ABSTRACT

Editing and Translating *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in the Nineteenth Century: The Work of Sir Frederic Madden, Richard Morris, and Jessie L. Weston

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Editorial decisions and translation choices reveal the rhetorical aims of editors and translators. No edition or translation is entirely neutral, as editors and translators emphasize some information and ideas as they mediate the text for their audiences.   This thesis will analyze the rhetorical effects of Victorian editing and translating practices on medieval texts by examining the work of Sir Frederic Madden, Richard Morris, and Jessie L. Weston related to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* Each body chapter will focus on one editor or translator and discuss how the perception of audience needs and the privileging of aspects of the text influence their choices. By using these nineteenth-century editions of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as a case study, the significance of editorial and translation choices will be considered.

Editing and Translating *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in the Nineteenth Century:
The Work of Sir Frederic Madden, Richard Morris, and Jessie L. Weston

by

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DEDICATION

To Alex

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

A severed head drips blood at the center of an illustration from the Cotton Nero A.x manuscript. The head's owner, clad in green, sits upon a green horse and holds his head high as blood spurts from his neck. Beside him stands a man with a tall axe who, at the top of the illustration, has just spoken with a king, clothed in blue, a queen in green, and a man in red. This illustration begins *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, one of the most popular Arthurian tales read today. The manuscript is from the fourteenth century, but this alliterative poem was not available in print until 1839. This thesis will tell the story of its publication history during the nineteenth century and analyze the differences in presentation of the text throughout that time.

An awareness of the context in which *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* was first printed and edited will contribute to a better understanding of its presentation. The nineteenth century witnessed a renewed interest in the medieval past. In the literary world, Sir Walter Scott, John Keats, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, William Morris, and others re-interpreted the setting and stories for their own works. John Ruskin wrote about the value of Gothic architecture. The Pre-Raphaelite artists used medieval settings for such paintings as Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The Wedding of St George and Princess Sabra* (Bullen) and Sir Edward

Coley Burne-Jones's *The Beguiling of Merlin* (Newall). Julia Margaret Cameron, a photographer, also incorporated medieval themes into her work, like her illustrations for Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (Barlow). The Eglington Tournament in 1839, attempted to create the medieval joust (Matthews 20). This medievalism permeated nineteenth-century British culture, starting in the Romantic Era and continuing into the Victorian Era. This interest in the medieval period and its appropriation for a variety of rhetorical purposes is known to Victorian studies.

But how did medieval texts themselves fare during this era? In addition to the medieval influence on Victorian texts, the nineteenth century also saw the increase in editions of medieval texts directed at scholarly, primarily philological, and, eventually, popular audiences. Printing clubs, comprised primarily of gentlemen of means, sought to create editions of works previously unprinted for further study. These "antiquarians," as they are often called, had the time, money, and access to medieval manuscripts necessary to create editions for philological study. These printing clubs were later followed by the Early English Text Society, founded by F. J. Furnivall, who himself had participated in printing clubs. The Early English Text Society members established the society with a specific goal in mind: to edit historical English texts for a broader audience. The late nineteenth century saw more editions and translations of these texts and a greater scholarly interest in medieval texts for historical and literary, as well as philological, research.

Richard Morris from the Early English Text Society was responsible for the 1864 edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,[1] a poem that would become one of the most frequently anthologized medieval texts today. Morris's edition was based on the in 1839 edition by Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts for the British Museum, and former member of the Bannatyne Club. In 1898, after composing a study of Gawain legends in 1897, Jessie L. Weston published a prose translation of the poem, explicitly intended for a broader audience than that of the previous editions. Though these editions are all closely related to the original manuscript, each editor made editorial choices that reflect his or her view of the medieval period, of the text itself, and of the intended audience for the publication. This thesis will investigate the rhetoric of Victorian editorial practices using editions, translations, and scholarly work about *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as a case study for examining the broader issues in editorial bibliography.

Review of Literature

Comparatively few scholars have focused on nineteenth-century editorial practices specific to medieval texts and the foundation of medieval studies. However, those scholars who have concentrated on the editing of medieval texts

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[1] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is one of the four poems commonly attributed to the same author, often referred to as the *Gawain*-Poet or the *Pearl*-Poet. The poem, along with *Pearl, Cleanness,* and *Patience* are found in the manuscript Cotton Nero A.x. The poems are considered to be unique to the manuscript and are written in a North West Midlands dialect of Middle English (Andrew and Waldron 2, 5).

by nineteenth-century editors have provided a foundation for this study. Instead of providing an overview of the trends or focusing on a specific aspect of one edition, this study builds upon the previous research (primarily included in the individual chapters) to analyze the editorial practices relating to one specific text, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. In looking at just one text, this thesis traces the important changes that affect a particular text in a particular time period. These seemingly isolated translation and editing practices reveal a period's attitudes about the role reading practices and literature play in forming and framing cultural values.

Among the scholars providing an overview of nineteenth-century medieval editing is Monica Santini from the University of Padova. Santini, in her book, *The Impetus of Amateur Scholarship: Discussing and Editing Medieval Romances in Late-Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Britain* provides a comprehensive overview of the significant editorial projects of early medieval scholarship. She argues that understanding this historical context for the creation of the editions is important for understanding medieval scholarship (11). While her focus is on presenting the general trends in many brief descriptions and short analyses, this thesis extends her argument by focusing on one specific text as a case study for examining the ideas she suggests in her overview. While she notes significant details about major editorial decisions and practices in a wide range of editions, the focus of this thesis is the specific editorial changes relating to one text. A closer examination of editions and translations of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

will provide evidence for the larger trends in nineteenth-century editorial practices.

Another area of discussion in the discourse about Victorian medieval scholarship is analyzing the way in which earlier scholarship influences subsequent editorial decisions in later editions of texts. Scholar Yuri Cowan explains in his analysis of the Early English Text Society in comparison to modern digital humanities work, "Even if print could faithfully mimic the textual peculiarities of a manuscript, there could be no mere reprinting of the manuscript. There were bound to be errors in copying, and there would always be editorial judgements imposed upon the texts" (228). As Cowan explains, the presentation of the text will necessarily influence interpretation. Madden and Morris both make editorial decisions that influence their audiences' views of the text, even if they intended to present the text as much like the original manuscript as possible.

Of additional relevance to this thesis is David Matthews's *The Making of Middle English, 1765-1910* in which he traces the editorial practices and scholarship that eventually coalesce into what we now consider the study of Middle English. He dedicates one chapter to a discussion of Madden, which I discuss in my chapter on Madden, and briefly contrasts Madden's work with Morris's work on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as well. While he notes that "the two editions of the same unique text could hardly be more different visually, ideologically, and in scholarship," Matthews offers only a paragraph of

comparison (156). In contrast, this thesis will analyze the specific editorial choices throughout both editions in order to establish more nuanced claims regarding rhetorical purposes and effects of these decisions.

The study of nineteenth-century medievalism has many directions, and scholarship in the field includes studies focused on nineteenth-century medievalism in literature like Kevin L. Morris's *The Image of the Middle Ages in Romantic and Victorian Literature*. Other studies specifically focus on Arthuriana in the Victorian period, like Debra N. Mancoff's *The Arthurian Revival in Victorian Art* and Inga Bryden's *Reinventing King Arthur: The Arthurian Legends in Victorian Culture*.[2] Such studies provide more information about the specific details of this theme throughout the era.

Editorial Practices

The purpose of this study is not to evaluate or criticize the early editors of medieval texts. However, in investigating the rhetoric of their editorial practices, it is helpful to have a foundational understanding of the practices used in editing medieval texts in recent scholarship. Knowledge of the values and methods in modern editing will allow for a comparison between modern and nineteenth-

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[2] Other works related to nineteenth-century medievalism include Clare A. Simmons' *Reversing the Conquest: History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, Marc Girouard's *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, Elizabeth Fay's *Romantic Medievalism: History and the Romantic Ideal*, Alice Chandler's *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature*, and R. R. Agrawal's *The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement*. This list is by no means exhaustive but offers a sampling of the scholarly work related to nineteenth-century medievalism.

century editions. Vincent P. McCarren and Douglas Moffat's collection of essays, *A Guide to Editing Middle English*, includes several chapters about editing methods. The purpose of McCarren and Moffat's book is primarily to instruct editors regarding modern practices and to provide a brief discussion of the theory behind certain practices. In another book, *Editing the Middle English Manuscript*, Charles Moorman provides a guide for beginning editors of Middle English texts. His chapter on "The Finished Edition" provides a brief guide to the important components of an edition. A background in editorial practices will allow a framework for interpreting Victorian editions. While not all of these aspects of editions will be analyzed at length in this thesis, understanding these elements will allow for a fuller grasp of the conversation relating to editorial practices.

A. S. G. Edwards's chapter of *A Guide to Editing Middle English*, "Manuscript and Text," discusses the critical notes regarding the original text included in scholarly editions. He explains that the section typically referred to as "Note on the Text" should include the editor's decisions regarding contractions, capitalization, and punctuation (159). Edwards then provides descriptions of the other categories of information about the manuscript that may be included in an edition: description of the physical manuscript (161-2), information about how the text was transmitted (162-3), the script or handwriting (163-5), manuscript decoration (165-6), the date of the manuscript, if known (167), and the provenance (167). He notes that it is not always necessary

or possible to include all of this information in the scholarly apparatus. However, this information may provide a fuller context for understanding the text. Furthermore, in the appendix, "A Practical Guide to Working with Middle English Manuscripts," to which A. S. G. Edwards contributed and references in his chapter, the authors explain that "A thorough description will contain information about most of the following points: shelfmark, date, contents, material, number of leaves and foliation, size, pricking and ruling, quiring, punctuation, decoration, binding" (Liuzza et al. 312). Though the purpose of this investigation of Victorian editions of medieval manuscripts is not intended to be evaluative, an understanding of the typical aspects of editorial manuscript descriptions provides a framework for analyzing what information Madden and Morris decided to include.

In "The Treatment of Language," Peter J. Lucas argues for a descriptive account of the language that focuses on the "scribe's linguistic habits, particularly orthographic (leading to phonological) and grammatical usage" in order to create an edition that is useful for linguistic study (177). Lucas divides his discussion into three components: orientation, scope and procedure, and manner of presentation. Regarding the orientation, Lucas explains that an editor should consider the manuscript's spelling, vocabulary, phonology, morphology of pronouns, morphology of verbs, syntax, and word-forms (174-6). Through considering these aspects of the words in the text, the editor can make decisions about how to convey a word in the final edition when editing from the transcript.

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Knowledge and familiarity with the linguistic patterns of the manuscript can be beneficial when determining how to expand contractions and how to provide words that are unclear in the manuscript (175). Lucas then investigates scope and procedure, which is dependent upon the intended audience for the edition and the pre-existing editions of the manuscript (177). Concerning the manner of presentation, Lucas promotes including information about phonology as well as other linguistic aspects of the text because "it may be more helpful to begin with the historical-linguistic position reached at the time of the text, and then to illustrate each feature orthographically with reference to the various phonological origins of that feature" (179). Overall, Lucas's outline stresses the importance of considering multiple aspects of language and presenting the text in a way that reveals the scribe's linguistic tendencies. As the Victorian editions were often created with the intention of serving philological study, Lucas's explanation of the important aspects to consider when editing the language of a medieval text will illuminate the way Madden and Morris treat the *Gawain*-Poet's language.

Mary Hamel, in her chapter, "The Use of Sources in Editing Middle English Texts," begins by contextualizing the medieval concepts of authorship and sources and then examines how an editor may incorporate work with the author's sources to edit and to explain the work. She explains the general method by which an editor may investigate connections to a source and then cites earlier discussions by A. E. Wright and Charles Wright concerning some necessary

characteristics of a source such as similar phrasings of uncommon wordings and the potential for the author to have encountered the source (209). Next, she elaborates on the use of sources to make editorial decisions and gives the example of Eugene Vinaver's practice of referring to Malory's sources in his edition of *Morte Dathure* to clarify particular readings (211). She then concludes by proposing that knowledge of the author's sources can also provide information about the author, the manuscript, and its historical context (214-15). Source criticism is an important feature of the Victorian editions, and the procedure and implications that Hamel outlines provide a foundation for further analysis of the information in Madden's introduction.

The practices of annotating medieval texts are analyzed in A. S. G. Edwards and Douglas Moffat's chapter, "Annotation." They introduce annotation as "possibly the aspect of any edition in which the editor is the most vulnerable. It requires judgment, conciseness, clarity, tact, and knowledge, particularly knowledge" (217). They then proceed to explain that the type of annotation and the extensiveness of the annotations will depend on the format and audience, as scholarly editions have different needs from editions intended for the classroom (217-18). Edwards and Moffat discuss the categories of annotation: annotations that refer to information previously provided by other scholars and annotations that contribute new information to discussions from other scholars covering textual, lexical, historical, and literary information (220). Annotations may also be used to note editorial decisions throughout the text (227). Overall, annotations

indicate the information that the editor thought was essential for understanding the text; thus, annotations reveal the editor's intentions and values. Edwards and Moffat also note that the Early English Text Society editions often include thorough annotation (218). Madden incorporates annotations in his edition, and Morris provides extensive annotations that provide paraphrases or summary throughout to aid understanding.

Similarly, Moorman discusses the Notes section of a completed edition in his guide. He explains the two broader categories of notes (textual and explanatory) and then lists four situations that require notes: "items which differ from the routine practices of the poet;" items that require background information for understanding, such as allusions or possible influences; "lines or passages which affect the internal organization and the interpretation of the work, repeated images, structural units...;" and information about other editorial and scholarly interpretations (94). These considerations help categorize the types of information that readers will find valuable for approaching the text. As these early editions have less material from contemporary scholars, the notes of the last kind are limited, and as Madden's edition is the first, he is initiating the scholarly discussion of the text, despite a few notes regarding its existence. However, notes of the other types appear in the three versions of the text.

The glossary is often an important component of Middle English text editions, and Moffat elaborates on the glossing practices in his chapter, "Making a Glossary." Moffat promotes thorough glossaries in which "every separate

lexical item...ought to have an entry in the glossary, and every distinct sense or meaning of each item ought to be exemplified within the entry" (238). He suggests that creating the glossary while editing the text can help illuminate previously unnoted "lexical peculiarities" (239). Glossaries should include headwords, designations of parts of speech, and senses and sense divisions, as well as information about etymology, alternate headwords and cross-references, emendations, and other forms of the word that do not appear in the text (240, 245-6). The extent of the glossary will depend upon the purpose of the edition. As the Victorian editions of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* were created in part to provide philological background, analyzing the contents of the glossary may indicate the editor's intentions.

Through the close reading and analysis of the contents and editorial decisions of Victorian editions of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, the values of the editors will be revealed. Using the editorial considerations outlined in McCarren and Moffat's *A Guide to Editing Middle English* and Moorman's *Editing the Middle English Manuscript* to form a framework, rather than a rubric, will provide a foundation for discussing Madden's and Morris's works. The manuscript descriptions, language treatment, source investigations, annotations, and glossary all contribute to the presentation of a text mediated by the editor.

Translation Theory

Like an editor, a translator mediates the original text for the audience; while editors prepare texts in ways that reflect their own views of the original authors, contexts, and significance, translators shape the text even more so because they are choosing specific words with differing connotations. In her book, *Translation, Authorship, and the Victorian Professional Woman: Charlotte Bronte, Harriet Martineau, and George Eliot*, Lesa Scholl analyzes nineteenth-century translations of modern language philosophical and political texts by women writers. She argues that through translation, women writers, especially the three in her study, were able to achieve authority as they mediated the texts written by men, resulting in "an intimate discourse with him, often challenging and critiquing the ideas presented, so they become nuanced in her translation" (3). In establishing the powerful role that a translator has, Scholl writes, "The translator, bringing his or her own system of cultural values to the space of the text, is required to be more self-consciously aware of how these cultural materials operate... to create a translation that is valid in terms of the original, but also useful and accessible to the translator's audience" (2). For Scholl, translators must bridge the gap between the context of the text and the needs of the audience with a full awareness of their own views so that they can accurately represent the culture of the text in a way that comes across to the new audience. This idea is central to Weston's translation practices in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, as she recognizes her audience's needs when she chooses to create a prose

translation with few footnotes and modernized language, but she also endeavors to remain faithful to many of the key words in the text so that she can provide her audience with an accurate representation.

To undergird the discussion of translation of texts, Susan Bassnett's introductory text, *Translation Studies*, will provide a framework for translation theory and concerns. Bassnett defines translation as, "the rendering of a source language (SL) text into the target language (TL) so as to ensure that (1) the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and (2) the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structures will be seriously distorted" (2). Within this definition is the idea of the tension between conveying the ideas and structure of the original text in a way that is accessible and sounds natural to the target language audience. Bassnett argues that translation is neither a scientific nor a secondary process, and therefore, the evaluation of a translation has limitations (9). As the purpose of this thesis is not to evaluate a translation but rather to investigate how the translation reflects the translator's own views and perceptions of the text and its context, Bassnett's explanation serves as a useful reminder about the varying goals of translation.

Bassnett also provides a useful background regarding Victorian ideas of translation. She compares the translation theories of Friedrich Schleiermacher, Thomas Carlyle, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and William Morris and concludes that "On the one hand there is an immense respect, verging on adulation, for the

original, but that respect is based on the individual writer's sureness of its worth.

In other words, the translator invites the intellectual, cultivated reader to share

what he deems to be an enriching experience, either on moral or aesthetic

grounds" (69). From Bassnett's analysis of the Victorian trends in translation, it

would seem that the translator has the authority to make claims about the value

of the text but also has interpretive authority. Bassnett outlines five different

views of translation from the Victorian era:

> (1) Translation as a scholar's activity, where the pre-eminence of the SL
> text is assumed *de facto* over any TL version.
> (2) Translation as a means of encouraging the intelligent reader to return
> to the SL original.
> (3) Translation as a means of helping the TL reader become the equal of
> what Schleiermacher called the better reader of the original, through a
> deliberately contrived foreignness in the TL text.
> (4) Translation as a means whereby the individual translator who sees
> himself like Aladdin in the enchanted vaults (Rossetti's imaginative
> image) offers his own pragmatic choice to the TL reader.
> (5) Translation as a means through which the translator seeks to upgrade
> the status of the SL text because it is perceived as being on a lower cultural
> level. (71)

Jessie L. Weston's translation seems to fit primarily with the fifth type of

translation, though the status of the poem had already been improved by

Madden's and Morris's more scholarly editions. Weston is instead arguing for the

poem's significance to broader English culture beyond the niche philological and

historical value by translating it for a modern, non-scholarly audience.

Use of Primary Sources

This study of nineteenth-century texts has been significantly enabled by the increase in digitization of historical texts. Primary texts have been essential to the study; beyond the editions that are the focus, access to texts such as the Cotton Nero A.x., the Bannatyne Club's lists, the Early English Text Society's annual reports, and Sir Frederic Madden's journals has enriched the contextual information. The bibliography lists the digital resources and their locations so that readers may view these historical editions of the text.

Limitations

As this study is limited to a case study of three nineteenth-century editions of one medieval text, and a medieval text from a unique copy, the application of this thesis to other editions is limited. Furthermore, Sir Frederic Madden was known for his meticulous editing methods in a way others were not; Santini refers to Madden as having "introduced higher standards of accuracy" (94). The purpose of this thesis is not, then, to make generalizations about Victorian editing practices, but to analyze the ways in which editorial choices influence reader interpretation and reflect the editor's view of the text within a Victorian context. Additionally, several other editions have not been considered at length, though they are referenced, such as Jessie L. Weston's later verse translation and Charles Henry Hanson's short re-telling in his *Stories of the*

Days of King Arthur. Moreover, this study is concerned specifically with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, so the other sections of Madden's *Syr Gawayne* anthology and Weston's *The Legend of Sir Gawain* have only been mentioned as part of the rhetorical context, though they are worthy of analysis in their own right. Despite these limitations, the study of these texts reveals different editorial and rhetorical goals for each different edition or translation. As one of the better-known medieval works, and as one that was not in print prior to the nineteenth century, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* shows some of the editorial concerns of the nineteenth century and remains influential to modern medieval studies.

Notes on Spelling and Terms

The terms "medieval," and "Middle English" will be used to describe the time period of the text and the language of the text. Santini mentions that "medieval" was not in regular scholarly usage to describe the time period throughout most of the nineteenth century (24). David Matthews also notes that "Middle English" was not the commonly used term during this time either (xxvi). Madden referred to the language of the poem as "ancient Scottish" (*Syr Gawayne* 300) and Morris referred to it as "early English." Nevertheless, for ease of reading for modern audiences, these terms will be employed for the consistency and convenience they afford. The editors also choose different spellings of Sir Gawain, as the poem itself includes many variant spellings. When referencing the edition, the editor or translator's spelling will be used, but the more

commonly-used spelling, "Gawain," will otherwise be used throughout. The "author" will be referred to as the *Gawain*-Poet throughout as well, despite the authorship debate noted in the next chapter.

The three body chapters in this thesis will focus on three different editions or translations of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* Each chapter will analyze the way in which the editor makes decisions that influence reader reception and the way in which the editor prepares the text for a specific audience.

The first chapter analyzes the first edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*: the focal point of Sir Frederic Madden's 1839 *Syr Gawayne* anthology for the Bannatyne Club. The limited publication for a wealthy and generally well-educated audience focused on presenting a printed form of the manuscript. Throughout the anthology, Madden emphasizes the importance of the original manuscripts in understanding the works. This chapter focuses on Madden's inclusion of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as the focal point of the anthology and only briefly refers to Madden's other selections. Through this analysis, I will argue that Madden's emphasis on the manuscript and awareness of his audience allow him to create an edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* that directs his readers to value the original manuscript itself in accordance with his own views on the value of manuscripts.

Richard Morris's 1864 edition for the Early English Text Society, following his edition of the other *Gawain*-Poet's works, is the focus of the second chapter. He uses Madden's edition as a base text, but makes a few changes. He then

prepares the text for a broader audience of amateur scholars who may not have a philological background in Middle English but who want to learn. His editorial apparatus includes significant summary and translation annotations in order to assist his audience in reading the text. This chapter will analyze how Morris's presentation mediates interpretation of the text, especially through what he includes and does not include in his introduction outline, annotations, and chapter headings that signal to the reader what he has determined to be of importance. Furthermore, the way in which his aids utilize wordings similar to the original text reveal his emphasis on the language of the poem. Even though his editorial additions cannot be entirely neutral, his primary purpose in providing these features is to allow his audience access to the otherwise difficult text. My analysis will demonstrate how Morris shapes his audience's understanding of the text by providing them with notes that aid their reading while still emphasizing the original language and wording of the text through his word choices.

The final section will turn from editions to a prose translation intended for a broader, non-scholarly audience and one of the earliest scholarly works concerning the text, both written by the same scholar. Jessie L. Weston's 1898 translation followed her research for a scholarly publication, *The Legend of Sir Gawain*. Her work as a female scholar in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and as a scholar with some controversial arguments, provides an interesting perspective on early medieval scholarship. Her work for two quite

different audiences reveals the ways in which she presents her beliefs in an "original" Arthurian legend. Additionally, her rhetorical use of diction throughout these two works demonstrates her awareness of her audience and her belief in the significance of the Arthurian legend for British culture.

Through considering editions and translations of a text as rhetorical texts in their own right, I hope to reveal the significance of nineteenth-century antiquarians and editors for modern medieval scholarship and for studies of Victorian Medievalism.

CHAPTER TWO

Sir Frederic Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, and the Bannatyne Club: Priorities of the Medieval Manuscript in Editorial Mediation for an Educated Audience

The nineteenth-century publication history of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* more or less begins in 1829. In his journal entry for July 8 and 9, 1829, Frederic Madden, then the Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts for the British Museum, begins with his customary note about the weather (which was apparently "wet") and then writes,

> Discovered in MS Cott. Nero Ax. the very curious Romance of "Gaw[a]yne and the Green Knight".... I find...that it is the same Romance which is quoted by Price.... It is otherwise quite unknown, for the compiler of the Cotton Catalogue has omitted it altogether, confounding it with the preceding poem, which it does not at all resemble. Price places it too early. Its real date is the [close] of 16th century.... (*Diaries* 123).

While not the first discovery of the text, his discovery would eventually lead to his creation of the first printed edition of the text ten years later. Madden's *Syr Gawayne* would influence subsequent *Gawain* scholarship and editorial practices. This chapter will analyze Madden's view of the importance of the manuscript and his intended audience through investigating his manuscript description, source criticism, and annotations and the ways in which they mediate the original manuscript for the recipients of his edition.

Sir Frederic Madden (1801-1873) was Keeper of the Manuscripts for the British Museum at the time of the publication of his 1839 *Syr Gawayne.* He began

this career as Assistant Keeper, a position he officially received in February 1828, as his biographers Robert W. Ackerman and Gretchen P. Ackerman note from their research with his journals (11). Prior to this position, he had worked copying manuscripts for Henry Petrie, the Tower of London Keeper of Records (7-9). As Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, he worked with the museum's collections and "catalogued new accessions, attended sales of manuscripts as a buyer, assisted in drawing up reports..." and as Keeper of Manuscripts, he had even greater responsibility for maintaining the museum's collections (Ackerman 11). These positions gave him considerable access and knowledge about the manuscripts he would edit and help others edit.

Madden's first major project, besides articles and notes, was his edition of *Havelock the Dane* for the Roxburghe Club in 1828. Harrison Ross Steeves notes in his *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and the United States* that the Roxburghe Club sought out Madden's work as he had recently found the text in the Bodleian Library (104). Steeves also mentions that this was the first time that the Roxburghe Club hired an editor outside their Club, and "the success of this trial was followed up by some of the most gifted scholars of their day to oversee important publications" (104). Madden was to edit two more works for the Roxburghe Club: *The Ancient English Romance of William and the Werwolf* (1832) and *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (1838) (Ackerman 51, 57). His work for the Roxburghe Club helped bring him into the printing club circles.

Madden was knighted on March 13, 1833 as a Companion of the

Hanoverian Guelphic Order (Ackerman 16). He had recently been added to the

Bannatyne Club a few weeks prior, and as such, his listing in the Bannatyne Club

notes his knighthood when referring to his resignation and his publication.

Another notable editorial project is his 1850 publication with Reverend Josiah

Forshall of *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the*

Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Late Vulgate by John

Wycliffe and His Followers (62). Michael Borrie notes in his brief biography of

Madden that the Wycliffe project began in 1829 and included work with 170

manuscripts (3). Because of his work for a variety of printing clubs and with a

variety of manuscripts, Madden played a significant role to the beginning of

medieval studies in the Victorian period. As the passage from his journal

illustrates, he was familiar with the publications in his field and he was

concerned about organization and accurate information, important

characteristics for a meticulous editor. The level of information about the

manuscript that he includes in his personal journal, alongside the details of his

daily life, demonstrates his intense interest in his work.

While Madden's work on *Syr Gawayne* reflected his own values and

interests, the culture of the Bannatyne Club also shaped aspects of the

publication of the text and its intended audience. An analysis of the Club's rules

and publication materials reveals the emphasis on exclusive membership and

allows for interpretation of the way the texts would have been received by this

limited and educated audience. According to the Bannatyne Club's *Lists of Members and the Rules*, Frederick Madden, the 112th member, joined the printing club on February 25th, 1833 (11). He resigned from the club in 1836, three years before *Syr Gawayne's* publication (24). The *Lists of Members and the Rules* provides two lists of members, one organized chronologically by date of entry, and the other organized alphabetically. The alphabetical listing of members mentions Madden's knighthood and notes his association with the British Museum (24). The entry in the Club's catalogue of the books that describes his edition, the 61st publication of the Bannatyne Club, reads, "*Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems, By Scotish and English Authors, Relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table* with Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by Sir Frederick Madden, K. H., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum" (69-70). The entry also indicates the page numbers with the illustrations and mentions that it was "Printed at the expense of the Club" (70). The other entries in the lists of publications also often provide information regarding the title, status, and qualifications of the editor in the description the book, as the information about Madden's knighthood and work with the museum shows. For example, those without formal titles are listed with "Esq." as Madden himself is referred to in the chronological section because he was not knighted until after he joined the Club. This emphasis on titles conveys the Club's interest in the social class and distinction of the members. Furthermore, the Bannatyne Club's emphasis on the distinction of its members and the distinction that membership itself creates is

evident through the printing of two such lists of members in different organizational arrangements in the printed records. This practice of listing members also carried over to the printing of editions; four of the opening pages of *Syr Gawayne* include the list of members at the time of publication.

The introductory matter of *Lists of Members and the Rules* also notes the original number of members as thirty-one and the subsequent expansion to one hundred members because "of the numbers applications for admission by persons of rank and literary distinction" (43). Additionally, the rules regarding the printing of editions indicated that "Each Member of the Club shall receive one copy of every such Work, free of all charge: the remaining copies to be at the disposal of the Club, as donations to such Libraries, and private individuals, as shall be approved of by the Committee," with the exception that "When Works intended to be printed, are of such importance or magnitude as to render it expedient to extend their circulation beyond the Club, it shall be in the discretion of the Committee to direct an extra impression to be thrown off, for Sale, on a paper differing in size or quality from the Members' copies" (35-6). The 1833 rules, which were in place at the time of the 1839 printing of *Syr Gawayne*, retain the stipulation that works may be printed for sale beyond the club but with differing quality (39). While the wording regarding the additional copies and independent work by members changes, the intent is the same: the work is central to the club and all members shall receive a copy. Their emphasis on membership, which would have cost five guineas according to the 1827 rules,

and the status of its members is important for an understanding of some aspects of Madden's *Syr Gawayne*. Through a controlled number of members and through different standards of printing and paper quality for member copies and public sale copies, the Bannatyne Club addressed a specific audience. There is a recognition that the work of the Club may be beneficial for those outside the Club, but the rule about the different paper sizes and qualities suggests an underlying concern with retaining the status and exclusivity of the Club. The Club's purpose is to print texts for the preservation of and access to these early texts, but the members also appear interested in supporting this work as a status symbol. The cost, five guineas, would be too expensive for someone without status, and the level of education and amount of leisure time generally needed to work on these texts likewise support the idea of exclusivity. Understanding the relationship between Madden's *Syr Gawayne* and the printing club that sponsored its publication also demonstrates the important role that these printing clubs had as a precursor to academic medieval studies.

Madden's *Syr Gawayne* reflects his understanding of his audience, as well as his understanding of medieval manuscripts, and the rhetorical situation of the publication provides an important context for understanding this audience. From the Bannatyne Club's member list, we know that the members were usually upper-class gentlemen. These members also had a keen interest in manuscripts and language. With this limited audience in mind, Madden chooses to present the text much like a printed version of the manuscript. Because his audience has

expressed commitment to printing manuscripts through their admission to a selective club focused on this practice, he knows his readers are more likely to be familiar with similar texts or that they have demonstrated enough interest to suggest that they will seek the information they need to understand the text. Members of the Bannatyne Club would have been interested enough in supporting the printing of "works illustrative of the history, antiquities, and literature of Scotland" as this purpose statement prefaced the catalogue section of its *Lists of Members and the Rules* (44). The original purpose statement from the "Notice Prefixed to the Octavo Edition of the Rules, 1823" reads, "The express object and design contemplated in the Association, is, by means of an annual sum contributed by the Members, to print in a uniform and handsome manner, a series of Works, illustrative of the History, Topography, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Literature of Scotland in former times" (24). This original purpose statement and the preface from the rules both show the focus on Scottish literature in honor of the Club's namesake, George Bannatyne, a collector of Scottish poetry (43). Madden's edition reflects this purpose statement through his framing of *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* as having Scottish origins (303) and through his analysis of the historical and geographical aspects of the text.[1] While

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[1] Editors Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron mention that Richard Morris, discussed in the next chapter, identifies the dialect as West-Midland rather than Scottish and that subsequent mention of the language has followed Morris (2). Madden does say that the poems have "sufficient internal evidence of their being *Northern*, although the manuscript containing them appears to have been written by a scribe of the midland counties" (301), only to identify the

Madden emphasizes the poetry and the manuscript, appropriate subjects for the Club's publications on their own, he includes historical and linguistic information.

Review of Literature

Madden's *Syr Gawayne* is considered to be "a founding document" for Middle English studies, as David Matthews notes in his article, "'The Deadly Poison of Democracy: Sir Frederic, Sir Gawain, and the Invention of Middle English" (31). While Madden's significance to medieval studies has been noted, analysis of some aspects of his anthology's features has been limited. Scholarship focused on his work has tended to point out his edition's mistakes,[2] the sociopolitical implications of his approach,[3] and the comparative improvements

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Cotton Nero A.x poems as "*genuine* Scotish poetry" (303) a few pages later. Perhaps this presentation of the text as Scottish literature, which Madden seemed to be committed to in his notes, stems from an idea of the otherness of the text, specifically its dialect and setting, which suggests a sort of Occidentalism in the English conceptions of Scottish work.

[2] A.S.G. Edwards and Laurita Lyttleton Hill both discuss how Madden's division of the poem into four fitts does not follow the nine initial capital letters of the manuscript and note the continuation of that pattern in subsequent editions. See Edwards's "Manuscript and Text" (166) and Hill's "Madden's Divisions of Sir Gawain and the 'Large Initial Capitals' of Cotton Nero A.X." (67-8).

[3] David Matthews frames his discussion of Madden's edition in the context of the Chartist protest and the Eglinton Tournament to argue that "Madden's work was a contradiction...which arose from a devotion...to ideals of pure scholarship which were new in medievalist-antiquarian study, and... to a limiting program of literary endeavour linked to political conservatism, and allied to the immediate past of medievalist-antiquarianism as a means of self-

in editorial practices that his anthology demonstrated.4 The conversation

acknowledges his contributions and the influence of editorial practices in reader

interpretation. To advance this discussion, this chapter utilizes a rhetorical

approach to analyzing the features and aspects of *Syr Gawayne*. Through the

exploration of Madden's rhetorical choices that focus on audience, purpose, and

effect, we can better understand his editorial choices and the example he

provides of Victorian editorial practices.

Features of Madden's Edition

While Madden presents the text of the poem *Syr Gawayn and the Grene*

Kny3t with few notes on the page, his extensive introduction and notes frame the

reader's reception of the poem by informing the reader about the manuscript,

sources, and historical context. Through the information he provides about the

manuscript, he reinforces the importance of the manuscript itself in interpreting

the text. This emphasis on the manuscript is also supported by his decisions in

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shaping" (35). Matthews does not deny Madden's contributions, but contends
that editors bring sociopolitical values to their editions as well. Matthews's article
also appears as a chapter in his book, *The Making of Middle English*, but was first
published in *Parergon*.

4 Monica Santini argues in her book *The Impetus of Amateur Scholarship:
Discussing and Editing Medieval Romances in Late-Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century
Britain* that Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, though it is not without error, signals a trend
toward representing the language and context of the text. She provides this
assessment: "he did his best to understand the language the texts were written in
and most of the times he achieved his goal" (159). Santini's book provides an
overview of printing club editions and discusses Madden's achievements only
briefly.

representing the manuscript in printed form with the inclusion of illustrations,

placing the bob and wheels in a similar position to that of the manuscript

placement, and leaving the contractions unexpanded. An analysis of these

features of his edition, specifically the sections of the features related to *Syr*

Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt, will reveal the value that Madden placed on

manuscripts and his assessment of his audience's knowledge of and interest in

medieval texts.

Manuscript Descriptions

    One section in which Madden establishes the importance of the physical

original manuscript is the manuscript description section of his introduction. As

the Keeper of Manuscripts, Madden's descriptions of the manuscripts he used to

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5 In this example of a stanza from *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt*, as
formatted in Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, the line " wᵗ tonge;" is the bob and the last
four lines beginning with " As hit is ſtad & ſtoken" form the wheel:

    Ande quen þis Bretayne watȝ bigged bi þis burn rych,
    Bolde bredden þer īne, baret þat lofden,
    In mony turned tyme tene þat wroȝten;
    Mo ferlyes on þis folde han fallen here oft
    Þen in any opᵐ þat I wot, fyn þat ilk tyme.
    Bot of all þat here bult of Bretaygne k   ges
    Ay watȝ Arthur þe hendeſt, as I haf herde telle;
    For þi an aūtᵐ in erde I attle to ſchawe,
    Þat a ſelly in ſiȝt ſūme men hit holden,
    & an outtrage awenture of Arthureȝ wondᵐeȝ;
    If ȝe wyl lyſten þis laye bot on little quile,
    I ſchal telle hit as tit as I īn toū herde, | wᵗ tonge;
    As hit is ſtad & ſtoken,
    In ſtori ſtif & ſtronge,
    Wᵗ lel lettᵐes loken,
    īn londe ſo hatȝ ben longe. (*Syr Gawayne* ll. 20-36)

create his *Syr Gawayne* anthology are thoroughly detailed. He concludes his Introduction by explaining that he has added an additional section for the description of the manuscripts, "which may not be altogether devoid of interest" (xiv). This phrasing suggests that Madden believes that his audience may also be interested in the details of the manuscript; because his audience is a specific and limited group of gentlemen interested in supporting the publication of editions, his assumptions about the level of interest may be correct. However, his own interest in manuscripts far exceeds the level of interest denoted in that phrase from his introduction. Madden's meticulous and lengthy description of the manuscript shows that his interest extends beyond the text of *Syr Gawayne* to the manuscripts used to construct the his anthology. For example, he devotes three and a half pages to describing folios 37 to 126 from Cotton Nero A.x. The entire manuscript description section is over twenty pages and placed before the main text. The placement and length of this section suggests that Madden believes his audience will be interested in the manuscripts themselves, not the just the stories or the glossary. This also suggests Madden believes that knowledge of the manuscript will aid the audience's understanding of the materials within his anthology.

Through including paleographical information, Madden explains his support for associating *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* with the same poet as *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*. He describes the *Gawain*-Poet section of Cotton Nero A.x. as being "written by one and the same hand, in a small, sharp,

irregular character, which is often, from the paleness of the ink, and the contractions used, difficult to read. There are no titles or rubrics, but the divisions are marked by large initial capitals of blue, florished with red, and several illuminations, coarsely executed..." (xlvii). In his journal entry from July 9, 1829, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, he notes that the previous cataloguer may have accidently considered it part of the poem before it, "which it does not at all resemble" (*Diaries* 123). Madden's argument for *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* having the same author as the other three Cotton Nero A.x. poems is followed and supported by most subsequent editors, but as Malcolm Andrew notes in "Theories of Authorship," the single authorship argument is not conclusive (23-4). Though Madden's author attribution theory is no longer considered viable (see the later discussion on Madden's source criticism), his ideas about common authorship with *Pearl, Cleanness,* and *Patience* are still considered and noted in the debate, which demonstrates that his contributions to *Gawain*-Poet scholarship helped shaped later interpretation and discussion.

Madden arranges his discussion of the narrative contents of the Cotton Nero A.x poems by describing the illustrations that correspond to sections of the poems. He also describes the illustrations in considerable detail, including the appearance and apparel of the people in his descriptions. Though he focuses his collection on Sir Gawain legends, he includes quotations from *Pearl, Cleanness*, and *Patience* as well. The description of *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* itself is rather limited, as he has included the illustrations from the poem in this edition,

along with an image of the first page of the poem. He justifies his limited

description of the *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyʒt* section, writing "Prefixed is an

illumination, of which an outline engraving is given at p. 18 of the present

volume, and needs no further description, except that here and elsewhere the

only colors used are green, red, blue, and yellow" (xlix). He also demonstrates

how central he believes the visual aspects of the manuscript to be to

interpretation of the text by suggesting that an image can replace a description,

though the image cannot display the colors of the original manuscript in this

format. The image is, despite the lack of color, preferable to the description and

the first page does not require "further description" (xlix). Like the limited notes

within the printed text of the *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyʒt* poem, Madden's

inclusion of a picture allows him, in this instance, to eschew his editorial

comments in favor of representing the text as close to the original format as

possible. In his "Description of the Manuscripts Used in the Present Volume," he

refers to the facsimile of the first page, Cotton Nero A.x., folio 91/95 recto, and

the outline engraving of the first illustration (xlix). By referring to the

illustrations, Madden directs the readers to an image of the manuscript so that

they can glean the necessary information regarding the presentation of the text in

an almost unmediated form.

   While he only gives two manuscript illustrations in his introductory

materials, his inclusion of four other images from Cotton Nero A.x. throughout

the anthologized selection reveals that he is emphasizing the importance of that

particular poem over the others in his anthology. *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* is the only text with illustrations in his *Syr Gawayne* anthology, besides one facsimile image from the first page of *The Awyntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne* (xilv, liii). Madden includes the four full-page illustrations from the *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* manuscript. In his journal entry for Sunday, April 1st, 1838, he writes, "E. went to Bloomsbury church, and I completed the tracing of the fourth illu-mination from the Cotton Ms. Nero A.x. intended to illustrate Sir Gawayne. I shall have them li-thographed forthwith" (*Diaries* 39). Madden's edition privileges *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* as the feature story, not only by its placement as the first selection, but also through the inclusion of illustrations. His process of tracing the manuscript and then having the tracings lithographed demonstrates that he put forth considerable effort to present the text in a way close to the original manuscript. His presentation of the images also furthered his goal of providing access: the images allow an audience to read the text without having to have access to the unique manuscript. While each page of the manuscript is not included as a lithograph and it is not a complete facsimile, the readers would be able to have an idea of what the original manuscript looked like by looking at the first page and the illustrations. Having a sense of the original medium allows the readers to better understand the context of the work. Notably, however, the placement of the illustrations does not fall precisely in between the same folios as they do in the original manuscript. For instance, the first illustration with Sir Gawain beheading the Green Knight is on folio 90 verso

in Cotton Nero A.x., but is placed between pages 18 and 19 of Madden's text, which include the text from folio 97. While it is interesting to note the different placements, I do not think they are significant in terms of analyzing Madden's editing practices. First, the placement of the illustrations may have been a printing rather than editing decision, and thus out of Madden's control. Additionally, the fact of the illustrations' placement is less important than their inclusion. The inclusion of these illustrations reinforces the privilege Madden gave to *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* as the paramount piece in his collection and the importance of the manuscript itself in the reception of the text.

His descriptions of the other manuscripts used in the volume are similarly extensive, though they do not include images (other than the single illustration from *The Awyntyres of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*). The contents of the Thornton MS are each listed with some notes regarding possible sources, as are the contents of Porkington MS No. 10 and MS. Rawlinson, though the MS. Douce and Percy MS. are described only briefly. He includes information about poems from these manuscripts that have been previously printed, similarities between the contents and other manuscripts, and often the beginning line from the poem. In this section, he does not date the manuscripts, but he does refer to his assessment of the manuscript dates in his notes near the end of the volume. For example, he assigns *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* to the period of the reign of Richard the Second based on the paleographical features and the "internal evidence, arising from the peculiarities of costume, armour, and architecture"

(301). Thus the illustrations from the manuscripts play an important role in

Madden's interpretation of the text's context by providing him with enough

context to suggest a date range. By using the images, as well as the words, to

determine the historical context of the work, Madden demonstrates how his

interpretation of the content shapes his interpretation of the context. While he

did not include lithographs of the illustrations from each manuscript, he does

provide them for his featured selection. By providing detailed information about

the manuscripts, Madden directs his readers back to the original manuscripts for

greater understanding of the text, even as he seeks to provide as accurate a

representation as possible.

Madden clearly valued an unmediated experience for his readers, at least

as much as was possible. We can see this editorial principle carried out in how

little commentary he provides within the presentation of the poem itself. What

commentary he does provide is primarily focused on contexualizing the

manuscript and the sources of content rather than his editorial choices and his

interpretations of the text. For example, he makes no notes regarding

punctuation, which he did decide to include in an edition that is otherwise more

like a transcription. He does, however, include a page explaining the texts'

abbreviations (lxix). Madden focuses his statement of justification for his

editorial choices on his glossary and its potential contribution to understanding

of "Scotish and Northern dialect" (xlv). The editorial choice he does address is

that he decided to leave the abbreviations unexpanded to reflect the original text

but that he has included information about abbreviations on a separate page and that the Glossary and Notes will likewise help the reader (xlv). He provides his audience with aids for understanding, but it is of greater importance to him that they be able to receive the original text with as little mediation directly on the page as possible, including unexpanded abbreviations.

Punctuation

Given this lack of editorial mediation, the absence of an explanation of his punctuation choices is notable. He even preserves the bob and wheel in his printing, which he briefly refers to in his notes (304). Matthews refers to Madden's edition as "*non*-editing, advocating a pure or near-pure homology between manuscript and printed text. This is a kind of editorial utopianism, in which Madden wants to *return* the text to a pre-editorial purity" (37). Yet, Matthews does not note the added punctuation in his assessment nor does Madden decide to note or explain his own decision. In "Problems in Punctuation: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, lines 1-7," J. A. Burrow compares different readings based on punctuation provided by editors, including Madden, in the first seven lines of the poem to illustrate the way in which punctuation does shape the reading of the text (79). The first four lines of Madden's edition are shown here:

> Siþen þe ſege & þe aſſaut watȝ ſeſed at Troye,
> Þe borȝ brittened & brent to brondeȝ & aſkeȝ,
> Þe tulk þat þe trāmes of treſoūn þ⁹ wroȝt,
> Watȝ tried for his tricherie, þe treweſt on erthe; (ll. 1-4)

In these four lines alone, Madden has added four commas and a semi-colon to the previously unpunctuated text. Madden's edition adds so little additional aid to the modern reader that the addition of punctuation hints at possible underlying assumptions regarding language and text; while providing an edition without punctuation would have been less accessible for his audience, its inclusion in an otherwise manuscript-like edition signals a modern belief in the near necessity of punctuation for interpretation.

Source Criticism

Madden's introduction and notes also serve to address the sources of the texts and his investigation of the "historical" Gawain. Madden provides a chronological account of the sources of stories about Sir Gawain and considers traditions regarding his portrayal. He begins the introduction by explaining the limitations of his study of sources and then proceeds to explain his methods for determining the order in which the romances featuring Sir Gawain were written. When he introduces his purpose in discussing the character of Sir Gawain at length, he explains that "the utility of which in illustrating the Arthurian cycle of fiction will be admitted, perhaps, as a sufficient excuse for the space it may occupy" (xi). He uses the word fiction to describe the Arthurian accounts, and while he discusses the history, the focus is on constructing the history of the texts rather than the history of Sir Gawain himself, though he does say of the accounts of Gawain's adventures in *Laȝamon Brut* that they "contain so small a share of the

marvellous that they might easily have been accepted as grave matter of history"
(xiv). In contrast, he considers the prose accounts to have the most creativity: "It
is to the authors, therefore, of the prose legends of the Round Table we must look
for the invention or preservation of those numerous romantic narratives which
record the exploits of Gawayne and his fellows on a more ample canvass, and
clothe them with a character purely imaginative" (xiv). The issue of the character
of the historical Gawain receives little attention; only phrases such as "these
writers were indebted to Anglo-Norman romance-literature for nearly all that
they know of him" indicate interest in a historical figure (xli). The concern is the
history of representations of Gawain rather than the history of Gawain himself;
Madden does not address the historical existence of "our Hero" (xi). Despite
Madden's avoidance of the issue of Gawain's actual existence, Matthews
interprets Madden's views of the texts "as if at some level he believed in the
reality of his central figure, whom he describes as if he were a real person, a
single unified figure..." (41) and cites Madden's statement, "I have now traced the
history of Sir Gawayne from his birth to his burial-place" (*Syr Gawayne* xxvi).
While Madden does give an overview of Sir Gawain's life based on the other
manuscripts, Madden's focus in this section seems to be on establishing the order
of the texts in recording stories of Sir Gawain rather than creating an actual
biography. Matthews also claims Madden "tended to read medieval texts as
documentary realism" (41). Matthews refers to Madden's notes about medieval
armor and feasting as descriptions of what medieval life was actually like to

support his claim about documentary realism. Admittedly, the passage in which Madden notes the imaginative details of the romances also seems to indicate a search for an accurate portrayal of the original Gawain. By using the phrase "clothe them with a character purely imaginative" to describe the imaginative process in telling a story about Sir Gawain, Madden suggests that there may be less imaginative accounts of the hero. It is clear, however, that Madden is aware that the romances include details that could not be accurate. Madden then includes detailed information about the accounts of Sir Gawain in the medieval romances while comparing the information in the sources.

Madden also engages in comparing lines from *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* with possible sources in his notes to consider how the traditions may have been passed down and recorded in various accounts. He discusses the similarities between the text and *Roman de Perceval, La Mule sans frein*, and *Roman du Saint Groal*, and then suggests that "Some points of resemblance will here also be remarked with the Scotish Romance, and it is highly probable that the author may have mingled together several narratives for the purpose of rendering his own more attractive" (307). Madden claims that the author of *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* might be "*Huchowne of the Awle Ryale*" and then proceeds to refer to the author by this name (302).6 Mary Hamel, referred to in the introductory

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6 Andrew notes in "Theories of Authorship" that Morris does not agree with this attribution because Morris has determined the dialect to be North-West Midlands rather than Scottish (28). As noted in the introductory chapter, the

chapter, discusses medieval ideas of authorship by citing St. Bonaventure's

definitions of *scriptor*, *compilator*, *commentator*, and *auctor* and explaining that

"Few if any Middle English texts, then, were 'original' in the sense 'not derived

from something else'; the expectation was that any Middle English work *would* be

derivative to a greater or lesser degree" (204). Madden recognizes the *Gawain*-

Poet's (or in Madden's view, Huchowne's) use of sources and the significance of

the influence without suggesting that the work is merely an uninventive copy.

Throughout the notes section, he connects lines from the text to possible sources.

For example, regarding the first line of the poem, "*Sithen the sege & the assaut watʒ*

sesed at Troye," Madden refers to the work of other editors (Warton, Ritson,

Panizzi) and then to other romance and classical works which attribute England's

roots to Troy (308-9). Throughout the notes, he continues the pattern of

elucidating the connections between the poem and possible sources. At times, the

other sources are referenced to provide additional information, such as the

reference in line I.112 to "*Bischop Bawdewyn*" where Madden refers to *Sir Gawene*

and the Carle of Carelyle, The Turke and Gowin, and French sources (312). Madden

also suggests possible historical figures to whom the name could be referring.

His placement of the source criticism at the forefront of his edition in the

introduction, but also consistently throughout the notes, emphasizes his belief in

the importance of source criticism for understanding the works in his anthology.

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authorship has not been agreed upon and most scholars refer to the poet as the
Gawain-Poet or *Pearl*-Poet.

However, he includes the notes at the back of the volume rather than throughout the text, which emphasizes the primacy of the original text over his critical apparatus.

Contextual Notes

Madden's other annotations include those intended to provide historical context or definition for terms unfamiliar to the readers, especially relating to clothing, items, places, or people. An example of this type of annotation is the note for line I.957 "*That other with a gorger was gered ouer the swyre*" in which Madden defines a gorger as a "wimple" and then provides the historical context of the garment and other literary references to the item, such as Chaucer's Wife of Bath (321). The inclusion of such notes reveals that Madden believes his audience may need additional background information to understand the text, but that it is not absolutely essential for understanding, as the notes are not near the passage. On page 36, the page which the note refers to, there is no indication that he has provided a note. Additionally, the note quotes the text in a simplified form, which he does not use for the main text. The section with the poem reads "Þat oþ⁹ wyth a gorger watȝ gered ou⁹ þe ſwyre" (with ⁹ indicating the scribal abbreviation for *er*, per the "Marks of Abbreviation section on page lxix) (36). Much of the annotation content suggests an audience that is interested in source criticism and historical context, but the placement suggests that Madden values the original text over his extensive annotations.

Overall, Madden's anthology of *Syr Gawayne* tales is edited with an emphasis on appreciation of the original text with an extensive critical apparatus to justify the significance of his work and to provide enough context for his audience to understand or appreciate the poem. His understanding of the medieval concepts of text and authorship are also reflected in his introduction and notes. While he remains faithful to the original manuscript as much as possible, the introduction, notes, and the rhetorical situation of an anthology prevent him from presenting a completely unmediated text. Overall, though, Madden treats the manuscript itself as the supreme text and his edition serves to inform readers about the original text and direct them toward the source. The readers of Madden's text, limited to members of the select Bannatyne Club, would have had greater access to the information necessary to approach the text without annotations on the page; thus, Madden's edition serves his audience while primarily emphasizing the significance of the Cotton Nero A.x.

CHAPTER THREE

Richard Morris, *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, and the Early English Text Society: Reaching and Educating a Wider Audience

The Early English Text Society, founded in 1864 and led by F. J. Furnivall, published an edition of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* that same year, with a full acknowledgement of the work Sir Frederic Madden put forth for the Bannatyne Club's edition. The editor, Richard Morris (1833-1894) was a schoolteacher and an active member of the Early English Text Society, as well as other philological societies, according to his biographer, J. S. Cotton. He had previously edited the other poems in the Cotton Nero A.x. for the Early English Text Society's *Early English Alliterative Poems*, and then undertook his *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* edition. In his preface to this edition, Morris begins, "In re-editing the present romance-poem I have been saved all labour of transcription by using the very accurate text contained in Sir F. Madden's 'Syr Gawayne,'" and goes on to explain that he has edited contractions, added notes to help the reader understand, and added to the glossary (*Sir Gawayne* vii). The purpose of this edition, as Morris's mention of his additions suggests, was to bring the poem to a broader audience than the audience that Madden's edition reached.

Madden, for his part, allowed his work to be re-edited by the Early English Text Society, though not without some concern about the Early English Text Society's editorial practices. Furnivall's biographer, William Benzie refers to

Madden's March 12, 1864 journal entry in which he expresses concerns about

Morris's work with the Cotton Nero A.x:

> If this sheet of transcript...is a specimen of his usual accuracy, then it is
> evident that the works edited by him will be not only worthless but highly
> mischievous! In the compass of half a page, I never saw such a number of
> ignorant and shameful misreadings of the text, or *conjectural* words
> inserted instead of real ones! I feel thoroughly disgusted at such a
> prospect of Editorship. (Benzie 125)

Nevertheless, reviews of the publication, which also note Morris's use of

Madden's work, were favorable. The August 26, 1865 review in *The London*

Review considers the Early English Text Society edition to be a valuable

contribution, but thoroughly notes Madden's work on the project as well: "It is

necessary to add that Sir Frederick Madden had already edited it from the same

manuscript, and that Mr. Morris acknowledges the great advantage of following

this eminent scholar; it is hardly necessary to remark that the Early English Text

Society has done wisely in issuing a fresh edition in its series" (233). In the

September 9, 1865 edition of *The Reader,* the reviewer instead places emphasis on

Morris's role in his publication as he reports, "The reader need not be dismayed

at the strangeness of the language, because there is an admirable glossary at the

end, which gives all that can be desired. We venture to make one suggestion to

the editor..." (281). At this point, the reviewer suggests one particular glossing

possibility: glossing *steel-bow* as *stirrup* (281). By giving linguistic suggestions, the

reviewer reveals his familiarity with the text and language. This review also

gives an extensive summary and includes two translated quotes and four quotes

in the original language, further demonstrating that the reviewer had some

authority on Middle English. The review continues with a glowing account of

Morris's talent and work:

> The mere fact of the poem being re-edited by so accomplished an Early
> English scholar as Mr. Morris, is quite sufficient to satisfy all who know
> him through his former editions that it is done in the best possible
> manner. No praise of ours could add to the esteem in which he is held for
> extreme accuracy and a thorough mastery of his work. (281)

This particularly complimentary review and the other generally positive review

suggest that Morris's work was fairly well-received.

Morris's talents as an editor led to his further contributions to the Early

English Text Society, as well as other editorial work. He edited *Story of Genesis*

and Exodus (1865), *Dan Michel: Ayebite of Inwyt* (1866), *Old English Homilies of the*

12th and 13th Centuries (1867 and 1868), *Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the*

Passion and Cross-Poems (1871), *An Old English Miscellany: A Bestiary, Kentish*

Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, etc. (1872), *Old English Homilies of the 12the Century,*

Vol. II (1873), *Blickling Homilies* (1874), *Blickling Homilies II* (1876), and a seven-

volume set of *Cursor Mundi* with five volumes containing the edited text and two

other volumes containing prefatory material and H. Hupe's essay on the work

(*List of Publications* 4-10). He also taught at grammar schools and wrote books for

students about the English language, such as *Historical Outlines of English*

Accidence (1872), *Elementary Lessons in Historical English Grammar* (1874) and

English Grammar (1875) (Cotton). His extensive work, including but not limited to

his Early English Text Society editions, shows his dedication to the Society's project and to language study in general.

This chapter will focus on Morris's edition of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, but will also further discuss the context of the Early English Text Society and refer to Morris's *Early English Alliterative Poems*. An analysis of the features of the Early English Text Society editions and Morris's own editorial choices will reveal the way in which Morris shaped the text for his audience, and demonstrate the shift in Victorian editing practices to accommodate a larger reading public.

Early English Text Society and Intended Audience

To understand the reasons for certain features of Morris's *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, the context and goals of the Early English Text Society editing and publishing circle provides a useful background. The Society intended to bring these early English texts to a broader audience so that more people would be familiar with the national language and history. Thus, the first annual report of the Early English Text Society includes a justification for editing and re-editing the Cotton Nero A.x. works:

> The *Early English Alliterative Poems*, though noticed long ago by Dr. Guest and Sir F. Madden, for their great philological and poetical value, had been inaccessible to all but students of the difficult and faded MS. in the British Museum: they have been now made public by the Society's edition, with their large additions to our vocabulary, and their interesting dialectical formations. The *Sir Gawayne*, from the same MS., could only have been had before in Sir Frederick Madden's rare and costly edition, printed by the Bannatyne Club. (1)

In keeping with the Society's two goals of "print[ing] all that is most valuable of the yet unprinted MSS. in English" and "re-edit[ing] and reprint[ing] all that is most valuable in printed English books, which from their scarcity or price are not within the reach of the student of moderate means," the Committee includes a footnote with further justification for their re-editing and reprinting practices: "Those who would raise any objection to these re-editions...are asked to consider the absurdity and injustice of debarring a large number of readers from the enjoyment of an old author, because a living editor has once printed his works..." (*Report of the Committee* 2). The Early English Text Society desired a broader audience for the *Gawain*-Poet than a Bannatyne edition could give and consequently undertook the work and expense to make the work known. The target audience also notably includes "the student of moderate means," unlike the earlier printing clubs, which tended to include those with greater means or those with considerable work in the field, like Sir Frederic Madden. The Early English Text Society wanted more people to be familiar with the language and the legends in these early texts because they believed that these works had some societal or national value. Benzie quotes Furnivall's justification for printing Morris's edition of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* in response to a January 1865 criticism in the *Athenaeum*: "But take the ordinary students of Early English.... you would not think it a 'waste of power' to put the text you wanted or cared for within the reach of 500 people, at the cost of from ten to twenty shillings.... we

want to make "household words" of the names of the early men and books we delight in..." (129). The Early English Text Society's justifications reveal the perceived audience of these texts to be the student fascinated by the history of the English language who is able to afford the £1 1*s* subscription fee. The early annual reports list the subscribers; the 1865 annual report lists 137 subscribers, including eight libraries. This audience is wider than the Bannatyne Club, which was limited to 100 members, and the Society planned to increase its membership and would continue to grow for a time. Thus, the choices that the Early English Text Society made about the information included in their editions would be directed toward making the text accessible for this broader audience.

As discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, these early editions of the text influence later interpretations. The presentation of the Middle English text with any additional information or in any form other than the original manuscript cannot provide an unmediated representation of the text. For example, in his chapter "Reading Material Bibliography and Digital Editions," bibliographer Yuri Cowan compares the Victorian Early English Text Society's printing of medieval texts with the modern digital archives as they both "engaged in similarly ambitious textual recovery" (224). Cowan explains the significance of Morris's work, writing,

> Richard Morris's first great volume for the EETS, giving for the first time all the poems of the British Library manuscript Cotton Nero A.x., is now only a footnote to scholarship on the *Gawain* manuscript; the poems had eventually to be re-edited. But many of Morris's readings have been retained; and as the example of the bob in *Gawain* attests, Morris is a silent

partner who needs to be acknowledged in all future editions as a major factor in the transformation of the text on its way down to us. (228)

As Cowan notes, the decisions Morris made, as well as the decisions Madden made because Morris relied on Madden's edition heavily, influence the way in which scholars today edit the text. As Laurita Lyttleton Hill argues in "Madden's Divisions of Sir Gawain and the 'Large Initial Capitals' of Cotton Nero A.X.," these early editions shape interpretation and presentation. With the scholarly consequences of Morris's edition in mind, we turn to analyze the different decisions Morris made in his presentation of the text to the Early English Text Society's audience.

Morris's Editorial Practices

Morris's edition of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* is edited in consistency with the Early English Text Society's purposes: to make English texts available for a broader audience of readers and to expand knowledge and appreciation of the history of the English language. His editorial additions, like the outline in his introduction, the annotations throughout the text, and the headings at the top of the pages, not only help readers' understand the story in a way that helps them learn the language but also draw attention to the *Gawain-*Poet's use of language for greater literary appreciation.

Introduction and Preface Features

The introduction and preface of an edition frames the way in which the readers receive the text. In addition to the extensive outline of the story, Morris uses parts of his introduction to emphasize the *Gawain*-Poet's language and the historical value of his text to prepare his readers as they approach the poem itself. He also simultaneously establishes his authority as editor and clarifies his intended audience by referring to his *Early English Alliterative Poems*.

Morris begins the edition with a preface that credits Sir Frederic Madden's text and then directs readers to the preface of his edition of *Early English Alliterative Poems* for additional information on the Cotton Nero A.x manuscript and the language of the poet. While this provides readers with little context within the edition itself, the Early English Text Society intended that the society would be comprised of subscribers who would then receive all of the year's work. Because *Early English Alliterative Poems* was also printed in 1864, Morris assumed that the background information his audience needed would be available to them. At this stage in the development of the Early English Text Society, this assumption may have been warranted. While the Early English Text Society intended to reach a broader audience than the earlier printing clubs and did not want the costs of the editions to prevent interested readers from accessing the material, the number of subscribers and those generally interested in these texts was limited. Therefore, the references to his *Early English Alliterative Poems* would not likely have prevented readers from retrieving that background

information. Additionally, by referring to his earlier work with the other Cotton Nero A.x poems, Morris reminds his audience that he has experience in editing this particular manuscript and shows that he is a qualified editor who has spent time learning more about the manuscript and preparing related texts.

One way in which Morris shapes the reader's expectations of the text is through his introduction to the character of Sir Gawain in Arthurian literature. The introduction begins with a description of the "renown" of Sir Gawain and then connects his characterization in other Arthurian works with his characterization in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*. Describing the *Gawain*-Poet's characterization, Morris writes,

> Our author, too, loves to speak of his hero in similar terms of praise, calling him the knight faultless in his five wits, void of every offence, and adorned with every earthly virtue. He represents him as one whose trust was in the five wounds, and in whom the five virtues which distinguished the true knight were more firmly established than in any other on earth. (*Sir Gawayne* vii)

As he will continue to do throughout his introduction and annotations, Morris borrows phrasing directly from the *Gawain*-Poet: "Fyrst he watȝ funden fautleȝ in his fyue wytteȝ, / & effe fayled neu*er* þe freke i*n* his fyue fyngres, / & alle his afyau*n*ce vpon folde watȝ in þe fyue wou*n*deȝ" (*Sir Gawayne* 21). Instead of summarizing or loosely paraphrasing, Morris uses some of the *Gawain*-Poet's word choices. The major ideas of being "faultless in his five wits" and the faith in the "five wounds" receive the closest wording to the original text. This emphasis on using the *Gawain*-Poet's own words is even more noticeable in other sections

of Morris's editorial additions as an appreciation of both the linguistic aspects of the language and the *Gawain*-Poet's style undergirds his project. Moreover, by using the *Gawain*-Poet's words to frame Gawain as a hero, Morris draws attention to the particular qualities that help him support his own estimation of Gawain's heroic character.

Another way in which introductions can shape the readers' perceptions of the text is through emphasizing one aspect of the story over another, as Morris does in his discussion of Gawain's temptation. Morris continues his introduction by again assuming his readers' familiarity with his edition of the *Early English Alliterative Poems*, and then briefly describes part of the central drama of the narrative: Gawain's temptation. He writes, "...the true knight, though tempted sorely not once alone, but twice, nay thrice, breaks not his vow of chastity, but turns aside the tempter's shafts with the shield of purity and arm of faith, and so passes scatheless through the perilous defile of trial and opportunity seeming safe" (*Sir Gawayne* vii). A notable omission, Morris does not mention Gawain's other temptation, in which he fails to restore the girdle to Bernlak in their exchange. This part of the story is given in the outline segment of Morris's introduction, but the way in which he portrays Gawain's purity neglects his moment of weakness. "Scatheless" is a particularly interesting choice of words, as Gawain receives a minor wound from Bernlak in his final test and therefore does not emerge unscathed. Overall, however, the introduction offers little direct interpretation except through word choice in the outline, so it is understandable

that Morris does not undertake a thorough judgment of Sir Gawain's worthiness or unworthiness. (Additionally, Bernlak, Arthur, and the other knights of the Round Table emphasize his honor even after he confesses his failures.) The emphasis on Gawain's purity is his success in withstanding the other temptations of Bernlak's wife. However, in combination with his description of the Poet as having "an utter horror of moral impurity," his commentary on the morality of the story complicates the judgment he offers (vii). Purity in Morris's account focuses only on the physical purity and, at least in the brief introduction, ignores that Gawain's purity of heart was found wanting in his desire to survive.

In addition to quoting or paraphrasing the text, an editor may influence the readers' perceptions of the text by pointing out what he might consider a significant passage and providing an explanation why. In another brief section of the introduction, Morris offers a list of passages for further investigation of the "manners and amusements of our ancestors" through which the Gawain Poet "has made the narrative more attractive" (*Sir Gawayne* viii). These passages are left out of Morris's narrative outline other than brief mention, but he includes the page numbers so that his readers may pay attention to the description of Gawayne being armed for his quest and the three hunting sequences regarding the hunting of the deer, the boar, and the fox. In keeping with the Early English Text Society's interest in discovering information about medieval life, Morris lists the scene with Sir Gawain's armaments as "the mode of completely arming a knight" (*Sir Gawayne* viii). Rather than a particular description of a specific event,

this rhetoric proposes the further application of offering an understanding of medieval culture. Like the idea of learning about historical English language, the idea of learning about the historical English life is suggested as a reason for reading this text. Morris explains that these passages have value because of the way they inform readers about national history. By emphasizing the historical nature of these passages, Morris influences his readers to approach the text as a poem with historical value instead of merely a poem with an entertaining narrative.

Introduction Outline

While the editor's introductory and summary materials may shape the way in which the readers perceive the text, the editor may also privilege aspects of the original text through word choice. Morris's "outline" that is "more or less in the words of the writer himself" reflects a careful preservation of the original linguistic material, which reveals an appreciation of the *Gawain*-Poet's diction and phrasing (viii). While the outline borrows extensively from the *Gawain*-Poet's language and in effect translates some of the lines, it is not a translation. While much shorter than the original poem, this outline consists of over 6,600 words and provides a thorough re-telling of the plot. In *Early English Alliterative Poems*, Morris also provides outlines, though they are considerably shorter and include more direct passages with interlineated translations. He says of his outlines of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*:

> This brief outline of the poems, together with the short extracts from them, will, it is hoped, give the reader stomach to digest the whole. It is true that they contain many 'uncouth' terms; but this will be their highest merit with the student of language...To those readers who do not appreciate the importance of such a very large addition to the vocabulary of our Early Language as is made by these treatises, let Sir Frederic Madden's opinion of their literary merit suffice.... Moreover, as to the hardness of the language—inasmuch as the subject matter of the poem will be familiar to all who may take up the present volume, the difficulty on the word-point will not be such as to deter the reader from understanding and appreciating the production of an old English poet, who...may claim to stand in the foremost rank of England's early bards. (*Alliterative* xvii-xviii)

The stated purpose, then, for the outlines is to prepare the readers for the Middle English text because of the unfamiliarity with the dialect. While Morris points to the quality of the literature itself, his emphasis is on providing a means to access the language. His word choice of "stomach" and "digest" evokes a long process with beneficial results. Understanding these poems in the original language will be difficult to some readers, but Morris and Madden believe that these texts are worth reading because of their literary value, as well as their use in learning more about the history of the English language through the study of an early English text. Morris further emphasizes the difficulty of the language by referring to the poems as having "many 'uncouth' terms" but then suggests that these unfamiliar terms are of great value for the study of the English language. He continues to describe "the hardness of the language" and "the difficulty on the word-point" in this part of his introduction in order to set reader expectations for the amount of careful study these texts will take to read well. However, the outlines he has provided should serve to provide the reader with enough

background to continue reading. Morris's introductory practices and purposes in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* appear generally similar to those in his *Early English Alliterative Verses*. While the style of the outline differs, his offering of a detailed description of the content serves to inform his readers of the general narrative so that they may be able to approach the Middle English text with sufficient understanding.

From this justification of helping readers process the Middle English terms, the frequent use of the *Gawain*-Poet's terms in the outline serves to familiarize readers with the sound and style of the original work. Morris employs variations on using "more or less...the words of the writer himself": translating whole phrases into modern-sounding language with attention to the alliterative nature of the line, re-ordering parts of phrases for ease of reading, and incorporating the *Gawain*-Poet's key terms. He directly quotes the text and places the material within quotation marks. He also uses a conventionalized spelling of the Middle English words when using dialogue. While some of his sentences combine ideas from several lines and serve as broader summary, Morris's noticeable effort to utilize the *Gawain*-Poet's language and style remains evident.

As Morris seeks to provide his readers with a foundation for reading through the Middle English text so that they may appreciate the language, he gives the readers whole phrases from the original in standardized spelling. In some instances, Morris gives passages in quotations to indicate the extent to

which they sound like the original text, though other lines throughout the outline

may sound similarly like the original text. An example of an extended line that

Morris places in quotations is, "when the cold clear water shed from the clouds,

and froze ere it might fall to the earth. Nearly slain with the sleet he slept in his

armour, more nights than enough, in naked rocks" (*Sir Gawayne* xii). In

comparison to the lines in the poem,

> when þe colde cler wate*r* fro þe cloudeȝ schadden,
> & fres er hit falle myȝt to þe fale erþe;
> Ner slayn wyth þe slete he sleped i*n* his yrnes,
> Mo nyȝteȝ þe*n* i*n*-noghe i*n* naked rokkeȝ, (*Sir Gawayne*, ll. 727-30)

Morris's prose version is quite similar, aside from the modernized spelling. There

are three noticeable differences: the transposition of the phrase "fro þe cloudeȝ

schadden" to "shed from the clouds," a similar transposition of words in "ere it

might fall to the earth," and Morris's use of the word "armour" for "yrnes" for

clarification. Morris included this phrase in quotation marks, to indicate that he

is keeping his paraphrase close to the original text. However, the absence of

quotations in other passages does not necessarily mean that his paraphrase will

not have significant similarities with the original text.

For example, a few sentences later, Morris writes, "The hazel and the

hawthorn intermingled were all overgrown with moss, and upon their boughs

sat many sad birds that piteously piped for pain of the cold" (xii). The passage he

evokes in his prose is written this way in the poem:

> Þe hasel & þe haȝ-þorne were harled al samen,
> W*ith* roȝe raged mosse rayled ay-where,

> *With* mony brydðeʒ vnblyþe vpon bare twyges,
> Þat pitosly þer piped for pyne of þe colde. (*Sir Gawayne* ll. 744-48)

The major ideas and terms from the first three lines are similar, and the last line has only one different word, but that line is not included in quotations. While Morris does use some different terms, like "intermingled" for "harled al samen," and "sad" for "vnblyþe," the arrangement of the ideas and the key words like "hazel," "hawthorn," "moss," and "many birds" is similar to the poem. Still, even though the key words and structure are similar, only the last line reflects the same level of similarity as the example in the previous paragraph. This outline is not intended to be a translation of the whole text, as Morris does not include all of the details, but some passages, like the first example are near translations, and others, like this passage, are more like paraphrases. Despite these differences in wording, Morris preserves the alliterative style, especially in the last line of this passage. Throughout Morris's outline, he maintains the alliteration of the original text in some sentences, often through direct and nearly direct quotes, as demonstrated in the piteously piping birds line above. Alliteration is an important aspect of the *Gawain*-Poet's work, as Morris would have recognized in his *Early English Alliterative Poems*. He uses the alliteration of the poem in his outline to set his readers' expectations for the style.

In other instances, Morris will use some of the words of the Poet but then transpose the word order or phrase to conform to modern English patterns. In describing Gawain's temptation on the third day that Lady Bernlak wakes him,

the *Gawain*-Poet writes, "Gret p*e*rile bi-twene hem stod,/ Nif mare of hir kny3t my*n*ne," (ll. 1768-69) and Morris writes, "Had not Mary thought of her knight, he would have been in great peril" (xv). This switching of the phrase order aids the reader in processing the text by using a more familiar structure. Reordering the phrases also allows him to simplify the structure from " Gret p*e*rile bi-twene hem stod" and "he would have been in great peril," which sounds more familiar to his audience. Morris is preparing the readers for the original text as the central feature of the book, and he achieves this through mediating between the modern English and the Middle English in his word choices in his summary. By being able to read a summary in much the same style as the text, the reader may be better able to approach the unfamiliar language or dialect.

Furthermore, Morris's re-telling makes considerable use of dialogue, much of which is nearly direct quote but often with some material excised for concision and clarity. In the outline, dialogue occurs approximately ninety times, including when characters speak to themselves or continue to speak but address another person in a new paragraph. When characters speak, Morris uses language that appears intended to reflect the medieval context: the speakers "quoth" over ten times; they end words with -est or -dst nearly thirty; they address others as "ye" more than twenty and use "thou," "thee," or "thy" approximately 130 times while the rest of the outline avoids this style. As Gawain incites the Green Knight to not delay the impending blow, the Green Knight says, "'For soþe,' q*uod* þat oþ*er* freke, 'so felly þou speke3,/ I wyl no leng*er*

on lyte lette þin ernde, riȝt nowe'" (ll. 2302-3), which Morris interprets as "'Forsooth,' quoth the other, 'since thou speakest so boldly, I will no longer delay'" (xviii). In order to aid a reader through linguistic similarity and provide the reader with a sense of difference when reading dialogue, Morris retains the archaic words "Forsooth," "quoth," "thou," and "speakest". He does not use these or similar words in any non-dialogue sentence in the outline. By emphasizing these aspects of language when he quotes the characters, he situates the context and setting in the readers' minds. Presenting the dialogue in a way that reminds readers that the characters are speaking in another time prepares the reader for understanding the historical context of the original text in which the language and some of the customs and ideas may be unfamiliar.

  Several lines in Morris's outline are further set apart from the text as quotation. Seven short passages are taken directly from the text, translated, and then quoted. Five are from the wheel part of the poem's bob-and-wheel, as shown in table 1 below. Only one of the cited passages includes the entirety of the wheel; the other passages are only two of the four lines. These passages also all center on the initial scene with the feast and beheading game except the last one, which is taken from the third morning scene with Lady Bernlak. The other two passages that are translated quotes from the text are set apart from the text of the outline in quotation marks and in italicization. The first example, "*Very much was the warm water that poured from eyes that day*" is also set apart from the body of the text, and centered as the last line of a paragraph (xi). The second, "*It*

were indeed great bliss for a man to love them well and believe them not," is still italicized but included in the main body of text for that paragraph and within an extended quote from Sir Gawain concerning the beguilement of women (xix). The original passages from which these two quotes are take read as follows: "Wel much watȝ þe warme water þat waltered of yȝen...þat daye" in which "that day" is the bob (ll. 684, 686), and "...hit were a wynne huge,/To luf hom wel, & leue hem not..." (ll. 2420-1). Both quotations contain excisions that are not indicated by the text of the outline, unless that is what Morris intended to indicate in setting these two quotes in italics.

Table 1
Comparison of Wording in Morris's Outline to Original Poem

Morris's Outline	Morris's Edition
Each two had dishes twelve Good beer and bright wine both (viii)	Ay two had disches twelue Good ber, & bryȝt wyn boþe (ll. 128-29)
Not all from fear, but some for courtesy (ix)	I deme hit not al for doute, Bot sum for cortaysye (ll. 246-47)
And yet give I him respite A twelvemonth and day Now haste and let see tite (soon) Dare any here-in ought say (ix)	& ȝet gif hym respite, A twelvemonth & a day Now hyȝe, & let se tite Dar any her-inne oȝt say (ll. 297-300)
the king and Gawayne there At that green (one) they laugh and grin (xi)	þe kyng & Gawen þare, At þat grene þay laȝe & grenne (ll. 463-64)
Though I had nought of yours, Yet should ye have of mine (xv)	þaȝ I hade oȝt of youreȝ, Ȝet schulde ȝe haue of myne (ll. 1815-16)

The wheel passages are quite similar to the wording in the original poem, but Morris has used similar wordings throughout without typographically indicating quotes. These examples of translated quoted text further emphasize that Morris is concerned with presenting the poem's language as an important aspect for appreciating the poem.

Another feature of the introduction outline that informs readers about the text is Morris's use of page numbers after sections. By including these page numbers after a few sentences describing the main events of the page, Morris is able to guide the readers between his outline and the poem so that they may compare the two. The reader may read the poem in the original language and check with this outline to assess understanding. By providing an indication of where the reader may find this part of the story in the original poem, Morris essentially provides a study guide for his readers.

Morris makes use of the varying levels of quotation and paraphrase throughout his outline to help the readers become familiar with the language of the poem. The quantity of quoted material and the similarities between much of the outline and the original text corroborate Morris's claim that his purpose in including such front matter is to prepare his readers for the language and to give the readers that may not be interested in studying the text from a philological perspective some reflection of the original text.

Annotations

In addition to the extensive summary with page numbers to help readers, Morris's edition of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, as well as his *Early English Alliterative Poems*, include annotations. For *Sir Gawayne*, these annotations comprise over 6,600 words, similar in length to his introductory outline. Unlike the outline, however, the annotations are spread throughout the text so that the readers are given explanations of the scenes as they read the text in the original language. Furthermore, these annotations enable the readers to process the Middle English text with considerable help but without giving a full translation. Like the outline, many details are left out, and the focus of this material is to guide readers as they read and translate. Still, some of the material is directly quoted from the text, and the approximately forty-five instances of dialogue reflect the language of the text. While the annotations are short, the use of alliteration is still noticeable. For example, in the opening stanza, the annotations read, "a land of war and wonder" and "and oft of bliss and blunder" (1). The words "werre," "wonder," "blysse," and "blunder" are retained in the annotations to more accurately present the poem and to give the reader unfamiliar with Middle English a helpful aid that will guide them to find an ear for the alliterative nature of the poem.

As the wording in the annotations is similar to the wording in the outline in the way it reflects the *Gawain*-Poet's language and style, the focus of the discussion of the annotations will center on the way in which having these side

notes aids the readers' interpretations of the text. Morris endeavors to retain the original wording as much as possible, and because of his care to remain close to the text, he does not appear to be imposing his views of the story itself on his readers through his annotations. However, the additional material is not the text and cannot interact with the text in an entirely neutral way; Morris does offer some interpretation that may influence his readers. He does not provide annotations for every line, thus privileging some details of the poem over others. For example, when Sir Gawain attends mass at his host's castle and sees the lady and the elderly woman together, the annotation description of the lady reads, "The younger had breast and throat 'bare displayed'" (30-31). This description itself may reveal much about her clothing, especially in contrast to the older woman who "exposed only her 'black brows,' her two eyes, nose, and naked lips, all sour and bleared" (31). The greater details of the contrast may not be as significant to achieving an understanding of the plot, but the line after the annotation about Bernlak's wife continues in a vivid description of her snow white complexion. The description of the older woman describes the wimple itself in greater detail as well. The contrast is evident in Morris's annotations here, but the details he does not include further the contrast. He does include specific details throughout, especially as description is an important element of the *Gawain*-Poet's style. It is which details he chooses to include in the annotations that reveal what he thinks is important for the reader to understand.

Morris's edition also provides signpost headings describing what he considers to be the major action of the page. This information would guide readers to assess their understanding of what happened as they continue through the pages and to find where they left off more easily, especially as students of the language may be turning from the narrative to the glossary with relative frequency. Reading headings such as "Description of an Ancient One," which is followed by "Her Eyes Were Bleared," may not give the reader the full extent of the action or pertinent details included on the page, but as the reader searched for where he or she left off, these descriptions would help the reader find it. These descriptions also highlight what Morris considers either memorable or important about the text. The pages with these headings are those discussed in the annotation section previously, in which Gawain attends mass and sees Lady Bernlak and the older woman who will eventually be revealed as Morgan LeFay. The annotations focus on the description of the older woman, as these signpost headings do. The poem itself gives more description of the older woman, as Lady Bernlak will receive more description elsewhere in the poem. However, Morris highlights the older woman's presence even further through making her the subject of his headings. Other appropriate headings may have indicated the contrast between the two, as that is the reason for the detailed description. Instead, the old woman is the focus of the headings. This may help the reader understand that this character may be significant to the plot so remembering her

presence is beneficial. He may have also noted that the older woman receives more line by line description than the young woman and predicated his decision with that in mind. The detail, "Her Eyes Were Bleared," however, is quite specific, and the rest of the scene on that page focuses on Gawain's interactions with the two women and the beginning of the festivities after the mass service. By indicating the important or memorable information as a heading, Morris may direct his readers to focus on the heading details more than other aspects of the story given on that page. These headings may shape the way in which the reader interprets the relevance of certain details, thus informing their perception of the text.

Overall, the components of Morris's Early English Text Society edition of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* reflect the dual aims of the society to provide texts for both philological information and literary and historical appreciation. While Sir Frederic Madden's edition from the previous chapter aimed to present the text as closely to the original manuscript as possible, Richard Morris's edition is designed with the intent to draw a broader audience into the original text. By using wording that is similar to the original text in his introductory outline and annotations, he prepares the readers to understand the text as well as appreciate the *Gawain*-Poet's style. These additional aids, as well as the signpost headings, may further influence how the readers interpret the text, but they also allow the readers to approach an otherwise difficult text with more preparation so that they can experience the poem without having already engaged in extensive

study of the language. Morris's editorial practices reveal an awareness of the

increase in the Victorian reading public and the need to accommodate his

audience's limited knowledge of the language.

CHAPTER FOUR

Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Gawain*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:
Scholarly Writings and Popular Publications

After analyzing the editorial practices for the first two editions of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, we now turn to the translation and scholarship relating to the text. Jessie L. Weston first composed a character study of Sir Gawain in 1897 and then created a prose translation of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* the following year. The early influence of a woman scholar in the study and reception of this poem is significant but also, in some ways, representative of the trend in translation work, which was considered a more acceptable area of writing for women.

Women did contribute to nineteenth-century medievalism studies, but it was not a common practice. A few women scholars had contributed to the Early English Text Society's work prior to 1900. In 1870, the annual report notes that "Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith" completed the editorial work begun by "the late Toulmin Smith, Esq." entitled *English Gilds* (2-3). Among her other literary works not published by the Early English Text Society, Toulmin Smith also edited the 1885 Clarendon Press *York Plays: The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the Day of Corpus Christi in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries*, as well as other publications noted on the title page of that edition. In 1899, according to the Early English Text Society's publication list, a Renaissance text written by a

woman, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch and Horace*, was edited

by C. Pemberton, or Caroline Pemberton. Scholar Monica Santini briefly refers to

the 1839-1848 editorial work of Charlotte Guest and her translation of

Mabinogioni (74). In her book, *Women Writers and Nineteenth-Century Medievalism*,

Clare Broome Saunders includes a chapter analyzing the work of women

scholars and translators in nineteenth-century medieval studies entitled

"Recasting the Courtly: Translations of Medieval Language and Form in the

Nineteenth Century." Broome Saunders considers the translation work of

Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Elizabeth Elstob, Anna Gurney, Clara Reeve,

Susannah Dobson, and Louisa Stuart Costello, and suggests that "since

translators worked with texts written mainly from a viewpoint of male authority,

their work did not threaten the establishment in the way that original writing,

expressing personal opinions, might. As a result, translation became a useful

vehicle for subversion" (13). As Broome Saunders examines the translation work

of these writers (and the play with the theme of translation in original work), she

analyzes how they use translation as a screen or a veil for presenting their own

views, especially through their choices of texts to translate, their prefatory

materials, and the way they make the texts suitable for their audiences (21-5).

Through considering the ways in which translators shape a text and promote

their own views, and the way in which women could employ translation as a

method for expressing themselves, this chapter will analyze the work of a female

translator a few decades after these writers, Jessie L. Weston. Weston was a

recognized female scholar in her time and she presented arguments that challenged the existing scholarship in the debate about the origin of Arthurian legends. Furthermore, she translated *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in modern English, thus making the text more accessible for a popular audience. Her work, although not in current use, offered new arguments and new voices in medieval scholarship and introduced the legend of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* to a new, non-scholarly audience.

Jessie Laidlay Weston (1850-1928), an influential English Arthurian scholar, left a comparatively small biographical trail other than her published work. In her 1992 article, "In Quest of Jessie Weston," Janet Grayson explains how she discovered and explored Weston's life beyond her published works, and then proceeds to provide the biographical information she found to supplement that which was lacking. After Grayson's article, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* did include an entry for Jessie L. Weston, written by Gillian Thomas. Grayson notes that many of Weston's papers and much of her correspondence had been burned (1-2), but she was able to construct the major details.

Weston's family encouraged her talents and she was able to attend schools and travel the continent. She studied under French medievalist Gaston Paris, and, after her father's death in 1887, she began to work on her publications (Thomas). Her first publication was an 1894 translation of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and she was inspired to produce this translation as a result of the popularity of the story resulting from Richard Wagner's *Parsifal* (Grayson

6-7). Her work with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* soon followed in 1897 and 1898. While much of her work was focused on a scholarly audience, she also desired that other readers would have access to the Arthurian legends, so some of her translations, like her *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, were intended for a broader audience.

Both Thomas and Grayson consider her to have been an eminent English medievalist and Arthurian at the time. However, Thomas notes that her later work on grail legends was controversial and that her 1920 publication *From Ritual to Romance* was not composed with as great attention to scholarly practices as her other work, though it was still influential. Thomas explains that *From Ritual to Romance* "differs from her other works in its lack of scholarly apparatus and its odd references to an unnamed informant who was supposedly an initiate of occult rituals." Grayson cites her consistent claim for "lost hypothetical origins" for the Arthurian legend as the reason for her disputes with other scholars (11). As a result of her willingness to make controversial arguments, her significance as an Arthurian scholar is often overlooked.

Her biographers have acknowledged Weston's significance as the translator who helped bring *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* into public consciousness. While Madden's edition brought the manuscript into print for a limited audience and Morris's edition re-printed the text with extensive notes so that a wider audience could access the story, Weston's translation allowed the reading public unfamiliar with Middle English to receive the story in a further

mediated form. Daniel Nastali, in "Jessie Weston and the Green Knight," traces

the editions and translations of the story, and while noting the story's inclusion

in Charles Henry Hanson's children's book *Stories of the Days of King Arthur*[1]

prior to her 1898 translation, suggests that Weston is responsible for the story's

popularity: "Weston's retelling is the book through which the narrative of

Gawain and his Green Knight adventure entered the realm of popular culture

and took on a life of its own" (Nastali 47). Nastali also references several reviews

of her translation, including an anonymous review from a 1900 issue of

Antiquary, which says that it "has proved itself equally attractive to the student of

romance and to the general reader" (47). This accessibility to a broader audience

contributed to modern familiarity with the poem.

Weston's Scholarly Analysis

Before her translation, Weston began her work on Sir Gawain with a

character study. *The Legend of Sir Gawain: Studies Upon Its Original Scope and

Significance* provides an overview of Sir Gawain legends and a comparison of the

texts. She engages with the debate about the origins of Arthurian legends that

was important to scholarship at that time. Thomas explains that the two primary

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[1] Hanson, the author of *Homer's Stories Simply Told*, collected fourteen Arthurian stories into his anthology to "make choice of such of these stories and traditions as were most likely to captivate the imagination or to excite the attention of the boy-readers of this generation" (v). "Sir Gawaine and the Green Knight" is the eighth story in his collection, and consists of a ten-page retelling of the story. Though quite contracted, the pacing of the story remains similar. Hanson's versions lacks details, but is recognizably the same story, even though Hanson's accounts of the hunt differ slightly (118-28).

schools of thought in Arthurian scholarship were the inventionist school, which credited Chrétien de Troyes as the original author of Arthurian texts, and the Celticist school, which attributed the Arthurian legends to Irish tales. Weston was influenced by the Celticist school, which included her publisher, David Nutt, but attributed the legends to Welsh tales and a Welsh bard, Bleheris (Thomas). Her interactions with this debate are present in her *Legend of Sir Gawain* through her preface and emphasis on the "original" tale.

While her biographers note her tendency toward firm opinions, Weston adopts a tone in her preface to *The Legend of Sir Gawain* that suggests that she began her research with no hypothesis and that the evidence led her to her conclusions. Whatever the actual nature of the relationship between her ideas and her evidence, the tone serves a clear rhetorical purpose. In her opening paragraph, she writes, "I had formed no definite conclusion on the subject—the results, such as they are, have evolved themselves naturally and inevitably in the course of careful study and comparison of different stories" (vi). By claiming that her analysis is the result of "careful study and comparison" and that she has "formed no definite conclusion," Weston suggests that she began her work with no particular argument in mind and that even now, she is willing to change her mind should further evidence point in another direction. This malleability of her opinion is in direct contrast with her phrase, "the results...have evolved themselves naturally and inevitably," which contends that her apparently indefinite conclusions are only logical inferences. Overall, the phrasing of this

claim allows her to appear to carefully enter as a new voice in the debate but also to retain some force in her argument by saying that her conclusions are entirely evidence-based. She continues, "But it may be that though the evidence, as I interpret it, appears to me to point clearly in one direction, others better versed in such matters may read it otherwise. In the present state of Arthurian investigation that writer is over-bold who claims infallibility, or finality, for the most tempting conclusions " (vi). This tone evokes the scholarly humility that medieval writers would employ. It is also her first published study of this nature and she is among the first female scholars in her field. This tone, furthermore, attempts to remove blame for any disagreement of interpretation; she explains that her "interpretation of these facts...appears to me to be neither forced nor unnatural" (vi). By approaching her claims in this way, she prepares her audience to try to understand where she is coming from. Her authority on this subject, according to her preface, is that she has used the facts and these facts have seemingly led her to a natural conclusion. This technique acknowledges her entrance into the debate without, at this early point in her career, attracting attention from controversy.

Weston's careful tone in this prefatory material may be connected to her position as a woman in a scholarly field predominantly the domain of men, with some exceptions. Though overall her writing may not seem particularly gendered, she begins her work with a less assertive tone than the tones Madden and Morris take in their material. For example, while Madden only suggests

Huchowne may be the author in the notes section of edition and references a few other sources with the same conclusion, he continues referring to him as the author as if that is the case: "Admitting, however, *Huchowne*, to be the author of the romance, we are singularly fortunate in possessing probably *all* the pieces written by him..." (302-3). While Weston does eventually write as though her claims are reliable and while Madden does present some evidence and concern, their tones are different. Madden presents evidence to support his case, but Weston presents evidence and then makes her case, suggesting that she must let the evidence be her authority and that Madden asserts his authority.

The content of her study is divided into the following chapters: "Early Conceptions of Gawain," "The Legend in Chrêstien's 'Conte del Graal' and Wolfram's 'Parzival,'" "The Legend in the Minor Romances," "The Magic Castle," "The Loves of Gawain," "Gawain's Son," "Le Chevalier de la Charrette," "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," and "The Legend in Malory." These chapters demonstrate the broad scope of her analysis and the emphasis on comparative literature. She is not basing her evidence on only a few texts, but rather has sought to find the "original" text or evidence pointing to an "original" text through extensive comparison. In her first section, she focuses on the debate over sources and the idea of the Arthurian legend as an essentially English work, despite the composition of Arthurian texts in French and German. Her central claim in the work is: "...an important step in the great work of elucidating this confused tangle of romance, would therefore be the careful sifting of the stories

connected with the individual knights; the attempt to discover what was the

original form of each legend; to find out, if we can, how much they have

borrowed..." (4-5). The italicization of "original" is Weston's own. Her statement

stresses the idea not only of the original author for the debate between

inventionists and Celticists but also the idea of an original text that lends some

versions of the legend greater authority than others. This method of research

strongly emphasizes developing an understanding of the existing accounts of

Arthurian legends within a relevant time frame. By comparing accounts, Weston

hopes to uncover commonalities that may provide evidence of an original.

Because the scope of all Arthurian legends is too broad at this point, Weston

focuses on the stories surrounding each knight, and her later publications

include such studies as *The Legend of Sir Lancelot* and *The Legend of Sir Perceval*

(Grayson 11). She begins these studies with this *Sir Gawain* study because his

central role in certain Arthurian legends heavily contrasts with Lancelot's role in

other Arthurian legends.

While Weston is searching for the "original" Arthur, her emphasis is not

on finding the legend that is closest to a historical Arthur, though she does

mention the question of historicity. She writes that Caxton's concerns about

historicity and the evidence he considered sufficient were not consistent with her

contemporary scholarship, "though for the sake of English literature we may well

rejoice that it satisfied Caxton" (3). She continues, explaining, "But without

committing ourselves to a faith in these interesting relics, or in Arthur's victories

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far afield, we may, so scholars tell us, believe that he really lived, and was a valiant warrior and successful general" (3). Her argument is not about the historical Arthur but the work of the historical author. She expects that there is some element of myth in the Arthurian legend, and she is a folklorist, so she does not concern herself much with whether or not the events actually happened but rather what the stories, and the original story, mean for the culture. She is not looking for the true story but, rather, the original legend. While the history of the text itself matters for her argument and analysis, whether or not the stories portray a historical figure accurately is of little importance to her. What is important to Weston, however, is finding the earliest version of the Arthurian legends to understand where the legends come from and their significance for British history.

In the chapter focused on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Weston compares *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* to stories with similar elements in order to establish which stories are potential sources and which are potential derivatives. Through looking at the elements of the story and basing her claims on the idea of an original Arthurian legend, she determines that the important elements of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* originated in an Irish Cuchulinn beheading game tale and that the chronological order of these versions is *Diu Krône* and *La Mule sans frein, Sir Gawain the Green Knight*, *Carados*, and *Lancelot* (100). By emphasizing the *Lancelot* version as the youngest version, Weston argues that "there was a strong body of evidence in favour of Gawain as the

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original hero, yet that that evidence was not of a character to lead us to conclude that the story need necessarily have formed part of the *original* Gawain legend" (102). Weston claims a Celtic source, the Cuchulinn tale, as the original for *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and refers to similarities between Cuchulinn and Gawain (95). She gives German (*Diu Krône*) and French (*La Mule sans Frein*) sources an earlier composition date than the English source in question, but continues to support the Celticist argument for Celtic sources of Arthurian legends. By arguing for the Cuchulinn story as an early source, despite the major differences from Arthurian versions, Weston's analysis attests her belief in the strength of the Celticist view.

Weston makes several rhetorical choices in her wording of this section that emphasize her argument, in relation to the rhetoric of her preface. References to a hypothetical original abound; in the body of her short eighteen page chapter, the word "original" appears seventeen times.[2] Other rhetorical choices in the text include her strong wording, especially in relation to the idea of an original source: "The strong resemblance between these two versions...seems to point unmistakably to their derivation from a common source" (91); "It seems difficult to understand how any one could have regarded this version, ill-motivated as it is, and utterly lacking in the archaic details of the English poem, as

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[2] This pursuit of the original text is not limited to Weston's research. Though W. P. Ker demonstrates concern about the term in a review of Weston's work, other medieval researchers during this era discussed the idea of an original source. Medieval literary study today, however, does not focus on this concern.

the *source* of that work" (89); "Further, the knight in the French poem is armed with a *sword*, not with an *axe*, which was undoubtedly the original weapon..." (100). Words like "strong," "unmistakably," and "undoubtedly," matched with her incredulity in the phrase "difficult to understand how any one could have regarded this version," reveal the firm opinions about the validity of her work that she withheld in her preface. This near-certainty throughout the chapter appears to be a sharp contrast from her preface in which she claims to have only written the facts, but is consistent in that she is asserting that her evidence necessarily leads to her conclusions throughout the body chapter. By this point in her analysis, her readers have formed their opinions about her methods of evidence, so she does not need to hold back her argument. She does not go as far as to claim the infallibility of her findings, but she seems to have little doubt regarding the strength of her argument.

Two reviews offer a generally positive response to this early work of Weston's. One review for *The Academy* provides only a short overview of her work and seems to accept her arguments. The reviewer writes that "Miss Weston has made a gallant and learned attempt to disentangle the original Gawain myth from the general body of romance with which it has become complicated" (447). This reviewer accepts the premise of an original Arthurian legend and commends this research aim in a way that W. P. Ker, a reviewer for *Folklore*, does not. Ker's review is generally complimentary and concludes, "The objections are stated here because they seem valid. Even so, however, they will scarcely detract

from the merit of the essay as a new starting point in these investigations" (271).

Among the objects Ker feels he must include is her use of the phrase "'original

Gawain legend'" (265). He explains,

> There is a tendency to take rather too much for granted, in the use of this and similar phrases.... But is this primitive thing itself 'demonstrable'? One may be permitted to have doubts. Not enough allowance is made for the possibilities of coincidence, for the familiar machinery of folklore.... There may be no original Gawain at all; he may be merely a name for the 'first adventurer,' who is necessary at a certain stage in the history of the Round Table and similar institutions. (265-6)

Ker points out other concerns with Weston's work throughout his review, but he

is primarily concerned with information she may have overlooked in

determining the results of her research. He also notes that she does not make her

argument about the connection between Gawain and Cuchulinn as prevalent as

she might have (265). The premise of an "original" text does not work for Ker

because he believes that folklore will necessarily have some similar patterns

without giving indication of a relationship between texts with similarities. *The*

Legend of Sir Gawain was among her early work, so she does not engage in

controversy but instead makes her entrance into the Arthurian debates.

Weston's Prose Translation

After her scholarly work with Sir Gawain, Weston shifted to a broader

audience and translated the text of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* into modern

prose. Weston states her purpose for translating the poem in the final paragraph

of her introduction:

> Scholars know all this, of course; they can read the poem for themselves in its original rough and intricate phraseology; perhaps they will be shocked at an attempt to handle it in simpler form. But this little book is not for them, and if to those to whom the tale would otherwise be a sealed treasure these pages bring some new knowledge of the way in which our forefathers looked on the characters of the Arthurian legend, the tales they told of them (unconsciously betraying the while how they themselves lived and thought and spoke)—if by that means they gain a keener appreciation of our national heroes, a wider knowledge of our national literature,—then the spirit of the long-dead poet will doubtless not be the slowest to pardon my handling of what was his masterpiece.... (vii-viii)

While some of her introduction refers to her scholarly work on the subject, she makes it clear that her audience for this translation is not scholars but rather the common reader who may want to know more about the Arthurian legends. Like her predecessors, Madden and Morris, Weston works from the assumption that medieval romances provide realistic portrayals of medieval culture, as she notes "unconsciously betraying the while how they themselves lived and thought and spoke" (viii). She also refers to familiarity with the story as being of national importance, an idea that undergirds the decisions of printing clubs and the Early English Text Society as well. When she writes, "a keener appreciation of our national heroes, a wider knowledge of our national literature," she suggests that her audience can learn about their national heritage from reading her translation and that it will be culturally significant. By drawing attention to this aspect in her introduction, she argues for the value of the poem and the purpose of her translation work for her non-scholarly audience. Additionally, she reveals her interest in finding the original legend of Gawain as she notes, when explaining

the relationship between *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and other Arthurian

tales:

> But in any case we may be thankful for this, that the author of the most
> important English metrical romance dealing with Arthurian legend
> faithfully adheres to the original conception of Gawain's character, as
> drawn before the monkish lovers of edification laid their ruthless hands
> on his legend, and turned the model of knightly virtues and courtesy
> into a mere vulgar libertine. (vii)

For Weston, the concern is not whether the legends are based in historical fact

but how all the tales derived from the core legend are related to the "original

conception" (vii). Additionally, her word choice in describing the way other

writers have portrayed Sir Gawain reveals concern for the comparative validity

of Arthurian tales in representing the legend accurately. This idea is important to

The Legend of Sir Gawain, but that it makes an appearance in her translation

intended for a different audience demonstrates further her belief that the

Arthurian legends are meaningful for English culture.

Weston chooses to provide a prose translation instead of a verse

translation. Nastali mentions that she did include a verse translation of the poem

in *Romance, Vision and Satire*[3] (48). Furthermore, her first published translation,

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[3] This translation appears as the first selection in her anthology of
medieval, though not exclusively Arthurian works. In her preface to this
collection, she explains her reasoning behind her translations:
> Since the original text of these poems is now unintelligible save to
> scholars, they should be reproduced in their entirety, and in a verse form
> which preserves as much as possible the life and spirit that they once
> possessed. I have tried throughout to give a literal translation, but where a
> slav-ish adherence to the letter of the text would have meant hampering

the 1894 *Parzival*, was a verse translation (Grayson 7). This edition was also

annotated and included publisher's notes (7). Though her audience was still the

broader public, the amount of notes and verse form may have made it less

accessible. Her prior experience with verse translation and her later verse

translation of the poem itself suggest that she made a conscious decision to create

a prose translation. Her intended audience for *Parzival* was those who were

interested in the text because of their familiarity with story from Wagner's

Parsifal, as mentioned in earlier in this chapter. It would seem, then, that she

wants an increased audience for this translation of *Sir Gawain and the Green

Knight* and chooses prose to increase accessibility. By contrast, her translation of

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight includes merely eleven endnotes, some of which

engage in source criticism, some which provide context and literary notes, and

some of which explain editorial decisions. She limits her footnotes so that her

audience is not overwhelmed by excessive information; a review of her use of

footnotes will reveal the ideas she found to be of great importance for her

readers' knowledge of the text and the issues surrounding it.

One type of footnote that Weston employs are those that inform the reader

about sources for Arthurian legends, though they may be of less interest in

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the rhythm, and marring the effect, I have held myself free to express the
poet's idea in somewhat different words. (viii)
The audience for this text, however, is a student audience (vi), and therefore, the
verse translation is intended for a more limited audience than her prose
translation. The wording in this translation differs from her prose translation and
the alliteration is more pronounced.

aiding understanding and instead show her preoccupation with the Arthurian origin debate and with finding the original Sir Gawain legend. Source criticism, central to Weston's *The Legend of Sir Gawain*, appears in endnotes 1, 2, 9, and 10. The first endnote refers to the use of the French term "à la dure main," which leads Weston to mention M. Paris's theory about a French source (93). The second endnote discusses the challenge's appearance in other texts and Weston adds little that she has not explained in her *The Legend of Sir Gawain* (93). She again asserts that Gawain is the original hero of any Arthurian tale with a similar challenge and connects this element to the Irish source *Fled Bricrend*. She also notes that, "In the Irish version the magician is a *giant*, and the abnormal size and stature of the Green Knight is, in all probability, the survival of a primitive feature. His curious *colour* is a trait found nowhere else" (93). The ninth endnote considers the origin of the girdle element of the plot, and Weston refers back to her brief discussion of the girdle in *The Legend of Sir Gawain* (95-96). Lastly, the tenth endnote discusses Morgain le Fay in other sources, and Weston considers Morgain's age in this tale to be in error: "It is curious that Morgain should here be represented as extremely old, while Arthur is still in his first youth. There is evidently a discrepancy or misunderstanding of the source here" (96). Throughout these four endnotes, Weston's emphasis on the authority of the original and the importance of the relationship between versions and the original Arthurian legend demonstrates her firm resolve; this book is intended for a wider audience, as she notes in her introduction, but she continues her scholarly

argument and refers to her scholarly ideas. By referring to the concerns of her

scholarly texts in this non-scholarly translation, Weston introduces her audience

to her views on some of the issues in Arthurian studies and consequently invites

the mass audience to consider her opinions and perhaps shape the general public

view so that it reflects her own. This may also suggest that she views her

audience as having a basic interest in Arthurian studies or that she views her

work in Arthurian studies as having significance for the average English reader.

Another type of endnote in Weston's brief notes section makes literary

observations and provides context for the reader. Notes 3, 5, 6, and 11 serve this

function. The third note discusses the medieval trend in seasonal descriptions,

and Weston argues that this poet's handling of the seasons has "a sympathy with

the year in all its changes" which is "far rarer" (94). The importance of "Nature" in

legends is relevant to her later work. The fifth note explains the pentangle, and

while this note contains some references to other sources, Weston is more

concerned with explaining that a study of Arthurian heraldry has not been

completed and that there is considerable variance in the heraldry of these

legends (94). Endnote six cites Sir Frederick Madden's suggestion of the location

for the "Wilderness of Wirral" (94). The mention of a specific place further

suggest interest in the truth behind the legend. The eleventh note also mentions

other versions and sources, but it is more focused on explaining the lace and the

legend behind the knights of the Bath's lace (96). These endnotes do not give as

much context, but they provide information for readers to consider when

approaching the text. Readers would not often be lost without these notes but the additional information they add may answer their questions or direct them to ideas for further thought.

Weston also employs her endnotes to explain her editorial system as she does in notes 4, 7, and 8. All three of these notes refer to information that she has not included in her translation. The fourth note says that the description has greater detail in the manuscript because she did not feel as though her audience would find the information beneficial (94). Similarly, she explained that she omitted some architectural details in endnote seven and the process for preparing game in endnote eight (94-95). These endnotes reveal Weston's knowledge, or presumed knowledge, of her audience and which passages they may not find as interesting.

Weston's footnotes do not inform the reader about the words of the central text, as her translation has done that already. Instead the footnotes shape the readers' understandings of the debates and how *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* fits into the broader Arthurian context. Her use of the footnotes to explain where she has left out information also shows that the body of her edition is concerned with telling a story rather than with giving the full text. Still, she determines that it is important to note where her translation diverges from the original text, with the consideration that some readers may be interested in reading the original after encountering her translation.

In the translation of the text itself, Weston also makes decisions that shape her readers' view of the text. In her book *Translation, Authorship and the Victorian Professional Woman: Charlotte Bronte, Harriet Martineau, and George Eliot*, Lesa Scholl explains that "Translation is a transformation: the words are not in the language of the author, but that of the translator. The material product of the original author — the author's genius and ideas — are taken over by the translator and reformed into something that can be used for another purpose, in another language and culture" (188). In Scholl's analysis, this transformation is a colonizing force as it makes the foreign author's ideas, in a way, British. With medieval translation in the case of Jessie L. Weston, the ideas are from another time, but still in some ways British. It is not so much a colonizing force in Weston's case, but she still re-shapes the original text to help her Victorian readers understand it in their own context. She takes a medieval story out of its original context and "transforms" the poem into a prose narrative that informs its Victorian audience about the medieval world of their ancestors while also providing entertainment.

In Susan Bassnett's *Translation Studies*, she refers to J. M. Cohen's argument that Victorian translations seek to present the text as foreign and antique through archaizing the language (72). Weston reflects this trend in archaizing language through her use of words like gallant and valiant, even though these words were not in use in the original text. As a scholar, Weston tries to keep her wording close to the original text but in modern language.

However the audience constraints do not allow for the use of many of the Middle English words. Unlike the audiences of the editions by Madden and Morris which can receive the text as close to the manuscript as possible, even including contractions in Madden's case, Weston's readers will not be expecting to need to turn back and forth from the story to the glossary as they read. As a result, Weston's translation will necessarily make some decisions that Madden and Morris do not have to make as editors. Weston chooses a more accessible prose style over a verse translation, and then chooses words that will be more familiar to her audience to translate even some of the Middle English words that are similar to modern English.

As a translation, the work aims to stay close to the meaning and wording of the original poem. However, a particularly noticeable difference emerges: the varying usages of "gallant" and "valiant" inconsistent with the original text. Weston uses "valiant" and "gallant" to replace words that do not translate easily. For example, she uses "valiant" twice and "gallant" once for the Middle English word "siker." The modern English word "secure" is similar but does not work in the contexts. Sir Frederic Madden translates this word as "sure, trusty, brave" in the glossary for *Syr Gawayne* (410), and as Weston cites this work in her *Legend of Sir Gawain*, she would have had access to this glossary. The word "valiant" appears in Weston's translation nine times, replacing words like "hardy," "siker," "stifest," "big," and "hendest." For further comparisons of Weston's use of "valiant," see table 2. "Gallant" replaces words eleven times, including words like

"hende," "siker," "lowande," "aþel," "derf," and "luflych." See table 3 for examples of her use of "gallant." As the tables illustrate, the words "valiant" and "gallant" replace generally positive words describing people or actions. In Madden's glossary, none of these words translates directly to anything similar to valiant or gallant, but instead these Middle English words are defined with words like lovely, strong, or courteous.

Table 2
Comparison of Weston's Use of "Valiant" with Wording in Original Poem

Weston's Translation	Madden's Edition of the Original Text
...Arthur was the most valiant, as I have heard tell... (2)	Ay watȝ Arthur þe hendeſt, as I haf herde telle; (l. 26) *fair, courteous (388)*
...it were hard to name so valiant a hero... (3)	Hit were now gret ny to neuēn/ So hardy a here ō hille. (ll. 58-59)
...and at the lower tables sat many valiant knights. (4)	& ſiþen mony ſiker ſegge at þe ſidbordeȝ (l. 115) *sure, trusty, brave (410)*
...and the most valiant of those who ride mail-clad to fight. (9)	Stiſeſt vnder ſtel-gere on ſtedes to ryde, (l. 260) *strong, brave (413)*
...or more valiant in open field. (12)	Ne bett⁹ bodyes on bent... (l. 353)
...Sir Bors and Sir Bedivere, valiant knights both... (21)	...Boos, & ſir Byduer, bigmē boþe, (l. 554)
...well fitted to be a leader of valiant men. (32)	To lede a lortſchyp ī lee of leudeȝ ful gode. (l. 848)
...who is held so valiant... (82)	"þᵗ is ſo goud halden," (l. 2270)
...and many valiant knights sought to embrace him. (90)	& ſyþen mony ſyker knyȝt, þat ſoȝt h to haylce... (l. 2493)

Table 3

Comparison of Weston's Use of "Gallant" with Wording in Original Poem

Weston's Translation	Madden's Edition of the Original Text (with Translated Word in Italics)
And in that kingdom of Britain have been wrought more gallant deeds than in any other...(1)	Mo ferlyes on þis fold han fallen here oft/ þen in any oþ⁹ þat I wot (ll. 23-24) *wondrous (381)*
...with many a gallant lord and lovely lady...(1)	Wᵗ mony luflych lorde, ledeȝ of þe beſt, (l. 38) *lovely, fair, comely, agreeable, amiable (396)*
...both were the king's sister's sons and full gallant knights. (4)	Boþe þe k̄ges ſiſt⁹ ſūes, & ful ſiker kniȝtes; (l. 111)
Therefore were the gallant knights slow to answer... (8)	Þer fore to anſware watȝ arȝe mony aþel freke (l. 241) *noble, good (365)*
"...and if I bear myself ungallantly then let all this court blame me." (13)	"...& if I carp not comlyly, let alle þis cort rych/ bout blame" (ll. 360-1) *courteously (374)*
...to the gallant Gawain... (15)	...to Gawan þe hende..." (l. 405)
...for he yearned to hear gallant tales (19)	...for he ȝerned ȝelp̄g to here (l. 492) *pomp, ostentation (425)*
...a gallant leader of men is he... (26)	A lowande leder of ledeȝ īn londe h̄ wel ſemeȝ, (l. 679) *conspicuous (396)*
On the daïs sat gallant men... (37)	Derf men vpon dece drest of þe best. (l. 1000) *strong, stern (376)*
...as a gallant knight he rode... (53)	...& r... þurȝ roueȝ ful þyk, (l. 1466)
...for that gallant prince watched well his words... (63)	For þat prynce of pris depreſed h̄ ſo þikke,/ Nurned h̄ ſo neȝe þe þred, þat nede h̄ bi-houed, (l. 1770-1) *price, estimation, excellence (402)*

These word choices would have been more familiar to the audience than some of the words in the original text, but they do not help the poem retain its characteristic alliteration and, at times, the meaning is obscured when replaced with "gallant" or "valiant." In the example of the "ferlyes," meaning "wondrous," the word "gallant" does not adequately cover the denotation or connotation of the word originally used in the phrase. Audience expectations likely played a role in Weston's diction—gallant and valiant have heroic connotations and are more accessible than even the direct translation of the terms using glossaries. These choices play into her audience's perceptions of knighthood and medieval chivalry, and perhaps also their ideas of medieval language. Though her word choices in these cases diverge from the text, the work overall stays close to the original text in meaning.

Through an analysis of Jessie L. Weston's scholarly book and popular translation, her interests in determining the nature of the original Arthurian legend and the establishing Sir Gawain's importance among the Knights of the Round Table are evident. Whether she is writing for a scholarly audience or a popular one, she frames her work with that focus in mind. As a scholar and as a translator, she makes choices that directly reflect the audience constraints, whether it be through the humble preface of her *The Legend of Sir Gawain* or the word choices and endnotes of her translation of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. While her work at this stage of her career is not noted for being particularly controversial, her early works prominently declare her position in the debate

over Arthurian legend origins. Furthermore, she chose to write for a popular audience as well, and in her introduction to that translation, she explains that this work is not for a scholarly audience. As one of the comparatively few women in the early stages of medieval studies, Weston's continued engagement with the Arthurian debates and commitment to her theories demonstrate her strengths as a medievalist scholar in the nineteenth century. Weston takes a few risks in her work by asserting her positions at points in her early work and by inviting a popular audience into the conversation through her translation of the poem into modern prose. While her work is not entirely unusual or particularly gendered, her position as a female scholar in the nineteenth century would have been somewhat precarious, so her willingness to take these risks casts her as an interesting and significant figure in the history of medieval studies and the publication history of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

CHAPTER FIVE

Epilogue

As the analyses of the editorial and translation work by Madden, Morris, and Weston demonstrate, the editors' perceptions of their intended audiences shaped the way in which they presented the text and in turn shaped the way in which the actual audience may have received and perceived the text. Madden's edition for the Bannatyne Club presented *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in the form of what was in essence a printed transcript of the original manuscript as part of an anthology of Sir Gawain-related legends. His main audience was limited to members of this selective club comprised of those interested in printing and preserving works related to Scotland. Because of this, he could assume that his readers would be interested in the details of the original manuscript and be prepared to invest time and effort in reading the poem in the original dialect, if they chose to read the "handsome" copy at all. Morris was one of the first editors for the Early English Text Society, which focused on preparing texts for a wider audience of students and scholars who would be interested in reading works related to English history but not necessarily trained in reading the Middle English texts. As the Early English Text Society conceived of a broader audience, Morris created a text with annotations and an extensive prose synopsis or, as he calls it, an outline to help his readers approach the Middle

English dialect and receive the main details of the story. Weston, having already written a volume concerning the representation of Sir Gawain in Arthurian literature which included a comparative analysis of these texts for a scholarly audience, decided to bring *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* to an even broader audience than the Early English Text Society by creating a modern prose translation. As the potential audience expanded, the editors and translator provided further accommodations for their readers.

Furthermore, as knowledge and research regarding the text accumulated, more people began to consider the significance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* for medieval literature and English history, thus driving more editions and translations of the text at the end of the nineteenth century and through the twentieth century. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is certainly not the only significant text re-discovered and edited during the nineteenth century, and these editions no longer hold the status in scholarship that they did in their time. However, the study of the nineteenth-century publication history of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* illustrates the trend toward modern medieval studies and shows how the ideas about medieval texts in one period may influence their study in subsequent periods.

What does this idea of editors and translators shaping the study of the text bring to medieval and Victorian studies? For medievalists, knowing more about the early days of amateur scholarship and the assumptions that shaped the field early on can bring about a greater recognition of currently held assumptions, as

well as a greater recognition of those early editors themselves. For Victorianists, such studies can offer more background about Victorian medievalism. Where did the writers and artists influenced by medievalism gain their knowledge and ideas about the medieval period? The Bannatyne Club boasted Sir Walter Scott as its founder. It is also worth noting that among those listed among the members of the Early English Text Society are George MacDonald, William Rossetti, John Ruskin, and Alfred Tennyson (*1865 Report of the Committee* 11-12). The influence that the access to these early texts may have had on these writers, who are known for being influenced by medievalism, warrants further study. While subscribing to receive editions of early English texts does not equate to thorough reading of these texts, their membership suggests the potential for influence. Additionally, their memberships illustrate at least some level of interest in supporting further research on medieval literature.

The work of close-reading each editorial and translation decision that Madden, Morris, or Weston made in their publications is incomplete. This study surveyed some of the features of each work rather than analyzed a line-by-line comparison of each reading of the manuscript; however, such an undertaking may yield interesting differences in transcription, glossing, or other aspects of these editions. Weston's translation and Morris's annotations may also merit a full analysis rather than relatively brief discussions of the word choices that particularly drew attention to themselves. Especially as these clubs and societies were often interested in philological research more than literary research, how

might this emphasis on language influence which early English texts received attention and the scholarship surrounding these texts? A study of Madden's and Morris's glossaries and the relationship between them and the dictionaries and glossaries that these clubs and societies contributed to deserves attention as well.

Furthermore, while Robert W. Ackerman and Gretchen P. Ackerman's brief biography of Madden makes thorough use of Madden's journals, a transcribed and printed edition of the journals has not yet been undertaken. Madden's writings and observations may not have a broad appeal, but because of his significance to the study of medieval manuscripts and the to the British Museum generally, such a project may result in further knowledge of his life and the time period and circles in which he lived and worked. Likewise, knowledge about both Morris and Weston is rather scant, despite their early contributions to the field. Enough time has passed since their contributions that though their work is not widely used today in academic writing, the ways in which these three scholars helped shape the study of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in its first century of print needs further acknowledgment. Additionally, further study of the work of other contemporary editors and translators may bring more to the discussion of Victorian Medievalism and early medieval studies. Monica Santini's work on printing clubs covers a wide range and serves as a thorough introduction, but the specific cultures of each printing club and individual editors and editions may also be of interest and may even deserve their own volumes. The early conversations surrounding medieval studies may not be the

prominent voices in scholarly research now, but their influence as some of the initiators of the conversation deserves consideration.

While modern editions and works about the *Gawain*-Poet often at least reference Madden and Morris, a greater knowledge of their influence can bring out the nuances of different editions and the way ideas about the text can shape editions of the text. No edition is entirely neutral or completely represents an unmediated manuscript. Editions will naturally privilege some areas of interest or types of information over others, thus revealing to the reader what the editor finds significant. As the interpretation of these editions and translation illustrates, editorial decisions can shape the ways in which the reader receives, and therefore perceives, the texts. This idea is known to editors and must be kept in mind while editing; this case study confirms this idea. As scholars today mediate texts for their own audiences, keeping in mind the interpretive effects of editing and translating, as well as the historical influence of previous editions and translations, may result in greater reflection on the rhetorical effects of editing.

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