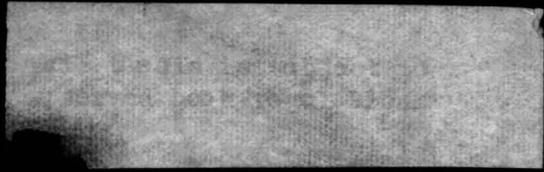
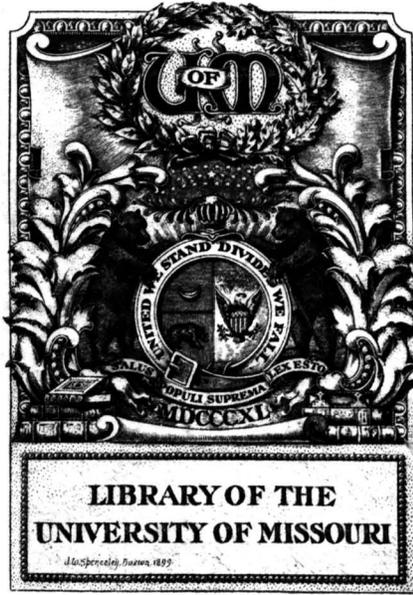


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THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE
OF
SIR THOMAS MALORY'S LE MORTE D'ARTHUR

by

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Approved —
H. M. Baldwin

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the

GRADUATE SCHOOL

of the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1916

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte Darthur

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Abbreviation: S.

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Latter 14th or early 15th cent.

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Abbreviation: MH

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THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE
OF
SIR THOMAS MALORY'S LE MORTE DARTHUR

#

I.

Introductory; the Structure of Le Morte Darthur

The efforts of the critics of Sir Thomas Malory's romance, Le Morte Darthur, seem to have been confined for the most part to two phases of Malory's work, namely, to the prose style and to the relation of the work to its sources. Judgements of Malory's narrative power there are in plenty; but so scanty are they, so frequently in direct conflict one with another, that they impress the reader as emotional rather than scientific. There is a wide gulf between the estimate of Hallam, who calls the Morte Darthur "a translation from several French romances, though written in a very spirited manner". 1), and that of Mr. George M. Harper 2), who maintains that Malory "cannot be denied great originality, both for substance and arrangement." The judgement of the student, moreover, is often obscured by a comparison between some passage in Malory and the corresponding passage

1) Hallam, Henry: *Literature of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 310.

2) Harper, George M.: *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, Pub. M. L. A., vol. 8, p. 116.

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in an older romance, sometimes to the disadvantage of Malory's work so far as the particular episode itself is concerned. 1) At such a time the student is in danger of forgetting that the suppression of delightful detail in the original may have served Malory's central purpose better than the inclusion of the regretted portion. So too in the case where Malory has preserved in the Morte Darthur a version of less intrinsic value than the version sacrificed. But some can see no very clear purpose in the Morte Darthur; to them it is a mere translation and compilation of Arthurian tales, with no more conception of unity than is implied in the grouping of the episodes about the central character.

Two questions, then, seem worthy of careful examination: (1) Does the Morte Darthur possess an organic unity of structure, a central theme which can be traced throughout the narrative? (2) If such unity can be discerned, to what extent is it the result of

1) Cf. Alfred Nutt: The Legend of the Holy Grail, 1888, p. 236, note: "Malory is a wonderful example of the power of style. He is a most unintelligent compiler. He frequently chooses out of the many versions of the legend, the longest, most wearisome, and least beautiful; his own contributions to the story are beneath contempt as a rule. But his language is exactly what it ought to be, and his has remained in consequence the classic English version of the Arthur story."

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Malory's own efforts, how far is he indebted to his sources?

These questions have already been considered in the standard critical edition of the Morte Darthur, by Dr. H. Oskar Sommer. While Sommer resents Trautmann's "contemptuous reference to Malory as a 'Zusammenstoppler'", 1), his own conclusions, so far as he has drawn any in regard to the first question, are hardly more complimentary. In the following words he summarizes his results 2):

As regards the special features of Malory's compilation, I trust I have succeeded in clearly exhibiting his merits and demerits as a writer. I have shown that he sometimes added small episodes of his own composition, though, as a rule, he contented himself with welding into one the diverse materials that were at his disposal, and that not infrequently he literally translated entire passages from his French, or made large transcripts from his English, sources.

We owe the worthy knight a deep debt of gratitude both for preserving the mediaeval romances in a form which enabled them to remain an integral portion of English literature, and for rescuing from oblivion certain French versions of great value to the critical student. But truth demands that we should not rate him too highly. To put it mildly, his work is very unequal - sometimes he excels, but often he falls beneath, oftener still, he servilely reproduces his originals. Nor can his selection of material be unreservedly praised. Difficulties in procuring certain MSS. may possibly have occurred of which we nowadays have no idea; yet, giving him the full benefit of this supposition, we must still

1) Le Morte Darthur, ed. by H. Oskar Sommer, (hereafter to be indicated by S) vol. iii., p. 8.

2) S. vol. iii., p. 294.

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say that he left out many of the most touching and admirable portions of the French romances, and that he has incorporated others of inferior quality. The most marked and distressing instance is his preference of the trivial and distasteful version of the Merlin and Nivene episode as found in the "Suite de Merlin" to the exquisite version of the Vulgate-Merlin, which, in its mingling of wild romance and delicate sentiment, is perhaps the most beautiful and characteristic story of mediaeval literature. Be this as it may, Malory must always be counted as an English classic. I shall be satisfied if what I have done be considered not unworthy his merits and his position in English literature.

As regards the first of the two questions proposed, the significant words in the foregoing passage are "welding into one." It is with the essential unity of the Morte Darthur that I desire first to deal. I wish to attempt an analysis of the narrative structure of the work, in an effort to learn whether Malory really possessed a narrative plan, or whether in the task of construction he followed certain principles, unconscious of their existence, or whether the work is really what it is sometimes held to be, a loosely joined series of translations from the older romances. No one, of course, will deny to Malory a certain primitive plan,- a gathering together of the material dealing with King Arthur and his knights,- but is the material so collected, in respect to its entire effect as a single narrative, a unified, artistic whole?

As Malory's work is commonly printed, it is divided into 21 books, varying in length from 6 to 88 chapters.

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~~But~~ This division into books and chapters, ^{however,} is the work, not of the author himself, but of the printer, Caxton, according to the testimony of Caxton's own preface. It is quite unlikely that Caxton received any assistance from Malory in this task. The language of Caxton's preface may even be taken to indicate that Sir Thomas Malory had died before the MS. was delivered to the printer 1). Upon examination these divisions appear to be of the most whimsical sort 2). It is not my desire, however, here to attempt a rearrangement of the chapter divisions of Caxton, but to indicate the desirability of certain groupings of the book divisions, together with some reassignments of the divisions themselves.

Upon analysis, the Morte Darthur reveals four main divisions, which I have entitled A, B, C, and D. These four divisions, with their chief sub-divisions and an indication by the number of words of the approximate length of each, I list as follows:

1) G. L. Kittredge: Who Was Sir Thomas Malory? Harvard Notes and Studies, vol. v., p. 85.

2) Note the division between books IX. and X., or the inclusion of chapter xxv. in book XVIII., when it belongs logically to the following book. For a brief comment on the comparative literary ability of Malory and of Caxton, see Howard Maynardier: The Arthur of the English Poets, pp. 248-249.

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A. (65,000 words.) The establishment of Arthur and of his court, especially of the Round Table.		
1. I. i.-vii.	Birth to coronation.	4,500 words.
2. I. viii.-xviii.	The conflict with the barons for the crown.	9,000 "
3. I. xix.-xxvii.	Mordred and Excalibur	4,950 "
4. II.	Balin and Balan	11,250 "
5. III.	Marrriage; attendant quest of Tor, Gawain, and Pellinore.	8,550 "
6. IV.	Miscellaneous: the loss of Merlin, war with the five kings, Arthur's fight with Accolon, adventures of Gawain, Uwain, Marhaus, and Pelleas.	18,000 "
7. V.	The Roman war.	9,900 "
B. (168,000 words.) Round Table adventures.		
1. VI.	Lancelot	13,050 "
2. VII.	Gareth	25,650 "
3. VIII.	Tristram	27,450 "
4. IX. i.-ix.	La Cote Male Taile and Lancelot	6,300 "
5. IX. x.- X. xxxi.	Tristram	50,400 "
6. X. xxxii.-xlix.	Alisander le Orpheliq and the Tournament of Surluse	11,700 "
7. X. l.-lxxxviii.	Tristram	32,400 "

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C. (67,000 words.) The Grail, preparation and Quest.			
1. XI.-XII. x.	Lancelot-Galahad	14,400 words	
2. XII. xi.-xiv.	Tristram-Palomides	2,700	"
3. XIII. i.-xvii.	The beginning of the Quest, Galahad's first adventures.	10,350	"
4. XIII. xvii.-xx.	Lancelot	2,250	"
5. XIV.	Percival	5,850	"
6. XV.	Lancelot	3,600	"
7. XVI	Gawain, Ector, and Bors	10,350	"
8. XVII.	Galahad, Percival, Bors, and Lancelot	15,750	"
D. (60,000)words.) Morte Darthur.			
1. XVIII. i.-xxiv.	Lancelot, Elaine of Astolat, Guenever, Lavaine last tournament.	19,350	"
2. XVIII. xxv.- XIX.	Meliagrance's attack	11,250	"
3. XX.	Attack of Mordred and Agravain, war with Lance- lot	18,000	"
4. XXI..	Mordred's treason; Morte	10,350	"

Aside from an examination of the text of the narrative itself, there are two other ways of seeking an understanding of Malory's purpose in his compilation of the Arthurian stories. The first of these is through inquiry into the character of Malory himself. Here scholarship can aid us but little. Probably all that

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we can assert concerning him is that he was an English knight living in Warwickshire in the middle of the fifteenth century. 1) If, as Professor Kittredge supposes, our Sir Thomas Malory was the same as he who served under Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in this service might have been cultivated a love for the ideals of chivalry which would have impelled Malory to attempt the preservation of those ideals through the perpetuation in a more accessible form of the Arthurian stories. This view, however, must remain largely conjectural.

The second way of gaining an understanding of Malory's purpose is through the preface and epilogue of Caxton, and through the concluding words of Malory himself in the twenty-first book. Malory concludes: "Here is the end of the book of King Arthur, and of his noble knights of the Round Table, that when they were whole together there was ever an hundred and forty. And here is the

1) See Maynardier, Howard: The Arthur of the English Poets, ch. XIII. Maynardier's chapter is drawn largely from the discussion by G.L. Kittredge, Who Was Sir Thomas Malory? in Harvard Notes and Studies, vol. v, p. 85. The note by Semmer on p. 335 of the third volume of his edition of the Morte Darthur contributes nothing of value at this point, nor can we gain anything from the discussion given by Rhys in the opening pages of his preface to the Everyman edition of the Morte Darthur. Rhys seems to incline to the belief that Malory was at least of Welsh extraction.

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end of the death of Arthur. I pray you all gentlemen and gentlewomen that readeth this book of Arthur and his knights..." The pertinent passage in Caxton's preface is as follows:

"I have ... emprised to imprint a book of the noble histories of the said King Arthur, and of certain of his knights, after a copy unto me delivered, ... And I, according to my copy, have done set it in imprint, to the intent that noble men may see and learn the noble acts of chivalry, the gentle and virtuous deeds that some knights used in those days, by which they came to honour; and how they that were vicious were punished and oft put to shame and rebuke; humbly beseeching all noble lords and ladies, with all other estates, of what estate or degree they be of, that shall see and read in this said book and work, that they take the good and honest acts in their remembrance, and to follow the same. For herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin. Do after the good and leave the evil, and it shall bring you to good fame and renown."

The colophon is as follows:

"Thus endeth this noble and joyous book entitled Le Morte Darthur. Notwithstanding it treateth of the birth, life and acts of the said King Arthur, of his noble knights of the Round Table, their marvelous enquests and adventures, the achieving of the Sangreal, and in the end the dolorous death and departing out of this world of them all."

Whether we take the words of Malory or of Caxton, we see that the book is supposed to treat not merely of Arthur, but of Arthur and his knights, especially those of the Round Table, and of the qualities displayed by this community. So, as the story is drawing

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toward its close, when Mordred brings word to Arthur of the discovery of Lancelot with Guenever (XX. vii.), it is not for the loss of his wife that Arthur laments: "Alas, me sore repenteth that ever Sir Launcelot should be against me. Now I am sure the noble fellowship of the Round Table is broken forever..." It is not the personality of Arthur that is of so great moment in the romance; it is the community that he draws together about him.

Reviewing now the four main divisions of the Morte Darthur already indicated, we can characterize each in the following way:

- A. The establishment of Arthur and of the Round Table.
- B. The characteristics of the Round Table displayed through the adventures of three great knights, Lancelot, Gareth, and Tristram.
- C. The preparation for the story of the Grail Quest, and the testing of the Round Table through the Quest.
- D. The downfall of Arthur and his knights.

It is easy, however, in such a characterization of these four divisions to overestimate the integrity of each, and so to overrate Malory's skill in selection and arrangement. Hence I wish to examine each of the divisions more closely!

In A Malory finds it necessary to crowd together a

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considerable variety of introductory material, with the consequence that this section presents a narrative nowhere approaching in consecutiveness and power the more smoothly running conclusion, although both are of about equal length. Several brief incidents are related which are not altogether pertinent to the main matter of the section: so the circumstance of the birth of Mordred (I. xix.), Arthur's Herod-like slaughter of the innocents (I. xxvii.), and the imprisonment of Merlin (IV. 1/). Yet, while these incidents seem, in the telling of them, somewhat detached from the surrounding narrative, they are highly significant as regards the development of the whole romance. The incestuous birth of Mordred heightens the tragic effect of the closing book; the tragedy is foreshadowed by Merlin in his speech to Arthur (I. xx.). The departure of Merlin is well timed; the element of magic in his figure would have lessened the essential humanness of the knights in the succeeding section of the narrative. His wisdom, his ^{magic} ~~magic~~, and his prophetic power have been of service in establishing Arthur upon the throne and in overcoming his domestic enemies; now it is time for the half-pagan figure of the enchanter to make way for the humanity of the second section, which in turn will yield to the Christian miraculousness of the Grail theme. As a whole, the section contains

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matter that clearly looks to the unity of the whole Morte Darthur: with the marriage of Arthur to Guenever is linked the gift to him of the Round Table,- his greatest glory and the cause of his downfall come to him in the same day,- and in the tale of Balin and his brother Balan we hear sounded for the first time the Grail motif. The nature and importance of the Round Table are foreshadowed in the election of Pellinore, Tor, and Gawain; the Quest of the Grail is anticipated, and Merlin prophecies of the guilty love of Lancelot and Guenever. Within this first section, then, are held the threads of the chief interests of the whole work.

Through the adventures of section B the characteristics of the Round Table Knights are developed. The chief figures are Lancelot, Tristram, and Gareth, with considerable space devoted to Lamorak and Palomides and a special section for La Cote Male Taile. Lamorak and Palomides are both introduced as opponents for Tristram; it is in part through them that he is able to display the qualities that make him worthy of membership in the Round Table. La Cote Male Taile, or Breunor Le Noire, in his courageous fighting through a succession of defeats offers a distinct variation of the usual conquering knight; yet for his gallantry he is adjudged worthy of being made a knight of the

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Round Table. It is in the course of his adventures, moreover, that there is opportunity for a display of Lancelot's kindly courtesy, so that this episode is of value in the development of Lancelot's character.

Of the three main narratives of section B, i. e., the stories of Lancelot, of Gareth, and of Tristram, 1) the treatment of the last is most unsatisfactory. Approximately 125,000 words of the 168,000 in this section are devoted to Tristram. The final combat of Tristram with Palomides seems to have been in the nature of an afterthought; it is necessary that Sir Palomides, who at the close of book X. was still a heathen knight, should be baptized and brought within the pale of Arthur's court, since he is to appear with considerable frequency throughout the later books of the romance. In the narration of this last combat of Tristram's and of the ensuing reconciliation, we are led directly to the opening events of the Grail Quest. The real Tristram narrative is given to us in three parts: from the birth of Tristram to the marriage with Isoud La Blanche Mains (a slight supplement about Lamorak is added after the narration of the marriage itself, and of how the news of it reaches Arthur's court), and from the return of

1) Section 6, X. xxxii.-xlix., containing the story of Alisander and of the tournament of Surluse is really an intercalation in the Tristram narrative itself, not a separate narrative.

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Tristram from Brittany to his fight with Sir Elias for the truage and the incident of Dinadan's lay, and finally from Mark's attempt to have Tristram killed in a tournament to the establishment of Tristram and La Beale Isoud in Lancelot's castle of Joyous Gard. The intervening episodes of La Cote Male Taile and of Alisander le Orphelin and the tournament of Surluse give slight relief from this over-lengthy and detailed narrative. But we see throughout that, in spite of the importance of the love story, the real interest lies in the relation of Tristram to Arthur and to the knights of Arthur's court, Lancelot in particular. So we find that Tristram is gradually drawn into closer ^{the} contact with members of the Round Table; the meeting with Lancelot is his oft-mentioned great desire. At last comes his fight with Lancelot at the peron by the river of Camelot (X. v.), a fight which ends in a mutual introduction and the departure of the two new-made friends to the court of Arthur, who has already (IX. xxxv.) ordained certain knights to seek out Sir Tristram where he may be found. And now at the court Tristram's prowess is recognized in his election to the Round Table, to occupy the seat of Marhaus, whom he himself had slain. (X. vi.; see also VIII. iv.-viii.) The importance of this election is evidenced by Tristram's own assertion of himself upon his next adventure (X. xxx.) as "King Arthur's knight, and

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knight of the Table Round," The expression is the more remarkable in that Tristram is here going out to do battle in behalf of his uncle, King Mark of Cornwall.

From the election to Round Table membership to the end of book X., where we have Isoud established in Lancelot's castle of Joyous Gard, there to be resorted to by Tristram in the breathing-spaces of his adventurous forth-farings in search of Palomides, our main interest is in Tristram's knightly deeds. He is forced to break with Mark completely, and with Isoud he makes his escape to Logris, Arthur's realm, there to be received and housed by Lancelot. Malory chose to omit the conclusion of the Tristram story; the first reference to Tristram's ^{death} after the close of the tenth book is in XVIII. xxiii., "For an Sir Tristram de Liones, outhir Sir Lamorak de Galis had been alive..." In XIX. xi. Malory pauses in his account of the Knights who attempted to heal Sir Urre, to tell us more fully of the death of Tristram by the treachery of Mark. And in XX. vi., in Launcelot's speech, we are given a brief account of how Tristram came to his end,- "for when by means of treaties, Sir Tristram brought again La Beale Isound unto King Mark from Joyous Gard, look what befall on the end, how shamefully that false traitor King Mark slew him as he sat harping before his lady La Beale Isoud, with a grounden glaive he thrust him in behind to the heart!"

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To have included in its natural order the tragic conclusion of the Tristram story would have shifted the emphasis from Tristram, knight of the Round Table, to the love tale of Tristram and Isoud.

In addition to the value of the Tristram narrative in setting forth the traits of a Round Table knight, it has for Malory the attraction of being in some respects parallel to the Lancelot-Guenever story. The contrast between King Mark and King Arthur is drawn in XX. vi., where Bors, after the speech of Lancelot referred to on p. 15 above, replies, "Ye know well King Arthur and King Mark were never like of conditions, for there was never yet man could prove King Arthur untrue to his promise." In short, it may be said in apology for the bulkiness of the Tristram story, that Malory had here a romance most rich in material suitable to his purpose, material, moreover, which possessed a peculiar significance. Hence it is not so strange that he found it hard to drop this tale before it had swelled to most amazing proportions.

The other two principal narratives contained within section B are more compact. The account dealing with Lancelot is clean-cut and swift in movement. The precision with which the transitions are marked from one story to another in section B is worthy of notice.

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Soon after that King Arthur was come from Rome into England, then all the knights of the Table Round resorted unto the king, and made many jousts and tournaments, and some there were that were but knights, which increased so in arms and worship that they passed all their fellows in prowess and noble deeds, and that was well proved on many; but in especial it was proved on Sir Launcelot du Lake, for in all tournaments and jousts and deeds of arms, both for life and death, he passed all other knights, and at no time he was never overcome but if it were by treason or enchantment, so Sir Launcelot increased so marvellously in worship, and in honour, therefore is he the first knight that the French book maketh mention of after King Arthur came from Rome. Wherefore Queen Guenever had him in great favor above all other knights, and in certain he loved the queen again above all other ladies and damosels of his life, and for her he did many deeds of arms, and saved her from the fire through his noble chivalry. Thus Sir Launcelot rested him long with play and game. And then he thought himself to prove himself in strange adventures, then he bade his nephew, Sir Lionel, for to make him ready; for we too will seek adventures....

xviii. - Close. - ...And so at that time Sir Launcelot had the greatest name of any knight of the world, and most was he honored of high and low.

Gareth

VII. i. When Arthur held his Round Table most plenour, it fortuneth that he commanded that the high feast of Pentecost should be holden at a site and a castle, the which in those days was called Kynke Kenadonne, upon the sands that marched nigh Wales. So ever the king had a custom that at the feast of Pentecost in especial, afore other feasts in the year, he would not go that day to meat until he had heard or seen of a great marvel. And for that custom all manner of strange adventures came before Arthur as at that feast before all other feasts. And so Sir Gawaine, a little tofore noon of the day of Pentecost, espied at a window...

xxxv. Close.- ...And this Sir Gareth was a

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noble knight, and a well-ruled; and fair-languaged.

Tristram.

VIII. i. It was a King that hight meliodas...
Xli. So Sir Lamorak departed and went to the court of King Arthur.

La Cote Male Taille.

IX. i. At the court of King Arthur there came a young man....
ix. And after he was called Beauvivante, but ever after for the more part he was called La Cote Male Taille; and he proved a passing noble knight, and mighty; and many worshipful deeds he did after in his life; and Sir Plenorius proved a noble knight and full of prowess, and all the days of their life they awaited for the most part upon Sir Launcelot; and Sir Plenorius's brethren were ever knights of King Arthur. And also, as the French book maketh mention, Sir La Cote Male Taille avenged his father's death.

Tristram second portion of narrative.

IX. x. Now leave here Sir La Cote Male Taille and turn we unto Sir Tristram de Lioness that was in Brittany. [We are not sure from VIII. ~~x. xli.~~ ~~We are not sure~~ where Tristram goes; this is our first indication.]

X. xxxi. But to say that King Mark was wonderly wroth, he was, for he deemed that the lay that was sung afore him was made by Sir Tristram's counsel, wherefore he thought to slay him and all his well-willers in that country.

Alisander le Orphelin and the Tournament of Surluse.

X. xxxii. Now we turn to another matter that fell between King Mark and his brother, that was called the good Prince Boudwin, that all the people of the country loved passing well.

xlix. Then Sir Lamorak departed from Sir Launcelot, and either wept at their parting.

Tristram third portion of narrative.

X. l. Now turn we from this matter, and speak we of Sir Tristram, of whom this book is principally of, and leave we the king and the queen,

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Sir Launcelot and Sir Lamorak, and here beginneth the treason of King Mark, that he ordained against Sir Tristram.

lxxxviii. But thus as Sir Tristram sought and and enquired after Sir Palomides Sir Tristram achieved many great battles, wherethrough all the noise fell to Sir Tristram, and it ceased of Sir Launcelot; and therefore Sir Launcelot's brother and his kinsmen would have slain Sir Tristram by cause of his fame. But when Sir Launcelot wist how his kinsmen were set, he said to them openly; Wit you well, that an the envy of you all be so hardy to to wait upon my lord, Sir Tristram, with any hurt, shame, or villainy, as I am true knight I shall slay the best of you with mine own hands. Alas, fie for shame, ye for his noble deeds await upon him to slay him. Jesu defend, said Sir Launcelot, that ever any noble knight as Sir Tristram is should be destroyed with treason. Of this, noise and fame sprang into Cornwall, and among them of Liones, whereof they were passing glad, and made great joy. And then they of Liones sent letters unto Sir Tristram of recommendation, and many great gifts to maintain Sir Tristram's estate; and ever between, Sir Tristram resorted unto Joyous Gard whereas La Beale Isoud was that loved him as her life.

Lancelot - Galahad

XI. i. Now we leave Sir Tristram de Liones, and speak we of Sir Launcelot du Lake, and of Sir Galahad, Sir Launcelot's son, how he was gotten, and in what manner, as the book of French rehearseth.

XII. x. And then there were great feasts made and great joy; and many great lords and ladies, when they heard that Sir Launcelot was come to the court again, they made great joy.

Tristram - Palomides

XII. xi. Now will we leave for this matter, and speak we of Sir Tristram, and of Sir Palomides that was the Saracen unchristened.

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xiv. And so the King and all the court were glad that Sir Palomides was christened. And at the same feast in came Galahad and sat in the siege perilous. And so therewithal departed and dissevered all the knights of the Round Table. And Sir Tristram returned again unto Joyous Gard, and Sir Palomides followed the questing beast.

The third section of the Morte Darthur, C, relates the Quest of the Grail. Here the narrator has not unsuccessfully combined the accounts of the several principal knights who undertook the Quest. The task of dealing with a considerable variety of actions, in some cases apparently simultaneous, was not slight, but the narrative is far from obscure in regard to the progress of incidents. Such obscurity as there is lies largely in the essentially miraculous character of the whole Grail theme. The value of the section to the whole Morte Darthur is that here we have the testing of various knights and the most complete estimation of their character. For the romance as a whole, this testing is most valuable in the cases of Gawain and of Lancelot, since it is upon the weaknesses of these two that the final tragedy hinges.

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In D, the last section, we have the downfall of Arthur's court. The narrative here is far more direct than in any of the other three sections. Lancelot, after his return from the Grail Quest, endeavors to break off his sinful relation with Guenever. She, however, accuses him of unfaithfulness to her and drives him from the court. In his absence occurs the poisoning of Sir Patrise and the accusation of Sir Mador de la Porte. After Lancelot's rescue of the queen from this peril and his restoration to favor, comes the episode of Elaine of Astolat, and the part played by her brother, Lavaine, and by Lancelot in the last great tournament. Next the queen is again exposed to peril through the abduction by Meliagrance, and then by his accusation; her deliverance by Lancelot, who finally slays Meliagrance in combat, brings us to the last breathing spell. With the healing of Sir Urre, Lancelot reaches the climax of his career. At this moment comes the revelation of Lancelot's relation to the queen, the accidental slaying of Gareth and Gaheris by Lancelot, the anger of Gawain, and the beginning of the war between Arthur and Lancelot, a war which is largely due to the enmity of Gawain for the slayer of his brothers. The revolt of Mordred calls Arthur

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home from the siege of Launcelot's stronghold; and in the final battle in the west the chivalry of the Round Table meets destruction. The romance closes with the death of Guenever, followed soon after by the death of Launcelot and the departure of his friends for the Holy Land. "And there they died upon a Good Friday for God's sake."

So far we have dealt merely with the Morte Darthur as it stands for us in Malory's text. There is a unity of effect in the whole that betokens more than a drawing together of various tales merely because they all relate to Arthur. We have the development of his power through the introduction of certain forces, certain characteristics in the members of his court; we have the gradual revelation of defects in these same persons, and the final overthrow of Arthur's realm, not through the treason of Mordred alone, but through the weakening of Arthur's forces by the very defects that have already been revealed in the course of the narrative. It is our next task to ascertain, as far as possible, to what degree the excellence of the whole romance may be credited to Sir Thomas Malory, how far the honor must be awarded to the sources he employed.

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II.

The Relation of Malory to His Sources.

For our knowledge of the sources from which Malory drew together the Morte Darthur, we are chiefly indebted to the work of Dr. H. Oskar Sommer, who has presented his conclusions in the third volume of his edition. The following table represents his findings. 1)

<u>Malory</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Form</u>
I. i.-vii.	<u>Merlin</u> of Robert de Boron	Reduced to French prose.
viii.-xviii.	<u>The Ordinary Merlin</u>	French prose.
xix., & II., III., & IV.	<u>Suite de Merlin</u> (Huth MS.)	" "
V.	<u>Morte Arthure</u> - Huchown - Thornton MS.	English allit. poem.
VI. i.-xi.	<u>Prose Lancelot</u>	French prose
	xi.-xviii. Unknown.	
VII.	" (Resemblance to <u>Libeaus Disconus</u> .)	
VIII.-X.	Prose <u>Tristan</u>	French prose.
	except X.xxxii.-xlix.	
X.xxxii.-xlix.	<u>Prophecies of Merlin</u>	" "
XI.-XII. x.	Prose <u>Lancelot</u>	" "
XII. xi.-xiv.	Unknown, <u>Tristan</u> ?	
XIII.-XVII.	Prose <u>Lancelot: Les Aventures</u> ou la <u>Queste del Saint Graal</u> . "	" "

1) From the table in Sommer's ed., vol. iii., facing p. 12.

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XVIII.	Prose <u>Lancelot</u> and <u>Le Morte Arthur</u> - Harl. MS.	French prose English 8-line stanza, alternate rhyme.
XIX.	i.-v. ? vi.-ix. Prose <u>Lancelot</u> x.-xiii. ?	French prose
XX. XXI.	<u>Lancelot</u> and <u>Le Morte Arthur</u>	" " and English poem.

Sommer does not assert in all cases that these are the actual sources; in some instances, which will be taken up later, he hypothecates intervening narratives based, directly or indirectly, upon the sources named in the table.

Summarizing the results of Sommer's investigations, we find that the borrowings of Malory may be grouped as follows: 1)

1) This summary is essentially that given by Sommer, vol. iii., p. 12. I have increased the number of his divisions from four to five, since, although I consider book V. to form with the first four books a single unit in the development of Malory's romance (section A), yet I can see no reason for listing the Thornton MS. Morte Arthure as part of the Merlin material, as does Sommer. Merlin plays absolutely no part in either Huchown's romance or book V. of Malory's.

I have added to Sommer's analysis the approximate number of words contained in each of the portions of the Morte Darthur, since it is deceptive to base an estimate of the extent of Malory's indebtedness upon the number of books or chapters drawn from a single source; there is too great variation as to size in the divisions made by Caxton.

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte DarthurI. Merlin

(a) The <u>Merlin</u> by Robert de Boron I. i.-vii.	4,500 wds.
(b) <u>Ordinary Merlin</u> , I. viii.-xviii.	9,000
(c) <u>Suite de Merlin</u> , I. xix.-IX. xix. 1)	<u>12,000</u>
	25,500

II. Morte Arthure by Huchown - Thornton MS. V. 9,900III. Lancelot

(a) Prose (Vulgate) Lancelot, VI.	13,000
(b) " " " XI.-XII. x.	14,400
(c) " " " XIII.-XVII.	50,000
(d) " " " XIX.	11,000
(e) Prose L. & <u>Le Morte Arthur</u> , Harl. MS. XVIII., XX., & XXI.	<u>47,700</u>
	136,100

IV. Tristan, VIII., IX., & X. (exc. xxxii-xlix) 116,550V. Prophecies of Merlin (Adventures of Alisander le Orphelin, tournament of Surluse),
X. xxxii.-xlix. 11,700

1) It seems probable that we should add to this portion IV. xx.-xxviii., since it is likely that these concluding chapters of book IV. were in the Suite. The Huth MS., which is unique for the Suite, at f. 228a terminates abruptly the narrative of Gawain, Marhaus, and Uwain, and the three damsels, and passes to the incident of Arthur and the damsel sent by Morgan with the enchanted mantle, an incident which Malory has moved up to an earlier chapter (IV. xvi.). After this incident, the Huth MS. ends with the words, "Si laisse ore a tant li contes a parler et de l[a] dame et del roi et de toute la vie Merlin, et devisera d'une autre matiere qui parole du graal, pour chou que c'est li commenchemens de cest livre." (Merlin, ed. by G. Paris and J. Ulrich, Soc. des Anc. Textes Franc., II., pp. 248 and 254.) It is most probable that Malory possessed a version of the Suite which contained the adventures of the three knights as we have them in Morte Darthur IV. xx.-xxviii. See Sommer's ed vol. iii., p. 145. This would add about 6,000 words to the total drawn from the Merlin cycle of romance.

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For an estimate of the extent to which Malory's romance is original in the details of its treatment of the Arthurian story, we must examine it in relation to each of these groups. The fifth division of the sources we may consider for the moment as negligible; the portion derived from it is very small and not in itself significant. 1). But we find it necessary also to omit, for the present, consideration of the third and fourth groups, namely those dealing with the Lancelot and the Tristan material. For both these groups, Sommer hypothecates versions unknown, viz., a "Suite de Lancelot" 2) and a Tristan MS. which embodied both the Vulgate Tristan and the "enlarged Tristan". 3) The hypothesis, in each case, rests largely upon the assumption of Malory's incapacity himself to have shaped the known material by rearrangement, alteration, and addition, to the form presented by the Morte Darthur. For an estimate of Malory's skill - allowing, for the moment, Sommer's conclusions concerning a lost "Suite

1) We may well accept here Sommer's theory that the adventures of Alisander and the tournament of Galahalt in Surluse formed a part of the enlarged Tristan that he hypothecates. (S. iii., p. 288.) See also Löseth, E.: Le Roman en Prose de Tristan, p. 186.

2) S. iii., p. 272 ff.

3) Ibid. p. 288 ff.

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte Darthur

de Lancelot" and an enlarged Tristan - we are thrown back upon the Merlin material alone, with the possible addition of Huchown's Morte Arthure. 1)

1) Although here too Sommer suspects the possibility of an unknown version of the story; in fact, in discussing the hypothetical "Suite de Lancelot", he considers it probable that the "Suite" began with an account of the Roman war. See S. 111., p. 175, note, and p. 274.

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III.

The Relation of Malory to His Sources, cont.
The Merlin Material, Books I.-IV.

The Merlin sources, as has already been pointed out 1), are three in number, the Merlin of Robert de Boron, the Ordinary Merlin, and the Suite de Merlin. De Boron's Merlin we possess reduced to prose and incorporated in the same MS. with the Ordinary Merlin and also with the Suite. 2) Malory's treatment of these various sources in the first four books of the Morte Darthur may be taken up under two main heads, each of which will be in turn divided into sub-heads.

- A. Points affecting the structure of the Morte Darthur as a whole.
1. Errors and discrepancies arising in the collocation and adjustment of the three accounts employed.
 2. Rectifications made by Malory to accommodate to each other portions drawn from different sources.

1) Above, p. 25.

2) In the Ordinary Merlin, as reprinted from Add. MS. 10292 in vol. ii. of Sommer's Arthurian Romances, the portion drawn from De Boron extends to p. 88, l. 18. In the Suite (ed. of Paris and Ulrich), the De Boron account terminates at the bottom of p. 146, vol. i.

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- B. Points not affecting the romance outside the portion drawn from a single source.
1. Alterations in narrative begetting confusion or weakness.
 2. Malory's adaptations.
 - a) Alteration of narrative sequence.
 - b) Introduction of new material.
 - c) Condensation and omission.

A.

#

1) In I. ix., which is drawn from the Ordinary Merlin, Malory gives the name "Excalibur" to the sword of Arthur, - presumably (though it is not stated) the sword which he had drawn out of the stone (I. v.) - forgetting that the true Excalibur is not to appear until II. iii. (Suite.) "Malory was not entirely master of his subject," says Sommer 1); and again, 2) Malory "thus shows he was unaware that the 'Ordinary Merlin' and the 'Suite' are at times contradictory." Malory's error is clear; but, in the light of some considerations to follow, I doubt if we can conclude that Sommer's second statement is quite true. 3) Further, we should observe that Malory has not stated that the name of the sword drawn

1) S. iii., p. 36.

2) Ibid. p. 79.

3) See A - 2, discussion of I. xviii.; below, pp. 33-34.

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from the stone is "Excalibur"; the name is introduced in I. ix. quite as though it were a familiar title: "Then he drew his sword Excalibur, but it was so bright in his enemies' eyes that it gave light like thirty torches." An examination of a number of other instances, both in the Morte Darthur and elsewhere, of the use of the name for Arthur's sword induces the opinion that Malory might quite automatically have supplied the name at any mention of a sword of Arthur's, even had the name not been given, ^{as} in this case, in the source. 1)

1) The following is a list of ~~the~~ passages in support of this statement:

From Malory's Morte Darthur:

II. xi.	gaf the scauberd E. to her love
IV. viii.	E. Arthur's sword had senten hym E.
x.	his suerd E.
xii.	my sword E.
xiv.	to stele away E. his sword
V. viii.	he drewe oute E. his sword he smote hym ageyene with E.
XXI. v.	take thou E. my good swerde

(I have here used the original text as reproduced in Sommer's ed., vol. 1.)

Of these instances, the best are from ~~Y.~~ ^{V.} viii., since in the other cases attention is centered on Excalibur itself.

In the Suite de Merlin, Excalibur is mentioned but twice (Suite ii., pp. 180 and 220.), and both times the sword itself is again the center of interest. In the English Merlin of the Cambridge MS. (ed. in E. E. T. S. orig. ser., vols. 10, 21, 36, and 112) The name is used frequently, the form being "Calibourne."

p. 210 kynge Arthur dide soche merveiles with C. his gode swerde

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There is some difficulty over the knight Gryflet. In I. xxi.-xxii. (Suite), he comes to Arthur as a squire, begging to be made a knight; yet in chapters x.-xvii. (Ord. Merlin), he appears frequently as a knight. But a second confusion that Sommer discovers in the case of this knight is not so certain. Sommer says 1), in reference to the passage in I. xxii., "Merlin's statement that Gryflet will be the last knight that shall see Arthur alive is alluded to by the words, 'abydyng with yow the terme of your lyf,' but Malory forgets that, in his twenty-first book Bedewer is the knight who is with Arthur in the moment when he is received by the four queens to be taken to the ile of Avelion. In the Prose+Lancelot Bedewer's part is acted by Gryflet." 2) But there is some doubt whether the

p. 220 he smote with C. his gode swerde
 339 he griped C. his goode swerde that he pulde
 oute of the ston
 374 A. toke C. his gode swerde, that he drough
 oute of the ston
 From here on the sword is the property of Gawain.
 p. 476 Gawein...drough oute C. his goode swerde
 493 [G]drough his swerde C.
 511 he drew his swerde that was cleped C.
 530 hadde drawn oute his suerde C.
 534 and hilde C., his goode swerde
 543 G. hadde so don with C. his good swerde
 549 and hilde C. his swerde
 552 with C. his goode swerde
 592 and smote hym so with C. his goode swerde
 663 and Sir G. hym smote with C. his good suerde.

1) S. iii., p. 66.

2) Sir Bedwre plays the part in the Harleian MS. romance, Le Morte Arthur.

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reading quoted by Sommer in his note is correct; I have been unable to clear this up entirely, since the leaf containing pp. 69-70 is missing from vol. 1. (the volume containing the text) of the copy of Sommer's edition at my disposal. Three other texts agree in reading "his" for Sommer's "your", namely, the Everyman edition, ed. by John Rhys, the "Globe", ed. by Sir Edward Strachey, and Sidney Lanier's The Boy's King Arthur. The reading of the Suite is "Il sefa li chevaliers dou monde qui plus longement vous tenra compaignie, et apriès chou qu'il vous avera laissiet, ne mie par sa volenté mais par le vostre, ne sera nus chevaliers qui compaignie vous tiegne puis ne qui vous voie si ce n'est en songe." 1) It seems most probable, then, that Malory had in mind the fact that he was to use Bedivere as the last living companion of Arthur in the twenty-first book, and that he altered Merlin's prophecy so that it would foretell faithfulness on Griflet's part for Griflet's term of life rather than for Arthur's. 2) If, however, the reading "your life" is correct, still Merlin's prophecy is adequately fulfilled, if Griflet

1) Suite, i., pp. 177-178.

2) Griflet is last mentioned in XIX. xi., where he is one of the knights who handle Sir Urre's wounds. Hence he may well have been one of those who perished in the last battle.

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is one of the knights killed in the last battle; for Malory's words have by no means the emphasis of those in the Suite.

In regard to these three cases, then, which Sommer regards as demonstrating Malory's lack of control over his material, we are able to reduce considerably the significance of the first, we must admit the error in the second, but in the third we can see that Malory's vision bridged the entire gap between the first and the last books of his compilation in order to bring this point into harmony with his account of Arthur's last hours.

2. In the Ordinary Merlin 1), Merlin advises Ban and Bors to aid him in getting Arthur interested in the proposed expedition to aid Leodegrance, since he hopes that Arthur will marry Leodegrance's daughter, Guenever. This, however, would conflict with the attitude of Merlin in the Suite, as it is reproduced by Malory in III. 1. Hence Malory omits from the account of the expedition in aid of Leodegrance (one of the most condensed accounts in Le Morte Darthur) all mention of

1) Add, MS, 10292, Arth. Rom. vol. 2, p. 107, and Camb. MS. Merlin EETS. orig. ser. vol. 21, p. 141.

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Merlin's plan as given in the Ordinary Merlin. For the scene between Arthur and Guenever, which covers pp. 156-159 in Sommer's edition of the Add. MS. 10292 1), Malory has merely the words: "And there had Arthur the first sight of Guenever, the king's daughter of Cameliard, and ever after he loved her." 1a)

IN IV. xv. Sommer 2) feels that Malory has inadvertently used Gore as the name of Morgan's country instead of Garlot, the name used in the Suite.³⁾ If Malory made the change inadvertently, it was certainly by an excellent chance. For while in the Suite Garlot is the realm of Urien, the husband of Morgan;⁴⁾ in Malory Garlot is the realm of King Nentres⁵⁾, and Gore is the realm of Uriens⁶⁾. Moreover, in VI. iii. Morgan herself is represented as saying, "I am the queen Morgan le Fay, queen of the land of Gorre." I cannot but give Malory the benefit of the doubt in feeling that the change here is due to something more than inadvertence.

1) Arth. Rom. vol. 2.

1a) Morte Darthur, I xviii.

2) S. iii., p. 143.

3) Suite ii., p. 227.

4) Suite, Table Analytique, under "Garlot", vol. ii.

5) I. viii., S. "List of Names and Places", ii., p. 164.

6) I. viii. and xii.; S. "List etc."

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In I. v. Malory designates the archbishop as "of Canterbury." "Malory probably derived this addition from the English metrical romance (Harl. MS. 2252) 'Le Morte Arthur'," says Sommer 1). The anticipation, if it be that, may be of ll. 2982 and 3002 of the Harl. MS. Certainly this is anticipation^{at} long range, and implies a very strong grasp on Malory's part of the whole material of his compilation. Perhaps this case may be more easily explained as one of Malory's frequent introductions of names for persons and places, a sort of addition calculated to lend greater vividness to his narrative. 2)

In I. vi. (De Boron's account) Le Morte Darthur reads: "Then the Archbishop of Canterbury by Merlin's providence let purvey then of the best knights that they might get, and such knights as Uther Pendragon loved best and most trusted in his days, And such knights were put about Arthur as Sir Bauwwin of Britain, Sir Kay, Sir Ulfius, Sir Brastias. All these with many other, were always about Arthur, day and night, till the feast of Pentecost." Sommer 3) Notes that De Boron mentions merely that Kay is made seneschal;

1) S. iii., p. 28.

2) See below under B - 2.

3) S. iii., p. 30.

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Ulfius and Brastias he considers to be named possibly in anticipation of the Ordinary Merlin account following.

Sir Baudwin, he says, "is not mentioned in any of the romances I have seen, except in the Thornton MS.

'La Morte Arthure.'" Either Malory has shaped this passage in conformity with the passage that he expects next to take up, or he has simply added a detail here.

At the close of the De Boron account, 1) the barons assent to the coronation of Arthur, and we read in conclusion that Arthur "held the land and the realm of Logres long in peace." This would conflict with the account drawn from the Ordinary Merlin in chapters viii.-xviii. of Malory's first book; for in these chapters he tells how, immediately after the coronation, certain of the barons revolted from Arthur. The compiler of the Ordinary Merlin, who himself made use of the De Boron account down through the coronation, did not notice this discrepancy 2). Malory, however, observing the conflict, altered the close of I. vii. Sommer feels 3) that the statement that the commons cried out for Arthur is suggested by

1) Suite 1., pp. 145-146.

2) Arth. Rom., vol. 11., p 88, ll. 17-18.

3) S. iii., p. 31.

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the part that the commons play in Arthur's first battle with his Barons as narrated in the Ordinary Merlin. 1) From the words "and took the ~~swod~~^{sword} between his hands" to "wherefore King Arthur made the lands to be given again unto them that owned them," Sommer believes to be partly Malory's own invention, partly "derived from the 'Ordinary Merlin.'" For the conclusion of the chapter Sommer can find no authority; it remains for us then to consider this as Malory's own invention.

I. xviii. The last seven lines are an anticipation of the Suite. 2)

If we consider the points taken up under A -1 and A - 2, it seems evident that Malory possessed a grasp of the whole body of the romances with which he was dealing sufficient to prevent much confusion, and on the positive side, to suggest to him with considerable frequency alterations, additions, and omissions calculated more accurately to dovetail together the various accounts.

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- 1) Arth. Rom. ii., p. 95, ll. 18+20.
- 2) S. iii., p. 58.

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B.

1. I. iv. and v. Malory reads: "Then within two years King Uther fell sick," and (after Uther's death) "Then stood the realm in great jeopardy long while." In his note on iv. Sommer 1) points out that the change from the account of De Boron, who says that a long time elapsed between Arthur's birth and Uther's illness, 2) brings Arthur forward to claim the crown at the age of two years! Sommer has failed to note Malory's alteration at the opening of v., an alteration which, since it renders more acute the distress of the realm through the conflicts of the disputing barons, makes more remarkable the achievement of Arthur in that he

"Drew all their petty principedoms under him,
Their king and head, and made a realm and reigned."

I. xi. Sommer 3) feels that Malory's omission of the provisions made (in the Ordinary Merlin) by Ban and Bors for the protection of their lands during their absence, and the consequent omission of mention of the ring which they agree to employ as a token in sending back messages to their regents, renders the

1) S. iii., p. 28.

2) Suite i., pp. 126-227: "Et li rois tint puis la terre lonc.tans. Et puis avint que il chai en une grant maladie..."

3) S. iii., p. 40.

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mention of the ring in xi. unintelligible. Malory's words are perfectly clear without any previous explanation: "At the last they were concluded, that Merlin should go with a token of King Ban, and that was a ring, unto his men and King Bors's." "And when the people saw King Ban's ring, . . . they were glad . . ." One is tempted to suspect that here, as in one or two other cases, the editor of the Morte Darthur saw only the second sentence quoted, and of course found it unintelligible, having already noticed the absence of mention of the ring in comparing chapter x. with the source.

I. xii.-xviii. To this passage Sommer gives rather severe criticism. 1)

The twelfth to the eighteenth chapters recount the rather complicated events which make up the battle of Bedegrayne, and which are doubtless told with over-great length in the "Ordinary Merlin," requiring some reading to be thoroughly understood, but are nevertheless perfectly clear and intelligible. Malory's reproduction is, in many respects, a muddle. He discards the fine plan of the battle which the writer of the "Ordinary Merlin" carries out in detail; he never tells us how Arthur's, Ban's, and Bor's [sic] men are divided, nor how their enemies arrange their forces, and omits, in addition to these prominent features, many others of hardly less importance. Had I to give an opinion on this portion of Malory's work, I should describe it as a poor specimen of re-telling a story.

The chief point of objection here seems to be that Malory has discarded the plan of battle employed by the Ordinary Merlin. In the following pages Sommer adds the following points to his objection:

1) S. iii., p. 52.

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- a) The dream of the King of the Hundred Knights (of King Loth, in the source) "is very imperfectly rendered." 1) Yet I cannot see that Malory omits any essential from his account of either the dream or its interpretation.
- b) Morganore, who in xiv. is the seneschal of the King with the Hundred Knights, in xvi. is twice 2) called King Morganore. The error is evidently inadvertent; the conflict at this point is one in which the kings only are mentioned, save Morganore. 3)
- c) Malory mis-reads two names as one, and supplies a third name to make up the deficiency. 4)
- d) He condenses the account of the entry of King Ban in ch. xvi. so that King Ban becomes sadly confused with his standard: "By then came into the field King Ban as fierce as a lion, with bands of green and thereupon gold." The passage, even when helped by the modern comma, justifies Sommer's mirth.

A review of the four points mentioned scarcely justifies the severity of Sommer's criticism. His objection must rest mainly upon the fact that Malory

1) S. iii., p. 54.

2) Not once, as Sommer says in his "List of Names and Places."

3) S. iii., p. 54.

4) Ibid.

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has discarded the plan of battle employed in the Ordinary Merlin.

In the first place, it is worth while to observe that the degree of condensation attained by Malory in this passage is far less than that for the whole section (viii.--xviii.) drawn from the Ordinary Merlin 1). Hence, whatever alterations Malory has made, the desire to condense his account is not so strong here as elsewhere. Malory's own account of the battle is certainly clear enough in its general plan. It consists of the following parts:

1. The night attack by Arthur, Ban, and Bors, followed by the withdrawal of the enemy into a field defended by a "passage." Merlin advises the embushment of Ban and Bors with their ten thousand.
2. The battle.
 - a. The attack by Ulfius and Brastias in the passage. After a succession of individual combats, the eleven kings draw together.
 - b. Ector and Arthur join the fray, presumably with the main body of Arthur's forces (not the ten thousand under Ban and Bors, however); again we have the relation of deeds of individual prowess. Lot advises the withdrawal of a part of their troops, leaving the remainder to continue the fight for a time, to be relieved later by those who have rested.

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1) The figures, approximately, are as follows: for the whole section, Malory 8,259 words, Add. MS, 10292 42,300; for the battle of Bedegraine, Malory 3,600 words, Add. MS, 5,300. Malory's account of the battle is therefore about three times as full as the whole account he has drawn from the Merlin.

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- c. When the enemy has been weakened in numbers by Lot's device, Ban and Bors break cover. Their onslaught forces the two divisions of the enemy to "hurtle together for great dread"; we have then the deeds of King Ban and the gradual retreat of the enemy.
- d. The rally of the enemy; Lot's device for the retreat; the attack of Arthur's forty knights; the enemy is driven back over a little river; Merlin comes and warns Arthur to desist, saying that enough has been done for this time.

Sommer points out 1) that Malory's version of the Ordinary Merlin resembles more closely the form of the story that we have in the Auchinleck MS. Arthour and Merlin 2). than the form of the Add. MS. or of the Camb. MS. Merlin. It is interesting to compare the account of the Auchinleck MS. of the ordering of Arthur's battle and of order of attack with that given by the Add. MS. and the Camb. MS.

Order of battle:

Add. MS. & Camb. MS.	Auchinleck MS.
Kay	Lucan
Bretel	Griflet
Ulfin (with Arthur in company)	Bretel
Pharien (Bors' first division)	Kay
Leonces (Ban's " ")	Ulfin
Bors (Bors' second ")	?
Ban (Ban's " ")	Arthur

1) S. iii., p. 53.

2) Ed. by Eugen Kölbing, Altenglische Bibliothek, vol. 4, Leipzig, 1890.

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Order of attack:

Kay	No order of attack	
Ulfin	indicated in Auch.	
Bretel	MS.; whole force	
Arthur	seems to attack	
	en masse.	
Troops of allied kings from ambush:		
Pharien	Farien	The first
Leonces	Maruc	five sections
Bors	Belias	seem to be
Ban	Bleoberiis	all Ban's.
	Gracian	
	Bohort	

Hence we see that the two prose versions (ADD. MS. and Camb. MS.) make a slight variation, when they come to the attack, from the order of battle planned before, in that Ulfin comes into the fray before Bretel (the Brastias of Malory), and that Arthur, who had stationed himself with Ulfin's division, comes fourth into the fray, as though he were heading a fourth (unlisted) division. The Auchinleck MS. Battle array is entirely different from that of the prose versions. The commander of the sixth division seems to have been forgotten; moreover, there is no separate listing of the troops of the allied kings, Ban and Bors. In fact, in respect to this matter there is a radical difference between the Auchinleck MS. account and that of the prose versions: in the former Ban and Bors have recognized Arthur as their liege lord and have paid him homage 1); hence in the battle little is heard of them + they do not

1) See Kölbing's ed., ll. 3424, 3515, and 3578-9.

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act as co-ordinate with Arthur himself. In the French and English prose Merlins, they are allies, not tributary kings. Malory here follows the known prose versions.

I cannot agree with Sommer's regret that Malory did not follow the arrangement of the battle laid down by the Ordinary Merlin. In the first place, Malory's arrangement certainly seems as clear as that of the Merlin; I cannot call it a "muddle." Malory simplifies the initial attack by Arthur's own forces: Ulfius and Brastias with the vanguard force the passage of the ford; the remainder of the force then moves up to aid them 1). The device of using the forces of Arthur's allies for the flank attack is the same in both Malory and the Merlin. Malory keeps the device of moving these fresh forces into battle by sections for the effect to be gained from the successive appearances of Bors and Ban; Bors is hailed as "one of the worshipfullest men and one of the best knights of the world," whereas Ban, who comes later, is "the most valiant knight of the world." Malory even here has shortened somewhat: Lyonses and

 1) An interesting speculation is whether Malory (if we grant him the personality assigned by Prof. Kittredge, and the training in the art of war under the great Earl of Warwick) may not have objected to the tactics employed in the Merlin - a succession of attacks, the main force being divided into comparatively small bodies - and have preferred his own scheme, which seems to be original with him, so far as this battle goes, - the gaining of the important passage or ford by a small advance guard, immediately supported by the main body of troops.

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Phariance are sent into the fray together rather than successively, as in the source. Perhaps Malory kept the separation of Ban and Bors out of respect to Ban as the father of Lancelot, who is later to be the greatest of Arthur's knights.

In conclusion, the battle is an excellent specimen of Malory's composition of details. Sommer himself 1) points out (a) that the description of Arthur's fighting and being covered with blood occurs in the Ordinary Merlin in the course of Arthur's first battle with the barons, that is, before he has gained the alliance with Bors and Ban; (b) that the device of the forty knights, whose charge is the last movement in the battle, is to be found in the Merlin at a later time, in the account of how Arthur and his allies went to the assistance of Leodegrance, an account which Malory has compressed with the utmost brevity in xviii.; and (c) that the black horse on which Merlin rides in xvii. is a recollection from an earlier portion of the Merlin, the place where the romance describes the order of battle, which Malory omitted. Malory has thus shown considerable readiness and skill in accepting hints for minor details from various portions of his source and utilizing the hints at other points in his own narrative. Such work is too original to be styled mere compilation.

1) S. iii., p. 55.

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III. iii.-iv. Sommer 1) points to a confusion here: Tor is dubbed a knight in iii., yet Malory says in iv. that Tor "was the first [knight] he made at the feast." But reference to ii. seems to indicate that the feast (in the sense of a period of celebration, rather than a banquet) was already in progress when Tor came; therefore the words in iv. are but a reference to iii.

III. ii. Sommer here points to another confusion 2), this time with regard to the number of knights obtained by Merlin for the Round Table. "Within short time Merlin had found such knights that should fulfil ~~xx~~ & xiiij knights..." is one passage; "and there set the viij and ~~xx~~ knights in their sieges..." is the other. The number should be forty-eight, since two of the fifty vacant seats are not filled. The first figures in the text would make us suspect a typographical error, a mistake made by the printer, not by Malory, since "~~xxx~~ & iiij" would be more likely than "xx & xiiij". Clearly, then, here the printer had "viij", not "xiiij", before him. With one mistake already charged to him, may not the printer accept the blame for changing an "l" to "x", making "xl & viij" read "xx & xiiij"?

1) S, iii. p. 101.

2) Ibid. iii. p. 101.

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The first error he then repeated in the second passage, although he did not repeat the "xii]" mistake.

III. ii. Sommer p. 101. ~~The confusion pointed to~~ here by Sommer in regard to the movements of the Lady and her damsels is one of Sommer's own creation. He has misquoted the passage, which reads in his own text (vol. i. of his edition) "and therewith the Ladye yede oute of the paelione and all her damoysels", Sommer says, ".... she flees 'with all her damoysels' (!) to the other 'paelione.'" Malory's passage means simply that at the baying of the "brachet", both the lady and her attendants issued out of their tents; he says nothing about their entering "the other 'Paelione.'"

III. xi. Sommer p. 109. " For he went from the court with little succour, but as King Pellinore his father gave him an old cou^rser, and King Arthur gave him armour and a sword, and else had he none other succour, but rode so forth himself alone." Sommer objects that this "is in contradiction both to the 'Suite' and to Malory's previous statements." The only previous statements are in III. iii., iv., v., and ix.

iii. Tor appears riding on a lean mare. He produces a sword for his knighting.

iv. When Pellinore saw Tor, Tor "pleased him much."

v. "Every each of them [Gawain, Pellinore, and Tor] took his charge, and armed them surely."

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ix, "When Sir Tor was ready, he mounted upon his horse-back."

Possibly Sommer believes Tor set out for his quest mounted upon the "lean mare" and bearing the sword used for his knighting. Nothing shows this. Malory has added a rather clever detail in his eleventh chapter.

IV. viii. Sommer says 1) that in II. xi. Malory "confounds some other knight with Accolon." 2) In the Suite the name of the knight to whom Morgan gives Excalibur is not mentioned (in the usual manner of the Suite, which rather abstains from more than the absolutely necessary use of names); moreover, the story that follows in the Suite is not used by Malory. But Malory, without confusion, combines the knight whom Morgan loves (Suite i, p. 267) with Accolon, the knight with whom Morgan is said to be in love at Suite ii. p. 168. This secures a simplification of the narrative: whereas, according to the Suite, Morgan receives the sword of Arthur twice (for after slaying the first knight he returns it into her keeping, supposing that the knight had stolen the sword), in the Morte Darthur she receives the sword but once, (Except for the later incident, IV. xiv., which occurs in the Suite also, when Morgan

1) S. iii., p. 131.

2) Ibid. p. 86.

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steals the scabbard from the sleeping Arthur, but is unable to secure the sword.) Malory's weakness lies in the fact that in IV. he fails to acquaint us with Morgan's love for Accolon until the dwarf brings Accolon the sword just before his battle with Arthur. (IV. viii.) It is true, in II. xi. we have had the forecasting of the whole incident: "So after, for great trust, Arthur betook the scabbard to Morgan le Fay his sister, and she loved another knight better than her husband King Uriens or King Arthur, and she would have had Arthur her brother skain, and therefore she let make another scabbard like it by enchantment, and gave the scabbard Excalibur to her love; and the knight's name was called Accolon, that afterward had near slain King Arthur." Yet this forecast lies a great way back in the narrative; consequently we are unprepared for the dwarf's words in IV. viii., "and she biddeth you as ye love her..."

IV. ix.-x.1) Malory's condensation of the story of Merlin and Nimue (IV. i.) has an unhappy effect upon the tale of Arthur's fight with Accolon. "The meanwhile that they were thus at the battle came the damosel of the lake into the field, that put Merlin under the stone; and she came thither for love of King Arthur, for she knew how Morgan le Fay had so ordained that King Arthur should have been slain that day,

1) S. iii., p. 131.

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and therefore she came to save his life." The means whereby the damsel gained this knowledge, which the Suite explains as derived from Merlin, 1), Malory leaves to our conjecture. Moreover, Malory's version would indicate that the damsel arrived some time before the battle reached its crisis, and waited to relieve Arthur until he had reached such a pass that he could escape death in no other way, whereas the Suite does not bring her on the scene until the very moment when it is necessary for her to act. We are scarcely justified, however, in terming her appearance "unintelligible."

IV. xiv. 2) Sommer says that it is "unintelligible why the knights and Guenever do not imprison her [Morgan] at once." But Malory has shown no reason why the court should at this time have had knowledge of the circumstances of Accolon's death and Morgan's treachery; in fact, when they ^{learned} ~~learned~~ the facts upon Arthur's return, "then all had marvel of the falsehood of Morgan le Fay." (xv.) Arthur's message in xii, had been to Morgan alone, and intelligible only to her: "Bear him [the body of Accolon] to my sister Morgan le Fay,

1) Suite ii., p. 151.

2) S. iii., p. 142.

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and say that I send her him to a present, and tell her I have my sword Excalibur and the scabbard." The witnesses of the combat had been informed merely that there had been treason, not who had been the traitor (xii.). This fact renders intelligible the reply of the grooms in xiv. when Arthur charges them, "Falsely have ye watched me." "Sir, said they all, we durst not disobey your sister's commandment." I must confess myself unable to understand Sommer's surprise at Morgan's escape with the scabbard beneath her cloak.

2. Last of all, I wish to consider some of the alterations which Malory has made within the portions drawn from the three Merlin sources, alterations which are calculated to benefit the course of his narrative. Some of these have already been discussed under B - 1; I considered them there because Sommer has pointed them out as defective spots in Malory's romance.

a) Alterations of narrative sequence and anticipation of details.

I. xxiii. Sommer ~~xi~~, p. 66. The incident of the arrival of the Roman ambassadors, which in the Suite (i. pp. 180-181) immediately after Griflet's departure upon his adventure, Malory postpones (Sommer's expression is "misplaces") until after Griflet's return. Malory thus makes the sharpness of Arthur's reply due to his grief and anxiety for Griflet's plight: "And there-

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with the messengers departed passingly wroth, and King Arthur as wroth, for in evyl time came they them; for the king was passingly wroth for the hurt of Sir Griflet."

I. xx. S. iii., p. 62. Merlin's prophecy of his own "shameful death" is anticipated from a later portion of the Suite account. The conversation here is a condensation of two conversations in the Suite. 1)

III. iii. S. iii., p. 101. Here again we have the compression into one incident of two from the Suite: in the source, the details of Tor's birth are not revealed until after Tor's return from the quest; the Matter that in Malory is told in one chapter, in the Suite is told piece-meal in three places 2). The two speeches with which the chapter closes seem to be altogether the invention of Malory. Their homely pithiness is not without parallel in other passages of the Morte Darthur.

In this connection we should also remember the anticipation and recollection of various details of the battle of Bedegraine, details which Malory has introduced into the account of the battle, having rescued them from other passages which he had abridged from the original. 3)

1) Suite 1, pp. 154-162 and 178-179.

2) Ibid. 11, pp. 72, 114-115, and 131-135.

3) See above, p. 45.

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b) Introduction of new material.

Malory very frequently introduces names for both persons and places. So Terrabyll (I. i.), St. Albans (I. iv.), Trent and Dover (I. xi.), Pellinore and Palomides (I. xix.), Pellinore (II. x.), Herlews le Berbeus (II. xii.), Peryn de Mountbeliard (II. xiii.), Felot of Langduk and Petypase of Wynchelse (III. ix.), etc. Often he anticipates a name which is given at a later point in the source.

Malory supplies many transitions: so the statement regarding the departure of Ban and Bors in I. xix., used to bridge the gap between the Ordinary Merlin material and that from the Suite. The opening lines of II. i., says Sommer 1), are supplied by Malory and "form a sort of link between the first and second books." The link is a clumsy one. More clever is the one at the end of II. xix., where Malory supplied ^{the lines} from the words "And on Whitsunday" to the close. So too with the opening lines of III. i. and the closing lines of III. xv.

Malory supplies some new material in the way of incident and motive, it would appear. So his invention of the war between Uther and the Duke of Cornwall in I. i., with the succeeding feast of reconciliation;

1) S. iii., p. 79.

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the oath of Kay and Ector's attempt to draw out the sword in I. v., and the acclamation of the commons in I. vii. Malory, however, seems on the whole rather chary of supplying incidents out of his own imagination, although in the alteration of the sequence of events, he sometimes alters or introduces motives, as in the case of the Roman embassy just after the wounding of Griflet, a case already pointed out. 1)

c) To give a complete idea of the extent to which Malory condensed the narrative found in his sources, it would be necessary, practically, to print his account parallel with each one of the corresponding accounts from the Merlin narratives. Sommer has made a very adequate comparison by printing a detailed summary of the source before his treatment of each group of chapters in the Morte Darthur. To the analysis he has given I wish to add merely a few words as to the motives which, it seems to me, actuated Malory in the selection of his material.

It is at once obvious that Malory's main reliance for the first four books was upon the Suite de Merlin; from this he drew the material for chapter xix.-xxvii. of the first book, and for all of books II., III., and IV. The chapters which he drew from the Ordinary Merlin (viii.-xviii.) he shaped to fit the Suite account, which he intended to take up next.

1) Above, p. 51.

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I have already 1) pointed out the omission of the Ordinary Merlin's account of Merlin's plan to bring Arthur and Guenever together, since it would have conflicted with the position of Merlin in III.i. In this connection we should also observe the omission of the story of the false Guenever. In the Ordinary Merlin we have an account of the daughter of Leodegan by the wife of Cleodalis, his seneschal, the natural daughter also being named Guenever. 2) While the Auchinleck MS. 3) gives an account of the birth of the false Guenever and of her extraordinary resemblance to Leodegan's legitimate daughter, it says nothing of the attempt to deceive Arthur with the false Guenever. The Merlin of both the Add. Ms. and the Camb. Ms., however, not only gives an account of the birth of the false Guenever, 4) but it narrates the attempt to abduct Guenever at the time of the marriage 5) and promises later to relate the tale of how the false Guenever was

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- 1) Above, pp. 33-34.
 - 2) Add. Ms. 10292, "Guenever", Camb. Ms. "Gonnore", Auch. Ms. "Gvenore", and Gvenour".
 - 3) ll. 6475+6506
 - 4) Add. Ms. Arthurian Romances vol. II., pp. 148-149, Camb. Ms. Merlin, pp. 212-214.
 - 5) Add. Ms. pp. 301 and 308-312; Camb. Ms. pp. 451-453, 463-466.

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actually substituted for the true wife, greatly to the distress of Arthur and his realm. 1) Neither of the prose versions of the Merlin fulfils this promise; The tale is related in the Prose Lancelot 2). I have already pointed out 3) Sommer's belief that Malory's manuscript for the Ordinary Merlin resembled the Auchinleck Ms. more closely than it did the Cambridge Ms. The question then is, did Malory know only the fragmentary version given by the Auchinleck Ms., in which there is no hint of the troublesome part played by the false Guenever, or was he acquainted with the full story? If the first supposition is correct, his omission of any mention of the step-daughter of Cleodalis is but the omission of a most insignificant detail in the narrative given by his source, an omission made at a point where, as has already been shown, Malory greatly condensed his whole account. If, however, Malory knew the story in its entirety, his omission must have been more conscious and deliberate, If this is true, it is wholly in accord with the purpose of the whole romance, to portray the character of Arthur's

1) Add. Ms. p. 310; Camb. Ms. p. 466.

2) Add. Ms. 10293, Arthurian Romances, vol. IV. pp. 10-87.)

3) Above p. 42.

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 court, rather than to dwell upon the adventures and
 personality of Arthur himself. This story lays emphasis
 upon the relation between Arthur and Guenever. Now, in
 spite of the fact that it is through the falseness
 of Guenever to her husband that the final catastrophe
 is made possible, yet it is Lancelot's offense and the
 queen's, not the love of Arthur for Guenever, with
 which we are most concerned. The flaw in Lancelot's
 character, the meanness of Agravain and Mordred,
 the stormy mood of Gawain, these defects in prominent
 members of the Round Table are the real cause of its
 downfall. While the mutual love between Arthur and
 Lancelot is used by Malory to add greatly to the pathos
 of the last two books, yet this is not the chief
 motive. When 1) Arthur learns from Mordred of the
 disastrous attempt to seize Lancelot and the queen together,
 his cry is, "Jesu mercy,...he is a marvellous knight of
 prowess. Alas, me sore repenteth that ever Sir
 Lancelot should be against me. Now I am sure the noble
 fellowship of the Round Table is broken forever, for
 with him will many a noble knight hold; and now it is
 fallen so, that I may not with my worship but the
 queen must suffer the death."

1) Book XX. vii.

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And again, when he learns of the rescue of the queen by Lancelot and of their escape together, 1) "Alas, that ever I bare crown upon my head! For now I have lost the fairest fellowship of noble knights that ever held Christian king together." And this speech closes with the remarkable words, "And therefore, wit you well, my heart was never so heavy as it is now, and much more I am sorrier for my good knights' loss than for the loss of my fair queen; for queens I might have enow, but such a fellowship of good knights shall never be together in no company." With this understanding, we can easily see why Malory chose to omit a story whose interest lay merely in the personal relation between Arthur and his queen.

So again with the matter of the Merlin story preliminary to the tale of Uther and Igraine. Malory seized upon Uther's love for Igraine for the beginning of his narrative, altering it somewhat that the opening might not be too abrupt.

We notice that both the Ordinary Merlin (in both the French of the Add. Ms. 10292 and the English of the Camb. Ms.) and the Suite de Merlin of the unique Huth Ms. employ the prose rendering of Robert de Boron's poem down through the coronation of Arthur. 2)

1) XX, ix.

2) The Auch. MS. also corresponds to this prose rendering of De Boron's account down to the same point, l. 3010.

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It would be interesting to know whether Malory's manuscript of the Suite corresponded in this respect to ~~the~~ Huth Ms., or whether he worked first with a manuscript of the Ordinary Merlin, taking over De Boron's account from that, but harmonizing the closing words of that section 1) with the ensuing account of the war with the barons, or whether he himself possessed all three forms of the Merlin story, the complete De Boron poem, the prose Vulgate Merlin, and the Suite de Merlin. The important point is his retention of the war with the barons; evidently he felt Arthur's crown too cheaply won in the account of De Boron and the Suite. The war with the barons also gave Malory the opportunity to bring in the kings Ban and Bors, and to introduce Arthur at the court of Leodegrance, there to obtain the first sight of Guenever, "and ever after he loved her." In the account of the Suite 2) Arthur has no motive for this expressed love for Guenever, unless it may be implied in his mention of the Round Table which her father possesses; but in the Morte Darthur we are not surprised by Arthur's avowal in III. i., nor by the ready generosity of Leodegrance's answer to Arthur's request for Guenever's hand.

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- 1) As has already been indicated ; see above p. 36.
Suite
 2) Huth Ms. II. p. 61

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Sommer 1) has regretted Malory's preference of the Suite version of the Merlin and Nimue story to that of the Ordinary Merlin. The one he calls "trivial and distasteful," the other "in its mingling of wild romance and delicate sentiment is perhaps the most beautiful and characteristic story of mediaeval literature." Much as we may share the regret of Sommer for Malory's discarding of a tale which Tennyson revived, yet we can scarcely object to the way in which Malory has handled the story. The function of Merlin is completed as soon as Arthur is firmly established. The war with the barons is over, and Arthur has wedded his queen and set up his Round Table. The last lines of the third book narrate the close of the triple marriage-feast quest of Gawain, Tor, and Pellinore, and the ~~act~~^{oath} of the Round Table knights. Merlin, in spite of the christianizing influence of Robert de Boron 2) is an essentially pagan character. To be sure, Malory has emphasized rather the wisdom of his character than his power to perform magic works. But from now on, Arthur is to stand by the virtue of his knights. After the disappearance of Merlin, the supernatural elements

1) iii. p. 294

2) See Sommer: Arthurian Romances, vol. I., Introd. p. xii,

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in the Morte Darthur arise for the most part out of the Christian story of the Grail. Hence perhaps we can forgive Malory for abbreviating so greatly the story of the disappearance of Merlin; and in a form so abbreviated, it matters little whether he follows the account of the Ordinary Merlin or that of the Suite.

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IV.

The Relation of Malory to His Sources; cont.,
Book V., the Roman War.

"For the fifth book of 'Le Morte Darthur' in Caxton's edition," says Sommer, 1) "Malory principally used the 'La Morte Arthure' by the Scotch poet Huchown as we possess it in the MS. of Robert Thornton in the Lincoln Cathedral Library. Now and then, however, Malory embodies facts into his narrative, in contradiction to Huchown, which he can only have found either in Wace's Brut, in B Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, in Layamon's Brut, or in the 'Suite de Merlin.' Malory has suppressed Huchown's ending as it did not suit his purpose." In addition to the supplementary sources that Sommer names here, he suspects the possible use of a French source now unknown.2)

If one may judge by the notes of Edmund Brock 3), the text of the Morte Arthure 4) as we have it in the Thornton MS. is practically identical with that of the original poem of Huchown.

1) v. Sl. iii., pp. 148-149

2) Ibid. p. 175, note to statement that Malory has himself added the story that Arthur was crowned at Rome: "Unless we assume that Malory, besides a copy of 'La Morte Arthure,' had a French source, which is by no means impossible."

3) Morte Arthure E.E.T.S. orig. ser. no. 8. ed. by Edmund Brock, 1871.

4) Brock ^{was the first} rather than La Morte Arthure

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In the course of the entire poem Brock notes only twenty-one places where the text seems to require any alteration for the sake of either sense or meter. 1) No omissions are recommended, nor are any lacunae discovered. Hence we may feel certain that we possess essentially the same text as did Malory. 2) That Malory employed Huchown's poem for his fifth book we are made sure by Sommer's demonstration of frequent and unmistakable verbal correspondences between the Morte Arthure and the Morte Darthur.

1) The poem is 4346 lines long. The lines in question are these: 1195, 1364, 1414, 1474, 1572, 1588, 1653, 1797, 1899, 2189, 2250, 2280, 2408, 2506, 2519, 2616, 2675, 2771, 3257, 3282, 3937. Only three of these lines call for insertion of additional words (the words are respectively the, sir, and of.) Two slight inversions are recommended, and one line, 2675, is felt to be out of place (Brock thinks it should follow 2677.) The remaining alterations are all single words, such as salle to sable (1364), or Turkayne to Tuskayne (2408)

2) Unless, of course, Malory possessed a corrupt text. But Huchown seems to have been almost or quite a contemporary of Malory's. The 1865 ed. of his poem in the E.E.T.S. dates the work c. 1440, that is, about thirty years before the composition of the Morte Darthur; Brock in the 1871 ed. is less precise, putting Huchown's work in the latter part of the fourteenth century, or early in the fifteenth. (Intro. p. vii.) The nearness of Huchown in time to Malory militates against the probability of Malory's possessing a text more corrupt than that of the Thornton MS.

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The initial chapters of the fifth book at once reveal the fact, which Sommer has pointed out, that Malory here employed material other than ^{that} to be found in Huchown's poem. Sommer finds it necessary to seek this material in various places.1) That is, Sommer here attributes to Malory a feat of compilation (if such it may be called) which would indicate a very vigorous and acute selection of material. A far simpler explanation may be suggested.

We know that in book I. Malory made use of the account contained in the Ordinary Merlin. Turning now to this account (which Malory had meanwhile discarded in favor of the Suite, until the Suite ended) we shall discover practically all the details necessary for combination with the Morte Arthure in order to produce Malory's account .2) I have not here the space to make a complete detailed comparison;

1) Namely Wace, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester, and the Suite. Sommer also lists in his footnote (p. 148) Geoffrey's Historia Britonum and Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle in French Verse. Sommer here follows the list of sources for the Morte Arthure used by P. Branschëd in his dissertation published in Anglia viii. pp. 179-236.

2) Add. MS. 10292; Arthurian Romances, ii., pp. 424-441; Camb. MS. E.E.T.S. orig. ser., no.36, pp.639-665. The Auchinleck MS. Arthur and Merlin terminates with the expedition of Arthur, Ban, and Bors to aid Leodegan.

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but the following selected passages from the French prose version of the *Merlin* and from the corresponding English version, together with the parallel passages from Huchown and Malory, will make this borrowing evident.

Add. MS. 10292, Arth. Rom. vol. ii., p. 424.

Endementres que merlins parloit ensi au roy artu estes vous . xij . prinches moult richement a chesmes & uestus de riches dras de soie . si uenoient doi & doi entretenant lun al autre par les mains & portoit cascuns en sa main . j . rainsalet doliuier . & ce estoit senefiance quil estoient message . si sen uindrent ensi deuant le rpy artu qui se seoit al chief du dois ens al maistre palais & ses barons auoec lui . & cil en uindrent deuant lui que onques ne le saluerent . si parla li uns qui maistres estoit dels & amparliers & dist . Rois artus nous sommes . xij . prinche de romme qui a toi sommes enuoie de par luces lempereor . lors traist auant vne chartze...

Camb. MS. Merlin, EETS orig. ser. vol 36, p. 639.

And as Merlin spake to the kynge Arthur, ther com up xij princes full richely be-seyn, and clotheðe in riche clothes of silke, and com two and two holdinge eche other be the handes, and eche of them bar a braunche of Olyve in his hande, and that was a signe that thei were messagiers; and in this maner thei com be-fore the kynge Arthur that satte at the high table in the paleis, and his barouns hym be-forn; and the messagiers com in and made no salutacion to noon that ther was, and than spake oon that was maister of hem alle, and seide, Kynge Arthur, we be xij princes of Rome that be sente to the from Luce the Emperour. Than he drough oute a letter...

Morte Arthure, EETS orig. ser. vol. 8, ll. 79-85.

As the bolde at the borde was of brede seruyde,
So com in sodanly a senatour of Rome,
Wyth sextene knyghtes in a soyte, sewandè hym one.

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He saluzed the souerayne and the sale aftyre,
 Ilke a kynge aftyre kynge, and made his enclines;
 Gaynour in hir degré he grette as hym lykyde,
 And syne agayne to the gome he gaffe ~~up~~ his nedys:

Morte Darthur V. i. Sommer's ed.

There came into his halle he syttyng in his throne
 Ryal xij aunyen men / berynge eche of them a
 brannche of Olyue in token that they cam as
 Embassatours and messagers fro the Emperour
 Lucyus / whiche was called at that tyme / Dictatour
 or procurour of the publyke wele of Rome /
 which sayde messagers after their entryng &
 comyng in to the presence of kynge Arthur dyd to
 hym theyr obeysaunce in makyng to hym reuerence
 said to hym in this wyse / **D**

As we read through the account of the reception of the
 ambassadors, we find a similar combination of the two
 accounts. After the message has been delivered (orally
 in Malory and Huchown, by letter in the Ordinary Merlin)
 Malory and the Merlin agree in describing a tumult of the
 courtiers, who would kill the ambassadors, but who are
 restrained by Arthur. The Romans must be entertained
 and treated with honor. Huchown, on the other hand, pictures
 Arthur himself as showing so angry a countenance that the
 messengers quail before him. Arthur, however, immediately
 restrains himself, jeering at the knight who has besought

1) One detail regarding the ambassadors cannot be
 be found in either the Morte Arthur or the Merlin
 namely, that the men were "ancient". (The possibility
 that Malory felt this to be implied in "Senatour" as
 too remote. This detail, however, may be well, as Sommer
 suggests (p150), a recollection of the Suite's account
 of a like embassy (Suite i; , p. 180), an account used, in
 part, in I. xxiii, of Malory's romance.

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his mercy, promises an answer after seven days, and directs that ample entertainment be afforded the ambassadors.

After a lengthy description of the entertainment of the ambassadors, we are told that Arthur calls his council. In Malory and the Merlin the council follows immediately upon Arthur's quelling the tumult, except that Malory has Arthur give brief directions for the care of the messengers: "and commanded a knight to bring them to their lodging, and see that they have all that is necessary and requisite for them, with the best cheer, and that no dainty be spared, for the romans be great lords, and though their message please me not nor my court, yet I must remember mine honor." In the council Malory follows more closely the narrative of Huchown, although he abbreviates the speeches a good deal. After the council Huchown speaks briefly of further entertainment of the ambassadors; Malory and the Merlin have the message delivered to them at once. In Huchown's romance Arthur bids the messengers leave the Kingdom within seven days on pain of death; in Malory and the Merlin account the messengers are dismissed with great courtesy and loaded with gifts. It is from Huchown, however, that Malory takes the circumstance of Arthur's

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bidding Sir Cadur escort them to the ^{coast}~~east~~, and also the fact that they embark at Sandwich.

An important question concerning Malory's treatment of Arthur's Roman War is this: why is it moved out of its usual position, just preceding the death of Arthur? Of the sources that Malory seems to have used, both the Morte Arthure of Huchown and the Prose-Lancelot agree in following the account immediately with the revolt of Mordred and Arthur's death. The accounts of Wace, Layamon, and Geoffrey of Monmouth also employ this order. The Harleian MS. Le. Morte Arthur omits all mention of the Roman War and makes the revolt of Mordred come hard upon the war with Lancelot. The 6 Ordinary Merlin, then, is the only account of all that have been suggested in connection with Malory's work that sets the Roman war comparatively early in Arthur's reign.

What is the significance^c of the Roman ^{war}~~war~~ in the Morte Darthur? Is it not given in the last chapter of book V., in lines that we must believe were Malory's own invention? In no other account does

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Arthur at last reach Rome, there to be crowned "emperor by the pope's hand." In every other romance he is turned back before he can reach his goal. But Malory brings him to Rome, and after he is crowned "Then after this all his knights and lords assembled them afore him, and said : Blessed be God your war is finished and your conquest achieved, in so much that we know none so great and mighty that dare make war against you...." The Roman campaign, then, marks the complete domination of Arthur; hereafter no power can shake his throne so long as his own knights remain true to him. From this point on the Morte Darthur deals not so much with the power of Arthur as with the prowess of his knights.

Aside from the fact that Malory's account brings Arthur actually to Rome, the narrative reveals only one other important variation from the matter that we can find in either the Morte Arthure ^{or} the Ordinary Merlin. This is in chapter iii.

And ^{there} ~~their~~ he ordained two governors of this realm, that is to say, Sir Badwin of Britan, for to counsel to the best, and Sir Constantine, son to Sir Cadour of Cornwall, which after the death of Arthur was king of this realm. And in the presence of all his lords he resigned the rule of the realm and Gwenever his queen to them, wherefore Sir Launcelot was wroth, for he left Sir Tristram with King Mark for the love of

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Beale Isoud. Then the Queen Gwenever made great sorrow for the departing of her lord and other, and swooned in such wise that the ladies bare her into her chamber. Thus the King with his great army departed, leaving the queen and the realm in the governance of Sir Bawdwin and Constantine. And when he was on his horse he said with an high voice, if I die in this journey I will that Sir Constantine be mine heir and king crowned of this realm as next of my blood.

The proclamation of Constantine as his heir is anticipated from I. 4316 of the Morte Arthure, where Arthur, at the point of death, indicated his successor. But in the passage from the Morte Arthure parallel to the above, Mordred is appointed viceroy. (II. 640-692.) In addition, Arthur tells him that if he is faithful to the trust reposed in him, "Whende I to contré come, I salle coroune the knyghte, kyng with my handez." (II. 676-678) The parting with Gwenever is condensed from the twenty-two lines of Huchown's poem (II. 695-716) to the bare statement contained in the passage quoted. Malory however has added the words "and other"; he has also added the statement concerning Bauncelot and Tristram. The sudden introduction of these two names is somewhat confusing to us. We have heard of both before

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but chiefly in the way of prophecy;¹⁾ hence we resent their intrusion at this point as though we were already familiar with them. Huchown's romance makes mention of Lancelot in various places, but there is no hint of his relation with Guenever. Malory, however, desires to fit this detail into the fifth book; it must be confessed that the fitting is somewhat clumsy. But the omission of most of the details of Guenever's parting with Arthur avoids the hypocrisy which the retention of them would imply in her; whatever her faults, Guenever is nowhere in the Morte Darthur represented as making a show of affection to deceive Arthur. Besides, this compression prevents the laying of emphasis upon the relation between Arthur and Guenever, an end that Malory has elsewhere striven to accomplish.²⁾ The addition of the words "and other" in the sentence "Then the Queen Guenever made great sorrow".... is perhaps an obscure reference to Lancelot, made more clear by the mention of his anger in the previous sentence.

1) Lancelot: in II. viii., xix., IV. i., IV. xix. Three of these are prophecies, IV. i. tells of Merlin's visit to Benwyck during Lancelot's youth. Tristram: II. viii. and IV. xix. These are both prophecies. See Sommers List of Names and Places.

2) Above, pp. 56-57.

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Evidently Malory is endeavoring to incorporate a reference to the Lancelot-Guenever story here in order to link this part of his story more closely to the closing books. The fact that he has had to go against the more usual practice in telling the story, by moving the account of the Roman war into an earlier period in Arthur's reign, perhaps suggested to him the desirability of thus linking it with the later portion of the story. The reference to Tristram cannot be considered an offence against chronology; when the Tristram story is taken up in book VIII., Malory evidently turns back in time; there is no attempt to place this story definitely in time with regard to the rest of the narrative. 1)

I) Sommer is greatly surprised when Merlin, who has been imprisoned in IV. i., is said in VIII.ii. to have released Meliodas. (Sommer's ed. vol. ii., "List of Names and Places", under "Merlyn", p. 174.) A moment's consideration reveals at once that all these chapters in the earlier part of book VIII. are to be regarded as narrating antecedent action.

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V.

The Relation of Malory to His Sources, cont.,
The Tristan Material, Books VIII., IX., and X.

So far we have followed the assignment of Malory's sources as it has been indicated by Sommer, save in regard to the fifth book, where I have substituted, for the various sources named by Sommer as supplementary to Huchown's Morte Arthure, the Ordinary Merlin. But so far as I have followed Sommer's statements throughout the first four books, I have endeavored to show the characteristics of Malory's workmanship in the combination and adaptation of his material. The examination of the defects pointed out by Sommer has revealed the weakness of the greater part of his objections. We should remember that an alteration in the Morte Darthur due to Malory's misreading one of his sources cannot be regarded as an evidence of Malory's weakness as a narrator; we can see in such a case only weakness in translation. Such blunders as these, then, when we find them occurring in the first four books, must not be allowed to influence our estimate of Malory's ability to alter and adapt the Lancelot and Tristram material which enters into his later books in so far as alteration and adaptation affect the order of incidents, the selection of material, or the addition

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of matter not found in the source. Our conclusions, then, as to Malory's "capacities as an author" must be considerably higher than Sommer's implied conclusion can be. 1) Perhaps, then, since the conclusion of Sommer regarding the sources actually used by Malory for the later portions of the Morte Darthur are based largely upon his own estimate of Malory's "capacities as an author", we shall find his conclusions considerably weakened by our non-acceptance of his major premise.

With regard to the Tristram material. Sommer maintains that Malory's work follows the Vulgate-Tristram except for the following details: (a) the intercalation of the story of Alisander le Orphelin and of the tournament of Galahalt of Surluse (X. xxxii.- xlix.); (b) the final combat between Tristram and Palomides, and the christening of Palomides (XII. xi. - xiv.);

1) I have said "implied " advisedly. At the conclusion of his discussion of the Merlin material (iii., p. 175), the only portion of Malory's sources which he discusses in minute detail with regard to its relation to Malory's work, all that Sommer says is, "I think I have shown with sufficient clearness the styles of Sir Thomas Malory's workmanship." An examination of the passage already quoted on p. 2 from Sommer's conclusion reveals a little more material, namely, that "he [Malory] sometimes added small episodes of his own composition, though, as a rule, he contented himself with welding into one the diverse materials that were at his disposal....." (The remainder has to do only with verbal correspondences between Malory and the sources.)

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(c)
and the references to the death of Tristram. 1) But,
partly as a result of the three points named, Sommer finds
it necessary to hypothesize a ^{size} Tristan MS. which will exactly
fit Malory's narrative. I quote Sommer's statement: 2)

If we consider the allusion of Tristram's death
in Malory, and the intercalation of chapters
xxxi.- l. into the tenth book; if we further examine
the additional three chapters of matter relating to
Tristram in book xii. (whilst all the rest of books
xi. and xii. treats of Lancelot), and have clearly
present before us ~~we~~ Malory's usual mode of dealing
with his sources, and his capacities as an author,
we cannot for one moment attribute the whole of the
arrangement of books viii. - xii. to him. In
explanation of these facts I submit the following
theory, which strikes me as highly plausible:-

Malory possessed a MS. which contained;

1. The contents of part i. of the Vulgate
"Tristan," as reproduced by him in books viii. and ix.
2. The contents of part ii. of the Vulgate
up to the point where the quest of the Holy
Grail is mentioned - identical with part i. of the
enlarged "Tristan" up to the point where the quest
of the Holy Grail begins- but this section was
already enlarged by (1) the intercalation (at the
point determined by Malory, book x. chapter xxxi.) of
the adventures of Alysander le orphelyn and the great
tournament of Galahalt of Surluse as found attached

1) S. iii., p. 287. In the enumeration of the
chapters of the tenth book, Sommer's text displays
certain errors. The numbering of the chapters con-
taining the Alisander story and that of the tournament
of Surluse should be xxxii.-xlix., not xxxii.-l.; the
third part of book X. should certainly not stop
with ch. lxxxvi., but with ch. lxxxviii. The
numbering of these chapters gives Sommer trouble
on other occasions, most notably on p. 9 of this
same volume, where he refers to the chapters from
the "Prophecies" as "xxi. to xxviii".

2) S. iii., p. 288.

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to the "prophecies of Merlin",...; (ii) to which were added the incidents relative to Lancelot derived from a lost "Suite de Lancelot".

Here are two important points. The first concerns the insertion of the story of Alisander and Galahalt's tournament. Sommer's position is substantiated by the work of E. Löseth, who, in his Roman en Prose de Tristan, designates one of the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 99 (of the fifteenth century), as possessing this very intercalation. 1) Since this episode deals in part with King Mark, it is natural that it should thus become attached to the Tristram story. But the second point seems less probable. The only reason that I can discover in Sommer for feeling it necessary to ascribe to Malory ^{the possession of} a MS. containing so much of the Lancelot story as is contained in books xi. and xii. is that Malory was incapable of breaking off from his Launcelot account in book vi. and returning to it in book xi. For the real point of difficulty, the conflict between Tristram and Palomides leading to the baptism of the latter, is nowhere related in the Tristram stories;

1) Löseth; Roman en Prose de Tristan, pp. iii. and 186. In the latter place Löseth says, "Le ms. 99, fol. 376 d (après les mots: ainsi la mauvestie du roy Marc fu puis cogneü (s) par tout le monde) intercale l'épisode d'Alixandre l'orphelin et le tournoi de Sorelois, qui sont donnés aussi par Malory d'après un ms. voisin de 99."

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nor does the hypothesis of Sommer provide for this incident. In the enlarged form of the Tristan we can find an account of a combat between Lancelot and Palomides which ends indecisively, and after which Palomides goes to Arthur's court, is baptized, and is made a member of the Round Table. 1)

Whence arose the altered form of the combat related in the Morte Darthur? In the account just mentioned, Palomides, after his baptism, requests admission to the Grail quest, already in progress. Did this fact cause Malory to place the incident of the baptism just prior to the opening of the quest? In the version just referred to, Palomides has little more than set out on the quest when he meets his death at the hands of Gawain and Agravain, 2) whereas in the Morte Darthur he lives to fight on the side of Lancelot in the latter's war with Arthur, and to be rewarded for his services. 3) It is possible, then, that Malory realized the incomplete state in which the story of the rivalry of Tristram and Palomides was left by the failure of Tristram

1) Löseth : Roman en de Tristan p. 396.

2) Löseth: Roman..., p. 398.

3) XX. xviii.

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(because of his wound) to keep the appointment for his fight with Palomides,¹⁾ and so determined to complete this account, shifting the part of Lancelot to Tristram, and also by the same incident to gather up the loose thread of narrative indicated by Palomides' refusal to accept baptism, in X. xlvi., until he accomplished seven battles. Of Sommer's difficulty in regard to the account of Tristram's death I can make nothing. The MSS. (except 103 Bibliothèque Nationale) give one account of Tristram's death, the early printed editions the other. Malory clearly follows the MS. account²⁾ except that Malory does not specify that Mark's spear was poisoned, nor does he add the details of Tristram's withdrawal to the castle of Dynas, there to be joined by Isoud before his death. In XX. vi. Lancelot speaks only of the pertinent part of the story, that is, Mark's treacherous attack upon Tristram.

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- 1) X. lxxxviii.
 2) See S. iii. p. 288, and Morte Darthur XX. vi.

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VI.

The Relation of Malory to His Sources (concl.):
the Lancelot Material, Books VI. and XI.-XXI.

The most radical theory advanced by Semmer in regard to the sources of the Morte Darthur is that concerning a lost "Suite de Lancelot." 1) Having examined the portions drawn from the Lancelot story, Semmer concludes that "we can have little or no doubt as to one point: The differences, the altered sequence of incidents, and the additions revealed by a comparison of Malory with the Prose Lancelot, cannot be attributed to the Englishman, but must have been present in his sources/" 2) Therefore he hypothes^{izes}~~es~~ a "Suite de Lancelot," on the analogy of the Suite de Merlin. This contained all the material for books VI., XI. - XII., and XVIII. - XXI.. The story of the Grail Quest, Semmer holds, 3) was taken from the Prose Lancelot version of the Quest, Mal~~o~~ry following his original with considerable fidelity 4).

1) S. vol, iii., pp. 272-278.

2) Ibid. p. 272.

3) Ibid. p. 206 ff.

4) Semmer's theories seem slightly in conflict: elsewhere - p. 289- he speaks of an added portion in his hypothetical enlarged Tristan, containing the material for books XI. - XII., and itself drawn from the supposed lost "Suite de

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4 cont.) Lancelot." That is, not only must we imagine a Lancelot account to contain this material, but we must imagine this supposed account to have been repeated in another hypothetical version, in order to avoid the conclusion that Malory put together the Tristram and the Lancelot accounts himself! But as I have already pointed out, I am unable to draw the same conclusions as Dr. Sommer with regard to Malory's inability to effect such a union.

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Let us examine briefly the differences existing between the account of Malory and that of the Prose Lancelot. The following table is based upon the analysis of Sommer 1). with one slight addition, which I shall note. Instead of giving the folios of the 1513 printed edition of the romance, I have substituted the pages in the volumes of Sommer's edition of the Arthurian Romances in which he has printed this romance from the Add. MSS. 10293 and 10294. This ^e addition is available through the Carnegie Foundation.

<p>Add. MS. 10293 <u>Arth. Rom. vol. 4.</u></p> <p>pp. 157-226</p> <p><u>Arth. Rom. vol. 5.</u></p> <p>pp. 88-102</p> <p>105-112</p> <p>204-210</p> <p>294-303</p> <p>306-310</p> <p>322-377</p> <p>378-393</p> <p>393-408</p>	<p><u>Malory</u></p> <p>XIX. i.-ix. Meliagrance</p> <p>VI. i.-vii. Adventures of Lancelot.</p> <p>XI. i.-iii. Birth of Galahad.</p> <p>VI. vii.-xi. Adv. of Lancelot.</p> <p>XI. iv.-vi. Bors at Corbenic.</p> <p>VI. xi.-xiii. Lancelot and Kay. - See note below.</p> <p>XI. vi. Summary of war with Claudas.</p> <p>XI. vii.-xiii. Elaine at court.</p> <p>XII. i.-x. Lancelot's madness and restoration.</p>
<p>Add. MS. 10294 <u>Arth. Rom. vol. 6</u></p> <p>pp. 203-269</p> <p>204-259</p> <p>250-252</p>	<p>XVIII. i.-viii. Mador de la Porte.</p> <p>XVIII. ix.-xx. Elaine of Astolat.</p> <p>XVIII. xxi.-xxv. Wounding of Lancelot and tournament. - See note.</p>

1) S. iii., p. 178.

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Add. MS. 10294
Arth. Rom. vol. 6

Malory

pp. 269-345
348-391

XX. Breach with Lancelot.
XXI. Mordred's rebellion.

Note:- Sommer (iii., pp. 189-190) says that for VI. xi.-xvii. Malory must have employed some other source than the Prose Lancelot. The story of Lancelot's rescue of Kay, however, and of his exchange of armor with Kay and his subsequent encounter with Gawain and the three others, is all to be found in the indicated passage of the Prose Lancelot. For chapters xiv.-xvii. I have come upon no parallel account.

A little later I shall discuss the separation in the Morte Darthur of the stories contained in the eighteenth book, which the table shows to have been interwoven in the Prose Lancelot.

In the table above, three shifts of position are to be observed. In the sixth book, in which, as we have already seen 1), the character of Lancelot was to be developed through a series of adventures, Malory seems to have appreciated the humorous quality of the story of how Lancelot rescued Kay, and then ~~went off~~ ^{departed} himself in Kay's armor, to the discomfiture of the four Round Table knights who set upon the supposed Sir Kay; for he drew this tale from its position in the Prose Lancelot slightly after the story of Bors at the Castle of Pellles, and entered it in his sixth book 2).

1) Above, pp. 6.

2) The disguise of Lancelot with its resultant discomfiture of his unwitting associates of the Round Table.

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- XI. iv.-vi. Bors visits Pelles and Elaine, is wounded by the sacred spear, overcomes Pedivere, and sees the dove and the table of silver.
- vii.-xiv. Elaine visits the court; Lancelot is driven mad by the queen's anger, and flees the court; search is instituted for him; Percival, while searching, fights Ector; both are wounded; they are healed by the Grail.
- XII. i.-x. Lancelot's madness; his wanderings; he is recognized by Elaine, healed by the Grail; found by Percival and Ector, returns to court with promise that Galahad is to follow at Pentecost.
(The remaining chapters, xi.-xiv., tell of the last combat of Tristram and Palomides, and of Palomides' christening.)

Clearly the story of Lancelot and Kay was not in place in this context; and the transposition of the story of Galahad's birth works a notable improvement in the consecutiveness of the narrative.

The third transposition is the story of Meliagrance's abduction of Guenever, a tale which originally stood in a much earlier part of the romance. But this story contains the first public accusation of Guenever for infidelity to Arthur. It is quite natural to transfer such an episode to the last four books, where most of the action arises out of the triangle of Arthur, Guenever, and Lancelot.

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In the eighteenth book, the accusation brought against Guenever by Mador de la Porte is that she has poisoned a knight; Guenever is rescued by Lancelot in combat. In the nineteenth book, the charge against the queen is more nearly true; Lancelot is able to speak a quibbling truth in answering Meliagrance's accusation, and again rescues the queen through the ordeal by battle. But the whole tale is of a darker color, even to the implacability of Guenever, who is determined to have her accuser slain. The third accusation does not fail; Agravain and Mordred succeed in revealing the truth. That this is to be the outcome has been already suggested in the forebodings of the first chapter in the eighteenth book.

Were these transpositions too great to have been made by Malory? Admitting that in the first four books he combined the account given by the Vulgate Merlin with that of the Suite de Merlin, 1) can we not see in the way in which he handled this material, arranging differences and dovetailing the accounts together, a degree of skill sufficient to account for the alterations we find here? Did he have a sufficient appreciation of the significance of his whole story to enable him to make such shifts in the episodes he culled from his sources?

1) The De Baron account is common to both these forms.

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte Darthur

Sommer admits the probability that Malory himself was the composer of the idyllic twenty-fifth chapter of book XVIII. 2); can we doubt that Malory ~~did not~~ appreciated the tragic value of his insertion? It is the only passage of its kind in all the Morte Darthur, notwithstanding the fact that similar passages were common enough in the English poetical versions of the romances.

We come upon a point of some difficulty in the nineteenth book. Here we shall have to recognize the probability that some source was employed in addition to the Prose Lancelot. 3) In the absence of any positive knowledge of the exact nature of this source, we cannot judge whether or not Malory was capable of making the combination between the Prose Lancelot and the unknown Source.

In the last two books, we have the supplementary source for the Morte Darthur in the English metrical romance Le Morte Arthur, Harleian MS. 2252. 4) This romance corresponds to books XVIII., XX., and XXI. in the general run of its narrative; but it is in the last two books that the correspondence is closest,

2) Sommer: iii., p. 229.

3) Sommer; iii., p. 232 ff.

4) E. E. M. S. extra ser. no. 88, by J. Douglas Bruce, 1903.

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte Darthur

Positive evidence that Malory used this romance lies in the fact that there are very frequent unmistakable verbal correspondences. 1) Comparison of the Morte Darthur with the metrical romance and with the Prose Lancelot reveals the same ^{characteristics as those} found in the fifth book, where Malory, as here, was using a French prose romance in combination with an English poem. In both these cases it is undeniable that Malory did use the English poem; it is equally evident that he employed other material than that in his English account, and this material is to be found in both cases in the French prose romance which has already been of service for a previous portion of Malory's work.

1) See Sommer: iii., pp. 252-253, 258-259, 263-264, 269-272, for lists of such cases.

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte Darthur

VII.

Conclusion

We have examined in some detail the way in which Malory dealt with his Merlin sources in the first four books. For the remainder of the Morte Darthur, we have seen, that, with the exception of book VII., the material is present in the French prose romances and in two English romances. 1) But Sommer doubts the ability of Malory to reconstruct this material into the form it now has in Le Morte Darthur. In part his depreciation of Malory's skill is due to faulty impressions of the workmanship shown in dealing with the Merlin material. This workmanship I have endeavored to show to be considerably better than Sommer's implied estimate of it. But another consideration makes it still more likely that for the form of books V. - XXI. Malory himself is largely responsible; I mean the essential unity and plan of the whole romance. For this we must give Malory credit, unless we are to go far beyond any hypothesis

1) I have not discussed the Grail Quest, books XIII.-XVII. Sommer shows in his Studies (pp. 206-220) that in this portion Malory has very closely followed the portion of the Prose Lancelot usually entitled Les Aventures ou la Queste del Saint Gaal. This is available for us in Furnivall's

edition for the Roxburghe Club, and also in Sommer's ed. of the Add. MS. 10294 in his Arthurian Romances, vol. 6. Malory's following of his original, Sommer shows, is so close in some cases as to be practically translation. There seems to be no question here as to the source.

Narrative Structure of Malory's Morte Darthur

yet proposed, and assume the existence of some single work from which Malory drew his entire book. No one has yet been audacious enough seriously to consider so amazing a hypothesis. But we are asked to believe that the Englishman who was competent to conceive a unified Arthur narrative such as that which we today possess in the Morte Darthur was incapable of doing more than excerpting from already existing romances large sections of material and tacking them loosely together. To just what extent the actual manuscripts employed by Malory differed from those we have today, we can perhaps never be sure; but of one thing we should feel certain, that in very large measure the material that entered Le Morte Darthur ~~was~~ was adapted, altered, and transformed by Sir Thomas Malory.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

May 15, 1916.

Dear Dean Miller:

The accompanying study of
The Narrative Technique of Mallory's 'Morte
Darthur', by Mr. H. McC. Burrowes, has my approval
as fulfilling the thesis requirement for the
degree of Master of Arts, and is now submitted to
you.

Very truly yours,

H. M. Baldwin

Dean Walter Miller,
The Graduate School,
University of Missouri.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

May 22, 1916.

Professor Walter Miller,
Chairman of the Graduate Committee,
University of Missouri.

Dear Sir:--

I have examined Mr. H. McC. Burrowes' "The Narrative Structure of Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte Darthur" and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts. The dissertation gives evidence of the ability to conduct research in literature in accordance with the approved methods of the day and shows independence of judgment.

Since Mr. Burrowes may wish to make further use of his material, it is possible that he may welcome a few comments. I venture to offer the following:

1. To prove anything with regard to Malory's artistic skill, the psychology of romance-writing in Malory's period should be studied. Unity and coherence were not then what they are today, and it is hardly just to try to judge Malory by our standards.

2. If Mr. Burrowes' intention is chiefly to combat some of the statements made by Sommer, the title of the thesis should be qualified in such manner as to make that intention perfectly clear.

3. It appears to me that Mr. Burrowes should have defined very carefully his conception of "compilation". I am in doubt as to whether or not Mr. Burrowes considers a literary maker of mosaics a compiler. (Cf., for example, pp. 45, 53, 64).

4. Would not Mr. Burrowes have strengthened his own position if he had quoted some of the more favorable opinions of Malory's art? Thus, Strachey's conviction that there is in the Morte "an epic unity and harmony, 'a beginning, a middle, and an end'" should, along with similar beliefs on the part of other scholars learned in Arthurian lore, serve as influential corroboration of Mr. Burrowes' contention.

5. The quotations on pp. 16-20 need further explanation. Why they demonstrate the "precision with which the transitions are marked" should be set forth unmistakably.

6. My impression at times, while reading, was that absorption in individual facts caused Mr. Burrowes to lose sight occasionally of the theme which he was developing.

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2.

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

A few typographical errors should be corrected before the dissertation is made accessible to the public.

Very truly yours,

J. Barskaw

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Burrowes
The narrative structure of
Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte
Darthur



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