The Naïve Moral as a Possible Mental Attitude behind the Outlaw-Motif in English Medieval Narratives and its Influence upon the Structure of Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde" and Shakespeare's "As You Like It".

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Submitted for Consideration for the Degree of Master of Arts in Rhodes University.

List of Contents

Abbreviations

AYL	=	"As You Like It"
Folk	=	"The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin"
Gam	=	"The Tale of Gamelyn"
Gest	=	"A Gest of Robyn Hode"
Her	=	"Gesta Herwardi"
ROS	=	"Rosalynde, Euphues' Golden Legacy"

The numbers after the abbreviations refer to the pages in the "Gesta Herwardi", the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" and Lodge's "Rosalynde", to the lines in the "Tale of Gamelyn" and to the stanzas in the "Gest of Robyn Hode". As for "As You Like It" I have used the normal method of giving the source of a quotation.

Preface

The idea for this thesis originated in a seminar concerned with short forms of epic literature. It is meant to throw some light on the development of rudimentary narrative technique, especially on the influence a particular motif can exert on a writer's mind and the final form of his work.

It would not have been possible to write this thesis without the help of a number of people. In particular I would like to thank the Senate of this University for permitting me as a German student to present this study. I should like to express personal gratitude to my supervisor Professor F.G. Butler for many corrections, constructive suggestions and encouraging comments. I am also grateful to the Library Staff, especially to the Librarians Dr.F.G. van der Riet and M. Musiker for their considerable help.

I must accept responsibility for any discrepancies which may remain despite a careful final revision.

H.R.

Introduction

The title of this thesis is, I fear, not capable of giving the reader more than a vague idea of what he will have to face. A brief general introduction is necessary because of the rather heterogeneous nature of the works to be discussed.

As has already been stated in the Preface this thesis started as a by-product of studies in short forms of narratives. My studies, aiming at discovering common mental patterns behind short pieces of epic literature, led me to believe that there must be an exploitable relation between the author's artistic aim, his more or less effective control over his work and the final aesthetic realization of the motifs represented. This is, strictly speaking, a truism. But this device provides the critic with a logical method of analysing the structure of a work of literature and of appreciating its aesthetic value. The reader may raise the objection that it must be difficult to interpret a piece of literature, starting with the author's artistic intention. True, it is a hermeneutic circle and one has, in fact, to begin with a simple analysis. We start interpreting at one point of the circle and follow its line till we reach the starting point again, with, however, a fuller understanding of the work's meaning than we had before.

As it seemed to me that the outlaw-motif might reveal itself as a clear structural pattern in a piece of epic literature, I felt that it might be possible to use the above-mentioned device and thus give, perhaps, a thorough

analysis and interpretation of a number of stories similar in their content.

The four older narratives to be discussed are the "Gesta Herwardi", a Latin work partly belonging to historiography, partly to belles-lettres, from the middle of the 12th century; "The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin", a prose romance from the second half of the 13th century; the "Tale of Gamelyn", a rhymed tale written about 1350, and the "Gest of Robyn Hode", a short epic compiled out of several early ballads about 1400.

Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde" and Shakespeare's "As You Like It" have been included as the "Tale of Gamelyn" is Thomas Lodge's direct source and "Rosalynde" Shakespeare's. The outlaw-motif as it will be defined in the course of this study is adapted by both authors, though in different ways. This short study cannot be an attempt to give a full interpretation of Lodge's, not to speak of Shakespeare's work. There has been a flood of critical studies on the relation between "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It", and nearly everything has been said at least once. But, of course, most of these studies have as their main interest the dramatist's masterpiece and refer to the romance only as to a useful source. They are all concerned to state how Shakespeare improved what he adapted. I have not found a study which has as its central theme the main shortcomings of "Rosalynde" and the basic reasons of these shortcomings. This point could, I felt, be treated in this study without my having aimed at too high a mark. In addition I have also attempted a few observations on the comedy as well, more in order to provide a foil to the romance than one more critical appreciation of the play.

The works discussed are, of course, only a limited selection taken from a larger number of pieces of literature

treating the outlaw-theme. To name only a few more, there is the story of "Eustace, the Monk", "Adam Bell" and a series of versions of the Hereward story such as the "Excerptum de familia Herwardi", the Hereward episode in Gaimar's "L'estorie des Engles", in the "Liber Eliensis" by Thomas of Ely and the fragmentary episode in "Ingulph's Chronicle". But there are also modern attempts to represent that stout Saxon hero. Charles Macfarlane wrote an historical novel entitled "The Camp of Refuge" in 1844. Two years later Thomas Wright published the "Adventures of Hereward the Saxon" in the second volume of his "Essays on the Literature, Superstition, and History of England in the Middle Ages". Kristian Küster wrote a Danish version published in 1865 under the title "Fortaelling om Hervard Lovriksön. Efter Kilderne". Then there is, of course, that voluminous novel "Hereward the Wake, Last of the English" (1866) by Charles Kingsley. A last epic version is "Hereward the Saxon" (1899) by W.Carew Hazlitt, a grandson of William Hazlitt. "Hereward, A Tragedy in a Prologue and Four Acts" the first and only drama with Hereward as the hero was written by William Akerman in 1903. It is, more or less, a dramatization of Kingsley's novel.

The outlaw-theme is further represented in the two Elizabethan plays "The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington" and "The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington" (both 1598) and, of course, in the numerous Robin Hood ballads.

As Kingsley's novel, by far the most important modern version of the story, seems, at first glance, to come within the scope of this study, first as an outlaw-narrative, secondly as a modern "Gesta Herwardi", yet does not really fit in with the medieval background, I decided to treat it separately in an Appendix (I).

A second Appendix (II) developed when I read the vivid representation of a part of Hereward's life in Gaimar's "L'estorie des Engles". This will give a concise appreciation of Gaimar's selection and treatment of the Hereward material.

D.N.

A. Introductory Definitions

I. The Naïve Moral[1)]

Generally the fairy-tale is regarded as a moral narrative, in which virtue is rewarded, wickedness punished. Thus it awakes in the child's (listener's or reader's) mind the wish to be equally happy as those who, in the fairy-tale, are finally rewarded and happy. At the same time the child dreads the punishment which the wicked persons in the fairy-tale have to suffer.

But, if we look more closely at the positive figures in a fairy-tale, we find that they do not live up to the high moral standards we would expect them to reach. Puss-in-Boots, for instance, lies, betrays, persuades in a rather dishonest way and even threatens. Or the Prince in "The Sleeping Beauty" kisses a sleeping girl without her permission.

Neither the lying Puss-in-Boots nor the kissing Prince are, however, felt by the reader to act in an explicitely immoral way. On the contrary, we are happy at their final success. How can this discrepancy be explained?

Both Puss-in-Boots and the Prince provide the reader with a certain satisfaction. This satisfaction springs from the fact that in the fairy-tale, at least in its conclusion, things happen that correspond to the highest possible degree to our expectations of how things should happen in this world.

Very often, one must admit, the initial situation in a fairy-tale does not contain anything clearly moral or immoral. But a feeling of injustice is evoked in the reader and the urgent wish that this injustice should be corrected.

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1) cf. Jolles, 238ff.

Andre' Jolles sees the satisfaction we have at the end of a fairy-tale not so much in the fact that a morally good person's virtue is finally rewarded as in the fact that the happenings represented correspond in the end to what we expect of a just arrangement of things in our world.

In this expectation of what should actually happen in the world Jolles discovers an element which is significant for the literary form of the fairy-tale. It is the mental attitude that is behind it.

Andre' Jolles admits that the fairy-tale is, in a certain sense, moral, but not in an ethical sense. It does not give an answer to the question "what have I to do?". Jolles finds that it rather answers "how should things happen in this world?". Behind the answer to such a question stands, contrary to philosophical and systematic ethics, the "ethics of events" or "naïve moral".

The naïve-ethical judgements we pass according to this naïve moral are emotional judgements. They spring from a general sense of justice in man and aim at the righting of the course of events in this world. These naïve-ethical judgements may be passed by anybody and equally without heteronomous measures. Thus they are valid unconditionally. We could as well call them categorical or absolute judgements.

This result leads Andre' Jolles to a partial definition of the fairy-tale. In the fairy-tale, he says, we have a literary form in which the course of events is arranged in such a way as to harmonize completely with the postulations of the naïve moral.

This mental attitude becomes effective when the fairy-tale juxtaposes the real course of events in the world with a new reality. The prosaic reality understood naïvely as immoral is confronted with a fairy-tale reality that is identical with what we expect according to the naïve moral.

To give a fuller definition of the fairy-tale type in literature Jolles penetrates, of course, into the world of the marvellous as well.

For the aim of this study his first step and its results will suffice. The mental attitude of the naïve moral is obviously not restricted to the genre of the fairy-tale, though it seems to be most distinctly objectified here. It can become structurally effective, more or less clearly, in any narrative and dominant especially in early epic literature such as ballads and romances and also in modern light fiction.

This study tries to demonstrate that the naïve moral is the significant mental attitude behind a series of outlaw--narratives. A structural analysis of the works in their parts relevant to the outlaw-theme will be followed by an attempt to show in how far certain narratives and Shakespeare's "As You Like It" are structurally influenced by the mental attitude of the naïve moral.

II. Outlaw

The term outlaw as it appears in the works to be discussed here originates in certain ancient Germanic legal practices. The legal status of an "exlex" or "outlaw"[2] was the usual consequence of "Friedlosigkeit" (peacelessness). With this everyone in Germanic times, on the Continent as well as in the British Isles, was punished who had "violated any property of the people or state" or "committed a crime of dishonesty". All his legal bonds were annulled: his wife became a widow, his children orphans and his property lost; he was denied any human society, nobody was allowed to "house" him (cf. German "hausen" and "hofen") without becoming an exlex himself.[3] The outlaw had to flee and become a "Waldläufer"

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2) This and the following quotations cf. Mitteis, 25f.
3) cf."The Wanderer", lines 5, 2o, 32; "The Seafarer", lines 15f. 57; see also"Beowulf", lines 2226f. and 2266-2285

(one who lives in the forest), a "werwolf, gerit caput lupinem". The outlaw usually was supposed to be killed with impunity "like a wolf". Sometimes a prize was put on his head, similar to the reward offered for every wolf one might kill. The Germanic word "gewargian" which means outlawed, too, proves this connection between outlaw and wolf.[4] Even in the "Tale of Gamelyn" which was written in the late Middle Ages this idea is indicated: "When Gamelyn her lord wolues-heed was cryed and maad" and a little later on "And he hath endited the and wolues-heed doth the crie".[5]

The legal status of an outlaw could be anulled in late Germanic times by "Wiedereinkauf in den Frieden"[6] This phenomenon provided, perhaps, the historical origin for the traditional reconciliation between the outlaw-hero and the king[7]. It was not before the eighties of the last century that the law concerning outlawry was abolished.

III. Outlaw-Narrative

For our purposes any predominantly epic piece of literature is regarded as an outlaw-narrative if it has as its central character a person who lives his life partly or completely outside society and its legal system. The narratives in question are, of course, arbitrarily selected out of a larger number of outlaw-stories. They seem, however, to be typical representatives of their age and genre. The fact that

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4) cf. Germ. vargr = wolf
5) Gam, 7oo, 71o
6) his paying money or performing some sevice
7) cf. "Beowulf", lines 2229, 2284f.

Shakespeare's "As You Like It" has been included seemed to be justified by its close relation to Thomas Lodge's prose romance "Rosalynde" and to the "Tale of Gamelyn".

B. I. Introduction to the Works Discussed

1. "Gesta Herwardi"

a. The Gesta as a Historical and Literary Genre

The plural "gesta" of the neuter "gestum" was unusual in classic Latin; the expression commonly used instead was "res gestae". The plural "gesta" spread during the late phase of the Latin tongue and was adopted then as a feminine singular form by the developing French language. In the "chanson de geste" the Latin word appears as a feminine , the Latin genitive "ae" having been contracted to "e". The Latin as well as the French forms were in use in England simultaneously as "gesta", "geste" or "gest".

The "gesta" as a historical and a literary genre has its origin in the famous "Gesta Pontificalia" which go back to the sixth century. They give a list of all the popes who were believed to have succeeded Saint Peter as the leaders of the Christian Church.[8] Up to the late Middle Ages this kind of historic report as a simple sequence of more or less historical facts about persons of high rank (at first restricted to the high clergy, but later on also extended to all people belonging to the nobility succeeding one another in an office) was very popular.

The genre of the "gesta" is, in its early form, a report with a strictly chronological and biographic character. Sometimes, when one or more scribes concentrated on what they regarded as a person of importance, the "gesta" came close

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8) cf. Grundmann, 38ff.

to a "vita". One of the most famous examples of this special kind of the genre is the "Gesta Caroli Magni" (883) by Notker Balbulus. In England nearly every king since William I. had his "gesta" written.[9)]

Whereas the early forms of medieval historical writing often had a rather modest appearance, the "gesta" of the twelfth century and after developed, at times, to a fantastic, fairy-tale-like narrative of little or no historical value. Thus, in the course of time, the "gesta" became more and more a literary form the farther it withdrew from its strictly historical origin.

The genre's increasingly elaborated and detailed technique of narration flourished in England during the twelth and thirteenth centuries. How wide a tradition is embraced by the term "gesta" - the monkish-clerical as well as the urban historical and the fictional forms - may be illustrated by the difference which exists between the plainness of a "gesta" as a list of succeeding abbots and the rich world of the "Gesta Romanorum".

b. The Text of the "Gesta Herwardi"

The "Gesta Herwardi" was written by the monk Richard of Ely about the year 1150.[10)] It has been transmitted to us in two manuscripts:

1. In the original manuscript of the library in Peterborough Cathedral. This manuscript is a body of the abbey's documents that were compiled at the close of the thirteenth or beginning fourteenth century. The "Gesta Herwardi" is at the end of the manuscript.

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9) cf. Richter
10) cf. Liebermann, 225-267
11) Printed at the end of the first volume of "L'estorie des Engles", ed. by Hardy and Martin, London 1888

2. In a deficient copy at Trinity College, Cambridge.

This study refers to the "Gesta Herwardi" as it has been edited by Hardy-Martin.[11)]

c. Plot and Contents

The "Gesta's" plot can be summed up simply: After the wild and heroic adventures of his boyhood Hereward experiences the consequences of the Norman conquest. His relatives are slain and the family's property falls into the hands of the victors. Hereward collects a band of faithful and unyielding Saxons and throughout his whole life leads a war against the new king and his Norman knights. The story ends with Hereward's reconciliation to and his investiture by King William I.

Hereward cannot be called an outlaw according to our definition until the moment he starts his fight against the Normans. Up to this point of the action the young hero fulfills the function of the typical knight of adventure literature, a type that was certainly well known to the "Gesta's" author from late classic and the developing medieval chivalrous romance. Hereward experiences miraculous adventures such as killing a bear endowed with human intelligence, defeating a Cornish giant and saving princesses. Episodes such as those concerning his wonderful mare "Swallow", Hereward's fights in "Scaldimariland" and the love-story in which the hero wins the beautiful Turfrida (or rather how Turfrida wins the love of Hereward) belong to a traditional genre of the romantic adventure story, and have little, mostly nothing to do with the outlaw-situation in the strict sense of the word. This starts with his first fighting the Normans.

Shortly after Duke William's invasion of the island Hereward returns from Flanders and learns that his youngest brother had been slain by Norman knights on the previous day. When he approaches his house he finds his brother's severed head fixed to the door post as a Norman trophy. Hereward enters his house and takes fourteen drunken Normans by surprise. He kills all of them and fixes their bloody heads to the wall above the entrance.

The news of his deeds spreads and soon more and more Saxons join Hereward. In Peterborough Hereward is dubbed a knight by the last Saxon Abbot Brand who is related to the Hereward family. For one year the outlaw-hero leaves England in order to fetch his wife Turfrida and her relatives from Flanders. On his return he burns three manor houses. This is the sign for the strongest and bravest Saxons to join him. Finally Hereward becomes the leader of a dangerous band of desperate outlaws.

Meanwhile a number of Saxons defend themselves against the invaders in the fortified monastery of Ely. They are supported by the monks who are not willing to accept an abbot by the grace of King William. The author also mentions that Archbishop Stigand was among the rebels, a statement which is not in accordance with fact, as Stigand was at that time being kept prisoner in Westminster by the Normans.

When the defenders of Ely learn the news of Hereward's return to England, they send him a message in which they ask him to join them as quickly as possible. In fact, Hereward and his band succeed in reaching the fortress, where he, for a while, acts as leader of the rebellious Saxons. According to the "Gesta" the fortified monastery of Ely, with its island position, was regarded as unconquerable then. And, indeed, several attacks of the Normans under the leadership of King William I. failed.

One episode is interspersed in which Hereward disguises as a potter in order to spy in the enemy's camp. He learns

the news of a plan for another Norman attack and can thus prevent a catastrophe by taking appropriate measures.

Hereward succeeds in deceiving the Normans a second time by the use of disguise. Under a fisherman's net he approaches his enemies and sets fire to their siege-works.

But, as a result of a monk's betrayal, the fortress of Ely is finally conquered by King William.

According to the "Gesta" Hereward and a few faithful companions are hunting when the catastrophe happens. They escape and take refuge in Bruneswald. With only a few of the Saxons Hereward continues his private war against the King.

When the Abbot Turold of Peterborough breaks a promise given to Hereward, his monastery is sacked by the outlaws and all the treasures are carried away. Yet, Hereward's mind being changed by a vision of St. Peter (a typical legendary motif) he has everything that had been taken restored to the monastery.

After many more fierce struggles with Norman knights Hereward grows tired of his lifelong fight. He chooses a new wife and Turfrida takes the veil. His second wife succeeds in reconciling the old opponents. Hereward pays homage to King William and out of his hands receives his estates where he is recorded to have died in honour and peace.

2. "The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin"

The story of Fulk Fitzwarin is recorded in a French prose romance. We can with certainty assume that the French version is based on a rhymed romance, fragments of which have been used, though not very satisfactorily, in the "Legend".

The story, as it is told in the prose romance, is concerned, in its first part, with the origin of Fulk's family and his father's life.

The second part of the "Legend" records Fulk Fitzwarin's life and his fight against King John Lackland. This is the actual outlaw-narrative. Its plot is, naturally, similar to that of the "Gesta Herwardi".

When John succeeds Richard as King of England he takes from Fulk his rightful fiefs against all common and feudal law. Fulk and his brothers fight for their rights. In the end Fulk utters his oath of allegiance and King John restores his fiefs to him. Before he dies Fulk repents his rough life and is forgiven by God.

The course of events, as far as it is relevant to the outlaw-motif, shall be given in a brief outline.

King John enfeoffs Moris Fitzroger of Powys with Fulk Fitzwarin's fiefs. After a futile talk with the King, Fulk releases himself from his oath of fealty and leaves the King's Court.

A few knights who follow Fulk with the order to bring him, dead or alive, before the King are slain by the outlaws. Only one of them is able to escape and delivers the bad news of the defeat to John. This is the starting point of an almost life-long conflict between Fulk Fitzwarin's family and their liege lord King John.

First Fulk flees to Britanny, but soon returns to England in order to lay claim to his hereditary rights. He and his companions do not dare to attack the King openly, because they are far outnumbered by the King's knights. So Fulk begins to live in a manner which bears obvious resemblance to that of the later outlaws of the Robin Hood type. By day the refugees hide in the forests and swamps. At night Fulk leads his band to a better refuge or prepares another attack on the King's men.

After many failures to get hold of the rebel King John summons a hundred knights to have his dangerous opponent

killed. Yet even a large sum offered as a reward for the capture or death of Fulk is not a sufficient stimulus, as Fulk is feared and even admired by many.

In a gay episode Fulk robs the King's merchants in a charming manner.

Once more a hundred knights attack the outlaws vigorously. Hard pressed, Fulk and his followers seek refuge in a monastery. Disguised as a monk Fulk manages to lead the majority of his pursuers on a wrong track. The rest are captured by the outlaws. But a head-wound inflicted upon one of Fulk Fitzwarin's brothers forces the band to retreat into the woods.

When Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury sends a messenger to Fulk and asks him to come and see him, Fulk and his brother William disguise themselves as merchants and set out to ride to Canterbury. Archbishop Hubert recommends warmly to Fulk to marry Dame Mahaud de Caus who suffers continuous persecution at the hands of King John. Fulk marries the noble lady and two days later the brothers return to their outlaw-camp in the woods.

The scene of the next adventure is Scotland where Fulk puts an end to the unchivalrous activities of a robber--knight called Piers de Bryvyle. Under the name of Fulk Fitzwarin he has been committing various crimes, particularly acts of robbery. Fulk succeeds in taking him and his band by surprise, when they are just about to rob the house of one of Fulk's old friends. Fulk administers severe justice. He makes Piers de Bryvyle behead his own men. And when everyone of Piers' band is dead the leader, too, is decapitated. Together with Fulk's rescued friend and wife the outlaws have a feast before they leave.

Again Fulk's band roam the woods and swamps of the South. They manage to lure Moris Fitzroger of Powys into a trap, the knight who was given Fulk's fiefs by King John. Fulk kills his personal enemy and many of his knights. Always in fear of the superior force of King John, Fulk leads his band

of outlaws westward and takes refuge in Wales, where he is welcomed by Lewis, Prince of Wales and brother to King John. When the King learns the sad news of Moris' death and Fulk's whereabouts he gathers a powerful army and approaches the Prince's territory. But with Fulk leading the army of the Prince and taking brilliant defensive measures the King has to give up and retreats.

Meanwhile Dame Mahaud de Caus has given birth to three children, two girls and one boy. The boy is baptized Fulk.

When King John's acts of vengeance fail again and again he sends a letter to his brother Lewis and asks him to extradite his deadly enemy. Fulk is warned by Lewis' wife and, together with his men, leaves England.

Fulk's more realistic adventures springing from his status as outlaw are now succeeded by a series of colourful escapades in France, Scotland, Ireland, and in the Kingdom of Carthage. These adventures convey the tone and atmosphere of traditional chivalrous literature and have next to nothing to do with the outlaw-motif. The outlaw-situation loses its actual significance and is reduced to an external cause for a different theme.

After his return to EnglandFulk manages to take King John prisoner. Under penalty of death the King promises to restore to Fulk and his family everything that had been taken from him. Yet, as soon as the prisoner is set free, he takes up the pursuit of the outlaws. Fulk and his men nearly fall into the hands of their enemies, who far outnumber them. Fulk, however, disguises himself once more and again manages to deceive his pursuers. They all escape, but their pursuers follow on their heels. In a fierce attack of the King's knights Fulk's brother William is severely wounded, and Fulk has to be carried unconscious to Dover, from where the outlaws leave England.

This is the start of another series of miraculous adventures in the convention of the literary genre of chiv-

alrous romance.

The outlaws' return to England has as its main end William's release from King John's prison. The difficult task is solved by John de Rampayne, Fulk's minstrel and juggler. Together with William the band sails to Britanny and celebrates their reunion.

After half a year of pleasant life in France, Fulk decides to go on fighting for his hereditary rights and fiefs in England.

In the New Forest Fulk encounters King John and manages a second time to take him prisoner. He and six of his knights are brought aboard Fulk's ship. After long and difficult debates the King finally agrees to their reconciliation and is set free.

In Westminster King John publicly announces shortly afterwards that Fulk Fitzwarin and his family are restored to all their rights and fiefs by inheritance. Fulk and his men bend their knees before the King and are re-enfeoffed. With this act Fulk's career as an outlaw is at an end.

After a final adventure in Ireland Fulk returns for ever to his estates. As a first sign of repentance he founds New Abbey. Stronger and stronger, however, becomes the feeling of guilt and remorse because of his rough and not always Christian life. In the end he receives peace of mind in a vision at night. Without proper blending into the narrative a rhymed prophecy by Merlin follows, and, as abruptly, the prose narrative continues with the action. As a mild punishment Fulk is blinded and lives another seven years. When he dies he is buried in New Abbey with great honour.

3. "The Tale of Gamelyn"

a. Introduction

The "Tale of Gamelyn" is the oldest outlaw-narrative which has been handed down to us in the English language. We owe its transmission to an error. For a long time the "Tale" was thought to be a work of Chaucer's pen. In ten manuscripts of the "Canterbury Tales" the "Tale of Gamelyn" is printed after the "Cook's Tale". Metre, language, and the atmosphere conveyed, however, separate this popular tale clearly from Chaucer's achievements. We can assume, though, with some certainty that Chaucer intended to compose a convenient "Tale" for his cycle out of this rough, yet, in some ways, aesthetically satisfying story. Perhaps Chaucer would have made the Squire's Yeoman tell it.

The language of the "Tale of Gamelyn" belongs to a Middle English dialect which is closely related to a line of development that has become important for the growing literary English. Professor Skeat[12] assumed that the "Tale of Gamelyn" as well as the "Lay of Havelok" came from the Lincolnshire area. With its old fourteener the "Tale" anticipates the more recent metre of the ballad. Stressed and unstressed syllables are still extremely variable. This gives the impression of a general irregularity. We can easily imagine how this kind of metre was gradually handled in a more controlled way till the metre of the ballad was reached. In other respects, too, the "Tale of Gamelyn" is related to the literary form of the ballad: in the popular language and subject matter, the fact that it was composed for recitation

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12) W.W.Skeat, in his introduction to Gam.

and the enormously fast speed of the narration. But the "Tale" is , with its 902 long lines by far too long for a ballad. As for the technical aspect of composition the "Tale of Gamelyn" stands close to the genre of the rhymed romances, but tone and style are absolutely unromantic. One could, perhaps, for definition's sake call it a rhymed popular tale.

b. Plot and Course of Events

There is a traditional plot: a youngest son is at his father's death left in the care of a wicked elder brother who tries to cheat him out of his heritage. Yet, the elder finally fails in consequence of his younger brother's sense of justice, courage and strength.

In order to make an understanding of the following, more detailed chapters easier a short sketch of the action's chief events is given here.

The old Knight Sir Johan of Boundys divides his land among his three sons. This introductory scene is followed by the first quarrel between the two brothers who represent the two contrary poles of justice and injustice.

Gamelyn, who feels that he has become a young man now, realizes how badly his estates have been administered and demands his rightful heritage. When Johan, his elder brother, orders his servants to give him a severe hiding, the young man fights them with a pestle and drives his brother into a loft. Johan is shrewd enough to promise Gamelyn all he wants and finishes this argument with a kiss. .

In his second adventure Gamelyn tries his luck at a wrestling-match. He avenges the almost fatal injuries of two sons of a franklin by breaking the champions arms and ribs.

When Gamelyn, together with a crowd of young admirers, approaches his brother's house in triumph, he finds it locked.

The third adventure tells how Gamelyn breaks in the door and kills the doorkeeper by throwing him in a deep well. Then the hero and his friends have a wild feast. For seven days and nights the gay company lives on the provisions of the cellars.

In the fourth part Gamelyn is taken in by a foul trick of the wicked Johan. His elder brother tells him that, while Gamelyn was drinking and eating, he had sworn an oath to have his younger brother bound for his dissipation. In order not to compel Johan to be forsworn Gamelyn allows Johan to do what he had sworn. Johan now takes revenge and leaves Gamelyn several days fastened to a pillar without drink or food. At last one of the old servants secretly sets him free. Together with this old man, Adam the Spencer, Gamelyn exerts cruel revenge upon his brother and a party of clergymen who have shown little pity for the suffering young man. With oaken clubs the heartless people are thrashed out of the house. The wicked brother is now, half dead, in turn bound to a pillar.

The arrival of the sheriff and his men forces Gamelyn and Adam the Spencer to flee deep into the forest. They reach an outlaw-camp and receive a friendly welcome. When the outlaw-leader is pardonned by the King, Gamelyn succeeds him as outlaw-king.

Meanwhile his wicked brother has become sheriff of the shire and has confiscated Gamelyn's estates. When Gamelyn learns the bad news he decides to go and claim his rights at the next assizes of the shire. In fact he dares to come and is made prisoner by Johan. Now the second brother, Sir Ote, who has been mentioned in the introductory lines, appears, and has him released, but has to offer his own life as bail.

In the sixth and last adventure Sir Ote is in a desperate situation: his brother Johan wishes him to be hanged. But just at the right moment the outlaws and their leader appear in the court and free Sir Ote. Gamelyn forms an outlaw-jury and the wicked Sheriff, together with his men, is sentenced to death by hanging. All the outlaws receive the King's pardon. Gamelyn is made Chief Justice of the Forest and Sir Ote Judge of the Shire.

To finish the story the last two verses shortly hint at Gamelyn's marriage and death.

4. "A Gest of Robyn Hode"

Contrary to the outlaw-narratives which have been introduced the "Gest of Robyn Hode" is not the work of one author in the normal sense. The "Gest of Robyn Hode" is a conglomerate of four older ballads. Although it cannot - for its very size alone - be called a ballad, the "Gest" as a whole still has the essential characteristics of its parts: a mixture of lyrical, epic and dramatic elements, ballad metre and popular language, the ballad teller's point of view with his little distance from the objects recorded, the subject based on interests and ideas of a rustic social stratum, the generalized characters, the repeatable stock situations, the local hero and a language apt to propel the action.

We can assume with some certainty that the "Gest" was composed by a compiler from popular ballads as early as c. 14oo. According to its original single parts the "Gest"

contains more than the usual one plot, three complete plots and a 'rump' plot giving to the whole story an obviously forced denouement with Robin Hood's death.

In the first plot the reader is provided with a general introduction to the ethics of Robin Hood's life and a first adventure showing Robin Hood in the position of lending a poverty-stricken knight a large amount of money. This first part closes with Robin's recovering the sum by force, though in a charming way, from the treasurer of a rich abbey.

The second plot is based on Robin Hood's conflict with the Sheriff of Nottingham. It ends with the Sheriff being beheaded by the outlaw-hero.

Plot three has as its theme the outlaws' relation to the King. It culminates in the King's pardoning Robin and his men and ends with Robin Hood's returning to the woods.

The "Gest's" fourth plot is a portion of six stanzas that have been adapted from a ballad such as the one preserved called "Robyn Hodes Death".

The particular mode of composition as it appears in the "Gest" will be discussed more precisely later on in this study[13]. As the structure given by the single plots is simple and the text easily understood I do not think it is necessary to give a detailed enumeration of the story's events.

Basic to the conception of the outlaw-ballads and, thus, to the "Gest" as well is a clear code which is formulated at the beginning of the story.

> "'Maistar', than sayde Lytil Johnn,
> 'And we our borde shal sprede,
> Tell vs wheder that we shal go,
> And what life that we shal lede.'" (11)

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13) VI,2,b

The author has Little John ask his leader to give general rules of conduct. And Robin Hood's answer is, in fact, understood as a set of principles which has to be strictly followed, a moral code.

"'...no force', than sayde Robyn,
'We shal do well inowe,
But loke ye do no husbonde no harme,
That tilleth with his ploughe;
(13)

No more ye shall no gode yeman,
That walketh by grene-wode shawe;
Ne no knyght ne no squyer
That wol be a gode felawe.
(14)

but: These bishoppes and these archebishoppes,
Ye shall them bete and bynde;
The hye sherif of Notyngham,
Hym holde ye in your mynde.'"
(15)

With this the rules of conduct are given. They are binding for the characters of all later Robin Hood ballads, and even the old "Tale of Gamelyn" seems, though not as conspicuously, to be influenced by them.

5. Outline of Action in Lodge's "Rosalynde" and Shakespeare's "As You Like It" as far as Essential to the Problem

a. "Rosalynde"

A noble knight has three sons. On his death-bed he bequeaths a considerable amount of money and land to them. But Rosader, the youngest of the three, is cheated out of his inherited rights by Saladayn, the wicked eldest. One day, when Rosader suddenly realizes that he has grown to maturity, he threatens Saladayn demanding his rights. Frightened, Saladayn promises to fulfill everything Rosader demands. So the argument is settled for the time being.

In a wrestling match at a tournament a short time later Rosader proves his strength and gains, in addition to his victory, the sympathies of a beautiful princess, Rosalynde, the daughter of the lawful, but exiled King Gerismond.

After some further struggles against his eldest brother, Rosader and his only friend, the old Adam Spenser, take flight to the Forest of Arden.

In the meantime Rosalynde who, together with her bosom-friend Alinda, daughter to the usurper Torismond, has also been banished from the King's Court, has arrived in Arden. Both the girls are disguised and Rosalynde, under the name of Ganymed, serves Alinda as her page.

Soon Rosader encounters the girls and, as he has not the least idea who they might be, the love-sick young man pours out his love-sermons to them.

In a wooing scene Rosalynde makes the unsuspecting Rosader promise to marry her. Up to the very last scene Rosalynde makes brilliant use of her twofold change of roles and

has her sport with the unaware Rosader.

Meanwhile Saladayn, too, has fallen into disgrace with Torismond and is banished from his estates. Repenting, he sets out on his way to the Forest of Arden in order to find his brother and be reconciled to him. Soon Rosader meets Saladayn in the forest and, after long explanations, the old quarrel is settled.

When Rosader and the two girls are one day suddenly attacked by a handful of scoundrels, Saladayn appears as the rescuing hero and in a twinkling conquers Alinda's heart.

Another love-action is introduced with the shepherd Montanus wooing the beautiful, but coy Phebe. Montanus' efforts, however, do not prosper, particularly from the moment when Phebe sees Rosalynde and falls deeply in love with the disguised page. Rosalynde promises to marry her in case Phebe's passion would not cool off in the end.

With Ex-King Gerismond as a patron the wedding between Alinda and Saladayn is celebrated, when suddenly Rosalynde reveals her identity to the astonished wedding-party. Thus two more brides are led to the altar, Rosalynde by the now tongue-tied Rosader, and Phebe (cured of her wrong-directed passion) by Montanus.

The wedding-banquet, however, is interrupted by the middle brother Jaques, who brings the news that the eleven peers of France have decided to call the rightful king Gerismond back to his throne and that Torismond is ready to defend himself in a final battle. Immediately Gerismond leads his outlaws into the battle and wins a victory. Torismond is killed in action and the exiled are richly renumerated with offices, estates and noble brides.

b. "As You Like It"

As a detailed recording of the course of events in Shakespeare's comedy would look very similar to what I have tried to show with Lodge's "Rosalynde", I should rather like to give a few of the striking differences between the two works.

Shakespeare adhered rather closely to the general plot of the prose romance. A few changes of action which he made in the interest of better drama shall be mentioned.

In his source the exiled ruler (Gerismond) and the usurper (Torismond) are unrelated. In "As You Like It" they are brothers (Duke Senior and Duke Frederick). The plot they belong to is thus paralleled by that formed out of Orlando's and Oliver's story. The two banished girls who were merely friends in Lodge's romance are cousins in the comedy. Orlando (Rosader) takes his refuge immediately after his triumphant return from the wrestling match. Consequently there are no further fights between the two brothers. When the repenting Oliver is reconciled with Orlando, he wins Celia's heart with little effort, whereas Saladayn has first to rescue the princess from a band of dangerous scoundrels.

In the source the main difficulty, the existence of the two rival kings, is solved by Lodge's having the usurper killed in a final battle with the lawful Gerismond. Shakespeare, on the contrary, has the usurper (Duke Frederick) converted to lead a solitary religious life.

These obvious points may be sufficient for a preliminary orientation. Details and subtleties showing more essential differences between the two works will be elaborated in the course of this study.

II. Corresponding Motifs within the Four Older Narratives

The four older narratives' popularity can be derived from the fact that the heroes represented defend themselves openly against injustice, an idea that was deeply rooted in Germanic and, consequently, medieval thinking. The narratives are linked not only by the characteristic start and solution to the outlaw-situation, an initial injustice and final justice with the reconciliation of king and outlaw and the outlaws representing the law, but also by a great number of motifs that occur again and again, more or less changed, but always recognizable.

According to the great differences in the social status of the authors (and their audience) and the date of writing there are, naturally, motifs which do not occur in all the stories, but have parallels in the one or the other. The "Tale of Gamelyn" is closely related to the "Gest of Robyn Hode" through the social layer which they both represent and the same code, the same enmity with rich lords and clergymen of higher rank.[14)]

In the "Gesta Herwardi" there is an 'adventure of disguise' when Hereward, disguised as a potter, spies in the Norman camp[15)], a motif which is not given in one of the narratives discussed, but has a very close parallel in the ballad "Robyn Hode and the Potter"[16)]. Only the scene and the names of the characters are obviously changed.

Fulk Fitzwarin's robbing the King's merchants[17)] is immediately recognized in the "Gest", where Robin Hood de-

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14) cf. Gest, 13ff. Gam, 521ff.
15) Her, 384ff.
16) Child, 121
17) Fulk, 333ff.

prives the treasurer of St.Charite of a large sum.[18] Even the episode's light mocking tone is re-evoked.

The first capture of the King in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin"[19] has a close parallel in the episode in which the Sheriff of Nottingham is taken prisoner by Robin Hood.[20] Both the prisoners are force to make the promise to stop pursuing the outlaws and both break it as soon as they are set free.

A motif which one finds in all four older stories is the outlaws' final pardon by the king.[21] This parallel, though, is more one of outer events. The particular relation between outlaw and king in the "Gesta Herwardi" and the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" is basically different to that in the "Tale of Gamelyn" and the "Gest of Robyn Hode". The differences spring mainly from the fact that the narratives and their authors belong to different social strata.[22]

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18) Gest, 213ff.
19) Fulk, 387ff.
20) Gest, 181ff.
21) Her, 403f. Fulk, 406f. Gam, 888ff. Gest, 414
22) cf. IV in this study

III. Corresponding Motifs and Parts of Action in "The Tale of Gamelyn", "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It" [23]

1. "The Tale of Gamelyn" and "Rosalynde"

It is a generally accepted opinion, and everybody who compares the two works will agree, that Thomas Lodge has used for his "Rosalynde" the medieval "Tale of Gamelyn" as a direct source. The "Tale" was known to the Elizabethans from several manuscripts of the "Canterbury Tales" and Lodge must have had access to at least one of them. He has taken significant parts of the action and elements of tone from the "Tale" and made use of them in his pastoral romance, indeed with little critical attitude towards many points, as will be demonstrated.[24]

The initial situation with a dying father settling his estates upon his three sons is, one must admit, a traditional motif, but here the resemblance is too striking to leave any doubts. A second traditional motif, often combined with the first, is the situation of a youngest brother left under the protection of a wicked elder who tries to cheat him out of his rights. But it is not the mere fact of a sequence of parallel motifs that occur in the original and in the Elizabethan romance, it is the treatment of the motifs, the tone of the situations as retold that make the close relation so obvious. In the "Tale of Gamelyn" as well as in "Rosalynde"

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23) cf. Anders, Baird, Boswell-Stone, Conrad, Delius, Draper, Gosse, Malcoff, Muir, Tolman, Walker, Zupitza

24) VIII,1 in this study

the middle brother (Sir Ote, Fernandayne) does not reappear before the denouement starts.

Gamelyn's second adventure, the wrestling match, has the same place in the composition of "Rosalynde" as in the "Tale of Gamelyn" and is recorded with, as for essentials, no differences.

As in the original the wrestling is followed by a drinking bout and the elder brother's revenge. Rosader, like Gamelyn, is fettered to a pillar of the house, scoffed at by Saladayn and his clerical guests, and nearly dies of thirst and hunger.

An old servant, Adam the Spencer in the original, now Adam Spenser, sets the prisoner free and helps him to thrash the clergymen and his malicious brother.

Rosader and Adam, just like Gamelyn and his old servant, are forced by the Sheriff and his men to flee into the woods, where they find a refuge in an outlaw-camp.

Up to this point of the action the plots of "Rosalynde" and the "Tale of Gamelyn" are practically identical. We can sum up these items by stating that Thomas Lodge took the plot of the first four adventures from the "Tale" and made it the first part of his romance.

The King's enmity, the love-action, the reconciliation between the two brothers (in the "Tale" Johan is sentenced to death by hanging by Gamelyn), the interspersed lyrics and all the other pastoral elements are obviously Thomas Lodge's own invention.

2. "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

There is no doubt about the fact that Shakespeare used "Rosalynde" as a direct source and fashioned essential parts

of the prose romance into his pastoral comedy. Shakespeare most probably had a copy of the fourth edition of Lodge's "Rosalynde" published in 1598, when he started to compose "As You Like It" in 1599.

The main strands of action in "Rosalynde" can be clearly recognized again in the comedy: the enmity between the two rulers, the conflict between the two unequal brothers, the motif of diguise and its use, the love-actions of Orlando-Rosalind (Rosader-Rosalynde), Oliver-Celia (Saladayn--Alinda), Phebe-Silvius (Phebe-Montanus) and the use of the interspersed lyrics.

Yet, all these apparent parallels must not lead us to jump to the conclusion, that the comedy is a mere dramatization of a given prose story. Important parts of the action in the original have, of course, been dramatized. But, if we compare Lodge's "Rosalynde" with "As You Like It", we immediately feel that, apart from the insignificant fact that one is a piece of narrative, the other a drama, something totally new has been created despite the many obvious, but superficial parallels.

How far Shakespeare moved away from his source will be considered later.[25] Besides the many subtle changes and the complete change in atmosphere, there is the significant amplification of the world represented by adding the cynical malcontent Jaques who can "suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs"[26] and the court jester Touchstone who sometimes "speaks wiser than he is ware of"[27].

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25) cf. V, VIII in this study
26) AYL, II,5,11f.
27) ibid. II,4,54

3. "As You Like It" and the "Tale of Gamelyn"

As to the question, whether Shakespeare has used the old "Tale of Gamelyn" as an additional direct source, opinions are divided.[28)]

Such a thesis is, however, supported by the fact that we can find some significant passages in which the comedy seems rather to follow the "Tale" instead of the Elizabethan romance.

1. Orlando complains like Gamelyn in the "Tale" that he has to eat with the servants.

2. Orlando like Gamelyn grumbles about his brother's maladministration of his estates, an incident which we do not find in Lodge's "Rosalynde".

3. Orlando and Gamelyn point, in a similar way, at their noble birth. Orlando says: "I am no villain, I am the youngest son of Sir Rowland de Boys; he was my father, and he is thrice a villain that says such a father begot villains."[29)] And in the "Tale": "'I am no worse gadelyng, ne no worse wight, But born of a lady and geten of a knight.'"[30)]

4. Oliver's wish that his youngest brother might be killed in the wrestling is expressed in a way very much like the thoughts Johan has at that occasion. Oliver suggests to Charles, wrestler to Frederick, "I had as lief thou didst break his neck as his finger."[31)] And the wicked

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28) Stone and Conrad support this thesis
29) AYL, I,1,53ff.
30) Gam, 1o7f.
31) AYL, I,1,137f.

Johan"besoughte Iesu Crist, that is heuen kyng, He mighte breke his nekke in that wrastelyng."[32)]

5. As in the "Tale" the wrestling match in "As You Like It" takes place after a public challenge and on the road, whereas in "Rosalynde" it is combined with a tournament.

6. The wrestler's disparaging words before the match are only to be found in the comedy and in the "Tale".

7. In Thomas Lodge's romance the Franklin's two sons are killed by the wrestler, wheras in "As You Like It" and in the "Tale" they are only badly wounded.[33)]

8. The Franklin's lamentation which is a credible human behaviour in the old "Tale" and in "As You Like It" is replaced in "Rosalynde" by a completely unnatural attitude. The "Tale's" author reports: "And ther he herd a frankeleyn wayloway synge, And began bitterly his hõdes for to wrynge, ... 'Allas!' seyde this frankeleyn 'that euer was I bore! For tweye stalworthe sones I wene that I haue lore; A champioun is in the place that has iwrought me sorwe, For he hath slayn my two sones but--if god hem borwe."[34)] In "As You Like It" Le Beau relates: "The eldest of the three wrestled with Charles, ... Charles ... threw him and broke three of his ribs, that there is little hope of life in him; so he served the second, and so the third. Yonder they lie, the poor old man, their father, making such pitiful dole

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32) Gam, 193f.

33) Most likely Thomas Lodge has made a mistake in translating the Middle English text. The line of the "Tale" in question is: "For he hath slayn my two sones but--if god hem borwe" (2o4). They are not slain, but they may die, if God will not save them.

34) Gam, 197f. and 2o1ff.

over them that all the beholders take his part with weeping."[35] Compared to these passages Lodge's version shows little psychological empathy: "The franklin ... never changed his countenance, but as a man of courageous resolution took up the bodies of his sons without show of outward discontent."[36]

These parallels between the medieval story and Shakespeare's comedy do not provide us with an exact proof that Shakespeare used the "Tale of Gamelyn" as a direct source. But they make it appear more probable that the dramatist knew the text. And why, one could ask, should Thomas Lodge have had an easier access to the original than his contemporary.

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35) AYL, I,2,114ff.
36) ROS, 18

IV. Decline in Social Status of Author and Audience and the Consequences for the World Represented

1. The Ideal World of the Christian Knight as a Possible Starting Point

The use of the phrase decline in social status of author and audience does not mean that the "Gesta" is the beginning of a development that finishes with the "Gest". "Gesta", the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" and the rhymed tales are merely points on an assumed line of development from which one can trace a decline in the above-mentioned sense. It had begun before the "Gesta" and continued after the "Tale" and the "Gest". And, indeed, we are conscious of this continual decline, if we look at the tradition of the Robin Hood ballad and find examples compared to which the "Gest" belongs to a higher social class.[37)]

As possible starting points I should like to choose, on the one hand, the traditional picture of the hero as it was known from late classical literature (e.g. Apollonius of Tyre) and, on the other, the developing ideal of the medieval Christian knight as it was cherished, first in the Provence and from there to spread over France and Europe. Both lines of this literary tradition have one significant element in common. They belong to an aristocratic world as far as the subject matter or to a well-read social stratum as far as the audience is concerned.

The definition of the perfect knight, as it can be de-

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37) cf. Entwistle, 31
38) Auerbach, 129

rived from the genre of late classic adventurous literature and even more distinctly from the typical chivalric hero, implies, above all, feats of arms and courtly love. "A whole social class understands its real task as lying in the overcoming of danger."[38] And, in most cases, it is love that is the cause for a knight accomplishing an heroic feat. "The ruling class gave itself an ethos and ideal and recorded its own existence as standing outside the historic connections, free of any purpose, an absolute aesthetic form."[39]

2. Changed Ideas in the "Gesta" and the "Legend"

a. Realism in the Stories of Hereward and Fulk

At first glance one might, perhaps, associate the "Gesta Herwardi" and the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" closely with the aristocratic literary tradition, especially if we contrast them with the two rhymed tales. But the "Gesta" and the prose romance are in fact already considerably removed from the ideal world of the aristocratic genre of romance. How is this expressed and what is the reason for the change?

When we look closer at what I called feats of arms and courtly love, we will find an answer. Those feats of arms, characteristic of every medieval romance, cannot be called wars or not even minor political activities. They are more "kreuz und quer vollbrachte Taten", they lack the "politisch--zweckhaften Zusammenhang".[40]

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38) Auerbach, 129
39) ibid. 136
40) "feats performed aimlessly", "political and purposeful relation", ibid. 139

The two heroes' adventures, however relevant to the outlaw-theme, are of an historical-political nature. They are not ideal, but real; real in the sense, that they derive from or, at least, could derive from an historical event, a condition we cannot make with a romance.

The strongly emphasized idealization in the chivalrous romance which necessarily distracts the author's mind from the "mimesis" of reality[41] is , in those passages relevant to the outlaw-theme, replaced by a more realistic view and narrative technique. This obvious change must be extremely felt in the love-episode in which Fulk sees his future wife for the first time. Not the smallest trace is left of courtly wooing. According to the calamity the introduction and marriage are consummated and solemnised with laconic brevity:

> "Fulk saw her and knew well that she was fair, good and of good reputation, and that she had in Ireland fortresses, cities, lands and rents and great homages. By the assent of his brother William and by the archbishop Hubert he married dame Mahaud de Caus." (342)

And later on in the story, when Fulk's wife and children are mentioned the style is as realistic as if only plain facts were recorded.[42]

It is the realistic representation which separates the two narratives most distinctly from the world of chivalrous romance.

To give an example of the realistic style used in the "Gesta", I have chosen a part of Deda's description of the outlaws' way of life in the fortress of Ely. Deda, a Norman,

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41) cf. Auerbach, 135
42) Fulk, 362

had been taken prisoner by the defenders of the monastery during one of King William's attacks.[43] He was treated in a chivalrous way and, after a few days, sent back to his King. To him Deda describes in a matter-of-fact way and with many details the way the besieged monks and outlaws live. A short excerpt will illustrate these statements.

> "Quotidie enim dum illuc tempus exegi, more Angligenorum epulis in refectorio monachorum fastidiebamus, reficiente ad prandium semper et ad coenam milite cum monacho, ad superiorem tabulam abbate cum tribus praelibatis comitibus simul etiam recumbentibus, et cum duobus praeclarissimis viris Herewardo et Turkillo cognomento puer. Desuper autem unumquemque equitem et monachum clipei, lanceae prieti adhaerentes pedebant, ei in medio domus a capite usque deorsum super scamnum loricae, galeae cum ceteris armis erant appositae, ut semper monachi sicut milites spreto vices suas peragere essent, et in expeditione belli ire."
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> (381)

b. Elements of Romance in the "Gesta" and in the "Legend"

The emphasis of the more realistic way of representation must not, however, lead us to come to the rash conclusion that the two narratives represent a complete rejection of traditional love and adventurous literature. Some examples of the "Gesta" and the "Legend" may suffice to illustrate to what a high degree both authors make use of the miraculous elements despite the generally more realistic view.

Hereward is driven to the coast of Flanders by a terrible

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43) Her, 377

tempest: "per turpinem maris ejectus iterum in Flandrium, Sanctum Bertinum, nafragium pertulit."[44] Since the times of the Odyssey the motif of the tempest belongs to the implements of narrative art. In Virgil's Aeneid the hero is driven to the coast of Sicily. The same motif is effectively used in the "Apollonius of Tyre", a Latin revision of a Greek original. As the Apollonius romance was one of the most widely-read books of the Middle Ages, and as there are obvious parallels to it in our "Gesta", we can assume with great certainty that the author of the "Gesta Herwardi" had known this late classic piece of fiction. In fact Apollonius, like Hereward, is driven to the cliffs by a severe tempest and is hardly able to reach the coast alive.

The purpose of such a tempest is, in most cases and as far as narrative technique is concerned, to enable the hero to face new adventures, to confront him with new and stirring people, particularly with heroines of noble rank, with whom a new love affair may begin. The most famous examples of this kind of adventure are the episodes of Odysseus and Calypso, Odysseus and Nausikaa, Aeneas and Dido. Thus here and in "Apollonius of Tyre" a tempest forms the introduction to a love adventure. Likewise the author of the "Gesta" tells us how the shipwrecked Hereward performs miraculous feats of arms in Flanders and wins beautiful Turfrida's heart. Deutschbein[45] has characterized this type of motif as follows:

"An audacious hero or prince is forced by unfavourable circumstances to leave his native country. During his wanderings he comes, very often as a result of a tempest, to a foreign country. He performs amazing and heroic deeds there and, so draws the attention of a noble lady to himself - very often she is a king's daughter - and is chosen by her as her husband."

The tempest as a motif that allows the author to fill

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44) ibid. 353
45) Deutschbein, 32

his story with a good deal of miraculous episodes is important, too, in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin". With only very little alteration we have the same motif and the same function: "Then came a very frightful tempest, whereupon all thought that they would die by the tempest. And they cried devoutly to God ... Then they saw land, but did not know where ..."[46] It is exactly the same pattern: tempest - unknown country - new adventures. Fulk and his men discover a princess who is kept in a dragon's castle. Fulk kills the dragon and brings the princess back to her father, the King of Carthage. "The duke fell at the feet of Fulk and thanked him for his daughter, and prayed him, if it pleased him, to remain in the country, and that he would give him all Carthage with his daughter in marriage".[47] This last point of the motif is varied here. As Fulk is already married, he refuses the King's offer with a reference to his Christian duties.[48]

These few examples demonstrate how deeply both works are rooted in the literary genre of love and adventurous fiction. Quite a few more could be added. Despite these passages borrowed from the fairy-tale world both authors always find their way back again to a more realistic way of narrating, a style postulated by the basic pattern of the outlaw-situation: the conflict between the outlaw-hero and the 'injust' liege (King William I; King John Lackland).

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46) Fulk, 379
47) ibid. 385
48) ibid.

c. Possible Reasons for the Change

The transition of a literary genre to a new one or, as in most cases, the gradual preference of one for another among already existing possibilities is a historical-philosophic problem. Every age finds its particular literary expression. The outstanding characteristics of a special historical situation are implied in a composition of any work of literature.

If we approve of the statement "eine realistischere Zeit fühlte das Bedürfnis, sich vom Vers zu befreien"[49], we could regard under this aspect the disintegration of the older rhymed romance of Fulk Fitzwarin into the prose version transmitted to us.

The totality and absolute nature of the world valid in chivalrous romance is no longer acceptable to the author of our outlaw-story as well as to his audience. Rhymed courtly romance and prose romance are separated according to the historic situation and subject the author chooses. If the author of the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin", as we know it from the prose version, wished to do justice to his subject, he had to choose a more realistic point of view, a more realistic representation of the life and conditions of his time and the time recorded. He has chosen it and, as far as I can judge, the value of the story has risen. It is the question of art's identity with the epoch to which it belongs.[50]

This does not mean, of course, that as soon as prose style was used in romances by some authors there was no longer any justification for rhymed romances. But the fact that the partly romantic "Legend" could be written in prose shows that

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49) Friedemann, 15; "a more realistic time felt the need to release itself from verse".

50) And also, one might add, a question of a work of art's identity with a certain social class. cf. page 39

the rhymed romance of the Arthurian type was in a decaying stage. Prose and verse versions lived side by side , for a considerable time.

It would lead beyond the narrow limits of this study to follow the deeper historical causes for the changes from courtly romance to prose versions, from there to the forefathers of the novel and finally to the novel itself. It may suffice to state that one of the causes has to be seen in changing historical conditions.

Compared to the second reason I will give for the changed ideas in the "Gesta" and in the "Legend" all this sounds, perhaps, rather vague, but is a necessary preliminary to what follows.

A more concrete and easily appreciated influence responsible for that change has been exerted upon the epic tradition by historiography.

We have seen already that the "Gesta" as a late representative of the gesta literature is a direct descendent of the historiographic tradition. And the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" shows, apart from its romantic passages, with its chronicle-like brevity of style and in the composition of the facts a conspicuous influence of historical writing.[51] There is a trend in the "Legend" that leads away from the ideas of chivalrous romance to a more historical viewpoint, or, one could as well say, a trend away from the ideal to the real world.

Here, again, one must emphasize that the intrusion of an historical, i.e. realistic view of life, meant a replacing of the miraculous element in literature; but it also meant an enormous enrichment.

A third factor, which seems to me significant for the movement that brought a considerable part of Middle English literature back to 'earth', is the influence a rustic audience and group of authors began gradually to exert.

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51) cf. Fulk, 294, 321, 323ff. 342, 362, 394;

3. Differences between the Prose Narratives and the Rhymed Tales

Compared to the two rhymed tales, the "Gesta Herwardi" and the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" form a unity, they belong more to an aristocratic tradition.

Hereward dares as a Germanic knight to raise an organized rebellion against a king on the basis of the general right of resistance in the feudal law. Hereward is knighted by an archbishop, his enemies are King William and his Norman knights and he finally finds his way back to his feudal bonds.

On a socially very similar level does Fulk conduct his fight against King John Lackland.

This separates the two heroes distinctly from the later outlaws such as Gamelyn and Robin Hood.

Gamelyn's father is not a knight of the court who boasts with feats of arms and victories in tournaments. He is a knight of a shire and proud of the fact that he has been able to enlarge his estate with his own hands. "'And my myddeleste sone fyve plowes of lond, That I halp for to gete with my righte hond'".[52]

The opponents of Gamelyn as well as of Robin Hood are the sheriff and local justice-officials: "And the scherref was aboute Gamelyn for to take" and Robin Hood reminds his men "The hye sherif of Notyingham, Hym holde ye in your mynde".[53]

Hereward and Fulk fight for and represent an aristocratic group that has been deprived of its inherited rights. Gamelyn and Robin Hood speak for the small farmers and peasants who suffer tyranny at the hands of a higher class of

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52) Gam, 59f.
53) Gam, 55o; Gest, 15b

worldly and clerical lords: "Goth, greteth hem wel myn housbondes and wyf, I wol ben atte nexte schire haue god my lyf!"[54] The world of aristocracy is replaced by a world of husbandmen and small landowners.

It would have been impossible for Hereward or Fulk to prove their strength at a public wrestling on the road as Gamelyn does.[55]

How much, by the way, Thomas Lodge was influenced by both sides, the aristocratic and the popular one, may be illustrated by the fact that he has combined the wrestling match with a tournament. But this aspect will be discussed in detail later.[56]

Taste and ideas of a rustic audience reveals itself, too, in the traces of class hatred which is distinctly marked in the rhymed tales, whereas it is lacking completely in the older prose narratives.

This hatred may be exemplified by that coarse scene in which Gamelyn is thrashing the clergymen while Adam is stimulating him with the words: "They be men of holy chirche ... brek bothe her legges and siththen here armes."[57] Class hatred is one of the main elements, too, in the 'guiding principles' Robin Hood impresses upon his men at the beginning of the "Gest"[58]

Another phenomenon which comes to light with the social change of author and audience is the disappearance of the miraculous element in the action. The adventures of Hereward or Fulk with a bear gifted with human intelligence, giants[59], princesses[60] and dragons[61] are replaced by the merely real-

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54) Gam, 713f. cf. ibid. 5o5ff. and Gest, 13f.
55) Gam, 169-284
56) cf. V, VIII in this study
57) Gam, 522ff.
58) Gest, 13ff.
59) Her, 343f. 346
6o) ibid. 349f. Fulk, 375f. 381ff. 395f.
61) ibid. 383f.

istic events of the later outlaw-stories. There are no more heavenly visions[62], the myth of the rescuing animal[63] or prophecies[64]. At best one could value the father's curse in the "Tale" which finally is fulfilled as a residue of those older ideas.[65] In the first place, though, one must see that its possible former significance has been reduced to a mere structural function. The curse and its fulfilment serve as a compositional clamp.[66]

Furthermore the change reveals itself in the fact that the national heroes of the older narratives are superseded by local heroes. Hereward and Fulk fight English and foreign armies and travel from country to country, whereas Gamelyn is explicitely restricted to a shire, Robin Hood to the area of Barnesdale and Nottingham.[67]

The courtly etiquette and knightly ethos are replaced now by a coarse sense of justice[68] and the slightly finer fair-play code of Robin Hood. The rebellion against a king and the loss of rich fiefs becomes the realistic complaint about maladministration and untilled lands, grievances of everyday life.[69]

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62) Her, 39f. Fulk, 411
63) Her, 396, cf. Jolles, 12off.
64) Fulk, 285f. 412ff.
65) Gam, 8
66) cf. VI,2,c,β in this study
67) Gest, 3, 15, 21
68) Gam, 468ff. 577f. 712f. 821ff.
69) ibid. 83ff. 96ff.

4. Style and Tone in the "Tale of Gamelyn"

One might conclude now with the generalization that the still more romantic heroes Hereward and Fulk had turned, with the modification of their social foundations, into the more realistic outlaws Gamelyn and Robin Hood. With the "Tale of Gamelyn" this is true, with the "Gest" this conclusion can only be accepted with certain reservations.[7o)]

The Tale represents a final and complete rejection of chivalrous ideas and ideals, though a small remnant of these ideals may be recognized in the already mentioned coarse sense of justice Gamelyn shows. More significant, however, is the fact that Gamelyn sees and experiences his surroundings as a world of facts.

When Gamelyn has to flee into the woods, it is no fairy-tale wood that protects him, it is a real wood with thorns on which the clothes are torn, a wood in which one has the feeling of thirst and hunger.[71)]

It is the style and particular tone that separates the "Tale of Gamelyn" most distinctly from the older outlaw-narratives. The "Gest", though it stands next to the "Tale", has a certain lyrical charm, the gay atmosphere of the 'greenwood' which is completely lacking in the "Tale of Gamelyn".

The levity and gaiety of the story's representation in the second part of Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde" and in Shakespeare's "As You Like It", with their subtle relations between the lovers (in the "Tale" there is not a single female character), the poems cut in the barks of trees and hung upon bushes, places the Elizabethan romance and, still more obviously, the comedy apart from the old lay.

7o) see IV,5 in this study
71) ibid. 622, 632, 636

A certain realistic brutality, a rough vigour are predominant in the "Tale of Gamelyn". Even then, when a flash of irony seems to supersede the author's lack of distance from his narrated objects, the tone remains coarse and brutal.[72]

The author's way of looking at things reveals itself best when realistic detail is recorded. Gamelyn's complaints about his brother's maladministration and his untilled lands are not presented in general terms. One by one the damages are enumerated:

> "He thoughte on his londes that layen vnsawe,
> And his faire okes that down were i-drawe;
> His parkes were i-broken and his deer byreued,
> Of alle his goode steedes noon was him byleued;
> His howses were vnhiled and ful yuel dight;"
> (83ff.)

The author makes effective use of his knowledge of the country and its laws.[73] The theme of the courts' corruptability is a well-known historical fact and can be found in many medieval texts.[74] It is, too, hinted at in the "Tale of Gamelyn" and in the "Gest od Robyn Hode":

> "'Thou hast y-geue domes of the wors assise;
> And the twelve sisours that weren of the quest,
> They schul ben hanged this day so haue I good rest!'"
> (87off.)

> "'I am hold with the abbot', sayd the justice,
> Both with cloth and fee ...'"
> (Gest, 1o7a)

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72) Gam, 521ff.

73) ibid. cf. Gamelyn's father announcing his testament, 53ff. and formulas of law, 7oo, 71o, 722, court day, 855ff.

74) cf. also "A Poem on the Times of Edw. II.", ll. 469ff.
"And thise assisours, that comen to shire and to hundred,
Damneth men for silver, and that nis no wonder.
For whan the riche justise wol do wrong for mede,
Thanne thinketh heen thei muwen the bet, for thei han more nede to winne.
Ac so is al world ablent, that no man douteth sinne."

As tyrannical lords in the Middle Ages the landowing clergy are represented in their inhumanity:

"Than seyde an abbot sorwe on his cheeke!
'He schal haue Cristes curs and seynte Maries eeke,
That the out of prisoun beggeth other borwe'"
(479ff.)

"After that abbot than spak another,
'I wold thin heed were of though thou were my brother!'"
(483f.)

"Than seyde a priour yuel mot he thyue!
'It is moche skathe, boy that thou art on lyue.'"
(487f.)

The author's realistic description becomes distinct, too, in his moulding the character of Adam the Spencer. Adam is not portrayed as the typical old faithful servant who, out of pure charity supports his young master. There is a considerable amount of egoism in Adam's mind when he releases Gamelyn from his fetters. In his helpless position Gamelyn had promised the servant a piece of land if he would set him free:

"'Adam', seyde Gamelyn, 'also mot I the,
I wol holde the couenant and thou wil lose me'".
(413f.)

"He vnlokked Gamelyn bothe hondes and feet,
In hope of auauncement that he him byheet."
(417f.)

As soon as Gamelyn and Adam have reached the woods and are safe from the Sheriff's men, the servant regrets his daring behaviour:

"'Now I see it is mery to be a spencer,
That leuer me were keyes for to bere,
Than walken in this wilde woode my clothes to tere.'"
(62off.)

The style and the tone of the "Tale of Gamelyn" can be illustrated best by giving a few examples of those passages in which brutal fights are described:

"And kaste him on the lefte syde that thre ribbes,
And therto his oon arm that gaf a gret crak." tobrak,
(245f.)

"And gerte him in the nekke that the bon tobrak,
And took him by that oon arm and threw him in a welle,
Seuen fadmen it was deep as I haue herd telle."
(3o4ff.)

"Euer stood his brother and made foul chere,
Gamelyn vp with his staf that he wel knew,
And gerte him in the nekke that he ouerthrew;
A litel aboue the girdel the rigge-bon to-barst,
And sette him in the fetteres ther he sat arst."
(534ff.)

The effect of such scenes is enhanced if to the realistic detail is added an element of that bitter irony, sarcasm and cynicism which are so characteristic of the "Tale's" tone. As a climax of this coarse art the representation of Gamelyn's and Adam's revenge upon the clergymen may be adduced. The abbots and monks have not seen the chance which was given to them by the fettered Gamelyn.[75] He and the still vigorous Adam attack Johan's guests with oaken clubs. And, in order to provide the scene with more vivacity, the author has his heroes shout blasphemous remarks to each other which tend to increase their fury:

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75) Gam, 48o-488; cf. the hero's sense of justice, 468ff. 577f. 821ff.

"'Gamelyn', seyde Adam, 'do hem but good;
They ben men of holy chirche draw of hem no blood,
Saue wel the croune and do hem non harmes,
But brek both her legges and siththen her armes.'"
(521ff.)

"Gamelyn sprengeth holy-water with an oken spire,
That some that stood vpright fellen in the fire."
(5o3f.)

The irony's bitterness here can hardly be surpassed. In none of the other outlaw-tales is anything that approaches to this tone.

This bitter irony as the author's basic attitude is materialized in the composition of the "Tale of Gamelyn". The irony has the effect of reversing the accepted system of values. The scene which is the climax of this reversal of values is the wicked Sheriff's and his men's execution by the outlaws at the end of the story.[76)]

This reversal can only be understood, if we see it in connection with the fundamental conception on which all the outlaw-narratives are based. It is common in all later outlaw-stories, but in the "Tale of Gamelyn" it appears in its purest form and most consistently applied, as far as the structure is concerned.[77)]

The king's officials are, with few exceptions, corrupt. The outlaws who according to the law are criminals, cherish the lost justice. And this is, according to the outlaw-tales, only possible without the corrupt society and outside the corrupted laws.[78)]

When the guilt of the law's representatives becomes too great, the outlaws take the law into their own hands. In the

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76) ibid. 879-886
77) cf. VI,2 in this study
78) cf. Keen 92

"Tale" they form a jury, the Sheriff and his men having to stand trial before them.

> "Gamelyn sette him doun in the Justices seet,
> And Sir Ote his brother by him and Adam at his feet."
> (855f.)

And Gamelyn condemns all he finds guilty to the gallows:

> "He ordeyned him a quest of his men so stronge;
> The Justice and the scherreue bothe honged hye,
> To weyen with the ropes and with the wynde drye;"
> (878ff.)

The author cannot help commenting sarcastically on the fact that the corpses hang dangling from the ropes and will dry with the wind.

The execution is carried out according to the very procedure of the medieval system of justice. The King's officials hang according to the rules of their own rite. And, in the end, the whole is legalized by the King pardoning and rewarding the outlaws. This pointed action was, most likely, one of the main reasons why Chaucer showed an interest in the "Tale of Gamelyn".

5. Elements of Idealization in the "Gest of Robyn Hode"

Realism in outlaw-literature seems to have reached its culminating point with the "Tale of Gamelyn". For, even if we only peruse the "Gest of Robyn Hode" we are immediately

aware of one significant difference. A different atmosphere predominates. Besides the trend to record realistic and cruel events, which is found in the "Gest"[79], the narrative as a whole is characterized by a lighter tone.

My thesis is that this new tone springs from a re-idealization of characters and action. This idealization does not, however, bring forth results similar to those we know from the prose narratives.

According to the new social sphere, which is, of course, closer to the sphere of Gamelyn, Robin Hood is not confronted with dragons or other stock figures of the fairy-tale world, but he gains features of the miraculous as a protector of the poor, as a guarantee of the final victory over all social injustice, as unsurpassable king of the archers[80], in short, as the noblest representative of his own fair-play code.

In his forests Robin Hood has such wealth that he can give away his riches in a generous way. At the King's court he grows poorer and poorer until he has even spent all his friends' money: a paradox which is only accepted as natural by a fairy-tale audience.

"Had Robyn dwelled in the kyngës courte
But twelue monethes and thre,
That he had spent an hondred pounde,
And all his mennes fe."
(433)

The idealization becomes more evident to the reader if he remembers that in the Robin Hood ballads as well as in the "Gest" the outlaws live a permanent summer life. The winter and the hardships the outlaws have to overcome during this

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79) Gest, 347f.
80) ibid. 294f.

season are neglected. The author chooses to do this in order to provide the reader with an ideal picture of outlaw-life. To take only one typical example of this summer tone, I should like to adduce the description of Robin Hood's return to the woods after having been away for more than a year at the King's court:

"Whan he came to grene wode,
In a mery mornynge,
There he herde the notes small
Of byrdes mery syngynge."
(445)

Social decline of a custom and idealization are mingled to form Robin Hood's new custom, namely not to dine until a guest has been invited to his table.[81] On the one hand this custom is an ironic equivalent to the well-known and similar custom of King Arthur. The custom of an ideal knight has become the custom of an idealized robber-knight. On the other hand Robin Hood's custom includes, ironically again, an idealization of a fact and the actual reason: An outlaw was not able to dine before he had stolen something to eat.

A further element of idealization could be found in the fact that Robin Hood is extremely pious and shows great veneration for the Virgin Mary and all women.

"Eueryday or he wold dyne
Thre messis wolde he here."
(8b)

"Robyn loued Oure dere Lady;
For dout of dydly synne,
Wolde he neuer do compani harme
That any woman was in."
(1o)

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81) ibid. 5-7; 18f. 25, 3o, 143, 2o6, 2o9, 22o

The shift from one social background to another, from the aristocratic level to a social layer considerably below, brings forth, on the one hand, a withdrawal from the ideal world, from the miraculous atmosphere of the fairy-tale world. On the other hand these thus different stories do not necessarily adhere to a merely realistic view of the world; they can, as is shown by the example of the "Gest", be lifted again on to the level of the 'miraculous', though with the distinct features of balladry.

V. The Different Worlds in "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

1. Nature and Love

a. The Pure Pastoral in "Rosalynde"

Thomas Lodge represents Nature according to the conventions of Elizabethan literature. His pastoral world, an ideally heightened reality, appears as a guarantee of virtue and contented way of life elevated above the dissensions and intrigues of the civilized world and, particularly, the court. The mere change from one place to another, from court to pastoral solitude, has an ennobling effect upon the characters concerned.

The remains of a more realistic view of Nature and environment can, without exception, be ascribed to the author's freely borrowing from his source. But these isolated remnants are not capable of exercising a corrective effect upon the purely pastoral character of by far the largest part in "Rosalynde".[82)]

Not to be separated from the Elizabethan pastoral ideal is the Petrarchian conception of Love which is, in "Rosalynde", expressed by the stylized Euphuistic language. In Lodge's romance the reader is confronted with the concept of pastoral Love representing a pure and ideal form of affection. The beloved partner is exuberantly celebrated in eclogues, madrigals, sonnettos, passions and songs.[83)] And even in ordinary conversations the normal mode of address is replaced by a stilted and artificial diction. Rosader uses the following

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82) cf. VIII,1 in this study
83) ROS, 4off. 27f. 49f. 66, 116f. 35f. 161f.

words when he addresses the disguised Rosalynde and Alinda:

> "Gentle shepherds, all hail, and as healthful be your flocks as you happy in content. Love is restless, and my bed is but the cell of my bane, in that there I find busy thoughts and broken slumbers: here, although everywhere passionate, yet I brook love with more patience, in that every object feeds mine eye with variety of fancies. When I look on Flora's beauteous tapestry, checked with the pride of all her treasure, I call to mind the fair face of Rosalynde, whose heavenly hue exceeds the rose and the lily in their highest excellence: the brightness of Phoebus' shine puts me in mind to think of the sparkling flames that flew from her eyes ..."
>
> (77f.)

Not only the love-stricken Rosader uses an artificial language, but even the old Adam Spenser and Corydon the shepherd enrich their language with Latin fragments.[84)]

The Euphuistic diction, too, makes the world represented in "Rosalynde" distinctly distant from the everyday world and thus from Lodge's source. To feel the difference sharply one must only try to imagine Adam the Spencer of the old "Tale of Gamelyn" use a phrase such as "sicco pede".

That Lodge has not achieved, in all points, an aesthetically satisfactory projection of the old story on the level of pastoral romance will be discussed separately.[85)]

b. The More Complex World of Nature and Love in "As You Like It"

Nature as a background in "As You Like It" is a grand modification of that given in the original. Shakespeare has

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84) "sicco pede" ROS, 53; "Satis est quod sufficit" ibid.47
85) cf. VIII,1 in this study

every solution which offered itself questioned and contrasted with a new possibility.[86]

Although the contrast between life at court and life in the 'greenwood' is taken over from "Rosalynde", the final impression the audience receives is a completely different one. On the one hand the 'greenwood' life is enriched and idealized by the Robin Hood motif[87] which Shakespeare did not find in Lodge's romance[88], on the other hand the free life of the hunter is contrasted with Jaques' complaint about the dying deer.[89] The praise of the life in the forest[90] is made relative by the realistic picture the audience is given of the distressed old Adam[91] and also by Touchstone commenting sarcastically on his new environment: "When I was at home I was in a better place"[92].

In spite of all these sceptical attitudes towards the life in the forest and the ideal of a Robin-Hood-type freedom the comedy emphasizes these aspects so strongly that, for the critical reader, it would mean distortion to neglect them. Thorndike, in his study[93], comes to the conclusion that Shakespeare "added a Robin Hood element to his 'As You Like It' in rivalry of Robin Hood plays then being acted at an opposition theatre"[94].

Thorndike's thesis is, most probably, correct, although one has always to have in mind the fact that the Robin Hood theme had been generally alive in the people's mind since the

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86) cf. Evans, 87ff.
87) AYL, I,1,1o9ff.
88) ROS, 62
89) AYL, II,1,45ff.
90) ibid. II,1,1ff.
91) ibid. II,6,1ff.
92) ibid. II,4,13f.
93) Thorndike, 69
94) Thorndike refers to the two plays "The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington" and "The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington" which were both performed in 1598, one year before "As You Like It" was finished.

end of the Middle Ages. How strongly the 'greenwood' motif, however, is emphasized by Shakespeare becomes obvious, when we realize that three scenes of the play have their central aim in the display of the 'greenwood' life.[95]

Even in naming his dramatis personae Shakespeare used, in a playful way, the 'greenwood' theme. Lodge's Sir John of Bordeaux becomes Sir Roland de Boys (wood), Montanus becomes Silvius (born in the wood), Saladayn becomes Oliver (cf. Olivier or olive tree).

These examples would stress only the forest's function as atmosphere-providing background. This is certainly true. But we know that Shakespeare intended to give the forest a further function, when he has Touchstone remark: "You have said; but whether wisely or no let the forest judge".[96] As this remark comes from one of the important commentators of the play we can attribute the background of the forest to its corrective elements, and, in fact, it is under the influence of the forest that all the trivial and important shortcomings are adjusted. Thus we may see the forest in one line with the comedy's didactic elements whose most noble expression is found in the figure of Rosalind.

The love theme as Shakespeare found it handled in his source is changed and enriched in a similar way to the 'greenwood' motif. A few examples may be sufficient for our purpose. Here, too, correcting and contrasting juxtapositions rob the scenes of their possible claim to absolute validity.

Each one of the two main love scenes is introduced by one of Jaques' ironic remarks: "Farewell, good Signior Love"[97] he says to Orlando and with "Nay, then God buy you, and you

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95) AYL, II,1; II,5; IV,2;
96) ibid. III,2,119f.
97) ibid. IV,1,29

talk in blank verse"[98] he leaves Rosalind alone with her Orlando. Of course, these two remarks do not question the genuineness of Orlando's or Rosalind's feeling in their essence, but they are consciously put there by a dramatist who wishes to prevent his play from giving rise to sentimentality and to show that both lovers - even Rosalind, though less so - have not yet passed the stage of catharsis which will have them purged in the end.

A further correction of Lodge's handling the love theme is achieved by the juxtaposition of completely different love scenes. When Orlando had promised to woo the disguised Rosalind with the words "by the faith of my love"[99] and "with all my heart"[100] there follows that coarse but gay scene in which Touchstone woos the goat girl.

Yet Shakespeare has not changed everything he has taken from Lodge's romance. The well-known literary norm of the pure pastoral which he, in most parts, has modified so resolutely is, too, to be found in the comedy. Silvius and Phebe, pure pastoral figures, serve as necessary foils for the rest of the characters. They are essential to the play and the dramatist has not confronted them with Touchstone or Jaques who would have definitely destroyed them with their sarcastic wit. Silvius and Phebe remain the same pastoral characters until the very last scene.

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98) ibid. IV,1,29
99) ibid. III,2,407
100) ibid. III,2,412

2. The Social Levels

a. A Distinct Raising of the Social Level in "Rosalynde" Compared to Lodge's Source

If Thomas Lodge intended to integrate essential parts of the "Tale's" action with his pastoral atmosphere he had to change the world of that local hero Gamelyn completely. With this he succeeded to a certain degree at least in so far as he lifted the social class represented in the old "Tale of Gamelyn" considerably.

The folk-tale situation of the "Tale" in which the dying knight bequeathes his heritage to his three sons is socially lifted by changing the knight of the shire into a knight of the court, a knight who is proud of his victories in tournaments and chivalrous virtues. According to the higher class of society to which the knight belongs Lodge has multiplied the heritage. Johan, Ote and Gamelyn of the "Tale" had together inherited some ten "plowes"[101], whereas to the sons of Sir John of Bordeaux are left fortytwo "ploughlands"[102].

The wrestling match which, in the "Tale of Gamelyn", takes place on the open road after a general challenge is combined with a tournament by Thomas Lodge. Thus the background of the King's Court, which is the scene in question, appears better motivated and credible. What, in the "Tale of Gamelyn", had happened among villagers, is now put in the midst of a society of peers and a king. Although Gamelyn, too, is connected with a king at the end of the "Tale", this winding up is typical for the outlaw-narratives, as has been shown, and has no influence upon the social class represented in the

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101) Gam, 57ff.
102) ROS, 3

old story.

The outlaw-company in the Forest of Arden is also clearly distinguished from what we know about the characters in the "Tale". A banished king leads a gay forester's and hunter's life together with his courtiers and according to the rules of courtly ceremonies.

Naturally an aristocratic usurper cannot be tried and executed by a rustic court of justice as we know it from the "Tale of Gamelyn". In a final battle in which kings and courtly entourage fight for a European throne the usurper Torismond loses his crown and his life.

Lodge was consistent enough to follow his principle of raising his original to portray a higher level of society right through to the end of the romance, where a general rewarding takes place. In the "Tale" Gamelyn is made "Chef Iustice of al his (the King's) fre forest" by the King[1o3], whereas in "Rosalynde" Rosader is appointed "heir apparent to the kingdom"[1o4] by King Gerismond. With kingly generosity Gerismond distributes estates and high offices among his friends. Saladayn is given back his heritage and the "Dukedom of Nameurs" into the bargain. Fernandayn, the middle brother, is nominated the King's "principal secretary", Montanus becomes "lord over all the forest of Arden", Adam Spenser is appointed "Captain of the King's Guard" and Corydon "master of Alinda's flocks".[1o5]

All this can be put forward in favour of Lodge's intention to raise his source as far as the society represented was concerned. And, indeed, this intention is directed to create a harmony in the pastoral world of "Rosalynde" according to the author's stylistic sense.

The more obvious become all those factors which show that

1o3) Gam, 892
1o4) ROS, 164
1o5) ibid.

Thomas Lodge did not fully succeed in creating, according to his plan, a homogeneous pastoral romance, based on a source which had been conceived in a completely different spirit.[1o6)]

b. The Comedy's Position between the "Tale of Gamelyn" and "Rosalynde"

As in Thomas Lodge's romance it is a predominantly aristocratic society that is represented in "As You Like It". Shakespeare, however, remained content with the social stratum of ducal nobility as his highest class. The Kings in "Rosalynde" become Duke Frederick and Duke Senior in the comedy. The heritage Orlando is bequeathed with proves to be very modest. In this particular matter the play follows the old "Tale" closer than the prose romance.

Orl. "As I remember, Adam, it was upon this fashion
bequeathed me by will, but poor a thousand
crowns, and as thou sayest, charged my brother,
on his blessing, to breed me well."
(I,1,1ff.)

The rewards at the end of the comedy are consistently adjusted to the ducal level:

Duke S. "Thou offer'st fairly to thy brother's wedding:
To one his lands withheld, and to the other
A land itself at large, a potent dukedom."
(V,4,165ff.)

1o6) cf. V, 3; VIII, 1 in this study

More significant I think, with a view to the society portrayed, is the fact that Shakespeare, unlike Lodge, has characters make their appearance who form a credible contrast to the world of the court. Characters such as William, Audrey and, above all, Corin the shepherd who lives in a real nature. Lodge's shepherds follow the same pastoral pattern (cf. Corydon), whereas Corin is endowed by Shakespeare with the genuine characteristics of a real shepherd.[1o7)]

Corin. "Sir, I am a true labourer: I earn that I eat, get that I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness, glad of other men's good, content with my harm, and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck."
(III,2,71ff.)

As far as the social world is concerned "As You Like It" takes a middle position between the "Tale of Gamelyn" and "Rosalynde".

The "Tale" which is clearly restricted to the society of the rustic nobility and peasants is contrasted with the comedy's enormously richer and wider social world including ducal aristocracy with courtly manners and ideas as well as the real shepherd smelling of grease and soil.

"As You Like It" differs from the social world of "Rosalynde" in that it portrays a society at various social levels, including a few realistic ones and others which, realistically seen, are impossible (especially Silvius and Phebe).

1o7) cf. Delius, 231; Delius obviously disregards these facts when he says in his study that Lodge's realistic motivation of the wrestling match (distraction of the people's interest in politics by festivities) is a motif "das zu dem märchenhaft gehaltenen, aller das prosaische Leben betreffenden Beziehungen geflissentlich entkleideten Dramas weniger passen wollte". (which would not go with this fairy-tale-like play which is totally lacking in features to do with the prosaic life)

3. Tone in "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

a. Two Levels of Tone in "Rosalynde"

On the one level of tone in "Rosalynde" one could project all those elements of the story that aim at a conciliatory effect, the lyrical, the comic, the gay and the pastoral. They provide the romance with its particular character, and criticism generally sees the charm that "Rosalynde" apparently has to a high degree as a result of these elements. For the largest portion of Lodge's prose romance this observation is certainly true.

Besides this more conspicuous level of tone there are to be found in the romance a number of factors which could be characterized with the attribute 'coarse tone'. Their significance for this study springs from the fact that they are not restricted to only a few far-fetched examples. Especially in the first part of "Rosalynde" these factors occur very frequently and become determinative for the tone.

When the story enters its phase of complication, Rosader realizing his own poor situation and his brother's injust attitude, begins the first combat. "Stepping to a great rake that stood in the garden, he laid such load upon his brother's men that he hurt some of them, and made the rest of them run away."[108] His brother takes to flight and finds refuge in a hay-loft. Thus, at the beginning of a romance, we come to know the hero as a powerful, bellicose young man who is not very fastidious about the means he chooses in order to achieve his aims.

The wrestling match, in which the strong Rosader is the

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108) ROS, 13

victor, has a fatal outcome for the Norman challenger.

After this victory a triumphant Rosader, accompanied by a party of young admirers, approaches his brother's house. As he finds the entrance locked he tries to enter by force. "He ran his foot against the door, and broke it open, drawing his sword, and entering boldly into the hall."[109)]

A wild drinking-bout follows. With overbearing words Rosader encourages his companions to drink more: "My brother hath in his house five tun of wine, and as long as that lasteth, I beshrew him that spares his liquor."[110)] In order to provide his friends with more provisions, our wild hero breaks in another door: "He burst open the buttery door."[111)] Finally when the party runs short of meat, they have to make up for it by drinking more of Saladayn's wine: "What they wanted in meat, Rosader supplied with drink."[112)]

After the drinking-bout Saladayn takes revenge of his brother and has him fettered to a pillar in his house. Not before Rosader has nearly died of thirst and hunger, is he released by the old Adam Spenser.

Rosader, for his part, avenges himself upon Saladayn and a host of guests who dine and drink in front of Rosader. A quarrel follows that surpasses the earlier fights by far in brutality, even the original, without being capable, however, of evoking the "Tale's" brilliant sarcasm. "Rosader shaking off his chains got a poleaxe in his hand, and flew among them with such violence and fury, that he hurt many, slew some."[113)] Utmost brutality is described in realistic language, a fact that can be said to hold true for the first part of the romance and does, as has been maintained, give the impression of a 'coarse tone'.

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109) ibid. 23
110) ibid.
111) ibid.
112) ibid.
113) ibid. 54

In the second part of "Rosalynde" with its forest-, disguise-, and love-scenes this level of the 'coarse tone' and harsh atmosphere is almost completely superseded by that first mentioned level of the proper atmosphere of romance.

At the end of the romance, however, the gay wedding banquet is abruptly interrupted by the news that the Eleven Peers of France wish to restore the lawful King to his throne and are going to fight the usurper who, together with a handful of desperate men, will take advantage of the opportunity to defend his claims in a battle. In this decisive battle Torismond, as has already mentioned, is killed. The death as a means of a complicated action's final solution should also be attributed to that second level of the 'coarse tone'.

That this opinion is not at all far-fetched is supported by the fact that Lodge himself felt the discrepancy. This point will be discussed more explicitely in the final chapter.[114)]

b. The Many Seemingly Contradictory Elements of Tone in "As You Like It"

Contrary to what has been said about Thomas Lodge's romance we cannot speak of two fundamentally different and parallel levels of tone in Shakespeare's "As You Like It". It is a multitude of seemingly contradictory elements of tone that becomes relevant to the atmosphere in the comedy.

To start with two extremes we could contrast the picture of the daydreaming, love-sick poetaster Orlando with that of the rustic and simple of the old shepherd Corin. The character

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114) VIII,1 in this study

of the young Orlando who, at least to a large extent, is dependent upon the Elizabethan pastoral tradition seems to contradict basically that of the shepherd who can be understood as a Corydon transported from the sphere of the pastoral into that of reality. Yet, this apparent contradiction is not experienced as a breach of style by the audience.[115)]

Another seemingly irreconcilable juxtaposition is Jaques--Touchstone on the one side, and Silvius-Phebe on the other. A bitingly critical, often disillusioning view of the world on the one side, typical behaviour and outlook according to the pastoral pattern on the other.

Oliver's and Celia's marriage, too, may be regarded as not sufficiently well motivated and undeserved and, therefore, as one of the dramatist's mistakes. Swinburne commented on this point: "That one unlucky slip of the brush which has left so ugly a little smear in one corner of the canvas."[116)]

The winding up of the play's action with the usurper's sudden conversion has also aroused some criticism.[117)]

It is a well-known fact that in "As You Like It", in spite of all these point in question and in contrast with Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde", a masterly harmony has been achieved.

How this can be explained according to the process of transformation from the prose romance to the comedy I will try to show in the final chapter on "As You Like It".[118)]

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115) The reasons for this will be discussed under VIII,2 in this study

116) quot. Tolman, 69

117) ibid. 68; One could object to this criticism, however, by saying that the Elizabethans devoutly believed in sudden and valid conversions.

118) VIII,2 in this study

VI. Some Structural Details

1. The Individuality of the Narrator Reveals Itself [119]

a. Topics of the Exordium and Conclusion [120]

Apparently the author of the "Gesta Herwardi" was well-conversed with late-classical rhetoric. The motivation of the "Gesta's" composition takes up a large space and the author's sources are explicitely enumerated.

On the one hand the author had used, as he says: "pauca et dispersa folia, partim stillicidio patrefactis et abolitis" which are supposed to have been written in Anglo-Saxon by Lefric Diaconus, one of Hereward's companions.[121] As to the second part of the "Gesta" the scribe refers to his own memory and the personal recordings of some of Hereward's old attendants.

These statements are supposed to obviate the possible doubts of critical readers. The author wants to ascertain in advance his readers' belief in what he is going to record.

The author has consciously incorporated the more credible source, notes by one of Hereward's personal companions, in the first part which is full of fantastic and miraculous episodes. For the "Gesta's" second part which is much more controlled and restricted to the presentation of what we might call a possible reality it was not necessary to give such a strong verification.

At the beginning of the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" the

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119) cf. Friedemann, 3
120) Curtius, 95
121) Her, 339

impression is created that the reader forms a unity together with the narrator of the story: "Then we ought to recollect the adventures ..."[122]. A motivated justification for having written this romance is achieved by the narrator's suggesting to the reader an opinion - the author's own - that postulates the reading or listening to his story. The narrator starts with a picture of blossoming Nature in spring: "In the time of April and May, when the meadows and the grass grow green again ... then we ... should speak of such things as may be profitable to many."[123] An introductory conditional clause like this was very popular in Middle English narrative literature. It reminds us in particular of the "Prologue" at the beginning of the "Canterbury Tales" where Chaucer starts with these words: "Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote ... Thanne longen folk to goon ..."[124]

After having given his reasons for telling the story and thus having persuaded the audience to listen or read, the narrator gives up the first established unity including the audience and himself. He distances himself from the audience by addressing it: "Lords, you have heard ..."[125] With this the kind of audience is fixed at the same time: an aristocratic company of men.

The illusion of a real oral narrator like a "Rhapsode", the "archtype of any narrator"[126] is evoked particularly and urgently by the initial forms in the two rhymed tales. The "Tale of Gamelyn" starts with this "call for attention":

> "Litheth and lesteneth and herkeneth aright,
> And ye schulle here a talkyng of doughty knight."
> (1f.)

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122) Fulk, 227
123) ibid. 277
124) lines 1 and 12; cf. also the opening of Piers Plowman: "In a somer sesoun whanne softe was the sonne"
125) Fulk, 277
126) Friedemann, 34

Likewise in the "Gest":

"Lythe and listen, gentilmen."
(1)

The original task of these forms was to arouse the audience's interest in the recitation, to attract the listener's attention[127] and to make marked sections of the action appear more obvious. The forms' last function of outer organization is, in the written versions, still relevant to the stories' effect.

Contrary to the prose tales the authors of the "Tale" and the "Gest" do not make any attempts at veryfying their stories or giving reasons for their writing them.

After a short address to the audience the authors make their narrators step aside and let the audience look, more directly, at the action; an action, however, which is still filtered through an authorial medium into the listeners' minds.

The topics of the exordium have a culminating point in Lodge's "Rosalynde". The actual narrative is preceded by a dedication of about 500 words, an introductory address to the audience of about 250 words and an appendage of Euphues' testament of about the same length.

The whole dedication is an elaboration of the topos "sapientia et fortitudo" that became known in the literature of the Renaissance through didactic writings about courtly ideals.[128]

The dedication addresses Philautus, Lord of Hundsdon, whose two sons were educated by Thomas Lodge. In "Rosalynde" the traditional topos "sapientia et fortitudo" is connected

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127) Gam, 1f. 169f. 289f. 341f. 551f. 769f. Gest, 1, 144, 282, 317

128) Curtius, 186; Curtius mentions that this topos is used by Spenser in his "Faerie Queene" (II,3,4o) and in his "Shepheardes Calender" (Oct.II,66f.)

with the usual panegyric for the author's patron and thus forms the topos "imperator literatus" or "learned ruler".[129]

> "Seeing your Lordship to be a patron of all martial men, and a Maecenas of such as apply themselves to study, wearing with Pallas both the lance and the bay, and aiming with Augustus at the favour of all, by the honourable virtues of your mind, being myself first a student, and after falling from books to arms ..."
>
> (XXVI)

and:

> "Commanded and emboldened thus with the consideration of these forepassed reasons, to present my book to your Lordship, I humbly entreat your Honour will vouch my labours, and favour a soldier's and a scholar's pen ... so devoted to your Honour, as his only desire is, to end his life under the favour of so martial and learned a patron."
>
> (XXVIIf.)

In the first part, "The Epistle Dedicatory", a reason is also given for the author's writing of the following romance.

> "Having with Captain Clark made a voyage to the island of Terceras and the Canaries, to beguile the time with labour I writ this book."
>
> (XXVII)

Before the actual story begins Lodge tries, with apologetic remarks, to meet any possible criticisms from readers:

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129) Curtius, 186

"Rough as hatched in the storms of the ocean, and feathered in the surges of many perilous seas."
(XXVII)

In his address "To the Gentlemen Readers" Lodge wishes his work to be understood as a modest attempt and distinguishes it from other possible ambitious writings, calling himself:

"A soldier and a sailor, that gives you the fruit of his labours that he wrote in the ocean, when every line was wet with a surge and every humorous passion counterchecked with a storm."
(XXIX)

The topics of the conclusion in the four older texts look very much alike in the sense that they all bring a rather abrupt turning to eternity.

"ac sic demum quievit in pace, cuius animae propicietur Deus. Amen.
Explicit vita Herwardi incliti militis."
(Her, 4o4)

"he was buried at New Abbey; upon whose soul may God have mercy! Near the altar lies his body. May God have mercy upon all, the living and the dead! Amen."
(Fulk, 414f.)

"And sithen was Gamelyn graven under molde,
And so schal we alle may ther no man fle:
God bringe vs to Joye that euer schal be!"
(Gam, 9ooff.)

"Cryst have mercy on his soul
That dyed on the rode!
For he was a good outlawe,
And dyde pore men moch good."
(Gest, 456)

Only in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" this new sphere and the relation between hero and God is introduced with Fulk's vision and blindness.[13o)]

In the "Gesta Herwardi" the "Amen" is followed by the final words "explicit vita Herwardi". This explicitly stating that the story is at its end has a particular justification. As the medieval method of reproducing writings depended, generally, on different scribes, it was very useful to know that the work in question was complete.

The author of the "Gesta Herwardi" has his hero in his mind until the very last words of the story. In the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" the author leaves his hero and, with his final biblical formula, a general benediction, implies the whole of mankind.

In the "Tale of Gamelyn" we have a similar situation. As at the beginning the narrator again understands himself as a part of a full circle, as belonging to the audience and watching an action, now in retrospect, after having detached himself from the listeners (readers) through his function as narrator. This, too, adds to the effect of homogeneity which is so important a characteristic of the "Tale". It will be discussed more explicitly in a special chapter.[131)]

Analogous to the introductory speech addressing the "Gentlemen Readers" in Lodge's "Rosalynde" there is annexed to the story a passage of final remarks in which the author, in a didactic way, sums up the morals which the reader can

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13o) Fulk, 411
131) VI,2,c; see also VII,4 in this study

learn from the romance. In accordance with the postmedieval 'Zeitgeist' of the Renaissance the author's final return to eternity in the older stories is replaced, in "Rosalynde", by a distinctly worldly outlook.

In the end Lodge, as in his introduction, asks the reader to view his story with a kind and benevolent eye. The author takes leave of his audience calling their attention to his next book "The Sailor's Calender" which he promises to publish soon.

The introductory and concluding authorial remarks in Lodge's pastoral narrative provide us with an intricate mixture of reality and fiction, a fact that is not found in the older outlaw-stories. Lodge portrays events at a merry and playful distance. This finds a particular expression in the use of the name "Euphues" as the story's fictitious author. But also the artificiality which is one of the outstanding characteristics of the whole romance becomes distinct in this outer frame of exordial and concluding chapters. Thomas Lodge's intention to compose a narrative completely following the rules of the Elizabethan pastoral convention cannot be better shown than in these parts of the composition.

b. Direct Authorial Comment

We can assume that the tension which springs from the changing distance between subject (author) and object (characters, events) is not exploited. This proves true despite the many occasions upon[+] the author explicitly shows that the level of the events narrated is different from the narrator's

+ which

level. So, for example, in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin":

"Now have we heard ..." (323)
"Now let us leave ..." (362)
"God have mercy on his soul ..." (321)

The above-mentioned tension is not effectively used in Lodge's romance either, if we leave out of consideration the intricate use of the initial and concluding parts which has already been discussed. In the course of the narrative, however, the author does not exploit the bipolar situation of the story's authorship. It becomes irrelevant to the reader and for the meaning of the narrative. The direct authorial comments which occur within the story serve almost exclusively to mark the change from one strand of action to another.[132)]

The authorial comments are set more consciously in the "Tale of Gamelyn". This is a surprising fact, all the more so if we take into consideration its early stage in the development of the narrative technique. We have, of course, always to distinguish between essential comments and mere expletives. Blessings as well as curses serve, in most cases, to maintain metre and rhyme.

"(god save him good grace!)" (265)

The modern editor felt, most probably, that he should make this expletive more distinct to the reader by putting it in brackets. Anyway, besides its function concerning the rhyme this phrase adds to the effect of the narrator's position between the action narrated and his audience. Once the

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132) cf. VI,2,a in this study

author uses an expletive, except for the purpose of the rhyme, to remind the audience of the fact that he has not only the story, but also some of the realistic details from hearsay.

"...as I have herd telle." (306)

Those direct authorial comments become more significant in the "Tale of Gamelyn" where they have a distinct structural function. On the one hand they are those forms with which the author introduces the different adventures. They remind the audience of the narrator's personal existence at about equal intervals. The narrator and the act of narrating are, together with the narrated action, objectified in the reader's (listener's) mind.[133] On the other hand authorial comments gain structural significance as indicators.[134]

c. The Narrator's Withdrawal

In those parts of the story in which the action is not narrated, but presented scenically the narrator of necessity either withdraws to a limited extent or completely. In the four older narratives, however, the act of narrating is always objectified in the reader's mind by the fact that the direct speeches are in most cases introduced by 'inquit'-forms.

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133) cf. Stanzel, 23
134) cf. VI,2,c,β in this study

In the whole "Gest of Robyn Hode" there is only one example which does not remind the reader of a narrator's existence by a "sayde".[135)]

Nowhere is the narrator's withdrawal developed so perfectly that the reader has the impression that he is seeing the action through the eyes of a character belonging to the scene. Such a development in the epic technique was, as far as the outlaw-story is concerned, not even reached by Thomas Lodge.

2. Mode of Composition

a. Simple or Complex Plot Structure

According to the biographic form, which is the basic pattern of the four older narratives, the action in the outlaw-stories is concentrated on one character. Consequently there is a simple plot structure, the story follows a single strand of action. Even if the author at times concentrates more on a minor character and records in greater detail his actions, there is no resulting development of a separate stream of action. The characters relieve one another like relay-runners, the next character is always close at hand.[136)] The digression is always quickly reunited with the main stream

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135) Gest, 324
136) cf. Görland, 99

of the action.[137] Parallel actions do not occur at all. An attempt to form a double strand narrative is made in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin".[138] Fulk has to flee while his brother William after having recieved near-mortal wounds is taken prisoner by the King. The narrator, in a few sentences, informs us about the King's side, then, without any proper transition, returns to the main action and the outlaw-band. A second opportunity to develop a double-strand action is offered when Fulk is separated from his companions.[139] But this opportunity, too, remains unused, the action is still the chain of Fulk's adventures. And Fulk's and his companions' meeting again is recorded only as a certain culminating point in the outlaw-hero's experiences. The adventures the majority of the outlaws had had while they were separated from their leader, are not narrated to the reader until the end of that battle in which Fulk and Philipp recognize each other as brothers. And even then the reader does not feel that the adventures recorded by Philipp form an autonomous strand of action. Phillip's adventures are understood as belonging more to the dialogue between himself and Fulk and, thus, mingle with the main action.

A relative progress is achieved by the narrator of the "Tale of Gamelyn" when he explicitly points out to the reader that there is a change of the objects narrated:

> "Lete we now this false knight lyen in his care,
> And talk we of Gamelyn and lokke how he fare."
> (615f.)

This is the start of an attempt, though still a primitive one, to present a complex action, the different strands , however, being firmly woven round the main strand with the

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137) Gest, 82, 86, 97, 125
138) Fulk, 395ff.
139) ibid. 396

hero of the "Tale". After Gamelyn's adventures in the woods and their climax with the hero's being crowned "kyng of outlawes"[140] the strand of action changes[141] - this time without a direct authorial comment - and the reader learns, in a summed-up report, a few details about Gamelyn's eldest brother. This strand is only continued for two lines, then the narrator turns to Gamelyn's husbandmen[142] and records their feelings about Gamelyn's condemnation. This last side-strand finally runs into the main strand of action with Gamelyn as its centre.[143]

As for the plot structure Lodge's narrative appears far more complex than the older outlaw-stories. "Rosalynde's" action is in the main connected with three different strands which, in the first part of the romance, exist side by side, in the second part, meet and part again, while in the last fifteen pages of the narrative then finally combine and form one strand of action.

The first and, in the beginning, most important strand of action is that which is connected with Rosader. The narrator follows it up to Rosader's and his companions' triumphant drinking bout. With the words "where leaving them in this happy league, let us return to Rosalynde"[144] he then forms a second strand which is connected with Rosalynde and Alinda.

With a quite similar direct authorial comment "leaving her (Rosalynde) thus famous amongst the shepherds of Arden, again to Saladayn"[145] the initial strand is taken up again.

A third strand is developed with Saladayn's imprisonment and banishment.

The manner in which the author has his narrator change one strand of action to another is basically the same throughout the whole narrative. A direct authorial comment such as

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140) Gam, 695
141) ibid. 697
142) ibid. 699
143) ibid. 705
144) ROS, 24
145) ibid. 52

"where we leave them and return to"[146] usually introduces the reader to a different strand of action.

By far the most elegant change between two strands of action has been achieved by Lodge at the point where the reader leaves the recently reconciled brothers (strand I and III) and has his attention turned to the banished girls (strand II).

> "... commodities that belonged to his walk.
> In which time he was missed of his Ganymede, who mused greatly, with Aliena, what should become of their forester. Somewhile they thought ..." (1o3)

Only here a genuine progress in the technique of changing from one strand of action to another has been achieved. The narrator's outspoken order to the reader to follow him to a new scene is omitted. The reader suddenly realizes that the two young men have vanished from the scene and that the two girls have taken their places. The jump from one strand to a new one has not been made by the reader as consciously as usual when he had followed the narrator's explicit guidance. A more gliding transition, a blending has been accomplished.

Thomas Lodge has not used what is demonstrated here on a small scale to advantage in his romance. The above-mentioned example remains isolated, it is the only one in the whole story.

A more general development, however, is to be seen in the independence and significance which the several strands of action gain in "Rosalynde". This fact has no parallel in any of the older outlaw-stories.

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146) ibid. 24, 63, 93, 133

b. The Particular Composition of the "Gest of Robyn Hode"[147)]

The "Gest of Robyn Hode" is subdivided, externally, into eight parts. These eight sections, called "Fyttes"[148)], do not exactly correspond to the inner course of events. The progress of action harmonizes with the arrangement of the single ballad plots. The author, or rather the compiler, has apparently made an attempt to abolish the flaws that necessarily resulted from the putting together of the different ballad plots. He has been only partially successful.

The first plot is represented in Fytte I, II, and IV, the second in Fytte III, V, and VI. A comparatively intense connection has been achieved here by a close linking together of the two first ballads. The third ballad plot and the rest plot with Robin Hood's death form the Fyttes VII and VIII.

The close connection between the first two plots springs from the fact that the compiler firstly transplanted several parts of the second plot in the first and secondly moulded out of originally two different characters, the knight of the first plot and the knight "Sir Richard at the Lee" of the second and third plot one person. This coalescence, however, is not perfect as the compiler forgot to abolish an obvious flaw: the knight of the first plot is never called by his name, whereas in the second and third he is suddenly addressed as "Sir Richard at the Lee".

Plots two and three are linked together by the compiler's interspersing certain stanzas in the second plot anticipating the King's appearance, the significant motif of plot three.[149)] In addition, stanza 354 at the end of Fytte VI may be regarded as a link between the two ballad plots.

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147) cf. Clawson; Heusler, 46ff.
148) Gest, 1, 82, 144, 205, 281, 317, 354, 418
149) ibid. 321-327

The compiler's intention to create, structurally, a unity may, too, be seen in his somewhat awkward attempt to give the "Gest" a proper conclusion with the six final stanzas recording the outlaw-hero's death.

In spite of all these attempts to blend the different parts into one homogeneous work , the "Gest" is, still, a compounded work. A perfect whole has not been created.

Characters, tone, scene, time and motivation are handled with astonishing carelessness. The range of tone, above all, is considerable. The second plot with its acts of violence contrasts strongly with the merry first and the conciliatory third plots. In the second ballad plot Robin Hood's arrow kills the wicked Sheriff of Nottingham.

"Robyn bent a full goode bowe,
An arrowe he drowe at wyll;
He hit so the proude sherife
Vpon the grounde he lay full still."
(347)

The element of brutal force is eliminated in the third plot or rather replaced by an element of rough manliness. In a shooting match between the outlaws and their 'guest', the King, disguised as an abbot, gives Robin Hood, according to the rules of the match, a vigorous box on the ear as 'punishment' for a bad shot.

"And sych a buffet he gaue Robyn,
To grounde he yede full nere:
'I make myn avowe to God!', sayd Robyn,
'Thou arte a stalworthe frere.'"
(408)

In the course of the "Gest" Little John, who adapts the name Reynold Greenlefe in order to deceive the Sheriff, develops into two different characters.

"Lytell Johan and good Scatheloke
Were archers good and fre;
Lytell Much and good Reynolde,
The worste wolde they not be."
(293)

The compiler obviously does not find it necessary to motivate the fact that he introduces, within the last six stanzas, a new and very significant character, Robin Hood's murderer. No reasons are given for Robin Hood's quarrel with this Red Roger, the compiler has not even hinted at a possible enemy of the hero before these final lines. This carelessness in motivation applies to the whole outlaw-situation. We are not told how Robin Hood and his followers have been outlawed.

In the sense of a perfect whole, a perfect piece of art, the compiler has not achieved a unity. But this fact does not, as far as I can see, only spring from the compiler's inability to do so. The "Gest's" amazing and general carelessness can be derived, too, from another fact:

The story or, more exactly, the parts of stories represented were very popular at the time when the compiler was writing. Conscious of this popularity of motifs and characters the compiler felt he could dispense with a new artificial and more controlled unity. The motifs' popularity itself was the unity within which the reader (listener) was able to accept the "Gest" as a part.

c. The Linking of Different Phases of Action

α Simple Linear Sequence of Different Parts of Action

The "Gesta Herwardi" represents, as far as narrative technique is concerned, the type of story with a simple linear sequence of loosely connected episodes. In the whole "Gesta" there are no indications that become structurally effective. The arrangement of the differently conceived parts, the more fairy-tale-like and the more realistic outlaw-episodes, is not subject to a certain structural aim. There is an obvious bipartition. The first part not based on an actual source naturally developed according to the author's imagination. It belongs to the world of the miraculous. The second part based more on historic events belongs to a more realistic world. But this bipartition does not serve a possible aesthetic end; we do not feel that it is an aesthetically necessary or particularly effective arrangement. The episodes' arrangement does not serve to lead the reader up to a culminating point; many of Hereward's adventures could be interchanged without a significant effect upon the value of the story.

The "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin", too, must be accounted as one of these stories with a simple linear sequence of parts of action. But, compared with the "Gesta", there is an obvious progress in narrative technique. There is no simple bipartition. The author of the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" has arranged the different episodes in such a way that an effective rhythm of the more realistic and the more ideal - in the sense of the ideal fairy-tale world - parts has been achieved.[15o)]

15o) This will be discussed further under chapter VII in this study

Despite this progress the general control exerted upon the story by the author is conspicuously scarce. The insertion of the rhymed prophecy of Merlin at the end of the story does not help to give a more controlled structure to the narrative.

The "Gest of Robyn Hode" does not, though partly for quite different reasons[151], surpass the simple sequence of adventures as a strictly "linear row of events"[152] in the sense, that an event A is followed by an event B, this by C, or, that an event C takes place after A and B have happened.

β. The Technique of Correlative Connection in the "Tale"

At first glance the "Tale of Gamelyn" may, in its structure, appear to be little different from the three works discussed. And its basic narrative technique must in fact be called that of simply narrating one episode after another. But, and this is the significant difference, the several adventures appear to be selected and subject to a certain system. They correspond with one another. Together these different parts become aesthetically effective as an autonomous and logical construction. This effect is achieved mainly by the following two means:

1. By indications given at the beginning of certain phases of action and their fulfilment in the course of the story.
2. By the special arrangement of different parts of the action that are apt to emphasize a particular interest of the author.

The kinds of indications used in the "Tale of Gamelyn"

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151) cf. VI,2,b in this study
152) Lugowski, 58

could be subdivided in those referring to smaller unities of action and those referring to the whole plot.[153)]

Gamelyn's first adventure ends in a reconciliation which is made obvious by the brothers' mutual kiss. The two final lines of this phase give a valuation, or devaluation and, at the same time, hint at possible future events in which the unsuspecting Gamelyn could be betrayed by his elder brother's perfidious plans:

> "Allas! yonge Gamelyn nothing he ne wiste
> With which a false tresoun his brother him kiste!"
> (167f.)

In a more direct way the same effect is achieved in line 37o:

> "Therfore he him bigyled in a litel while."

An example of the second kind of indication, the one that refers to the total plot and thus implies a narrator who has already determined the end of the story and has it present in his mind, is found in the exposition of the "Tale":

> "The eldest deserued his fadres curs and had it at the last."
> (8)

The initial form to the sixth and last adventure, too, points to the final result of the story:

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153) cf. ibid. 8o

"Litheth, and lesteneth and holdeth you stille,
And ye schul here how Gamelyn hadde all his wille."
(769f.)

These two kinds of indication discussed correspond with two basic forms of tension. The sentence "Therfore he him bigyled in a litel while" has the effect of creating in the reader's mind a tension that is directed towards the final result of a particular phase of action. The question the reader asks or wishes to ask is: Will the hero be able to escape? This kind of tension forces the reader, more than the second kind, to long for the end of a particular phase of the action.

By the second kind of indication a tension is evoked in the reader's mind that is directed to the 'how' of the happenings. This tension could be characterized with the sentence "The eldest deserued his fadres curs and had it at the last". With line eight the knowledge of the story's positive ending is fixed in the reader's mind and remains in a latent form until the end. This second kind of tension is based upon a "limitation of obstacles"[154]. The obstacles the hero has to overcome imply, from the very beginning, the quality of being surmounted by a hero and thus lose their actual character as obstacles. They are limited as far as their quality is concerned. As for quantity, however, they remain indefinite. Gamelyn could, theoretically, be confronted with any amount of qualitatively restricted obstacles. That he is not has nothing to do with the essence of the 'how'-tension. And the single arcs of tension within the several adventures are not influenced by this fact either.[155]

The basic tension evoked by any kind of indication springs from the discrepancy of awareness between the listener

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154) ibid. 9o
155) cf. VII,3 in this study

and the hero represented. It becomes effective in the audience's wish to promt the hero as to the rules of conduct. The author of the "Tale" has not made use of the many possibilities that can be exploited by using this basic tension.

The second factor adding to the "Tale's" effect of a controlled structure is the directed mode of composition.

The introduction - the first 68 lines - is, at the same time, the story's exposition. All the important 'dramatis personae' are introduced, the 'apple of discord' and the characters of the 'dramatis personae' are briefly described. It is there already that the reader is provided with hints and facts that direct the distribution of his sympathies. The theme, the fall and punishment of an unjust lord, is revealed. Thus the introduction becomes aesthetically effective as a strict function of the work as a whole.

The bipolar structure in the "Tale", Gamelyn's suppression on the one hand and his victory and the punishment of the unjust on the other, is not only the framework of the whole plot, it is to be found, as a determinative, in the individual parts of the story. This phenomenon will be discussed by inquiring into the functions of the arcs of tension belonging to the single adventures and of that one which holds together the whole story.

With the laconic remark "Tho thoughte Gamelyn it wente nought aright"[156] the conflict between the two brothers starts. An injustice committed by the elder brother Johan is put at the beginning, Gamelyn's victory and a temporary reconciliation at the end of this first phase of the action.[157] The reader does not only learn from this scene that the two brothers are reconciled, but his attention is also drawn to the fact that it is not a lasting conciliation in order to

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156) Gam, 88
157) The exposition is not regarded as an 'adventure'

make him await with some anxiety a further wicked act on the part of the brother.

"Allas! yonge Gamelyn nothing he ne wiste
With which a false tresoun his brother him kiste!"
(167f.)

At the end of this first adventure we are already aware of the consistency with which the author has handled the story's structure.

A new injustice, the initial event necessary as a starting point for the second arc of tension reveals itself in the malicious thoughts with which Johan takes leave of his unsuspecting brother.

"The false knight his brother lokked it after that,
And bysoughte Iesu Crist that is heuen kyng,
He mighte breke his nekke in that wrasteling."
(192ff.)

It is not significant here that Gamelyn is not aware of his wicked brother's intentions. Significant alone is the reader's reaction towards Johan's attitude. The reader wishes to see this evil character punished, the just character rescued and rewarded. The culminating point of this second adventure is Gamelyn's victory over the "champioun" and his triumphant return.

"Thus wan Gamelyn the ram and the ryng,
And wente with moche ioye home in the mornyng."
(283f.)

Before a new adventure starts with another 'call for attention', a further wicked act on Johan's part is indicated.

"His brother seih wher he cam with a grete rowte,
And bad schitte the gate and holde him withoute."
(285f.)

The third arc begins at the point where Gamelyn finds the gate of his ancestral house locked. He understands this as an unjust act and maintains his rights.

"Gamelyn come thereto for to haue comen in,
And thanne was it ischet faste with a pyn;
Than seyde Gamelyn 'porter, vndo the yat."
(291ff.)

and:

"He smot the wyket with his foot and brak away the pyn."
(298)

The rough drinking bout, Gamelyn's third adventure, ends when the tired guests take their leave of their host.

"Thus made Gamelyn his feste and brought it wel to ende."
(399)

The fourth adventure and arc of tension again is introduced when the eldest brother's insidious plans are indicated.

"Herkeneth, lordynges and lesteneth aright,
Whan alle the gestes were goon how Gamelyn was dight.
Al the whil that Gamelyn heeld his mangerye,
His brother thoughte on him be wreke with his treccherie."
(343ff.)

Thus, again the reader understands the succeeding reconciliation as a piece of deception. The arc actually starts with Johan managing to deceive Gamelyn to have him fettered to a pillar in the hall.

> "'Gamelyn', seyde he, 'o thing I the telle;
> Tho thou threwe my porter in the draw-welle,
> I swor in that wraththe and in that grete moot,
> That thou schuldest be bounde bothe hand and foot;
> Therfore I the biseche brother Gamelyn,
> Lat me nought be forsworen brother art thou myn;
> Lat me bynde the now bothe hand and feet,
> For to holde myn auowe as I the beheet.'"
> (371ff.)

> "Tho made they Gamelyn to sitte mighte he nat stonde,
> Tyl they hadde him bounde bothe foot and honde."
> (381f.)

> "Gamelyn stood to a post bounden in the halle."
> (387)

This plan is so wicked and its achievement causes such injustice that another reconciliation between the brothers no longer seems possible and, what is very significant, is no longer expected and wished for by the audience. That the author has obviously aimed at this effect becomes clear when he adds to this initial injustice another even more humiliating one; Gamelyn is not only forced to suffer hunger and thirst; in addition to this he is mocked by his brother and a company of rich clergymen who celebrate in front of the helpless young hero.

The scene has its climactic injustice in the abbots' and priors' cruel reaction to Gamelyn's plea for mercy. Gamelyn's brutal revenge upon the clergymen and the elder brother's fettering to a pillar, in short, Gamelyn's victory, marks the end of this fourth arc of tension.

In the fifth and sixth adventure the arrangement of arcs becomes more complex. The formerly simple sequence of arcs is replaced by a structure of several intersecting arcs. But the bipolar idea of injustice and justice fundamental to the single episodes is still apparently effective.

Gamelyn's fifth adventure can be reduced to three smaller arcs of tension the first of which starts with the Sheriff's attack understood by the hero and the reader to be unjust and ends with Gamelyn's and Adam's victory. A second arc is developed from the moment of Gamelyn's flight to the forest and leads up to Gamelyn being crowned "kyng of outlawes"[158]. It ends at the point where the outlaw-hero leaves the woods to support his husbandmen at the assizes. A third arc of tension could be drawn from the imprisonment of Gamelyn to his release by the middle brother Sir Ote.

Besides these three smaller arcs one must not overlook a significant fourth, the actual outlaw-arc. Its start coincides with that of the second small arc in the fifth adventure, with Gamelyn's and Adam's flight. The climactic phase of this outlaw-arc is, naturally, Gamelyn's outlaw-life and outlaw-leadership in the forest. Its end coincides with the end of the story, Gamelyn's return and the restoration of his inherited rights to him and the nullification of his outlaw-existence.

"Thus wan Gamelyn his lond and his leede."
(895)

In the sixth adventure there is to be found, besides the arc just discussed, only one other. It takes its start at the moment when the reader learns about Johan's base plan to have

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158) Gam, 695

Sir Ote hanged.

> "The false knight his brother yvel mot he thryue!
> For he was fast aboute bothe day and other,
> For to hyre the quest to hangen his brother."
> (784ff.)

It culminates in the moment of greatest danger for the middle brother and ends with Sir Ote being released by the outlaws from the Sheriff's custody.

> "Gamelyn leet vnfetere his brother out of bende."
> (837)

All arcs discussed are subject to the main arc covering the total story. It starts with the sixth, at least with the eighth line which has been mentioned several times.

> "The eldest was moche schrewe and sone he bygan."
> (6)

> "The eldest deserued his fadres curs ..."
> (8)

The end of this main arc is finally reached with the fulfilment of the paternal curs

> "He was hanged by the nekke and nought by the purs,
> That was the meede that he hadde for his fadres curs."
> (885f.)

and with Gamelyn's victory:

"Thus wan Gamelyn his lond and his leede,
And wrak him of his enemys and quitte hem here meede."
(895f.)

Whereas the quickly narrated episodes which are so characteristic of the older outlaw-stories are usually represented in a loose sequence, they are arranged in the "Tale of Gamelyn" in such a way that they all aim at the same aesthetic end.

The cause of this conscious arrangement of the different phases of the action is rooted in the author's artistic sense. It will be discussed in chapter VII,4.

VII. The Naïve Moral as a Possible Mental Attitude behind the Outlaw-Motif and its Realization in the Five Narratives and in "As You Like It"

1. The Naïve Moral[159)]

In order that what I say may be better understood I shall repeat here in short what has been said about the naïve moral at the beginning of this thesis.

In his studies of rudimentary literature such as sermon, fairy-tale, legend, example, fableau, jest, myth etc. Andre' Jolles tried to demonstrate that each type can be reduced to a basic mental attitude. For the fairy-tale he found, as the author's significant mental attitude, the naïve moral. He has defined it as an ethics which is directed at the righting of naïvely understood wrongs. Its existence is derived from a general feeling of justice in the human mind, its universal validity from the general satisfaction we feel if the whole course of events finally corresponds to the demands we make of justice in the world. This expectation of how things should be handled in our world is understood by Jolles as the mental attitude behind the fairy-tale. The judgements we pass according to this attitude could be called naïve-ethical judgements or emotional judgements. From the fact that these judgements are common to all people Jolles derives the assumption that they are valid generally and without heteronomous laws, and calls them categorical or absolute judgements.

As Jolles was concerned in particular with 'pure' literary forms, it would have gone beyond the aim of his studies

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159) cf. Jolles, 238ff.

to follow the way this naïve moral took in narrative literature. It can be found, of course, in any form of literature with fairy-tale elements. But, as the naïve moral is only one, though a very characteristic feature of the fairy-tale (the second important element, the miraculous, has been mentioned at the beginning of this study[160]), it is also to be found, more or less distinctly, in any other unsophisticated piece of literature.

The degree to which the naïve moral becomes important for the structure of a story seems to me to provide us with an index for typological studies. I feel, furthermore, that the dependence of a story's structure upon an aim like that of the realization of the naïve moral can, perhaps, give us an idea of the author's artistic control over his work and, thus, form an aesthetic measure.

2. Theses I and II

Reading the early outlaw-stories one soon realizes that the idea of satisfying the reader's naïve wish for justice is represented in them even more distinctly than in the general fairy-tale. This fact was so conspicuous a result that it led to the formulation of the following two theses:

I. The basic theme of the four older outlaw-narratives and one of the basic themes in "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It" is the reestablishment of a disturbed order.

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160) cf. page 2 in this study

This theme is based on a naïve feeling of justice, on the naïve moral. Naturally the narratives discussed and Shakespeare's comedy are not equally determined by the mental attitude of the naïve moral. In order to be able to distinguish the works when viewed from this point of view I should like to enlarge the first thesis by a second:

II. The more the author's mind is concerned with the realization of the naïve moral, the idea of doing away with a state of injustice and re-establishing one of justice, the more control he has over his narrative objects, the more effectively can he create an artistic order and concentrate his work on the objectivation of this idea.

All the works discussed here have in common an arc of tension which takes its start at a point where events happen that go against our naïve idea of a just world.

In the "Gesta Herwardi" this point is reached with the Norman conquest and the cruel treatment Hereward's relatives suffer. In the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" the starting point coincides with the event in which King John enfeoffs one of his favourites with Fulk's and his brothers' fiefs. In the "Tale of Gamelyn" the arc starts with the malicious elder brother's intention to deprive Gamelyn of his heritage. According to the compilatory character of the "Gest of Robyn Hode" there are more such arcs. Or, if we understand the King's pardoning Robin Hood as the end of a possible outlaw--arc whose expanse covers the whole "Gest", the arc would already have reached a certain height at the beginning of the story. The event contravening the naïve moral would have taken place then before the beginning of the narrative. It

would have been the injustice that made Robin Hood an outlaw. Lodge's "Rosalynde" and Shakespeare's "As You Like It" have at least the starting point of the main arc in common with the "Tale of Gamelyn". It takes its start analogous to the "Tale" with the insidious intention of Saladayn and Oliver respectively to rob Rosader and Orlando of their paternal heritage. In the course of both works this arc first carried respectively by Saladayn and Oliver is transferred to other negative characters, King Torismond and Duke Frederick.

The end of this main arc is reached with the heroes being reconciled to their king and restored to their fiefs in the "Gesta Herwardi" and in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin". In the "Tale of Gamelyn" and the "Gest of Robyn Hode" this point is reached with the king's pardon and the abolition of unjust lordship. With the fall of an unjust lord, too, end Thomas Lodge's romance and Shakespeare's comedy.

Starting point and ending of these main arcs are obviously very similar. The significant difference between the outlaw-arcs lies in their different lengths and the reasons therefor.

3. Deviations from the Theses

a. "Gesta Herwardi"

In the "Gesta Herwardi" and in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" the degree of deviation from the theses can be regarded as identical with the stage of independent development which the single adventures achieve. The exact number of these

adventures is not very important, though the number of a hero's adventures, too, is dependent upon the degree to which the author felt obliged to express in his work the ideas formulated in the theses. More important is, however, the value an individual adventure has, and, thus, how far this individual adventure is structurally separated, by the greater interest it arouses, from the other parts of the story.

As for the "Gesta Herwardi" the outlaw-situation is given as a historic fact in a poetic disguise. On the one hand there is Hereward who leads a just (according to Germanic ideas of justice) and even necessary rebellion against an 'unjust' king. On the other hand Hereward is treated as an outlaw by a king who, from 1066 onwards, rightfully protects Common Law, while Hereward disregards the king's estates and his servants. If the author of the "Gesta" had restricted himself to the portrayal of this conflict alone, the "Gesta Herwardi" would have become a 'pure' outlaw-story. But the taste and expectations of the twelfth-century audience postulated a more vivid and broad narrative, a fact that is generally confirmed by the more 'sophisticated' literature of the time. Even historical writings were often determined more by the author's desire to tell a story than by the wish to describe comparatively objectively historic facts.

Before the actual outlaw-story starts we learn about Hereward's birth and his amazing feats as a boy. The episode of "qualiter maximum ursum Herewardus interfecit, unde locum cum militibus ubi manebat promuerit"[161] and that of "qualiter quemquam tepranum vicerit, et quomodo insignem ipsius gladium acceperit"[162] are narrated according to adventure pattern of literary tradition. The war in Ireland[163] that

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161) Her, 343
162) ibid. 344
163) ibid. 347ff.

goes back to an historic fact and, as Deutschbein has plausibly demonstrated[164], is found again in "King Horn", indicates as do the above-mentioned episodes, a deviation from the outlaw-pattern. It definitely belongs to a world which I should like to call, for simplicity's sake, the world of the miraculous or the fairy-tale world.[165] Hereward's rescuing a princess[166], the episode of the tempest and the falling in love of Turfrida with the hero[167], the war in Scaldimariland[168] and the episode in which Hereward wins his mare Swallow[169] belong more obviously to that world.

About one third of the "Gesta" has already been narrated when the outlaw-situation in the strict sense of our definition is reached.[170] Here the outlaw-arc starts that ends with "Hereward's patrimony is restored".[171]

But within this arc, too, we find a number of elements which, thematically, belong to the world of the fairy-tales. Particularly the two adventures in which we are told "quomodo Herwardus figilum se finxit ad regis curiam peregens"[172] and "quomodo piscatorem se finxit, unde iterum regum delusit"[173] and the one in which Saint Peter appears to him in a vision[174] and finally the episode in which Hereward is

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164) Deutschbein, 55ff.
165) Of course, one should distinguish precisely between the saga, legend, fairy-tale and the many intermediate types. But as the important thing about this episode is the fact that it records mainly the miraculous strength of an invincible hero and not, as for example saga episodes, more or less historic events, its being accounted one of the tales of the fairy-tale world does not make it any more difficult to understand.
166) Her, 349ff.
167) ibid. 353ff.
168) ibid. 359ff.
169) ibid. 363
170) ibid. 364
171) ibid. 4o3
172) ibid. 384
173) ibid. 388
174) ibid. 395f.

rescued by a wolf who leads him through the nocturnal forest.[175]

If we merely evaluate those episodes representing the miraculous and those concerned more with the outlaw-situation, we might come to a statistical conclusion which, regarded in complete isolation from other results, would not be of much help. But if we bear in mind the fact that the whole is an outlaw-narrative and has been consciously marked by the author as an outlaw-story not only in the title - "Gesta Herwardi Incliti Exulis et Militis" -, but also in the events of the second part of the "Gesta" and its characteristic outlaw-ending, we may come to the following conclusion:

In the course of the "Gesta" the author turns to a variety of individual episodes. The single adventure becomes more significant. The reader forgets at times that all those feats are only carried out to right an initial wrong. Thus, Hereward's reconciliation with King William at the end of the story appears abrupt and badly motivated. It is no longer expected by the audience so urgently as a necessary solution of a problem given at the beginning of the story. The author's pleasure in telling his story as a determinative mental attitude behind the composition contradicts basically the attitude of the naïve moral. That first occupation of an author's mind, the pleasure of narrating a story, has the effect, if it becomes structurally effective, of broadening the whole work, whereas the naïve moral tends to concentrate and stabilize a story's structure.

These two mental occupations are opposed to one another in the "Gesta Herwardi". The pleasure of telling a story is the one responsible for the deviations.

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175) ibid. 396

b. "The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin"

As already mentioned the degree of the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin's" deviation from the theses is also due to the autonomy the individual episodes gain.

If we look closer at the relation between the pure outlaw-episodes and those belonging to the miraculous world, the result is one of a more complex character, which should be discussed.

The first part of the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" must be regarded as a kind of genesis of the hero's family and is insignificant for Fulk's outlaw-life. The fact that the author allowed it to take up about one third of the "Legend" does not only disturb the story as an outlaw-narrative, but also as the 'legend' of Fulk Fitzwarin.

In that part which is interesting for our purpose the author has arranged the two contrary elements of the outlaw--episodes and of the fairy-tale world in such a way that they evoke in the reader's mind a certain rhythm of strong tension and satisfaction.

From the moment when Fulk is unlawfully deprived of his fiefs the reader is alarmed by events which either spring from historic facts or, at least, from possible historic facts, by the long and fluctuating fight between Fulk and his liege. The tension the reader necessarily feels increases until the author feels he should intersperse a relaxing digression between these episodes. When Fulk's freedom and life are in the greatest danger by the future betrayal of Lewis, Prince of Wales, the author has Fulk and his men escape to France.[176]

A series of adventures follows separated from and in a completely different manner to the actual outlaw-motif and

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176) Fulk, 365

according to the rules of the literary genre of romance. Tournament, tempest, robbers on a distant island, rescuing seven beautiful damsels, fighting with the snakes driven from Ireland by Saint Patrick, a fight against a dragon, Fulk's rescuing a princess and his dangerous return to England, are the episodes in this intercalated passage.

After Fulk's return to England the story again follows the outlaw-pattern, the conflict between King John and Fulk Fitzwarin. This time, too, the action leads up to a point where the King's victory seems inevitable. And again the author allows Fulk to flee to a secure ideal world.

Driven by a tempest to the Saracens Fulk commits honourable feats, is courteously loved by a princess, fights against his own brother without knowing who he is, reveals his identity to him and, richly rewarded, returns to England.

After a few more events in the outlaw-style the final satisfaction is granted to the reader by the reconciliation of the enemies. His fiefs are restored to Fulk who kneels "before the King at Westminster"[177] together with his brothers.

Fulk's repentance, vision, blindness, and his Christian end (he is buried in New Abbey) is, compared to the roughness of the outlaw-life, the author's concession to the partly neglected postulations of an audience's taste deeply rooted in a world of Christian chivalry.

The author of Fulk was aware of the aesthetic danger of appealing to the reader's naïve sense of justice too much and of then leaving it unsatisfied for a long time (as would result from the late reconciliation between outlaw and king). Therefore he grants the reader partial satisfaction. This interrupted satisfaction is achieved by a conscious arrangement of the more realistic outlaw-episodes and the more ideal chivalrous and fairy-tale-like passages. Two parts of

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177) ibid. 4o8

the first type of narrative are juxtaposed by turns by two of the second type. The denouement - the characteristic outlaw-ending - is formed by a last conflict and the reconciliation.

The parts of the story which are of the second type stress our naïve sense of justice very little, as they naturally imply their positive ending from the very beginning. Contrary to the outlaw-action with its relatively genuine obstacles Fulk is, in the fairy-tale world, confronted with merely apparent obstacles. Even the wounds that come from a dragon's paw heal quicker than those the outlaw-hero and his brothers receive from the King's attendants.

The author has won with his emphasis on these relaxing parts of the narrative a considerable distance from the outlaw-motif and with it from its tendency to form a more closed and concise structure. The author is free to enjoy narration which, as has been emphasized, thwarts the effect of the naïve moral.

The basic theme of the reestablishment of a disturbed order is dropped for certain periods in favour of single themes well-known from the courtly narrative tradition. Although these individual episodes are objectified as passages with a relaxing effect and thus are consciously arranged by the author within the whole work's structure, the narrative, with the deviations from the main theme, loses its strict structure, it becomes comparatively long.

c. The "Gest of Robyn Hode"

The "Gest of Robyn Hode" has, as a result of its compilatory character, a very particular relation to the theses.

The mental attitude of the naïve moral can be seen as a determinative element behind the single ballad plots, as they are all composed in such a manner that they start with a state of injustice which is, at the end of each individual plot, abolished in favour of one of justice established by the outlaws.

In the first plot the state of injustice is given with the knight who is in the sad position of either having to pay a large amount of money to a rich abbey or losing his property. The reversal of this unjust state into a just one is achieved by Robin Hood and his men recovering the sum by force from the treasurer of that very abbey.

Plot two has as its initial injustice the popular enmity between the Sheriff of Nottingham and the outlaws. It ends with Robin Hood beheading the unjust official and, thus, with a reestablishment of justice.

The third plot displays a more subtle effect of the naïve moral. The initial injustice is to be seen in the King's intention to get rid of those outlaw-criminals in his forest. In the course of the episode, however, the King is persuaded by the chivalrous behaviour of the outlaws and their simple way of life in the forest of the righteousness of Robin Hood and the wickedness of the Sheriff. This result (the King's pardoning the outlaws) is the reestablishment of Robin Hood's assumed former state and, according to the postulations of the naïve moral, the proper ending of an outlaw-story.

But if we bear in mind the "Gest of Robyn Hode" as a

whole and compare it with these postulations, we realize that the naïve moral is no longer the predominant mental attitude behind the work. The naïve moral is replaced by the idea of giving a portrayal of the famous outlaw in emotionally conceived and lyrical pictures. This new idea finds its distinct objectification in the somewhat abrupt attempt to provide the "Gest" with a biographic ending, the hero's death.

The deviations from the theses can be derived, in the "Gest of Robyn Hode", from the fact that the author has made the attempt to replace the mental attitude of the naïve moral that stood behind the individual ballad plots by a new one that is supposed to add to the "Gest's" homogeneity, viz. the idea of a more complex portrayal of Robin Hood than was given in the early ballads.

d. Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde"

Lodge uses the outlaw-motif and the motif of a group of people deprived of their rights in a traditional way: a number of 'just' people is confronted with an 'unjust' society. The ironic reversal according to which the outlaws are restored to their rightful position and the unjust are punished by the outlaws is also given in "Rosalynde".

But, we obviously do not feel that the outlaw-action is the essential element in Lodge's romance. What is the reason for this difference? Generally speaking the audience's interest is distracted to a large degree from the injustice-justice motif and its attention is called to a love action and the pastoral world.

With the beginning of the actual romance, that is to say the point where Lodge leaves the course of events adapted from the source (Gamelyn's fight against the Sheriff and his men), the author escapes the structural compulsion the old "Tale of Gamelyn" exerted upon his mind. This helps to explain the liberty with which the lyrics are interspersed, the way in which the fast speed of narration of the first part is slowed down in the pastoral second part, and, indeed, the manner in which the atmosphere of the pure pastoral idyll is created.

It is by then that a preponderance of the pastoral and romance elements over the original injustice-justice motif and the outlaw-theme is accomplished.

The romance-like part of "Rosalynde" cannot reasonably be measured against the theses, as the motifs of injustice, justice, outlaw-situation and punishment-reward are deprived of their more realistic motivation and subjected to the ideal world of the fairy-tale and its particular laws.

The fight for heritage and rights loses prior significance; the love action and its happy ending become the essential thing for the reader's interest.

Re-established heritage and rights are, in "Rosalynde", mere wedding-gifts and supplementary presents in connection with a positive solution of the problems, whereas in the older outlaw-narrative they are the pivot of the whole story, that point in the action to which the whole structure is directed.

When after Rosader's fight against the Sheriff (end of Gamelyn's fourth adventure) Thomas Lodge starts forest life the hero's opponent Saladayn has already committed most of his wicked deeds. After the wrestling episode the story is provided with a second antagonist, the usurper Torismond. In the forest Saladayn's role as the hero's opponent is finally transferred to Torismond; Saladayn is released of his role as 'Johan' and thus free for the task of a pastoral wooer.

But the usurper, though he can be regarded as the successor of Saladayn who has gone over to the outlaw-group, basically has as the hero's opponent a different function to that of the traditional outlaw-enemy: he no longer actively intervenes in the action - cf. in the "Gesta" King William, in the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" King John, in the "Tale of Gamelyn" Johan and in the "Gest of Robyn Hode" the Sheriff of Nottingham! - and thus is, in his function, degraded to a remote cause of the outlaw-situation. Once the outlaws are no longer pursued, forest life can deliberately develop into the pastoral idyll. The pastoral world is created in its particular autonomy; this means a great deviation from the theses.

By the fact that the first opponent's role is transferred to the usurper the bipolar situation of the outlaw-motif is complicated. The original protagonist, Rosader, has to compete with another protagonist, Gerismond, the lawful King. A deviation from the theses now springs from the fact that, as a result of his brother's withdrawal as the villain, Rosader loses his personal enemy and, as no real substitute appears, is debased in his importance as the outlaw-hero in favour of King Gerismond.

It is the leading role Rosader begins to play as a wooer that allows him to maintain his position as favourite in the reader's mind which he had gained at the beginning of the story (Gamelyn plot) as a bully.

On the one hand the outlaw-motif has provided Lodge with a vital first part of his romance and a useful framework for the handling of his real interest in the story, namely the pastoral world. On the other hand the old outlaw-story seems to have had a strong structural attraction for Lodge from which he could free himself only by considerable effort (and not before the end of Gamelyn's fourth adventure). And, what is more significant, the essential weaknesses of the romance can be reduced to this attraction.

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178) cf. VIII,1 in this study

e. "As You Like It"

One could argue that a play should not be considered under the aspect of narrative structure, and "As You Like It" should not be analyzed with the preoccupation that it is a play about outlawry.

As to the first objection one could maintain that narrative structure in a wider sense comes very close to dramatic structure in a wider sense.[179] The two can be nearly identical as far as the selection of events necessary for a final aim is concerned. As to the second objection that which refers to this final aim of the comedy I must admit that the representation of the outlaw-motif, the "Greenwood" and its inhabitants are not the gist of the play. But we cannot disregard these elements either; Shakespeare has too obviously made use of them. He has exploited the traditional outlaw--pattern and, even more conspicuously, the pastoral convention to present his rich and hilarious world of human possibilities in contrast to one another. Like Thomas Lodge Shakespeare has used the outlaw-situation as a framework for the action necessary in his comedy. But he has not allowed this structural element to slip out of his control as it did in "Rosalynde". The dramatist has subjected the outlaw-elements to the comedy atmosphere.

The main deviation from the theses lies in the fact that Shakespeare, contrary to all the other authors discussed except, to a certain degree, the author of the "Tale of Gamelyn", has handled his different motifs structurally and thematically in such a way that one single combining mental attitude behind the comedy is revealed: the realization of the idea of human integrity. Essence and appearance are, thematically, the

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179) cf. Aristotle, 23: "Tragedy is, then, a representation of an action ..."

crucial points in Shakespeare's play. This main theme is consistently followed through the play, and those passages that provide the audience with action, particularly in connection with the outlaw-situation, only serve to prepare for the scenes in which the main characters and their foils act according to the dramatist's artistic intention.

The comparatively simple mental attitude of the naïve moral is replaced in "As You Like It" by a comparatively extremely complex one of the 'idea of human integrity'. This idea cannot be revealed any longer by means of a simple action, but by a complex texture of attitudes and opinions, by a large variety of characters wo educate and are educated.

4. The Theses' Approximate Realization in the "Tale of Gamelyn"

The "Tale of Gamelyn" apparently follows closest the demands of the theses.

The main theme, the reestablishment of a disturbed order, is pursued throughout. It is indicated in the exposition and, without any digression, represented in the course of the story. The author has, according to his aim - the realization of the ideas formulated in thesis I - , accomplished the selection and restriction of events in such a way that all the single parts gain structural significance.

Naturally the unique heroism of Gamelyn tends to give the single adventure more individual importance. This tendency would, however, as has been shown with the other outlaw-stories, have thwarted the author's stylistic intention

to create a tale according to our theses. The author had to find a way in which he could combine the single adventure with the artistic goal he aimed at and thus form an homogeneous whole. He was successful, because he subordinated the single adventures to his particular end.

He allowed his mind to be forced by the naïve moral to compose the "Tale's" structure according to its laws. Thus the naïve moral has become structurally effective and determinative.

Gamelyn's single adventures are no longer justified by their mere existence, they are arranged in a special way to express effectively the author's idea of naïve justice. Thus the mental attitude of the naïve moral reveals itself as a structure-forming power.

But the naïve moral finds vent, too, in an attitude represented by the outlaw-hero. It becomes distinct for the reader in the hero's ethical system, what we called earlier his fair-play code.

Compared to the other outlaw-works, it is in the "Tale of Gamelyn" that the author's stylistic will has most effectively been determined by the naïve sense of justice, by the naïve moral. This is the reason for the "Tale of Gamelyn's" amazingly controlled structure, its restricted composition and, thus, its density and brevity.

VIII. The Aesthetic Realization of Motifs Important to the Structure in "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

1. Aesthetic Discrepancies in "Rosalynde" and their Main Cause

In the chapter about the "Tale of Gamelyn's" mode of composition[18o] one of the significant results was the fact that the single adventures of the hero are related to one another in such a way that the following adventure always brings with it an intensification of the injustice presented in the preceding adventure and that they all lead, in a straight line, to the climax and, then, down to the fall of the wicked.

This result is also very significant for Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde". Lodge has consistently adapted the Gamelyn plot from the beginning up to the point where Gamelyn has to flee to the forest, that is, the end of the fourth adventure.

At this stage the people's attitudes and deeds have reached a brutality, an irreconcilability, that could not suddenly be changed into an atmosphere of general serenity without considerable bathos. Judged from the point of view of this first rough part an aesthetically consistent continuation of the story had to resemble much more the old "Tale". But Lodge had a different aim, the composition of a conventional pastoral romance.

The breach in tone and atmosphere is the more obvious as Thomas Lodge has not made an effective attempt to give the first quarter of the narrative a more conciliatory and

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18o) VI,2,c,β; see also VII,4

gentle air.[181] The aesthetic breach is conspicuous, when the ruffian and toper of the first part, who has thrashed people on several occasions and even killed some, who has defeated a feared champion in a wrestling match, suddenly bursts into tears in the Forest of Arden merely because he fears he has to starve ingloriously. Or when Rosader, in Gerismond's outlaw-camp, sheds tears as a result of the banishment of Rosalynde. The former brute suddenly delivers long and stilted speeches, composes poems and songs and has become a most gentle pastoral wooer in the Forest of Arden.

The coarse Rosader on Saladayn's estate and the fanciful and adoring wooer in the forest are definitely two different characters: Gamelyn of the old "Tale" and Rosader of the pastoral romance, of Lodge's own invention.

Even in the part in which Thomas Lodge's own invention builds up a charming pastoral world now and then an element appears that reminds us of the rough, harsh atmosphere of the "Tale of Gamelyn". Torismond's death in the final battle was felt even by the author himself to be a not completely satisfactory solution of a given dilemma.[182] And it thwarts, in fact, the outspoken hope of the second heroine:

> "Thus they leave the brides full of sorrow, especially Alinda, who desired Gerismond to be good to her father."
> (163)

After Torismond's death is reported, the author tries to reconcile the reader's feeling with this fact by distracting his attention, though not satisfactorily, from Alinda's grief to her happiness with Saladayn:

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181) cf. V,3,a in this study
182) cf. ibid.

> "Alinda being very passionate for the death of her father, yet brooking it with the more patience, in that she was contented with the welfare of her Saladayn."
> (164)

The comparison between Lodge's "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It" will not lead, however, to the assumption that the postulations of Elizabethan comedy are transferred here to a narrative. But after the serene and conciliatory middle part with its songs and love scenes and happy weddings at the end of the romance, the hard punishment of the usurper contradicts the reader's naïve sense of justice. Particularly since Saladayn (who at the beginning had been presented as a scoundrel much more wicked than Torismond) remains at the end not only unpunished, but is even rewarded with the hand of a noble girl.

The main reason for the discrepancies in "Rosalynde" are to be seen in the fact that Thomas Lodge had not succeeded in remoulding those parts adapted from the "Tale of Gamelyn" in such a way that they form a harmony with the atmosphere of the pastoral world.

2. The Problem Mastered in "As You Like It"

The Gamelyn plot, as far as it has been used by Lodge, is put almost completely in the first act: "In fifty lines, we know all about the three brothers and the youngest is at

the eldest throat".[183] The dramatist felt that he could not allow the harsh action of the old outlaw-tale to occupy more space, without spoiling the spirit of the comedy. And even in these first fifty lines the fights so characteristic for Gamelyn-Rosader are omitted.

How intensely Shakespeare was concerned with moulding the rough Gamelyn-Rosader into an Orlando, suitable for his comedy atmosphere, is obvious at the end of the first scene. The dramatist makes Oliver characterize his younger brother in such a way that the brutality of the sources is eliminated.

> "He's gentle, never school'd and yet learned,
> full of noble device, of all sorts enchantingly
> beloved, and indeed so much in the heart of the
> world ..."
> (I,1,157ff.)

The very word 'gentle' names the quality which we consciously or unconsciously connect with Orlando's character throughout the whole play; a quality the hero of the old "Tale" hardly has at all and Rosader only in the second part of the romance.

Shakespeare has, at the beginning of his play, built the foundation upon which he could allow his hilarious world of comedy to develop. The characteristic feature we conferred upon Orlando can be transferred, too, to the whole manyfold, permanently questioned and still harmonious world of "As You Like It": "The ultimate criticism of life is gentle: it is the mellowest of Shakespeare's many worlds".[184] In those scenes, especially in the first act, where Shakespeare has used a realistic prose style, he has reduced it to an introductory link between the world of reality and the

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183) Jenkins, 41
184) Evans, 87

world of his comedy. These passages may be also understood as contrasting with the later pastoral scenes.[185] Thus the dramatist has made use of that realism which originates from the old outlaw-tale and which, in Lodge's romance, led to a serious bathos. Shakespeare has changed it according to his one aim, namely, of creating a gentle world and has given it a defined function. But Shakespeare has not, as one could assume, eliminated all the realistic elements Lodge was not able to master. On the contrary, he has found his way back to realistic situations where Thomas Lodge had spoiled the scene with his pastoral cliches. So in the scene in which Orlando and the old servant prove steadfast friends at a time of utmost distress. Rosader's unrealistic attitude is replaced by a more credible one, that of how a young man behaves in an emergency. With Corin, too, Shakespeare juxtaposes beside the pastoral, romantic scenes a realistic corrective: "With Corin Shakespeare provides us with a touchstone with which to test the pastoral."[186]

The realism in "As You Like It" always lacks, however, that roughness that is so characteristic of certain parts of "Rosalynde" and of the whole "Tale of Gamelyn". All the coarse elements have been eliminated in the comedy. The wrestler is given a name and, as a result of this, appears more human than the "Tale's" champioun or the Norman in "Rosalynde". Neither the wrestler nor the franklin's sons die in the combat. There is no room for death in the world of Shakespeare's comedy. To give one more proof one could point to the fact that the episode in Lodge's romance in which the two girls and Rosader are attacked by a band of ruffians is left out in "As You Like It". Neither would Rosader's severe wounds which he receives in the fight fit in with the general tone of the comedy.

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185) cf. Draper, 76
186) Jenkins, 48

The fact that Oliver wins the hand of the beautiful Celia without being purified first by much repentance and punishment, a solution that has induced Swinburne to make his critical remark[187], can be interpreted as well as Jenkins does in his essay: "We should rather see that Oliver's getting this reward is a seal set on his conversion, and a sign of how good he has now become."[188] The audience is easily reconciled to the former misdeeds of Oliver, firstly because the degree of injustice committed has been considerably lessened compared with that in the two sources; secondly, by Oliver's characterizing his younger brother as 'gentle', that aggressive counter power is eliminated which had had the effect of increasing the injustice and irreconcilability in the "Tale of Gamelyn" and of making the reconciliation between the two brothers in "Rosalynde" appear, from the aesthetic point of view, not fully satisfying after all the brutal deeds that had been committed, thirdly there is in the comedy a shift of the audience's interest: the audience's attention is diverted from the single detail of action, so significant in the old "Tale" and also in "Rosalynde", and drawn to the hilarious atmosphere which is mainly created by characters and opinions throwing one another into relief by contrast and by the background of the greenwood and the pastoral landscape.

The firm structure and the swift sequence of events in the first act marks the significance of the action as an introductory part. Gradually the action is replaced by single pictures and emotionally conceived situations. With the persons' arrival in the Forest of Arden the action is reduced to a minimum of necessary happenings.

Shakespeare's attempt to bring the different elements of tone into harmony is, above all, felt at the end of the comedy.

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187) cf. footnote 116 in this study
188) Jenkins, 41

What for Lodge had still been an acceptable solution, namely the usurper's death, did not suit the homogeneous atmosphere in "As You Like It" and Elizabethan dramatic convention. Looked at from a merely realistic point of view Shakespeare's solution (Duke Frederick's abdication and choice of an eremite's life) appears unmotivated and incredible. Tolman obviously judges it in this way when he criticises this part of the play and calls it "the high-water mark of extravagant romanticism in the entire play".[189] The motivation of this "easy solution"[190] is not very conspicuous, one must admit. Maybe Tolman is right with his criticism. But the fact that the audience does not feel an urgent desire to see Duke Frederick punished, as were Torismond and Johan, and is quite willing to forgive him his misdeeds as the banished forgive him proves, in my opinion, that, from the aesthetic and dramatic point of view, the Duke's repentance is more acceptable than a severe punishment, in whatever form, would be. It would definitely spoil the mellow world of this gentle play. And if we do not judge the comedy only from this single point of view, but look at it as a piece of literature that has been developed for the most part from literary sources, we realize that "As You Like It" means the end and highest achievement in a line of literary attempts. Thus, the Duke's mild treatment, too, means a consistent step from a harsh to a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the author.

Whereas in Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde" we have a conglomerate of pastoral, realistic, subtle and coarse, reconcilable and irreconcilable elements side by side, Shakespeare provides the audience, in "As You Like It", with an harmonious world, an homogeneous atmosphere. And this world and atmosphere are represented 'as the audience likes it'. Seen from this viewpoint the "easy solutions" are, as aesthetic

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189) Tolman, 68
190) ibid.

possibilities, not only tolerable, but satisfying.

In "As You Like It" a harmony has been achieved, as the elements of the old outlaw-narrative as well as those of the pastoral romance have been altered wherever they were apt to endanger the essence of the comedy.

C. Conclusion: The Main Results Summed up

The foregoing study has tried to give an analysis of a limited number of works connected with the outlaw-theme under the special aspect of their authors artistic aims and the realization of these aims. The results may now be briefly recapitulated.

1. Corresponding Motifs within the Four Older Narratives

The popularity of the four older narratives may be derived from the fact that the heroes represented defend themselves openly against injustice, an idea that was deeply rooted in Germanic as well as in medieval thinking. The narratives are linked together, not only by the characteristic beginning and ending of the outlaw-situation, an initial injustice and final justice with the reconciliation of king and outlaw, but also by a large number of motifs that occur again and again, in different forms, but always recognizable.

2. Corresponding Motifs and Parts of Action in the "Tale of Gamelyn", "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

Beside the correct assumption that Thomas Lodge used the "Tale of Gamelyn" and Shakespeare "Rosalynde" as direct

sources, there is a distinct possibility that Shakespeare used the "Tale" also as a direct source.

3. Decline in Social Status of Author and Audience and the Consequences for the World Represented

With its mixture of historiographic and literary elements the "Gesta Herwardi" can be called a typical example of this literary genre of the 12th century. A social decline in our special sense can be observed as the "Gesta" only borrows from the developing chivalric and late classic adventure literature (Apollonius of Tyre) for the merely fantastic passages, whereas most of the book is narrated in a more realistic manner.

Again, it is the realistic representation that separates much of the "Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin" from chivalrous literature, especially the by-now traditional Arthurian romance. Idealized love and battle, the two essential activities in romance, have become, in those passages important for the outlaw-theme, mere facts in the dangerous life of the fugitive.

The "Tale of Gamelyn" differs from chivalrous literature in its completely different everyday world, its rough, brutal and sarcastic tone, and its total lack of the love theme and the elements of the miraculous.

The "Gest of Robyn Hode" does not provide us with a more realistically narrated story. The realism is, in many passages, superseded by an idealization of action and characters.

4. Some Structural Details

An attempt has been made to show by means of structural analysis which narrative devices the different authors have used, and to what degree they have used them effectively.

As for the topics of the exordium and conclusion and the method of leading the reader from one phase of action to another, Thomas Lodge's "Rosalynde" by far surpasses the older narratives. Lodge's prose romance does not, however, show, as far as the structure as a whole is concerned, the strictest authorial control.

The main conclusion aimed at in this chapter is that the "Tale of Gamelyn", despite its relative simplicity in narrative technique, meets most satisfactorily the demands of a clearly conceived story.

5. The Different Worlds in "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

Thomas Lodge tried to create the pure pastoral of Elizabethan convention. But those parts adapted from the "Tale of Gamelyn" do not blend satisfactorily with the pastoral world, they remain isolated and do not exert a modifying effect on the 'romantic' elements.

As far as the social level is concerned, Lodge succeeded in adjusting his source to his pastoral world by considerably elevating that of the source.

There are two basically contradictory levels of tone in "Rosalynde": the level of the ideal pastoral and that of

brutal realism.

Shakespeare moulded out of Lodge's pastoral a world capable of including human possibilities of literary convention as well as of real life.

As for the social level the comedy stands between the purely rustic "Tale of Gamelyn" and the courtly "Rosalynde".

In "As You Like It" the two irreconcilable levels of tone are superseded by a rich concert of seemingly contradictory elements of tone.

6. The Naïve Moral as a Possible Mental Attitude behind the Outlaw-Motif and its Realization in the Five Narratives and in "As You Like It"

The function of the naïve moral within the outlaw-works has been formulated in two theses (cf. VII,2). The works discussed depend upon the theses to a different degree; the deviations and the reasons for their existence have been pointed out.

The "Tale of Gamelyn" seems to prove that the mental attitude of the naïve moral can become the outstanding structural principle of a narrative. In the case of the "Tale" the author's mind was determined, to a very large extent, by the naïve moral. The fact that the "Tale of Gamelyn" is so well constructed and, despite its rich action, relatively short is due, above all, to the influence that the author's sense of naïve moral had on the "Tale's" structure.

7. The Aesthetic Realisation of Motifs Important to the Structure in "Rosalynde" and "As You Like It"

The obvious discrepancies in Lodge's "Rosalynde" spring from the fact that the author had not succeeded in altering the motifs and elements of tone taken over from the "Tale of Gamelyn" in such a way that they could form a new harmony with the pastoral world.

In "As You Like It" a homogeneous world has been created, because such elements as have been adapted from the two sources have been subjected to the author's sense of uniformity of style and reshaped according to the basic features and essential tone of the comedy.

Appendix I

A Short Introduction to the Relation between the "Gesta Herwardi" and Charles Kingsley's "Hereward the Wake, Last of the English"

"Hereward the Wake" is, without doubt, the poorest of Charles Kingsley's three historical novels. We find few of the good qualities of his best books and many of the old weaknesses. The descriptions of scenery which made him famous as an artist are, unfortunately, restricted to a few examples in "Hereward". Most of them and the best are given in the "Prelude". The fens, the background of the novel, is the landscape Kingsley had known and loved since his childhood days. The style is often bombastic and hyperbolic. W.R. Greg (Literary and Social Judgments, 1869) uses the following satirical picture for its characterization: "He reminds us of nothing so much as of a war-horse panting for battle; his usual style is marvellously like a neigh - a 'ha! ha! among the trumpets'." Another aesthetically dissatisfying point is the fact that the reader is often deprived of the illusion of accompanying the hero, of living in the past. The many completely unnecessary digressions seem to justify the assumption that Kingsley had written down everything that occurred to him. When Hereward is on his way to Crowland to speak to his wife, Kingsley comments: "If tobacco had been known, then Hereward would have smoked all the way" (II,258). And a little later, when Hereward rides past the place where Windsor Castle now stands the author remarks: "As they rode down by Ditton Green ... little they

dreamed of what that vale would be within eight hundred years - the eye of England, and it may be of the world" (II,272). Kingsley quotes Shakespeare (I,69; II,257), compares Hereward and Torfrida with Napoleon and Josephine (II,305), Hereward with Mahomet (II,306), with Hannibal, Caesar, Frederic the Great and Wellington (II,47). All these digressions and the constant references to historical sources remind us, every now and then, of the fact that the "Hereward" is handled by a modern author, and they definitely spoil the narrative's continuity. The ending is disappointingly uncontrolled. Thus, little can be said in defence of "Hereward the Wake" as a piece of art.

For this study, however, the novel is still of considerable interest: firstly and in a general way as the most ambitious literary attempt to exploit the Hereward story; secondly and in particular as an attempt to mould out of a medieval source embodying a certain attitude of mind a 'modern' novel with quite a different attitude, a Christian social message.

In order to provide the reader of this thesis with an idea of how Kingsley has exploited his main source the more significant phases of action and the characters in the two works will be briefly compared.

Kingsley has used almost every event presented in the "Gesta Herwardi", he has enlarged his original in many places and added new narrative material. Deviations from his main source are few, the only one of importance concerns the hero's death. Here Kingsley has borrowed from Gaimar's "L'estorie des Engles". A series of minor events have been shortened or left out such as Hereward's battles in Ireland (Her. 347f.), in Scaldimariland (Her. 359ff.), Hereward's war against the Viscount of Pinkney (Her. 370f.), the episode of a certain Bruman who sank a ship full of monks (Her. 374ff.) and some details which would have given offence

to the 19th century audience.

The rest of the source has been considerably enlarged by Charles Kingsley. The main reason for this expansion of the story is due to a preference for dramatic speech. Then there are the interspersed songs by means of which Hereward gives pleasure and new courage to his friends. Sketches of the history of Ireland and Flanders, and the report of several rebellions against King William are not to be found in the original. Another important reason for the expansion of the old story is Kingsley's interest in the different races. The author has made an attempt to contrast the Danes, Normans and Scots not only by means of their names, but also by means of their different customs and outer appearance. As Kingsley was in favour of the Danish element, we understand his enriching the book with old Nordic mythology and imitated Scandinavian poetry.

The more significant parts of the action which Kingsley invented for his own purposes are: firstly the fact that Alftruda and Hereward have already met before the hero marries Torfrida, so that Hereward's later disloyalty appears motivated, at least to some extent; secondly a large number of the events which take place in Flanders, and thirdly those parts of the action in which Kingsley borrows from contemporary historiographic sources. The fall of Ely is followed, in the novel, by the legends of St. Etheldreda's revenge, events which are not mentioned in the "Gesta Herwardi" either.

The life and the battles in the Bruneswald are described in the novel in great detail. Kingsley has deliberately used motifs from the Robin Hood ballads to create a more vivid impression.

In chapter XXXVIII Hereward travels to King William. The description of the countryside and Hereward's audience

with the King are Kingsley's invention. So are the legend of Earl Waltheof who is honoured as a martyr (chapter XL and XLII) and the final episode of Hereward's grandson, Richard de Rulos.

As for the characters, Kingsley has exploited everything he found in the "Gesta". For the old scribe, Hereward was of outstanding interest, and all the other characters appear colourless in comparison with the hero.

Kingsley has emphasized, above all else, Hereward's heroic wildness, his readyness to avenge himself, his unrivalled courage, his carousing nature and his boastfulness. A completely new feature is the Berserker in Hereward. Sometimes, during a drinking-bout, he runs off to perform heroic feats. On one occasion when he returns from one of those expeditions the author describes him thus: "His shirt was brown with gore, and torn with wounds, and through its rents showed more than one hardly healed scar. His hair and beard were all in elf-locks; and one heavy cut across the head had shorn not only hair, but brain-pan, very close" (I,23o). Kingsley has definitely gone too far in these descriptions. This becomes obvious in those passages in which the hero appears as a wooer. When Torfrida confesses that she loves him, Hereward shouts:"'Yes, I am Hereward, the Berserker, the brain-hewer, the land-thief, the sea-thief, the feeder of wolf and raven - Aoi! Ere my beard was grown, I was a match for giants. How much more now that I am a man whom ladies love? Many a champion has quailed before my very glance. How much more now that I wear Torfrida's gift? Aoi!'" No wonder, Torfrida shudders at these words; and so do we. The tone of Hereward's speech is unbearable. This is not the behaviour of a man who has just won the love of a beautiful girl. Kingsley's artistic tactlessness could here hardly be surpassed. The development of Hereward's and Torfrida's love is handled amazingly superficially. Kingsley has tried to

motivate the hero's later breach of faith more carefully. Twice in her youth is Alftruda rescued by Hereward. She remains a beautiful woman at court, whereas Torfrida's beauty suffers from the disadvantages of the life in the forest. The author develops at considerable length the irresistible alienation between Hereward and his wife.

Hereward the man is not completely Kingsley's ideal. But we understand that he could have developed into this ideal had he not bereaved himself of the good influence Torfrida had exerted upon his character. She tries to "teach and train the wild outlaw into her ideal of a very perfect knight". This is a motif typical for all of Kingsley's novels, the nobilizing effect of a woman upon a man. Hereward finally fails to live according to his wife's ideas, and Kingsley represents, with some ethical pathos, the hero's death as a deserved punishment for his disloyalty. Hereward's battle-cry in his last fight is Torfrida's name. His guilt is atoned for.

Hereward's character is of little interest. Despite Torfrida's many attempts to educate him, the brave hero remains the same man, strong, boastful, and, at bottom, immature.

Kingsley did not find much in the "Gesta Herwardi" about Torfrida. According to Richard of Ely she is of noble birth, beautiful, rich and experienced in science and magic. Kingsley has adapted these features and added a few more. As has already been mentioned Torfrida falls in love with Hereward at first glance. The novelist has here made no attempt to motivate or give a psychologically more convincing development. Later on in the novel Kingsley carefully portrays Torfrida as an ideal woman. She loves her husband with unreserved affection and unhesitatingly follows him to England. Even when Ely has been betrayed and they live as outlaws in Bruneswald she confesses: "'My stars foretold me nothing but

woe, since first I saw your face.' 'Why did you marry me, then?' asked he (Hereward) half angrily. 'Because I loved you. Because I love you still.'" (II,197) But during the hard times in the forest Torfrida's and Hereward's love dies. This tragedy has been presented by Kingsley with great psychological insight. It seems to me that this is the strong point of the novel.

The few facts the reader of the "Gesta" knows about Alftruda are also to be found in "Hereward the Wake". The antecedents are Kingsley's invention. In the novel Alftruda gains significance as the character foil to Torfrida. She is more beautiful than Hereward's wife, but heartless. Aware of her beauty she manages to estrange Hereward from his wife. But soon there are serious consequences. Hereward's bad habits appear again; his carousing, his boastfulness and quarrelsomeness. Only for a while is Alftruda's beauty capable of making Hereward forget his first wife. Soon he realizes that he has married a "handsome fiend" (II,308). To Kingsley Alftruda was not important as an individual, but as contrasting Torfrida and her true love. For this reason Kingsley does not tell us what happened to Alftruda after Hereward's death.

Martin Lightfoot, who is mentioned in the "Gesta" only as Hereward's companion, becomes important in the novel as the hero's faithful, yet critical servant. When Hereward deserts Torfrida Martin Lightfoot disappears from his side. This is a clever way of stigmatizing Hereward's action as an infamy. At the end of the novel he appears again, bewailing his master's death. Martin Lightfoot's end is not reported: "When Martin Lightfoot died no man has said; for no man in those days took account of such poor churls and running serving-men" (II,322).

The rest of the characters are portrayed with little power. Charles Kingsley was not able to give life to so many figures. Ivo Taillebois, King Edward, King William, Hereward's uncle Brand and the typically Norman monk Herluin are represented more to keep up the necessary action than to provide the reader with a satisfying picture of their personalities.

At the end of this short introduction we might ask what was Charles Kingsley's artistic aim in writing the novel "Hereward the Wake". His main aim, one might state, was to erect a monument to the braveness and patriotism of the men of the Fen country. Kingsley glorifies the people of the Danelagh whose importance for the development of the English national character ought not to be underrated. One more outstanding interest of the writer was in the encounter of different nations and cultures on English soil. The passages treating this problem have been handled with much care and belong to the best the book offers. These are the main points that reflect Charles Kingsley's intentions as an historian. But behind the rich action and the many historical names there is one more aim to be seen. A typically 19th century message was to be conveyed. One might sum up the message of the book (that is that we should learn from the past) in the following way:

Firstly, the vitality of former days is presented in contrast with the laissez-faire attitude of Kingsley's time. Secondly, the glory of those great 'English' is supposed to revive a sense of leadership in modern man. Thirdly, the emphasis of patriotic spirit in the Hereward story should arouse national pride in the country's great past and thus help to establish a unifying social ideal. Fourthly, as a particularly Christian-ethical message, Hereward's fate should teach us how much true love and a Christian marriage

can achieve and what the effects of a breach of faith can be.

The motif of the Christian marriage which gives man the vital energy and the power to live according to high moral standards seems to have come from Kingsley's heart. The fact that this element like the others mentioned was not capable of making the "Hereward" a good novel, cannot detract from Kingsley's high intentions. The artistic failure is more due to a complete physical and mental exhaustion of the writer.

Appendix II

The Hereward Story in Gaimar's "L'estorie des Engles"

Maistre Geffroi Gaimar wrote his rhymed chronicle between 1147 and 1151 for Fiz-Gislebert's wife Constance. The "Estorie des Engles" is only one part of a larger historical work of which the first portion seems to have been lost. In lines 5457 - 5700 Gaimar treats the Hereward story. He apparently owed nothing to the "Gesta Herwardi". The fact that the same material has been treated by two different authors at the same time seemed to me a good reason for a concise comparison of the works.

When we compare the "Gesta Herwardi" with a small section of Gaimar's "Estorie" we must, of course, always be aware of the fact that the two works are two completely different literary attempts. The "Gesta Herwardi" is an independent and complete Latin prose narrative, whereas the Hereward story in Gaimar's chronicle is one part of a whole, a section similar - though smaller - to the Havelok story which is also to be found in "L'estorie des Engles".

Beside these more obvious differences it would perhaps be of some interest to give a very short analysis of Gaimar's selection and treatment of the single episodes within the Hereward section, and to compare the results briefly with those of the "Gesta".

As has been shown in the course of the thesis, the "Gesta Herwardi" consists of two main parts which, together,

form the complete history of the outlaw-hero's life. The author, the monk Richard of Ely, has provided the more fantastic first part of his "Gesta" with a seemingly more credible source, an Old English chronicle, whereas he has mentioned oral reports of some of Hereward's comrades to be the sources for the second, historically more apparent part. As Charles Kingsley has, to a very high degree, been convinced of the credibility of that first fantastic part he has allowed it to occupy a considerable space in his novel. Geffroi Gaimar, on the other hand, has restricted the story to the more historical events. About one half of the "Gesta Herwardi" represents the heroic and marvellous feats of the young hero prior to his arrival in the monastery of Ely. Here Gaimar places the beginning of his story. Compared to the "Gesta" the rhymed version is short (234 lines). The episodes concerned with the marvellous, which are even found in the second part of the "Gesta", are completely lacking in Gaimar's work. On his flight to the Brunneswald Hereward is not led by a mysterious wolf, Hereward's robbing Peterborough is not followed by that legendary motif of the vision of St. Peter. Hereward is married only once and to Alftrued. Torfrida who is the most important character besides the hero in the "Gesta", and who, in Charles Kingsley's novel, is Hereward's good angel, is not even mentioned by Gaimar. Thus the reader is not confronted with that tragic situation of Hereward's and Torfrida's estrangement and her taking the veil. As in the "Gesta" Alftrued manages to reconcile the Saxon with King William. Then we are told by Gaimar that Hereward fights for his King in leMaine. The story concludes with Hereward's last battle. In contrast to the "Gesta" according to which the hero dies peacefully after a long and happy life, Gaimar gives a vivid report of a few Norman knights attacking the unarmed hero and of Hereward's heroic defence and death.

If we compare the length of the different adventures within the Hereward story it becomes evident that Gaimar has not arbitrarily put written pieces of credible tradition one after another. He has had a firm idea of what the final aesthetic effect should be. The whole story consists of 244 lines, if we count the ten introductory lines too. About one sixth of it is used for reporting on the defenders' situation in Ely, about a quarter for the fall of the fortress, Hereward's attack upon a host of Norman knights and his flight to the Bruneswald, another sixth of the whole narrative is taken up by the sack of Peterborough and Stamford and skirmishes with Norman knights in the Bruneswald, about one eighth by Alftrued's wooing and the hero's reconciliation to King William, and one third is required to report on Hereward's last battle and death.

The selection of events and comparisons with the "Gesta Herwardi" show that Gaimar emphasizes those things which are historically possible. Within this more general intention we notice the special one, that of representing the unique heroism of his main character. This becomes evident even if we look only at the quantitative distribution of events. About one third of the whole story is concerned with Hereward's great final battle. In the second episode the hero's attack upon the Normans is described in a fresh manner and in great detail. The single adventure of Hereward's combat with Gier in Bruneswald and the following description of the hero's strength obviously had won the author's particular syapathy.

The section containing Hereward's last battle is the most important part of the whole story, not only as far as the amount of space devoted to it is concerned,but also as far as quality is concerned. With a few precise remarks the situation is introduced and Hereward's future courage antici-

pated:

"Quant li Normant co entendirent,
Fruissent la pes, sil asailirent.
A son manger lont assailli.
Si Hereward en fust guarni,
Le plus hard semblast cuard."
(5615ff.)

(If Hereward would have been warned,
The bravest would have appeared a coward.)

Winter is the only one of his companions to defend him. He protects Hereward's back. Without a hauberk, armed only with shield, lance and sword Hereward defends himself against the superior force of the Normans. Before the battle starts Gaimar has his hero address his enemies in the following way:

"Triwes maneit done li reis;
Mes vus venez ireement,
Le mien pernez, et tuez ma gent,
Suspris manez a mon manger;
Fels traitres, vendrai men cher!"
(5634ff.)

Hereward fights like a lion , but is finally mortally wounded by four lances thrust into his back. Dying he throws his shield at a Breton and kills him. One of the Normans decapitates Hereward and swears many times

"... sil ne fust issi occis,
Tuz les enchascat fors del pais"
(5699f.)

(If he had not been killed thus,
He would have driven them all out of the country.)

In both works there are mingled elements of the traditional authorial intention 'prodesse et delectare', to teach (to be of use) and to entertain, a topos well known from late classic and medieval literature. In the "Gesta" the stress lies more on the second element, whereas in Gaimar's "Estorie" there is a shift of emphasis towards the first. This is, of course, not so distinctly felt by the reader at first glance. And at times it even seems as if the opposite were true. We need only call to mind Beda's detailed and realistic description of the outlaws' life in the fortress of Ely. Here the tone is much more historiographic and didactic than in the traditional yet vivid description of Hereward's final battle. In general, however, the "Gesta's" author dwells far more on the marvellous, the fairy-tale atmosphere than does Gaimar. His intention was, from the very beginning, to provide the reader with a pleasant story, though supported by some historical evidence. Gaimar, on the contrary, has exercised considerable control over the Hereward story in the sense that he always had in mind the complete "Estorie" and has not allowed the Hereward material to expand too much in comparison with, for example, the story of King William. This conscious balancing of the different historical figures according to their historical importance has not always been strictly followed and is to be found less in the beginning of the "Estorie". There Gaimar had to rely to a large extent on myth and has treated it in the same way as the later and, historically, more accurate events. With the figure of Hereward it is different. As the "Gesta" shows there were many legendary and fairy-tale-like elements connected with that hero of the 11th century. Gaimar could have used them as he has used similar features in the story of Havelok. But then the figure of a Saxon outlaw-hero would have surpassed the Norman invader and King of England in stature. Gaimar has

kept the perspective. In the "Gesta" Hereward is the only hero and thus takes up most of the space, while the figure of King William remains restricted to its function as the outlaw's opponent.

There is not enough space in this Appendix to give a more complex estimation of the two works. One further point, however, should be mentioned. With regard to narrative structure the two works do not differ too obviously in value. But if we take the style into consideration, the difference is striking, even if we ignore the fact that the "Gesta" is written in Latin prose, Gaimar's chronicle in Middle French rhymed couplets. The Latin used in the "Gesta" is rather poor, whereas Gaimar's French is fluent, at times elegant, and capable of giving a vivid impression of the events reported or objects described.

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