The Names of the Knights of the Round Table*

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ONE OF MALORY'S BRILLIANT CONTRIBUTIONS to the Arthurian story, without counterpart in his French originals, is called "The Healing of Sir Urry." It is the fifth part of what the Winchester MS and its editor, Eugène Vinaver, call the "Book of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere," the seventh of Vinaver's eight "Works" of Sir Thomas Malory, the second from the end. It is the nineteenth of 21 books in Caxton's *Le Morte Arthur*, and most of us have known it in this Caxton version, since the wealth and accuracy of the long lost Winchester version was only discovered in 1934 by W.F. Oakeshott, and made public in Vinaver's definitive edition in 1947. Few except medieval scholars are yet used to the new Malory with its revolutionary implications; not long ago an American publisher brought out at a high price a reprint of the old Medici edition, based on Caxton, with the extensively advertised sales lure of "unexpurgated"—one of the more blatant pieces of publishing fraud, or ignorance, in modern times.

Sir Urry, a knight of Hungary, was wounded in a Spanish tourney as he fought with Sir Alpheus of Spain, whom he killed. In revenge Alpheus's mother, a sorceress, so worked that "sir Urry shulde never be hole, but ever his [seven great] woundis shulde one tyme fester and another tyme blede, so that he shulde never be hole untyll the beste knyght of the worlde had serched hys woundis" (1145). Urry's mother had him carried on a litter for a terrible seven years, until one Pentecost they came finally to the court of King Arthur. Arthur promised that he would handle Urry's wounds and encourage the hundred and ten knights

* It seems fitting to round out our tribute to Professor Utley by publishing this paper, which is an expanded and, for the most part, earlier version, of a paper read before the American Name Society on December 30, 1964. The early long version is the basis for the present paper, but the two versions, together with other material Professor Utley added over the years, have been conflated, edited, and prepared for publication by Mark Amsler of Ohio State University, where he was assisted by Alan Brown. I am grateful to these scholars for this contribution. I should add that I am responsible for certain changes in the use of quotation marks and italics for titles and for reparagraphing the essay. We have decided to let the essay remain informal, without footnotes. We are fully aware that this is not the finished form Professor Utley would have preferred, but we hope that it will prove valuable for *Names* readers. Manuscripts used for this article are housed in the Utley collection in the Department of English at Ohio State University. Page references in the text are to Eugène Vinaver, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947).—W.B.F.

of the Round Table present (40 were away) also to search the wounds in an attempt to heal them. There follows a magnificent roll call of the hundred and ten, each of whom tries and fails. Then Sir Lancelot, who has been absent, appears; with genuine humility he prays, and touches the wounds:

> And than sir Lancelot prayde sir Urré to lat him se hys hede; and than, devoutly knelyng, he ransaked the three woundis, that they bled a lytyll; and forwithall the woundis fayre heled and semed as they had ben hole a seven yere. And in lyke wyse he serched hys body of othir three woundis, and they healed in lyke wyse. And then the laste of all he serched hys honde, and anon hit fayre healed. // Than kyng Arthur and all the kynges and knyghtes kneled downe and gave thankynges and lovynge unto God and unto Hys Blyssed Modir. And ever sir Launcelot wepte, as he had bene a chylde that had bene beatyn!(1152)

So successful was the cure that the next day Urry and Lavayne, brother of Elaine and close friend of Lancelot, took part in a tourney, and each of them pulled down 30 knights. In reward each was made a knight of the Table Rounde, and Urry remained until the end the strong partisan of his benefactor Sir Lancelot.

At least three reasons for this new Malorean story have been put forward. Robert Lumiansky thinks that Arthur is suspicious of Lancelot's adultery with Guinevere and is here testing him. If that is so, God helps in a rather barefaced lie, and Arthur, who himself failed the test, is not much concerned about his own reputation. A second and better reason is technical—that Malory is taking one more chance to exalt his favorite character, Lancelot, who had failed in the Grail Vision because of his sins. Malory's partisanship, something like that of Chaucer for Criseyde, reveals itself in such phrases as "the truest lover of a sinful man that ever loved woman" (882) and "the greatest knight of a sinful knight that ever there was." It is like those Kiwanis Club signs: the biggest little town in the Texas Panhandle. The third purpose is dramatic. The aftermath of the Grail story, the plots of Gawain's brothers, and Modred's treason are about to disrupt the high order of chivalry known as the Round Table. Hence it is proper that the orderly roll be called here with each noble name meticulously pronounced; from now on there will be no heroic company like this on earth. Malory is manifesting his onomastic intelligence, his awareness of the power of great and resounding catalogues of names. He is like Milton in *Paradise Lost*, pulling the stops on the names of demons and of great geographies in earth and universe, like Walt Whitman and Stephen Vincent Benét and Archibald Macleish naming American cities, and like Homer cataloguing the ships which came to Troy. Onomastics can be linguistics, and it can also be great literature.

There is nothing else onomastically so impressive in Malory, though there are other briefer catalogues of names. In the Urry catalogue Malory has gone back over his many books—or his six preceding

Works—and ransacked them for names to make up a list of 110 knights, some of them mentioned only once before. He has made little use of the catalogue of knights in the "Tale of King Arthur," first Vinaver book (36), those whom Arthur led against the rebellious 11 kings. Of these 21 names, only Colgrevance, Ector, Kay, Lucas and Grysfflet le Fyse de Deu reappear in the Urry catalogue. No use at all is made of another list, the countries in the tale of Arthur and Lucius from which the Emperor Lucius gathers his largely oriental allies (193). A fair number of names, on the other hand, reflect the list in the "Tale of Sir Gareth of Orkeney" (343): out of Gareth's 51, 39 are repeated in the master catalogue. Gareth's list had 12 knights opposed to Arthur, 32 under his command, and six belonging to the nonaligned party of Sir Gareth. Arthur's Round Table has captured into its number seven of the 12, and most of Gareth's men, and the losses are largely through death—Tarquyn, Tristram, Perceval.

We must wait a long time for another such list—about 850 pages in Vinaver's edition (1048). Then Guinevere gives a dinner to Gawain and his brothers Agravayne, Mordred, Gaherys and Gareth, hoping that she can wine and dine them out of their enmity to Lancelot and to herself; she also invites Lanceloteans like Bors, Galahad, Ector and Lyonell, and neutrals like Kay the Seneschal. It was a bad miscast; Sir Pyonel le Saveayge, who hates Gawain because he had killed the noble knight Lamerok, Pyonel's kinsman, poisons apples to kill Gawain, and the fruit kills an innocent bystander, Sir Patryse, a knight of Ireland. The queen is accused of the murder, and though Lancelot saves her in trial by combat, the poison in the Edenic apple has crept into the company of the Round Table, and this list thus points forward to the master list, Urry's catalogue. Of the 24 invited, only three are not present at Urry's healing: Sir Patryse and Pynell (Pyonell), the murdered and his murderer, and a mysterious Alyduke (268), who ought not to have been there at all, since he was killed in Vinaver's Book II, the Tale of Arthur and Lucius (215).

There are four similar lists, shorter and significantly partial, after Urry's catalogue. One is again of Gawain's party (1164), which ambushes Lancelot when he is in Guinevere's chamber. There are 14 of them, and all had been present at Urry's cure, except a mysterious Gromoresom Erioure, who has been equated by the editor with one Helynas de Gromeret (perhaps blended with Eliors); he is also no doubt confused with a Round Table pair which the Urry catalogue calls Sir Grummor and Grummorson, in the Winchester MS; Caxton has one knight only, "sir Gromore grummore sone." Vinaver seems to imply that Caxton converted an original pair into one; it is more likely that the Winchester scribe, good as he is, misunderstood Scottish naming systems, derived from Scandinavian, and created a doublet. Out of such confusions and the dour sound of the name, T.H. White has created a

magnificently humorous figure on the basis of a Malorean knight or knights who was or were very minor in the Arthurian story.

To return to the Gawain ambush party: all 14 appeared at the healing of Urry, but the roster lacks several of the better sort, Gawain himself, Gaheris and Gareth, since these honorable Orkeneyans refrain, through various loyalties, from the first stages of the assault on Lancelot of Benwick. Later, by tragic series of predestined events, even they are drawn in; their absence from this catalogue is therefore of high significance. To balance the Gawain party there appear three other lists: 24 knights of Lancelot's party (1170); the same 24 with their new titles as Lancelot bestows on them the kingdom of France (1204-5); and a group of 19 noble knights who, though not strictly of Gawain's party, stood against Lancelot, and were slain (1177). This last group seems to represent the neutrals; at least it does not contain any of Gawain's ambushing party. Gareth and Gaheris are slain, and thus Gawain is drawn ultimately to oppose his old friend and companion. What is most significant is that instead of the noble catalogue at the healing of Sir Urry we now have three catalogues, three fragments, a Gawain group, a Lancelot group, and a more or less neutral group. The Round Table has burst asunder; while formerly occasional members had jousted together for sport or by misunderstanding or because of disguise, they were one party. The rite of the healing is the watershed; it had exalted Lancelot, and the sequel is the destruction of Arthur's noble empire. Henceforth we have only sects, parties, ambushes and slander and strife.

Malory continues in his partisanship for Lancelot by indicating that Lancelot's group is no party, but the chivalry of the French nation. So, moved to his new home and now separate from his liege lord Arthur, "he avaunced them off hys blood, as sir Blamour, he made hym duke of Lymosyn in Gyan, and sir Bleoberys, he made hym duke of Payters" (1205). To Gahalantyne goes Overn, to Galodyn Sentonge, to Menaduke Roerge, and so on through a list of quite real names on the mainland of France.

Besides exalting Lancelot, this roll call has another strange effect; it brings us back to a fifteenth-century world of reality. All of the towns and provinces in the list of 24 titles have been identified, and a certain group of them seems to indicate a remarkable knowledge of France, such as Malory may well have possessed through his participation in "the military operations leading to the [French] reconquest of Aquitaine in 1453" (Vinaver, note 1641). Fourteen of the names, like Anjou and Auvergne, are well-known and prove nothing, but nine or ten of them refer to comparatively small fiefs: Agen, Armagnac, Astarac, Comminges, Marsan, Pardiac, Rouergue, Sarlat, and Tursan. These seem to imply special knowledge, and Vinaver (1625) believes that this clue should be followed up by Malory's next biographer. For the moment it

must be emphasized that Malory's presence in the Aquitanian campaign is only conjectural.

Once in an earlier tale, Malory seems to reflect a real campaign. In the tale of Arthur and Lucius, Arthur's route is much like that of Henry V in the expedition of 1415 which was climaxed by the victory of Agincourt. Here there can be little question of Malory's having served in the battle lines, and we must therefore seek some purely literary purpose. It may well be that Malory, writing the *magnum opus* of chivalry and romance and mystery, has a special reason for recalling to us that France which seemed in the first flush of the fifteenth century to be part of England but which was lost by Sir John Talbot to Charles VII in 1453. Arthur's empire is a parallel, then, to Henry V's; Lancelot's France is the France which the English lost to the erstwhile Dauphin whom Henry V had scorned and Joan of Arc had seen crowned; in the distance between Henry V and Henry VI, we measure the rise and tragic fall of Arthur's Round Table.

Though I am not partial to extensive historical allegories, the use of real names in Book II and Book VII of the Winchester corpus seems to imply a quite conscious attempt on Malory's part to return his romantic story suddenly to the cold realities of history in his time. The move is not tendentious; it is tragic. Such an interpretation helps us to view the books with a unity which sometimes Eugène Vinaver has seemed to question. At this moment, I seek no quarrel either with Vinaver or with his opponents (Lumiansky and Wilson, for instance), who want to stress conscious plan from the beginning to the end of what would then be oddly misnamed *Le Morte Darthur.* If I knew as much about *Le Morte Darthur* as Vinaver and Lumiansky, I might feel more strongly. Both schools agree that Malory may have sought unity later, as he looked finally at his group of separate translations from French and the Alliterative English. Here is but an example of that late-sought tying together of the whole: with Malory's evolving desire to exculpate Lancelot, he allows him to give fiefs in France to his loyal followers; we glimpse history once more as we had done in the tale of Arthur and Lucius, and the tragedy of both Arthur's Round Table and the Lancastrian French empire is made to unify the separately written works. Unity can always be superimposed on diversity later. But one Work remains, the true *Morte Arthur,* Vinaver's Book VIII. And the founding of Lancelot's empire is a proper prelude to it, as Arthur's empire was to the eight Works.

The Urry list, therefore, is the keystone of the arch, around which other catalogues are in the main structured. There are countless onomastic puzzles and problems, and without this significant literary meaning for the catalogue we can still have pleasure in exploring such puzzles. The first one is merely numerical. Malory says (1146-47)

plainly, "And so at that tyme there were but an hondred an ten of the Rounde Table, for forty knyghtes were at that tyme away. And so here we muste begynne at kynge Arthur, as was kyndely to begynne at hym that was at that tyme the moste man of worshyp crystynde." Arthur thus is to be included in the list. On a careful reckoning, I find listed 103, including Arthur, counting Sir Grummor [and] Grummorson as one knight (i.e., Caxton not Winchester), and counting the repetition of Sir Hebes (1150) and Hebes le Renowne (1148) as two knights (though they are not distinguished by Vinaver), and Constentyn and Constantyne that was Kynge Cador's son of Cornwayle as one (1147.26 and 1149.14). Perhaps Lancelot is to be included, though he arrives late; then there are 104. The further discrepancy of six can be removed either by textual criticism (the assumption of scribal error, of the loss of names in the copied lists), or by various forms of rationalization and interpretation.

Clear omissions from the list are Tristram, Galahad, Percival, Tarquyn, all of whom have died in notable episodes before "The Healing of Sir Urry." But one major trio we miss without explanation: Palomides the Saracen, long rival of Tristram, and his two brethren Segwarydes and Saphir. Malory does report "sir Harry le Fyze Lake, sir Ermynde, brother to kyng Hermaunce, for whom sir Palomydes faught at the Red Cité with two brethirn" (1150). Either something has fallen out, by homeoteleuton or an eye-skip from one Palomydes to another, or Malory by mentioning Palomides here, though in a subordinate clause, intended to include him and his two brethren in the catalogue (the two brethren with whom Palomydes fought, actually, were not his own brothers, but two knights named Helyus and Helake who had slain Harmaunce and their king—see pages 716-19; since Malory of course knew this, the idea of a scribal skip is made more plausible). All this would bring us to 107 knights. If Sir Urry and Lavayne are silently included though they are not yet knights of the Round Table, we have 109. For the remaining one, we must assume either that another name has fallen out, or that there are two Constantynes or else a Grummor *and* Grummorson, or that Malory accidentally counted some other name of the list which, like Palomydes, was explanatory and not of the rank of healers (candidates might be La Cote Male Tayle 1148.14; Pellynor 1149.6; Percivale and Galahad 1149.10; Sir Cadors son of Cornwayle 1149.14; kynge Brandygor 1149.20; sir Alysaundir le Orphelyn 1149.26; kynge Marke 1149.27, 34; 1150.2, 5; Tristram 1149.29, 34; 1150.2, 4, 6; Lamorake 1149.34; 1150.9; Andred 1150.6; kyng Hermaunce 1150.12). No doubt the academic in his study is more anxious to make the count turn out more exactly than was Malory in his prison cell, yet we may as well give him the benefit of the doubt. When he has mentioned a number in connection with the other catalogues we have been discussing, he has usually been accurate.

A full-scale onomastic study would be the matter for a monograph by Wilson or Ackerman. For a quick survey we might mention several points of approach: 1) Malory's way with French names; 2) the frequency of popular etymologies; 3) some special puzzles; 4) the confusion of characters; 5) names new in Malory or in his English sources. A great deal of data can be gathered from Vinaver's Index and notes and from Flutré's new and valuable *Table des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les romans du moyen âge écrits en français ou en provençal* (Poitiers, 1962). I have not at this point gone back to the fascinating but less certain speculations about Celtic names, of the kind developed with such success by Roger Loomis in his *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes*. We are, for better or worse, in the fifteenth century rather than in the twelfth.

The transfer of proper names from French to English involves two hazards, the vagaries of scribal practice and the clash in the phonemic and morphemic systems of the two languages. OF Arous turns into ME Arrok, probably through the generalizing of an oblique form into the nominative in place of the OF nominative *-s*. So Artus becomes Artu; the Arthur of Malory goes back to an older Latinate tradition. Bedoer becomes Bedyvere, perhaps because of the need of a hiatus consonant (*w* becoming *v*). Bohort to Bors is a change which probably reflects a vanishing French *-h-* and a free variation of the nominative forms *t/z(ts)*. OF Achelain, Achalam, Achalain by aphaeresis loses its initial vowel and becomes Chalaunce—as in the frequent ME Pull for Apulia and Giles from Aegidius.

OF Daras = ME Daras, but the French variant Aras (Arras?) suggests false reading of morpheme boundaries, i.e., d'Arras taken as a single word, as in "Le Morte Darthur," commonly so spelled. Dodinel le Saveage becomes English Dodynes, another *-s* nominative. Espinogres becomes Epynogrys: English has treated this original French *es-* + consonant in various ways at various times (esclave > slave, esprit > spirit, espine > spine, but esplanade, estate; I can think of only one word where *esp* > *ep*: épée < espee < Latin spatha, but the form is modern and the change no doubt took place in normal fashion in French itself).

The remodelling of Galegantin into Gahalantyne may be due to what is often vaguely described as metathesis, or reversal of letters; much confusion was possible with the many *Ga-* names such as Gawain and his brothers, and Galahad and Lancelot's kin. Galeron de Galvoie is Galleron of Galway—here the phonemic accommodation is from English to French. Galyhodyn in French is Galehousin or Galeodin; once in Malory he is shortened to an undignified Eliodyn. The transformation of Gautier to Gauter, Caxton's Gaunter, may be scribal, with confusion of *u* and *n*, and blending of a visual *ti* into one stroke, *t*. But of course both come from Waltharius, Germanic Walther, with no *i* in the second syl-

lable. And Walter is the usual English form, from Northern rather than Central French.

Gauvain becomes Gawayn, Caxton's Gawyn, and this etymology should be prophylactic against the frequent student pronunciation [gə'we:n], but it is not. Erec le fils Lac(h) (not, alas, the Erec of Chrétien, who is lost to the cycles) produces the homely English Harry le Fyze Lake, who almost seems an interloper in this group of aristocratic and uncommon names. A good name for Malory the Lancastrian, to be sure, with three king Harrys behind him. But of course Harry is from Henry, protogermanic Haimirik- (*haim-* "house" + *rikja* "rule") and not from ON Eiríkr, German Erich (also from *rikja*, but with a doubtful first element). Helaine le Blanke is not OF Alain, or Elaine (a female name only), but the OF Helain le blank or le blont.

Ké le senesciall, Arthur's rude receptionist, has many transmogrifications in French: Keu, Kei, Quec, Caheus, Quex; the normal English form is Kay, which reflects the Latin Caius, of which the original Welsh name is said to be a form. Lambegant or Lambegue > ME Lambegus may be a similar Latinization, or it may be another generalization of French nominative *-s*. Lamorat becomes Lamorak (cp. Arous to Arrok). Lucan li Bottellier is properly translated the Butlere. Leonel > Lyonell gives a normal reflex. Madors de le Porte loses his nominative *-s*, > Madore.

Melyon of the Mountayne, equivalent to Melyn de Tartare, represents some sort of fairly extensive shift from OF Merlyn or Mellic de Tertre; Vinaver calls it a Malorean attempt to imitate the sound of French *tertre*—just why I am not sure; in dialectal pronunciation? Rather we see before us the normal development of ME *er* + tautosyllabic consonant (Dobson, §§64-65), derk > dark, herte > heart, serpent > sarpent; the two sounds were in free variation in the fifteenth century. And who is to rule out an influence from Tartarus or Tartary?

Marganor becomes Morganor by heightening rather than lowering before *r*. Neroveus de Lyle has the French variants Neroneus, Neroveus, Veroneus, Neroneans; the *v* and *n* are paleographical alternates. So too with King Newtrys of Gerloth, an important person, the brother-in-law of Arthur who married Morgan la Fée; his French original Nauntres de Garelot, Neutres de Garloth, shows the *n/u* or *v/w* scribal confusion. Plenorin or Plenorios de l'Estroite Marche led to a Plenoryus—in English he is linked to Neroveus by rime, and hence these are "two good knyghtes that sir Lancelot wanne."

Selyses of the Dolerous Towre has a French counterpart spelled variously Elice(s), Helice(s) and Celice(s); if the first two of these show aphaeresis through false division, the English has chosen the conservative French variant. The erle of Ulbawys of Surluse probably corresponds to Flutré's Ulban de Sorelois, another scribal confusion of *w*

(*u*) and *n*, and a nominative *-s*. Uryence of the land of Gore is Caxton's Ureyne, OF Urien(s); Loomis reminds us that Gorre is the kingdom of Baudemagus, the land whence no man returns, and he would identify it with Glastonbury, the Isle de Voirre (Verre or Glass), the otherworld of Avalon (Loomis, *Arthurian Romance and Chrétien de Troyes;* Flutré, page 247).

Tertre and Tartarus lead us close to the fascinating realm of popular etymology. Both Malory and his French sources dealt with plainly fictive figures whose names were, at the beginning, without significance, and therefore quite proper names. But meaning crept in again and again, as it does consciously in literature (Henry James's Fanny Assingham, Congreve's Lady Wishfort, Shakespeare's Ariel and Dogberry), and as it does unconsciously in linguistic meetings. The father of La Beal Isode, king of Ireland, is OF Aguigans; Malory's form Angwysshe probably mirrors his sad loss both of a daughter and of a kinsman, Morholt; but in French he has a happier variant, Sanguin. Blaanor becomes Blamour, Escanor becomes Ascamour; Malory also has a Playne de Amoris (472) who reminds us of a common scribal signature; all of them are preoccupied, we presume, by courtly love (see also Sagramour, for Saigremor, below).

Crosseleme (1148) is identified with Cursesalayne, of Modred's party; has Malory sought to insert a derogatory *curse* to replace the better-sounding *cross*? "Sir Degrave Saunze Vylony that faught wyth the gyaunte of the blak Lowe" is a puzzle; Vinaver has plausibly connected him with "Greu" (Grex) "li filz le roi d'Alenie," and the giant of the Black Lowe may be a memory of Greu's saving a dead body from "L'iaue granz et roide," the great rough waters. From d'Alenie to Vylonie and "L'iaue granz" to a Giant from Black Lowe is a truly Malorean jump, worthy of the days of impossible tasks.

Close to or identical with popular etymology is the tendency to turn a little-known name into a better known one, the rude Kay into Kaynes, recalling the first rude brother Cain, and the chivalrous Estor into Ector, with an eye on Trojan originals which may also be recalled by the names of Pyramus and Elaine. The transformation of Marin to Hermynde appears to be the loss of a significant meaning, unless the English word suggests the animal as the French does the sea (Vinaver's promised commentary on this is lost; see Flutré, page 2). Gifflet or Girflet le Filz Do (Dos, Doon de Carduel) has made the startling shift in Malory to Gryfflet le Fyze de Du or Deu, called God of Cardal; Caxton may be euphemizing blasphemy when he changes the patronymic to La Fyse le Dene. Guivret le petit is a dwarf knight, but his name is not the diminutive of Guiart or Gerart, as often supposed, but of OF *guivre* < Frankish *wipera* < Latin *vipera* "serpent" (see Flutré).

The Rede Knyght of the Rede Landis, to whom Malory gives the very

English name of Sir Ironsyde, is hard to trace in the French indexes; but we do hear of a Lande Vermeille, which is sometimes transformed into Merveille Lande (Perlesvaus). Another Ké, Ké des Traus de la Forest Grande, shifts *v* to an *n* by scribal misreading, and the final result is Kay(nes) le Straunge; with the stranger, one assumes, opposed to the much too familiar Kay the Seneschal. Whether there is a conscious pun in Ma*dore* de la *Porte* is not certain; the French is Madors. Without any probing, Morded and Modred seem a sombre enough name for the villainous and incestuous son of Arthur by his sister Morgawse; but when we see his French name, Mordré, we think it properly ominous and fitting for the murderer of the Round Table. Though our reputed Sir Thomas Malory's church attendance was often interrupted for secular reasons, like rape and plunder, he must have heard the songs of the liturgy; at any rate, he converts the French Osenain cuer hardi into *Ozanna* le Cure Hardy. Pellias loves Ettard, who in French is Arcade, with a faint whiff of Arcady; here too, as with Mordré, Malory loses a connotation rather than adds one. Persaunt or Parsaunt of Inde is also the Blue Knight; perhaps his surname owes more to a color, indigo, than it does to a sub-continent.

Petypace of Wynchelsé is one of those delightful Malorean creations de novo, with a Gallic segment (a rather pretty one, which would have delighted the Mauve Decade with its suggestion of mincing steps) added to a bully British place-name segment. Caxton makes the latter Wynkelsee, recalling a shellfish popular at harvest time on both sides of the British Channel. Sagramor le Desyrus is really OF Saigremor li Desrees, with the forbidding surname of le Mort-de-jeun; but his sin would seem to be wrath and desmesure rather than amorous passion. The sexual note reverses itself in Uwayne les Avoutres (the adulterer); Caxton makes it at least once Uwayne les Aventurous! The same Uwayne is called le Blaunche Maynes, and they both correspond to Yvain li granz, the Knight of the Lion, immortalized by Chrétien de Troyes. The reason for the variation between the initial vowels of Welsh Owain, French Yvain, and Malorean Uwain is not, so far as I know, phonologically clear.

Some problems of special interest are Bleoberys de Ganys, who has a French counterpart Bleobleheris (variants Blaans, Blearnis) who reminds us of one of the mysterious traditional authorities for the Tristan romances, Bleheris, etc.; Arthur's son by Lyonors, Boarte le Cure Hardy, with such variable French equivalents as Boorz, Loholt and Hoot (he should have been celebrated in folksongs; there is a little magazine for folksingers by that name); the strange equivalence of Calogrenant de Goire to Malory's Collgrevaunce, which seems to go back ultimately to a Cai-lo-guernant, Kay le grognard, or Kay the grumbler, a doublet of the seneschal (Flutré). According to the French prose *Lancelot*, Galehalt the

Haulte Prynce, noble friend of Lancelot, was dead by the time corresponding to Malory's later books and the healing of Sir Urry; the English romances revive him. The mysterious Alyduke of Guinevere's dinner does not appear in the Urry list, but he should have been dead even before the dinner. Is he an echo of Marie de France's lai *Eliduc*? (Flutré has others.)

Mellyot de Logris was dead in Malory's third Work, "The Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake"; he has however been revived for a long time, in the books of "Gareth," of "Launcelot and Queen Guinevere," and the "Morte Arthur." These revenants should not disturb us; we should remember that Lancelot and Guinevere themselves, just before this, in the Knight of the Cart episode, have been in Gorre, the Land from Which No Man Returns. Malory's Gyngalyn, son of Gawain and of the fairy Blanchemal, is the French Guinglain, and Caxton's form Gangalyne already shows the transformation of the originally high front nasal vowel (cp. Modern English *lingerie*). What we miss about him is the well-known name Le Bel Inconnu, which became the title of a French romance and in its somewhat distorted form (Libeaus Desconus) of an English one.

The transformation of the Gonfanier de Rivel, Kerrin de Riel, through Herri, Hervis, Hervieu de Rival into Malory's Hervyse de la Foreyste Saveayge is a long and complex story. Similarly, Nicorant le pauvre is equated with Sentrale de Lushon, the place-name of a chateau in Leonois, Lusin, Lussion, Lisignan, Luisin (*not* Lusignan, of course). Malory's Suppanibiles is the French Pinabel, a Breton knight; if this is a morphemic blend of Sieur and Pinabel, it had already taken place in the French, where we find Supinabel, Suspinable, and Supinadés. Tor(re) le fyz Aryes "that was begotyn uppon the cowardis [that is, couherdes, or so says Caxton] wyff, but he was begotyn afore Aryes wedded her" is actually the first son of Kyng Pellynor; if *fyz* means illegitimate son as it usually does, it is strangely applied, since the cuckold is the Cowherd, the real father Pellynor, and Aryes merely the putative father.

Various jumbles and confusions make up our fourth category. Caxton turns a pair of knights, Arrok and Degrevaunt, into one, Arrok de greuant. Whether the two Sir Hebes and two Sir Constantynes are really one we are not sure, and the dour Sir Grummor and Grummorson haunts us here as always. There are other probable doublets, produced by varying paleographical and linguistic histories. Ascamour and Hectymer (alliterative *Morte Arthur* Achinour and Askanere) appear to be both derived from OF Escanor. Durnor may be the same as Dryannte—OF Doryan, Driant. The famous King with the Hundred Knights, who at Urry's rite is called Barraunt le Aspres, has other names in French: Heraut, Aguignier, and Malaquin; the Aspres may owe something to the Aguignier (*aigu, aigre*), and the Barraunt to the Heraut.

Readers long were puzzled by Caxton's statement (1149-50) that "syre Bellangere reuenged the deth of his fader Alysaunder and syr Tristram slewe Kynge Marke." Tristram never in Malory or the French sources had that pleasure; in the "Book of Sir Tristram," Malory ends the stormy passion of Tristram and Isolt with a most domestic tranquillity at Joyous Garde, instead of the tragedy of Thomas and Gottfried and Eilhart. Someone then must slay the treacherous Mark (more treacherous in Malory than elsewhere), and the valiant son of Sir Alysaunder le Orphelin, whose pathetic story is a jewel among the longueurs of the Tristram Book in Malory, was actually chosen to do the deed. The Winchester text sets us right. It reads "And thys sir Bellynger revenged the deth of hys fadir, sir Alysaunder, and sir Tristram, *for he* [i.e., Sir Bellyngere] slewe kynge Marke. And La Beall Isode dyed sownynge uppon the crosse of sir Trystram, whereof was grete pité." Not, perhaps, full Aristotelian pity and terror, but at least the pity of tragedy. What happened in Caxton, as Vinaver explains (xcvi), is a classic case of homoeoteleuton or eyeskip (saute du même au même); the jump takes place at the above-italicized "for he": "Misled by the close resemblance between the *f* of *for* and the long *s* of *slewe,* the printer's eye must have travelled straight from *Trystram* to *slewe,* and the vital words *for he* were lost in the process." Caxton further confuses this Bellynger with Winchester's Belyaunce le Orgulus (1150.8), OF Bellangere with Belynas.

The comic knight Dinadas has two doppelgängers; he is confused with OF Danain and (in Caxton) with Dinas the Seneschal of King Mark. Gawain's good brothers, Gaharis and Gareth Bewmaynes, go back respectively to an Old French Gerreet (Guerret, Guerrehet—with a pun on the word for "war"?) and to Gaherié(t); it is easy to see why the texts tend to confuse such a similar pair (Flutré). Galahault (OF Galehos) is usually given the epithet "the Haut Prince" to distinguish him from Galahad (OF Galaat) the Grail Knight, but occasionally (85) the two are confused. Similarly, as we have seen, Malory treats the two Uwaynes as one.

The final onomastic delight of this list is in names and knights essentially new with Malory, though some of them are found before in his English sources, like the alliterative *Morte Arthur* and the stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur.* A further search might identify the source of any one or more of the names, though the Flutré and Vinaver indexes are pretty good evidence that any such identifications will be rather precarious or complex ones; on the strength of these two studies we can provide a roll call of Malory's apparent inventions. I give the earliest references in Vinaver's text.

Bryan de Lystenoyse (from King Pelles' Waste Land, his surname shows) was one of the knights imprisoned by Tarquyn and rescued by

Lancelot (268). Clarrus off Cleremownte served in the Roman campaign (212); he is a compound of the alliterative *Morte Arthur's* Cleremus and Cleremonde. (There are plenty of Clariants, Clariels, Clarions, Clarises and Clarueils in Flutré, but none of them seems to correspond to him.) According to Vinaver, Kynge Claryaunce of Northumbirlonde is one of Malory's "most misleading additions," a confusion of Clarion and Clarivaus who shifts sides like the Vicar of Bray, from the first book (25) onward. Clegys also appears as early as the Roman campaign (187); one wonders how much he may owe to Chrétien's *Cligès* and to the Middle English minstrel romance *Sir Cleges.* Cloddrus, "an old noble knight" (212), appears to have no clear French equivalent, though we should note that the Merovingians Clovis and Childeric turn up in certain Arthurian romances as Clodoveus = Clodeus = Cloovis, and Clodoris = Childeric.

Among the few newcomers of the master list are Crosseleme, Degrevaunt and Edward of Carnarvan, figures of especial interest about whom more will be said below. There seems to be no French original, either, for Florence (224), son of Gawayn and Sir Braundeles' sister; in the alliterative *Morte Arthur* he is called Florent(e); I find no good candidate among Flutré's various names Florens, Floire, Flori, Flores, Floret, all good chevaliers (like Florence—and Blancheflour, and Fiorello) when knighthood was in flower.

Grummor and Grummorson—of them we have heard before—are (or is) in the party against King Arthur, in the "Tale of Sir Gareth" (343). The confusion with Sir Gromoresom Erioure in Gawain's party (1164) has already been mentioned; it leads to the delightful popular etymology in Caxton, "gromore somyr Ioure." We offer this to the Frazerian myth-critics with no strings attached. For the Cornish Gyllymere, a brother of Raynold and Gauter whom "sir Lancelot wan uppon a brydge in sir Kayes armys" (275-76), there is no French equivalent; Flutré's Gillomar(us), an Irish king in the *Brut,* offers us nothing. Of the robust Sir Ironsyde, Red Knight of the Red Lands, we have already spoken (296). Flutré tells us of several places named Lambale, but erle Lambayle, who had been defeated in the tourney of Surluse by Ossayse (668-69), has no obvious French counterpart. Lamyell of Cardyff "that was a grete lovear" appears here (1150) for the first time, and one suspects from the remark that Malory is inventing him *ad hoc.*

Lavayne, who is knighted with Urry, has no name in the French, where he is called "fils du vavasor seigneur du Chastel de Escalot," or, as Vinaver explains, son of Barnard of Astolat. He first appears in the pathetic story of Lancelot and the Fair Maid of Astolat (1067-75), and his own great fidelity to his sister's paramour is Malory's way of clearing his character and name. This narrative is a doublet of the story of Elaine, King Pelles' daughter (791-833), which leads to the birth of Sir

Galahad, and the actual name of the Fair Maid is Elayne le Blanke (799, 830-31, 956, 1149). May we therefore surmise that Malory's Lavayne is a blend-word, merging Lancelot and Elayne?

Malory's passion for providing concrete names is seen in many another case. Lovell (2220) is another son of Gawayne and Sir Braundeles' sister; in the first passage in which he appears, a mysterious "sir Lovelys son" is mentioned, who may be a mistake—says Vinaver—for "Lovel Y[wain]s son." Lovel in an earlier passage was brother to Idrus, and Idrus was Uwayne's son (see Vinaver, note 1384). Next we find "sir Marrok the good knyght that was betrayed with his wyff, for he made hym seven yere a warwolff." This is nearly all of his story that we have, for he appears only once before in Malory (219), as a strong warrior in the Roman campaign. He is even more prominent in the alliterative *Morte Arthur,* where he defends Arthur against Modred (4209-33). He may lurk in French among the names Maruc, Mauruc, Malruc or Malrouc, but nowhere do we discover his werewolf transformation under this name. It is likely that it should be "*she* made hym seven yere a warwolff," and that the story has some as yet unidentified relationship to Marie de France's *Bisclavret,* to the English *William of Palerne,* and to the Latin romance *Arthur and Gorlagon.*

Menaduke is a knight of Lancelot's kin, who first appears in Arthur's wars against the Emperor Lucius (217); there it is a pair of knights, "sir Manaduke and sir Mandyff," corresponding to the alliterative *Morte Arthur's* "Meneduke of Mentoche" (1919). Venaver (note 1380) is unable to decide which of the two readings is authentic. Something may be hidden in Flutré's Manduz, Mandin, or Mandius l'Ennoirci; but for the moment Meneduke remains supreme, an English creation.

Then there is that pleasant trio, Perymones the Red Knyght, Persaunt or Parsaunt of Ynde the Blue Knight, and Pertolype the Green Knight. These are three brothers, antagonists of Gareth in the "Tale of Sir Gareth" (311-16), whom he conquers and sends to Arthur to be made Knights of the Round Table (361). The sources of Gareth's tale are complex and undisentangled, and though there may be some French equivalent (Persant, a name belonging to three non-Arthurian romances, is found in Flutré), these names appear to be Malory's own alliterating invention. In one early passage (347), he conflates them, and we hear of "Sir Perimones the Grene Knyght, sir Persauntis brothir." Unless this is scribal, it argues that Malory had some source, which for the moment has confused him, since it is less likely that he would confuse his own creation.

Petypace of Wynchelsé from the first "Tale of King Arthur" (109) has no French forebears, as perhaps his English surname shows also; Playne de Fors was overthrown by La Cote Male Tayle in the "Book of Sir Tristram" (467)—he has lost his companion Playne de Amoris.

Raynolde, brother of Gauter and Gylmere of Cornwall, goes back to the Roman campaign (214); he is several times called Arnolde. Flutré's Arnaut, Arnoult, Regnauld or Reinaut provide no sure identity for him. Nor is Severance (Caxton: Servause) le Brewse (1148) attested either in French or earlier in Malory, though our author provides a full paragraph here about how the Lady of the Lake feasted him and Lancelot and made them promise to spare each other. "For, as the Freynshe booke sayth, that sir Severause had never corayge nor grete luste to do batayle ayeynste no man but if hit we[re] ayenste gyauntis and ayenste dragons and wylde bestis." Perhaps the French book will someday turn up, but at least the name is not in Flutré, and the long account of the hero in the midst of this honor roll suggests either a loose and wandering tale or a Malorean creation out of whole cloth.

Vyllers the Valyant is Sir Valyaunt of Vyleris in the alliterative *Morte Arthur* (Vinaver, note, 1381); although there is a French place-name of Villars near Nontron in Dordogne, it appears romantically only in the late *Petit Jehan de Saintré* of Antoine de la Sale (Flutré), and Malory thus ended his alphabet of heroes with another English creation—one who had first appeared in the wars with Lucius (218).

Of this group of knights—about 28 in all, depending upon how they are counted—all except six are minor figures already encountered in the earlier books of Malory prior to "The Healing of Sir Urry." It is easy to reconstruct what Malory did, then: he must have gone back through his former books to comb out the roll of the knights for his canonical Round Table. The reason for his adding the six completely new names is unclear, but it is as though they were forged in order to make up the complete list and perfect number of 110.

The six include Crosseleme (1148), a knight of Modred's party if—as we have seen to be probable—he is to be identified with Cursesalayne. Degrevaunt, another newcomer (1150) whom Caxton took as the French prepositional surname of Arrok, seems to have no genuine French equivalent, but he sounds similar to Collegrevaunt (OF Calogrenant, probably an avatar of Kay, as we have seen); the English romance of the same name may be as early as 1440, and ties Sir Degrevant to the Table Round. There are also Edwarde of Carnarvan (1149); "Lamyell of Cardyff that was a grete lovear"; Severause le Brewse, whom Malory also had to explain by the addition of an unparalleled story; and Urry himself, created for the episode that has brought us the onomastical wealth of this roll-call.

One of these additions which has had no attention as yet is Sir Edwarde of Carnarvan. Remembering the historical identifications which have been put forward by Vinaver and by Nellie Aurner, we find it hard not to associate this with some of the many English Edwards who have ruled or stood next to the throne: Edward I Longshanks, who built

Carnarvon; Edward II, the ill-fated Prince of Wales and king who was born at Carnarvon; his vastly more successful son, Edward III; Edward IV the Yorkist, in whose Ninth Year (1470) Malory completed the *Morte Darthur* or the Eight Works. Or there are the Princes of Wales who might be associated with the first English bearer of the title, Edward II, who spoke no word of English as his father Longshanks said (or no word of Welsh either). Not too many before Malory's time bore the title, which was a gift of the king and not an automatic heritage. There were Edward the Black Prince (1330-1374), a noble figure whom Malory might well have admired; Edward, son of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou (1453-1471); and Edward the son of Edward IV (1470-1483), later to have a short reign as Edward V until Gloucester (on Sir Thomas More's report) murdered him.

It is, of course, appropriate that we bring up this name of Carnarvon in 1969, just after we have seen Prince Charles invested with ancient ceremony at that very Welsh castle. I have sought through the College of Arms some assurance that the name of the Castle might in some measure, even evanescently, have been assigned to the titular successors of the prince who was first born there. A. Colin Cole, the Windsor Herald of Arms, does not wish to be quoted, though he thinks my theory "ingenious and not at all impossible." He and others have advised me to write Francis Jones, Wales Herald Extraordinary, who was deeply involved in the investiture. Two letters have had no answer, but I forgive him, considering his delicate position and the demanding tasks of the complex and important ceremony he had to help supervise. Certainly there is no significant continuity of the style or title Carnarvon applied to Princes of Wales after Edward II, for whom it was essentially a surname, and the twentieth-century investiture which preceded this of 1969, that of the other Edward, now Duke of Windsor, in 1911, was one of those historical recreations of tradition which has kept Britain sustained by precedent even when there was no precedent.

Malory, indeed, may merely be paying a tribute to the valiant name of Edward, so popular in his century and the one preceding, with Carnarvon as the appropriate label for an Arthurian chronicler. Carnarvon, the Castle on the River Arvon, is near to the Segontium-Sinadon-Snowdon so expertly tied to the Arthurian cycle by Roger Loomis. As the birthplace of Constantine, father of Constantine the Great, it had glamor and Arthurian associations long before Edward I played his brilliant game with the Welsh line of princes. Though Edward I built the castle as we know it, probably after his Queen, as is said, bore a son there, the archaeology has a depth that would well fit Tintagel and other Arthurian ruins. The first Edward himself therefore might have been in Malory's mind; his greatness deserved a seat at the Round Table. The Welsh remembered Edward II with favor, though their English overlords

did not. It is a little hard to assume a romantic set in Malory's mind which would have justified such a tribute to this Edward, though there may have been lost legends which would have assisted, and in some legend his death, like Arthur's, was postponed mysteriously. He is the classic bearer of the name Carnarvon, and one can imagine a Yorkist comparing his hapless fate to that of Richard of York, so rudely handled by the first Lancastrian, Henry Bolingbroke. But Malory was himself a Lancastrian, as the Beauchamps whom he followed were, and it is hard to conjure up any motive for his paying such a tribute to the feckless friend of Piers Gaveston. I see no case for Edward III except the memories of his long reign. For his nobility, the Black Prince is certainly a candidate, and his investiture of 1343 lists "The Lordship, Castle, and Town, and county of Carnaruan" among the grants for support of his establishment. From Caernarvonshire in 36 Edward III or 1363 he derived revenues of 1134 pounds, 16 shillings and tuppence, and he was often in communication with the region though perhaps not actually present there. But unless legend should attach him more specially to Carnarvon, it is difficult to see why Malory should thus pay tribute to him, or expect anybody to know that he had done so.

Though Malory was a Lancastrian, it is not impossible that he sought in durance vile some help from the Yorkist Edward IV, and so honored his name among the knights who tried to heal Sir Urry. In 1362, according to Vinaver (xix), he was in Northumberland with Edward IV. Warwick, his feudal lord, could play both sides, though in these latter years, after some shifting, he was to lose his life to the Yorkist Edward. King Edward claimed Welsh descent and sought in many ways to exert his charisma in Wales, and sent his son there about 1473 (too late for Malory to write about it); he himself was at Barnet on April 14, 1471. His royal bastard was named Arthur. To the many sins which Malory's biography has been shown to contain, that of being a flatterer and a turncoat would not be too grave an addition, especially since most of us would be tolerant of one seeking pardon and release from prison. The tribute would be even more acceptable if it had been meant for young Edward, the son of Edward IV, who unlike his father actually was a Prince of Wales. Yet he was not created Prince of Wales until 1471, after the title had been vacated by the death of the son of Henry VI.

These dates seem late for Malory's tribute, and thus bring into focus perhaps the best candidate of all, the Lancastrian Edward, Prince of Wales, who might well have been a favorite of Malory's. Our picture of him is a hazy one, since he is greatly overshadowed by his dominant and domineering mother Margaret of Anjou, the Amazon who sustained the throne of her weak husband Henry VI and who fought like a tigress for her son's heritage. She had no liking for Warwick, nor he for her, and his last intrigues demonstrated the fact. Her son, whom for clarity we

shall title the Young Edward, was born at Westminister on October 13, 1453, the day of the translation of Edward the Confessor. Henry's only son, he scarcely ever knew his father to have a whole mind, and Henry himself did not know the boy at birth. He was created Prince of Wales on Whitsunday, June 9, 1454. His father's illnesses meant that he was often a potential regent, though his own age never permitted it. Though there were clouds on his birth, largely because of Margaret's enemies at court, she fought fiercely for him and with him by her side, and his life was largely a round of escapes and battles.

In 1460 they fled to Wales, a time when Malory must have been busy with his great books, and it may be just such associations which caused the literary tie to Carnarvon, which in any event was famous as a Lancastrian stronghold throughout the Wars of the Roses. Edward IV, then Duke of York, disinherited him in October of that year, but the flights continued, to Scotland, to France, and to the Low Countries. At the Battle of St. Albans in 1461, the tide swung in favor of the Lancastrians, with the aid of Warwick; the victors wore Prince Edward's livery of a band of crimson and black with ostrich feathers. Henry knighted him the evening after this battle. "The lad wore a pair of brigantines covered with purple velvet, 'i-bete with goldesmythe ys worke,' and being so exalted conferred the dignity of knighthood upon others, of whom the first was Sir Andrew Trollope." Such an occasion might have been a good one for Malory to put him among the Knights of the Round Table as Sir Edwarde of Carnaruan, although Malory was probably in prison at the time, not present at the ceremony.

The victory did not have a lasting effect, and Edward IV was King in London on March 4, 1461 (the year before Malory was with him in the North, according to Vinaver, xxv). Attacked by robbers, Margaret is said to have given her son to one of them and to have said, "Here, my friend, save the son of your king." On the continent, they were befriended by the Count of Carolais (later Charles the Bold of Burgundy) and sheltered by Margaret's father René of Anjou. Negotiations to secure the aid of the king of Portugal went on without much success; they may be reflected in a puzzling passage where Malory alters his French original for the sake of an allusion to Portuguese nobility.

There were several marriage negotiations during Young Edward's life: with James II for his daughter Mary in 1460, with Louis XI for his daughter Anne in 1468 and 1470, and with Warwick for his daughter Anne Neville in 1470. The fortunes of war varied, and for a while in that year they seemed Lancastrian enough for Margaret and Young Edward to return to England—until Tewkesbury, May 4, where the eighteen-year-old boy had received his first major command. The official account says that Young Edward was slain in the field, but a more detailed story has it that he was taken prisoner by Sir Richard Croftes and delivered to

King Edward, in response to a proclamation that the captor would be paid an annuity of £100 if he delivered the prince alive or dead, and that if it were alive the prince's life would be saved. But when Young Edward was brought before the king he was first asked "How he durst so presumptuously enter his realm with banner displayed?" The prince replied: "To recover my father's kingdom," and we are told that Edward thrust him away or struck him with his gauntlet, whereupon the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Marquis of Dorset, and Lord Hastings killed the youth.

There had never been good blood between the Lancaster prince and the Yorkist, for Edward the younger's birth in 1453 had disturbed his and his father's clear path to the throne. One wishes one could end on the taciturn note of Malory's possible reference in the Sir Urry list and leave Edward a romantic waif, ground between mighty opposites. But the one touch of character we have recorded is from a Milanese ambassador, who writes, "This boy, though only thirteen years of age, already talks of nothing else but of cutting off heads or making war, as if he had everything in his hands or was the god of battle." One does not need Freud to trace some of this to his fierce mother, Margaret of Anjou, who must have schooled him in hate quite consciously, and whom Nellie Aurner wanted to identify with Guinevere, as she identified Suffolk with Lancelot, Mark with Charles VI, and Joan of Arc with Morgan le Fay. Such historical equations are less convincing, because of the many places where tribute might have turned back upon the author-flatterer, and because of the uncertainty of all such identifications. But I think we may accept without too much hesitation the probability of such a sensitive and tacit tribute from a Lancastrian to his white hope, the Prince of Wales.

The beauty of the dramatic roll-call of the Knights of the Round Table is largely in the romantic names, few of them worn by such prosaic use as Lancelot's is in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*—a clown with his dog Crab—or Edward, Bryan, and Harry. But it lies even more in the arrangement and its dramatic implications. First we have a group of kings, headed by Arthur and Claryaunce of Northumbirlonde, and then Gawayne's kin, carefully followed by and separated from Lancelot's, since it is their enmity which is to destroy the Round Table. Sagramour le Desyrus leads another roster of eighteen knights climaxed by Severause le Brewse, who has a paragraph to himself to lend variety to the catalogue and further prepare us for the entrance of Severause's friend, Sir Lancelot. Agglovale, Durnor, and Tor provide a parenthesis about King Pellynor's five sons and the memory of two of them now lost to the Round Table: "sir Lamorak, the moste nobeleste knyght, one of them that ever was in kynge Arthurs dayes as for a worldly knyght, and sir Percyvale that was pyerles, excepte sir Galahad, in holy dedis. But

they dyed in the queste of the Sangreall."

At first this seems one of those meaningless digressions which we attribute to medieval romancers and to Malory especially. Yet with this innocent sentence about the noble scions of Pellynor, Malory has referred to the two events which have begun to destroy the high order of chivalry, Lamerok's slaughter at the hands of Gawain's brothers and the spiritual overshadowing of worldly knighthood in the Grail story. Lamerock's death led to the poisoned apple and to Lancelot's first major battle with the Gawain party; the Grail showed the tarnish on the noblest knight of all, Sir Lancelot, who is to be slowly severed from his king, and whose testing by Arthur forms the center of the cure of Urry (so Lumiansky).

Grysfflet le Fyze de Du, whose imposing name ought to have more to do than it does with the Grail story, leads the next list of 23, which includes "sir Cadors son of Cornwayle that was kynge aftir Arthurs dayes" (1149), a significant reminder that Arthur's days have a limit; Sir Edward of Carnarvan, who may involve an allusion to the contemporary English royal family, the ultimate successors of Arthur; and finally a reminder of three great knights lost to the Round Table by the treason of kyng Mark, a proper predecessor to Modred and the wicked Gawain party. This comes in innocently enough at the end of the list of 18:

> sir Bellyngere le Bewse that was son to the good knyght sir Alysaundir le Orphelyn that was slayne by the treson of kynge Mark. Also that traytoure kynge slew the noble knyght sir Trystram as he sate harpynge afore his lady, La Beall Isode, with a trenchaunte glayve, for whos dethe was the most waylyng of ony knyght that ever was in kynge Arthurs dayes, for there was never none so bewayled as was sir Tristram and sir Lamerok, for they were with treson slayne: sir Trystram by kynge Marke, and sir Lamorake by sir Gawayne and hys brethirn (1149).

And thus the two treasons are linked together, and the company is reminded that as there had been tragedy before this, there would be again.

> And thys sir Bellynger revenged the deth of hys fadir, sir Alysaundir, and sir Tristram for he slewe kynge Marke. And La Beall Isode dyed sownyng uppon the crosse of sir Trystram, whereof was grete pité. And all that were with kynge Marke whych were of assente of the dethe of sir Trystram were slayne, as sir Andred and many othir (1150).

Here the light shifts to a lady, La Beall Isode, and we are reminded that these warriors and unsuccessful healers were also lovers, chivalrous men in a setting of courtly love (however Malory may cut down some of its romantic excesses). Partisanship had slain Alexander, Tristram, and Lamerok: Mark's partisanship had been outside the Round Table, Gawain's is within it.

> Than cam sir Hebes, sir Morganoure, sir Sentrayle, sir Suppynabiles, sir Belyaunce le Orgulus that the good knyght sir Lamorak wan in playne batayle, sir Neroveus and sir Plenoryus, two good knyghtes that sir Launcelot wanne, sir Darras, sir Harry le Fyze Lake,

sir Ermynde, brother to kyng Hermaunce, for whom sir Palomydes faught at the Rede Cité with two brethirn; and sir Selyses of the Dolerous Towre, sir Edward of Orkeney, sir Ironsyde that was called the noble knyght of the Rede Laundis, that sir Gareth wan for the love of da[m]e Lyones; sir Arrok, sir Degrevaunt, sir Degrave Saunze Vylony that faught wyth the gyaunte of the Blak Lowe; sir Epynogrys that was the kynges son of Northumbirlonde, sir Pelleas that loved the lady Ettarde (and he had dyed for her sake, had nat bene one of the ladyes of the lake whos name was dame Nynyve; and she wedde sir Pelleas, and she saved hym ever aftir, that he was never slayne by her dayes; and he was a full noble knyght); and sir Lamyell of Cardyff that was a grete lovear, sir Playne de Fors, sir Melyaus de Lyle, sir Boarte le Cure Hardy that was kynge Arthurs son, sir Madore de la Porte, sir Collgrevaunce, sir Hervyse de la Foreyst Saveayge, sir Marrok the good knyght that was betrayed with his wyff, for he made hym seven yere a warwolff; sir Persaunt, sir Pertolope, hys brothir, that was called the Grene Knyght, and sir Perymones, brother unto them bothe, whych was called the Rede Knyght, that sir Gareth wanne whan he was called Bewmaynes.

All thes hondred knyghtes and ten serched sir Urryes woundis by the commaundemente of kynge Arthur (1150).

This list of 29 knights is the longest yet, and the climactic one; it contains few great names, but it is beautifully varied with touches of story, with a blend of French and English, with an unerring sense of rhythmic structure. There follows Arthur's impatience with Lancelot and the latter's appearance, his reluctant laying on of hands and his prayer and his cure of Sir Urry, and the knighting of Urry and Lavayne.

So, in the book preceding the significantly named "Morte Arthur," we are reminded of the tragedies of the past: Lamerok, Percival, Galahad and Tristram, and the shattering future to come, when the Table will be fragmented into a party of Gawain, a party of innocents, and a party of Lancelot, and Arthur will finally be left with Bedivere alone—the single companion who recalls so movingly the Wiglaf who accompanied Beowulf—until he is taken to Avalon by the Lady of the Lake.

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