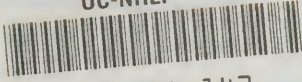


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THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Vogue of Medieval Chivalric
Romance During the English
Renaissance

BY

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AN ABSTRACT OF
A THESIS

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PREFACE

That the medieval taste for romances of chivalric adventure, far from dying out with the advent of printing and the beginning of the English Renaissance, persisted through the whole of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, has been recognized by numerous writers from Thomas Warton down. Little attempt has been made, however, to study the question systematically or in detail, though the value of such a study for the right interpretation of the movement of the Renaissance in England must be apparent to all. A number of years ago I undertook an investigation of the whole subject for my doctorate dissertation. Some of the results of this investigation appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* for 1915, in the form of a detailed monograph on the vogue of the romance of *Guy of Warwick* after the introduction of printing. The comprehensive treatment of the whole matter which I promised at that time I have been unable as yet, owing to the inaccessibility during the War of many sources, to bring to completion. What I offer here is therefore only a summary, and on many points—as for example the relations of the romances to Elizabethan literature—a very inadequate one. I believe, however, that the critical bibliography of editions will be of service to other workers in the general field, and that some matters treated in the accompanying essay may not seem altogether hackneyed. I hope before long to publish other monographs similar to that on *Guy of Warwick*, notably one, now in preparation, on the reputation and influence in England of *Amadis de Gaule*.

A word should be said as to the limits of treatment adopted in the following pages. For various reasons I have restricted myself to romances of a predominantly chivalric type; I have, for example, omitted such works as the *Gesta Romanorum* and

The Seven Wise Masters, which, though associated with the chivalric stories in the sixteenth century and later, yet differed from them considerably in character. I have included the Spanish romances of the *Amadis* and *Palmerin* type, though they were scarcely medieval in the strict sense of the word, partly because of their real affinity and indebtedness to the earlier romances, and partly because of the tendency of readers and critics in England in the years following their introduction to bracket them with the older works. As for the period covered by the investigation, I have deemed it wise to begin with the introduction of printing, though the Renaissance had scarcely begun as yet, and to end with the Civil War. The subsequent, or chapbook, period of the romances I hope to treat in a later publication.

THE VOGUE OF MEDIEVAL CHIVALRIC ROMANCE DURING THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

If an interest in chivalric romance in general persisted through the long period from the introduction of printing to the Civil War, the actual body of romances which fed this interest was by no means the same at the end of the period as at the beginning. The difference was due in part to the dropping-out of individual romances, but chiefly to a group of changes which took place toward 1575. Up to that time the list of romances accessible to readers in current editions had altered but little from the days of the first English printers; it was made up in nearly equal parts of verse romances inherited from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and of prose romances translated more recently from the French. After about 1575 the metrical romances, with one or two exceptions, disappeared; some of the older prose romances followed them into oblivion; and those that survived were eclipsed in the favor of the public by a new stock of chivalric narratives, imported, mainly through the French, from Spain. This second phase of the chivalric vogue lasted until the eve of the Civil War.

I.

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING TO THE DISAPPEAR- ANCE OF THE METRICAL ROMANCES

In order to understand the history of the medieval romances during the first hundred years after the advent of printing, it is necessary to glance at their reputation in England during the period immediately preceding that event.

Their position as the favorite type of fiction with all classes of readers was still secure. Perhaps no other class of secular literature so abounded in the libraries of the time. A charac-

teristic collection was that of Robert Thornton (compiled ca. 1440), which contained versions of *Morte Arthure*, *Octavian*, *Sir Isumbras*, *Sir Degrevant*, *Sir Eglamour*, *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, *Sir Perceval*, and others of less note. These were all verse romances. In addition to these, not a few of the elaborate prose romances which had largely superseded the older metrical versions in France, were known in England, especially in the world of the court and the higher nobility. About the middle of the century, for example, the Earl of Shrewsbury presented to Margaret, Henry VI's queen, copies of *Ponthus et Sidoine*, *Les Quatre Fils Aimon*, and *Perceforest*.¹ A few translations dating from the same period also bore witness to the favor accorded to the type by English readers: among these were *Merlin*, *Ponthus and Sidone*, and the Arthurian compilation of Sir Thomas Malory (finished in 1469).

In the light of these facts it is apparent that when the early printers—Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, etc.—printed romances, they did little more than recognize and perpetuate a taste that was still vital among their customers. Their publications reflected the two sides of this taste: from their presses came in approximately equal numbers slightly modernized texts of the older metrical tales, and translations of the more recent and fashionable French prose romances.

The efforts of Caxton were confined to furthering the movement, already well under way, of importation and translation. He published between about 1475 and 1491, seven romances, all in prose, all French in immediate origin, all but one translated by himself. The first of the series—Raoul le Fevre's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*—was also the first work issued by Caxton on his own account and the first printed book in the English language; it was translated and printed while he was still abroad, probably at Bruges, but it was intended, according to Caxton's prologue, for readers in England as well

¹ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 469-470, 622-624, 377-381.

as in Flanders. The other six romances appeared after Caxton settled at Westminster. They were: *The History of Jason* (ca. 1477), another translation from Raoul le Fevre; *Le Morte Darthur* by Malory (1485); *The Life of Charles the Great* (1485), a translation of *Fierabras*; *Paris and Vienne* (1485) and *Blanchardine and Eglantine* (1489-1491), two comparatively recent French *romans d'aventure*; and *The Four Sons of Aymon* (1489-1491), like *Charles the Great* a representative of the Charlemagne cycle.² All of these romances Caxton printed in expensive folio editions. For all but one of them he wrote prologues or epilogues setting forth the circumstances of translation or of printing.

Why did Caxton confine himself to the diffusion of French prose romances to the total neglect of the native metrical versions? The reason was perhaps twofold. For one thing, Caxton's own taste for romances, which was a genuine passion with him, would seem to have been formed, mainly if not entirely, on the French texts that were current in Flanders. At any rate, in the numerous enthusiastic outbursts concerning romances which he scattered through his prefaces and epilogues it was almost invariably French romances which he had in mind. Thus the *Recueil* of Raoul le Fevre pleased him not merely for the "novelty" of its "many strange and marvellous histories," but also "for the fair language of French, which was in prose so well and compendously set and written." And one of the considerations which induced him to print Malory's *Morte Darthur* was the fact that while abroad he had read "many noble volumes" concerning Arthur in French. But personal taste was not the only factor at work. Caxton was extremely sensitive to the wishes of his clientele, and his clientele, which was almost exclusively an aristocratic one (witness his statements to this effect in the prologues of *Le*

² For details concerning all of the editions of romances mentioned in the text see below, *Bibliography*, I.

Morte Darthur and *Blanchardine*), demanded precisely the sort of romances in which he himself was most interested. On two occasions, indeed, the demand took on an explicit form: once, shortly after his establishment in England, when he was approached by "many noble and divers gentlemen," who were interested in the "history of the saint greal and of . . . King Arthur," and desired to have it printed in English; and again, at a slightly later time, when there came other nobles, including a member of the King's household, expressing a similar interest in the romances relating to Charlemagne.

At Caxton's death in 1491 his business passed into the hands of Wynkyn de Worde, who was active in Westminster and London until 1535. Along with press and types De Worde took over his master's interest in romances; throughout his long career he was the chief purveyor of this type of literature in England. Of the seven romances printed by Caxton, he reissued four: *Le Morte Darthur* (1498 and 1529), *The Recuyell* (1502), *The Four Sons of Aymon* (1504), and *Paris and Vienne* (undated). In all of these editions except that of *Paris and Vienne* he retained Caxton's elaborate format—a clear indication that he had in view the same general class of readers; aside, too, from certain changes in spelling and detail of phraseology, he reproduced Caxton's texts. As he was primarily a commercial publisher, his selection of romances for reprinting unquestionably reflected the relative success of Caxton's enterprises. It is significant that his judgment was confirmed by the continuous popularity of these four romances for more than a century.

Much more important than these reissues of Caxton's publications were the additions which De Worde himself made to the body of printed chivalric fiction. Seven of these additions derived from the source which Caxton had exclusively exploited—French prose romance. They were *The History of King Ponthus* (1511), *Helyas Knight of the Swan* (1512),

Oliver of Castile (1518), *William of Palerne* (ca. 1520), *Huon of Bordeaux* (ca. 1534), *Robert the Devil* (two impressions, undated) and *Valentine and Orson* (undated). Who were the translators of these romances? Three names have survived—Robert Copland, who translated *Helyas* on a commission from De Worde; Henry Watson, “an apprentice of London,” who translated *Oliver of Castile* and *Valentine and Orson*; and Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners, who wrote the charming version of *Huon of Bordeaux*. Probably the others were hack translators like Copland and Watson rather than noblemen of letters like Berners.

The rest of De Worde’s romance publications consisted of texts (slightly modernized) of metrical tales popular in the later fifteenth century, a type which Caxton had entirely neglected. Among them were *Bevis of Hampton*, *Sir Degore*, *Sir Eglamour*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Ipomydon*, *Richard Coeur de Lion* (1509, 1528), *Robert the Devil* (a metrical version based apparently upon the English prose), *The Squire of Low Degree*, and perhaps *Generides*, *Sir Isumbras*, *Sir Triamour*, and *Torrent of Portugal*. Most of these editions were undated; some of them can be ascribed to De Worde only on rather uncertain typographical evidence. It is obvious that he took less pains with them, and intended them for a less exacting public, than his editions of the French prose tales. Yet, as he continued to issue them throughout his career, and as many of them continued to be reprinted for still another generation, they must have been a thoroughly successful venture.

Among De Worde’s contemporaries and rivals a number printed romances, though none of them approached him in volume or variety of production. In 1492 Gerard Leeu, an Antwerp printer who worked for the English trade, brought out reimpressions of Caxton’s *Jason* and *Paris and Vienne*. Between 1495 and 1530 Richard Pynson, De Worde’s chief competitor in the London trade, printed editions of

metrical romances, *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton*, and of one of Caxton's prose translations, *Paris and Vienne*. Two undated issues of the metrical *Feast of Sir Gawayne*, one by John Butler, the other by Thomas Petit, and an edition by Robert Redborne of Lord Berners' translation of the prose *Arthur of Little Britain*, may have appeared during De Worde's lifetime, but probably were somewhat later.

With his death the period of first editions for both the metrical romances and the translations of French prose romances came to an end. The next notable publisher of romances, William Copland (active between about 1548 and 1569), added no new texts, but contented himself with a selection of those issued by De Worde, part of whose business he seems to have inherited. Thus of the metrical romances he printed *Sir Degore*, *Sir Eglamour*, *Sir Isumbras*, *The Squire of Low Degree*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Triamour*, and *The Knight of Courtesy* (no earlier edition of this romance has survived, but in all likelihood it too had been issued by De Worde); and of the prose romances, *The recuile of the histories of Troie* (1553), *The Four Sons of Aymon* (1554), *King Arthur* (1557), *Valentine and Orson* (two undated editions), *Helyas*, *The Knight of the Swan*. A simple reproducer of the texts of his predecessors, Copland played a far less important role in the history of medieval romance than that of Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde. Yet he did good service in keeping alive so many of the older favorites for the public of the second half of the century.

In this work of reviving the publications of the preceding generation he was assisted by a number of his contemporaries: by an unknown who issued *Ponthus* in 1548; by John King, who printed *Sir Degore* and *The Squire of Low Degree* about 1560, and in 1557-1558 took out licenses for *The Feast of Sir Gawayne* and *Sir Lamwell*; by Thomas Marsh, John Tysdale, and John Alde, each of whom secured licenses for

Bevis of Hampton between 1558 and 1569; by John Purfoot, who secured licenses in 1568–1569 for *Richard* and *Generides*; by an unknown publisher, who printed *Huon of Bordeaux* in 1570; by John Cawood, who issued *Guy of Warwick* sometime before 1572; and by John Walley, who printed *Sir Eglamour* at an unknown date during the same general period.

Such, in brief, were the dealings of the English printers with medieval romances to about 1575. That date marked the end of a period, for afterwards, though a number of the prose romances already translated continued to be reproduced, printers for one reason or another ceased to concern themselves any longer with the metrical romances. (There was one exception—*Bevis of Hampton*.) Except for certain scattered readers who continued to thumb the copies already in existence, the day of the metrical romances, at least in their original form, was over.

In the meantime the public was not entirely dependent upon the publications of English printers for its knowledge of medieval chivalric legends. During the early part of the period especially, a certain number of fifteenth century manuscript texts of romances continued to circulate. Nor had these altogether ceased to function as a medium for the diffusion of romances even after the middle of the sixteenth century: witness the manuscript *Richard Coeur de Lion* owned in 1562 by a certain James Haword, and the *Morte Arthur* (the metrical version) owned in 1570 by one Robert Farrers.³ Then too, just as in the years before the introduction of printing, a good many of the French prose romances penetrated into England in the original editions. In 1481 five French romances, of which at least four were printed about the same time in Lyons and Paris, were in the library of Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. A copy of the prose *Merlin* printed at

³ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 949; J. D. Bruce, *Le Morte Arthur*, *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, LXXXVIII, p. vii.

Paris in 1498 by Antoine Vérard found its way, sometime before 1535, into the royal library at Richmond Castle. In 1526 an inventory of the library of the Earl of Kildare listed French copies of *Lancelot du Lake* in three volumes and of *Ogier le Danois*; these romances had been in print in France since before the beginning of the century. In 1540 Thomas Crull, a London grocer, owned among other works "two ffrenche bokes of the life of King Arthur."⁴ Again, general familiarity with certain medieval legends, notably those of Arthur and of Guy of Warwick, was promoted by the summaries given in early sixteenth century chronicles. Accounts of Arthur, based ultimately upon Geoffrey, could be read in the histories of Fabyan (1516), of Rastell (1529), and of several minor historiographers. The legend of Guy's combat with Colbrond, in a prose version taken directly from Lydgate's poem, was recounted as sober history by Fabyan and Grafton (1569). Finally, it would seem that local tradition counted for something in the fame enjoyed by at least three of the medieval heroes. There were "relics" of Arthur still preserved at Winchester; Southampton cherished the memory of Sir Bevis; at Warwick, Guy's sword was preserved in the castle in the charge of a custodian appointed by royal patent, a chapel and statue marked his hermitage at Guyscliff, and a legend, not yet given literary form, of his combat with a Dun Cow, was familiar to the populace.⁵

Manuscripts, French editions, chronicles, local tradition—all of these helped to keep alive a knowledge of the old romantic legends among the Englishmen of the early sixteenth century. They were, however, merely subsidiary influences: the chief sources of information were the editions of romances issued by the London printers.

⁴ J. P. Collier, *Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk*, 277; *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, 9; Hist. MSS Com., App. Ninth Report, 288-289; *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VII, 120.

⁵ Crane, *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 1915, 135-136, 152.

It is extremely difficult, owing to the lack of documents, to form a precise idea of the diffusion of these editions during this period, but it would seem that the romance-reading public of the first hundred years after the introduction of printing fell into two more or less distinct groups—a relatively small aristocratic group which admired especially the translations of French prose romances, and a larger group, undefinable socially but including many readers of humbler means and less fashionable tastes, and particularly many dwellers in the country, who still found pleasure in the metrical romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Assuredly few outside the wealthier classes could afford to buy the sumptuous and expensive folios in which romances like *Le Morte Darthur*, *The Recuyell*, *The Four Sons of Aymon* appeared throughout the period. The public of these romances was unquestionably in the main an aristocratic one. The patrons, for example, for whom Caxton prepared his editions were without exception gentlemen or nobles. *Le Morte Darthur* he addressed to “alle noble prynces, lords and ladyes, gentylnen or gentylwymmen, that desire to rede or here redde of the noble and Ioyous historye of the grete conquerour and excellent kyng, Kyng Arthur.” *Charles the Great* he turned into English at the special urging of Sir William Daubeny, the treasurer of the jewels in the King’s household. The other translations had a similar origin or were addressed in similar terms to readers of gentle birth. And as with Caxton, so, in one instance at least, with Wynkyn de Worde, whose edition of *Helyas, the Knight of the Swan* (1512) owed its being to the interest of the Duke of Buckingham in the exploits of one of his reputed ancestors. On the other hand, the small rudely printed quartos in which appeared such romances as *Sir Bevis*, *Sir Guy*, *Sir Degore*, *Sir Eglamour*, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, were undoubtedly meant to sell cheaply and to circulate widely among a somewhat humbler public. Many of them were probably sold to country readers; peddled about by travelling booksellers, they were the true

precursors of the chapbooks of the seventeenth century. One of these itinerant booksellers, a certain John Russhe, bought from Richard Pynson for sale in the country twenty bound copies of *Bevis of Hampton* at 10d apiece; they were among the cheapest books in the lot, which included "bocas off the falle of prynces" at 2s, the "canterbery Talys" at 5s, and "Isoppys fabullys" at 3s. 4d. This was sometime before 1498. A score of years later, in 1520, John Dorne, bookseller at Oxford, sold *Bevis*, together with another small tract, for 6d, *Undo your Door*, *Sir Eglamour*, and *Robert the Devil* for 3d, and *Sir Isumbras* for 2d. His sales also included two prose romances—*King Pothus* (quarto) for 8d, and *The Four Sons of Aymon* (folio) for 1s, 8d.⁶

Outside both of these groups of simple readers were the scholars and men of letters. What was their attitude to the romances? A few of them took the old stories seriously and were influenced by them, if only slightly, in their work. The translations of Caxton and Berners reflected a genuine personal enthusiasm on the part of their authors. Stephen Hawes was familiar with the *Recuyell* and with Malory; his *Pastime of Pleasure* bore many traces of the attraction which the stories of chivalry had for him. They had a certain attraction, too, for John Skelton, though their influence on his poetry went no deeper than occasional allusions (as in *Phillip Sparrow*) to such romantic heroes as Guy of Warwick, Gawain, Lancelot, Tristram. On the writers of drama, especially at court, the influence of the romances was somewhat more marked. *Robert the Devil* and *Amys and Amyloun* furnished material for disguisings during Henry VIII's reign. A pageant on *The Round Table* was presented before Henry and the Emperor in 1225 by the citizens of London. In 1547 a pageant on the theme

⁶ *The Library*, N.S., X, 126-128; "The Day-book of John Dorne" in Ox. Hist. Soc. *Collectanea*, First Series

of Valentine and Orson helped to celebrate the coronation of Edward VI.⁷

What sympathy there was for the romances among men of letters was largely offset by the strong current of criticism which made its appearance during this period. The impulse to hostile criticism of the medieval romances was given by the humanists, particularly by Erasmus and the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives. Erasmus had for the stories of Arthur and Lancelot the scorn of the classical-minded pedagogue; his chief complaint was that these stories—"fabulae stultae et aniles"—drew away the young student's interest from classical history and poetry.⁸ With Vives moral considerations were uppermost. In two notable passages, both of which were known in England, he warned his readers, in each case young women, against the evils of romance-reading. Under no conditions, he maintained in *De Institutione feminae christianae* (1523), should women be allowed to soil their minds with such pestiferous books as "in Hispania Amadisus, Splandianus, Florisandus, Tirantus, Tristranus; quarum ineptiarum nullus est finis . . . in Gallia Lancilotus a lacu, Paris et Vienna, Ponthus & Sydonia, Petrus Provincialis & Maguelona, Melusina, domina inexorabilis: in hac Belgica [he was writing at Bruges] Florius & Albus flos, Leonella, & Cana morus, Curias & Floretta, Pyramus & Thisbe . . ." (*Opera*, Basle, 1555, II, p. 658). In this list of romances to be tabooed, although he wrote with a view to English as well as continental readers, he neglected to give any specific English examples. About 1540 a translation of the *De Institutione*, the work of a certain Richard Hyrde, appeared at London, and was reprinted in 1541, 1557, and 1592. Into the passage condemning the reading of romances, Hyrde introduced the names of several romances especially popular in England: "In Englande, Parthenope, Genarides, Hippomadon,

⁷ See Baskervill, *Modern Philology*, XIV, 1916, 477, 495.

⁸ See Ellison, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*, 49-50.

William and Melyour, Libius and Arthur, Guye, Bevis, and many other . . .” (*The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, sig. E iiiij—F). Vives’ other warning against romances occurred in his *De Officio Mariti*, in a section entitled “De Disciplina Feminae.” As translated sometime after 1546 by Thomas Paynell, this passage ran as follows: “There be some kind of letters & writynges that pertayne only to adourne & increase eloquence withall. Some to delite and please. Some that make a man subtile and craftye. Some to knowe naturall thynges, and to instruct and informe the mynde of man withall. The workes of Poetes, the Fables of Milesii, as that of the golden asse, and in a maner all Lucianes workes, and manye other whiche are written in the vulgar tonge, as of Trystram, Launcelot, Ogier, Amasus and of Arthur the whiche were written and made by suche as were ydle & knew nothyng. These bokes do hurte both man & woman, for they make them wyllye & craftye, they kyndle and styr up covetousnes, inflame angre, & all beastly and filthy desyre.”

The conception of the romances thus sketched by Erasmus and Vives passed after the Reformation into the writings of Protestant moralists and writers on education. The antipathy of these men to the old stories was if anything more pronounced than that of the earlier humanists, for to them the romances were not merely extravagant and harmful fairy tales, but the works of Papists. Tyndale gave passing expression to this new attitude in a passage in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528). The clergy, he said, in forbidding lay people to read the scriptures cannot have the souls of those people at heart, for at the same time they permit them to read *Robin Hood* and *Bevis of Hampton*, “with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as heart can think, to corrupt the minds of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles.” Roger Ascham set forth the same view in *Toxophilus* (1545): “Englysh writers by

diversitie of tyme, have taken diverse matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but bookes of fayned chevalrie, wherein a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye. Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyved. For surelye vayne woordes doo worke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyven any thyng therunto of their owne nature. These bokes (as I have heard say) were made the moste parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyvyng." He returned to the attack in *The Scholemaster* (1570), in a famous passage on Malory's *Morte Darthur*, beginning, "In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, covered and overflowed all England . . ." Two years after the publication of this jeremiad, Edward Dering, a clergyman of Puritanical leanings, wrote in a similar strain in the preface to his *Bryefe and Necessary Catechisme or instruction*. Lamenting the taste of his contemporaries for books "full of synne and abominations," he likened it to the "wickednes" of their forefathers; who "had their spiritual enchauntmentes, in which they were bewytched, Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwike, Arthur of the round table, Huon of Burdeaux, Oliver of the Castle, the foure sonnes of Amond, and a great many other of such childish follye." "These were in the former daies the subtile sleights of Satan to occupye Christian wyts in Heathen fansies."

II.

FROM THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE METRICAL ROMANCES TO THE FIRST PROSE CHAPBOOK VERSIONS

Beginning with the seventies of the sixteenth century the relative position of the medieval chivalric romances in the total body of literature accessible to the general public underwent an important change. Hitherto they had comprised

virtually the only fiction accessible to readers at large. Henceforth they were brought into sharp competition, first with a growing mass of continental and especially Italian tales, and second with a national literature that itself included among its rapidly multiplying types not a few varieties of prose fiction. A progressive relegation of the medieval romances to the background of the public's consciousness was bound to result.

And yet the decline was exceedingly slow. In spite of the practical disappearance of the metrical versions at the beginning of the period and of losses among the prose romances, the vogue of chivalric romance in general more than held its own through the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth.

Even the metrical romances did not pass entirely out of circulation. One of them, *Bevis of Hampton*, remained in print until toward the middle of the seventeenth century, and seems to have been widely read meantime. Of the others, *Sir Eglamour* was licensed, and no doubt printed, as late as 1582, and made the subject of a play and a ballad even later; *Sir Isenbras*, according to a passage in *The Cocker of Canterbury* (1590), was a favorite with "old wives" at the end of the century; and *Guy of Warwick*, though apparently not reprinted after the seventies, remained in circulation until nearly 1640, and was the source of several new versions during the interval. The survivors, to be sure, were few, and of them probably only *Guy* and *Bevis* enjoyed a very wide diffusion (they were the only two metrical romances mentioned for censure by Meres in 1598). But it is noteworthy, in view of the old-fashioned verse and the obsolescent language of this group of romances, that even a few of them continued to interest the readers of Elizabethan England.

The losses among the prose romances were less serious. Malory's *Morte Darthur* was reprinted twice by East about

1585 and at least once by Stansby in 1634; in addition, the historical tradition of Arthur was continued by Holinshed and Stow. *The Four Sons of Aymon* was licensed to East in 1582 and to Purfoot and Wolf in 1599. *Blanchardine and Eglantine*, after more than a century of oblivion, was revived in 1595 in a new version by Thomas Pope Goodwin. *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* was revised in 1596 by Thomas Fiston, and went through several reimpressions between that date and the Civil War. *Paris and Vienna* was licensed to Purfoot in 1586 as "an old booke"; it did not reappear again until the second quarter of the next century, when several editions were printed of a new translation by Matthew Mainwaring. The second edition of *Huon of Bordeaux* appeared in 1570; the third, with the "crude English corrected and amended," was issued by Purfoot in 1601. *Valentine and Orson* was licensed to Purfoot in 1586; an abridgment was printed by Purfoot's son in 1637; doubtless other editions intervened. Three other of the prose translations of the early years of the century—*Ponthus, Oliver of Castile*, and *Arthur of Little Britain*—were licensed to various printers in the eighties and at least one of them—*Arthur of Little Britain*—was printed about the same time. And in 1596 or shortly thereafter a French romance not hitherto known in England was brought into the language—*The History of Mervine, Son to Ogier the Dane*. In short, for a large number of the prose "books of chivalry" of the French type the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries brought something like a revival, manifested in new versions and in more or less painstaking revision of the old.

Meanwhile, whatever losses occurred among the older types of chivalric fiction were more than compensated for by the introduction of a body of romances similar to them in many features and constantly associated with them by friend and foe alike, but of a different provenience—the early sixteenth-century Spanish romances of chivalry. Long before the

seventies the fame of Amadis of Gaul, of Palmerin d'Oliva and his numerous descendants, of Palladine of England, of Bellianis, and of the Knight of the Sun, had spread from the Peninsula into Italy and France; they had just passed the climax of their reputation in these countries when the initiative of certain booksellers brought them into England. Some of them, it is true, were already familiar to a few Englishmen. *Amadis* in particular had readers in England many years before it was translated. Anything like a real vogue, however, came only with the stream of translations which began in the late seventies. These translations were the work of a number of more or less obscure men working at the behest of a group of commercial publishers. The leader among them was Anthony Munday, who either single-handed or with the aid of assistants turned out versions of six romances; much less notable were the contributions of Margaret Tiler, of R.P., of L.A., and of Lazarus Pyott (frequently but, as it would seem, erroneously identified with Munday). For the most part these translators worked from easily accessible French versions; only in one instance (*The Mirror of Knighthood*) was recourse had to the original Spanish; in one other instance (*Bellianis*) the source was Italian. They by no means exhausted the texts available—of the twenty-four books of the French *Amadis* only the first four were translated before 1640—but they considerably increased the stock of chivalric stories accessible in English.

The movement of translation began, after a few preliminaries, which included the non-narrative *Treasure of Amadis* (1567-68), with the first part of Book I of *The Mirrour of Knighthood*, published by East in 1578; it reached its climax in the nineties, and terminated soon after 1600. During this interval there were published nine parts of *The Mirror*, comprising the first three books, the product of three different translators and of two publishers; two parts of *Gerileon of England* (translator unknown); three parts of *Palmerin of*

England (the first two parts, published by Charlwood between 1581 and 1585, were the first to appear of Munday's translations); two parts of *Palmerin d'Oliva* (by Munday); *Palladine of England* (by Munday); *Palmendos* (by Munday); two parts of *Primaleon of Greece* (by Munday); the first four books of *Amadis de Gaule* (the second by Lazarus Pyott, the rest by Munday); and *The Honour of Chivalry or Bellianis* (by L.A.). After 1601, though some of these romances continued to be reprinted, there were no additions to the list, incomplete as it was, until the middle of the century.

In thus reviving old romances and furthering the translation of new, publishers like East, the Purfoots, Stansby, Charlwood, Burby, Creede—all men of essentially commercial interests—were obviously working in response to a strong and constant demand. From what classes of Englishmen did this demand come? Who were the admirers of the medieval chivalric romances during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth?

To a few of letters, including some whose general culture was least medieval, the romances made a strong appeal on the score, chiefly, of their substance. Such a one was Sidney, who at one time, according to Jonson's statement to Drummond, planned to transform the *Arcadia* into a collection of Arthurian legends, and who was capable of admitting, in *The Apology for Poetry*, that even *Amadis de Gaule*, imperfect poem as it was, had moved men's hearts "to the exercise of courtesie, liberalites, and especially courage." Such a one, at least in his youth, was William Drummond of Hawthornden, who between 1606 and 1609 devoured seven out of the twenty-four volumes of *Amadis* in French, and dipped into the English translation of *The Mirror of Knighthood*.⁹ Such a one was Spenser, who in numerous passages of *The Faerie Queene* betrayed his familiarity with and his respect for medieval romances, both prose

⁹ See *Archæologica Scotica*, IV, i (1831), pp. 73-74.

and verse, both English and French. Such also were two disciples of Spenser—Drayton, who wove the stories of Arthur and Bevis and Guy into his *Poly-olbion*, and Milton, whose early interest in the Arthurian legends dominated for a time the conception of his future great work. Even Ben Jonson, hostile to the romances though he was on the whole, could yet assure Drummond in 1619 that “for a Heroik poeme . . . ther was no such ground as King Arthur’s fiction.” And there were many others—poets, dramatists, pamphleteers—who, though they expressed no clear judgment on the romances, yet showed through their imitations and passing allusions that they did not think them beneath their notice.

On the whole, however, the attitude of the literary class was not especially friendly. It became more and more the custom to denounce the romances for their immorality, their lack of verisimilitude, their crudeness of form, and to sneer at them because of their popularity with uncultured readers. Much of the outright criticism, as had been the case in the preceding period, was ethical. In 1577 Meredith Hanmer lamented, in the Dedication to his *Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories of the First Six Hundred Years after Christ*, that instead of reading works of divinity “manie now a daiés had rather read” the stories of King Arthur, Bevis of Hampton, and “many other infortunate treatises and amorous toyes.” In 1579 E.K., glossing the term “ladyes of the lake” in the *Shepheardes Calender* (iv, 120) referred, in the spirit of Ascham, to “certain fine fablers or lewd lyers, such as were the Authors of King Arthure the great, and such like, who tell many an unlawfull leasing of the Ladyes of the Lake, that is, the Nymphes.” In 1582, in his *Playes confuted in five Actions*, Gosson, after noting that the London playwrights were accustomed to draw on “Amadis of Fraunce” and the “Rounde table” for plots, raised the question: “How is it possible that our Playemakers headdes, running through Genus and Species

& every difference of lyes, cosenages, baudries, whooredomes, should present us any schoolemistres of life, looking glasse of manners, or Image of trueth?" In 1587 E. A.'s translation of *The Politicke and Militarie Discourses* of Francois de la Noue introduced English readers to a view of *Amadis* which resembled strongly the view of the *Morte Darthur* set forth scarcely two decades before by Ascham. The sixth discourse bore the title: "That the reading of the bookes of Amadis de Gaule, & such like is no lesse hurtful to youth, than the works of Machiavel to age." The "fruites of these books" the author developed at length under five heads: "the poison of Impietie," "the Poison of pleasure," "the poyson of revendge," "forgetfulness of trew duetie," and "partinent fables" (ed. 1587, pp. 87-95). In 1594 came a bit of invective evidently inspired directly by *The Scholemaster*. "It were too long," wrote Thomas Bowes in the introductory epistle to his translation of the *French Academie* of La Primaudaye, "to set downe the Catalogue of those lewde and lascivious bookes which have mustered themselves of late yeeres in Paules Churchyard, as chosen souldiers ready to fight under the divels banner, of which it may bee truely said, that they prevaile no lesse (if not more) to the upholding of Atheisme in this light of the Gospel, then the *Legend of Lies*, *Huon of Burdeaux*, *King Arthur*, with the rest of that rabble, were of force to maintaine Popery in the dayes of ignorance." In 1598, in *Palladis Tamia*, Francis Meres attempted to complete the work of Francois de la Noue on *Amadis* by drawing up an extended list of similar books likewise "hurtfull to youth." In the list he included *Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Arthur of the Round Table*, *Huon of Burdeaux*, *Oliver of Castile*, *The Four Sons of Aymon*, *Gerileon*, *The Honour of Chivalry*, *Primaleon of Greece*, *Palmerin d'Oliva*, *The Mirror of Knighthood*, *Blanchardine*, *Mervine*, *Palladine*, and *Palmendos*—in short, nearly all of the chivalric romances most in demand at the end of the century.

Similar convictions as to the harmfulness of reading romances were expressed by Henry Crosse in a pamphlet called *Vertues Common-wealth* (1603), by Burton in 1621 in two passages of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Part 2, Sec. 2, Memb. 4, and Part 3, Sec. 2, Memb. 2, Subs. 4), by William Vaughn in *The Golden Fleece* (1626), and by many others.

Meantime the romances had been attacked from a more purely literary point of view. Their remoteness from reality, their improbability, their extravagant idealism were bound to offend tastes formed on the literature of antiquity. One of the first to apply the new standards of classicism and rationalism to the medieval tales was Thomas Nashe, who in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589) denounced "the fantastick dreames of those exiled Abbie-lubbers, from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the feyned no where acts, of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of little Brittain, sir Tristram, Hewon of Burdeaux, the Squire of low degree, the foure sons of Amon, with infinite others." Sir William Cornwallis, in a passage in his *Essayes* (1600) made explicit the comparison with antiquity: "If in *Arthur of Brittain, Huon of Burdeaux* and such supposed chivalrie, a man may better himselfe, shall he not become excellent with conversing with *Tacitus, Plutarch, Sallust*, and fellowes of that ranke?" (Essay 15). Twelve years after this came the first English translation of *Don Quixote* (Part I)—the finest expression in the whole period of the new attitude toward the romances, and an unmistakable influence in shaping later opinion in England. More in the manner of Nashe than of Cervantes was an allusion to *Guy, Bevis, Valentine and Orson*, and *King Arthur* in Robert Ashley's autobiography (1614): they contained "fictas et fuites fabellas," the work of idle monks in past centuries.¹⁰ But in *An Execration upon Vulcan* (wr. 1619-1629, published in *Underwoods*, 1640) Ben Jonson wrote as one familiar with

¹⁰ Reprinted by Crane in *Modern Philology*, XI, 1913, 271.

Don Quixote. He had lost his library by fire, and was unable to understand the reason for the disaster.

“Had I compiled from Amadis de Gaul,
 The Esplandians, Arthurs, Palmerins, and all
 The learned library of Don Quixote,
 And so some goodlier monster had begot,

 Thou then hadst had some colour for thy flames,
 On such my serious follies”

Had he known, he went on, of the desire of Vulcan to hold a triumph, he would gladly have supplied him with “many a ream, to redeem” his own:

“The Talmud and the Alcoran had come,
 With pieces of the Legend; the whole sum
 Of errant knighthood, with the dames and dwarfs;
 The charmed boats, and the enchanted wharfs,
 The Tristrams, Lancelots, Turpins, and the Peers,
 All the mad Rolands, and sweet Olivers;
 To Merlin’s marvels, and his Cabal’s loss,
 With the chimera of the Rosie-cross,
 Their seals, their characters, hermetic rings,
 Their jem of riches, and bright stone that brings
 Invisibility, and strength, and tongues.”

Not merely the improbabilities of the old romances but their crudities of form as well excited the ridicule of men who derived their literary ideals from Greece and Rome. Thus Nashe, following perhaps a hint given in Melbancke’s *Philotimus* (1583), made cruel sport in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* of the rimes in *Sir Bevis*. “Who that reading Bevis of Hampton,” he wrote, “can forbear laughing, if he marke what scrambling shyft he makes to ende his verses a like? I will propound three or foure payre by the way for the Readers recreation.” The first and the last of Nashe’s examples were as follows:

"The Porter said, by my snout,
It was Sir Bevis that I let out"

and

"Some lost a nose, some a lip,
And the King of Scots hath a ship."

"But," he concluded, "I let these passe as worne out absurdities."

Finally, the old romances incurred the ridicule of men of letters because of their popularity with uncultured or plebeian readers. Not only in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1610-1611), which was without question the masterpiece of this type of criticism,¹¹ but in countless dramas and pamphlets of the early seventeenth century, it was constantly insinuated that a taste for chivalric romance was especially characteristic of tradesmen, country squires, apprentices, servants, old women, the old-fashioned and the half-educated of all classes.¹² So well established, indeed, in the drama of the time was the association between admiration of the medieval romances and lack of culture or social position that Jonson in *The New Inn* (1629), wishing to characterize favorably the studies of Lord Beaufort, made Lovel, his former page, expressly deny that he was a reader of romances. "I waited on his studies," said Lovel; "which were right.

He had no Arthurs, nor no Rosicleers
No knights o' the Sun, nor Amadis de Gauls,
Primaleons, Pantagruels, public nothings;
Abortives of the fabulous dark cloyster,
Sent out to poison courts and infest manners."

Instead his Lordship was a student of Homer's "immortal phant'sy" and of Virgil, "that master of the epic poem": "these he brought to practice, and to use" (Act I, Sc. i).

¹¹ See the edition by H. S. Murch, *Yale Studies in English*, XXXIII, 1908.

¹² For the principal allusions of this sort in the drama see Koepfel, *Ben Jonson's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, 1906, 195-222.

Such was the attitude of men of letters toward the old romances—friendly in a few, hostile in the majority. Who, then, bought and read all of the editions that issued from the presses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries? Probably in the main the sort of people who were represented as admirers of romances by the dramatists and pamphleteers. These English Don Quixotes were by no means all to be found among the lower or middle classes. To say nothing of Mary Queen of Scots and Sidney at the beginning of the period, as late as 1636 Edward Lord Conway commissioned Sir Kenelm Digby to procure romances for him at Paris, and Sir Kenelm replied that he was able to send him “La conquête du sang real,” the “legend of Sir Tristram,” and “a curious Amadis in 12 vols.”¹³ There can be little doubt, however, that the public of the romances in this period was on the whole less distinguished intellectually or socially than it had been during the generation following the introduction of printing. Then the expensive format of many of the romances kept them from penetrating very far down among the people; only the short and cheaply printed metrical tales could have had a really popular sale. Now, with one or two exceptions, all of the current editions of romances were in quarto, and their diffusion must in consequence have been far wider. Many copies of the new editions seem to have gone into the country, where perhaps were to be found the least critical readers of the old stories. The library of Captain Cox, the Coventry mason described by Robert Laneham in 1575, contained in all nine romances of the chivalric type, most of them apparently in the editions of Copland or his contemporaries.¹⁴ A little later than this Thomas Marshe, a London bookseller, sold to Edward Wingfield, Esquire, of Kimbalton Castle, Huntingdonshire, two parts of

¹³ *Cal. of State Papers*, 1636-1637, pp. 378-379.

¹⁴ See Furnivall's edition of Laneham's *Letter in Captain Cox's Ballads and Books*, Ballad Society, 1871.

The Mirror of Knighthood and two parts of *Palmerin of England*, and to Richard Brett, a bookseller in York, twelve copies of *The Destruction of Troy*.¹⁵ The vogue of stories of chivalry among countrymen was alluded to in an anonymous pamphlet, *The English Courtier and Country-gentleman* (1579): on winter nights in the country, said one of the speakers in the dialogue, "we use certaine Christmas games very propper, & of much agilitie; wee want not also pleasant mad headed knaves, that bee properly learned, and will reade in diverse pleasant bookes and good Authors: As Sir Guy of Warwicke, the foure Sonnes of Amon, . . . and many other excellent writers both witty and pleasaunt." Children, too, probably formed no inconsiderable part of the public of the romances in this period.¹⁶

The most important result of the rejection of the romances by the leaders of Elizabethan letters and their increasing relegation to a somewhat humble public was to limit seriously their influence on current literature. With a few exceptions, the works—and they were fairly numerous—which drew inspiration from them were essentially popular in character and appeal.

The influence was greatest perhaps in the theater. Among the plays produced at court in the decade 1570–1580, six at least, it would seem, derived from medieval chivalric romances. They were *Paris and Vienna*, performed late in 1571 or early in 1572 (lost); *The Irish Knight*, performed 1576–1577 (lost; based perhaps upon the French romance of *Meliadus*); *The Historie of the Solitarie Knight*, performed at Shrovetide, 1577 (lost; the source may possibly have been the twelfth book of the French *Amadis*); *The Rape of the Second Helen*, 1578–1579 (lost; probably based upon the tenth book of the French *Amadis*); *The Knight of the Burning Rock*, 1579 (lost; the

¹⁵ *The Library*, Third Series, VII, 1916, 326, 328.

¹⁶ See Robert Ashley's autobiography, *Modern Philology*, XI, 271, and Cornwallis, *Essayes*, 1600, No. 15.

source seems to have been *The Mirror of Knighthood*); *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, probably first performed during this decade (the source was *Perceforest*, a French prose romance apparently not translated). Though not strictly dramatic, Leicester's entertainments for Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575 were allied to these court plays through their use of material from *Le Morte Darthur*.¹⁷ By the beginning of the eighties, if not before, plays based upon the romances were also in vogue on the popular stage. In 1582 Gosson in his *Playes confuted* mentioned among works "ransackt to furnish the Playe houses in London," *Amadis de Gaule* and the 'Rounde table.' And the formulae for popular plays given by Gosson in the same pamphlet and by Sidney in *The Defense of Poetry* about the same date, pointed to dramas utilizing respectively the themes of *Guy of Warwick* and of *Sir Eglamour*. To this same early period, perhaps, belonged a play on the Eglamour legend which was presented at Dresden in 1626 by Green's troop of English players.¹⁸ The apogee of the chivalric vogue in the popular theaters came in the nineties. Between 1593 and 1603 Philip Henslowe bought, or drew revenue from, six pieces treating themes of medieval romance—*Huon of Bordeaux* (1593-1594); *Uther Pendragon* (1597); *Valentine and Orson* by Munday and Hathway (1598), possibly but not certainly a rewriting of the "enterlude of Valentyne and Orsson" entered at Sationers' Hall on May 23, 1595 and again on March 31, 1600; *The Life and Death of King Arthur* (1598); *Tristram of Lyons* (1599); *The Four Sons of Aymon* (1603).¹⁹ This last play was still being performed in 1624. After the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, the old romances apparently

¹⁷ See Ellison, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*, pp. 33-35, 62-67, 72-79, 105-129.

¹⁸ Baskervill, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 1917, 759-760.

¹⁹ Henslowe's Dairy, ed. W. W. Greg, I, 16, 52-53, 86-87, 90, 112, 173, 176, II, 227.

lost most of their former popularity with the dramatists as sources for plots. An exception was *Guy of Warwick*, several plays dealing with which were performed between 1618 and 1639.²⁰

As with the drama, so with prose fiction: the influence of the romances was largely confined to the period before 1600, and it was greatest on works intended for a popular reading. The only prose narrative, indeed, of a purely aristocratic and literary character that owed much to the old stories was the *Arcadia*, which, if Jonson's information was correct, Sidney at one time planned to transform into a collection of Arthurian legends, and which in its definitive form betrayed in several places the influence of *Amadis*.²¹ Greene's *Pandosto* (1588), which was indebted to *The Mirror of Knighthood*, was a work of more popular appeal.²² So also was Thomas Lodge's *Life of Robert the second Duke of Normandy, surnamed . . . Robin the Divell* (1591). And few indeed were the readers outside of middle class and plebeian circles who could have relished such crude adaptations of the old romance conventions as Robert Johnson's very popular *Seven Champions of Christendom* (1596-1597) and his *Tom of Lincoln* (1599), which was indebted to Malory; Christopher Middleton's *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England . . . With the worthy Atchievement of Sir Lancelot du Lake, and Sir Tristram du Lions* (1597); Emanuel Forde's *Parismus* (1598-1599), *Ornatus and Artesia* (ca. 1598), and *Montelyon* (before 1616); and the anonymous *Heroicall Adventures of the Knight of the Sea. Comprised in the Historie of . . . Prince Oceander* (1600).

In poetry the only works of any artistic pretensions that were influenced by the romances were *The Faerie Queene*, *Poly-Olbion*, and Chester's *Loves Martyr*. Spenser's greatest

²⁰ Crane, *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 161-165.

²¹ Brunhuber, *Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer*, 1903.

²² de Perott, *Englische Studien*, Bd. 39, 1908, 308-309.

debt, both in the general conception of his epic and in the detail of its episodes and imagery, was to Malory; but he adapted to his own purpose also material from *Bevis of Hampton*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *The Squire of Low Degree*, the *Conte du Graal*, and doubtless others as well.²³ This material he treated as he treated material from Ariosto, from Tasso, from the ancients: never content simply to retell a story he had read, he fused together elements from different sources, heightened some details and suppressed others, until the result was an essentially new creation. Drayton's method was simpler. Relying chiefly on chronicle accounts, but making some use also of the romance versions, he retold at the appropriate points in his tour through Great Britain, the legends of *Bevis of Hampton* (Song II), of King Arthur (Songs IV, V, and *passim*), and of Guy of Warwick (Songs XII and XIII). Chester's contribution, which formed only a part of *Loves Martyr*, recounted, on the basis of Malory and of various historians, "the Birth, Life and Death of honourable Arthur King of Brittain."²⁴ The other poems of the period on romance themes were of a more popular character. This was especially true of two of the three versions of *Guy of Warwick* that were written between about 1608 and 1636: Samuel Rowlands's *The Famous History of Guy Earle of Warwick* (ca. 1608), a short poem in twelve cantos founded mainly upon the metrical romance, and John Carpenter's *The famous and worthy*

²³ On Spenser's knowledge and use of the medieval romances see Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser* (ed. 1807), I, pp. 27-75, II, pp. 144-145, 205; J. B. Fletcher, "Huon of Burdeux and the Fairie Queene" (in *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, 1898, pp. 203-212); J. R. MacArthur, "The Influence of Huon of Burdeux upon the Fairie Queene" (*ibid.*, IV, 1902, pp. 215-238); Marie Walther, *Malorys Einfluss auf Spensers Faerie Queene* (1898); Howard Maynadier, *The Arthur of the English Poets*, (1907), pp. 257-277; Edgar A. Hall, "Spenser and Two Old French Grail Romances" (in *P.M.L.A.*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 539-554).

²⁴ See Charlotte D'Evelyn in *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, XIV, 75-88.

History of Guy Earle of Warwick (lic. 1636; no copy is known). The other retelling of the story of Guy, John Lane's *The corrected historie of Sir Guy* (finished in 1617, revised in 1621), was a more ambitious work, but for some reason it remained unprinted.²⁵

Finally, there were a number of ballad versions of romance subjects: *An Adventurous Knyght of King Arthur's Courte* (lic. 1565-1566); Deloney's *The Noble Acts of Arthur of the round Table* in *The Garland of Good Will* (1604; the source was Malory); *A plesante songe of the valiant actes of Guy of Warwicke* (lic. 1592); *Courage Crowned with Conquest; or, A brief Relation, how . . . Sir Eglamour bravely fought with . . . a Dragon* (cited in Rowlands's *The Melancholie Knight*, 1615); *Valentine and Orson*; and almost certainly others.

Thus during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first few years of the seventeenth many of the old chivalric romances were reprinted, new ones of the same general character were translated, and both old and new enjoyed a vogue which, though greatest among the uncultured and the old-fashioned, yet touched all classes of the reading public.

The decline which followed, and which became marked after 1625, manifested itself in two ways. First, there took place a gradual reduction in the number of romances in circulation. Between 1625 and 1640 only the following seem to have been reprinted, though others certainly continued to be read: *Paris and Vienna* (Mainwaring's version), *Le Morte Darthur*, *The Destruction of Troy*, *Palmerin d'Oliva*, *Valentine and Orson*, *Bevis of Hampton*, and *Palmerin of England*. The number was still further reduced during the second half of the century. Second, the surviving stories became more and more the peculiar property of the least cultured type of readers. Appreciated as late as the third quarter of the sixteenth century by Englishmen of all classes, they had largely ceased by the middle of the

²⁵ On these versions see Crane, *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 152-161.

seventeenth to appeal to any except servants, ignorant country folk, and children. As a means of fitting them to this narrower public—the public of the cheaper booksellers and the travelling chapmen—a number of the longer romances were abridged, and those still in verse were turned into prose. The process began shortly before 1640 with *Valentine and Orson*. It continued through the period of the Civil War with Martin Parker's prose abridgment of *Guy*, and culminated after the Restoration with five new chapbook redactions of *Guy*, two prose renderings of *Bevis*, at least four new abridgments of *Valentine and Orson*, and abridgments of *Amadis*, *Bellianis*, *King Arthur*, and *Palmerin of England*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I.

EDITIONS OF ROMANCES PRINTED IN ENGLAND OR FOR ENGLISH READERS BETWEEN 1475 AND 1640

In this list I have given for each edition (1) a brief title, (2) an indication of the publisher and of the date and place of publication (if no place is mentioned it may be assumed that the edition was printed at London), (3) a statement of the format, (4) a reference to the whereabouts of the most easily accessible copy, or if no copy is known, to some source attesting the existence of the edition, (5) a reference to a modern reprint, wherever one exists, and (6) such other information as I have been able to collect regarding date, source, translator, etc. The general order of the list is chronological; the order within single years is, except for a few years in which the time order is ascertainable, alphabetical.

ca. 1475

The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye . . . by Raoul le Fevre . . . translated . . . by Willyam Caxton. W. Caxton and Colard Mansion, Bruges. Fol. B. L.

B.M. Reprinted by H. Oskar Sommer, 2 vols., London, 1894.

ca. 1477

[*The History of Jason*. Translated from the French of Raoul le Fevre by Caxton. Caxton, Westminster, 1477?] Fol. B.L.

B.M. Reprinted John Munro, *E.E.T.S.*, *E.S.* CXI, 1913.

1485

Le Morte Darthur . . . by Syr Thomas Malory. Caxton, Westminster, July 31, 1485. Fol. B.L.

John Rylands Library, Manchester. Repr. Sommer, 3 vols., London, 1889.

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B.M. Repr. Sidney Herrtage, *E.E.T.S.*, *E.S.*, XXXVI, XXXVII, 1880, 1881. A translation by Caxton of the French prose romance of *Fierabras*.

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B.M. Repr. W. C. Hazlitt, Roxburghe Library, 1868. Translated by Caxton from an unidentified French edition.

1489-1491

[*The Four Sons of Aymon.* Caxton, Westminster.] Fol. B.L.

John Rylands Library. Repr. Octavia Richardson, *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, XLIV, XLV, 1884, 1885. Translated from the French by Caxton at the request of John, Earl of Oxford. The date rests on typographical evidence.

[*Blanchardyn and Eglantine.* Caxton, Westminster.] Fol. B.L.

B.M. Repr. Leon Kellner, *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, LVIII, 1890. Translated by Caxton from an unidentified French edition. The evidence for the date is typographical.

1492

The veray trew history of the valiant Knight Iason. Gerard Leeu, Antwerp, June 2, 1492. Fol. B.L.

University Library, Cambridge. A reprint of Caxton's translation.

Thystorie of Parys and Vyenne. Gerard Leeu, Antwerp, June 23, 1492. Fol. B.L.

Trinity College, Dublin. A reprint of Caxton's translation.

After 1494

[*Sir Eglamour.* Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster?]

4°. B.L.

University Library, Cambridge (one leaf). The type is Wynkyn de Worde's No. 4, which made its appearance about 1494. See Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*, 1917, pp. 37, 127-129. A copy of "Syr eglamour" was sold by John Dorne, an Oxford stationer, in 1520. See "The Day-book of John Dorne," No. 152, in *Ox. Hist. Soc. Collectanea*, First Series, p. 82.

[*Guy of Warwick.* Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster?]

4°. B.L.

Bodleian (fragm.). The type is No. 4. See Duff, *op. cit.*, 46, 129, and Crane, *P. M. L. A.*, XXX, 1915, 129 n.

1494-1498

[*Bevis of Hampton.* Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster.]

4°. B.L.

Bodleian (fragm.). Type No. 4 (Duff, *op. cit.*, 128). For the facts upon which the terminal date rests see *The Library*, N.S., X, 122, 127.

1498

[*Le Morte Darthur.*] Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, March 25, 1498. Fol. B.L.

John Rylands Library. A reprint of Caxton's edition, with numerous verbal changes. Illustrated. Cf. Sommer, *Le Morte Darthur*, II, 5-6.

Before 1501

[*Guy of Warwick.* Richard Pynson.] 4°. B.L.

B.M. (fragm.). Pynson's type No. 2 (Duff, *op. cit.*, 132). For the date, source, etc. see Duff, p. 46, and Crane, *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 1915, 129 n.

1502-1503

The recuyles . . . of the hystoryes of Troye. Wynkyn de Worde, 1502. Fol. B.L.

B.M.; Pepys collection. The British Museum copy is dated 1503. A reprint of Caxton's translation. Illustrated.

1504

The foure Sonnes of Aimon. Wynkyn de Worde, 1504. Fol. B.L.

Univ. Lib., Camb. (fragm.). A reprint of Caxton's edition. The date is established by the colophon of William Copland's edition of 1554.

1509

[*The History of King Richard Coeur de Lion,*] Wynkyn de Worde, 1509. Fol. B.L.

Bodleian; John Rylands. See below under 1528.

1511

The noble hystory of . . . kyng Ponthus. Wynkyn de Worde, 1511. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. See on the sources, etc. of this version, F. J. Mather, *P.M.L.A.*, XII, 1897, xxi ff., and F. Brie, *Archiv.* CXVIII, 1907, 325-328 and CXXI, 1908, 129-130.

1512

The knyght of the swanne. Wynkyn de Worde, 1512. 4°. B.L.

The only known copy (printed on parchment) in the Library of Richard Hoe, N.Y. (sold in 1911). Repr. for the Grolier Club, New York, 1901. The source was probably the Paris, 1504, edition of *Le Chevalier au Cygne*.

1518

Olyver of Castylle. Wynkyn de Worde, 1518. 4°. B.L. Britwell. Repr. R. E. Graves, for the Roxburghe Club, 1898. Translated by Henry Watson, "an apprentice of London," from the French.

The first French edition appeared at Geneva in 1482. The original, which purported to be a translation from the Latin but which was probably written in French by Philippe Camus, could not have been much older than this.

Before 1520

[*Sir Isumbras.*]

Two copies sold by John Dorne at Oxford in 1520. See his "Day-book," *ed. cit.*, Nos. 1137, 1188.

Undo youre dore. Wynkyn de Worde? 4°. B.L.

Britwell, (fragms.). Repr. W. E. Mead, *The Squyr of Lowe Degre.* Albion Series, 1904. Two copies (of this edition?) were sold by Dorne in 1520 (Nos. 621, 1103).

ca. 1520

[*Kyng Wylliam of Palerne.* Wynkyn de Worde?] B.L.

Private library (fragm.). Ed. Friedrich Brie in *Archiv*, CXVIII, 1907, 323-325. On the date, printer, and source, see *The Academy*, March 11, 1893, 223, and Brie, *loc. cit.*, 319-322.

1528

Kynge Rycharde cuer du lyon. Wynkyn de Worde, 1528. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Illustrated by ten woodcuts. The text bears a close resemblance to the Caius College MS of the romance; see Weber, *Metrical Romances*, 1810, I, xlviiii.

1529

[*Le Morte Darthur.*] Wynkyn de Worde, 1529. Fol. B.L.

B.M. On the relation of this edition to its predecessors see Sommer, *Le Morte Darthur*, II, 6-7, 43-145.

1501-1530

[*Bevis of Hampton.*] Richard Pynson. 4°. B.L.

Bodleian (impf.). Koelbing prints readings from it in the notes of his edition of the romance in *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, XLVI, 1885. The date of publication can be fixed only within the limits of Pynson's removal to the sign of the George in 1501 and his death in 1530. The "bevis of hampton" sold by John Dorne in 1520 may have belonged to this edition ("Day-book," No. 2033).

[*Paris and Vienne.* Richard Pynson?] 4°. B.L.

B.M. Attributed to Pynson by the compilers of the B.M. *Catalogue.*

1501-1535

Syr Degore. Wynkyn de Worde. 4°. B.L.

Britwell. I group under these dates all of the undated romances printed by Wynkyn de Worde between his removal from Westminter to Fleet Street, late in 1500 or early in 1501, and his death in 1534 or 1535.

[*Generides.* Wynkyn de Worde?] 4°. B.L.

Trinity College, Camb. (fragm.). See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 224. Repr. by Furnivall in his Roxburghe Club edition of *Generides*, 1865.

Ipomydon. Wynkyn de Worde. 4°.

B.M. (fragm.). Cf. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 291, and E. Koelbing, *Ipomydon*, 1889, xiv.

Thystory of the knyght Parys and of the fayr Vyene.
Wynkyn de Worde. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. (fragm.).

Robert the devyll. Wynkyn de Worde. 4°. B.L.

B.M.; Univ. Lib., Camb. These two copies appear to represent different impressions. It is possible that to one of them belonged the copy of "robert the deuill" sold by John Dorne in 1520 ("Day-book," No. 1325). There is a modern reprint in Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances*, Vol. I, 1858. The source of this translation was some contemporary edition of the French prose *Robert le Diable*.

A verse romance entitled *The Lyfe of Roberte the Deuyll* was printed by Herbert in 1798 from an Elizabethan transcript of a quarto edition, now lost with the exception of a fragment preserved in the Bodleian (Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 510), but believed to have been printed by either Wynkyn de Worde or Pynson. A comparison of texts shows that the metrical version was in all probability based upon the prose translation.

[*Torrent of Portugal.* Wynkyn de Worde?] 4°. B.L.

Bodl. (fragm.). See *Torrent of Portyngale*, *E.E.T.S.*, *E.S.*, LI, 1887, pp. v-vi, 93-100.

[*Sir Tryamour.* Wynkyn de Worde?] 4°. B.L.

Univ. Lib. Camb. (fragm.).

ca. 1529

Syr Gawayne. John Butler. 4°. B.L.

Lambeth (fragm.). Ed. Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, Bannatyne Club, 1839. Butler is known to have printed a number of books, but the only fixed date in his career is 1529, when he issued his only known dated book, the *Parvulorum institutio*.

1533-1535

The boke of duke Huon of burdeaux. [Wynkyn de Worde?]

Fol.

Private library. Repr. Sidney Lee, *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, XL, XLIII, L, 1882, 1884, 1887. A translation from the French, probably from a Paris edition of 1513, by Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners. According to the prologue of "the printer," Berners was encouraged in his work by Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who also was responsible for getting the book printed. From the latter circumstance, and indeed from the whole tone of the prologue, it would seem that the romance was printed after Berners' death, which took place in 1533. The printer was almost certainly Wynkyn de Worde: the type would appear to have been his, and in 1553 ten copies of the romance formed part of the stock of books remaining in his house in Fleet Street (*The Library*, Ser. III, Vol. VI, 1915, 232).

Before 1535

[*The Grayle?* Wynkyn de Worde?]

In an account of the contents of the printing house formerly owned by Wynkyn de Worde, later by Edward Whitchurch, drawn up in 1553 (*The Library*, Ser. III, Vol. VI, 1915, 231) occurs the following item: "vnum librum voc. a Grayle in parchment." Does this refer to a translation of the *Histoire du Saint Graal*, of which the current French version appeared about 1514?

[*Valentine and Orson.* Wynkyn de Worde?] 4°. B.L.

Library of the Duke of Devonshire (fragm.). Translated from the French by Henry Watson. The ascription to Wynkyn de Worde is conjectural, but it is somewhat strengthened by the fact that Watson in 1518 translated *Oliver of Castile* at De Worde's request (see his statement in the preface).

1548

A History of . . . Ponthus . . . and . . . Sidonia.

1548. 4°.

Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 475.

1553

The recuile of the Histories of Troie. William Copland, 1553. Fol. B.L.

B.M. A reprint of Caxton's translation. See Sommer, *The Recuyell*, I, xcvi-c.

1536-1554

Syr Gawayne. Thomas Petyt. 4°. B.L.

B.M. (fragm.). Petyt printed between about 1536 and 1554.

1554

The foure sonnes of Aimon. William Copland for Thomas Petet, 1554. Fol. B.L.

B.M. A reprint of De Worde's edition.

1548-1557

Valentyne and Orson. William Copland for John Walley. 4°. B.L.

Private library. The date is fixed within these limits by a statement in the colophon that it was printed at the Rose Garland. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 624, and cf. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 32.

1557

The Story of the moste noble and worthy Kynge Arthur. William Copland, 1557. Fol. B.L.

B.M. A reprint of Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1529. See Sommer, *Le Morte Darthur*, II, 7-8.

1557-1558

A Feast of syr Gawayne. Lic. to John King between July 19, 1557 and July 9, 1558.

Stationers' Registers, I, 79.

Syr Lamwell. Lic. to King between July 19, 1557 and July 9, 1558.

Stat. Reg., I, 79. Two fragments of this romance, both printed apparently in the sixteenth century but belonging to distinct impressions, are preserved in the Bodleian. They are printed in *The Percy Folio Manuscript*, I, 522-535. One of them may belong to King's edition. For an earlier edition, probably by John Rastell (active 1516-1533), see *The Library*, Ser. III, Vol. VI, p. 233.

1558-1559

Bevys of Hampton. Lic. to Thomas Marshe between July 10, 1558 and July 10, 1559.

Stat. Reg., I, 95.

1560

Syr Degore. John King, 1560. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. Licensed June 10, 1560 (*Stat. Reg.*, I, 128).

The Squyr of Low degre. Lic. to John King, June 10, 1560.

Stat. Reg., I, 128.

1561

Bevys of Hampton. Lic. to John Tysdale, May 11, 1561.
Stat. Reg., I, 156.

1561-1562

Bevis of Hampton. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

Hazlitt (*Handbook*, 38) lists an edition by Copland printed "in the vinetre upon the thre Crane wharf." Copland printed at this address between sometime before 1561 and 1562 (Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 32-33).

Syr Tryamour. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

B.M. The colophon reads: "Imprinted at London in Temes strete vpon the thre Crane wharfe." Repr. Utterson, *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, I, 5-72.

Before 1566

The hystory of . . . Arthur of lytell brytayne. Robert Redborne. Fol. B.L.

John Rylands Library. Translated by Lord Berners from the French *Artus de Bretagne* (prose). Repr. Utterson, London, 1814. The translation must have been finished before 1533, when Berners died, and it was probably first printed not long after. Redborne is mentioned in various connections in the Stationers' Registers up to 1566 (see Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 131).

1567-1568

The tresurie of Amadis of France. H. Bynnemann for T. Hacket. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Licensed to Hacket between July 22, 1567 and July 22, 1568 (*Stat. Reg.*, I, 359). A translation by Thomas Paynell of *Le Trésor des Amadis: contenant les Epitres, Complaintes, Concions, Harangues, Deffis, & Cartels: Recueillis des douze Livres d'Amadis de Gaule: pour servir d'exemple, à ceus qui desirent apprendre à bien écrire Missives, ou parler Francois*, a compilation of which numerous editions appeared in France after 1559.

1548-1569

Syr Degore. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Repr. Utterson, *Select Pieces*, I, 117-155. Under these dates, which represent the approximate limits of Copland's activity, I bring together those editions which lack any precise indication of date or address.

Syr Eglamour of Artoys. William Copland. 4°. B.L.
 Bodl. See Schleich, *Sir Eglamour* (Palaestra LIII), 92.

Syr Isenbras. William Copland. 4°. B.L.
B.M. Repr. Utterson, *Select Pieces*, I, 77-112.

The Knight of Curtesy and the Fair Lady of Faguell.
William Copland. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. Repr. W.C. Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, II, 1866, 65-87.

The Knyght of the Swanne. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Repr. Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances*, III. A reprint of Robert Copland's translation as printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

The Squyr of lowe degre. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Repr. W. E. Mead, Albion Series, 1904. The same text as Wynkyn de Worde's *Undo youre dore*.

1562-1569

Syr Beuys of Hampton. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

B.M. This and the two following romances were printed "in Lothbury," Copland's address between 1562 and his death in 1568 or 1569 (Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 33).

Guy of Warwick. William Copland. 4°. B.L.

B.M. See Crane, *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 1915, 129 n.

Valentyne and Orson. William Copland. 4°.

B.M. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 624.

1568-1569

Beves of Hampton. Lic. to John Alde between July 22, 1568 and July 22, 1569.

Stat. Reg., I, 389.

Generydes. Lic. to Thomas Purfoot between July 22, 1568 and July 22, 1569.

Stat. Reg., I, 389. See Wright, *Generydes, E.E.T.S., O.S.*, LXX, 1878 vii. Earlier editions of *Generides* must have existed, for it is mentioned in Hyrde's translation of Vives' *Instruction of a Christen Woman* (ca. 1540) among romances especially popular in England. See *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 137-138.

Kynge Rychard Cur de Lyon. Lic. to Thomas Purfoot between July 22, 1568 and July 22, 1569.

Stat. Reg., I, 389.

1570

[*Huon of Bordeaux.*]

The colophon of the 1601 edition of this romance sets forth that it was "translated out of frenche into English by Syr John Bourchire, Knight, Lord Berniers, at the request of the Lord Hastings Earl of Huntington, in the years of our Lorde God, one thousand fivie hendrede and three score and Ten, and now newlie reuised and corrected thys present yeare, 1601." As the date of either the translation or the first edition, 1570 is clearly out of the question (see above under 1533-1535); but it may well have been a confusion on the part of the publisher of the 1601 edition, Thomas Purfoot, for the date of a second edition. That there actually was such an edition is implied in the statement on the title page of Purfoot's reprint, that the work was "now the Third time imprinted." See Sidney Lee, *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, XL, lvi; L, 782.

Before 1572

Guy of Warwick. John Cawood.See Crane, *P.M.L.A.*, XXX, 130 n.

1577

Gerileon of England. Lic. to John Jugge, May 20, 1577. *Stat. Reg.*, II, 312.

1578

The Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood. Thomas East. 4°. B.L.

B.M. A translation by Margaret Tiler of the first part of Book I of the Spanish romance, *Espejo de Principes*, by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra. The translation was licensed to East on August 4, 1578 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 334). Two other undated editions by East of this part of the romance are listed by Esdaile, p. 105.

1581

Palmerin of Englande. Lic. to John Charlwood, Feb. 13, 1581.

Stat. Reg., II, 388. Concerning the date of publication of this romance, which was translated by Anthony Munday from a French version, there are several bits of evidence in addition to the entry in the Stationers' Register. In the first place, Parts I and II were published separately (see "The Epistle Dedicatory" in the 1609 edition of *The First Part*, sig. A3 verso). In the second place, the two parts were in print before 1585, for sometime before that year Thomas Marshe, a bookseller, sold to Edward Wingfield, Esq., of Kimbalton Castle, Huntingdonshire, among various other books, "Palmering, 2 parts." (*The Library*, Third Series, VII, 328). As no edition of *Palmerin d'Oliva* appeared before 1588, the reference here must be to *Palmerin of England*.

In the third place, the priority of the first two parts of *Palmerin of England* to *Palmerin d'Oliva* is established by Munday's epistle "To the Reader" in *The First Part* of the latter romance (ed. 1637, sig. A4). *Palmerin of England*, though the first translated, forms in reality the last part of the Palmerin cycle.

1582

Sir Eglamour. Lic. to John Charlwood, Jan. 15, 1581-2. *Stat. Reg.*, II, 405. The copyright belonged formerly to Sampson Awdley.

Kinge Pontus. Lic. to John Charlwood, Jan. 15, 1581-2. *Stat. Reg.*, II, 405. The rights in "King Pontus" belonged formerly to Sampson Awdley, who died in 1575.

The ffoure Sonnes of Amon. Lic. to Thomas East, March 12, 1581-2. *Stat. Reg.*, II, 408.

Olyver of Castell. Lic. to Thomas East, March 12, 1581-2. *Stat. Reg.*, II, 408.

Arthur of Little Britaine. Thomas East. 4°. B.L. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 14, and *Coll. and Notes*, Fourth Series, 12. The copy described here probably belonged to the edition licensed to East on March 12, 1581-82 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 408).

1583

Gerileon of Englande. For Miles Jennings, 1583. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. Jennings acquired Jugge's rights in this romance on April 6, 1579 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 351). The source was the French translation by Estienne de Maison-neuve (1572).

The Second part of the Myrror of Knyghthood. Thomas East, 1583. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Licensed to East on Aug. 24, 1582 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 414). Between this "Second part" and the portion of the romance published in 1578 intervened in the original Spanish two "parts"; these East promised in his address "To the Reader" in the *Second part* to issue "with as much speede as may be." The translation was made by R.P. from the Spanish text.

1546-1586

Syr Eglamoure of Artoys. John Walley. 4°. B.L. B.M. The date can be fixed only within the extreme limits of Walley's career.

1582-1586

The storje of the most noble and worthy Kynge Arthur.
Thomas East. Fol. B.L.

Esdaile (p. 97) lists two editions of Malory by East, one in the B.M., the other in Univ. Lib., Camb. Both are undated. Two facts serve to place one or both of them between 1582 and 1586. (1) East's license to print "Kinge Arthure" was obtained on March 12, 1582 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 408). (2) A copy of "K Arthure booke" was purchased on May 7, 1586 for Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland (*Hist. MSS Com.*, *The MSS of . . . the Duke of Rutland*, IV, 388). The source of the text was Copland's edition of 1557.

1586

Paris and Vienna. Lic. to Thomas Purfoot, Aug. 8,
1586.

Stat. Reg., II, 453. Described in the entry as "an old booke."

Valentine and Orson. Lic. to Thomas Purfoot, Aug. 8,
1586.

Stat. Reg., II, 453.

1588

Palmerin d'Oliva. J. Charlwood, 1588. 4°. B.L.

See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 436. Translated from the French by Anthony Munday. The two parts of the work as Munday divided it were published separately (see his address "To the Reader" in *The First Part*, ed. 1637). The second part was out before his translation of *Palladine of England* (see "To the Friendly Readers" in *Palmerin d'Oliva, The Second Part*, ed. 1637).

Palladine of England. E. Allde for I. Perin, 1588.
4°. B.L.

Bridgewater. A translation by Munday of *L'Histoire Palladienne* (1555), itself a translation of the Spanish romance, *Florando de Inglaterra* (1545). Though often connected with the Palmerin cycle (as by Esdaile, 108), it is in reality as independent romance. The translation was in press at the publication of the Second Part of *Palmerin d'Oliva* (see the preceding note). The same work was licensed to V. Syms on Nov. 12, 1595 (*Stat. Reg.*, III, 52) and to John Danter on Aug. 27, 1596 (*ibid.*, III, 69).

ca. 1589

Syr Bevis of Hampton. Thomas East. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. The date is fixed approximately by the address; "Aldersgate Street at the Sign of the Black Horse" (see Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge*, I, 317.)

1589

Palmendos, Sonne to the famous and fortunate Prince Palmerin d'Oliva. I. C[harlwood] for S. Watersonne, 1589. 4°. B.L.

Huth Collection. A translation by Munday of the first twenty chapters of Vernassal's French version of *Primaleon de Grèce*. Licensed to Charlewood, together with *Primaleon of Greece*, Jan. 9, 1589, (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 513).

Primaleon of Greece. Lic. to John Charlwood, Jan. 9, 1589.

Stat. Reg., II, 513.

Amadis de Gaule. Books I-IV lic. to Edward Allde, Jan. 15, 1589.

Stat. Reg., II, 514. The entry indicated that these books were not yet translated.

1592

Amadis de Gaule. Books II-V lic. to John Wolf, Apr. 10, 1592.

Stat. Reg., II, 607.

Gerillion. Parts I, III, IV lic. to Abel Jeffes, Oct. 6, 1592.

Stat. Reg., II, 621.

The Second Part of the History of Gerileon of England. For C. Burbie, 1592. 4°.

See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 47. Translated from the French by Anthony Munday. On August 8, 1592 the right to translate *Le Second Livre de . . . Gerileon d'Angleterre* was given to Thomas Scarlett. (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 619)

1594

The history of Palmeryn. John Charlwood's copies transferred to James Roberts, May 31, 1594.

Stat. Reg., II, 651-652.

Amadis de Gaule. Books II-XII licensed to Adam Islip and W. Moring, Oct. 16, 1594.

Stat. Reg., II, 662.

1595

[*The first Book of Amadis of Gaule.* 1595?] 4°. B.L. B.M. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 7. Translated by Anthony Munday from the French of Herberay des Essarts.

The Seconde Booke of Amadis de Gaule. For C. Burbie, 1595. 4°. B.L.

B.M. The translator, "Lazarus Pyott," has usually been identified with Munday, but excellent reasons for regarding him as a distinct person, a victim of Munday's unscrupulousness, have been set forth by Henry Thomas in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XIII, 1916, 135-139.

Blanchardine . . . & . . . Eglantine. For W. Blackwall, 1595. 4°. B.L.

Britwell. The license was dated May 10, 1595 (*Stat. Reg.*, 298). A new version of the romance, the work of Thomas Pope Goodwin. See *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, LVIII, 225-234.

The first Booke of Primaleon of Greece. For C. Burby, 1595. 4°. B.L.

Private library. See Esdaile, 108. Translated by Anthony Munday from Vernassal's *L'Histoire de Primaleon de Grèce*. The license for the first two books was given to Burby on Aug. 10, 1594 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 657). Before that John Charlwood had held the copyright (above under 1589).

1596

The Auncient Historie, of the destruction of Troy. T. Creede, 1596. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. A revision of Caxton's *Recuyell* by William Fiston.

The historye of Sir Mervyn son to Ogyer the Dane. Lic. to Richard Jones, Feb. 3, 1595-6.

Stat. Reg., III, 58. There is no trace of an edition of this romance earlier than that of 1612, but it is mentioned by Meres in 1598 (*Palladis Tamia*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, II, 308-309).

[*Palmerin of England.* T. Creede?] 1596. 4°.

Britwell; see Esdaile, 109. Two parts of this romance were licensed to Creede on Aug. 9, 1596 (*Stat. Reg.*, III, 68).

The second Book of Primaleon of Greece. I. Danter for C. Burby, 1596. 4°. B.L.

Private library; see Esdaile, 108. Translated from the French by Munday.

1597

Blanchardine and Eglantine. G. Shaw for W. Blackwall, 1597. 4°.

Public Library, Hamburg. A reprint of the 1595 edition. Cf. *Stat. Reg.*, IV, 349.

The Second Part of . . . Palmerin d'Oliva. T. Creede, 1597. 4°. B.L.

Private library; see Esdaile, 107. Two parts licensed to Creede on Aug. 9, 1596 (*Stat. Reg.*, III, 68).

1598

The Honour of Chivalrie. Set downe in the . . . Historie of . . . Don Bellianis. T. Creede, 1598. 4°. B.L.

B.M. "Englished out of Italian, by L. A." The source was the *Historia del Magnanimo et invincibil Principe Don Belianis*, Ferrara, 1586, itself a translation of a Spanish original.

The first parte of the historie of Durine of Grece Translated out of French by H. W. Lic. to Thomas Purfoot Sr. and Jr., Dec. 8, 1598.

Stat. Reg., II, 132. Book IV of *Primaleon of Greece*.

The sixth Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood. Being the first Booke of the third Part. E. Allde for C. Burby, 1598. 4°. B.L.

Univ. Lib., Camb. Translated by R. P. from the Spanish of Pedro de la Sierra, or Marco Martínez.

The Seventh Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood. Being the Second of the third Part. T. Purfoot for C. Burby, 1598. 4°. B.L.

B.M. The dedication is signed L. A.

The Second part of the Myrroure of Knighthood. T. Este, 1598. 4°. B.L.

Bodl. A reprint of the 1583 edition.

1599

The history of the iiij sons of Aymon. Lic. to Thomas Purfoot, Feb. 5, 1598-9.

Stat. Reg., III, 137.

The Last part of the ffowre sonnys of Aymon. Lic. to John Wolf, Feb. 22, 1598-9.

Stat. Reg., III, 139.

The Second part of the first Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood. T. Este, 1599. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Translated from the Spanish by R. P. The British Museum contains an undated edition by East of *The Third Part of the first booke*,

which probably appeared about the same time. It is possible of course that both of these impressions were reprints of earlier editions. In the 1583 edition of *The Second part* East had promised to bring out "with as much speede as may be" the two intervening parts, namely, the second and third of the first book.

The Eighth Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood. Being the third of the third Part. T. Creede for C. Burby, 1599.
4°. B.L.

B.M. The dedication is signed L.A.

1601

The Ninth part of the Mirroure of Knight-hood. Being the fourth Booke of the third part thereof. For C. Burbie, 1601.

4°. B.L.

B.M.; Univ. Lib., Camb.

The Historie of Huon of Bordeaux. T. Purfoot, 1601.

4°. B.L.

B.M.; Bodl. Described on the title page as "Being now the Third time imprinted, and the rude English corrected and amended." The variants from the first edition are given by Lee in his *E.E.T.S.* reprint. Purfoot's rights in *Huon* passed at his death to his son (*Stat. Reg.*, III, 576) and in 1639 to Thomas Wright (*Stat. Reg.*, IV, 454).

1602

The Third and last part of Palmerin of England. I. R[oberts] for William Leake, 1602. 4°. B.L.

B.M. A translation by Munday of Mambrino Roseo's *Palmerino d'Inghilterra*, Part III (1558), an Italian continuation of the Spanish *Palmerin*. No French version of this part is known. The license for *The Third Part* is dated March 10, 1595 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 672).

1607

The Auncient Historie of the destruction of Troy. T. Creede, 1607. 4°. B.L.

B.M. A reprint of Fiston's revision of *The Recuyell*.

The third Book of Primaleon of Greece. Lic. to Mistress Burby, Oct. 6, 1607.

Stat. Reg., III, 360.

1609

The first parte of the Hystorye of Don Silves de Silva. Lic. to William White, May 29, 1609.

Stat. Reg., III, 410. The thirteenth book of *Amadis* in the French translation.

The Fist Part of . . . Palmerin of England. T. Creede, 1609. 4°. B.L.

B.M. A reprint of Munday's translation.

1612

The most Famous and renowned Historie of . . . Mervine, sonne to . . . Oger the Dane. R. Blower and V. Sims, 1612. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Translated from the French by I. M. (=Gervase Markham?). In the B.M. copy of this edition the second part is bound with the first in continuous pagination. The Dedication of Part I, however, indicates that that part originally appeared before its successor. See above under 1596.

1616

Palmerin of England. T. Creede and B. Alsop, 1616. 4°. B.L.

Private library; see Esdaile, 109. Contained Parts I and II.

Palmerin d'Oliva. T. C[reede] and R. A. for R. Higgenbotham, 1616. 4°. B.L.

Private library; see Esdaile, 107. Contained the first and second parts.

1617

The Auncient Historie, of the destruction of Troy . . . The fifth Edition. B. Alsop, 1617. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Fiston's revision.

1618-1619

The Ancient, Famous and Honourable History of Amadis de Gaule. N. Okes, 1619 (Books I, II), 1618 (Books III, IV). Fol.

B.M.; Newberry Library, Chicago. Contains the first four books, I, III, and IV translated by Munday, II by Lazarus Pyott. No earlier edition of the third and fourth books is known. In his dedication of the Fourth Book Munday promised translations of Books V and VI.

1619

Primaleon of Greece. T. Snodham, 1619. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Contains the first three books, all in Munday's translation. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" of Book III Munday promised a version of Book IV, a copy of which had recently come into his possession.

1620

Vienna: no art can cure this hart. N. Okes for John Pyper, 1620. 4°.

Bodl. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 438. A new version by Matthew Mainwaring.

1621

The Honour of True Love and Knighthood, wherein are storied the Noble atchievements of Sir Paris of Vienna and the faire Princesse Vienna. B. Alsop, 1621. 4°.

See Hazlitt, *Coll. and Notes*, 318. Mainwaring's translation.

ca. 1628

Vienna. G. Percivall. 4°.

B.M. Mainwaring's translation. Licensed to Percivall on May 25, 1628 (*Stat. Reg.*, IV, 198).

1634

The most Ancient and Famous History of the renowned Prince Arthur King of Britaine. W. Stansby for I. Bloome, 1634. 4°. B.L.

B.M. A reprint of East's edition of 1582-1586, the rights to which Stansby acquired in 1626 from Mistress Snodham, whose husband had taken them in 1609 at East's death (*Stat. Reg.*, III, 413; IV, 152-153). For other evidence of the dependence of this edition upon East's see Sommer, *Le Morte Darthur*, II, 16-17.

1636

The Auncient Historie, of the destruction of Troy . . . The Sixth Edition. B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1636. 4°. B.L.

Bodl.

Before 1637

Vienna. No Art Can Cure This Hart. For R. Hawkins. 4°.

Bodl. Mainwaring's translation. Hawkins was dead by June 12, 1637, for at that time his interest in *Vienna* was transferred at the request of his widow to Mead and Meredith (*Stat. Reg.*, IV, 420).

1637

Palmerin d'Oliva. B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1637. 4°. B.L.

B.M. Parts I and II.

Valentine and Orson. T. Purfoot, 1637. 4°. B.L.

B.M. An abridgment of the version printed by De Worde and Copland. The publisher was the son of the Thomas Purfoot to whom the romance was licensed in 1586 (*Stat. Reg.*, II, 453; III, 576). On Feb. 1, 1638-9 the younger Purfoot's rights were assigned to Thomas Wright (*ibid.*, IV, 454).

1626-1639

Syr Bevis of Hampton. William Stansby. 4°.

See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 38. The date of this edition can be placed only within the above limits. In 1626 Stansby acquired the right to print *Syr Bevis* which had formerly been in the possession of Thomas Snodham, to whom it had passed from Thomas East. In 1639 his right was transferred at his death to Richard Bishop. See *Stat. Reg.*, III, 413; IV, 152-153, 458-460. Not only do these facts throw light on the date; they also show that the version printed by Stansby was a reprint of that published by East.

The British Museum has an undated edition of *Syr Bevis*, printed by C.W. for W. Lee, which the *Catalogue* dates "1620?"

1639

The First and Second Parts of Palmerin of England.

B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1639. 4°. B.L.

B.M.

1639-1650

Sir Bevis of Hampton. Richard Bishop. 4°.

Bodl. See note under 1626-1639 above. Bishop printed until 1649-1650.

II.

MODERN WORKS RELATING TO THE REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIÆVAL ROMANCES DURING THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

I have omitted from this section of the bibliography all merely general works such as the studies of the novel by Raleigh and Jusserand, "The Cambridge History of English Literature," etc., and all collections or editions of texts mentioned in their appropriate places under section I.

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