

## NOTES

### Introduction Places of Romance

1. Mark Twain, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, ed. Allison R. Ensor (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), p. 76.
2. Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), p. 36.
3. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. and trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 84–258. Joseph D. Parry shows that, at the end of *Le Morte Darthur*, Malory's treatment of space and geography is tied to his use of genre and narrative structure. See "Following Malory Out of Arthur's World," *Modern Philology* 95.2 (1997): 147–69.
4. Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, p. 35.
5. Two excellent examples are David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Malden, MA, and London: Blackwell, 2004) and Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
6. All references are to *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols, 3rd ed., ed. Eugene Vinaver, rev. P. J. C. Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).
7. P. J. C. Field, "Note to the Third Edition," *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols, 3rd ed., ed. Eugène Vinaver, rev. P. J. C. Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 3:1757.
8. Meg Roland, "The Rudderless Boat: Fluid Time and Passionate Geography in (Hardyng's) Chronicle and (Malory's) Romance," *Arthuriana* 22.4 (2012): 79.
9. *Ibid.*, 80–82.
10. Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 107.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 107–8, 132.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
13. Richard Gorski, ed., "Roles of the Sea: Views from the Shore," in *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 4–5.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
15. Patricia Yeager, "Editor's Column: Sea Trash, Dark Pools, and the Tragedy of the Commons," *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 524.
16. John Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire*, ed. Ken MacMillan with Jennifer Abeles (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), p. 46.
17. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 105–6.
18. See Sebastian I. Sobiecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 140–60; cf. R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI*, 2nd ed. (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 423–33.
19. John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: G. Woodfall, 1812; reprinted British Library, n.d.), p. 126.
20. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2007), p. 205.
21. Malory, whose uncle Robert was Prior of the Hospital of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, would have known well the role of the sea in the lives of knights, given the Hospitallers' base in Rhodes and the need to defend from naval assault. See P. J. C. Field, "Sir Robert Malory, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (1432–1439/40)," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28.3 (1977): 249–64.
22. Marjorie Nice Boyer, "A Day's Journey in Medieval France," *Internal Colonization in Medieval Europe*, ed. Felipe Fernández-Armesto and James Muldoon (volume 2 of the series *The Expansion of Latin Europe, 100–1500*) (Burlington, VT, and Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 213–24.
23. David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Malden, MA, and London: Blackwell, 2004), p. 2.
24. Seán Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 7–10.
25. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (New York: Penguin, 1951), p. 101.
26. Sir George Warner, ed. *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), pp. 687–88.
27. A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), p. 387.
28. Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, p. 173.
29. Robert Allen Rouse and Cory James Rushton, "Arthurian Geography," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald and Ad Putter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 218–19.
30. Kenneth Hodges, "Why Malory's Launcelot Is Not French," *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 556–71.
31. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

32. Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 251.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 253; also Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 9; Michelle Warren, *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100–1300* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. xi; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 31–53.
34. J. H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 49.
35. As Michelle Warren points out, early Arthurian writing was very much border writing in both Britain and France. David Wallace more generally emphasizes English holdings in France (especially Calais) as a source of hybridization (Warren, *History on the Edge*, p. xi; Wallace, *Premodern Places*, pp. 53, 58).
36. Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1994), pp. 9–14.
37. Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, p. 42.

## **1 Mapping Malory’s Morte: The (Physical) Place and (Narrative) Space of Cornwall**

\*The initial stages of research and writing of this chapter were made possible by a Humanities Center Fellowship awarded by the College of Liberal Arts at Purdue University. This chapter appeared in somewhat different form as “Mapping Malory’s Morte: The (Physical) Place and (Narrative) Space of Cornwall,” *Arthurian Literature* 28 (2012): 161–90. Reprinted here by kind permission of the editors and Boydell and Brewer.

1. Ursula Le Guin, “Walking in Cornwall: A Poem for the Solstice,” composed 1976. Reprinted in *Walking in Cornwall* (Maidstone, Kent, 2008 [no pagination]).
2. For Malory’s biography and historical context the standard critical work is P. J. C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993). For a lively, entertaining, but less-than-scholarly take on Malory’s life and career, see Christina Hardymont, *Malory: The Knight Who Became King Arthur’s Chronicler* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005).
3. Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 201.
4. H. Oskar Sommer, ed., *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, 7 vols. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908–16), II.58.

5. Our translation; this is a slight variation of that given by Rupert T. Pickens, trans., *Merlin in Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, 5 vols., gen. ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York: Garland, 1993–96), I.199. Although Malory's direct source appears to have been a manuscript of the Post-Vulgate *Suite du Merlin*, the Post-Vulgate *Suite* incorporates a significant amount of the *Merlin* material—enough to give Malory what he needed to tell his story. Thus, the translation we have given here comes from the *Merlin*. On the matter of Malory's sources, see also Jonathan Passaro, "Malory's Text of the *Suite du Merlin*," *Arthurian Literature* XXVI (2009): 39–75. Passaro argues that Malory's text was either Cambridge University Library MS Add. 7071 or a manuscript closely related to it. P. J. C. Field and Linda Gowans have both offered compelling arguments against Passaro's position; see Field, "Malory's Source Manuscript for the First Tale of *Le Morte Darthur*," *Arthurian Literature* 29 (2012): 111–119; and see Gowans, "Malory's Sources—and Arthur's Sisters—Revisited," *Arthurian Literature* 29 (2012): 121–42.
6. Dorsey Armstrong, "Postcolonial Palomides: Malory's Saracen Knight and the Unmaking of Arthurian Community," *Exemplaria* 18.1 (2006): 175–203.
7. See, among others: Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Cohen, ed. *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Laurie Finke and Martin Shichtman, *King Arthur and the Myth of History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Kenneth Hodges, "Why Malory's Launcelot Is Not French: Region, Nation, and Political Identity," *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 565–71; Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies*; Michelle Warren, *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100–1300* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
8. For more on this see Armstrong's *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory's Morte d'Arthur* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003). While we still see gender as a critical component of Malory's text, attention to matters of geography can help further deepen our understanding of the narrative and its logic.
9. As we discuss below, as a matter of convenience they are often considered Scottish, but the Orkney Isles arguably constitute a unique and different geographic space than what we might think of as Scotland, a fact that underscores how regionalism functions in so many different ways in the *Morte Darthur*; regions enfolded within Arthur's Britain themselves have multiple geographic/regional concerns of their own with which to contend.
10. Gaheris famously resolves the matter of competing parental loyalties by beheading his mother, Morgause, upon discovering that she is in a sexual relationship with Sir Lamorak, an episode we engage with more directly in the pages that follow.

11. A full discussion of the causes and specifics of the Wars of the Roses is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is important at least to recognize that Malory was most likely in prison because of his part in a Lancastrian plot (after initially having been a Yorkist supporter), and that the fifteenth-century English society in which he lived was suffused in every aspect by the conflict between the houses of York and Lancaster. (Although Anne F. Sutton has argued that Malory was actually in prison because of debts; see “Malory in Newgate: A New Document,” *The Library* 7.1 [2000]: 243–62.) Malory was hardly unique among the nobles of his day for switching sides at some point in the conflict, and such changes of allegiance were especially significant for the ways in which territories and their revenues could sway the balance of power. For more on Malory and his political positions and imprisonment, see Field, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993). For more on the Wars of the Roses see, among others: Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437–1509* (Cambridge: Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, 1997); Anthony Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society, 1452–97* (New York and London: Dorset Press, 1981); Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses: 1455–1485* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2003); J. R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses* (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2007); Charles Ross, “Rumour, Propaganda, and Popular Opinion During the Wars of the Roses,” in *Patronage, the Crown, and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*, ed. Ralph A. Griffiths (Atlantic Highlands: Alan Sutton, 1981), pp. 15–32; John A. Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* (Oxford: ABC–Clio, 2001).
12. On this, see in particular Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies*, and Warren, *History on the Edge*.
13. See Derek Pearsall, “The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth-Century,” in *Nation, Court, and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 15–27.
14. Philip Payton notes that as late as 1549, when the Act of Uniformity was passed, there was a great deal of anger in Cornwall at the idea of an English *Book of Common Prayer*, as “the English language was to be imposed upon a population that was only partly English-speaking and which, in the west, still contained a great many monoglot Cornish-speakers”; *Cornwall: A History* (Fowey, Cornwall: Cornwall Editions Limited, 2004), p. 122.
15. Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 19.
16. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006).
17. For more on this, see Ken George, “How Many People Spoke Cornish Traditionally?,” *Cornish Studies* 14 (1986): 67–70.
18. N. J. A. Williams claims that “there is good evidence that until the Reformation, i.e., the middle of the sixteenth century, Cornish was probably spoken as far as the Tamar”; *Cornish Today: An Examination of the Revived Language* (Sutton Coldfield: Everttype, 1995), p. 77.

19. For more on this, see in particular Lander, pp. 60–61.
20. While there were several attempts to incorporate Cornwall into the entity that we now think of as England from Roman times onward, the real push came under the auspices of the kings of Wessex, who sought to include Cornwall as part of their rule repeatedly over the course of the seventh–tenth centuries; for more on this see Sam Turner, ed. *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: Shaping An Ancient Countryside* (London: Windgather Press, 2006), pp. 1–4. In 936 King Aethelstan officially set the River Tamar as the border between Cornwall and England, a situation that contributed to the confusing status of the southwest peninsula as being both “separate and incorporated” into England. Thus “Cornwall on the eve of the Norman Conquest had been transformed . . . to a recognizable geopolitical entity accommodated within the consolidating English state”; Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, p. 69. After the Norman Conquest, William and his barons continued to try and push their way into the southwest, and in 1337 Edward III officially created the Earldom of Cornwall, which he bestowed on his eldest son, Edward the Black Prince. From this point on, Cornwall was particularly important as it was designated specifically as holding and source of income for the eldest son and heir of the monarch, a fact discussed in greater detail below.
21. Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 201.
22. See the texts cited in note 7, above.
23. David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
24. Warren, *History on the Edge*; see especially Chapters 1–4.
25. Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies*; see especially Chapters 1–3.
26. Ithaca and London, 2006.
27. Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), p. 7; p. 21.
28. See Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, Chapter 6.
29. For more on Trevisa see David C. Fowler, *The Life and Times of John of Trevisa, Medieval Scholar* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).
30. Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, p. 81.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
32. Vinaver, *Works*, p. 1456. For more on Malory’s sources for the “Tristram” section of the *Morte*, see Ralph Norris, *Malory’s Library: The Sources of the Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), esp. Chapter 6.
33. Michael Anderson, “‘The honour of bothe courtes be nat lyke’: Cornish Resistance to Arthurian Dominance in Malory,” *Arthuriana* 19.2 (2009): 44.
34. Some sources suggest that “Lyones” is a corruption of “Lothian,” since the Tristan story seems to have its origins in Scotland; see Sigmund Eisner, *The Tristan Legend: A Study in Sources* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1969), esp. pp. 84–85; see also Roger Sherman Loomis,

- The Development of Arthurian Romance* (London: Hutchison, 1963, pp. 74–91).
35. Of course, Round Table knights *do* end up fighting one another on multiple occasions, but in those instances there is usually the situation of a tournament that can construct these interactions as “play” or else one of the knights is in disguise and thus unknown to his fellows. Although the rule about Round Table knights fighting one another gets broken repeatedly, nevertheless, it *is* a rule.
  36. The story of Tristan—sometimes “Drustan”—and Isolde—sometimes “Iseult” or “Isode”—almost certainly was a popular legend in Cornwall and other Celtic regions during the early medieval period. It seems to have originated, however, in Scotland among the Picts, spreading south to the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde, then further south to Wales and finally Cornwall, where it received its most definitive “stamp.” See Eisner and Loomis, cited above, on this matter. The basic narrative plotline—a magic potion causes Tristan and Isolde to fall in love on the eve of her marriage to Tristan’s uncle King Mark, after which the couple commits adultery—eventually helped shape the Launcelot-Guenevere-Arthur plot, one reason why Tristram and Launcelot often seem to be so similar. For an overview of the Tristan-Isolde story, see the entry in the *New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995) as well as: Renée L. Curtis, “The Problems of the Authorship of the Prose *Tristan*,” *Romania* 79 (1958): 314–38; Curtis, “Who Wrote the Prose *Tristan*? A New Look at an Old Problem,” *Neophilologus* 67.1 (1983): 35–41; Helaine Newstead, “The Origin and Growth of the Tristan Legend,” in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 122–33; Eugène Vinaver, “The Prose *Tristan*,” in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Loomis, pp. 339–47.
  37. See Bérout, *The Romance of Tristan*, trans. Alan S. Frederick (New York: Penguin, 1970), esp. pp. 61, 123, and 130–43; see also Eilhart von Oberge, *Tristant*, trans. J. W. Thomas (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), esp. pp. 106ff.
  38. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 26. For more on postcolonialism and hybridity, see also, among others: Homi K. Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 24–28. On the specific issue of Malory’s Cornwall and postcolonial theory, see Armstrong’s “Postcolonial Palomides.”
  39. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), pp. 28–29.

40. Warren, *History on the Edge*, p. 35.
41. Hannes Kleineke, "Why the West Was Wild: Law and Disorder in Fifteenth-Century Cornwall and Devon," in *The Fifteenth Century III: Authority and Subversion* (London: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 75–94 (p. 83).
42. Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, p. 72.
43. Ian Soulsby, *A History of Cornwall* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), p. 52.
44. Reeve and Wright, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 28–29.
45. Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, p. 88.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.
47. Churchill Babington, and J. A. Lumby, eds. *Polychronicon*. 9 vols (Rolls Series, London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1865–86), II.91.
48. Jane Beal, "Mapping Identity in John Trevisa's English *Polychronicon*: Chester, Cornwall, and the Translation of English National History," in *Fourteenth Century England III*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 67–82 (p. 71).
49. Cited in David C. Fowler, *The Life and Times of John of Trevisa*, pp. 20–21.
50. See Graham Thomas and Nicholas Williams, eds., *Bewnans Ke/The Life of St. Kea: A Critical Edition with Translation* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), p. x.
51. Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, pp. 98–99.
52. Apart from the critical edition of the *Bewnans Ke* edited by Graham Thomas and Nicholas Williams, there is practically no criticism on the text, apart from some passing references in works that deal with Cornwall and its history generally.
53. This "Saint Kea" or "Ke" is a different figure from the Sir Kay familiar to all scholars of the Arthurian tradition, although it is interesting that their names are so similar.
54. The manuscript itself dates from the late sixteenth century, but the text itself seems to have been copied from an original dated c. 1500 (Thomas and Williams, p. i).
55. See F. E. Halliday, *A History of Cornwall: The Essential Guide to Cornwall Past and Present* (Kelly Bray, Cornwall: House of Stratus, 2009), esp. Chapter 7.
56. This stage direction/description occurs in Thomas and Williams, *Bewnans Ke/The Life of St. Kea*, at pp. 144–45, just before line 1397.
57. Although long considered the property of the throne, the first "true" dukedom of Cornwall was created in 1337 by Edward III for Edward the Black Prince (it was also the first dukedom created in the peerage of England). In 1421 a charter specified that the Duke of Cornwall must always be held by the monarch's eldest male child and heir apparent.
58. As happened, for example, when Edward the Black Prince predeceased his father in 1376; although Edward had an heir in his son Richard, Richard was not Duke of Cornwall because even though he was the heir



to Edward III, he was the latter's *grandson*, not son. Similarly, although Queen Elizabeth II was her father's heir apparent, as the daughter of the monarch she did not qualify for the dukedom. Because of this, the current Duke of Cornwall, Prince Charles, did not in fact become Duke until his mother's accession to the throne—until the moment when he was both heir to the throne and the son of the reigning monarch, although arguably he had been destined for that position from the moment of his birth.

59. Michael Anderson, "'The honour of bothe courtes be nat lyke,'" 42.
60. *Ibid.*, 46.
61. See Ralph Norris's discussion of the Grail Quest in *Malory's Library*; also Vinaver's discussion in the notes to the Grail Quest in the three-volume *Works*.
62. Thomas C. Rumble, "'The Tale of Tristram': Development by Analogy," in *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of "Le Morte Darthur,"* ed. R. M. Lumiansky (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), pp. 118–83 (p. 145).
63. On this see Edward Donald Kennedy, "Malory's King Mark and King Arthur," in *King Arthur: A Casebook*, ed. E. D. Kennedy (New York and London: Garland, 1996), pp. 139–72.
64. "Back From the Dead. Cornish: The Travails of Britain's Latest Revived Language," *The Economist* (October 18, 2007), 77.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. The poetry collection itself is published by the self-proclaimed "world leaders in Cornish poetry publishing," Francis Boutle. For the past ten years, this publishing house has filled the "micro-niche" of the Cornish literary market. They are doing well enough that they have launched a series of publications in the "lesser used languages of Europe." <http://www.francisboutle.co.uk/>; accessed December 6, 2010.
69. Interestingly, the fascination with things marginal was a recurring theme on the NB page of the *Times Literary Supplement* in 2009 and 2010; the columnist for that page, "J. C." has discussed poetry in the lesser-known /used languages of the British Isles, publishing examples in Cornish, Manx, Scots Gaelic, Channel Islands Norman French, Shetlandic, Irish Gaelic, Welsh, Romany, and the dialect of Lincolnshire, *Times Literary Supplement*, (NB, 38) (November 26, 2010); [http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts\\_and\\_entertainment/the\\_tls/Subscriber\\_Archive/Other\\_Categories\\_Archive/article7169297.ece](http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/the_tls/Subscriber_Archive/Other_Categories_Archive/article7169297.ece); accessed December 6, 2010.

## 2 Of Wales and Women: Guenevere's Sister and the Isles

1. Sir George Warner, ed., *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), pp. 784–85.

2. Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Daye, 1579; reproduced in Early English Books Online).
3. Charles Moorman, *The Book of Kyng Arthur: The Unity of Malory's Morte Darthur* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965).
4. Cory James Rushton, "Malory's Divided Wales," *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 182–84.
5. For a basic introduction to Welsh history, see John Davies, *A History of Wales*, rev. edn. (New York: Penguin, 2007).
6. Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2003); Karen Cherewatuk, *Marriage, Adultery, and Inheritance in Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006); Raluca Radulescu, *The Gentry Context for Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), esp. pp. 60–71.
7. "Suster," *Middle English Dictionary*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/m/med/>, accessed March 15, 2011.
8. The lazy way out is to assume Merlin's prophecy is a mistake on Malory's part, such as when he says that Pelleas was one of the four knights who would achieve the Grail (180.9–10). However, assuming a mistake should be the last resort, especially when the passage fits with other details, and there should be a significant burden of proof on any critic trying to dismiss a reading as a mere mistake.
9. Cory James Rushton, "Malory's Divided Wales," in *Authority and Subjugation in Writing Medieval Wales*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave, 2008), p. 185.
10. Bert Dillon, "A Dictionary of Names and Places," *Caxton's Malory*, 2 vols. ed. James W. Spisak and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 2:827; Robert W. Ackerman, *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English* (New York: AMS Press, 1952); Christopher W. Bruse places it near North Wales or Scotland in *The Arthurian Name Dictionary* (New York: Garland, 1999), p. 229.
11. Dorsey Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory's Morte d'Arthur* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Kenneth Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory's Le Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave, 2005).
12. R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 8–9.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–20.
14. John Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 175. See also R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, pp. 355–411.
15. Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 34.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
17. See Rushton, "Malory's Divided Wales," pp. 175–89.
18. A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales* (New York: St. Martin's Press and Houndsmills, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1995), pp. 114–18; R. R. Davies, *Conquest*,

- Coexistence, and Change*, pp. 449–50 and *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 169–73; John Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 191–92.
19. Louise Ropes Loomis (trans.), *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, ed. and annotated by John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 321.
  20. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
  21. Ivor Bowen, *The Statutes of Wales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), pp. 31–37.
  22. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36.
  23. See, for instance, Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 181–237.
  24. Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c.1415–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) 11–1494–5; H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995; originally printed by Cambridge University Press, 1915), pp. 11–26.
  25. John Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 203–9; Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation* 165–89; Carr, *Medieval Wales*, pp. 117–24; Ralph A. Griffiths, “Wales and the Marches in the Fifteenth Century,” *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 55–81.
  26. Malory was elected to Parliament in early 1445 for Warwickshire and served on a tax commission. A Thomas Malory, possibly the same one, was elected in 1449 for Bedwin, Wiltshire. See P. J. C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), pp. 88–96. Laws concerning Welsh troubles were passed in 1444–45, 1446–47, 1448–49, and 1449; see Bowen, *The Statutes of Wales*, pp. 44–47.
  27. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation*, p. 7.
  28. R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, pp. 434–36; and *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 88–92; Elissa R. Henken, *National Redeemer: Owain Glyndŵr in Welsh Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 60–64; Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), esp. pp. 51–74.
  29. Dillon, “Dictionary of Names and Places,” 2:819; Ackerman, *Index of Arthurian Names*, p. 54.
  30. Rushton, “Malory’s Divided Wales,” 183.
  31. David W. Moore, *The Other British Isles: A History of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Anglesey, Scilly, Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands* (London: McFarland & Co, 2005), p. 75; Ronald Williams, *The Lords of the Isles: The Clan Donald and the Early Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Chatto & Windus, The Hogarth Press, 1984), p. 175.
  32. Williams, *The Lords of The Isles*, p. 180.
  33. John Davies, *A History of Wales*, p. 175.

34. John L. Roberts, *Lost Kingdoms: Celtic Scotland and the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997).
35. Simon Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles in the Fifteenth Century: The Lordship of the Clann Domhnaill of Antrim* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 51–52; Williams, *The Lords of the Isles*, p. 180.
36. Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles*, p. 28.
37. Williams, *The Lords of the Isles*, pp. 229–30.
38. The connection of Perceval's father (identified in later texts as Pellinore) to the Isles may go all the way back to Chrétien de Troyes. See Rushton, "Malory's Divided Wales," 181–86; for a voice of doubt about the Old French connection, see Claude Luttrell, "Arthurian Geography: The Islands of the Sea," *Neophilologus* 83 (1999): 187–96.
39. Amy Kaufman, "Between Women: Desire and its Object in Malory's 'Alexander the Orphan,'" *Paregon* 24.1 (2007): 137–54, esp. 139–40.
40. For instance, Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community*, pp. 48–55.
41. Kelly, "Malory's 'Tale of King Arthur' and the Political Geography of Fifteenth-Century England," *Re-Viewing Le Morte Darthur: Texts and Contexts, Characters and Themes*, ed. K. S. Whetter, Raluca L. Radulescu, and P. J. C. Field (Woodbridge, England: Brewer; 2005), pp. 79–93.
42. Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies*, pp. 14–15.
43. Ackerman, *Index of Arthurian Names*, pp. 84, 184; Eugène Vinaver, "Commentary," in *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols., 3rd. edn., ed. Eugène Vinaver, rev. P. J. C. Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 3:1395–96; Dillon, "A Dictionary of Names and Places," p. 2:823, 838.
44. For further consideration of the queens' fellowship, see Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community*, pp. 97–101.
45. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, pp. 90–91.
46. For attitudes toward different kinds of incest, see Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), esp. pp. 9–52 and 203–19.
47. Andrew Lynch, *Malory's Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 60–61; Carolyne Larrington, *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 141; Christina Francis, "Reading Malory's Bloody Bedrooms," *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2011): 17; Kate McClune, "'The Vengeance of My Brethirne': Blood Ties in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2011): 97.
48. For instance, Edward Donald Kennedy, "Malory's Guenevere: 'A Woman Who Had Grown a Soul,'" *Arthuriana* 9.2 (1995): 37–45; Sarah Hill, "Recovering Malory's Guenevere," *Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest* 1 (1991): 131–48; Sue Ellen Holbrook, "Guenevere: The Abbess of Amesbury and the Mark of Reparation," *Arthuriana* 20.1 (2010): 25–51; Virginia Blanton, "'...the queene in Amysbery, a nunne in whyght clothy and blak...': Guinevere's Asceticism and Penance in Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*," *Arthuriana* 20.1 (2010): 52–75; Amy S. Kaufman, "Guenevere Burning," *Arthuriana* 20.1 (2010): 76–94; Lindsay

- E. Holichek, "Malory's Gwenevere: After Long Silence," *Annuaire Mediaevale* 22 (1982): 112–26; Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community*, pp. 200–2.
49. Lisa Robeson has argued that her "worship," however, is more closely connected to male worship than is usual in the text, making the disruption of the male world less than might seem. See "Women's Worship: Female Versions of Chivalric Honour," in *Re-Viewing Le Morte Darthur*, ed. K. S. Whetter and Raluca L. Radulescu (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 115–16. See also Donald L. Hoffman, "Perceval's Sister: Malory's 'Rejected' Masculinities," *Arthuriana* 6.4 (1996): 72–83; Ginger Thornton and Krista May, "Malory as Feminist? The Role of Percival's Sister in the Grail Quest," in *Sir Thomas Malory: Views and Re-Views*, ed. D. Thomas Hanks, Jr. (New York: AMS, 1992), pp. 43–53.
50. Shichtman, "Percival's Sister: Genealogy, Virginity, and Blood," *Arthuriana* 9.2 (1992): 15–17.
51. Elizabeth Edwards, "The Place of Women in the *Morte Darthur*," *A Companion to Malory*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), p. 37.

### 3 Sir Gawain, Scotland, Orkney

1. *Liber Pluscardensis* in *The Historians of Scotland*, vol. vii, ed. Felix Skene (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1877), p. 169; translated as *The Book of Pluscarden*, in *The Historians of Scotland*, vol. x, ed. and trans. Felix Skene (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1880), p. 132.
2. Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan, "Introduction: Tartan Arthur?," in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), p. 3; Martin B. Shichtman, "Sir Gawain in Scotland: A Hometown Boy Made Good," in *King Arthur through the Ages*, 2 vols, ed. Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake Day (New York and London: Garland, 1990), 1:234–47.
3. Anna is identified as Arthur's sister in Geoffrey of Monmouth and a number of succeeding chronicles, which meant, if she were conceived in lawful wedlock, she might be considered the legitimate heir. Hector Boece and his translators made Anna into Uther's sister, perhaps clarifying her sons' claim to the throne.
4. Karl Heinz Göller, "King Arthur in the Scottish Chronicles," in *King Arthur: A Casebook*, ed. Edward Donald Kennedy and trans. Edward Donald Kennedy (New York and London: Garland, 1996), pp. 173–84; Alan Lupack, *The Oxford Guide to Arthurian Literature and Legend* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 40–43; Nicola Royan, "The Fine Art of Faint Praise in Older Scots Historiography," in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*, ed. Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 43–54; Edward Donald Kennedy and Kathleen Daly, "Introduction," in *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles*, ed. Dane Embree,

- Edward Donald Kennedy, and Kathleen Daly, with Latin translations by Susan Edgington (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 1–80.
5. Ralph A. Griffiths, “Crossing the Frontiers of the English Realm in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 211–25.
  6. Andy King, “Best of Enemies: Were the Fourteenth-Century Anglo-Scottish Marches a ‘Frontier-Society?’” in *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*, ed. Andy King and Michael A. Penman (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 116–35.
  7. Andrea Ruddick, “National and Political Identity in Anglo-Scottish Relations, c.1286–1377: A Governmental Perspective,” in *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*, ed. Andy King and Michael A. Penman (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 196–215.
  8. Sally Mapstone argues that the Douglases could have brought to Malory’s England a picture of Scotland dominated by feud. See “Malory and the Scots,” *Arthurian Literature* XXVII (2011): 107–20.
  9. Robert Kelly, “Malory’s ‘Tale of King Arthur’ and the Political Geography of Fifteenth-Century England,” in *Re-viewing Le Morte Darthur*, ed. K. S. Whetter and Raluca Radulescu (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 79–93.
  10. Cory Rushton, “‘Of an uncouth stede’: The Scottish Knight in Middle English Arthurian Romance,” in *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2005), p. 109.
  11. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 200–2.
  12. F. J. Byrne, “The Trembling Sod: Ireland in 1169,” in *Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*, ed. A Cosgrove (*A New History of Ireland*, v. 2; Oxford, 1987); quoted in R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland’s Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336* (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p. 8.
  13. P. L. William Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, 2nd ed (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2001), p. 450.
  14. Keith Busby, “Gawain,” *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy et al. (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1986), p. 207.
  15. John Bellenden, *The Chronicles of Scotland, Compiled by Hector Boece, Translated in Scots by John Bellenden, 1531*, 2 vols, ed. R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1938), 1:376.
  16. One of the earls was Ljot or Liot, and Sally Mapstone speculates that this coincidence in name may have led to Lot’s becoming associated with Orkney. See Mapstone, “Malory and the Scots,” p. 119.
  17. Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, p. 169.
  18. Kate McClune, “Malory, the Orkneys, and the Sinclairs,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 54 (2010): 165–84.
  19. Barbara E. Crawford, “William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and his Family: A Study in the Politics of Survival,” *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval*

- Scotland*, ed. K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1985), pp. 232–53.
20. David W. Moore, *The Other British Isles: A History of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Anglesey, Scilly, Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands* (London: McFarland & Co, 2005), pp. 54–55.
  21. Thomson, *New History of Orkney*, p. 192.
  22. One hint that people did look to the contemporary earls of Orkney to imagine Gawain comes from the poem *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, when Gawain is said to be “borne . . . in Borgoyne” (30), a claim that has thoroughly perplexed editors, since in literature Gawain has no Burgundian connections. The historical earls of Orkney did: apparently Earl Henry II served the Duke of Burgundy, which might have meant contemporary audiences would have understood a child of the House of Orkney being born in Burgundy; see Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, p. 172. According to one seventeenth-century book, both Earl Henry II and Earl William of Orkney were knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, but the veracity of this claim is somewhat suspect (this same text also claims they were Garter knights); see James Wallace, *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*, ed. John Small (Edinburgh: John Brown, 1883), pp. 94–95; “Awntyrs off Arthur,” in *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*, ed. Thomas Hahn (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995).
  23. Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Leadership in Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004), p. 260.
  24. Thomson, *New History of Orkney*, p. 196.
  25. R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland’s Western Seaboard, c.1100-c.1336* (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p. 90.
  26. Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, p. 196.
  27. *Ibid.*, p. 197; Ronald Williams, *The Lords of the Isles: The Clan Donald and the Early Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Chatto & Windus, The Hogarth Press, 1984), p. 228.
  28. Kennedy, *Knighthood in the Morte Darthur* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1992), p. 204.
  29. Anthony Goodman, “The British Isles Imagined,” *Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Clark, *The Fifteenth Century VI* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2006), p. 8.
  30. Thomson, *A New History of Orkney*, p. 197.
  31. There were Gascons defending the Anglo-Scottish border at Berwick; see Alastair J. Macdonald, “John Hardyng, Northumbrian Identity and the Scots,” *Northeast England in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnell (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), p. 39.
  32. Margaret Robson, discussing the northern Gawain romances, has argued that Gawain functions as a local hero, able to navigate marginal lands and negotiate with regional powers such as Green Knights or Carls of Carlisle, in ways that Arthur as a centralizing monarch cannot. This analysis is sound, although it is important to discuss where Gawain is from, and not merely that he is not from the English center. See “Local

- Hero: Gawain and the Politics of Arthurianism,” *Arthurian Literature* 23 (2006): 81–94.
33. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 202–5.
  34. Friedrich W. D. Brie, ed., *The Brut, or, The Chronicles of England* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, for the Early English Text Society, 1906), p. 77.
  35. John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of j. h., Containing an Account of Public Transactions from the Earliest Period of English History to the Beginning of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth. with the Continuation by r. Grafton, to King Henry the Eighth*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: G. Woodfall, 1812; reprinted London: British Library, Historical Print Editions, 2011), pp. 120, 124. For further discussion, see Richard J. Moll, *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Later Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 164.
  36. Gilles Roussineau, ed., *La Suite du Roman de Merlin*, 2 vols (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), 1:99–115.
  37. Ruth Lexton argues that Arthur’s conduct of the initial wars is meant to be troubling, especially in demonstration of the lack of mercy and the ability to negotiate accords with opponents. See “Kingship in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*,” *JEGP* 110.2 (2011): 192–94.
  38. A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 68–72.
  39. Hardyng, *Chronicle*, p. 126.
  40. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1:740–41.
  41. John Hine Mundy, “The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Constance,” in *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis, ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York: Columbia, 1961), pp. 7–10.
  42. From the diary of Guillaume Fillastre, kept at the Council of Constance, in *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis, ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York: Columbia, 1961), p. 144.
  43. Fillastre’s diary, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, trans. Louise Ropes Loomis, ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York: Columbia, 1961), p. 140.
  44. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 204–5.
  45. Hardyng, *Chronicle*, p. 126; bracketed emendation in Ellis’s text.
  46. McClune, “‘The Vengeance of My Brethirne’: Blood Ties in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*,” *Arthurian Literature* XXVII (2011): 106.
  47. See, for instance, Andrew Lynch, *Malory’s Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 60–74.



48. Ralph Griffiths, "The Crown and the Royal Family in Later Medieval England," *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambleton Press, 1991), pp. 1–10.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 2–3.
51. Both Martin Shichtman and Laura K. Bedwell comment on Gawain's envy of Pellinore, suggesting this is a motive separate from the desire to avenge Lot—and another blot on Gawain's character. We would suggest that the envy is appropriate if Gawain is viewing Pellinore as collecting his reward for colluding with Arthur against the other northern kings. See Martin Shichtman, "Malory's Gawain Reconsidered," *Essays in Literature* 11.2 (1984): 161; Laura K. Bedwell, "The Failure of Justice, the Failure of Arthur," *Arthuriana* 21.3 (2011): 15.
52. McClune, "Malory, the Orkneys, and the Sinclairs," p. 167.
53. Caxton renders this as "O broder. . . I wende ye wolde not haue stryken me"; either way, Gawain's grief over Gareth's action is clear. See *Caxton's Malory*, ed. James W. Spisak and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 191.26–27.
54. Terence McCarthy uses the word "villainy" to describe Gawain's behavior in *Reading the Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988), p. 13. Despite the tradition of downplaying Malory's artistry, we use the term "narrator" advisedly here. Questions about the relation of author, narrator, and reader are foreclosed by the assumption that the narrator's voice is Malory's; even if ultimately readers feel the narrator is trustworthy and offers what seems to be Malory's views, this should be a conclusion, not an assumption. For a counterargument, see Derek Brewer, "Malory: The Traditional Writer and the Archaic Mind," *Arthurian Literature* 1 (1981): 94–120.
55. K. S. Whetter, "Characterization in Malory and Bonnie," *Arthuriana* 19.3 (2009): 126; Kenneth Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory's Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave, 2005): 94–96; Hyonjin Kim, *The Knight without the Sword: A Social Landscape of Malorian Chivalry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 64–73.
56. See K. S. Whetter, "Characterization in Malory and Bonnie" and *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 137–42; Bonnie Wheeler, "Romance and Parataxis and Malory: The Case of Gawain's Reputation," *Arthurian Literature* 12 (1993): 109–32; C. David Benson, "The Ending of the *Morte Darthur*," *A Companion to Malory*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), p. 232–33; Martin B. Shichtman, "Malory's Gawain Reconsidered," *Essays in Literature* 11.2 (1984): 171.
57. Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance*, pp. 137–42.
58. Andrew Lynch approaches the problem of being the weaker knight as generating "social and psychological problems" for the characters, which

- may be true but should not elide generic issues. See *Malory's Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 93–94.
59. Kim, *The Knight without the Sword: A Social Landscape of Malorian Chivalry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 48–51; Cherewatuk, *Marriage, Adultery and Inheritance in Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), p. 106–7.
  60. Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory's Morte d'Arthur* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), p. 49.
  61. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, pp. 248–51.
  62. *King Arthur's Death*, ed. Larry D. Benson, rev. Edward E. Foster (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), ll. 3528–34, 3933–36.
  63. For a suggestion that the geography of Mordred's rebellion is meant to suggest Lancastrian-Yorkist divisions, see George Stewart, "English Geography in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*," *Modern Language Review* 30 (1935): 204–9; for a refutation, see Edward Donald Kennedy, "Malory's *Morte Darthur*: A Politically Neutral Adaptation of the Arthurian Story," *Arthurian Literature* 20 (2003): 145–69.
  64. Cf. Megan G. Leitch, "Speaking (of) Treason in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2010): 132.
  65. Stewart, Jr. "English Geography in Malory's 'Morte D'Arthur,'" 208–9; Vinaver, "Commentary," *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols., 3rd edn., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 1649.
  66. See, for instance, Edward Donald Kennedy, "Malory's *Morte Darthur*: A Politically Neutral English Adaptation of the Arthurian Story," *Arthurian Literature* 20 (2003): 145–69; and P. J. C. Field, "Fifteenth-Century History in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," in *Malory: Texts and Sources* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), pp. 47–71. The sources' location of battles (against Guenevere at the Tower of London, against Arthur at Dover and Salisbury Plain) suggests Mordred at least had won control of the south, perhaps prompting Malory to conclude that this is also where Mordred draws his support, but whatever the cause, making Mordred's base explicitly southern and eliminating the foreign allies transforms the story.
  67. Field, "Fifteenth-Century History," pp. 67–68.
  68. Stewart, Jr. "English Geography," p. 208.
  69. Jeffrey J. Cohen, "Introduction: Midcolonial," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Cohen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 7.
  70. Ralph Hanna III, "Sir Thomas Berkeley and his Patronage," *Speculum* 64.4 (1989): 912–13.
  71. Ralph Hanna III, *London Literature, 1300–1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 2–3.
  72. Peter Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000–1400* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1996), p. 125.
  73. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6.

74. Lisa Robeson, "Noble Knights and 'Mischievous War': The Rhetoric of War in Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*," *Arthuriana* 13.3 (2003): 26. Dhira Mahoney has questioned whether Malory's "guns" were cannon or simply older siege weapons, but since the passage speaks of "engines" as well as "gunnes" (3:1227; XXI.1), we suspect the guns were cannon. See Mahoney, "Malory's 'Great Guns' Revisited," *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society* 44 (1992): 236–40.

#### 4 Trudging toward Rome, Drifting toward Sarra

1. As several scholars have noted, "Saracen" is a problematic term in the Middle Ages and beyond. In terms of the fifteenth-century and Malory's specific audience, Jacqueline de Weever perhaps puts it best when she argues that "Whatever they were for the ancient world, for writers in English and French the Saracens were defined by what they were not: not Latin, not English, not French, not Christian"; "Introduction," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 6. On the idea of Saracens in the Middle Ages, the definitive work is John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). See also Tolan's edited collection, *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2000); on literary representations of Saracens, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari's brilliant *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012); also of note is Jerold C. Frakes, ed., *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
2. Peter H. Goodrich, "Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 14.
3. Significantly, both Larry Benson and Robert H. Wilson have suggested that the particular placement of this episode is a result of Malory's familiarity with the Vulgate *Merlin* (not the Post-Vulgate *Suite*), as toward the end of the Vulgate version of the text, Arthur returns home from Rome in triumph, and is met by Guenevere, just as he is in the *Morte Darthur*. See Benson, Larry Benson, *Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 42; and Wilson, "Malory's Early Knowledge of Arthurian Romance" *University of Texas Studies in English* 29 (1950): 33–50. Our thanks to Edward Donald Kennedy for calling our attention to the arguments of these scholars, and for pointing out that in the Vulgate, the *Merlin* directly precedes the story of Launcelot.
4. Bertrand Westphal, *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces*, trans. Robert T. Tally, Jr. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), p. 170.
5. See Vinaver's comments on this, "Commentary," *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols., 3rd edn., ed. Eugène Vinaver, rev. P. J. C. Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 1554.

6. On the importance of the sea to the definition of English identity in Malory's source text, the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*, see in particular Kathy Lavezzo, "The Sea and Border Crossings in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. Sebastian I. Sobceki (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 113–32.
7. Goodrich, "Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory," 13.
8. P. J. C. Field has pointed out that if Sir Thomas Malory of Newbold Revel is indeed the author of *Le Morte Darthur*, then this man had some personal familiarity with crusader experience and ideals as he had an uncle who served as the prior of the Hospitaller knights of St. John (see Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* [Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1993], p. 68).
9. Field, *Life and Times*, p. 82.
10. Vinaver, *Works*, p. 1300.
11. See in particular Dorsey Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory's Morte d'Arthur* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), particularly Chapter Four, "Gender, Kinship, and Community: The Quest for the Holy Grail," pp. 144–72; and Kenneth Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory's Le Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), esp. Chapter One, "English Knights, French Books, and Literary Communities," pp. 11–34. Also foundational to this discussion: the articles collected in R. M. Lumiansky, ed., *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of Le Morte Darthur* (New York: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964); Elizabeth Pochoda, *Arthurian Propaganda: Le Morte Darthur as an Historical Ideal of Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971). See also Catherine Batt, *Malory's Morte Darthur: Remaking Arthurian Tradition* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
12. See in particular, Jacqueline de Weever, "Introduction: The Saracen as Narrative Knot," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 4–9; and Donald L. Hoffman, "Assimilating Saracens: The Aliens in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 43–64.
13. Robert W. Ackerman, "Babylon," *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 22.
14. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, pp. 63–65.
15. Brie W. D. Friedrich, *The Brut, or, The Chronicles of England*, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. for the Early English Text Society, 1906), 1.1–4.
16. John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, with a continuation by Richard Grafton, ed. Henry Ellis (New York: AMS, 1974; originally London, 1812), pp. 25–30.
17. Hardyng, *Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 86–87; see also John of Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, in *The Historians of Scotland*, 10 vols, ed. William F. Skene (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), 1.9–16. For more on the Greek and Egyptian ancestry of the Scots, see Lisa Ruch, "Des Grants Geanz," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*,

- 2 vols., gen. ed. Graeme Dunphy (Leiden: Brill, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 516–17. See also: Lesley Johnson, “Return to Albion,” *Arthurian Literature* 13 (1995): 19–40; and Edward Donald Kennedy, “Introduction,” *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles*, ed. Dan Embree, Edward Donald Kennedy, and Kathleen Daly (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), pp. 56–58.
18. Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 184.
  19. Norris J. Lacy, gen. ed., *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, trans. Rupert T. Pickens (New York, 1993–1996), III.193.
  20. *Ibid.*, III.194.
  21. Alexandre Micha, ed., *Lancelot*, 10 vols (Paris and Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), IV.LXXXIII.72–75 (pp. 344–345).
  22. Erin Kissick first proposed the idea of Pedivere’s wife as a “human hair-shirt” on the journey to Rome in a paper presented at the 11th annual Comitatus graduate student conference, Purdue University, February 2013.
  23. Oddly for Malory, Perceval’s sister remains anonymous throughout the text in contradiction to his usual practice of giving names to those who have none in the source text.
  24. See in particular Vinaver’s comments on this section, *Works*, pp. 1585–600.
  25. *Ibid.*, pp. 1585–94.
  26. For why Malory picks Guildford as the likely site of Ascolat, see what is still the most important article on this topic: G. R. Stewart, “English Geography in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*,” *Modern Language Review* 30 (1935): 204–9.
  27. Although Vinaver chooses to spell it “Astolat,” it is clear that this name derives from the French “Ascolat,” which is why we choose to use the latter spelling.
  28. Vinaver, *Works*, p. 1604. It should be noted, however, that Malory probably got the idea for the elimination of the *entrelacement* from the Stanzaic *Morte*; see Lumiansky, “Malory’s ‘Tale of Lancelot and Guinevere’ as Suspense,” *Medieval Studies* 19 (1957): 108–22.
  29. Stewart, “English Geography in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*,” 206.
  30. Some of the most important discussions about this portion of the *Morte Darthur* include P. J. C. Field, “Caxton’s Roman War,” in *Malory: Texts and Sources* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), pp. 126–61; Field, “The Empire of Lucius Iberius,” in *Malory: Texts and Sources*, pp. 162–86; and the articles collected in *The Malory Debate: Essays on the Texts of Le Morte Darthur*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler, Robert L. Kindrick, and Michael Salda (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000).
  31. Although the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* survives in just one manuscript, the Thornton ms., it seems clear that Malory was using a different version of this text as his primary source for the Roman War section. See Ralph Hanna and Thorlac Turville-Petre, “The Text of the Alliterative

- Morte Arthure*,” in *The Thornton Manuscript*, ed. Michael Johnston and Susanna Fein (York: York Medieval Press, forthcoming).
32. The most important treatments of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* include: Christine Chism, *Alliterative Revivals* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), esp. Chapter Six, “King Takes Knight: Signifying War in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*,” pp. 189–236; Karl Heinz Göller, “Reality versus Romance: A Reassessment of the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*,” in *The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Reassessment of the Poem*, ed. idem (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981), pp.15–29; George R. Keiser, “Edward III and the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*,” *Speculum* 48 (1973): 37–51; Patricia DeMarco, “An Arthur for the Ricardian Age: Crown, Nobility, and the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*,” *Speculum* 80.2 (2005): 464–93; Juliet Vale, “Law and Diplomacy in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 23 (1979): 31–46; Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), esp. Chapter Three: “Disavowing Romance: Colonial Loss and Stories of the Past,” pp. 79–106; Lee Patterson, *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), Chapter Six: “The Romance of History and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*,” pp. 197–239; J. Eadie, “The Alliterative *Morte Arthure*: Structure and Meaning,” *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 63.1 (1982): 1–12; Richard J. Moll, *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Later Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), esp. pp. 97–122.
  33. See Patterson, *Negotiating the Past*, p. 212. Valerie Krishna also includes a map in her edition of the poem (New York: Burt Franklin, 1976); Vinaver offers a map that compares Arthur’s journey on the continent with Henry V’s continental campaign route; *Works*, p. 1397.
  34. Although some scholars regard Malory as making a mistake when he has Arthur’s men land at Barflete rather than Barfleur—a departure from the source that would have them covering nearly 200 miles in a single day to make it from their landing site to the next place on their itinerary, P. J. C. Field has suggested that it is more likely that Malory and/or Caxton were calling the place by a different—yet still commonly used—version of its name; see “Caxton’s Roman War.”
  35. Armstrong has made a similar argument about the Roman War section in the introduction to her *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory’s Morte d’Arthur*. In that instance, however, she maintains that the Roman War section reveals much about how Malory’s text as a whole copes with matters of gender and manipulation of source material; in this book, we would like to suggest that the Roman War functions in similar fashion when it comes to understanding matters of the geographic.
  36. Lavezzo, “The Sea and Border Crossings,” p. 121.
  37. There has been an explosion in the last few years of scholarly works that engage medieval studies from the position of ecocriticism. In particular,

- see the articles collected in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2002); Ben Woodard, *On an Ungrounded Earth: Towards a New Geophilosophy* (New York: Punctum Books, 2013); the special issue of *Arthuriana* (23.1 [2013]) devoted to this topic; the special issue of *Postmedieval* devoted to “Medieval Mobilities” (ed. Laurie A. Finke, Kathleen Coyne Kelly, and Martin B. Shichtman), 4.2 (2013).
38. The sense of this is arguably an extension and enhancement of the same phenomenon in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*. For a related discussion, see Caroline D. Eckhardt, “The Presence of Rome in The Middle English Chronicles of the Fourteenth Century,” *JEGP* 90 (1991): 187–207.
  39. On postcolonial theory and the *Morte Darthur*, see in particular Dorsey Armstrong, “Postcolonial Palomides: Malory’s Saracen Knight and the Unmaking of Community,” *Exemplaria* 18.1 (2006): 175–203.
  40. Goodrich, “Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory,” 13.
  41. Vinaver, *Works*, p. 1372.
  42. For a discussion of Mordred’s role as reluctant regent in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*, see Dorsey Armstrong, “Rewriting the Chronicle Tradition: the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Arthur’s Sword of Peace,” *Parergon* 25.1 (2008): 81–101.
  43. Peter H. Goodrich takes care to note that although “Romans and Saracens” are repeatedly linked together in this portion of the *Morte Darthur*, “The tendency of some Malory critics to expand the definition of Saracen to encompass all pagans may be justifiable in the context of general ignorance about Islam in medieval Europe . . . [but] . . . It is clear . . . that not all of the Roman Emperor Lucius’s army are Saracens, even though many of them are from the Middle East and North Africa”; “Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur*,” *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 10–11 [10–28].
  44. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, p. 64.
  45. Although Goodrich contends that “Malory fails to capitalize upon this crowning continental success, for Arthur (or his chronicler) apparently forgets his empire . . . whether the Roman War occurs early or late in his reign, in neither chronicle nor romance tradition is Arthur’s eastern imperium truly consolidated”; “Saracens and Islamic Alterity,” 23. We would like to suggest that while Malory is not emphatic about Arthur’s eastern conquests, neither does he “forget” about it; he takes the opportunity of the Grail Quest to “remind” his readers of the extent of Arthur’s geopolitical power.
  46. See Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, pp. 68–69.
  47. Eric Prieto, “Geocriticism, Geopoetics, Geophilosophy, and Beyond,” in *Geocritical Explorations: Space, Place, and Mapping in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. Robert. T. Tally, Jr. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), pp. 13–28; Tally’s summation of Prieto’s argument, quoted here, is on p. 3.
  48. In this respect, Malory’s move is similar to that which Armstrong has discussed at length in her *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory’s*

- Morte Darthur*. One of the main points of her argument in that book is that Malory created the Pentecostal Oath as an attempt at regulating and containing the violence of the chivalric community, and then uses the rest of the text as a kind of “test” of that oath, to see if it could succeed. While in the end the oath, like the attempts at geographic unity, proves to be inadequate, the text seems to find much to admire and mourn in the *attempt* to create and adhere to it.
49. For Arthur’s journey to Rome and back, and the geographic spaces from which Rome’s allies come, see map 4.2. Meg Roland also has a slightly different map of Arthur’s roman conquest—with brilliant detail and appended commentary, available at <http://passionategeography.com/2011/08/18/mapping-malorys-roman-war/> (accessed December 14, 2013).
  50. Meg Roland, “The Rudderless Boat: Fluid Time and Passionate Geography in (Hardyng’s) Chronicle and (Malory’s) Romance,” *Arthuriana* 22.4 (2012): 77.
  51. The standard critical edition of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* is Mary Hamel, ed., *Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1984).
  52. Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York and Chichester, Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 120.
  53. Chism, *Alliterative Revivals*, p. 210.
  54. See Lee Patterson on the Alliterative *Morte* in *Negotiating the Past*.
  55. Donald L. Hoffman rightly describes this episode as the “grand invention of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* [that] presents a luminous contrast to the surrounding violence”; “Assimilating Saracens,” 45 [43–64].
  56. Goodrich contends that although Priamus is definitely not Christian, he is not necessarily a Saracen, as he is never explicitly described as such; see “Saracens and Islamic Alterity,” 14.
  57. Hoffman, “Assimilating Saracens,” 46.
  58. See Vinaver’s discussion of this moment; *Works*, p. 1405.
  59. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, p. 70.
  60. Catherine Batt has suggested that this moment is significant in its mention of “wyffis” as the women represent civilization and lands that need to be *protected*, rather than *conquered*; see *Malory’s Morte Darthur: Remaking Arthurian Tradition* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 82.
  61. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, p. 67.
  62. Albert Pauphilet, ed., *La Queste del Saint Graal: Roman du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1923), pp. 273–75.
  63. Translation from *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, gen. ed. Norris J. Lacy, 5 vols. (New York: Garland, 1993–1996), vol. IV, p. 86.
  64. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 26.
  65. Goodrich, “Saracens and Islamic Alterity.”



66. For more on this see Bonnie Wheeler, "Grief in Avalon: Sir Palomydes' Psychic Pain," *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
67. Although once Sir Urry and Sir Lavayne join the Round Table, they are arguably the youngest to sit at Arthur's table.
68. Robert W. Ackerman, "Babylon," *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 22.
69. Dorsey Armstrong has discussed this matter more fully in "Postcolonial Palomides: Malory's Saracen Knight and the Unmaking of Arthurian Community," *Exemplaria* 18.1 (2006): 175–203.
70. Some scholars contend that although Priamus is not Christian (or at least, not yet)—"woll I beleve on thy Lorde that thou belevyst on" (231.16–17)—he cannot be necessarily and definitively classified as Muslim; he may simply be a pagan ("Saracen" could be used as a kind of "catch-all" term to signify any number of non-Christian identities; on this see in particular Hoffman, "Assimilating Saracens"), but we feel that in the *Morte Darthur* he "signals" the idea of the Saracen as Muslim more than anything else. See Hodges' discussion of Priamus in *Forging Chivalric Communities*, pp. 66–67.
71. As Helen Cooper puts it, Palomides is known "as the follower of the Questing Beast; as a pagan who is Christian in his heart but who has sworn to fight seven battles before he is christened; and as the hopeless lover of Isode, forever torn between the jealousy of Tristram and admiration of his supreme knightliness"; "The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones," in *A Companion to Malory*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), p. 191.
72. de Weever also calls attention to Palomides's problematic status: "Malory's Palomides—not Christian, not English, not French, not Latin—offers an interesting conundrum. He becomes a member of Arthur's Round Table, is an exemplary knight, falls in love with La Beall Isode and thus fulfills the chivalric code's requirements by loving a lady. All this challenges the social order.," "Introduction," p. 7. On the unique qualities of Palomides, see, among others: Armstrong, "Postcolonial Palomides," cited above; eadem, "The (Non-)Christian Knight in Malory: A Contradiction in Terms?," *Arthuriana* 16.2 (2006): 30–34; Kevin T. Grimm, "The Love and Envy of Sir Palomides," *Arthuriana* 11.2 (2001): 65–74; Andrew Lynch, *Malory's Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur*, esp. Chapter Five, "Good and Ill Will (2): Tristram and the Problem of Palomides (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Olga Burakov Mongan, "Between Knights: Triangular Desire and Sir Palomides in Sir Thomas Malory's *The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones*," *Arthuriana* 12.4 (2002): 75–90; Bonnie Wheeler, "Grief in Avalon: Sir Palomydes' Psychic Pain," in *Grief and Gender, 700–1700*, ed. Jennifer Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 65–80.

73. Armstrong, "The (Non-)Christian Knight in Malory," and "Postcolonial Palomides."
74. Goodrich, "Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory," 18.
75. See Wheeler, "Grief in Avalon."
76. Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, p. 69.
77. Armstrong, "Postcolonial Palomides," 203.
78. Vinaver, *Works*, p. 1663.
79. The prophecy that an English king would conquer the Holy Land was quite common from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries; see Edward Donald Kennedy, "Malory and Political Prophecy," *Poetica* (2012): 47–59.
80. Meg Roland, "Arthur and the Turks," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 29.
81. N. F. Blake, ed., *Caxton's Own Prose* (London: HarperCollins, 1973), p. 142. See also Walter John Blyth Crotch, ed., *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (London: EETS, o.s. 176, 1928 [rpt. 1999]).

## 5 Why Malory's Launcelot Is Not French: Region, Nation, and Political Identity

\*A version of this chapter was published as "Why Malory's Launcelot Is Not French: Region, Nation, and Political Identity," in *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 556–71.

1. Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
2. Derek Pearsall, "The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth Century," in *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 25.
3. In his biography of the Malory most likely to be the author, P. J. C. Field argues that he was born about 1416. Moreover, his cousin Sir Philip Chetwynd was appointed mayor of Bayonne in 1441, and Field speculates that the young Sir Thomas Malory may have served under him. See Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), p. 64, pp. 86–87.
4. Guillaume Fillastre, *Diary*, in Louise Ropes Loomis (trans.), *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, ed. and annotated by John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 318.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
6. Beverly Kennedy mixes political and personal motives in proposing that "Launcelot serves Arthur because he is the Holy Roman Emperor, the highest officer in the High Order of Knighthood, overlord of the King of France, and the man who made him knight"; See Kennedy, *Knighthood in the Morte Darthur*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), p. 8; cf. Robert Kelly, "Malory's Argument against War with France: The Political Geography of France and the Anglo-French Alliance in the

- Morte Darthur*,” in *The Social and Literary Contexts of Malory’s Morte Darthur*, ed. D. Thomas Hanks, Jr. and Jessica Brogdon (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), p. 127.
7. Hyonjin Kim, *The Knight without the Sword: A Social Landscape of Malorian Chivalry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 55–99.
  8. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 20–21.
  9. Eugène Vinaver, “Commentary,” *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols., 3rd edn., rev. P. J. C. Field (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 1367.
  10. William Matthews, “Where Was Siesia-Sessoyné?,” *Speculum* 49.4 (1974): 680–86; P. J. C. Field, “Fifteenth-Century History in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*,” *Malory: Texts and Sources* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), pp. 55–58.
  11. Felicity Riddy, “Contextualizing *Le Morte Darthur*: Empire and Civil War,” in *A Companion to Malory*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 1996), pp. 55–73; Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 192–226.
  12. Fillastre, *Diary*, p. 141.
  13. Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 7.
  14. Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies*, pp. 5–6.
  15. Felicity Riddy, “Contextualizing *Le Morte Darthur*,” p. 71.
  16. Ralph Griffiths, “The Provinces and the Dominions in the Age of the Wars of the Roses,” in *Estrangement, Enterprise and Education in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Sharon Michalove and A. Compton Reeves (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 5.
  17. David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), p. 2.
  18. Normandy was in some ways a reciprocal case, since it maintained its sovereignty and kept its local law separate from the centralized French law, something that initially aided Henry V in establishing English rule after he conquered it, but became complicated when Henry V also laid claim to the crown of France. See C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415–1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 122–51.
  19. Malcolm Vale, *English Gascony, 1399–1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics during the Later Stages of the Hundred Years’ War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. vii.
  20. See for instance Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*; Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*; Kathy Lavezzo, ed. *Imagining a Medieval English Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Pearsall, “The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth Century.”
  21. *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. W. J. B. Crotch (New York: Burt Franklin, 1928; reprinted 1971), pp. 108–9.

22. P. J. C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), pp. 68–82.
23. Jürgen Sarnowky, “Der Konvent auf Rhodos und die Zungen (*lingue*) im Johanniterorden (1421–1476),” *Ritterorden und Region: politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak (Torun: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995), p. 45.
24. Valerie Lagorio, “The Evolving Legend of St. Joseph of Glastonbury,” *Speculum* 46.2 (1971): 220.
25. Gregory O’Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Languge 1460–1565* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 113–43.
26. Ralph Griffiths, “The English Realm and Dominions and the King’s Subjects in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Aspects of Late Medieval Government and Society: Essays Presented to J. R. Landers*, ed. J. G. Rowe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 84–85.
27. Robert Kelly, “Malory’s ‘Tale of King Arthur’ and the Political Geography of Fifteenth-Century England,” in *Reviewing Le Morte Darthur*, ed. K. S. Whetter and Raluca Radulescu (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), p. 81.
28. His origin is unspecified, although he does come upon his mother’s house, apparently while in Britain (590.26–28).
29. This does not mean the English did not alter local law—they did—but that common or customary law differed. See Griffiths, “The English Realm”; Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 5; David Grummitt, “‘One of the mooste pryncipall treasours belongyng to this Realme of Englande’: Calais and the Crown, c.1450–1558,” in *The English Experience in France c. 1450–1558: War, Diplomacy, and Cultural Exchange*, ed. David Grummitt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 52; and Robin Frame “Kingdoms and Dominions at Peace and War,” in *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Ralph Griffiths, *The Short Oxford History of the British Isles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 149–80.
30. Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 43.
31. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation*, p. 8.
32. Charles. Ross, *The Custom of the Castle: From Malory to Macbeth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 18–36.
33. Quoted in Griffiths, “English Realm,” p. 86.
34. Griffiths, “English Realm,” 86, and idem, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 168–71, 551–61; Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 15.
35. Margery Kirkbride James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, ed. Elspeth Veale (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 71–73.
36. E. M. Carus-Wilson, “The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 21 (1947): 149.
37. Griffiths, *Henry VI*, pp. 555–57.

38. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, pp. 122–51; Frame, “Kingdoms and Dominions,” p. 163; Grummitt, ““One of the mooste pryncipall treasours belongyng to this Realme of Englande,”” pp. 51–52; Griffiths, “English Realm,” p. 87.
39. Griffiths, *Henry VI*, p. 183.
40. Andrea C. Ruddick, “Gascony and the Limits of Medieval British Isles History,” in *Ireland and the English World in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Brendan Smith (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 82.
41. James *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, pp. 85–88; Griffiths, “English Realm,” p. 97.
42. Grummit, ““One of the mooste pryncipall treasours belongyng to this Realme of Englande,”” p. 53.
43. Frame, “Kingdoms and Dominions,” p. 180.
44. Griffiths, “English Realm,” p. 98.
45. Kelly, “Political Geography.”
46. Malcolm Vale, “Seigneurial Fortification and Private War in Later Medieval Gascony,” in *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael Jones (New York: Saint Martin’s, and Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986), p. 133.
47. Kenneth Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory’s Morte Darthur* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 63–73; Ridy, “Contextualizing *Le Morte Darthur*.”
48. Hyonjin Kim, *The Knight without the Sword: A Social Landscape of Malorian Chivalry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 64–99; Hodges, *Forging Chivalric Communities*, pp. 94–100.
49. John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 73.
50. The identification is consistent, not just a spur-of-the-moment attribution. The way to Joyous Gard is described as “over Humbir” (720.1) and Joyous Gard is also mentioned as being near Carlisle (1196.22–23). There are echoes of the Wars of the Roses in the identification: Alnwick was a possession of the Percys, and the Percys supported Queen Margaret of Anjou. Alnwick and Bamburgh were held against the Yorkists in 1461, but in 1462, the queen and her allies retook both castles, part of a war in the north that was not over until 1464. The spectacle of an overmighty vassal sheltering a queen in Alnwick or Bamburgh is suggestive, but as P. J. C. Field concludes, there are not nearly enough exact parallels for us to treat this as directly topical commentary. See Field, *Malory: Texts and Sources* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), pp. 68–69.
51. Anthony Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society, 1452–97* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 41; John Sadler, *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296–1568* (London and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 346.
52. *Lancelot: roman en prose du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 9 vols, ed. Alexandre Micha (Genève: Droz, 1978–83), vii:1.

53. While a few critics have observed Launcelot's home is not in France (as it would have been understood in the fifteenth century) but in Gascony, they have not fully explored the consequences. William Matthews and Vinaver suggest Malory himself might have served or been imprisoned in southwest France, although as Field concludes this seems doubtful. Robert Kelly argues that the placement is drawn from classical descriptions of Gaul rather than contemporary political geography. See Vinaver, "Commentary," p. 1641; Matthews, *The III-Framed Knight: A Skeptical Inquiry into the Identity of Sir Thomas Malory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 147–50; Kelly, "Malory's Argument against War with France," pp. 116–19; Field, *Life and Times*, pp. 25–26.
54. Vinaver, "Commentary," p. 1640; Robert Ackerman, *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English* (New York: AMS Press, 1967), p. 27.
55. Marcel Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneron: Histoire du vignoble français* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), p. 77; Thomas Brennan, *Burgundy to Champagne: The Wine Trade in Early Modern France* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 5.
56. Margery Kirkbride James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*; Andre Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England*, 3 vols. (London: Wyman & Sons, 1907); Carus-Wilson, "The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade."
57. Although too small to appear in many atlases, Bommès has important vineyards, and it was significant enough that its wines were mentioned by name in the *taxation de 1647*; Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneron*, p. 295; C. Cocks, *Bordeaux: Its Wines and Claret Country* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846), p. 186.
58. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, p. 45.
59. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, p. 45; Carus-Wilson, "The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade," 154; Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England*, 2:17–20.
60. Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England*, 2:17–19; James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, pp. 44–49.
61. In the French, he goes into Gaul, not Wales (Vinaver, "Commentary," p. 1559).
62. Vinaver's note, which typically tries to explain Malory's alterations as misunderstandings, suggests that he places Launcelot in Guyenne because he interprets Bors's toponymic "Ganys" (Gaunys) as Guyenne ("Commentary," p. 1640). Why it is Launcelot—and not Bors de Ganys—who is given the lands of Guyenne, Vinaver does not explain.
63. Vinaver, "Introduction," p. xxxi; Riddy, "Contextualizing *Le Morte Darthur*," pp. 66–70. For a summary of counterarguments, see Kelly, "Malory's Argument against War with France," pp. 113–14.
64. C. T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300–c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 136–50; Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994).

### Conclusion Malory's Questing Beast and the Geography of the Arthurian World

1. There is, however, a depiction of the Beast in two-volume edition of the Prose *Tristan* that dates from the early fifteenth century, (BN Fr. 100–101 f. 85<sup>v</sup>). The Prose *Tristan*, of course, was one of Malory's major sources, although the specific version that Malory used does not appear to have survived.
2. Among others, see Catherine Batt, "Malory's Questing Beast and the Implications of Author as Translator," in *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Ellis et al. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), pp. 142–66; Alexander M. Bruce, "The Questing Beast in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 19–20 (1997): 133–42; Lynette R. Muir, "The Questing Beast: Its Origin and Development," *Orpheus* 4 (1957): 24–32; William A. Nitze, "The Beste Glatissante in Arthurian Romance," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 56 (1936): 409–18. For a good overview of the Beast in the Arthurian tradition, see Norris Lacy's entry for the Questing Beast in *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris Lacy (New York and London: Garland, 1996), p. 377; and see also the entry by Kara L. McShane on the "Camelot Project" website: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/Camelot/qbmenu.htm> (last accessed June 30, 2013).
3. The Beast is also called "The Beste Glatissante"; in French and Middle English, "glatissant" can mean "to bay or to bark" and in Middle English, "questen" can mean not only "to pursue" or "to hunt," but also "to bark." Thus, as Kara L. McShane points out, "This double meaning of the English word makes the Questing Beast's name a pun; it is the barking beast for which knights hunt" ("Questing Beast" on the Camelot Project website).
4. Bruce, "The Questing Beast in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," 133.
5. Helmut Nickel posits that the description of the Beast may be based on the physical characteristics of a giraffe; see "What Kind of Animal was the Questing Beast?" *Arthuriana* 14.2 (2004): 66–69.
6. Although there were other compilations being made in the fifteenth century—most notably the French text by Micheau Gonnot (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 112) and the German *Buch de Abenteuer* of Ulrich Füetrer (see *Ulrich Füetrer: Poytislir. Buch der Abenteuer*, ed. Friederike Weber [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1960])—Malory's is still the most coherent, comprehensive, and consecutively ordered.
7. In the French Vulgate *verse* texts, Morgan tends to be a more beneficent character, but as Raymond Thompson notes in the *New Arthurian Encyclopedia*, "in the prose romances her reputation declines progressively" (p. 329). See in particular Fanni Bogdanow, "Morgain's Role in the Thirteenth-Century French Prose Romances of the Arthurian Cycle," *Medium Ævum* 38 (1969): 123–33.
8. Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001);

- Michelle R. Warren *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
9. David Wallace, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, 2006), p. 2.
  10. My thanks to J. Case Tompkins for his thoughtful comments on the Beast as British.
  11. Additionally, we find it interesting that the only time the yelping hounds within the Beast's belly are silent is when the Beast goes to a source of water to drink. Water keeps the Beast contained to the shores of Britain, and also perhaps has an immediately observable effect upon it as concerns one of its recognizable attributes.
  12. In considering the Questing Beast in Malory, we find it useful to consider an image that Jeffrey Jerome Cohen discusses in the introduction to *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008). Here, he tells the story related by the twelfth-century historian William of Newburgh of a man who stumbles across a faerie feast within one of the "hollow hills" of the British landscape and steals a cup from those magical feasters within the tumulus. The cup he steals is described as being very mysterious "of unknown material, unusual color, and strange shape." After this, the cup gets passed around from ruler to ruler in a successive pattern of gifting—to King Henry, to David King of Scots, to King Henry II. What is important about this, Cohen argues, is that "through theft, the cup of unknown material becomes divorced from its history, becomes an object existing for an uncomprehending present," p. 2. We feel that the Questing Beast in Malory functions much the same way—"stolen" from his sources and disconnected from explanatory material, it takes on potentially new functions and meanings that would otherwise be unavailable to it.
  13. Batt, "Malory's Questing Beast," p. 152.
  14. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 3–25.
  15. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
  16. See Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community*, esp. Chapter Four: "Gender, Kinship, and Community, The Quest for the Holy Grail."
  17. On the need for Arthur to stay home and absent himself from battles and quests after he has secured his throne, see in particular Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Shichtman, "No Pain, No Gain: Violence as Symbolic Capital in Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Arthuriana* 8.2 (1998): 3–10.
  18. Dorsey Armstrong, "Postcolonial Palomides: Malory's Saracen Knight and the Unmaking of Arthurian Community," *Exemplaria* 18.1 (2006): 175–203.
  19. Peter Goodrich, "Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 10–28; at 17–18.
  20. See *La Suite du Roman de Merlin*. 2 vols, ed. Gilles Roussineau (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996).



21. Trans. Martha Asher, in *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, 5 vols., ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York: Garland, 1993–96), IV.167.
22. Vinaver, *Works*, p. 1297. Vinaver also notes here that there is no mention in Malory's source that Morgause is a spy.
23. See *Ibid.*, p. 1660.
24. On the date, see Norman Davis, *The Paston Letters, Part I* (letter 319 to John Paston, November 1, 1462). See also the entries for Alnwick and Bamburgh castles in *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses*, ed. John A. Wagner (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford, UK: ABC-CLIO, 2001).
25. For a full discussion of Malory's participation in the Wars of the Roses, see P. J. C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993) and Christina Hardyment, *Malory: The Knight Who Became King Arthur's Chronicler* (New York: Harper, 2006).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackerman, Robert. *An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English*. New York: AMS Press, 1967.
- Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Allmand, C. T. *Henry V*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- . *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300–c. 1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- . *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415–1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised edition. London: Verso, 2006.
- Anderson, Michael. “‘The honour of bothe courtes be nat lyke’: Cornish Resistance to Arthurian Dominance in Malory.” *Arthuriana* 19.2 (2009): 42–57.
- Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Armstrong, Dorsey. *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory’s Morte d’Arthur*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.
- . “The (Non-) Christian Knight in Malory: A Contradiction in Terms?” *Arthuriana* 16.2 (2006): 30–34.
- . “Postcolonial Palomides: Malory’s Saracen Knight and the Unmaking of Arthurian Community.” *Exemplaria* 18.1 (2006): 175–203.
- . “Rewriting the Chronicle Tradition: the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Arthur’s Sword of Peace.” *Parergon* 25.1 (2008): 81–101.
- Ascham, Roger. *The Scholemaster*. London: John Daye, 1579. Reproduced by Early English Books Online.
- “Awntyrs off Arthur.” In *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*. Ed. Thomas Hahn. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995.
- Babington, Churchill and J. A. Lumby, eds. *Polychronicon*. 9 vols. Rolls Series, London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1865–86.
- “Back From the Dead. Cornish: The Travails of Britain’s Latest Revived Language.” *The Economist*. October 18, 2007: 77.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. “Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics.” In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by*

- M. M. Bakhtin. Ed and trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Barrell, A. D. M. *Medieval Scotland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Batt, Catherine. *Malory's Morte Darthur: Remaking Arthurian Tradition*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- . "Malory's Questing Beast and the Implications of Author as Translator." In *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Roger Ellis et al. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989. Pp. 142–66.
- Beal, Jane. "Mapping Identity in John Trevisa's English *Polychronicon*: Chester, Cornwall, and the Translation of English National History." In *Fourteenth Century England III*. Ed. W. M. Ormrod. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2004. Pp. 67–82.
- Bedwell, Laura K. "The Failure of Justice, the Failure of Arthur." *Arthuriana* 21.3 (2011): 3–22.
- Bellenden, John. *The Chronicles of Scotland, Compiled by Hector Boece, Translated in Scots by John Bellenden, 1531*. 2 vols. Ed. R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1938.
- Benson, C. David. "The Ending of the *Morte Darthur*." In *A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996. Pp. 221–38.
- Benson, Larry. *Malory's Morte Darthur*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Bhaba, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London, Routledge, 1994.
- Blanton, Virginia. "'... the quene in Amysbery, a nunne in whyght clothys and blak...': Guinevere's Asceticism and Penance in Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*." *Arthuriana* 20.1 (2010): 52–75.
- Boece, Hector. *The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland*. 2 vols. Ed. George Watson. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1946.
- Boutle, Francis. <http://www.francisboutle.co.uk/>. Accessed December 6, 2010.
- Bowen, Ivor. *The Statutes of Wales*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.
- Boyer, Marjorie Nice. "A Day's Journey in Medieval France." In *Internal Colonization in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Felipe Fernández-Armesto and James Muldoon. Farnham: Ashgate, 2008. 213–24.
- Brennan, Thomas. *Burgundy to Champagne: The Wine Trade in Early Modern France*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Brewer, Derek. "Malory: The Traditional Writer and the Archaic Mind," *Arthurian Literature* 1 (1981): 94–120.
- Brie, Friedrich W. D., ed. *The Brut, or, The Chronicles of England*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, for the Early English Text Society, 1906.
- Brown, Michael. *The Black Douglases: War and Leadership in Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004.
- Bruce, Alexander M. "The Questing Beast in Malory's *Morte Darthur*." *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 19–20 (1997): 133–42.
- Bruse, Christopher W. *The Arthurian Name Dictionary*. New York: Garland, 1999.

- Busby, Keith. "Gawain." In *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. Ed. Norris J. Lacy et al. New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1986.
- Butterfield, Ardis. *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Byrne, F. J. "The Trembling Sod: Ireland in 1169." In *Medieval Ireland, 1169–1534*. Ed. A Cosgrove. *A New History of Ireland*. Vol. 2. Oxford, 1987. Quoted in R. Andrew McDonald. *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336*. East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997.
- Campbell, J. "England, Scotland, and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century." In *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*. Ed. J. R. Hale et al. London: Faber and Faber, 1965. Pp. 184–216.
- Carpenter, Christine. *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c.1437–1509*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Carr, A. D. *Medieval Wales*. New York: St. Martin's Press and Houndsmills, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1995.
- Carus-Wilson, E. M. "The Effects of the Acquisition and of the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 21 (1947): 145–54.
- Caxton, William. *Caxton's Malory*. 2 vols. Ed. James Spisak and William Matthews. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- . *Caxton's Own Prose*. Ed. N. F. Blake. London: HarperCollins, 1973.
- . *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*. Ed. W. J. B. Crotch. New York: Burt Franklin, 1928; reprinted 1971.
- Cherewatuk, Karen. *Marriage, Adultery, and Inheritance in Malory's Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006.
- Chism, Christine. *Alliterative Revivals*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Cocks, C[harles]. *Bordeaux: Its Wines and Claret Country*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846.
- Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, ed. *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*. New York: Palgrave, 2008.
- . *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middle*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- . "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)." In *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*. Ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. 3–25.
- , ed. *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.
- Cooper, Helen. "The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones." In *A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996. Pp. 183–201.
- . *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Coss, Peter. *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000–1400*. Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1996.
- Crawford, Barbara E. "William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and His Family: A Study in the Politics of Survival." In *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*. Ed. K. J. Stringer. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1985. Pp. 232–53.

- Curtis, Renée L. "The Problems of the Authorship of the Prose *Tristan*." *Romania* 79 (1958): 314–38.
- . "Who Wrote the Prose *Tristan*? A New Look at an Old Problem." *Neophilologus* 67.1 (1983): 35–41.
- Davies, John. *A History of Wales*. Rev. ed. New York and London: Penguin, 2007.
- Davies, R. R. *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063–1415*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- . *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Davis, Alex. *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003.
- de Weever, Jacqueline. "Introduction," *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 4–9.
- DeMarco, Patricia. "An Arthur for the Ricardian Age: Crown, Nobility, and the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*." *Speculum* 80.2 (2005): 464–93.
- Dee, John. *The Limits of the British Empire*. Ed. Ken MacMillan with Jennifer Abeles. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004.
- Dillon, Bert. "A Dictionary of Names and Places." In *Caxton's Malory*. 2 vols. Ed. James W. Spisak and William Matthews. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Vol. 2, pp. 811–47.
- Duffy, Seán. *Ireland in the Middle Ages*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Eadie, J. "The Alliterative *Morte Arthure*: Structure and Meaning." *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 63.1 (1982): 1–12.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. "The Place of Women in the *Morte Darthur*." In *A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996. Pp. 37–54.
- Elliott, J. H. "A Europe of Composite Monarchies." *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48–71.
- Evans, H. T. *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*. Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995; originally printed at Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. London: Grove Press, 1968.
- Field, P. J. C. "Caxton's Roman War." In *Malory: Texts and Sources*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998. Pp. 126–61.
- . "The Empire of Lucius Iberius." In *Malory: Texts and Sources*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998. Pp. 162–86.
- . "Fifteenth-Century History in Malory's *Morte Darthur*." In *Malory, Texts, and Sources*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998. 47–71.
- . *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993.
- . *Malory: Texts and Sources*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998.
- . "Note to the Third Edition." *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. 3 vols., 3rd edn. Ed. Eugène Vinaver. Rev. P. J. C. Field. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. Pp. 1747–68.

- . “Sir Robert Malory, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (1432–1439/40).” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28.3 (1977): 249–64.
- Finke, Laurie and Martin Shichtman. *King Arthur and the Myth of History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.
- . “No Pain, No Gain: Violence as Symbolic Capital in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*.” *Arthuriana* 8.2 (1998): 3–10.
- Frakes, Jerold C., ed. *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Fowler, David C. *The Life and Times of John of Trevisa, Medieval Scholar*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.
- Frame, Robin. “Kingdoms and Dominions at Peace and War.” In *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Ed. Ralph Griffiths. The Short Oxford History of the British Isles. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. 149–80.
- Francis, Christina. “Reading Malory’s Bloody Bedrooms.” *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2011): 1–20.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Ed. Michael D. Reeve. Trans. Neil Wright. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007.
- George, Ken. “How Many People Spoke Cornish Traditionally?” *Cornish Studies* 14 (1986): 67–70.
- Gerald of Wales. *The History and Topography of Ireland*. Trans. John J. O’Meara. New York: Penguin, 1951.
- Göller, Karl Heinz. “King Arthur in the Scottish Chronicles.” Trans. Edward Donald Kennedy. In *King Arthur: A Casebook*. Ed. Edward Donald Kennedy. New York and London: Garland, 1996. Pp. 173–84.
- . “Reality versus Romance: A Reassessment of the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*.” In *The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Reassessment of the Poem*. Ed. Karl Heinz Göller. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1981. Pp. 15–29.
- Goodman, Anthony. “The British Isles Imagined.” In *Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages*. Ed. Linda Clark. *The Fifteenth Century VI*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006. Pp. 1–14.
- . *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society, 1452–97*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Goodrich, Peter H. “Saracens and Islamic Alterity in Malory.” *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 10–28.
- Gorski, Richard. “Roles of the Sea: Views from the Shore.” In *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England*. Ed. Richard Gorski. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012. Pp. 1–24.
- Griffiths, Ralph. “Crossing the Frontiers of the English Realm in the Fifteenth Century.” In *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Huw Pryce and John Watts. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. 211–25.
- . “The Crown and the Royal Family in Later Medieval England.” In *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*. London and Rio Grande: The Hambleton Press, 1991. Pp. 1–10.
- . “The English Realm and Dominions and the King’s Subjects in the Later Middle Ages.” In *Aspects of Late Medieval Government and Society: Essays*

- Presented to J. R Landers*. Ed. J. G. Rowe. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986. Pp. 83–105.
- . “The Provinces and the Dominions in the Age of the Wars of the Roses.” In *Estrangement, Enterprise and Education in Fifteenth-Century England*. Ed. Sharon Michalove and A. Compton Reeves. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998. Pp. 1–15.
- . *The Reign of King Henry VI*. 2nd ed. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998.
- . “Wales and the Marches in the Fifteenth Century.” In *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*. London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1991. Pp. 55–81.
- Grimm, Kevin T. “The Love and Envy of Sir Palomides.” *Arthuriana* 11.2 (2001): 65–74.
- Grummitt, David. “One of the Mooste Pryncipall Treasours Belongyng to This Realme of Englande’: Calais and the Crown, c.1450–1558.” In *The English Experience in France c. 1450–1558: War, Diplomacy, and Cultural Exchange*. Ed. David Grummitt. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002. Pp. 46–62.
- Halliday, F. E. *A History of Cornwall: The Essential Guide to Cornwall Past and Present*. Kelly Bray: House of Stratus, 2009.
- Hamel, Mary, ed. *Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition*. New York: Garland, 1984.
- Hanna, Ralph, III. *London Literature, 1300–1380*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- . “Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage.” *Speculum* 64.4 (1989): 878–916.
- Hanna, Ralph III and Thorlac Turville-Petre. “The Text of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*.” In *The Thornton Manuscript*. Ed. Michael Johnston and Susanna Fein. York: York Medieval Press, forthcoming.
- Hardyment, Christina. *Malory: The Knight Who Became King Arthur’s Chronicler*. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.
- Hardyng, John. *The Chronicle of j. h., Containing an Account of Public Transactions from the Earliest Period of English History to the Beginning of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth. With the Continuation by r. Grafton, to King Henry the Eighth*. Ed. Henry Ellis. London: G. Woodfall, 1812; reprinted London: British Library, Historical Print Editions, 2011.
- Harris, Robin. *Valois Guyenne: A Study of Politics, Government and Society in Late Medieval France*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, New York: Boydell, 1994.
- Heng, Geraldine. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Henken, Elissa R. *National Redeemer: Owain Glyndŵr in Welsh Tradition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Hicks, Michael. *The Wars of the Roses: 1455–1485*. London: Osprey Publishing, 2003.
- Hill, Sarah. “Recovering Malory’s Guenevere.” *Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest* 1 (1991): 131–48.
- Hodges, Kenneth. *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory’s Le Morte Darthur*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.

- . “Why Malory’s Lancelot Is Not French.” *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 556–71.
- Hoffman, Donald L. “Assimilating Saracens: The Aliens in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*.” *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 43–64.
- . “Perceval’s Sister: Malory’s ‘Rejected’ Masculinities.” *Arthuriana* 6.4 (1996): 72–83.
- Holbrook, Sue Ellen. “Guenevere: the Abbess of Amesbury and the Mark of Reparation.” *Arthuriana* 20.1 (2010): 25–51.
- Holichuk, Lindsay E. “Malory’s Gwenevere: After Long Silence.” *Annuaire Mediaevale* 22 (1982): 112–26.
- Howe, John and Michael Wolfe, ed. *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*. Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2002.
- Ingham, Patricia. *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- J. C. “NB” *Times Literary Supplement*. [http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts\\_and\\_entertainment/the\\_tls/Subscriber\\_Archive/Other\\_Categories\\_Archive/article7169297.ece](http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/arts_and_entertainment/the_tls/Subscriber_Archive/Other_Categories_Archive/article7169297.ece), November 26, 2010; Accessed December 6, 2010.
- James, Margery Kirkbride. *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*. Ed. Elspeth Veale. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- John of Fordun. *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*. In *The Historians of Scotland*. 10 vols. Ed. William F. Skene. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871.
- Kaufman, Amy. “Between Women: Desire and Its Object in Malory’s ‘Alexander the Orphan.’” *Parergon* 24.1 (2007): 137–54.
- . “Guenevere Burning.” *Arthuriana* 20.1 (2010): 76–94.
- Keiser, George R. “Edward III and the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*.” *Speculum* 48 (1973): 37–51.
- Kelly, Robert. “Malory’s Argument against War with France: The Political Geography of France and the Anglo–French Alliance in the *Morte Darthur*.” In *The Social and Literary Contexts of Malory’s Morte Darthur*. Ed. D. Thomas Hanks, Jr. and Jessica Brogdon. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000. Pp. 111–33.
- . “Malory’s ‘Tale of King Arthur’ and the Political Geography of Fifteenth-Century England.” In *Reviewing Le Morte Darthur*. Ed. K. S. Whetter and Raluca Radulescu. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005. Pp. 79–93.
- Kennedy, Beverly. *Knighthood in the Morte Darthur*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992.
- Kennedy, Edward Donald. “Malory’s Guenevere: ‘A Woman Who Had Grown a Soul.’” *Arthuriana* 9.2 (1995): 37–45.
- . “Malory’s *Morte Darthur*: A Politically Neutral English Adaptation of the Arthurian Story.” *Arthurian Literature* 20 (2003): 145–69.
- Kim, Hyonjin. *The Knight without the Sword: A Social Landscape of Malorian Chivalry*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000.
- King, Andy. “Best of Enemies: Were the Fourteenth-Century Anglo-Scottish Marches a ‘Frontier-Society’?” In *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*. Ed. Andy King and Michael A. Penman. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007. Pp. 116–35.



- Kingston, Simon. *Ulster and the Isles in the Fifteenth Century: The Lordship of the Glann Domhnaill of Antrim*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Kleineke, Hannes. "Why the West was Wild: Law and Disorder in Fifteenth-Century Cornwall and Devon." In *The Fifteenth Century III: Authority and Subversion*. Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2003. Pp. 75–94.
- Krishna, Valerie, ed. *The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1976.
- Lacy, Norris J. ed. *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995.
- Lachiver, Marcel. *Vins, vignes et vigneron: Histoire du vignoble francais*. Paris: Fayard, 1988.
- Lagorio, Valerie. "The Evolving Legend of St. Joseph of Glastonbury." *Speculum* 46.2 (1971): 209–31.
- Larrington, Carolyne. *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.
- Lavezzo, Kathy. *Angels on the Edge of the World*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- , ed. *Imagining a Medieval English Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- . "The Sea and Border Crossings in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*." In *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*. Ed. Sebastian I. Sobecski. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011. Pp. 113–32.
- Le Guin, Ursula. "Walking in Cornwall: A Poem for the Solstice." Composed 1976. Reprinted in *Walking in Cornwall*. Maidstone, Kent: Crescent Moon Publishing, 2008.
- Leitch, Megan G. "Speaking (of) Treason in Malory's *Morte Darthur*." *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2010): 103–34.
- Lexton, Ruth. "Kingship in Malory's *Morte Darthur*." *JEGP* 110.2 (2011): 173–201.
- Liber Pluscardensis*. In *The Historians of Scotland*. Vol. Vii. Ed. Felix Skene. Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1877. Translated as *The Book of Pluscarden*. In *The Historians of Scotland*. Vol. X. Ed. and trans. Felix Skene. Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1880.
- Loomis, Louise Ropes, trans. *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*. Ed. and annotated by John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Lumiansky, R. M., ed. *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of Le Morte Darthur*. New York: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964.
- Luttrell, Claude. "Arthurian Geography: The Islands of the Sea." *Neophilologus* 83 (1999): 187–96.
- Lynch, Andrew. *Malory's Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997.
- Macdonald, Alastair J. "John Hardyng, Northumbrian Identity and the Scots." In *Northeast England in the Later Middle Ages*. Ed. Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnell. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005. Pp. 29–42.

- Mahoney, Dhira. "Malory's 'Great Guns' Revisited." *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society* 44 (1992): 236–40.
- Malory, Sir Thomas. *Caxton's Malory*. 2 vols. Ed. James W. Spisak and William Matthews. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- . *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. 3 vols. 3rd edn. Ed. Eugene Vinaver, rev. P. J. C. Field. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Mapstone, Sally. "Malory and the Scots." *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2011): 107–20.
- Matthews, William. *The III-Framed Knight: A Skeptical Inquiry into the Identity of Sir Thomas Malory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- . "Where Was Siesia-Sessyone?" *Speculum* 49.4 (1974): 680–86.
- McCarthy, Terence. *Reading the Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988.
- McClune, Kate. "Malory, the Orkneys, and the Sinclairs." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 54 (2010): 165–84.
- . "The Vengeance of My Brethirne: Blood Ties in Malory's *Morte Darthur*." *Arthurian Literature* 27 (2011): 89–106.
- McDonald, R. Andrew. *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100-c.1336*. East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997.
- McShane, Kara L. "Questing Beast." <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/Camelot/qbmenu.htm>. Accessed June 30, 2013.
- Merlin. Trans. Rupert T. Pickens. In *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*. 5 vols. Gen. ed. Norris J. Lacy. New York, 1993–1996.
- Micha, Alexandre, ed. *Lancelot : roman en prose du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 9 vols. Genève: Droz, 1978–83.
- Middle English Dictionary*. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/m/med/>. Accessed March 15, 2011.
- Moll, Richard J. *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Later Medieval England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Mongan, Olga Burakov. "Between Knights: Triangular Desire and Sir Palomides in Sir Thomas Malory's *The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones*." *Arthuriana* 12.4 (2002): 75–90.
- Moore, David W. *The Other British Isles: A History of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, Isle of Man, Anglesey, Scilly, Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands*. London: McFarland & Co, 2005.
- Moorman, Charles. *The Book of Kyng Arthur: The Unity of Malory's Morte Darthur*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- Moretti, Franco. *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*. London and New York: Verso, 2005.
- Morte Arthure*. In *King Arthur's Death*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. Rev. Edward E. Foster. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994.
- Muir, Lynette R. "The Questing Beast: Its Origin and Development." *Orpheus* 4 (1957): 24–32.
- Mundy, John Hine. "The Conciliar Movement and the Council of Constance." In *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*. Trans. Louise

- Ropes Loomis. Ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody. New York: Columbia, 1961. Pp. 3–51.
- Newstead, Helaine. “The Origin and Growth of the Tristan Legend.” In *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Roger Sherman Loomis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. 122–33.
- Nickel, Helmut. “What Kind of Animal Was the Questing Beast?” *Arthuriana* 14.2 (2004): 66–69.
- Nitze, William A. “The Beste Glatissante in Arthurian Romance.” *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 56 (1936): 409–18.
- Norris, Ralph. *Malory's Library: The Sources of the Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008.
- O'Malley, Gregory. *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460–1565*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005.
- Otway-Ruthven, A. J. *A History of Medieval Ireland*. 2nd edn. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.
- Parry, Joseph D. “Following Malory Out of Arthur's World.” *Modern Philology* 95.2 (1997): 147–69.
- Passaro, Jonathan. “Malory's Text of the *Suite du Merlin*.” *Arthurian Literature* 26 (2009): 39–75.
- Patterson, Lee. *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Pauphilet, Albert, ed. *La Queste del Saint Graal: Roman du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1923.
- Payton, Philip. *Cornwall: A History*. Fowey, Cornwall: Reverie Publications, 2004.
- Pearsall, Derek. “The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth Century.” In *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*. Ed. Helen Coons. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001. Pp. 15–27.
- Pochoda, Elizabeth. *Arthurian Propaganda: Le Morte Darthur as an Historical Ideal of Life*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971.
- Prieto, Eric. “Geocriticism, Geopoetics, Geophilosophy, and Beyond.” In *Geocritical Explorations: Space, Place, and Mapping in Literary and Cultural Studies*. Ed. Robert. T. Tally, Jr. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011. Pp. 13–28.
- Purdie, Rhiannon and Nicola Royan. “Introduction: Tartan Arthur?” In *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*. Ed. Rhiannon Purdie and Nicola Royan. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005. Pp. 1–8.
- Radulescu, Raluca. *The Gentry Context for Malory's Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003.
- Reynolds, Susan. *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Riddy, Felicity. “Contextualizing *Le Morte Darthur*: Empire and Civil War.” In *A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1996. Pp. 55–73.
- Roberts, John L. *Lost Kingdoms: Celtic Scotland and the Middle Ages*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.

- Robeson, Lisa. "Noble Knights and 'Mischievous War': The Rhetoric of War in Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*." *Arthuriana* 13.3 (2003): 10–35.
- . "Women's Worship: Female Versions of Chivalric Honour." In *Re-Viewing Le Morte Darthur*. Ed. K. S. Whetter and Raluca L. Radulescu. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005. Pp. 107–118.
- Robson, Margaret. "Local Hero: Gawain and the Politics of Arthurianism." *Arthurian Literature* 23 (2006): 81–94.
- Roland, Meg. "Arthur and the Turks." *Arthuriana* 16.4 (2006): 29–42.
- . "The Rudderless Boat: Fluid Time and Passionate Geography in (Hardyng's) Chronicle and (Malory's) Romance." *Arthuriana* 22.4 (2012): 77–93.
- Ross, Charles. *The Custom of the Castle: From Malory to Macbeth*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- . "Rumour, Propaganda, and Popular Opinion During the Wars of the Roses." In *Patronage, the Crown, and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*. Ed. Ralph A. Griffiths. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1981. Pp. 15–32.
- Rouse, Robert Allen and Cory James Rushton. "Arthurian Geography." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend*. Ed. Elizabeth Archibald and Ad Putter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. 218–34.
- Roussineau, Gilles, ed. *La Suite du Roman de Merlin*. 2 vols. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996.
- Ruddick, Andrea. "National and Political Identity in Anglo-Scottish Relations, c.1286–1377: A Governmental Perspective." In *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*. Ed. Andy King and Michael A. Penman. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2007. Pp. 196–215.
- Rushton, Cory James. "Malory's Divided Wales." In *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*. Ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones. New York: Palgrave, 2008. Pp. 175–90.
- . "'Of an uncouth stede': The Scottish Knight in Middle English Arthurian Romance." In *The Scots and Medieval Arthurian Legend*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2005. Pp. 109–19.
- Rumble, Thomas C. "'The Tale of Tristram': Development by Analogy." In *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of 'Le Morte Darthur'*. Ed. R. M. Lumiansky. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964. Pp. 118–83.
- Sadler, John. *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296–1568*. London and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- Sarnowky, Jürgen. "Der Konvent auf Rhodos und die Zungen (*lingue*) im Johanniterorden (1421–1476)." In *Ritterorden und Region: politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*. Ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995. Pp. 43–65.
- Shichtman, Martin. "Malory's Gawain Reconsidered." *Essays in Literature* 11.2 (1984): 159–76.
- . "Percival's Sister: Genealogy, Virginity, and Blood." *Arthuriana* 9.2 (1992): 11–20.
- . "Sir Gawain in Scotland: A Hometown Boy Made Good." In *King Arthur through the Ages*, 2 vols. Ed. Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake Day. New York and London: Garland, 1990. 1: 234–47.

- Simon, Andre. *The History of the Wine Trade in England*. 3 vols. London: Wyman & Sons, 1907.
- Smith, Neil. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.
- Sobiecki, Sebastian I. *The Sea and Medieval English Literature*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008.
- Sommer, Oskar, H., ed. *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*. 7 vols. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908–16.
- Soulsby, Ian. *A History of Cornwall*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co, 1986.
- Spivak, Gayatri. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. Ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. London: Routledge, 1995. Pp. 24–28.
- Stewart, George R., Jr. “English Geography in Malory’s ‘Morte D’Arthur.’” *Modern Language Review* 30.2 (1935): 204–9.
- Thomas, Graham and Nicholas Williams, eds. *Bewnans Ke/The Life of St. Kea: A Critical Edition with Translation*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007.
- Thomson, William P. L. *A New History of Orkney*. 2nd edn. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2001.
- Thornton, Ginger and Krista May. “Malory as Feminist? The Role of Percival’s Sister in the Grail Quest.” In *Sir Thomas Malory: Views and Re-Views*. Ed. D. Thomas Hanks, Jr. New York: AMS, 1992. Pp. 43–53.
- Tolan, John Victor, ed. *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- . *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Turner, Sam, ed. *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: Shaping An Ancient Countryside*. London: Windgather Press, 2006.
- Turville-Petre, Thorlac. *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Twain, Mark. *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*. Ed. Allison R. Ensor. New York: W. W. Norton, 1982.
- Vale, Juliet. “Law and Diplomacy in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*.” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 23 (1979): 31–46.
- Vale, Malcolm. *English Gascony, 1399–1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics during the Later Stages of the Hundred Years’ War*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- . “Seigneurial Fortification and Private War in Later Medieval Gascony.” In *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*. Ed. Michael Jones. New York: Saint Martin’s, and Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986. Pp. 133–58.
- Vinaver, Eugène. “Commentary.” In *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. 3 vols. 3rd edn. Ed. Eugène Vinaver. Rev. P. J. C. Field. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. Pp. 1263–701.
- . “Introduction.” In *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. 3 vols. 3rd edn. Ed. Eugène Vinaver. Rev. P. J. C. Field. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. vi–cxlii.
- . “The Prose *Tristan*.” In *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Roger Sherman Loomis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. 339–47.

- Wagner, John A., ed. *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses*. Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford, UK: ABC-CLIO, 2001.
- Wallace, David. *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
- Wallace, James. *A Description of the Isles of Orkney*. Ed. John Small. Edinburgh: John Brown, 1883.
- Warner, Sir George, ed. *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycy: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.
- Warren, Michelle. *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100–1300*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Watts, John. *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Westphal, Bertrand. *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces*. Trans. Robert T. Tally, Jr. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.
- Wheeler, Bonnie, Robert L. Kindrick, and Michael Salda, eds. *The Malory Debate: Essays on the Texts of Le Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000.
- Wheeler, Bonnie. "Grief in Avalon: Sir Palomydes' Psychic Pain." In *Grief and Gender: 700–1700*. Ed. Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. 65–77.
- . "Romance and Parataxis and Malory: The Case of Gawain's Reputation." *Arthurian Literature* 12 (1993): 109–32.
- Whetter, K. S. "Characterization in Malory and Bonnie." *Arthuriana* 19.3 (2009): 123–35.
- . *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance*. Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*. 2 vols. Ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Williams, Glanmor. *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c.1415–1642*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Williams, N. J. A. *Cornish Today: An Examination of the Revived Language*. Sutton Coldfield: Everttype, 1995.
- Williams, Ronald. *The Lords of the Isles: The Clan Donald and the Early Kingdom of the Scots*. London: Chatto & Windus, The Hogarth Press, 1984.
- Woodard, Ben. *On an Ungrounded Earth: Towards a New Geophilosophy*. New York: Punctum Books, 2013.
- Yeager, Patricia. "Editor's Column: Sea Trash, Dark Pools, and the Tragedy of the Commons." *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 523–45.
- Young, Robert J. C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

## INDEX

Entries are alphabetical; the ones in **bold** are maps. Critics are included in the index if they are cited in the text but not if they appear only in the notes. Minor mentions are omitted.

- Abel, 69  
Accolon, 3, 89, 139  
Acheflour, 48  
Ackerman, Robert, 151  
Adam, 69  
Aeneas, 105  
Aethelstan, King of England, 178n20  
Africa, 95, 97, 117  
Agglovale, 47  
    *see also* Pellinore, house of  
Aggravain, 23, 46, 47, 49, 58, 65–6,  
    75, 94  
    *see also* Lot, house of  
Agincourt, Battle of, 34  
Alardyne of the Oute Iles, 88–9  
Albina, 106  
Albion, 106, 110  
    *see also* Britain  
Alexander, Lord of the Isles, 57  
Alfred of Beverly, 34  
aliens, 145  
Alliterative *Morte Arthure*. *See* *Morte Arthure*, Alliterative  
Alnwick, 81, 84, 123, 149, 167, 170,  
    201n50  
    *see also* Joyous Gard  
Alysaundir the Orphan, 63, 75  
Anderson, Benedict, 11, 13, 24, 98,  
    137, 141–2, 144  
Anderson, Michael, 30, 39  
Anglo-Irish, 8, 57  
Angwysshauunce, King of Scotland,  
    75, 76, 147  
Angwysshe, King of Ireland, 5, 9, 111  
Anjou, 152  
Anna, 74, 185n3  
Antrim, 57  
apostles, 142–3  
Aquitaine, 16, 52, 136  
    *see also* Guyenne, Gascony  
Arabia, 117  
Aragon, 142  
Ardtornish, Treaty of, 57  
Argyll, 88, 95  
Arimathea, 110  
Armstrong, Dorsey, 22, 94, 126, 167  
Arnolde, 90  
Arthur, King, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 19,  
    21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29–31, 36–7,  
    38, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 58,  
    60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 73,  
    75, 81–4, 87–9, 92, 93, 94–6,  
    97–9, 102, 103–5, 108, 111, 114,  
    115, 116–19, 120–2, 125–6, 128,  
    129, 130, 139, 140, 146–7, 148,  
    149–50, 153, 157–8, 161, 165,  
    167, 168, 171–2, 188n37,  
    190n66, 191n3  
Ascham, Roger, 45–6, 47, 49, 70  
Ascolat (Guildford), 2, 4, 112, 113,  
    123, 193n26  
Asia, 97

- Astolat. *See* Ascolat  
 Atlantic, 6, 7, 77  
 Aunowre, 52, 62, 63  
 Austria, 95  
 Auvergne, 142  
 Avalon, 68  
 Avignon, 53, 54  
*Awntyrs off Arthure*, 67, 187n22  
  
 Babylon, 106, 124, 125  
 Baffin Island. *See* Estotiland  
 Bagdemagu, 108  
 Bagdemagus, King of Gorre, 62, 89, 119  
 Bakhtin, Mikhail, 2  
 Baldwin of Britain, 116  
 Balin, 82, 92, 144  
 Bambaugh, 81, 84, 123, 149, 167, 170, 201  
     *see also* Joyous Gard  
 Ban, King of Benwick, 23, 56, 82, 94, 139, 147, 152, 168  
 Barfleur, 3, 194n34  
 Barthes, Roland, 161–2, 163  
 Batt, Catherine, 163  
 Bayonne, 136, 151  
     *see also* Benwick  
 Beal, Jane, 35  
 Béarn, 151  
 Beaune, 151  
 Beawme. *See* Bommies  
 Bede, 27, 82  
 Bedevere, 128  
 Bellenden, John, 74, 78  
 Bellyaunce's brother, 65  
 Benedict XII, Pope, 136–7  
 Benwick, 98, 136, 150, 151, 152  
 Béroul, 31  
 Berwick, 187n31  
 beste glattissant. *See* Questing Beast  
 Bewmaynes. *See* Gareth  
*Bewnans Ke*, 35–8  
*Bewnans Meriasek*, 35  
 Black Dinner, 79  
 Blamour de Ganys, 9  
 Bleoberis, 9  
  
 boats, 5, 8, 15, 69–70, 112–13, 124, 157, 169  
     rudderless, 3–4, 5, 69–70, 101, 106, 109, 122–3  
     Ship of Faith, 110  
 Boece, Hector, 74, 78, 185n3  
 Bommies, 136, 151  
     *see also* Benwick  
 Bordeaux, 136–7, 151  
 borders, 16, 24–7, 31–2, 74–5, 80–1, 84, 94, 97, 136, 144, 147, 149–50, 153, 157, 160, 161, 162, 166, 175n35, 187n31  
 Bors de Ganys, 3, 46, 67, 109–10, 117, 121, 122–3, 125, 139, 143, 144, 148, 152, 166, 202n62  
 Bors, King of Gaul, 23, 56, 94, 139, 168  
 Bosworth Field, Battle of, 50  
 Brabant, 78  
 Brian of the Isles, 90  
 Britain, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10–11, 12, 13, 15, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29–33, 35, 37–8, 49, 51, 62, 74, 84, 86, 90, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106–7, 110, 116, 117–18, 129, 135, 136, 137, 139, 146, 147, 148, 153, 158, 162, 164, 165, 168, 172  
     Britain, northern, 10, 29, 58, 60, 81, 82–4, 94, 104–5, 147, 148, 149, 150, 167, 171 (*see also* Isles, kingdom of, Lothian; Northumberland, Orkney, Scotland)  
     Britain, southern, 94–7, 150  
     Britain, western, 5, 8, 29, 50, 51, 58, 59–60, 63, 64, 94, 105, 147, 148 (*see also* Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, Isles, kingdom of)  
 British Empire, 7, 74  
 British Sea, 6  
 Brittany, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 25, 29, 36, 53, 59, 64, 78, 88, 105, 116, 136, 139, 147, 148, 150–1, 169, 170  
     Duchess of, 119  
 Bruce, Alexander M., 160, 165



- Brussels, 77  
*Brut* chronicles, 82, 106  
 Brutus, 14, 32, 106  
 Burgundy, 136, 138, 139, 151, 187n22  
 Butterfield, Ardis, 135  
 Byrne, F. J., 77
- Cade's rebellion, 87  
 Cadour of Cornwall, 25, 37, 116, 147  
 Caerleon, 52, 56, 75, 90, 97, 114, 167, 168  
 Cain, 69  
 Cairo, 106, 125  
 Calais, 24, 131, 139, 140, 144, 146, 174n23  
 Camelot, 2, 3, 107, 111, 112, 113, 123, 124, 125, 164, 172  
   *see also* Winchester  
 Camlyard, 56  
 Canterbury, 95  
 Carados, King of Scotland, 75–6, 99  
 Cardiff, 52, 62, 97, 151  
 Cardigan, 53  
 Carduel, 168  
 Carew, Richard, 34  
 Carlisle, 94, 97, 114, 201n50  
 Carmarthen, 53  
 Castile, 142  
 Castle Plewre, 145  
 Caxton, William, 24, 103, 130–1, 141–2, 146, 171  
 Celtic Fringe, 8, 25, 27, 57, 96, 170, 179n36  
 Celtic Sea, 6  
 Channel Islands, 145, 146  
 Charles, Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, 181n58  
 Chaucer, 106  
 Cherewatuk, Karen, 47, 93  
 Chertsey, 113  
 Chism, Chris, 119  
 Chrétien de Troyes, 135, 184n38  
 chronotope, 2  
 Claudas, King of France, 56, 117, 139, 143  
 Claudine, 143  
 Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, 26, 97, 163–4  
 Cologne (Köln), 116–17  
 composite monarchies, 12  
 Connaught, 85  
*A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, 1  
 Constance (Konstanz), Council of.  
   *See* Council of Constance  
 Constance. *See* Custance  
 Constantine of Cornwall, King of England, 25, 116, 158  
 Cooper, Helen, 3–4, 5  
 Corbenic, 3  
 Corineus, 14, 32, 34  
 Cornish language, 24–5, 36, 41–3, (as “West Welsh”), 35  
 Cornish rebellion, 28  
 Cornwall, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, **18**, 19–43, 46, 50, 51, 52, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 73, 88, 90, 94, 96, 105, 116–17, 118, 124, 126, 129, 138, 144, 146–7, 148, 149, 154, 157, 158, 160, 169, 170, 172, 178n20, 179n36  
   duke of, historical, 38, 178n20, 180n57; in Malory (*see* Gorlois)  
   king of (*see* Mark)  
   knights of, 39  
 Corsabryne, 127  
 Council of Constance, 54, 85–6, 136–7, 139  
 Cradilment of North Wales, 56  
 Cradock, 172  
 crime, 33, 55  
 Crusades, 105, 130–1  
 Custance, 106
- Dacia, 172  
 Dalhousie manuscript, 79  
 Damascus, 117  
 Danays, king of Greece, 106  
 Dauphiné, 139  
 David, King of Scotland, 204n12  
 David's sword, 68–9  
 Davis, Alex, 46

- dead women's bodies, 2, 3, 4, 15,  
     69–70, 101, 105, 107–13, 123,  
     132, 157  
     *see also* Elaine of Ascolat, Perceval's  
     sister, Pedivere's wife
- Dee, John, 7
- denizenship, letters of, 54
- Denmark, 74, 77, 78, 86, 95, 143
- Diocletian, king of Syria, 106  
     daughters of, 106, 110
- Doldaius, king of Gotland in  
     Geoffrey of Monmouth, 86
- Donald, John, Lord of the Isles, 56
- Douglas family, 57, 75, 79, 83
- Dover, 172, 190n66
- dragon, 63, 118
- Ector, brother of Launcelot,  
     king of Guyenne, 151, 152
- Ector, foster-father of Arthur,  
     144, 168
- Edinburgh, 77
- Edward I, King of England, 52, 73,  
     168
- Edward III, King of England, 178n20,  
     180n57
- Edward IV, King of England, 57, 140,  
     143, 151, 170
- Edward the Black Prince, 178n20,  
     180n57–8
- Edwards, Elizabeth, 71
- Egisto, King of Egypt, 106
- Egypt, 106, 110, 117
- Eilhart von Oberge, 31
- Elaine of Ascolat, 2, 4, 111–13
- Elaine of Corbenic, 139
- Elaine, half-sister of Arthur, 48, 58
- Eleanor of Aquitaine, 16
- Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 7
- Elizabeth II, Queen of England,  
     181n58
- Elizabeth of York, 50
- enchantresses, 61–4  
     *see also* Aunowre, Lady of the Lake,  
     Morgan le Fay, North Wales,  
     queen of
- Eneydos*, 141
- England, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13,  
     16, 20, 21, 24, 25, 29–32, 34–5,  
     36–7, 42, 46, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58,  
     62, 70, 71, 74–5, 77, 79, 81, 83,  
     84–6, 88, 91, 92, 94–9, 103, 104,  
     117, 119, 121, 123, 129, 130, 131,  
     135, 136–55, 157, 158, 160, 162,  
     168, 171, 172, 187n32
- England, king of, historical, 9, 15, 16,  
     36, 87, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145,  
     146, 154  
     *see also* Aethelstan, Edward I, Edward  
     II, Edward III, Edward IV,  
     Elizabeth I, Elizabeth II, Henry  
     I, Henry II, Henry IV, Henry  
     V, Henry VI, Henry VII, Henry  
     VIII, Richard II, Richard III
- English Channel, 6, 8, 118, 121,  
     140, 162
- Epinogrys of Northumberland, 90
- Essex, 95, 153
- Estlonde, 61; queen of, 61
- Estotiland, 7
- Europe (continental), 8, 9, 16, 23, 53,  
     58, 94, 102, 114, 116–17, 118,  
     136, 139, 140, 144, 149
- Eve, 69
- Evelake, 123
- Ewaine, 88, 147
- Excalibur, 128
- Fair Maid of Astolat. *See* Elaine of  
     Ascolat
- Faroe, 77
- feud, 79, 80, 81, 87, 90, 91, 92–4, 118  
     between houses of Lot and  
     Pellinore, 15, 22, 45–6, 51,  
     65–6, 79, 81, 88, 92–4, 129, 149  
     between MacDonaldis and Sinclairs,  
     79, 80
- Field, P. J. C., 2–3, 96, 103
- Fillastre, Guillaume, 54
- Finke, Laurie, 141
- Flanders, 78
- Forest Perilous, 52, 62, 169

- Fowey-Camel line, 24
- France, 2, 10, 12, 16, 23, 24, 28, 29, 50, 53, 54, 70, 78, 85, 94, 105, 119, 120, **134**, 135–55, 160, 170  
king of, in Malory (*see* Claudas)  
*see also* Anjou, Aquitaine, Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, Gaul, Guyenne, Normandy, Picardy, Poitou, Provence
- Friesland, 7, 86
- Frisian Sea, 6
- Froll of the Oute Ilys, 88
- Gaheris, 47, 65–6, 93, 149, 150  
*see also* Lot, house of
- Galahad, 3, 41, 46, 63, 67, 68–9, 103, 109–10, 117, 119, 122–3, 125, 128, 139, 143, 158, 165, 166
- Galahalt the Haute Prynce, 111, 127
- Galway, 85
- Gareth, 47, 48, 58, 90–2, 93, 149, 150  
*see also* Lot, house of
- Garlot, 58
- Gascony, 2, 16, 28, 98, 136, 137, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151–2, 153, 187n31  
*see also* Aquitaine, Guyenne
- Gathelos, 106
- Gaul, 23, 139, 148, 150, 152, 172
- Gauter, 90
- Gawain, 2, 6, 12, 15, 45, 47, 51, 65–6, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80–1, 84, 86–96, 98, 120, 135, 144, 147, 148, 149–50, 153, 164, 172, 187n32, 189n51  
*see also* Lot, house of  
*Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*, 81
- gender, 2, 23–3, 50–2, 59, 61–4, 185n49
- genealogy, 46–7, 70
- genre, 2, 3, 7, 40, 59, 92
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, 7, 8, 14, 32, 55, 76, 80, 82, 84, 86, 95, 106
- geography, 10, 16, 23, 25, 27–9, 39, 52, 71, 97–9, 101–4, 106, 108–9, 111–13, 114, 124, 165–6, 168  
and narrative structure, 1–3, 15, 21, 40, 41, 112–13, 114–21, 161, 172
- Gerald of Wales, 8
- German Sea, 6
- Germany, 54, 85, 95, 96, 116, 136, 142, 172
- Gillamurius, king of the Irish, 8
- Glastonbury, 171
- Glyn Dŵr, Catherine, 49
- Glyn Dŵr, Owain, 8, 49, 52–4, 64, 74
- Godefroy de Boloigne*, 131
- Golagros and Gawain*, 81
- Goodrich, Peter H., 102, 103, 115, 124, 128, 167
- Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall, 19–21, 23, 25, 48
- Gorre, 50, 58, 59, 61, 62, 148
- Gorski, Richard, 6
- Gotland, 7, 78, 86
- Gottfried von Strassbourg, 31
- Gower, 50
- Grail, 3–6, 67, 103, 109–10, 125, 128, 143, 164–5, 182n8  
Quest for, 2, 4, 5, 15, 41, 46, 67–70, 108, 122–5, 137, 143, 157, 163, 164, 166, 171  
*see also* *Queste del Saint Graal*
- Grandisson, John de, Bishop of Exeter, 35
- Great Sea, 6
- Greenland, 7, 77, 86
- Grey, Reynold, Third Baron Grey of Ruthin, 52
- Griffiths, Ralph A., 87, 140, 144
- Grummitt, David, 146
- Grummor of Scotland, 90
- Grummorson of Scotland, 90
- Gryfflet, 103–4
- Guenevere, 15, 36, 39, 45–6, 49, 50, 51, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63–4, 66, 67–71, 75, 88, 96, 97, 102, 107, 108, 115, 121, 127, 137, 149–50, 158, 179n36, 190n66, 191n3
- Guenevere's mother, 67

- Guenevere's sister, 2, 14–15, 46, 47–9,  
51, 61, 67, 68, 70–1
- Guildford. *See* Ascolat
- Gunuasius, king of Orkney in  
Goeffrey of Monmouth, 86
- Guyenne, 12, 51, 61, 99, 136–7,  
138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 146,  
147, 151, 152–3, 154  
*see also* Aquitaine, Gascony
- Haakon IV, King of Norway, 79
- Hanna, Ralph III, 97
- Hardyng, John, 7, 74, 82, 84, 86,  
106, 120
- Harlaw, battle of, 57
- Harmaunce, King of Red City, 87
- Hay, Gilbert, 79
- Hebrides, 6, 14, 46, 61, 77, 78, 79, 88, 99  
*see also* Isles, kingdom of
- Heng, Geraldine, 106, 119
- Henry I, King of England, 84
- Henry II, King of England, 16,  
131, 204n12
- Henry IV, King of England, 49, 57, 83
- Henry V, King of England, 49, 52,  
138, 199n18
- Henry VI, King of England, 50, 75,  
87, 143, 146, 151
- Henry VII, King of England, 50
- Henry VIII, King of England, 71
- Hereford *mappa mundi*, **33**
- Higden, Ranulf, 34
- Historia Regum Britanniae*. *See*  
Geoffrey of Monmouth
- Hodges, Kenneth, 117, 121, 129
- Hoffman, Donald L., 105, 120
- Holland, 78
- holy lands, 15, 130  
*see also* Jerusalem, Levant, Sarras
- horses, 4, 5, 8, 166
- Hospitallers. *See* Knights of Saint  
John of Jerusalem
- Humber, river, 201n50
- Hundred Years' War, 2, 8, 12, 16,  
99, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140,  
141, 143, 152, 154
- Hungary, 144
- hybridity, 31–2, 115, 124, 141, 175n35
- Iceland, 7, 77, 78, 86
- Igraine, 21, 23, 25, 48
- incest, 45, 48, 66, 82, 88, 93, 98, 159,  
168, 184n46
- India, 117
- Ingham, Patricia Clare, 20, 25, 27,  
60, 117, 140, 161
- Ireland, 1, 4–6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 23, 25, 27,  
29, 30, 36, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 59,  
60, 61, 64, 74, 77, 78, 85, 86, 88,  
94, 95, 105, 111, 116, 126, 129,  
143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 152, 154,  
157, 162, 170, 172  
*see also* Angwysse, Gillamurius
- Irish Sea, 6, 57, 162
- Irish, wild, 8
- Isle of Man, 6, 7, 79, 86
- Isle of Servage, 5, 65
- Isles, kingdom of, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14,  
46, 49, 51, 56–8, 61, 76, 77, 78,  
79–80, 81, 83, 88, 90, 98, 99,  
172, 184n38  
*see also* Hebrides
- Isolde of Brittany (Isolde le Blanche  
Maynes), 5, 59
- Isolde of Ireland (Isolde La Beal), 5,  
38, 39, 50, 59, 63–4, 65, 71, 116,  
126, 145, 158, 167, 170, 179n36
- Italy, 54, 85, 119, 142
- James II, King of Scotland, 79
- James IV, King of Scotland, 57
- James, Margery, 151
- Jerusalem, 27, 103, 123–4, 131
- Jesus Christ, 67, 109, 125, 126, 127
- John of Fordun, 74
- John of Trevisa, 27–8, 34
- John, prince of Orkney, 85
- Jonas, 152
- Joseph of Arimathea, 110, 123, 143
- Joyous Gard, 64, 81, 84, 94, 98, 123,  
149–50, 167, 170, 201n50
- juries, 54, 145

- Kalmar Union, 74  
 Kay, 107, 144, 149  
 Kea, Saint, 35–7  
 Kelly, Robert, 147  
 Kellywyk, 37  
 Kennedy, Beverly, 80  
 Kent, 95, 153  
 Kim, Hyonjin, 93  
 King with the Hundred Knights, 111  
 Kingston, Simon, 57  
 kinship, 45–7, 86–8, 89, 90, 94  
 Kleineke, Hannes, 33  
 Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem,  
     142, 143, 174n21  
 Kynke Kenadonne, 90
- La Cote Male Tayle, 75  
 Lady of the Lake, 83  
 Lady of the Lake (Nyneve), 62  
 Lagorio, Valerie, 142–3  
 Lamorak de Galys, 5, 12, 15, 39, 45–9,  
     51, 63, 64–7, 70, 71, 88, 92–3, 94,  
     99, 144, 149, 150, 158, 169–70  
     *see also* Pellinore, house of  
 Lancaster, 52, 138  
 Lancastrians, 9, 27, 34, 55, 96, 140,  
     151, 177n11, 190n63  
*Lancelot*, French prose, 41, 108, 150,  
     157, 160  
 language, 11, 24–5, 35, 36, 42–3, 53,  
     57, 120, 136, 141–2, 172  
 Launcelot du Lake, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12,  
     16, 21, 22–3, 25, 28, 29, 30, 39,  
     46, 49, 50, 52, 58, 61–2, 63, 64,  
     67, 70, 71, 73, 75, 81, 84, 87,  
     90, 91, 92, 94–5, 96, 98, 107–8,  
     112–13, 115–16, 117, 118, 119,  
     121, 125, 127, 130, 135–6, 137,  
     139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 147,  
     149–55, 158, 172, 179n36  
 Launcelot, king of Gaul, grandfather  
     of Sir Launcelot du Lake, 152  
 Lavezzo, Kathy, 27, 114, 117  
 law, 144–5  
 Leodegraunce, King of Camlyard,  
     46, 48, 51, 56, 68, 71, 88
- Levant, 103, 123, 130  
     *see also* holy lands  
*Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, 8, 53  
 Lionel, king of France, 153  
 Littleton, Thomas, 145  
 Logres, 28, 124, 125  
 London, 8, 95, 97–8, 121, 141, 144, 146  
     Tower of, 190n66  
 Lonezep, 148  
 Lorraine, 120, 121, 139  
 Lot, King of Lothian and Orkney,  
     12, 15, 23, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 58,  
     66, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81–2,  
     83–4, 86, 87, 88, 92, 94, 98,  
     168–9, 186n16  
     house of, 2, 6, 12, 22, 41, 45–6,  
     49, 51, 58, 65–6, 70, 71, 79, 80,  
     81, 88, 89, 92–4, 118, 129, 144,  
     147, 149  
 Lothian, 15, 58, 74, 78, 81, 84, 94, 98,  
     169, 178n34  
 Louis XI, king of France, 151–2  
 Low Countries, 138  
 Lucius, Emperor of Rome, 36, 37, 88,  
     103, 104, 115, 116, 119, 139, 147  
 Lyones, 28, 30, 38, 105, 126, 178n34  
 Lyonette, 91  
 Lystenoyse, 148
- MacDonald family, 56–7, 80  
 MacDonald, John, 57, 79, 80  
 Magna Carta, 34  
 maimed king, 123  
 Malagryne, 63  
 Malmesbury, William of.  
     *See* William of Malmesbury  
 Malory, Sir Robert, 142, 174n21  
 Malory, Sir Thomas, 1–4, 6, 7, 8–9,  
     10–12, 13, 14–17, 19–25, 27–32,  
     35–6, 38–43, 45–52, 55–61, 64,  
     66, 71, 73–84, 86–7, 90–1, 94–9,  
     101–32, 135–54, 157, 172  
 as historical figure, 6, 24, 39, 75,  
     79, 96, 142, 170, 174n21, 175n2,  
     177n11, 183n26, 186n8, 192n8,  
     198n3, 202n53, 205n25

- man. *See* Isle of Man  
*Man of Law's Tale*, 106  
 Manuell's daughter, 152  
*mappaemundi*, 27, 32–3  
 maps, 2, 7, 16, 27, 32–3, 119  
 marches, Welsh, 52, 55, 60, 71, 147  
*mare clausam*, 7  
 Margaret of Anjou, Queen of  
   England, 151, 170, 201n50  
 Margaret, Princess of Scotland, 79  
 Marhault or Marhaus, 1, 5, 7, 8, 30–1,  
   89, 144, 157  
 Mark, King of Cornwall, 5, 21, 30–1,  
   38–9, 50, 52, 59, 63, 64, 65, 71,  
   73, 116, 119, 158, 179n36  
 marriage, 15, 23–4, 46–7, 50, 51,  
   54–5, 58–65, 93  
 Mary of Guelders, 79  
 Mary, saint, 69  
 Matthews, William, 151  
 McClune, Kate, 79, 86, 89  
 Meath, 85  
 Mediterranean, 70, 113, 123  
 Meleagaunt, 62  
 Melodias, king of Lyones, 30  
 Merlin, 47, 48, 55, 67, 70, 83,  
   92–3, 103  
   *see also Suite de Merlin*  
 Middle East, 97, 110, 129, 158,  
   160, 162  
   *see also* Babylon, Egypt, holy  
   lands, Sarras  
 Milford Haven, 53  
 Monmouth, Geoffrey of. *See*  
   Geoffrey of Monmouth  
 Mont-Saint Michel, 119  
 Moorman, Charles, 45  
 Mór, Eoin, a.k.a John of the Isles, 57  
 Moray, 76  
 Mordred, 23, 36, 37, 58, 65–6, 74, 75,  
   94–8, 116, 128, 153, 190n66  
 Moretti, Franco, 1, 2, 16  
 Morgan le Fay, 47, 48, 50, 58, 59,  
   61–2, 63–4, 65, 71, 88, 89, 139,  
   161, 203n7  
 Morgause, 22, 23, 45–6, 47, 48, 50,  
   58, 59, 65–6, 70, 73, 82, 83, 88,  
   93, 98, 168–9, 170  
*Mort le Roi Artu*, 95, 111, 113  
*Morte Arthure*, Alliterative, 95, 102,  
   113–14, 115, 116, 119, 157,  
   193n31  
*Morte Arthure*, stanzaic, 113  
 Mortimer family, 49, 53  
 Munster, 85  
 Nabon le Noyre, 65  
 Nacien the hermit, 67  
 nation and nationalism, 7, 10–13, 22,  
   24–5, 29, 52–5, 74–5, 77, 85–6,  
   90, 98–9, 129, 135–49  
 Nennius, 32  
 Nentres, king of Garlot, 48, 58  
 Nero, 51, 60, 71  
 New British History, 10–11,  
   138, 154  
 Nidaros, bishop of, 79  
 Norfolk, 95, 153  
 Normandy, 78, 136, 138, 139, 146,  
   152, 199n18  
 North Sea, 6, 77  
 North Wales, 2, 5, 6, 25, 46, 48,  
   49–52, 55, 56, 60–4, 71, 82, 108,  
   111, 148, 149, 167  
   *see also* Wales  
 North Wales, Queen of, 50, 52, 58,  
   61, 63–4, 65, 71, 88, 94, 99, 108,  
   169, 172  
 Northern Ireland, 42  
 Northern Isles, 2  
 Northumberland, 10, 13, 49, 81,  
   82–3, 90, 96, 105, 106, 111,  
   144, 148, 170  
 Norway, 6, 7, 14, 15, 56, 74,  
   77, 78–81, 84–5, 86, 89,  
   99, 169, 172  
*Nothing Broken: Recent Poetry in*  
*Cornish*, 42–3  
 Nyneve. *See* Lady of the Lake  
   (Nyneve)

- oceans, 3–7, 8, 9, 157, 169, 174n21, 192n6  
*see also* Atlantic, boats, water
- Orkney, 2, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23, 51, 58, 59, **72**, 73–99, 118, 144, 147, 148, 149, 154, 168, 169, 170, 172, 186n16
- earls of, historical, 78–9, 84–5, 187n22 (*see also* Sinclair family, Sinclair, James III, Sinclair, William)  
*see also* Gawain, Lot
- Orkneyinga Saga*, 78
- Out Isles, 61, 88, 147  
 queen of, 61, 88
- the Pale (Irish), 8
- Palomides, 12, 15, 47, 50, 65, 73, 87, 90, 126–30, 144, 145, 152, 159, 167, 170
- papal schism, 53, 54, 85, 143
- Paris, 16, 146, 152
- Paris, Matthew, **26**, 31, 140
- Parliament, English, 50, 54, 55, 87, 95, 145
- Parliament, French, 152
- Parliament, Irish, 9
- Parliament, Scottish, 77
- Parliament, Welsh, 53
- Patterson, Lee, 114
- Paul, earl of Orkney, 84–5
- Payton, Philip, 28
- Pearsall, Derek, 136
- Pedivere, 107–9, 123
- Pedivere's wife, 2, 107–8, 110, 123, 193n22
- Pelleas, 6, 89, 182n8
- Pellinore, King of the Isles, 6, 14–15, 46–9, 51, 56, 58, 60, 61, 66, 70, **71**, 76, 77, 82, 83, 88, 89, 92–3, 99, 119, 128, 129, 166–7, 184n38, 189n51  
 house of, 2, 6, 22, 41, 45–6, 48, 49, 51, 58, 65–6, 70, 77, 79, 80, 81, 88, 92–4, 118, 149, 166
- penal laws, 54–5
- Perceval de Galys, 3, 15, 46, 47, 48, 51, 63, 65, 66–7, 70, 99, 109–10, 125, 143, 144, 166  
*see also* Pellinore, house of
- Perceval's aunt, Queen of the Waste Lands, 23, 67–8, 70
- Perceval's sister, 2, 3, 4, 15, 46, 67, 68–70, 109–10, 112, 122–3, 193n23
- Percy family, 53, 75, 83, 201n50
- Percy, Henry, 57
- Percyvell of Gales*, 48
- Perlesvaus*, 159
- Picardy, 78
- Picts, 76, 78, 95, 179n36
- Pocock, J. G. A., 10
- Poitou, 29
- pole, north, 7
- Polychronicon*, 34
- pope, 53, 85, 107, 108, 120, 150
- Portugal, 142
- postcolonialism, 9–13, 22, 26–7, 31–2, 51, 55, 63, 94, 97, 115, 124
- Post-Vulgate *Suite de Merlin*.  
*See* *Suite de Merlin*
- Premodern Places; Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn. See* Wallace, David
- Prester John, 117
- Priamus, 90, 120, 121, 126, 197n70
- Prieto, Eric, 118
- Provence, 28, 130, 139, 142, 152
- Prussia, 78
- punctum*, 161–3, 172
- Queen of North Wales.  
*See* North Wales, Queen of
- Queen of the Oute Iles.  
*See* Out Isles
- Queste del Saint Graal*, 15, 40, 41, 122, 157, 160
- Questing Beast, 16, 126, 128, 129, **156**, 158–72

- Radulescu, Raluca, 47
- Red City, 87
- Red Knight of the Red Lands, 90
- Reginald, Earl, 34
- regionalism, 8–13, 14, 20–2, 24–5, 29–35, 37, 51, 52–6, 60, 64–5, 77, 82–3, 90, 97, 98–9, 118, 137–40, 141–2, 146–9, 154–5, 158, 167–8
- Reynolds, Susan, 11, 144
- Rhodes, 143, 174n21
- Richard II, king of England, 180–1n58
- Richard III, king of England, 50
- Richard, Duke of York, 8, 9
- Riddy, Felicity, 140, 152
- Roland, Meg, 3, 103, 118, 130
- Rome, 3, 5, 9, 10, 15, 23, 29, 37, 51, 61, 76, **99**, 101–32, 135, 143, 148, 157, 158, 160
- war with, 5, 15, 36–7, 76, 90, 98, 102, 108, 113–21, **133**, 138, 139, 147–8, 150, 157, 160, 171
- Ross, Charles, 145
- Rosslyn, 78, 79
- Round Table, 22, 23, 64, 67–8, 88, 115, 117, 121, 126, 129, 130, 144, 146, 147, 149, 167
- knights of, 22, 23, 30–1, 40, 64, 68, 81, 82, 104, 125, 164, 172, 179n36
- Rouse, Robert Allen, 10
- Roxburgh Castle, 57
- rubrication, 1
- Ruddick, Andrea, 146
- Rumble, Thomas, 41
- Rushton, Cory James, 10, 48, 75
- Ryons, King of North Wales, 48, 49, 51, 52, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 71, 82, 83, 88, 99
- Salisbury Plain, 190n66
- Sandwich, 3, 114, 118, 121
- Saphir, 90, 126
- Saracen, 12, 15, 47, 73, 90, 95, 102, 103, 104, 105, 115, 116, 117, 120, 123, 126–30, 144, 159, 167, 170, 191n1, 197n70
- see also* Sarras
- Sarras, 3, 15, 23, 51, 61, **99**, 101–32, 135, 157, 158, 162, 165
- Savoy, 139
- Saxons, 95, 103
- Scandinavia, 6, 77, 78, 84, 86, 96
- Scota, 106, 110
- Scotland, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29, 42, 53, 55, 56, 58, 73–99, 104, 105, 110, 118, 136, 138, 139, 142, 146–7, 148, 149–50, 153, 156, 160, 162, 169, 171, 172, 179n36, 187n22
- king of, historical (*see also* James II, James IV), 74, 80; in Malory, 75–6, 111 (*see also* Angwysshaunce, Carados)
- see also* Hebrides, Lothian, Orkney sea. *See* ocean
- Sechelyne, King of Norway in Hardyng, 84
- Segwarides, 65, 73, 90, 126
- Shakespeare, William, 83
- Shetland Islands, 77, 78, 79
- Shichtman, Martin, 68, 141
- shipwreck, 5, 65
- ships. *See* boats
- Sinclair family, 78–9
- Sinclair, James III, 79
- Sinclair, William, 79, 80
- Solomon, 69
- Solomon's wife, 69
- Somerset, 50, 58
- South Wales, 52, 58, 62, 90, 95, 172
- sovereignty, 7, 9, 11–13, 16, 27, 29–30, 53, 57, 74, 84–5, 98–9, 104, 114, 117, 119, 121, 138, 140, 142–3, 145–6, 151–5
- Spain, 53, 54, 85, 142, 143
- Spenser, Edmund, 8
- Stewart, George R., Jr., 96–7, 113
- Stewart, William, 74
- Straits of Gibraltar, 113
- Strasbourg, 77



- Strathclyde, 179n36  
 Suffolk, 95, 153  
*Suite du Merlin*, Post-Vulgate, 20, 41, 73, 82, 159, 163, 168, 176n5, 191n3  
 Surluse, 148  
   tournament of, 47, 48, 65  
 Surrey, 95, 153  
 Sussex, 95, 153  
 Sweden, 74, 78  
 Syria, 106
- Tamar, river, 24, 25, 33, 42, 157, 178n20  
 Teudar, 36  
 Thames, 4, 112–13  
 Thomas of Britain, 31  
 Thomson, William P. L., 77  
 Tintagel, 5, 19, 20, 21, 149  
 toponyms, 1  
 Tor, bastard son of Pellinore, 47, 88, 89  
 Treaty of Ardtornish. *See* Ardtornish, Treaty of  
 tree of knowledge of good and evil, 69  
 Trent, river, 104, 171  
 Trevisa. *See* John of Trevisa  
*Tristan*, Old French prose, 25, 31, 40, 157, 160, 163  
 Tristram, 4–6, 7, 8, 12, 30–1, 38, 38, 46, 50, 59, 62, 63, 64–5, 71, 87, 90, 92, 94, 115–16, 126, 144, 145, 149, 150, 157, 158, 167, 169–70, 179n36  
 Troy, 106  
 Tudor, Edmund, 50, 87  
 Tudor, Jasper, 50, 87  
 Tudor, Owain, 50, 87  
 Tudors, 24, 28, 35, 50, 146  
   *see also* Elizabeth I, Henry VII, Henry VIII  
 Turkey, 23, 117, 130  
 Turville-Petre, Thorlac, 24, 140, 144  
 Tuscany, 120  
 Twain, Mark, 1
- Uí Neill family, 57  
 Ulster, 57  
 United Kingdom, 13, 42, 138  
   *see also* Britain  
 universities, 142  
 Urry, 76, 144  
 Uryens, king of Gorre, 3, 48, 58  
 Uther Pendragon, King of England, 19, 23, 25, 58, 103, 129, 185n3  
 Uwain le Blaunche Maynes, 47, 89
- Vale, Malcolm, 140, 147  
 Valois, Catherine of, 50, 87  
 Vinaver, Eugène, 30, 75–6, 96, 103, 104, 111, 113, 115, 121, 123–4, 130, 138, 151, 152, 170  
 Vulgate, French, 40
- Wales, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 36, 36, 42, 44, 45–71, 74, 77, 88, 94, 96, 104–5, 118, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146–7, 148, 149, 152, 156, 158, 160, 162, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 179n36  
   National Library of, 35  
   prince of, historical, 52, 53  
   *see also* marches, Welsh, North Wales, South Wales  
 Wallace, David, 8, 27, 140, 161–2, 163, 168  
 Wandesborow, castle of, 103  
 Warren, Michelle R., 27, 32, 161  
 Wars of the Roses, 8, 19–20, 23, 24, 27, 34, 55, 71, 75, 96, 131, 143, 151, 170, 177n11, 190n63, 201n50  
 Waste Lands, Queen of. *See* Perceval's aunt  
 water, 3–7, 101, 110, 157  
 Watling Street, 114  
 Watts, John, 148  
 de Weever, Jacqueline, 105  
 Wessex, 178n20  
 Western Sea, 6  
 Westminster, 4, 77, 113, 171  
 Westphal, Bertrand, 102  
 Wheeler, Bonnie, 124, 128

- Whetter, Kevin, 92  
William I, King of England, 136,  
178n20  
William of Malmesbury, 84  
William of Newburgh, 204n12  
Williams, J. E. Caerwyn, 35  
Winchester, 2, 111, 112, 123, 172  
*see also* Camelot  
Winchester Manuscript, 1, 130, 158  
scribes of, 103  
wine, 136, 151–2  
Worcester, 53  
Yder, 88, 147  
Yeager, Patricia, 7  
Yorkists, 34, 55, 96–7, 177n11,  
190n63, 201n50  
Young, Robert, 124  
Zealand, 78