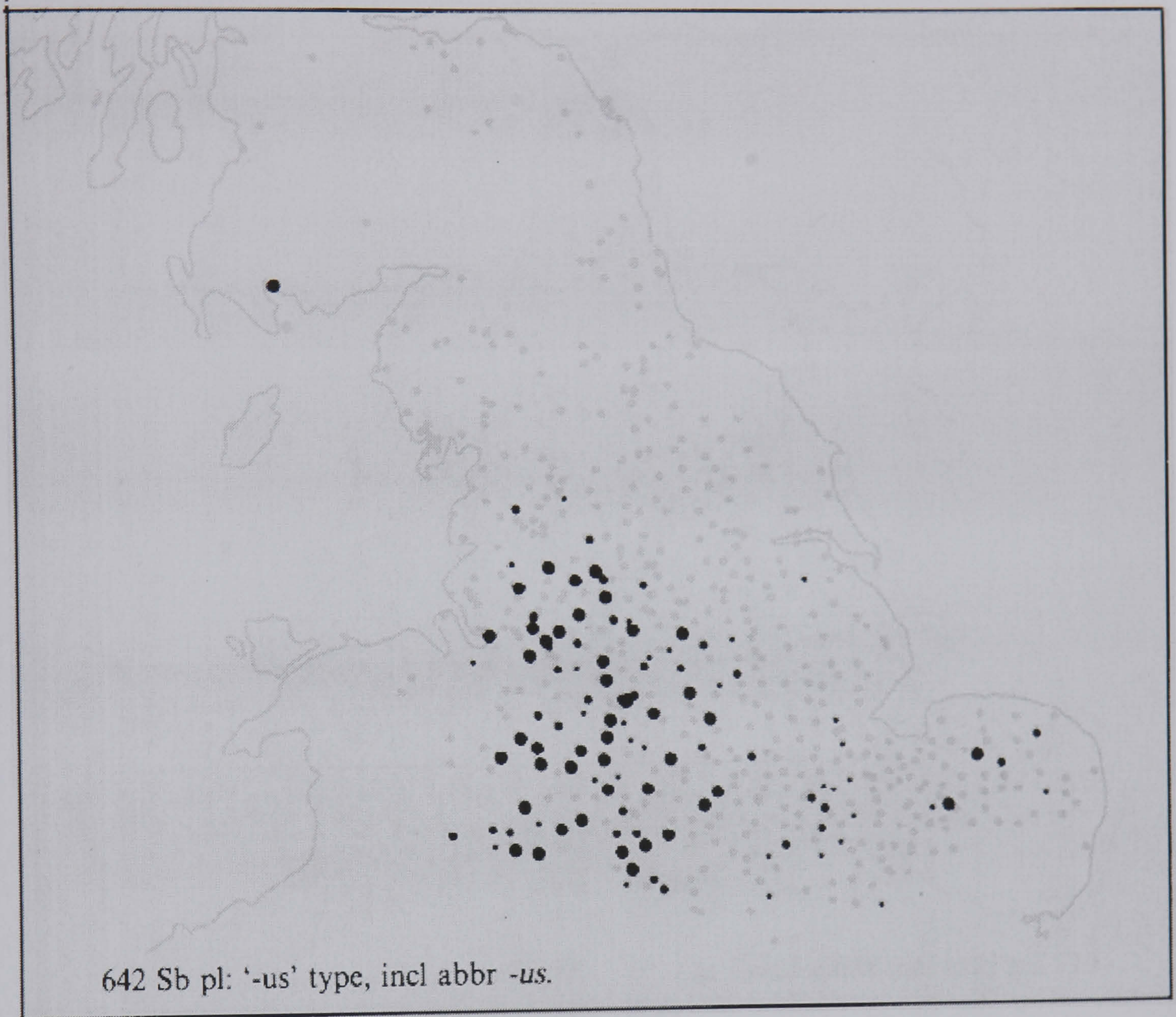
Map 19

STAR(S): 'stern(-)' and 'starn(-)' types.
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.507.



Map 20

Sb pl: '-us' type, include abbr *-us*.
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.465.



Map 21

HER: *hu(y)r(-)*, *huur(-)*, and *zur-*.
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.310.



Map 22

MUCH: forms ending in *-ull* or *-ulle*.
From: LALME vol.1 (1986), p.334.



Conclusions

The advantage of a study which focuses on a single literary work is the scope it allows for analysis of a range of evidence relevant to understanding different aspects of the text's existence. Each chapter of this thesis has considered a different set of evidence (literary, historical, manuscript, linguistic), enabling detailed investigation into the production, reception, circulation and the cultural and literary significance of *Guy of Warwick*. It has also exploited the opportunities offered by new media, incorporating computerised analysis of the texts. The agenda of this thesis, then, has been an essentially interdisciplinary one: promoting the complementary study of traditionally segregated areas of research. It is only through this approach that it has been possible to identify and integrate links between different areas of research, in a way which has been crucial to providing the most fully informed interpretation of the evidence.

Through combined linguistic and manuscript analysis, and using computer-enabled searches of the texts, it has been possible to dispel various persistent myths about aspects of the *Guy of Warwick* tradition which have tended to dominate thinking about this romance. Firstly, Hibbard Loomis's theory, that the Auchinleck MS was produced in a bookshop where texts were translated as well as copied relies primarily on her misinterpretation of the construction of the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick*. Despite the important work of Shonk, the theory of bookshop production for the Auchinleck *Guy* has persisted into recent years, cited by Fewster and Turville-Petre among others.¹ The findings of this study succeed in dispelling the 'bookshop theory' with conviction by combining codicological data with linguistic findings and specifically focusing on *Guy of Warwick*. By showing that the Auchinleck *Guy* was patched together from three differently authored versions, necessitated by a damaged exemplar of the A-version, and having asserted that the three *Guy* texts exhibit such stylistic, literary and dialectal inconsistencies that they could not have been produced under bookshop conditions, the idea of bookshop production must now, finally, be relegated to the realms of myth.

This fully revised understanding of the construction of the Auchinleck *Guy* also has important implications for literary interpretations of the text (discussed in Chapter 1,

¹ Shonk (1981) (1983) (1985). Fewster (1987). Turville-Petre (1996).

section 2 and Chapter 2, section 2.3). It offers a very significant contribution to the long-standing debate concerning the issue of how the Auchinleck *Guy*, with its different but connected parts, would have been read and regarded.² It is surprising, considering the number of times that this issue has been discussed in the past fifty years, that none of the critics concerned has commented on the differences of language and dialect exhibited by the three parts of the Auchinleck *Guy*, which have been shown here to be crucially important to understanding (i.) the relationship between the three texts, and (ii.) the pragmatic problems presented by these texts, which the editor of the Auchinleck MS appears to have been faced with and which must to a large extent have determined why the texts appear in the manuscript in the way that they do.

Hibbard Loomis's other famous theory also relies on her misinterpretation of the construction of the Auchinleck *Guy*. The notion that Chaucer can be shown to have read the Auchinleck MS has here been laid to rest and shown to imply a drastically oversimplified picture of fourteenth-century book ownership and circulation, misleading in terms of the number of books in existence and the efficiency of production it suggests. It has been shown that the stanzaic *Guy* is highly unlikely to have been unique to the Auchinleck MS and that, in any case, the phrases that Hibbard Loomis claims to be somehow unique to the stanzaic *Guy* can be found in several other stanzaic romance (Chapter 2, section 2).

A third theory regarding the Auchinleck *Guy* was generated by Brandl and proposes that all three parts were produced in Warwickshire. This theory has been rejected, and replaced here with the proposal that the A-version was produced in the South East, and the B and C versions in the East Midlands, most likely Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire. In order to achieve these results this study has benefited greatly from access to a range of machine-searchable late medieval texts. Using these facilities, traditional dialect analysis has been combined with exhaustive and highly accurate stylistic surveys. This kind of thorough consideration of literary style has been found to be crucial for analysing the language of a romance. As romance is such a highly stylised genre, its language dominated by literary constructs, traditional dialect analysis alone will inevitably fail or be inaccurate. Rigorous analysis of the use of words and phrases has shown the

²As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.iii, outlining the various contributions to the issue made by Hibbard Loomis (1942), Pearsall (1965), Cunningham (1972), Guddat-Figge (1976), Mordkoff (1981), Fewster (1987), Evans (1995) and Richmond (1996).

importance of individual literary *koines* to the language of the A, B and C versions. Features of the A-version which would otherwise be regarded as peculiar within a South Eastern text have been shown to represent affiliation to the early fourteenth-century London romance *koine* of the *Kyng Alisaunder* group romances. The B and C versions have been shown to be distinct from one another but both to show affiliation to the same romance *koine*. And, following extensive computer-enabled searches, it has been shown that this *koine* to which the B and C versions adhere can be loosely defined as associated with the East Midlands and not, as Trounce has proposed, a specifically East Anglian phenomenon which could be described within the narrow limits of a 'school'. Trounce over-simplifies the linguistic and literary circumstances in the East Midlands. This study has shown that the situation was more fluid and complex, and the evidence less willing to be manipulated into a well-defined pattern than Trounce would have us believe.

Access to computer-searchable versions of all the texts in the Auchinleck MS has also made it possible to show that a series of linguistic forms occurring in the work of Auchinleck Scribe I are unique in his work to the A-version *Guy of Warwick*. Using the information provided in LALME, it has then been possible to show that these exotic forms (plus examples from the other A-version texts) represent a layer 'showing through' from a previous copying in a Warwickshire or S.Shropshire dialect. Considering these linguistic findings, it would have been tempting to connect the events in fifteenth-century Warwickshire and Shropshire (concerning the Beauchamp family, discussed in Chapter 1, sections 6 and 7) with the genesis of the A-version. However, this conclusion was not supported by the evidence. To have hastily assumed a Warwickshire origin without having fully interrogated the evidence, as Brandl has done, would have been to distort the data. The evidence has shown that a Warwickshire genesis is not viable and this thesis has resisted misleading over-simplification.

Though a Warwickshire origin for the A-version has been rejected, there are other indications that the issue of regionalism was important to the way that this text was received. The A-version was produced in a South Eastern dialect, perhaps in London, but the evidence points to a Warwickshire copying early in its history. The E-version was produced in the N.Midlands in the fourteenth century but, as shown in Chapter 1, there is evidence that some time after 1423 a number of additions were made to it in response to the cult of Guy and pilgrimage shrine at Warwick. Further, the D-version text preserved in the NLW/BL fragments is copied in a dialect of the Northumberland region, which is

one of the regions associated with Guy's exploits. Regionalism, then, is implied to have been a key issue in reception, only not in the terms that have previously been assumed and with the evidence only rarely suggesting specific circumstances.

The method of this thesis has been to consider each manuscript text and each version individually. This reflects a concern to counteract the past tendency of some scholars to ignore the non-Auchinleck texts of *Guy of Warwick*. It also represents the most appropriate approach to a multi-version romance, for which, as has been shown, there is no identifiable line of genealogical descent between the texts; the texts are not linked as in a stemma, where one or two texts could be given priority. The individual points of interest and the idiosyncrasies of each text have been described and used as evidence to track the circulation of the romance. What this approach has emphasised is *Guy of Warwick*'s widespread distribution, both in time and space, and wide-ranging appeal.

What has also been emphasised throughout this study is the importance of the various, anonymous editors, scribe and adapters in shaping and determining the textual history of *Guy of Warwick*. Each text yields evidence for previous adaptations or stages of copying. The most notable examples include the following. (i.) By demonstrating (in Chapter 2, section 2) that the three parts of the Auchinleck *Guy* were pieced together at the Auchinleck stage of production, the Auchinleck compiler/editor is shown to have had a highly creative and skilled role in the production of this manuscript. The process of compilation is here so creative and so deliberately constructive as to suggest that the compiler should be granted semi-authorial status. (ii.) The Caius *Guy* is shown to have been subjected to similar, highly creative and skilled 're-construction', apparently by a Northern compiler (Chapter 3, sections 2 and 6). (iii.) Further, at some stage the A-version of the Caius *Guy* has been shown to have undergone literary adaptation, involving significant reduction in length, by a skilled and highly literate editor (Chapter 1, section 4). (iv.) The E-version has also been shown to have undergone specifically motivated and carefully designed adaptation by an editor, some time after 1423, in response to the cult of Guy and the pilgrimage shrine at Warwick (Chapter 1, sections 4 and 7). (v.) In addition to these examples, there is the compelling but enigmatic dialect evidence for a previous 'Warwickshire' stage of copying 'showing through' in all three copies of the A-version (Chapter 3, section 2). Each of these examples further attests to the complexity of the textual history of *Guy of Warwick*, implying previous stages of

production and offering evidence to show that *Guy of Warwick* existed in a far greater number of copies and forms than survive today.

As well as emphasising the complexity of the textual history of *Guy of Warwick*, this evidence also foregrounds the complex nature of the way that the authorship of each individual text must be understood. Each text is imprinted with the work of previous scribes, editors and adapters, so that each is a kind of literary and linguistic palimpsest. As such, each text represents not only the archetype from which it is descended, but also the creative input of manuscript compilers and literary adapters, each with their own specific design prerogatives, and the linguistic input of scribes with potentially diverse dialectal repertoires. Each text is palimpsestic in the sense that it is underlayed by other previous copyings and re-workings; and as this is applicable to the texts of *Guy of Warwick* so it is also applicable to the authorship of medieval texts more widely.

By considering several aspects and making links between different areas of study, this thesis dispels various myths associated with *Guy of Warwick*. It is a study which stands to counteract the tendency of various past commentators to create an over-simplified picture of the environment within which medieval texts were created and circulated. It works against those views which confine the period within narrow limits, encouraging instead a view which emphasises the complexity and multifariousness of medieval culture.

Suggestions for Further Research

I see this thesis as one which will stimulate further research. There are two major projects which this thesis would suggest a call for, (i.) a study of the principle sources of *Guy of Warwick*, and (ii.) a new edition of *Guy of Warwick*. The first of these would usefully supplement the second but, as Mills' comments have shown (cited in Chapter 1, section 3), very extensive research would be required in order to establish the relationship of the versions of *Guy* to various versions of *Gui*. Their relationship is complex and to untangle it would require, for a start, transcription of two more texts of *Gui*: an example of the β -version of *Gui* (best represented in MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 50) and an example of a re-worked β -version (found in its more extreme form in MS

Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Aug. 87.4), with Ewert's single-text edition being based on the α -version text from BL Additional MS 38662.³ It is only once the principle sources have been precisely established that meaningful comparison can be made between the French and Anglo-Norman sources and their Middle English translations. It is, as Mills comments, a project "...that would take some time to complete, but which would certainly justify the time and effort involved...".⁴

The second project, the need for a new edition, has been highlighted in the Preface to this thesis and in the account of the failings of Zupitza's EETS edition, Appendix J. In many ways this thesis could be seen to represent a response to this need for a new edition and I would see a new edition as one which would build on its findings. A new edition would include introductory material and also a glossary and fully annotated and re-edited texts, accurate and consistent and without the heavy and now outmoded and distracting style of punctuation used by Zupitza. The study of versions in this thesis finds that, for a printed, paper edition, a combination of parallel and single texts, as chosen by Zupitza, is the most appropriate way of editing *Guy of Warwick*. A full edition is, clearly, a large-scale project. On a smaller scale, the findings of this study would suggest that it would be highly appropriate to produce a single-text edition of the B and/or C version, for which there is only one text each (the Auchinleck stanzaic *Guy* and *Reinbrun*). The findings of this thesis have shown that B and C each have their own intrinsic literary and stylistic interest and that each had a life circulating independently of Auchinleck. It is also a project which would be compliant with the findings of this thesis and the position that it asserts in terms of emphasising the individual interest of each text and version in its own right.

³ See Ewert (1932-3), pp.74-75. Mills (1991), pp.210-211. Also, see Chapter 1, section 3, above.

⁴ Mills (1991), p.229.

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