

4-21-2009

King of the Who? The Collective Unconscious and the Crafting of National Identity in the Medieval Arthurian Tradition

Melissa Ridley-Elmes
Longwood University

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.longwood.edu/etd>



Part of the [Literature in English, British Isles Commons](#), and the [Medieval Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ridley-Elmes, Melissa, "King of the Who? The Collective Unconscious and the Crafting of National Identity in the Medieval Arthurian Tradition" (2009). *Theses, Dissertations & Honors Papers*. Paper 37.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ Longwood University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses, Dissertations & Honors Papers by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Longwood University. For more information, please contact hinestm@longwood.edu.

King of the Who?

The Collective Unconscious and the Crafting of National Identity
in the Medieval Arthurian Tradition

By

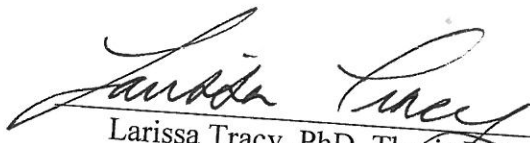
Melissa Ridley-Elmes


A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master of Arts in English
Longwood University, May, 2009


King of the Who?
The Collective Unconscious and the Crafting of National Identity in the Medieval
Arthurian Tradition

By
Melissa Ridley-Elmes

A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master of Arts in English
Longwood University, May, 2009.


Larissa Tracy, PhD, Thesis Director


Shawn Smith, PhD, First Reader


Chene Heady, PhD, Second Reader



Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Nationalism and National Identity.....	2
Arthur in the British Tradition.....	6
Definitions of "Britishness" and "Englishness".....	10
Carl Jung's Theory of the Collective Unconscious.....	13
Chapter One: Geoffrey of Monmouth's <i>Historia Regum</i> <i>Brittaniae</i>	19
Chapter Two: Laȝamon's <i>Brut</i>	47
Chapter Three: Sir Thomas Malory's <i>Morte Darthur</i>	76
Notes.....	112
Works Cited.....	116

This manuscript is dedicated to my father,

Lynn Del Ridley

and to my mother,

Kristie Lee (Klemme) Ridley

for always knowing it even when I wasn't sure;

To my sister,

Patricia Lynn Ridley

for her constant support and acceptance, even when she didn't "get it";

And to Nick, Anna and Fallon,

for making it possible at all.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To name every scholar, student, colleague, family member and friend who aided me in the writing of this thesis would entail more pages than the binding office can manage in a single manuscript; but special mention must go to a few without whom this process would have been far more arduous than it was, and its product of a greatly inferior nature.

I am indebted to Ralph Norris for allowing me to pick his brain for further information rather than to buy his book on a graduate student's budget, and to Bonnie Wheeler for her interest in my project and for providing me with an offprint of her article on Gawain and alchemy. Gwendolyn Morgan offered valuable suggestions for streamlining my thesis idea. The support of such estimable scholars in the field is humbling, and I am grateful for their willingness to discuss Arthur *ad nauseam* with an eager-beaver graduate student between sessions at the October, 2008 Regional Medievalisms conference at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia.

Much of the research for this project was conducted by necessity through interlibrary loan, and it would be impossible to overstate the efficiency and helpfulness of the Greenwood Library interlibrary loan staff. Not only did they locate every article I asked for, but the turnaround on most of my requests was twenty-four hours or less. I could not have completed the research for this thesis without their professionalism.

My thesis defense committee was instrumental in guiding and shaping my approach to this work. Dr. Chene Heady pointed me to Benedict

Anderson's book and insisted that I engage his ideas within my discussion of nationalism; my argument is much clearer and stronger for this introduction. Dr. Shawn Smith's reminder that it need not be "all theory, all of the time" even if I do engage with Jungian principles within my thesis have allowed me to consider the future of this project in terms of further research and possible publication. Dr. Kat Tracy's support, energy, expertise and insistence on excellence at every stage of my work – as well as her careful editing and near-constant reminders of, "brevity, girl, brevity!" have made this thesis a far better document than it originally promised to be. I am indebted to her for the mentorship, friendship, and encouragement she has shown me throughout my program.

I am very deeply indebted to the board of the Carlbrook School, and especially to Dr. Glenn Bender, Dean of Academics, for its extremely generous assistance with funding to complete the graduate degree, as well as for the course release during Term 1, 2009 that granted me extra time to devote to my project. I must also thank my students for their support and encouragement, as well as for listening to my ideas in class lectures and for their many insightful questions, which helped me to realign and to clarify my own thinking. The research, reflection and writing that went into this project have translated into better teaching in my classes, and I am profoundly grateful for the many opportunities both individual and professional that working at Carlbrook has afforded me.

My husband, Nick, and my daughters Anna and Fallon, provided me with hugs, meals, and moral support throughout the researching and writing process. Without their understanding that “Mommy has to work now” I would never have completed even a first draft of this thesis, much less the numerous subsequent revisions that brought it to its current (and still imperfect) form. Likewise, many thanks and much gratitude are due to “Grandma and Grandpa with the Arts”, whose week with the girls permitted me to complete the first draft without losing my mind. Finally, I want to thank my parents and sister, who have always believed in me even as they wondered mightily what on earth I was going on about. The opportunity I have had over the past year to indulge in my greatest love, surrounded by my greatest loves, is one I will never take for granted or forget. Thank you to everyone who was a part of this endeavor.

INTRODUCTION

The socio-political, linguistic, and psychological analysis of a cross-section of medieval British writings – Geoffrey's twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* (HRB), Laȝamon's late-twelfth or early thirteenth-century *Brut*, and Malory's fifteenth-century *Morte Darthur* – suggests that these authors intentionally sought to establish a national identity based on a foundational concept of the ideal British character, and also how that identity changed and shifted with each generation as the British nation developed. Emerging concepts of the individualized, conquering nation in the medieval period were important to monarchs seeking to stabilize their authority, and the establishment of a nation's own history and character was a central tool of propaganda, as evidenced in the creation and promulgation of such national myths as that of France's Charlemagne. As N. J. Higham notes: "within the insular early and central Middle Ages, that history was written for contemporary political and cultural purposes has been widely acknowledged" (5). It was also an opportunity for writers to align themselves with those in power and to craft works reflecting their own socio-political ideas within the larger cultural tradition.

Over time, through a process of dissemination, review, approval and indoctrination, the choices of such writers ultimately revised and reshaped a nation's idea of itself. Their texts contribute to what Mary Carruthers calls *memoria*, "the process by which a work of literature becomes institutionalized – internalized within the language and pedagogy of a group" and become part

of a country's inherited system of beliefs concerning its form and function, ideals and customs – in short, a national identity (11). In consciously seeking to influence the self-awareness of their audience through the evocation of powerful associations with the past and alignment with a central figure of authority grounded in collective beliefs, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Laȝamon, and Sir Thomas Malory influenced the development of British national identity through the creation and evolution within their texts of the archetypal literary figure of Arthur, King of the Britons.

Nationalism and National Identity

A summary of current academic discussion on the subject of nationalism is important for defining and limiting the idea of national identity in medieval British literature. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* is widely considered the most important text on modern nationalism, while Thorlac Turville-Petre's more recent *England the Nation* provides a focused study of medieval notions of national identity. Anderson argues that a sense of the nation did not and could not exist prior to the eighteenth century, but Turville-Petre contends that the concept of national identity existed at least as early as the fourteenth-century in medieval Britain. Much of Anderson's work has limited relevance to a study of medieval literature, grounded as it is in the modern period; Turville-Petre's scholarship is more immediately relevant to the concerns of nationalism in medieval Britain. There are, however, three points at which the arguments put forth in these seemingly contradictory texts intersect and support my contention that Geoffrey, Laȝamon and Malory were

writing towards the establishment of a national identity for England. In the definition of what constitutes a nation, the nature of Church hegemony in the Middle Ages, and the influence of language and media on nationalism, Anderson and Turville-Petre contradict one another, but those contradictions advance the idea that medieval British writers sought to craft national identity early on.

Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined political community” in which “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members” (6). He also states that “no nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind” (7). In this definition, nations did not exist prior to the eighteenth-century, when a breakdown of Church hegemony and divinely-ordained hierarchical dynasties paved the way for a new, politically constructed vision of nationalism (7). For Anderson, “the determinative fact about Latin – aside from its sacrality – was that it was a language of bilinguals. Relatively few were born to speak it” (38) and therefore the dominance of Church Latin in literate Europe was a limiting factor in the pre-modern era. Finally, he argues that the invention and expansion of book printing were central to the rise of the nation; because “print knowledge lived by reproducibility and dissemination” in contrast with “manuscript knowledge [which] was scarce and arcane lore” it became “the key to the generation of wholly new ideas of simultaneity” (37). Anderson points to the rise of the bookmaking industry and the Reformation as central to nationalism because they allowed for wider dissemination of print materials and also for the

printing of texts in the vernacular, beginning with Martin Luther's theses (39). Because individual printers were not Church-sanctioned or Church-controlled, they were able to publish texts they considered important, whether religious or secular in nature, thus expanding readership and audience beyond the Latin *literati* to include more speakers of vernacular languages with no knowledge of Latin than did the earlier manuscript tradition. At this point, Anderson argues, the nation can come into being because "Speakers of the huge variety of Frenches, Englishes or Spanishes [...] became capable of comprehending one another via print and paper" due to the "fixity of language" provided by printing, and "gradually became aware of the [...] fellow readers, to whom they were connected through print", thus over time forming the basis for a "nationally imagined community" (44).

For Turville-Petre, "concepts of nationhood become dominant when the nation is perceived to be under threat from outside attack or influence" (4). He defines medieval Britain as a country through its physical land and population as they are presented in maps and chronicles and in juxtaposition to other lands and populations (2-4). In contradiction to Anderson's argument that Church hegemony and the predominance of Latin as the language of literacy in the pre-modern era prevented the invention of nationalism, Turville-Petre contends that the number of manuscripts still extant, incorporating texts in several languages, points to a different reality in medieval Britain:

National polemics sets up a scheme of languages in conflict. Latin is for clerics; French is the language of the noble descendants of the Norman oppressors; English is the language of the people of the nation [...] there was no such clear-cut linguistic divide. Three languages existed [...] in symbiotic relationship, interpenetrating and drawing strength from one another; not three cultures, but one culture in three voices. This situation is most clearly illustrated by those manuscripts in the period that include within their covers texts in French, English and Latin [...] They demonstrate that languages were not interchangeable, but had different functions, so that certain subjects and styles were more appropriate to Latin than English, or to French than Latin. But they also show that there were considerable areas of overlap, and that distributional patterns depended as much on situation, context, and audience as on subject-matter and style (181).

This contention that the co-existence of English and French with Latin in the medieval era poses no linguistic roadblock to British national identity parallels Turville-Petre's refutation of Anderson's claim that "national consciousness was held in check by a dominant supra-national organization, the Church" on the grounds that "multiple and overlapping identities co-exist without canceling each other out" (vi). Turville-Petre argues that medieval British clerics writing in English did so "with an eye to a lay audience [...] it was not at all in their interest to erect barriers between themselves and their audience" (27). Rather than arguing that the community is the Christian family that "left the gap in social functions unbridged" Turville-Petre states that clerics employed "a much more powerful strategy [in representing] the community as the nation, for in this the two estates played an equal part and had identical interests" (27). In this fashion, "Author and audience became united in their nationality, and the clerical writer was able to appeal to the laity through a sense of nationhood, through a perception of shared social values, and in a commonly understood language" (27). While the Church might wield

overarching, supranational power in Western Europe, Turville-Petre claims that individual clerics working in Britain sought to establish a sense of community through national unity, aligning themselves with their parishioners in order to accomplish their pastoral goals. His description of a unified sense of British nationhood despite the conflicts of Church and secular culture and Latin and vernacular languages in the medieval period seems directly to counter Anderson's claims of the nation as a modern, post-Reformation construction.

In many ways, however, the arguments of Anderson and Turville-Petre align. The underlying point in both texts is that medieval England was a country in search of an identity. While Church hegemony and the preponderance of Latin manuscripts were a hindrance to nationalism, as Anderson notes, Turville-Petre is also correct in stating that local clerics seeking to reach their audience often wrote in the vernacular, and that texts were written in the language appropriate to their time and purpose. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the predominantly Latin literary tradition of the twelfth-century, wrote in Latin because it was the correct language of chronicle in his time. Laȝamon wrote in early Middle English for an audience secular in orientation, with the purpose of making Geoffrey's history available to the people who were its subject. Malory wrote in late Middle English because by the fifteenth-century English had emerged as the primary secular language in a country edging closer towards a fully-formed nationalism. William Caxton's subsequent publication of Malory's *Morte Darthur*, which adapts, redacts, and

realigns the Arthurian legend for an English audience that has increasingly become aware of itself as a community from one generation to the next, arrived at a point in British history when Church hegemony and political dynasty were highly unstable. The result was that the popularity and widespread availability through Caxton's edition of Malory's book brought the Arthurian legend into the early modern era as a British text central to the concept of national identity. England was not a defined nation in the medieval era, but writers sought to unify their audiences in historical and cultural terms. National identity was therefore a central theme in medieval British writing, and the Arthurian tradition played a pivotal role in England's progress towards nationalism.

Arthur in the British Tradition

The Arthurian textual tradition in England began with a short reference in the ninth century manuscript of Nennius's historical chronicle, the *Historia Brittonum* (Jackson, 1).¹ In the *Historia Brittonum*, the mid-tenth century *Annales Cambriae*,² and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of the 1120s,³ the presentation of Arthur is as a historical figure, a Welsh *dux bellorum* or warlord chieftain. But, as Kenneth Jackson argues, "The Arthur story had already impressed itself on the [Welsh literary] landscape in the form of "local legends", at least as early as the beginning of the ninth century" (1). Rachel Bronwich argues for an even earlier date of origin, claiming that elements in the Welsh triads date as early as the sixth or seventh centuries (46).⁴ In either case, Arthur had existed in Britain as a figure both of history

and of folklore for hundreds of years by the twelfth century. When Geoffrey of Monmouth “officially” set the parameters of the Matter of Britain with his 1136 *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Arthur was already a familiar and easily identifiable reference point for Geoffrey’s audience, a fact which no doubt contributed to Geoffrey’s choice to centralize him as the hero of the Britons.

Geoffrey’s Latin chronicle, the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (hereafter, *HRB*) is the first text to explicitly place Arthur within the scope of British history, expand his story, and render him a unifying authority figure. As W.R.J. Barron has noted, in taking the Welsh origins of the story and shaping them into a more universally British version of events Geoffrey is the founder of “the distinctive Arthurian tradition in English” (11). The popularity of the *HRB* led to a surge of interest in the Matter of Britain both in England and France, which Françoise le Saux attributes to the fact that “twelfth century Normandy and England shared the same ruler, their élites spoke the same language, and Caen [in Normandy] was at the time an important intellectual and political centre which had many links with England, notably through land ownership” (18). The first major adaptation of the *HRB* into vernacular language came from this inter-continental connection in the form of Caen cleric Robert Wace’s 1155 *Roman de Brut*, a retelling of the *HRB* in French and grounded in French courtly mores commissioned by and dedicated to Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen of England (Foulon, 95). The importance of Wace’s version to later historical Arthurian texts is incalculable; as le Saux explains, “he had not merely translated Geoffrey’s material; he had

successfully transposed a long Latin prose narrative into elegant French verse, and unobtrusively adapted it for a wider audience" (22). Even more significantly, by omitting Geoffrey's ideological speeches from the text and expanding the narrative, Wace's text "could easily be reshaped to correspond to the vision of the past that best suited the ideology of future English historians" (le Saux, 22). This was achieved by Laȝamon in his 1190 Middle English version of the *Brut*, an expansion of Wace's narrative reworked to feature Latin, French and Anglo-Saxon elements (le Saux, 23). The *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Wace's *Roman de Brut*, and Laȝamon's *Brut* comprise a trilogy of Arthurian texts composed within a sixty-year period that are foundationally the same in terms of subject matter, but differ substantially in terms of cultural presentation, and which together form the basis for the vast and varied body of British Arthurian literature.

Geoffrey, Wace and Laȝamon's texts are essentially histories and influence other histories, but they also influenced the body of romance literature devoted to Arthur. In his article, "Finding Time For Romance" Ad Putter points out that "for writers after Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthurian history was no longer a *tabula rasa* but a story whose chronology had been fixed by Geoffrey's *Historia* (2). The basic subject matter and timeline of Arthur's reign in Geoffrey's *HRB* were not disputed, but writers as early as Wace noted that the twelve years of peace following Arthur's established dominion over the British Isles offered an opportunity for further embellishment and development of the Arthurian legend (Putter, 3). As Putter

argues, “concentrating on the *aventures* and *merveilles* of fable, which Wace had marginalized in his *Brut*, the poets of verse romances managed to liberate their narratives from the linear dimensions of the chronicles...[they] thought of their narratives as taking place within [...] the twelve years in which Wace dumped the fables” (4). This generated a second, fictional literary tradition that developed alongside the chronicles without conflict in terms of chronology or subject matter, giving rise to the Anglo-Norman romance tradition that profoundly influenced Thomas Malory in the fifteenth-century.

Chrétien de Troyes, writing in the court of Marie de Champagne, composed the first extant Arthurian romances between 1160-1180, introducing the character of Lancelot and serving as the prototype for the handling of romance motifs in Arthurian texts. Marie de France, writing around 1170, featured Arthurian themes and adventures in several of her *lais*, most notably *Lanval* and *Chevrefoil*, furthering the popularity of the Arthurian legend by introducing it to the Anglo-Norman court of Henry II in England. Two Norman poets, Thomas of Britain and Bérout, composed the oldest surviving French versions of the Tristan story in the second half of the twelfth-century, which expanded the Arthurian legend beyond Arthur and his immediate coterie to encompass Cornwall and the adventures of foreign knights as well – an innovation that directly influenced Malory’s French sources (Lacy, Ashe, & Mancoff, xx).

In the thirteenth-century, the French poet Robert de Boron incorporated the Grail Quest into his Merlin trilogy, profoundly impacting the

Arthurian tradition by explicitly aligning the grail with Christianity. Boron's text was shortly followed by the 1215-1235 Vulgate cycle of the Arthur and Lancelot stories and the 1250 Prose *Tristan*, both of which further expanded the Arthurian legend and which, together with Boron's version of the legend, comprised the central sources for Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, the final medieval British Arthurian text, incorporates elements from the British chronicle and Anglo-Norman romance traditions, interweaving these threads into a rambling narrative intended as the definitive British text of the legend. The seminal texts in the British tradition — Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the first full-length account of the Arthurian story, Laȝamon's *Brut*, the first full-length version written in Middle English, and Malory's *Morte Darthur*, combining the Arthurian chronicle and romance traditions at the end of the Middle English period, provide the foundation for this study of Arthur as a symbol of Britishness.

Definitions of "Britishness" and "Englishness"

What, exactly, a "Briton" is for Geoffrey of Monmouth, and therefore for his readers, is a matter of some debate historically but is important in terms of the psychological impact of his text on its audience. Scholarly attempts to establish whether or not Geoffrey himself was Breton (Lloyd, 1942), Welsh (Gillingham, 1990) or a Breton born in Wales (Thorpe, 1966; Ashley, 2005) have provided tenuous results. While N.J. Higham's summary of the Briton view of Britishness aligns with the idea that Geoffrey was writing towards unifying various groups living in the same location and

sharing the same beliefs under a common sense of history, it is not clear which particular groups constitute Higham's *Brittani*.⁵ What is certain is that Geoffrey, himself, clearly distinguishes the Britons from the Norman-French, the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots (*HRB* 54), with the result that modern readers must take "Briton" to include all other races of the British island at the time – Cambrian (Welsh) and Breton in particular – in the absence of evidence to the contrary and the presence of Geoffrey's clear desire to demarcate "Briton" from other, invading groups in early medieval Britain. W.R.J. Barron explains that Arthur provides "a focus for patriotism in which all races could associate themselves with the victorious Britons and identify any invader as the perennial enemy" (xiv). Although the historical identification of a "Briton" may be in question, what a Briton is psychologically, his character and temperament, may not. For Geoffrey, a Briton is the descendant of the greatest of fictional Roman heroes, Aeneas, via the fictitious Brutus, and therefore possesses all the traits thereof: strength and skill, ferocity on the battlefield, strategy and tactical brilliance, and a sense of justice tempered with mercy towards those who deserve it. He constructs Arthur, as the inheritor of this tradition, as the greatest of all Britons.

For Laȝamon, writing in a fully-integrated Anglo-Norman society, the question of what constitutes a Briton is clearly more complicated than it was in Geoffrey's time; yet interestingly, for Laȝamon the answer appears simpler. Although he consistently demonstrates pride in his own British heritage and, as Kelley Wickham-Crowley notes, "emphasize[s] heritage and ancestors",

ultimately Laȝamon's Briton is a loyal subject of the king, and anyone who is not on the side of the king is an other (2). Laȝamon's attitude concerning the definition of a "Briton" is fairly relaxed. Where Geoffrey deliberately eschews the use of the term "English" in favor of "Briton" throughout the *HRB*, Laȝamon uses the terms "British" and "English" interchangeably throughout the *Brut*. As Andrew Sanders points out: "Laȝamon declares that his mind and his imagination were stimulated by the idea of writing of the noble origins of the English [...] Here, and throughout his poem, the words "English" and "British", "England" and "Britain", are interchangeable" (35). Several generations removed from the Norman conquest, Laȝamon's Britain, unlike Geoffrey's, is more integrated. The social demarcations between the various invading groups that have settled and intermingled in Britain have blurred.⁶

Throughout the *Brut*, rather than focusing primarily on racial or ancestral heredity, Laȝamon aligns his audience psychologically with the side of "truth" and "justice"; therefore, as Wickham-Crawley remarks: "The crucial aspect which clarifies something of Laȝamon's purpose concerns truth and betrayal: whoever violates truth is open to condemnation, whether British or Saxon" (2). The psychological thrust of the *Brut* lies in a unity of cultural and political ideals, rather than one of hereditary and racial construction. The audience is expected to side with Arthur because he is right and the audience wishes to be on the right side. Laȝamon's Briton is a cultural figure aligned with the traditional ideals, if not the traditional ancestry, of Arthur. This permits an audience comprised of Anglo-Norman as well as native, British-

descended members to more completely identify with the narrative on a socio-political level if not a hereditary one, and further exhibits Laȝamon's attention to detail in laying out the groundwork for the establishment of a sense of national unity within his diverse audience.

By Malory's time, England and Englishness were a complicated concept; as Derek Pearsall notes:

While particular circumstances produced a momentary surge in assertions of Englishness around 1290-1340 and again in 1410-1420, there was no steadily growing sense of national feeling. French culture retained much of its customary hegemony during the fifteenth-century [...] and the establishment of the authority of English written culture went along slowly and haltingly. (15)

Pearsall points out that the early fifteenth-century king Henry V (d. 1422), who first unified England and France under his rule, encouraged the use of English because he "recognized that a nation's language is [...] an embodiment of its identity" (17-18). But following the unification of England and France, there was little reason to emphasize "Englishness", since "Englishness had always been constructed principally out of opposition to Frenchness, it being a structured principle of community formation that the strongest elements in it are oppositional and exclusory rather than intrinsic" (Pearsall, 20). The emphasis of "Englishness" over other national identities became less crucial as socio-political control over the nation's various lands increasingly stabilized. In the twelfth-century, Geoffrey felt the need to emphasize "British" over "English" to firmly establish Arthur's role as the conqueror of the Germanic tribes that had invaded Britain, and Laȝamon's fluid use of "British" and "English" testified to the more integrated nature of

Anglo-Norman England in the late – twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. By Malory's time, Britain had essentially morphed permanently into England, and the term "English" had superseded "Briton" as the primary signifier of that nation's people. Malory's use of the term "English" is the same as Laȝamon's, in that it delineates a particular cultural leaning, rather than necessarily an ancestral one; it is similar to Geoffrey's use of the term "Briton" only in that he intends it to signify the descendants of the Romans and their allies, embodied by Arthur and his knights. Malory is not concerned with establishing a hereditary lineage for Arthur and, by association, the Britons, because this had already been done by the chroniclers. Rather, Malory's focus is on what it means to be English, culturally and politically, in the fifteenth-century.

Carl Jung's Theory of the Collective Unconscious

The changes and shifts in the Arthurian legend in medieval British texts can be explained in part through the Jungian theory of the collective unconscious – the idea that within the human psyche there reside certain basic characteristics that are fundamentally knowable and unchanging. Tapping into these characteristics and emphasizing some over others allows writers to influence the mindset of their audience and to appeal to certain basic emotions and ideals over others. In so doing, writers serve as fundamental shapers of national consciousness by crafting archetypal figures that embody the ideal national character as they perceive it to be. The evolution of the British Arthur's character corresponds directly to changes in socio-political structures

and beliefs in England from one generation to the next, suggesting that the writers both influenced and were influenced by a national sentiment that developed and changed with the nation, itself, which indicates the presence of the collective unconscious at work.

Carl Jung is a controversial figure in psychology and not often used for literary analysis⁷, but scholars like William Van Dusen Wishard have rightly claimed that his work is important as “the first psychological interpretation of history” and that Jung’s concept of the collective unconscious “takes the theory and practice of psychotherapy and relates it to the whole history of the evolution of the human psyche in its various manifestations of art, myth, culture and religion” (1). Because of this connection between psychology and the interpretation of history, Jung’s theories of the collective unconscious can be applied to literature dealing with concepts of history in order to explain how “the individual is the carrier of civilization” (Wishard, 1) Jung, himself, believed that psychology and literature are mutually compatible disciplines; in “Psychology and Literature” he states that: “psychology, being a study of psychic processes, can be brought to bear on the study of literature, for the human psyche is the womb of all the arts and sciences” (86). Jung worked primarily in theory, proving his ideas and the principles behind them through the dream analyses and associations that stemmed from patient cases. Modern scholars such as Carlos Drake have noted that his cognitive theories on archetypes and the collective unconscious are by turns dismissed as “mysticism” ungrounded in scientific evidence and hailed as a breakthrough

in psychotherapy.⁸ There are, however, many aspects of Jungian theory that closely parallel ideas grounded in the medieval world view. As Marie-Louise von Franz argues, Jungian psychology relies on a form of subjective-objectivism — recording, studying and analyzing personal and individual experiences and dreams to provide concrete examples of the archetypal patterns through which Jung observed the world (121-126). The subjective-objectivity of Jung's work mirrors the subjective-objectivity of medieval history. The medieval mind did not recognize inherent paradoxes between historical fact and embellished "truth"; relying as it did on the scholastic tradition of *authoritas*, a text's critical excellence rested on its adherence to authoritative proofs provided by earlier scholars. Striving for "the right answer" was not as important to the historian in the Middle Ages as striving for "the truth", whether truth as it was, or truth as it should have been. As Patrick Geary points out, "medieval scholars were writing history to contest and appropriate memory, to own the past and drape it in particular colours for present purposes" (Geary, in Higham, 6). Rosemary Morris further notes that "the dividing line between "historical" and "poetic" truth was [...] not rigidly drawn in the Middle Ages" (3). This means that medieval history, however unintentionally, was at once objective, relying on established historical data such as dates and chronology, documents, and biographical information, and subjective, as concerns the individual writer's choices in subject matter and establishment of visible connections between events and figures within his

text as well as the overall relevance and interest level of the final product for its intended audience.

This tradition of constructed history is significant in terms of the early chronicles featuring Arthur as an important historical figure, because, as Rosemary Morris points out, “nothing [about Arthur] can be said with certainty”, and yet “medieval authors believed in Arthur’s historicity”, despite the scant evidence available concerning his existence (3). The brief mention of Arthur as a war lord in Welsh texts paved the way for Geoffrey to rewrite history featuring him centrally as the British high king *par excellence* not because it was true, but because Geoffrey thought it could—and should—be true that Britain had such a hero in its past. As Lewis Thorpe points out, Geoffrey’s *HRB*, although a historical chronicle, is also a work derived from the imagination of the author, which “rests primarily upon the life-history of three great men: Brutus [...] Belinus [...] and Arthur [...] in short, most of the material in the *History* really is fictional, and someone did invent it” (17). Jung’s approach in combining the subjective dream with the objective archetype to arrive at a conclusion parallels that of Geoffrey of Monmouth in combining historical fact with fictional elaboration to create a British hero. This recommends Jungian theory as a means by which to examine Geoffrey’s *HRB*, and by extension Laȝamon’s *Brut* and Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, because it allows both for the suggestion of psychological implications within the text and also for a new way of seeking to understand the form and function of the

text as a basis for the establishment of a national identity in the form of the Arthurian ideal.

Another aspect of Jungian theory that ties into his study of the collective unconscious and archetypal representations of the ideal and thus has implications for Arthur's metamorphoses within these texts is his extensive study of alchemy. Alchemy was viewed as a legitimate discipline in the Middle Ages, and alchemists took their subject seriously.⁹ The basic idea is that through a series of transformations, an object could eventually arrive at its perfect state of being, as evidenced by the most famous alchemical idea, that of turning iron or lead into gold. In a Jungian understanding of the alchemical procedure:

The alchemist saw the essence of his art in separation and analysis on the one hand and synthesis and consolidation in the other. For him there was first of all an initial state in which opposite tendencies or forces were in conflict; secondly there was the great question of a procedure which would be capable of bringing the hostile elements and qualities, once they were separated, back to unity again. (MC, xiv)

Extended into human terms in the medieval era, alchemy was the idea of achieving immortality, famously embodied in the fictitious experiments of Nicholas Flamel and the Philosopher's Stone. Jung's alchemical writings posit that through a series of transformational experiences, Man could learn and grow until he achieved the perfect state of being – the "*Imitatio Christi*" or Christlike existence. While in the medieval era this state of being was produced through religious suffering and martyrdom and was not a part of the alchemical system, Jung interprets it as a more psychological issue – the achievement of the pinnacle of one's potential, or the ideal, unified human

form. Because alchemy also deals with the achievement of the ideal form, Jung reinterprets the *Imitatio Christi* as an alchemical transformation that, although criticized in the modern world as “mystical”, is, like his theories of the archetype and the collective unconscious, especially relevant to the medieval Arthurian legend in terms of viewing Arthur transformed into an ideal figurehead for British national identity. As a figure of the collective unconscious, Arthur is the archetype of the ideal Christian king despite his pagan origins, descended from the great heroes of Ancient Rome and prophesied the leader of the future greatest civilization on earth. He is a man who does not die but who, Christ-like, is removed from the earthly plane to return again. As such he rallies the collective unconscious of the British people through his ideal nature and purposeful life and undergoes a mystical alchemical transformation from promising “raw element” as the fifteen-year old successor to the throne to the “perfected” conqueror of Europe, culminating in the achievement of a sort of immortality in Avalon rather than dying of his wounds.¹⁰ This combination of archetypal representation and alchemical transformation, found in every version of Arthur’s life story, is central to Jung’s definition of the collective unconscious, and suggests Jungian theory as a framework for analysis of the Arthurian figure.

The British Arthurian tradition provided medieval and early modern Britain with an image of itself as a strong, independent, unified nation, versed in sophistication and courtliness and the envy of other, less-developed and less-courtly nations of its time. This image is a foundational element in the

collective consciousness of that country. As Barron notes: "Fifteen centuries of celebration in myth, legend, chronicle, epic, romance, drama, opera and film have engraved it [the Arthurian ideal] upon the national consciousness as if England and Arthur were one" (xiii). The choice to lift Arthur to the position of king of the Britons and to expand and embellish upon his story so that he emerges as the symbol of British supremacy allowed medieval writers to support and influence the development of national identity in their newly-established island-nation. Jung's theories of the collective unconscious and alchemical transformation, applied to analyze textual shifts in socio-political beliefs in the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Laȝamon and Malory, suggest that these writers were intentionally crafting national identity, and show how that identity evolved from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries in England according both to the purposes and techniques of the individual writers and to the social and political shifts in the society in which they wrote.

I. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE*

In the Anglo-Norman conditions of Britain nearly a hundred years after William the Conqueror took the British throne, the Welsh cleric Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* is identifiable as a work promoting British national identity. J.S.P. Tatlock feels that "the imperialism of the *Historia* is unprecedented in any of the earlier or contemporary histories Geoffrey might have read and [indicates] a conscious attempt on Geoffrey's part [...] to

establish sound historical precedent for the imperialistic practices and ambitions of William the Conqueror and his successors" (308). James Noble concurs:

Geoffrey was inviting his twelfth-century audience to see in Arthur at least the essence of those qualities that had put the Normans on the English throne in 1066 and that [...] had made William the Conqueror, William Rufus and Henry I of England powerful forces to be reckoned with in the turbulent political arena of [...] western Europe in general. (162)

While Geoffrey does appear to admire certain aspects of Anglo-Norman culture, particularly the sophisticated nature of court life under Anglo-Norman rule as evidenced by his handling of Arthur's court at Caerleon, his primary purpose was not to applaud the positive qualities of Anglo-Norman rule, but to demonstrate the importance of a unified view of British culture and identity – one grounded in a pre-Norman and pre-Saxon past—even under Anglo-Norman influence.

Politically, Geoffrey's *HRB* arrived at an important moment in British history, and that it was intended as a work of propaganda is reflected in changes made to its dedication. The death of Henry I in 1135 led to civil war between his daughter Mathilda, Countess of Anjou and dowager Holy Roman empress, whom Henry named his successor to the throne, and Stephen of Blois, Henry's nephew, who claimed that Henry had changed his mind on his deathbed and named Stephen his successor instead (Durant, 669-670). Initially, Geoffrey supported Mathilda, and dedicated the *HRB* to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a former member of Henry's court, his illegitimate son, and Maude's older half-brother, and whom Mathilda counted among her strongest

supporters (Parry & Caldwell, 80). But when the crown went to Stephen, the dedication was revised to include Waleran of Beaumont, himself a former servant of Henry's and now a favorite of Stephen's. The dedication was revised a third time to include Stephen, himself; later copies of the manuscript were left undedicated (Parry & Caldwell, 80-81). Much has been made of the *HRB*'s dedication and the importance of its variations in relation to Geoffrey's position as an observer of and would-be participant in the government in power, but to focus on this issue is to bypass the purpose behind the rededications – Geoffrey wanted this book known, and known widely; his loyalties lay not with the people in politics of his own time, but with the ideas in his book. His many rededications were an attempt to find favor with whoever held authority. Stephen and Mathilda were both of Norman descent, and the heroes of the *HRB* are native Britons. Geoffrey's loyalty was to Britain and the British; rededication of the *HRB* to one or another Norman-descended monarch or Norman-influenced courtier was a strategy to ensure that the manuscript found an audience among those it was intended to influence – the British people.

Geoffrey writes Britain as a unified nation with a concrete history in the face of the unstable Anglo-Norman government. Jung posits that “discerning persons have realized for some time that external historical conditions, of whatever kind, are only occasions, jumping-off grounds, for the real dangers that threaten our lives. These are the present politico-social delusional systems” (ACU 23) Politically, Geoffrey was influenced not by the powers

that be, but by his idea of what they should be in the face of continued civil war and social unrest. Britain needed to unify as a nation, and Geoffrey's book is an attempt to influence that through the textual example of the centralization of national power achieved by Arthur, King of the Britons.

Barron's argument clarifies Geoffrey's purpose still further:

From an early twelfth-century perspective the wish was perhaps father to the thought: a hybrid society of many races – Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norwegian, Danish, Norman, Breton – in search of an identity needed a sense of dynastic continuity from an honourable antiquity, however improbably. With all the ornaments of history, but in the spirit of romance, Geoffrey of Monmouth supplied what was needed. (xiii)

Geoffrey was, as Barron notes, “exploiting patriotic consciousness to inform as well as entertain”, establishing a history of Britain, with the aim of unifying the country under a single historical “truth” (xv). His intent was to provide Britain with an identity backed by historical figures and events.

Beginning with Brutus, the great-grandson of Aeneas, Geoffrey links British history with that of the Roman Empire, providing a foundation for this new national power grounded in the past through the western world's greatest political meta-structure. This provides a basis for the greatness Geoffrey claims as inherent in the British people; descended from Romans, they are the inheritors of the noble attributes of the most epic and admirable of heroes. By linking the Britons “historically” to figures of such lasting fame and influence, Geoffrey appeals psychologically to the innate desire of his Christian audience for an ideal identity, what Jung terms “*Imitatio Christi* – [following] the ideal and [seeking] to become like it” (7). Geoffrey picks and chooses those human characteristics he finds most admirable and worthy and bestows them upon

the kings of the *HRB* to appeal to his audience on a basic, psychological level. That he would so freely embellish upon the story to strengthen the psychological parallels between the characters of Brutus and Arthur and to provide Arthur with a deeper historical connection to Britain is not unusual or unacceptable practice in medieval historiography. Robert Hanning notes that such "elaboration of source material was in the service of meaning and it was accepted that authors of historical material could and would expand on their sources to emphasize thematic concerns" (96). Geoffrey's history of King Arthur, with its blend of fact and fiction, was perfectly in keeping with the chronicle tradition of his time, and its relevance to British historical concerns was unquestioned. On the contrary, Parry and Caldwell note that "the number of manuscripts (about 200) that have come down to us is exceedingly large for a work of this period, and there are few medieval historians after 1150 who do not show extensive traces of Geoffrey's influence" (88). Lewis Thorpe further states that:

A great number of copies of the text were made. Acton Griscom listed 186 Latin manuscripts still extant today [...] and since he made his list [...] a number of other manuscripts have been discovered [...] A new and lengthy series of works was inspired either directly by Geoffrey, or through Holinshed and the other sixteenth-century compilers. (29-30)

The number of extant manuscripts testifies to the popularity of the *HRB* in medieval Britain. Although Thorpe admits there were detractors and critics (29-31), Parry and Cadwell note that "no one will question his [Geoffrey's] enormous influence [...] or the fact that his account of early Britain was swallowed by most of the medieval chroniclers of Europe and was not

generally discredited until late in the sixteenth-century" (72). Barron also claims that "It was to prove one of the most seminal books of the Middle Ages [...] Manuscripts multiplied, versions proliferated, translations and adaptations spread all over western Europe" (11-12). The *HRB* was accepted as it was written and served as the basis for British nationalism for centuries following its publication.

The medieval requirement for *authoritas* dictated a certain reliance on Latin and biblical sources. According to Barron and S.C. Weinberg, Geoffrey had access to "the Old Testament, Livy, and other Roman historians" as "general models for what the history of a race in search of its identity as a nation should be" and "for the heroic manner in which such a subject should be treated, Vergil's *Aeneid*" (xxiv-xxv). Barron and Weinberg also note that Geoffrey was working from "Gildas [...] and Bede, whose *Historia Ecclesiastica* supplied details of the Anglo-Saxon invaders and their eventual conversion by the Augustine mission" (xxiv-xxv). Geoffrey's access to these Roman and biblical texts are important points in assessing the psychological impact of his *Historia Regum Britanniae* on his British audience, because aligning his audience with Rome and Christ, they link Arthur, and by association, Britain, to the Classical and Christian traditions considered across Europe to be the most important of all others on earth at the time.

Geoffrey opens the *Historia* with a catalogue of delights of "Britain, the best of islands", which he describes in lush detail (53). Arthur is inextricably tied to Britain itself; as Rosemary Morris notes: "*HRB*'s opening

description of Britain reminds us afresh of the symbiosis between Arthur and his homeland. Geoffrey's Britons are always conscious of the world outside, but they stand and fall by, and in, Britain. It is theirs, and no other race's, for they took it in from non-humans (*HRB* 294), something which no subsequent invader can claim" (14-15). Geoffrey thus establishes from the outset that this text is about Britain and the British. He explains that Britain now is "inhabited by five races of people, the Norman-French, the Britons, the Saxons, the Picts and the Scots. Of these the Britons once occupied the land from sea to sea, before the others came" (54). His mission is "to tell how they [the Britons] came, and from where" (54). Geoffrey begins the *Historia* proper with Brutus and his exodus from the Roman Empire, and the story culminates in Arthur's rise to power, his reign and fall, and its aftermath.

Geoffrey focuses on the character and actions of the kings and their descendants throughout the text. His choices as an author point to a desire to portray these men whom he has cast as the ancestors of the Britons in the best possible light. The details Geoffrey incorporates throughout the *Historia* are a subjective portrayal of the Britons that is expected to be viewed as objective and basically true. As Rosemary Morris points out, "For the vast majority of medieval readers [...] *HRB* was the basic account of the 'historical' Arthur. It could be adapted or rejected, but never suppressed" (18). The reason for which the *HRB* was accepted as truth is because it appealed to Geoffrey's audience on a fundamental level, providing a highly desirable and idealized history of the Britons; for the medieval British audience, "If the account was

not true, something like it was – or should have been” (Parry and Caldwell, 86). The *HRB* serves as a paradigm for what it means to be British by providing an archetypal representation of British kingship. Geoffrey’s vision of the noble characteristics of epic heroes – boldness and fierceness in battle, coupled with strategic and tactical brilliance and a sense of justice and mercy to those who merit such – is instilled within Brutus and his descendants, culminates within the character of Arthur, and calls forth from the collective unconscious of his audience a desire to align with Arthur in order to possess these traits as the inheritors of this noble tradition.

As the archetypal figurehead of the Britons, Arthur plays a central role in Geoffrey’s work. In *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* Jung writes that “the archetype is essentially an unconscious content that is altered by becoming conscious and by being perceived, and it takes its color from the individual consciousness in which it happens to appear” (5). Crafting Arthur to represent certain ideal qualities over others, Geoffrey intentionally fashions Arthur’s nature. Anachronistically linking this nature to the pre-existing and admired character of the Roman heroic past, he psychologically alters the archetype of the Classical hero to fit his view of what such a hero in his own time might be. By then staging that hero as an *Imitatio Christi* figure, Geoffrey taps into the collective unconscious of the British people by aligning his audience’s sense of self with the desired state of being he calls forth in connecting the Christian British kings to the heroes of the Roman past. He achieves this through the structure of the narrative, beginning with Brutus and

continuing through Arthur's reign, and also through the personal characteristics that reverberate between the figures of Brutus, the Roman great-grandson of Aeneas, and Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, King of the Britons.

Geoffrey's Brutus is a strikingly estimable figure from the outset; by the age of fifteen, he is exiled for the accidental murder of his father, and shortly thereafter:

he soon gained such fame for his military skill and prowess that he was esteemed by the kings and princes more than any young man in the country. Among the wise, he was himself wise, and among the valiant, he too was valiant. All the gold and silver and the equipment which he acquired he handed over to his soldiers. (55)

Upon hearing that his countrymen have been living in the forests like animals to escape persecution by the Greek king Pandrasus, Brutus amasses his armies and writes a letter demanding their freedom in the name of mercy and justice; Pandrasus is "greatly surprised that the people he had held in slavery should be so bold that they could send such messages to him" (57). During the ensuing battle, in which the Trojans under his command fought "fiercely" and he, himself "took pleasure" in the killing of his enemies, Brutus ensures victory before he "garrisoned the fortress with six hundred soldiers and then set off for the hidden recesses of the forest-groves where the Trojan people were waiting for his help" and where, after summoning his forces to a final rally, he relies on a "cunning plan" of his own devising in order to win the final victory over Pandrasus (57-59). Thus, Brutus aptly demonstrates his skill and glory in battle, and also his ability to execute strategic and tactical planning and to rally the people to his side. Brutus therefore prevails, and

Pandrasus can do nothing in the face of his superior quality; he is defeated as he ultimately must be, setting Brutus up as Arthur's successful ancestor and predecessor in leadership.

In his descriptions of Brutus, Geoffrey relies heavily on the traditional archetypal figures of the classical epics, combining the qualities of multiple figures into a single, supreme heroic ideal. Brutus exhibits the ferocity of Achilles, the battle-lust of Ajax, the tactical brilliance of Odysseus, and the leadership qualities of Agamemnon. Furthermore, as he receives the prophecy of Diana, who foretells his foundation of Britain, Brutus parallels his own great-grandfather, Aeneas, himself the founder of Latium, later Rome (65). The primary difference between Brutus and Aeneas lies in the fact that Aeneas must conquer and subdue an existing race of people in order to found Rome, whereas Brutus is told:

beyond the setting of the sun, past the realms of Gaul, there lies an island in the sea, once occupied by giants. Now it is empty and ready for your folk. Down the years this will prove and abode suited to you and your people [...] a race of kings will be born there from your stock and the round circle of the whole earth will be subject to them. (65)

Aeneas is destined to found the Latin race and, ultimately, Rome through conquest of a formidable opposing army (Virgil, V:940-949). His great-grandson, Brutus, on the other hand, will found Britain by divine right, and the Britons will be the rulers of the earth by the same. Brutus, exemplifying every desirable quality of the heroic Classical figure, will pass those qualities on to his descendants. This psychological approach to the foundation of

Britain is intended to elicit strong feelings of patriotism in the British audience.

Geoffrey links Arthur to this portrait of Brutus by devising a parallel structure between that king and the ultimate heroic archetype he has created. Like Brutus, Arthur is a “young man only fifteen years old” when he ascends to power (212). Also like Brutus, Arthur is “of outstanding courage and generosity [...] giving gifts freely to everyone” (212). Facing the Saxon enemy, Arthur pursues them “relentlessly” in parallel to his forefather’s ferocity against his enemies, and mirroring Brutus’s tactical excellence he crafts a “plan [...] to hem them in and besiege them, so that in the end they should die of hunger” (215). In the face of the Saxons’ vengeful attack on the coastal region of Totnes, Arthur orders “summary justice” inflicted upon his hostages and demands further reparations in the guise of battle against the remainder of the Saxon army (216). Like Brutus, Arthur is a formidable and overwhelming presence on the battlefield; during the Battle of Bath, he “rushed forward at full speed into the thickest ranks of the enemy” and “Every man whom he struck [...] he killed at a single blow” (217). Having inherited all of the characteristics of the Classical hero, here Arthur is psychologically portrayed as the rightful descendant of Brutus.

But Arthur is an even greater man than Brutus, the culmination of admirable medieval qualities of leadership. In addition to the Classical qualities of courage and bravery, skill on the battlefield, leadership and generosity, and justice, Arthur possesses diplomacy, seeks counsel from the

wisest among him, demonstrates loyalty and love towards his lands and people, and most importantly, is a Christian king, even wearing the image of the Virgin Mary on his shield for protection in battle (217). As the siege against the Saxons grows less effective, he “accepted the advice of his retainers and withdrew into the town of London. There he convened the bishops and the clergy of the entire realm and asked their suggestion as to what it would be best and safest for him to do, in the face of this invasion of the pagans” (214). Although the Saxons have betrayed his confidence, Arthur declares that “I myself will keep faith with my God. This very day I will do my utmost to take vengeance on them for the blood of my fellow-countrymen (216). Geoffrey evokes the medieval ideal of the supreme Christian king and establishes the importance of love and defense of a country and its people from its enemies. In a country in the throes of a civil war such as Britain was at the time of the appearance of the *HRB*, this might elicit a positive psychological response to such a king and a desire for such a unified nation, leading to greater audience association with Arthur and his Britain.

After subduing the Saxons, Scots and Picts, Arthur further distinguishes himself as an ideal medieval king by founding a court of chivalry and *gentillesse*:

Arthur then began to increase his personal entourage by inviting very distinguished men from far-distant kingdoms to join it. In this way he developed such a code of courtliness in his household that [...] the result was that even the man of noblest birth [...] thought nothing at all of himself unless he wore his arms and dressed in the same way as Arthur's knights. (222)

Arthur's willingness to accept into his court men of great bearing from other lands distinguishes him from Brutus and marks a psychological turning point from Classical parallels to a distinctly medieval mindset that allows for the realities of Norman England, with its blend of British, French and Scandinavian customs. Arthur's supremacy and by association that of Britain at this point in the narrative is unquestioned; therefore, the presence of foreign men of good character at his court serves to heighten his own reputation and that of Britain. Arthur is a new archetype for a new nation, combining the best characteristics of both the classical and the medieval world and passing them on to his people.

Having paralleled Arthur's character closely to that of Brutus and added the desirable qualities necessary for a medieval king to establish Arthur's superior nature, Geoffrey returns here to Diana's prophecy and the promise of British supremacy worldwide. Arthur receives reports that he is feared and admired abroad, and "the fact that he was dreaded by all encouraged him to conceive the idea of conquering the whole of Europe" (222). He quickly mounts and is victorious in campaigns against Norway, Denmark and Gaul, at which point he pauses to hold a plenary court at Caerleon during Whitsuntide to demonstrate his *largesse* and socio-political supremacy and to celebrate his victories. This is, perhaps, Geoffrey's most important moment in the text psychologically. His audience, assured of Arthur's superior character and achievements, is invited through this court to bear witness to Arthur's victories and also to participate in the celebration of

his success. Geoffrey slows the narrative, providing detailed description of the people and events at court. The psychological response of the reader is to want to be a part of it all, to participate equally in such a sumptuous event and identify fully with the man behind it. Here, Geoffrey taps into the collective unconscious and the desire for honor and glory inherent within the human psyche.

Caerleon is chosen as the site of the plenary court because of its ideal location and appointments. Geoffrey writes that “being richer in material wealth than other townships, this city was eminently suitable for such a ceremony” (226). He states of its location that it is “in a most pleasant position” and continues by claiming that “by the gold-painted gables of its roofs it was a match for Rome”, maintaining the all-important psychological association to the Classical world (226). He reminds the audience of the superior, Christian nature of Arthur’s world by adding that “it [Caerleon] was famous for its two churches” and of the advances made in education during the Middle Ages in Britain: “The city also contained a college of two-hundred learned men, who were skilled in astronomy and the other arts, and who watched with great attention the courses of the stars and so by their careful computation prophesied for King Arthur” (226-227). Caerleon is a successful, thriving, intellectual and sophisticated Christian centre, echoing and excelling the greatness of Rome – the perfect location for the plenary court of the Roman descendant and Christian king Arthur. Psychologically, this parallel creates a common feeling of destined well-being; as the Roman Empire once

thrived under great leaders, so now do Arthur's Britons thrive as descendants and rightful heirs to the grace and plenty of that historical entity.

Geoffrey draws further parallels between ancient epics and the Arthurian legend by incorporating within the text a catalogue of heroes, or historical record of the important figures that attend the court, among whom are included heads of state and of Church as well as learned and important men of other professions within the nobility. This list is designed not only to underscore the importance and supremacy of Arthur as king of such men, but also to provide a sense of historical veracity to the text. However fictional or embellished Geoffrey's list may be, its presence within the text and the amount of space it is allotted – nearly two pages – provides a sense of *authoritas* that renders the text psychologically important for its contemporary audience: if the figures are not real, and one isn't really there with them, the sense that they *could* be real, and that by reading the text participate in the court with them, suffices to create the sense of personal identification necessary to access the collective unconscious.

Having thus set its political identity by aligning Britain with Rome, Geoffrey next develops the cultural identity of his imagined nation in his description of the court. Highlighting the stately and royal nature of the occasion, Arthur and his queen, Guinevere, are crowned and celebrate high mass prior to the feast, after which Geoffrey again points out that Arthur and his people are the natural descendants of the Romans: "The King went off with the men to feast in his own palace and the Queen retired with the married

women to feast with hers; for the Britons still observed the ancient custom of Troy, the men celebrating festive occasions with their fellow-men and the women eating separately with the other women" (229). Not content simply to remind his audience that Britons are the successors of Romans, Geoffrey again highlights the superior nature of the British state to any other: "by this time, Britain had reached such a standard of sophistication that it excelled all other kingdoms in its general affluence, the richness of its decorations, and the courteous behavior of its inhabitants" (229). Here, Geoffrey demonstrates his familiarity with and indebtedness to the images of courtly literature just coming into fashion in his time. Although his Arthur is centrally a warrior-king in the historical tradition, the scene at court in particular bears what Barron calls "romantic potential [...] barely discernible beneath the dominant pattern of national destiny" (17) and what le Saux refers to as "the shadowy figure of Arthurian romance" (21). In this scene, Geoffrey underscores the sophistication of the Britons by declaring that "Every knight in the country who was in any way famed for his bravery wore livery and arms showing his own distinct colour; and women of fashion often displayed the same colours" (229). He completes the *tableau* with a description of the courtliness of British women and its effect upon the men: "They [the women] scorned to give their love to any man who had not proved himself three times in battle. In this way the womenfolk became chaste and more virtuous and for their love the knights were even more daring" (229). Although at the time of Geoffrey's writing the courtly tradition that originated under the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine

and Marie de Champagne had not yet been invented, it is evident that courtly behavior was an important feature of Geoffrey's idea of the ideal British monarchy, and that such details concerning dress and comportment provide a vision of perfect courtliness in accordance with the greatness of location and event at Arthur's court, further heightening the desirability of association with such rich company.

Majesty, authority, wealth, and stateliness, combined with courtliness, serve as the fundamental guidelines of the plenary court and therefore as underlying principles of Britishness as envisioned by Geoffrey. He embroiders on this theme by incorporating a description of the games and activities of such a court:

The knights planned an imitation battle and competed together on horseback [...] The others passed what remained of the day in shooting with bows and arrows, hurling the lance, tossing heavy stones and rocks, playing dice and an immense variety of other games: This without the slightest show of ill-feeling. Whoever won his particular game was then rewarded by Arthur with an immense prize. (230)

Geoffrey points out that not only the knights, but all of the Britons, are competent at some form of physical activity, that they thrive on challenges and on competitions, that they are generous and good-spirited and not prone to jealousy or sulking, and that Arthur proves his *largesse* through the handing-out of prizes for all games, not just the jousting and combats. This underscores the fairness and sense of unity present in Arthur's kingdom. Excellence at even the meanest of games – throwing dice, for example – is rewarded as equally as is excellence at the war games of the knights, and the Britons therefore are accorded an overall sense of belonging and of well-being at

Arthur's court. The implications are clear: to be British is to be great within one's capacity so to do, and to be honored for whatever ability one possesses. All loyal Britons, native and adoptive, have a part to play in Arthur's unified realm.

Geoffrey moves deftly between the past and present throughout the Arthurian portion of the *HRB*, evoking the spirit of Rome by reinforcing the ties between ancient Troy and Britain, then pointing out the role Britain is to play as the ultimately supreme medieval nation. Arthur, alone, does not seek this glorious end; his advisors and fellow noblemen share his vision as they share his history. Lucius, the procurator of Rome, sends a letter demanding that Arthur present himself in Rome to receive sentence and punishment for his crimes against that state in annexing Gaul and refusing to pay the annual tribute demanded of all her holdings by Rome. Arthur seeks counsel from his nobles and delivers a fiery speech in which he exclaims:

In so far as the Romans have done us violence, he pleads an unreasonable case when he maintains that we are his tributaries in the eyes of the law. Since he presumes to exact something illegal from us, let us by a similar argument seek from him the tribute of Rome! [...] If the Roman decrees that tribute ought to be paid him by Britain simply because Julius Caesar and other Roman leaders conquered this country years ago, then I decree that Rome ought to give me tribute, in that my ancestors once captured that city [...] As for Gaul and the neighboring islands [...] we need send no answer, for when we snatched those lands from their empire they made no effort to defend them. (233)

At this point, Geoffrey is clearly crafting Britain's future as that of the supreme state of Europe. Through his rhetoric, Arthur evokes a sense of reason and justice, as well as of pride and ancestral rights. He determines that Lucius's demands are "unreasonable" and presumptuous, and points out that

the Romans have no concern for their holdings, as they “made no effort to defend them” when Arthur’s troops invaded. Because of the Romans’ violence against Britain, unreasonable expectations concerning tribute, disdain for historical precedent and lack of effort in protecting the peoples in their holdings, Arthur concludes that Rome is no longer the greatest state and that Britain no longer owes Rome her allegiance. He suggests that Britain honor the past by breaking from a present-day Rome that no longer demonstrates the qualities of reason, tradition and empire that rendered ancient Rome such a great state. Britain, and not Rome, is worthy of garnering tribute; Britain, and not Rome, is the inheritor of the ancient traditions.

Hoel, king of the Armorican Britons, replies to Arthur in a speech that highlights British nationalism and the nature of this moment as a foundational one in British history:

If you are prepared to set out for Rome in such a cause as this, then I have no doubt at all about our being victorious. We shall be defending our liberty when in all justice we demand from our enemies what they have sought from us [...] Such a confrontation is longed for by all Britons. Do not the Sybelline Prophecies testify in verse that for the third time someone born of British blood shall seize the empire of Rome? As far as the first two are concerned, the Prophecies are already fulfilled [...] Now we have you as the third man to whom the supreme dignity of such an honor is promised. Make haste, then, to take in your hand what God is only too willing to bestow! [...] I shall stand at your side with ten thousand armed men. (233-234)

For Hoel, Arthur’s decision to battle Rome for supremacy is nothing less than the fulfillment of ancient prophecy through the workings of God; this is Arthur’s moment, and with him must stand all Britons. Evoking reason, justice, and freedom from oppression, Hoel urges Arthur to take action and restore order according to the prophecy. The king of Albany, Augulsus,

speaks as well: "If the Romans and the Germans remain unscathed and we fail to take vengeance on them like true men [...] then we seem to have achieved nothing [...] Death itself will be sweet, if only I may suffer it in avenging our ancestors, safeguarding our liberty and exalting our King!" (235). Echoing Hoel's demand for justice, Augulus sums up the primary reasons for which action must be taken – justice and vengeance, liberty, and the supremacy of Britain. One by one, each of the heads of state who have been conquered and made allies by Arthur pledges support and armed men: Ireland, Iceland, Gotland, the Orkneys, Norway, Denmark, and the men of Gaul - the Ruteni, Portivenses, Normans, Cenomanni, Angevins and Poitevins, and Chartres side with Arthur's Britain (235). Through the fact that many differing tribes of men from Gaul, among them the Normans, pledge tribute to Arthur in this battle against Rome, Geoffrey links the Britain in which he is writing, the Anglo-Norman world, with that of Arthur. This imposes a sense of unification and nationalism upon these differing groups. Against the common enemy of Rome, in the face of her injustice, her lack of reason and dismissal of tradition and history, her carelessness in the government and oversight of the lands in her authority, and the economic hardships posed by her tributary demands, stand Arthur and all those who believe in a better world.

Here, the term "Briton" is both a historical and a cultural one – a Briton is one who fights with Arthur for British interests against British enemies. This is a powerful psychological message for Geoffrey's contemporaries concerning nationalism. Establishing that Arthur and his allies

are fighting together for freedom from the oppression of other states (in Arthur's case, Rome), for what is right and just, and for Britain's future as a supreme state, Geoffrey suggests a unified sense of common British goals. Directly following the plenary court, with its descriptions of Arthur's reign and of those who profit by it in terms of his *largesse* and the courtly nature of his rule, this scene indicates that Arthur is right and good, that Rome must fall before him because the world will be a better place under British rule, and that the British way is the best way – propaganda intended to have a psychological impact upon the audience. Geoffrey at this point harnesses the collective unconscious variously through his descriptions of the ideal British individual character, the ideal British courtly nature, and ideal British political policies, setting the scene for a battle for the continued existence of such a Britain in which the reader is psychologically implicated. Geoffrey seeks from his audience no less than total identification with Arthur and the Britons at this point, and through the devices of Hoel's and Augulus's speeches and the roll call of various native-born British tribes and their conquered allies, all of whom willingly follow Arthur into the fray, he is likely to have gained it by associating all with the idea of a common goal for the common good under British rule. He suggests that even an audience not natively British can ally itself with British ideals and, by association, become British.

Arthur accordingly prepares his troops and sets sail for Southampton. During the voyage, he falls into "a very deep slumber" (237). As his ancestor Brutus slept and received a prophetic vision "about the third hour of the night"

concerning the future of his people in Britain (65), so does Arthur “round about midnight” encounter a prophetic vision concerning the future of Britain (237). Whereas Brutus’s dream is a direct vision of the goddess Diana, in keeping with Classical belief concerning the relationship between men and gods, Arthur’s dream is more indirect, reflecting the Christian tradition of allegory and symbolism. In it, he sees “a bear flying through the air. At the growling of the bear every shore quaked. Arthur also saw a terrifying dragon flying in from the west and lighting up the countryside with the glare of his eyes” (237). Because Arthur is the son of Uther Pendragon, and his own helmet features a dragon’s crest, because of the folkloric tradition of the dragon in Celtic mythology and because the dragon attacks from the west, the location of Britain in association to Rome, a first interpretation of the imagery in this dream is that the dragon is a symbolic representation of Arthur, himself, and by extension of Britain. Because the bear terrifies “every shore”, and is a symbol of Rome, it can be assumed that the bear symbolizes the Roman Empire, and that the bear is flying may indicate that Rome is in transgression of the natural order of things, overstepping its bounds and taking on power it does not by natural right possess. Furthermore, because of the bear’s association with motherhood in psychological symbolism, the bear can also be read as Rome, the Mother of Britain. In Arthur’s dream, “the dragon [...] attacked the bear time and time again, burning it with its fiery breath and finally hurling its scorched body down to the ground” (237). Referring as it does to Arthur’s repeated attacks on the holdings of Rome, the dream suggests

an imminent final showdown between the two powers in which Arthur's Christian Britain is victorious and Rome lies in smoldering ruin, an almost apocalyptic scene of the ultimate triumph.

A second possible interpretation of the dream renders it more psychologically complex. The name "Arthur", or "Arturus" in Latin, is also the Latin term for "bear", and "artur" in the Welsh language is also translated as "bear". Arthur has thus been alternately known as "bear-man" or the "bear of Britain". In this case, the bear and dragon could be seen as symbolic of an internal conflict between Arthur, the individual, symbolized by the bear, and Arthur, the archetypal king, symbolized by the dragon. In such a reading, Arthur's conflict is between his personal and public self, Arthur the Bear and Arthur the Pendragon. That the dragon wins in this case, incinerating the bear, suggests that ultimately Arthur will undergo a transformation by fire that destroys the individual man and leaves in his place the king. Arthur will die, but Britain will triumph. In this interpretation, the individual is subsumed by the collective, resulting in a single, triumphant entity.

Psychologically, this dream scene is important to Arthur as an individual because in the second reading, it directly signifies an alchemical transformation from individual to collective archetype, whereas in the first reading, it reflects a confrontation with his *anima* and therefore can also be seen as a transformational moment, part of his own alchemical process towards the *imitatio Christi*. In turn, because Arthur is the head of the nation, it also represents Britain's transformation towards an ideal state. Although

Rome is symbolized by a bear of unspecified gender, yet Rome as an entity is “she”, a female spirit, which Jung refers to as the *anima* (ACU, 27-28). As in many of the cases Jung documented among his patients, in this dream Arthur symbolically faces his *anima* in the form of a bear; Rome as Arthur’s *anima* here “reveals her extraordinary nature [...] by her power to change shape” (ACU, 201). Removed from the earthly plain to the sky, symbolic of a psychological battle rather than a temporal one, Arthur as dragon faces Rome as bear, and as Jung states: “The relation with the *anima* is [...] a test of courage, an ordeal by fire for the spiritual and moral forces of man” (29). The image of the dragon burning the bear represents this ordeal by fire, and also represents an alchemical process of transformation. In his dream, Arthur undergoes a psychological conflict against his ancestral “mother”, Rome, which he ultimately wins, thus destroying the old archetype in favor of the new, which in the form of Arthur’s dragon represents Britain and Britishness.

Although Arthur’s alchemical transformation from warlord to British emperor occurs in symbolic dream-language, in Jungian terms this is both the archetypal representation of Arthur’s identity as the champion of Britain, and also the triumph of the collective archetype over the unconscious individual. In “Psychology and Literature”, Jung writes that: “From the very beginnings of human society we find traces of man’s efforts to banish his dark forebodings by expressing them in a magical or proprietary form [...] what appears in the vision is the imagery of the collective unconscious” (96-97). Visionary language is commonly found in religious writings, notably in

biblical texts in which dreams and visions serve as prophetic heralds of the future. This suggests that medieval audiences, accustomed to visionary language through the Christian tradition, might see the outcome of Arthur's dream as proof of the just nature of his battle against Rome and of his destiny to rule the western world as the ideal, archetypal Christian king of Britain. By association, the dream is a powerful psychological image of the transformation of Britain from colonial, post-Roman state to autonomous nation.

Jung claims that situations in which there are multiple subconscious implications to the symbolism encountered in a vision represent the alchemical notion of "*obscurum per obscurius*", seeking that which is unknown and not understandable through the unknown (PA, 244-245). Arthur, himself, interprets his dream individually but incorrectly, whereas his men see the collective implications of it:

Arthur woke up at this point and described what he had dreamed to those who were standing round. They interpreted it [...] that the dragon was himself and the bear some giant or other that he was to fight [...] the victory of the dragon was that which Arthur himself would win. Arthur, however, was sure that it all meant something different, for he considered that this dream had come about because of himself and the emperor. (237)

Geoffrey appears to understand the basic psychological response to the dream to be on both an individual and collective level, and is dealing with what Jung terms "alchemical principles of transformation disguised as harmless allegory" in this dream vision (PA 34). Arthur believes the dream is linked to his own, personal situation, whereas his men view it as more: implied in their

interpretation is that the bear is a great force against which Arthur will prevail; with the battle against Rome approaching, plainly the men believe it is to this that the dream refers. Arthur interprets the dream as his own, personal battle with the emperor of Rome for sovereignty. Yet, because Arthur as the king of the Britons represents Britain collectively, and the emperor as the head of Rome represents Rome collectively, his interpretation should be at once individual – his own defeat of the *anima* – and collective – the British defeat of Rome. Arthur sees only the first and not the second interpretation; furthermore, he sees the first only in terms of himself versus the emperor of Rome, and not as his warring public and private identities. Because of his failure to correctly interpret the vision, he has clearly not yet achieved the *Imitatio Christi*. Arthur does not yet possess the mystical ability to ‘see’ the situation in its entirety, and therefore must continue seeking the meaning of his vision even as he continues to act supported not yet by true understanding, but by his faith in God and the prophecies that have foretold his victory. Arthur’s dream parallels that of Brutus in circumstance and general message, but comes in the form of a Christian visionary and individually alchemical experience that is at once understood and not fully understood by Arthur and by his men. The dream provides a psychological link yet again from Brutus to Arthur, grounding in the Christian and Scholastic imagery of the medieval world, and a continuing of the narrative as Geoffrey and audience alike look to the future events of Arthur’s dealings with Rome and the hope of a victory in which Britain will triumph.

At this point Arthur's personal alchemical transformation is accelerated through his encounter with a giant that has abducted the daughter of the king of Spain and is situated at the top of Mont St. Michel. This location is historically significant not only for its Romano-Britain origins as an Armorican stronghold in the sixth and seventh centuries – which tenuously ties it to the Arthurian story – but also because of the legend of the foundation of its monastery in the ninth century by St. Aubert, bishop of Avranches, following the instructions of a vision of the Archangel Michael, which renders it a holy shrine (Metcalf 1). It is significant to the narrative because of its isolated geographical location; far above other points of the land and accessible only by boat over the sea, it serves again as a removal from the temporal action in which Arthur encounters a psychological conflict. Again, Arthur undergoes an alchemical ordeal by fire, represented physically in the scene: "When they came to the Mount, they saw a fire gleaming on the top and a second fire ablaze on a smaller peak" (238). When Arthur encounters the giant, "the inhuman monster was standing by his fire" (238). The giant strikes a blow against Arthur with his club, and Geoffrey claims that "the King grew white-hot in the fierceness of his rage [...] moving like lightning, he struck the giant repeatedly with his sword [...] giving him no respite until he had dealt him a lethal blow" (239-240). That Arthur grows 'white-hot' indicates a chemical reaction, signifying that he is undergoing transformation in this battle. When he returns from the incident, he remarks that the giant was the strongest foe he had ever encountered (240); his victory against the giant

therefore indicates his growth in strength and reveals that he is more aware of his power, a necessary step in his journey towards the ultimate defeat of Rome and realization of the ideal personally and politically.

Geoffrey turns at this point to the battle between the forces of Arthur and of Lucius, and provides an extensive description of the fighting, including lists of the fallen and a speech by Arthur in which the principles of courage, liberty and vengeance are again underscored (250-257). The victory goes to the Britons, and Geoffrey notes: "All this was ordained by divine providence" (256). Despite heavy losses for the British - among the fallen are Arthur's close friends and vassals, Bedevere and Kay - this victory against Lucius's forces is a heartening one, leaving only the defeat of Rome, herself, in the way of British supremacy. At this point in the narrative, the ideal is within reach, and Geoffrey's audience feels as sure of victory as do Arthur and his men. Therefore, at this point in the narrative, Geoffrey tests his audience, just as Arthur is tested: news arrives that Arthur's nephew, Mordred, has usurped his throne and is living adulterously with Guinevere in Britain (257). That treachery of this sort is ultimately the most ignoble of actions is evident in Geoffrey's narrative comment: "About this particular matter, most noble Duke, Geoffrey of Monmouth prefers to say nothing" (257). Geoffrey, a Briton, deems himself too noble to comment further on the unspeakable treason of Mordred, and the audience is expected to agree with him and to anticipate repercussions, which Geoffrey does not delay: "As soon as the bad news of this flagrant crime had reached his ears, Arthur immediately cancelled

the attack which he had planned to make on Leo, the Emperor of the Romans [...] without more ado he himself set off for Britain, accompanied only by the island kings and their troops" (258). For an audience such as Geoffrey's, subjected itself to civil war and a battle for the crown, this situation calls forth a psychological reaction of anger, a sense of betrayal, and a desire for vengeance. Arthur has no choice but to abandon his current plan to conquer Rome in order first to restore order in Britain. With Mordred ruling as usurper, Arthur's Britain is divided within itself, and unity must be achieved before any common goal of British supremacy can be realized.

Between Mathilda and Stephen in Geoffrey's own time the situation is slightly different, but the divided factions supporting the one or the other in their conflict certainly parallel the factions Geoffrey sets up in the *HRB* – Arthur and the island kings versus Mordred and the Saxons, Scots and Picts he has forged alliances with in Arthur's absence (258). It is significant that Arthur brings along only the island kings – the "true Britons" and not those who are culturally aligned with him – on his journey to reclaim the throne. This is to be a showdown between Arthur's allied Britons and Mordred's newly-allied company of "the other", a fight in Britain and for Britain, waged by the British against those who have tried for centuries to take their kingdom from within. The story therefore comes full-circle, with Arthur returning to battle with the Saxons, Scots and Picts, now falsely aligned with the Britons under Mordred's rule. This suggests the *HRB* as a deeply psychological portrait of twelfth-century Britain, divided between the Anglo-Norman ruling

class and the native races, which either must unify under one ruler or come to a point of contention from which springs a new order. Within the text itself, this is certainly the case; the audience is to side with Arthur against Mordred's treason and to desire a British victory with a resulting idyllic unification of native peoples.

Victory comes, but at catastrophic cost. Meeting Mordred's armies, the British suffer great losses, and while Mordred is killed, Arthur also is injured (261). The British are victorious, but Arthur "was mortally wounded and carried off to the isle of Avalon, so that his wounds might be attended to" (261). Yet, before Arthur leaves for Avalon, "he handed the crown of Britain over to his cousin Constantine, the son of Cador Duke of Cornwall" (261). While Arthur is removed from the narrative at this point and therefore does not accomplish the ultimate goal of vanquishing Rome, he exits at the point at which he is rendered most ideal: abandoning his own goal of achieving ultimate supremacy as the conqueror of Rome, he has instead returned to Britain and unified the nation under the rule of Britons rather than that of the usurper Mordred. Because he has placed the needs of the nation above individual glory, Arthur is rendered Christ-like at last. Sacrificing himself for Britain, as Christ sacrificed himself for humanity, Arthur completes his alchemical transformation from young, untried leader of the Britons to supreme British king, and is now removed from the temporal plane to arrive at the ultimate state of alchemical formation – immortality. Carried off to the isle of Avalon, Arthur does not die; the promise of his future return remains,

mirroring the promised return of Christ. Arthur becomes the archetypal *imitatio Christi*, the perfected human ideal.

The parallels between Arthur and Christ – both rallying and unifying the people in their cause, both mortally wounded by their enemies, and both removed from the earthly plane to return to victory at a later date – would not have been missed by Geoffrey's audience. That Arthur has passed the crown on to a Briton and thus ensured the line of succession in so far as he is able is also significant in terms of his representation of nascent British nationalism. Although ultimately in the *HRB* British supremacy is not achieved and the usurping Saxons weaken the idea of the British nation, still the promise of British supremacy as prophesied by Merlin is evoked to the end. As Cadwallader seeks to reclaim Britain for the British, "an Angelic Voice [...] told him to stop. God did not wish the Britons to rule in Britain anymore, until the moment should come which Merlin had prophesied to Arthur [...] as a reward for its faithfulness, the British people would occupy the island again at some time in the future" 281-282). When Arthur returns, the British nation will also reach its ideal state. In the meantime, the British are to wait and hope, to seek to deserve God's mercy, and to strive to be what they ought as a people, as evidenced by the Angelic Voice's command to Cadwallader to seek penance for his sins (281-283). By the end of the *HRB*, the Britons – referred to at this point specifically as Welsh – have sunk into civil unrest and degenerate behavior, and the Saxons have taken control. Left with only the prophecies of Merlin and the promise of a return to supremacy, the audience is

expected to reflect upon that state of things. Geoffrey leaves the narrative open-ended intentionally, a coercion to consider where one's alliance lies – with the ideal national character as it has been put forth through Arthur, or with the corrupted state described at the end of the *HRB* and, ostensibly, present at least to some degree in Geoffrey's own time. Geoffrey does not cross the line; he has powerfully imagined the ideal British king through the archetypal representation of Arthur as *Imitatio Christi*, and he has roused the desire for strength, courage, courtliness, and justice in a king; he has provided an example of the transformation of a man from raw material into a king of the greatest possible nature, but he does not insist that the audience follow suit. Rather, he holds up the possibilities and asks the audience to "choose"; whether or not he has succeeded in his goal depends upon the psychological impact that his text has in cultivating the desire to belong to such a culture as that which he has presented. In a nation struggling to redefine itself in a time of civil war, a country in which historically the native and invading tribes have had at best a tenuous hold on any degree of unity or community, and a country in which the Norman culture had only infiltrated the overall national tradition over the past century, what it was to be "British" was a question only just being asked. The *HRB* is Geoffrey's answer to that question. Geoffrey's Arthur becomes, according to Barron, "a symbol of national identity to all the island races", so that "out of their multiple ambivalencies grew the concept of Britain englobing England yet greater than England, a convenient fiction of national unity" (xiv). The continued presence of Geoffrey's original idea of

Arthur within the various texts of the Arthurian canon, however altered and shifted in terms of presentation from one text to the next, testifies that he was, in fact, successful in persuading his audience on a fundamentally psychological level to accept the idea of Arthur as the true, ideal king of the Britains and to want Britain to reflect this in terms of its socio-political structure and culture.

Jung writes that “an epoch is like an individual; it has its own limitations of conscious outlook, and therefore requires a compensatory adjustment. This is effected by the collective unconscious when a poet or seer lends expression to the unspoken desire of his times and shows the way, by word or deed, to its fulfillment” (PL, 98). Britain in the twelfth-century needed a glorious past, a collective history that would lend the nation a sense of authority and identity, which Geoffrey provided in the *HRB*. In the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century, Laȝamon demonstrates the malleable quality of the foundational archetype of Arthur, maintaining his basic nature as established by Geoffrey, but reinventing certain aspects of the story for an Anglo-Norman audience still dealing with the need to unify disparate elements of society in a centralized understanding of “Britain”.

II. LAȜAMON'S *BRUT*

Writing between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth-century and modeling his text after Robert Wace's *Roman de Brut*, itself an adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*, LaȜamon's *Brut* demonstrates the flexibility and adaptability of the Arthurian legend to contemporary tastes and requirements in a nation of profound and ongoing socio-political shifts. Wace's importance in rendering the story available to a wider audience through his translation from Latin into the more fashionable Anglo-Norman (Old French) rhyming couplets favored during his time cannot be overstated. As Judith Weiss notes: "By doing so, he instantly made British historiography in general, and the story of Arthur in particular, more memorable and more accessible to a far wider audience than they had previously enjoyed, and provided the starting point and inspiration for the flowering of Arthurian romance" (xi). Wace's version of the tale was the first to be widely available to a lay audience, and his treatment of the material – in particular, the expansion of the love-triangle between Arthur, Guinevere and Mordred, and the invention of the Round Table and subsequent close kinship established between Arthur and his knights – betrays that he is "far more interested in human emotions than [...] Geoffrey of Monmouth", in keeping with the humanist culture of the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine (Weiss, xxii). Additionally, although still writing in the epic tradition, Wace "provides a bridge to the newer world of twelfth-century romance", incorporating long descriptions of courteous and courtly behavior throughout his narrative

(Weiss, xxiii). As Barron notes, “Wace, court poet and stylist [...] gave it [the *Brut*] a gloss of contemporaneity which allowed Anglo-Norman rulers to imagine themselves the rightful heirs to Arthurian power and chivalry” (11). Wace therefore provides a bridge between Geoffrey’s *HRB* and the *Brut* of Laȝamon. Without this transitional text of Wace’s, Laȝamon’s early Middle English version of the Arthurian legend, if it were written at all, would not have had the impact that it did on British culture in the thirteenth-century and beyond. As it stands, Barron argues: “Laȝamon, provincial cleric and antiquarian in an age when English was a provincial medium [...] reclaim[s] the heroic values of British resistance to foreign conquest for his own race, imaginative association rooted in recent experience of invasion obliterating the role of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors as alien aggressors” (11). Laȝamon’s *Brut*, written in the early Middle English vernacular and based both in the Latin chronicle tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the French romance tradition of Robert Wace, parlays the Arthurian archetype linguistically and in terms of his treatment and expansion of the subject matter into a more contemporary ideal.

Laȝamon’s choice to compose the *Brut* in Middle English is significant in terms of the presentation of the Arthurian legend as a British one; according to Barron and Weinberg:

in terms of cultural history, its literary quality apart, the *Brut* is a work of major importance: the first clear indication that the native poetic tradition had survived the Norman Conquest; proof that the English language was fit to be a literary medium after some century and a half of virtual silence; the earliest vernacular version of the Arthurian

legend which was to be a recurrent theme in English literature across the centuries to come. (vii)

That such a story of British nationalism was not available in English seems difficult to believe. Laȝamon filled this void by translating into English and expanding upon the French text of Wace, freely elaborating on the character of Arthur in particular to reflect the ideal British king as he viewed such an entity. As Barron and Weinberg note: "The idealized portrait [provided by Geoffrey] was clearly acceptable to Laȝamon, though he chose to emphasize certain features and to reflect different aspects of reality. Many of his additions and elaborations heighten the idealization of Arthur" (lv). Laȝamon takes up the idea of crafting British nationalism begun by Geoffrey and by writing in the vernacular renders it more widely available and understandable to the layperson, who in turn is expected to participate in the psychological community presented in the text. By appealing to the British in a dialect of the English language rather than the traditional Latin or fashionable French, Laȝamon creates a strong psychological connection between the vernacular audience and the story of Britain's foundation, which in turn provides an easier bridge between the ideal and the real, the archetype of Arthur, King of the Britons and the audience member seeking to understand and assimilate Arthur's story into his own concept of Britain.

The amalgamative nature of British society and politics during the period in which Laȝamon was writing, an England in which the Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-Norman factions were still at odds, bears note as a major

influence on Laȝamon's approach to the story. Barron and Weinberg note that by the time of the *Brut*'s composition

everywhere in England the political conditions established by the Norman Conquest had long been absorbed" and continue by stating that "the bitterness of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, robbed of its patrimony, did not outlive the generation decimated at Hastings [...] All passed to the Conqueror's kinsmen and followers, Normans, Bretons, Flemings, who had supported him. (xvi)

This highlights the complicated nature of the transference of power in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Britain. Far from being either hereditary or through conquest, the bestowing of titles, lands and authority upon both relations and those unrelated to but well-serving of the king, upon those both native-born and from invading groups, renders British authority in the thirteenth-century complicated because of its arbitrary nature. According to Barron and Weinberg: "As memories of the Norman Conquest faded in the course of the twelfth-century, it was not the illegal actions of foreigners of which all the classes complained, but the punctiliousness with which their new masters enforced English law for their own advantage" (xvi). Yet, despite the arrogance of the newly-established elite, and the fact that these nobles "exerted an influence out of all proportion to their [small] numbers" (xvi) Barron and Weinberg also note that simultaneously Britain was undergoing an economical growth with lasting implications for society:

The age was one of comparative peace, after centuries of Islamic and Viking threat to Europe [...] The consequent increase in trade and the flourishing of the towns allowed some Englishmen to rise in the world and achieve a degree of social independence [...] As their wealth increased, their daughters married into Norman families; English women of good family had made such marriages since the Conquest.

Slowly, the two people began to mingle, to share common values, to fuse their different racial identities. (xvii)

Paradoxically, the Norman Conquest at once subverted and supported the prosperity of the British, both undermined British traditions and allowed for an expansion of British culture under Norman influence. The resultant complexity of this society is reflected in its art and literature, as evidenced in the *Brut*. Laȝamon's text bridges the gap between Geoffrey's original answer to the question "what is a Briton?" and Wace's predominantly Norman version of events and provides Britain's Anglo-Norman society with a foundational text rooted in British historical ideas but grounded also in Norman influence at court, an Arthur for this altered British nation that at once maintains its past and supports its contemporary cultural status. Psychologically, this is a text designed to appeal to and to influence a wider and more sophisticated audience still in search of an answer to the question of what constitutes the British nation.

That Laȝamon is influenced by the romance tradition imposed upon the Arthurian legend by Wace is clear from the beginning of the section of the *Brut* which deals with Brutus, for where Geoffrey was content to name Brutus "the leader of those who survived the fall of Troy" (56), in Laȝamon's version Brutus is referred to as a knight: "cniht he was swiȝe god" (I: 177). The term "cniht" in Old English refers to a young man, warrior, or retainer; but used in tandem with the modern term "duke", which does not have an Old English equivalent, to describe Brutus: "nomen þene cniht Brutun; & makeden hine to duke" (I: 212), it seems certain that the linguistic meaning of the term has

shifted in Middle English, and that Laȝamon names Brutus a “knight” and a “duke” following Wace’s version of the story: “E si il les vuleit guier, / A duc le feraient lever” (181-182)¹¹; in both versions, the Trojans promise Brutus that he will be elevated to the position of duke in exchange for his protection of them against the Greek king, whereas in Geoffrey’s version Brutus is “promoted to the position of leader” and there is no use of the term “duke” (HRB 56). Because Wace refers to the Trojan warriors as knights – ‘De bons e de pruz chivaliers’ (178), and Laȝamon is following Wace closely at this point in the narrative, there is no reason to assume that Laȝamon does not mean “knight”, and therefore “cniht” in his hands evidently shifts to such. This shift in terminology to describe the Roman Brutus as a ‘knight of great virtue’, which originates in Wace, reflects the shift in French and British medieval literature towards an anachronistic view of the world in which Classical figures are represented in medieval terms of courtliness, and serves to align the Roman ancestors of the Britons more closely with the British socio-political tradition contemporary to the writer. By Laȝamon’s time the promulgation of the courtly tradition in literature permits Brutus’s reconfiguration as a knight to render him an admirable figure, worthy of emulation, to an Anglo-Norman population that Judith Weiss observes as more distanced from the classical tradition than that of Geoffrey’s time, and therefore one that would not necessarily associate a more traditional Brutus with British ideals of heroism, a “lay audience less familiar, possibly less sympathetic, with the classics than Geoffrey’s one” (Weiss, xxiv). From the

beginning of the *Brut*, then, it is clear that this is a text designed for a nation that has an interest in, but no real affinity for, its legendary past. Laȝamon's audience identifies with the text, in contemporary terms, as a tale of courtliness and of knights, in keeping with the romance tradition begun at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine with its emphasis on historical adventures in courtly settings.

Like Wace, Laȝamon recontextualizes Brutus for a contemporary audience not as familiar with or enamored of the classical heroic figure as that of Geoffrey,¹² and lengthens the story considerably to appeal to an audience grown accustomed through the courtly tradition to narrative detail. The basic parallels between Brutus and Arthur established by Geoffrey are present in Laȝamon's text. It is not necessary to re-examine them here, as the psychological impact of these parallels between the classical world and the contemporary remains fundamentally the same. Association in Anglo-Norman England with a past civilization as renowned as Rome still connotes greatness. It is in the Arthurian episode of the *Brut* that Laȝamon's appeal to and manipulation of the collective unconscious of his audience is most evidently at play. The romance variations in Wace's version of the story, including the presence of fairies at Arthur's birth and the establishment of the Round Table, which Laȝamon maintains, provide the most compelling psychological matter for the Anglo-Norman audience, and the changes made to Geoffrey's original version throughout the Arthurian portion of the *Brut* are most significant to a psychological analysis of Laȝamon's intent in refashioning the story.

In Jungian terms, the incorporation of fairies into the tale reveals a deeper level of the unconscious, rooted in personality: "spirit is always an active, winged, swift-moving being as well as that which vivifies, stimulates, incites, fires and inspires [...] the dynamic principle, forming [...] the antithesis of [...] stasis and inertia" (ACU, 210). The presence of the fairies in romance incites and inspires the action and the adventures of the protagonist, and therefore their presence at Arthur's birth in the *Brut* is as the givers of those gifts of personality and existence that serve to stimulate and inspire Arthur as an individual. Laȝamon, writing well into the established period of the courtly tradition in medieval literature, is clearly influenced by romance elements and the Celtic tradition, and his incorporation of fairies into the birth scene of Arthur not only imposes a textual continuity between Arthur's birth and death, but also indicates a desire to appeal to a broad audience: both native and immigrant; from pagan and Christian traditions; those interested in Arthur as a historical figure in the chronicles and those interested in the courtly Arthur of romance tradition. The first real divergence from Geoffrey's *HRB* within the *Brut* therefore occurs at Arthur's birth, when Laȝamon notes:

fairies took charge of him; they enchanted the child with magic most potent: they gave him strength to be the best of all knights; they gave him another gift that he should be a mighty king; they gave him a third, that he should live long; they gave him, that royal child, such good qualities that he was the most liberal of all living men; these gifts the fairies gave him, and the child thrived accordingly. (9608-9615)

The presence of fairies in a text in which Arthur figures prominently as a Christian king should be problematic, because fairies are a motif of pagan, Celtic folklore, as Colleen P. Donagher notes (69). But in the courtly literary

tradition, fairies feature prominently, among other texts, in the *lais* of Marie de France and in the romance writings of Chrétien de Troyes, whose “Chevalier de la Charrette (Lancelot) was raised by the Lady of the Lake and aided by an “Immodest Damsel” identified by Karl D. Uitti as likely also to be a fairy.¹³ Chrétien de Troyes also refers in the introduction to “Cligès” that he wrote a tale (now lost) about Tristan and Isolde: “He who wrote [...] about King Mark and Isolde the Blonde” (123) and in extant versions of *Tristan and Isolde* fairy magic features a prominent role.¹⁴ Morris Bishop argues that “The source of the Matter of Britain was the great fund of Celtic legend, diffused in France by minstrels and harpers from Brétagne” and that such material demonstrated “love of the fantastic and marvelous; blurring of natural and supernatural; [and] acceptance of magic, wonder, fairies, witches, talking beasts, trees and fountains as commonplaces” (12). Despite their magical elements, these *romans courtois* were not considered pagan and did not constitute a problem for the medieval Christian audience, because the magical elements served either to demonstrate the inherent goodness of the protagonists or to highlight the evil forces against which they were working. Since the knights in these tales were always knights devoted to God and country as well as to *fin’amor*, magic might enhance or hinder their adventures, but the adventures themselves were those of Christians seeking to do right. The blurring of pagan and Christian in the romance tradition was therefore commonplace and acceptable, even expected. In blending the traditions of historical chronicle and of romance and consciously layering

folkloric elements of fantasy onto Wace's vision of Arthur as a figure of romance, Laȝamon creates a sense of unity between the different modes of thought current in Britain at the time, so that his Arthur embodies all aspects of the British tradition as a central, ideal figure for all of his readers.

The next alteration to the story comes with Arthur's succession to the throne following Uther Pendragon's death. In Geoffrey's version of events, "the leaders of the Britons assembled from their various provinces [...] and there suggested to Dubricius, the Archbishop of the City of the Legions, that as their King he should crown Arthur, the son of Uther" and so "Dubricius [...] called the other bishops to him and bestowed the crown of the kingdom upon Arthur" (213). Arthur's assumption to the throne is straightforward. Wace similarly maintains a tight narrative at this point in the tale, stating simply that "*Li evesque s'entremanderent / E li barun s'entr'assemblerent; / Artur, le fiz Uther, manderent, / A Cilcestre le corunerent*" (9009-9012)¹⁵; in fact, Wace's version cuts out the council which nominates Arthur as the next king and moves straight to the coronation itself. In Laȝamon's version, however, Arthur is not merely nominated and crowned in a few lines; first, he is nominated:

Then all came together, those who were highest in the land, nobles and warriors and learned men; they came to London to a great council. The noble thanes agreed upon a plan, that they would send messengers overseas to Brittany to search out the finest young man who was in this mortal world in those days, the best of all warriors, Arthur by name, and to say that he should come at once to his kingdom; for Uther was dead [...] and Uther Pendragon had no other son who could [...] subject the British to law. (9893-9904)

Next, the bishops actually sail to Brittany to inform Arthur of Uther's death, plead their case with him, and persuade him to take his rightful place as king:

The Britons immediately chose three bishops and seven knights
excelling in wisdom; they set out for Brittany and very quickly they
came to Arthur:

'Health to you, Arthur, noblest of knights; Uther sent you greetings
when he was dying, and commanded that you yourself should maintain
just laws in Britain [...] And he prayed the gracious son of God to help
you that you might do well, and receive the land from God; for Uther
Pendragon is dead [...] and you, Arthur, are Uther's son. (9909-9921)

And finally, Arthur accepts the throne and sets sail for Britain:

Arthur immediately called his followers, and commanded each and
every man to prepare his weapons, and ordered them to saddle their
horses in great haste, for he wished to cross to the land of Britain.
Noble thanes put to sea at Mont St. Michel with a great army; the sea
brought them to shore and they landed in Southampton. Away he rode,
the noble Arthur, straight to Silchester. (9932-9940)

There are several aspects of this scene, not present in either Geoffrey's or Wace's rendition thereof, that suggest that Laȝamon is striving for a very different psychological impact on his audience. First, the scene is expanded from four or five lines to nearly fifty, which is illustrative of Laȝamon's overall expansion of the text, but also of the importance of this scene to his vision of Arthur's story. The medieval "passion for order" is present in the scene, as well as "sacred mathematics", evidenced by the presence of the three bishops and seven knights in the envoy to Arthur (Mâle, 267-268). That both bishops and knights are present in the company indicates a desire for order, because as leaders in the Church and members of the nobility, they represent the unity of the Church and state in this decision. The numbers of bishops and knights sent is significant as well, and demonstrates Laȝamon's familiarity

with the writings of the Church fathers, particularly St. Augustine of Hippo, who “looms large in all medieval academic and monastic collections of books [and] became every writer’s point of reference” (Evans, 1). Among Augustine’s writings was the *De Libero Arbitrio*, in which he discusses the science of numbers: “The Divine Wisdom is reflected in the numbers impressed on all things. The construction of the physical and moral worlds alike is based on eternal numbers [...] The science of numbers, then, is the science of the universe, and from numbers we learn its secret” (Augustine, in Mâle, 270-271). Three and seven are sacred numbers in this medieval science of numerology, with the number three symbolizing the unity of the soul through the Trinity, while seven, “composed of four, the number of the body, and of three, the number of the soul – [is] preeminently the number of humanity, and expresses the union of man’s double nature” (Mâle, 270). The three bishops, representing the Church, or spiritual world, and seven knights, representing the secular, or temporal world of man, link Arthur to Christianity on a philosophical and psychological level. Not present in Geoffrey’s version or in Wace’s, this scene of the envoy to Arthur with its explicit use of Christian numerology exhibits not only Laȝamon’s training as a cleric, but also his desire to link Arthur to Christianity on a symbolic level that was academic in nature, thus providing stronger *authoritas* for Arthur’s reign. It is also psychologically relevant in its attempt to represent this as the natural order of things to an audience well-versed in the explanation of such things through Christian numeric iconography.

That Arthur is not actually in Britain at the time of Uther's death but rather in Brittany, so that he must physically sail to the island to assume the throne, is underscored in each of the three passages, and is of particular significance in Arthur's evolution to the ideal in Laȝamon's text. First, water is a transformative agent; alchemically, this signifies Arthur's first step towards the *Imitatio Christi*, a step that comes much earlier in Laȝamon's version of the story than in Geoffrey's. Crossing the ocean to Britain, and thus transported by water, Arthur takes the first step from boyhood to kingship, from raw material to ideal form. Secondly, this moment connects Brittany and Britain, and thus Norman and Briton, which psychologically aligns the Anglo-Norman audience with the character of Arthur from the outset.

Arthur sails for Britain from Mont St. Michel, which therefore serves as the starting-point for his transformation from young man to ideal king. Laȝamon preserves in his version of the *Brut* the later portion of the tale in which Arthur battles with the giant on Mont St. Michel - although in Laȝamon's version the giant is a "feond", a "fiend" (12869) - which means that in Laȝamon's version, Arthur must return to the place from whence his adventure originated and there undergo a second test and transformation in the face of a supernatural, fiendish (or devilish) opponent in order to continue his journey to the *Imitatio Christi*. In the *Brut*, as in the *HRB*, Arthur sails back to Brittany initially in order to gather his armies at Barfleur and from there to march on Rome, but finds that the fiend has abducted the daughter of Howel, ruler of Brittany, and "has ravaged this region" (12824). Arthur determines to

avenge the people of Brittany by confronting and slaying the giant before continuing on towards Rome, and takes Bedevere and Kay with him to the fire-lit Mont St. Michel. In Laȝamon's version, as in Geoffrey's, Bedevere goes first up the mountain and is met there by the nursemaid of the abducted princess, who tells him of that girl's untimely death and her own torture at the hands of the giant and begs him to flee for his life. Bedevere reports this to Arthur, and Arthur subsequently challenges and defeats the giant. Because of the old woman's warnings and her own reversal of fortune at the hands of the giant, this is a powerful moment in which Fate could swing either way for Arthur, who declares he has never before fought against such a foe (13036). Thus, in the *Brut*, Arthur does not simply go to, but *returns* to Mont St. Michel, the place where he began his journey as a young man newly elected to the throne, an innovation on Laȝamon's part that permits the text to be read in a more philosophical manner. At that place, Arthur undergoes a test of strength against supernatural forces, faces a reversal of fortune, and ultimately is the victor, able to move on to the next phase of his transformation. This circular chain of events, not found in earlier versions of the story, is indicative of the wheel of Fortuna and of the cyclical nature of life put forth by the natural philosophers as well as of the episodic nature of romance tales, and points to Laȝamon's skillful use of concepts and traditions familiar with his audience to establish stronger associations between his audience and the figure of Arthur.

The idea of Fortune's Wheel is psychologically important for medieval audiences seeking to understand the nature of a man's rise and fall from grace. Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* rendered the concept of Fortuna central to medieval philosophy, and it became an important motif in medieval literature. As Karl Josef Höltgen explains in "King Arthur and Fortuna", later in the Arthurian tradition it features prominently in the explanation of Arthur's rise and fall. Although, as Höltgen notes, Laȝamon makes no specific reference to Fortuna in the *Brut* (121), he is the first intentionally to craft a circular nature to Arthur's rise and fall from power, indicating at least a passing influence of the principle of Fortuna within the text; working as he did in Areley Kings, "an important ecclesiastical centre with a well endowed cathedral library, which Laȝamon certainly used", it is probable that Laȝamon, like most learned medieval clerics trained in the Scholastic tradition, would have read and been influenced by Boethius (le Saux, 23). This is an important consideration, because the wheel of Fortuna is a medieval counterpart to the *mandala* that features predominantly in Jungian psychological theory. The *mandala*, a "ritual or magic circle used [as] an aid to concentration" is a primary aspect of Jung's theories of alchemy and the collective unconscious, and its centrality in the individual's quest for universal comprehension mirrors the purpose of Fortuna's wheel in medieval thought (PA, 95). John Opsapaus explains in his online text on medieval thought that:

The Wheel has a rich meaning, much of which centers on (or revolves around!) the contrast between the rotating rim and the stationary axis. In a broad sense the axis is Being and the rim is Becoming: the archetypal, eternal and ideal as contrasted with the specific, ephemeral

and real. However, the rim manifests the specifically cyclic Becoming that is governed by Fortuna, the simultaneous coming-to-be and passing-away, and, more generally, the unity underlying all opposites. ("Fortune")

The Wheel of Fortuna represents the shifts and cycles of fortune in life and the search for individual and universal meaning, but as Opsopaus also states, "The four quadrants of the wheel represent alchemical processes" corresponding to the medieval view of the humors, which dictate one's physical and emotional state and which through processes of transformation can lead to the ideal, unified state of being ("Fortune"). Arthur's return to Brittany and his confrontation of the giant function as an alchemical transformation and a reversal of fortune on his path towards the ideal state of being. Thus, although he does not directly reference Fortuna in his text, Laʒamon's indirect incorporation of the principles of Fortune's Wheel indicates a psychological approach to the story of Arthur aligned with established medieval concepts of fortune and alchemy and designed to propagate audience association through the cyclical nature of Arthur's transformation and encounters with fortune. This renders Laʒamon's *Brut* more philosophically complex and psychologically compelling than the earlier *HRB* for an audience versed in the Scholastic and courtly traditions present at this point in the medieval era. Laʒamon's use of these universal psychological principles taps into aspects of the collective unconscious, suggesting a goal of crafting audience identification with Arthur and by association the British nation.

The concept of the circle as symbolic of Arthur's reign continues with the Laȝamon's employment and development within the *Brut* of the motif of the Round Table originated in Wace's *Roman de Brut*. Wace explains that:

Pur les nobles baruns qu'il out,
 Dunt chescuns mieldre ester quidout,
 Chescuns se teneit al meillur,
 Ne nulls n'en saveit le peiur,
 Fist Artur la Runde Table
 Dunt Bretun dient mainte fable.
 Illuec seeient li vassal
 Tuit chevalment e tuit egal;
 A la table egalment seeient
 E egalment servi esteient;
 Nul d'els ne se poeit vanter
 Qu'il seüst plus halt de sun per,
 Tuit esteient assis meain,
 Ne n'I aveit nul de forain (9747-9760).

[For the noble barons he had,
 Each of whom was superior,
 Each of whom thought himself the best,
 None of whom believed himself the worst,
 Arthur made the Round Table
 For which Britain is renowned in fable.
 In this spot sat the vassals
 All chivalric and all equal;
 At the table equally seated
 And equally served were all;
 None among them could boast of himself
 That he sat higher than his peer,
 All were seated in this fashion,
 That none was left excluded]¹⁶

For Wace, the Round Table symbolizes both the inherent greatness of Arthur's court, at which every knight is equal, as well as Arthur's ability to maintain order as a leader among such men. As Charles Foulon states: "It [The Round Table] was fashioned to prevent quarrels over precedence [...]" The poet added an important detail: 'all were seated within the circles (*assis*

meain), and no one was placed outside (*de forain*)” (99). Wace’s Arthur bypasses the potential issues inherent in a community in which many different personalities and agendas coexist by creating a physical space – the Round Table – that negates the individual in favor of the collective. The Round Table prevents anyone from feeling slighted by the king, while also imposing order among the knights by physically symbolizing their equality and unity of purpose at the court of Arthur.

Laȝamon embroiders upon this motif by preceding it with a disturbance at court that leads to the necessity of the Round Table’s invention. In his version, the moment becomes yet another turn of fortune for Arthur, who must convincingly put an end to violence and establish order, or face further upheaval potentially leading to the dissolution of the court. An argument breaks out at the dinner table; as to what prompts the fight, Laȝamon states only that “the courtiers grew angry, blows were frequent there; first they threw the loaves [...] and the silver bowls filled with wine, and next fists flew at necks” (11366-11370). Where Wace’s Arthur simply creates a Round Table to avoid entirely such dispute, Laȝamon’s text presents the imagery of a Last Supper gone awry; the loaves of bread and bowls of wine, symbolic of the body and blood of Christ in the Christian Eucharist, are desecrated through misuse and misappropriation as weapons at table, and havoc ensues, during which the initiator of the fight and several others are hurt or killed:

the son of Rumareth [...] spoke to King Arthur thus: ‘Lord Arthur, go quickly into your chamber and your queen with you [...] and we shall

put an end to the fighting between these foreign warriors.' With these words he leapt to the table where the knives lay [...] with one of them he struck the knight who first began that fight so that his head fell down upon the floor. Instantly he struck the brother of that thane; he had felled seven before the swords were brought. There was fierce fighting, every man striking another; there was much bloodshed, there was chaos at the court. (11371-11386)

The symbolic aspect of this moment, in which Arthur faces the disintegration of his court in the face of petty and traitorous behaviors, mirrors the figure of Christ at the Last Supper, in the face of the bickering and arguing of the Apostles and the ultimate treason of Judas. Lañamon translates the scene into a secular moment in which the fate of the kingdom rests on Arthur as his knights fight amongst themselves, heedless of the consequences. Lañamon's Arthur is the archetypal representation of a Christ-like figure who, facing the greatest adversity, rises beyond himself and transcends the situation to "lead captivity captive", as Jung states (ACU, 121). Arthur, like Christ, becomes a "perfect symbol of the hidden immortal within the mortal man"; restoring order with speed and authority in the face of this terrible scene of ignoble and anarchic behavior, Arthur undergoes an enlargement of personality that places him in direct control of the seemingly uncontrollable and allows him to free his knights of their hostility towards one another by imposing unity (ACU, 121). He returns to the room with "a hundred men with helmets and coats of mail, each bearing in his right hand a bright steel blade" and shouts:

Sit down! Each man sit down at once, upon his life! And whoever will not do so shall be condemned to death. Seize that man who first began this fight, put a cord about his neck and drag him to a marsh, and thrust him into a bog where he shall lie; and seize all his close kin [...] and strike off their heads [...] The women of his immediate family

[...] cut off their noses and let their looks be ruined [...] And if hereafter I ever again hear that any member of my household, of high rank or low, stirs up fresh strife because of this conflict, neither gold nor any treasure shall ransom him, neither tall steed nor battle armour save him from death or being drawn asunder by horses which is the penalty for all traitors. Bring the holy relics and I will swear an oath upon them; so shall you knights who were at this fight, you earls and nobles shall swear that you will not break it. (11391-11409)

The psychological implications of this scene are threefold. First, the punishment of death by drawn-and-quartering for treason reminds the audience of the importance of loyalty to the king. Second, the presence of the established Germanic tradition of *comitatus*, extending the taint of treason to include all kinsmen and women of the traitor, is a reminder that every citizen must be his brother's keeper, constantly on guard against the potential treason of relatives by dint of its extension to oneself. And third, Arthur, as well as the knights, is beholden to this rule, evidenced by his swearing of the same oath that he requires of his knights following this scene. Because the oath is taken on holy relics, the oath-takers are bound not only in terms of their word but also in the eyes of God as upholders of the law and order of court and country. Laȝamon extends this scene to incorporate these three elements in order to appeal to his contemporary audience; as Barron states, this addition to the text

reflects not so much [...] regressive barbarism [...] as contemporary reality. The punishments are those for treason [...] threatening the stability of the state – a danger still reflected in the regulations of the Palace of Westminster [...] and are extended to kinsmen and womenfolk on the accepted basis that treason is an inheritable taint in the blood. (xxxviii)

For Laȝamon, the importance of the Round Table lies not just its existence and purpose, but in the *reason* for its existence and purpose. By including the scene of the fight at table, he establishes that without a symbolic, physical

demonstration of equality and unity, Arthur's court faces the very real danger of being overthrown for personal grievances held by his knights against one another. Laȝamon expands the original mention of the Table in Wace with a scene illustrative of the idea that a perceived lack of unity and equality among the individuals at court undermines the community. The scene also demonstrates the leadership skills Arthur has developed. His ability to stay the fighting and to impose order upon the out-of-control knights, as well as the speed with which he doles out punishment and the subsequent creation of the oath forbidding further action in this vein, not only aligns him figuratively with Christ as an *Imitatio Christi* but also returns him full-circle out of chaos into good fortune and stability. This maintains Laȝamon's circular representation of Arthur's life and reign and underscores his intent to propagate the idea of cultural and political, rather than simply hereditary, unity in the state.

Laȝamon next turns to the creation of the table, stating that a journeyman in Cornwall presents himself to Arthur as one skilled in carpentry, and offers to "make [him] a very fine table round the full extent of which sixteen hundred and more may be seated, one man facing another round the outside and the inside, so that none shall be excluded", adding that "where [he] wish[es] to travel [he] can take it with [him] and set it up wherever [he] want[s] [...] then the great shall be on an equal footing with the humble" (11433-11441). That the Round Table is made for Arthur by a carpenter out of wood and rendered a table that will allow Arthur to promote equality among

his knights wherever he goes is significant for two reasons. First, as W.R.J. Barron points out, “the suggestion of the building of the table comes from a Cornish carpenter may imply a localized version of a common Celtic legend” (xxxviii), which aligns Laȝamon with a native oral tradition he is seeking to incorporate into a unified vision of Britain. Second, it indicates of a further attempt to align Arthur with Christ, this time as regards the worldly and psychic unification of his knights through the work of a carpenter. Just as Christ, the step-son of a carpenter, himself learns the craft of a carpenter, his words throughout the New Testament filled with allusions to elements of carpentry, so Arthur, too, becomes a sort of carpenter of his court – a builder of unity, who takes the Round Table, a gift from the carpenter, and installs it wherever he will, thus crafting unification and community for his knights. Rosemary Morris points out that the fact of the Round Table’s “being made especially for Arthur” is unique to the texts of Wace and Laȝamon (125); this suggests that Wace, and in turn Laȝamon, each felt a need in light of the continued lack of unification of Britain under Anglo-Norman rule to find a way to establish Arthur as a king for whom the concept of an equal court would not be a threat to Arthur’s own power and authority, but rather a sign of his divine right to rule. Laȝamon in particular expands this concept by deliberately incorporating biblical imagery that situates Arthur centrally as the Christ-like carpenter or crafter of this ideal state. Laȝamon’s idea of the Round Table in turn signifies both the wheel of Fortuna, indicating a turn in Arthur’s favor through the establishment of equality and unity of purpose

among his knights, and another step in Arthur's alchemical transformation towards the *Imitatio Christi*. The biblical imagery in this scene and in that which precedes it is intentionally incorporated for an audience familiar with biblical exegesis and therefore well-versed in biblical symbolism, however adapted. Laȝamon taps deeply into the collective unconscious, demonstrating his understanding of the power of biblical allusion and of the incorporation of native folkloric elements and Boethian thought, creating connections on multiple levels - secular, religious, native, and philosophical - to Arthur and his court.

Laȝamon's treatment of the court at Caerleon does not substantially deviate from that of Geoffrey of Monmouth in terms of the amount of text dedicated to the scene, but there are a number of important variations present in the *Brut* that align it more closely with the socio-political issues and courtly literary tradition contemporary to his audience. In Geoffrey's version, Arthur is accompanied by "Four kings, of Albany, Cornwall, Demetia and Venedotia" who "preceded him, as was their right, bearing before him four golden swords" (228). Laȝamon calls the kings "Cador, a very valiant man beloved by Arthur; the second, a Scottish king [...] the King of North Wales and the King of South Wales" (12211-12217). The shift from the Latin names for North and South Wales in Geoffrey to the vernacular in Laȝamon demonstrates a level of familiarity and therefore of community in the latter. This is in keeping with the fact that Wales by the thirteenth-century was firmly in the control of the Anglo-Normans; as Robert Bartlett states: "After

1171-2 [...] an aristocracy of Anglo-Norman descent had established control over substantial territories, where they built castles, established boroughs, and encouraged immigration" (77). In Laȝamon's time Wales, firmly under Anglo-Norman control, was no longer the outlying territory it had been in Geoffrey's, a fact reflected in Laȝamon's choice of terms. His choice to name Cador, its king, rather than mentioning Cornwall as a country whose king was present, as he has done with the other three figures, creates a particular kinship between that king and Arthur, indicating close ties between the two, underscored by Laȝamon's claim that Cador is "beloved of Arthur" (12211). This creates parallels in the text between this scene and earlier ones in which Cador has already featured in the action and been established as a character in the narrative; similarly, the choice to generically refer to "a Scottish king" rather than specifying a king of Albany, as Geoffrey has done, indicates either an ambivalence on the part of Laȝamon concerning Scottish alliance at the time of his writing, a stronger national unity in Scotland, so that the country as a whole and not merely a section of it comes to Arthur's side, or some combination of the two (12212). Finally, whereas Geoffrey maintains that the kings accompany Arthur "as was their right", Laȝamon makes no such claim and, indeed, his language indicates that on the contrary, it was an honor and a duty for the kings to accompany Arthur: "and þos heo gunnen leden þe king to chirechen" (12217) or, "and thus they undertook leading the king to church"¹⁷. Laȝamon's phrasing in no way echoes the undertone of political rights present in Geoffrey's version of events. For Geoffrey, this is a moment

of political importance in which the four kings of Cornwall, Albany, North and South Wales, as is their right, support and promote Arthur's kingship. For Laȝamon, the kings merely accompany Arthur in a ritualistic formality not dogged by the political rights of the kings to participate but symbolic of the unity of their decision so to do.

The impression created by Laȝamon's less politically-charged imagery is that Arthur's right to achieve this moment was never in the hands of men, but is a divine event supported by them. This is a powerful moment of association for an audience as diverse as Laȝamon's. As the kings rally to his side voluntarily, the audience must also decide whether to align with the king of a respective region, in the instance that one happens to live in that area of the country, and thus with Arthur, or with Arthur himself in the face of this unanimous and voluntary acclaim of his kingship, in the instance that one does not hail from Cornwall, Scotland, North or South Wales. Either way, this passage signifies the kings' intent by choice to unify Britain under Arthur's rule, with the audience implicated in this choice by association.

A second variation in the court scene comes when Arthur and his court sit down to dinner. In Geoffrey's version, the king and his retinue are seated separately in accordance with "the ancient custom of Troy" after having already changed themselves into lighter regalia prior to the feast (229), whereas in Laȝamon's rendition the king and queen are seated separately, and then are bestowed with lighter crowns by the archbishop St. Dubric (12260-12261). Laȝamon maintains the scene as one which follows "the custom in

Troy in the days of their ancestors", but aligns it with the contemporary trend of having state occasions sanctified by Church officials, thus rendering the moment at once in line with courtly fashions and adherent to ancient, inherited customs (12262). Geoffrey's Arthur, having been crowned in church, is then free to dress himself according to comfort by eschewing the state regalia for a lighter crown, but in *Laȝamon* both the heavy state crown for the coronation ceremony and the lighter crown worn for the feast are placed on Arthur's head by the archbishop, underscoring the Church's support of his reign. These are slight deviations from the original text put forth by Geoffrey, but they reveal a desire to more strongly convey the unity of the leaders of Britain under Arthur and a unity between Church and State, through which *Laȝamon*'s audience is not only to be impressed by Arthur's ability to command loyalty among various communities, but also is reminded that he is ordained to rule by Fortuna, supported both by secular and religious leaders at every step on his path to supremacy.

In the following section, *Laȝamon* highlights the theme of treason and its consequences for Arthur's rule with narrative and authorial emphasis, returning to his central idea that a true Briton is one who is aligned with the king, and anyone who acts against him is the enemy. Upon hearing of Lucius's demands and determining to act by conquering Rome, Arthur entrusts his kingdom to his nephew, Modred. In Geoffrey's account, this takes up only a single phrase: "he [Arthur] handed over the task of defending Britain to his nephew Mordred and to his Queen, Guinevere. He himself set

off with his army for Southampton" (237). In Laȝamon's *Brut*, this scene is expanded to fill nearly a full page of the text. Geoffrey is restrained in his handling of Mordred's treason; Laȝamon seems incapable of maintaining his composure in the face of Modred's treachery, stating at the outset that he is "the basest of men; he never kept faith with any man!" before explaining in full haste that Modred "paid court to the queen" and declaring "that was an evil deed – he committed treason against his uncle!" (12711-12716). He underscores the treacherous nature of the event by pointing out that "all was peace in court and hall, for no one imagined that it could be so, taking it upon trust because Gawain was his brother, the most loyal man who ever came to court" (12717-12720). In Laȝamon's text, Modred's treason is doubly evil because Modred is assumed by all, through his kinship with Arthur and Gawain, to be loyal. Taking into consideration Arthur's own words on the subject of treason from the scene of the Round Table, and the implications therein concerning the inheritance of treason through blood, Modred's actions become doubly chilling, an indication that even in the best and most loyal of kin there exists the possibility of treason in the face of opportunity. Laȝamon is not sparing in his condemnation of this act; on the subject of Modred and Guinevere both, he declares:

It was a great misfortune they were ever born! By countless wrongs they brought this land to ruin; and in the end the Devil brought destruction upon them whereby they lost their lives and damned their souls, and were hated ever after in every land, so that no one would offer prayers for the good of their souls because of the treason he had committed against his uncle. (12728-12734)

Laȝamon appeals to his audience to share the view that treason is the ultimate betrayal of king and country; no one in any land will pray for Modred and Guinevere, because so to do would be to break the oath sworn to Arthur by his knights at the inception of the Round Table. To show mercy for Modred and Guinevere in the face of their treason is to be implicated oneself in this act of treachery. The audience is engaged in a powerful psychological moment in which, before the treason is even committed, the decision as to which side to be on must be made. The appeal for unity that comes through Arthur's insistence that all of his knights take the oath swearing not to engage in treacherous acts is here revisited with compelling force, and there is no doubt that the audience, like the people of all nations present in the text, should align with the Britons against Modred, and therefore with Arthur and Britain against the enemy. This scene of treason is therefore transformed into a scene of unity through Laȝamon's deft manipulation of the psychological elements of association and unification embedded within the collective unconscious.

Laȝamon's expansion of the text of Arthur's dream presents stronger alchemical associations than that of Geoffrey, highlighting the importance of Arthur's vision to the future of Britain, with fire again the force by which his transformation is achieved. In Laȝamon's version, Arthur awakens with the understanding that his dream concerns his fortune and future; he invokes Christ, imploring him as "our Lord and Master, Lord of destinies, Guardian of the world, Comforter of men, Ruler of angels" to "let my dream, through your gracious will, lead to a good end!" (12760-12763). The decision to

incorporate the phrase 'lord of destinies' into this litany demonstrates that Laȝamon is specifically dealing with Arthur's future in this moment, presenting again the idea of fortune, supported by faith, as the shaper of men's destinies on earth. Arthur recounts his dream, incorporating greater detail concerning the role of the elements than that found in Geoffrey's version:

It seemed to me that a wondrous beast appeared in the heavens, in the sky to the east [...] It came on fiercely, among lightning and thunder – there is no bear on earth so terrible! Then there came from the west, whirling through the clouds, a fiery dragon, burning cities, setting the whole kingdom alight with his fire. It seemed in my vision that the sea burst into flames from the lightning and the fire which the dragon brought. (12768-12776) ¹⁸

Laȝamon includes the direction from which the bear comes – the east – which Geoffrey does not mention but which is included in Wace's version. Laȝamon may have done this for the purposes of clarification or of maintaining the imagery as presented by Wace, but there are several other possibilities that add depth and dimension to the interpretation of the dream not possible in that of Geoffrey, who omits the eastern directive. In the symbolism of the Church, the east signifies Paradise, or the beginning of things: "the head of the church lies exactly to the east, that is to the part of the sky in which the sun rises at the equinox", whereas "the western façade – where the setting sun lights up the great scene of the evening [...] is almost invariably reserved for a representation of the Last Judgment" and, consequently, is associated with endings and death (Mâle, 268-269). In Christian iconography, the right-hand side of God (the eastern orientation) is the place "given to those who are marked out for honour" and especially for "those who have suffered in the

name of God", whereas those images and figures found on the left-hand side (the western orientation) are accorded less distinction (Mâle, 269). Arthur's dream, read both as an individual conflict between the two sides of himself and as the conflict between Arthur, and by association Britain, and the Emperor, and by association Rome, takes on added psychological dimensions when filtered through these directives, which were concepts commonly studied and taken as truth in the Middle Ages and with which Laȝamon, as a cleric, would have been familiar. A third reading of this dream in terms of its alchemical properties demonstrates the superior collective nature of Laȝamon's text over that of Geoffrey's, and suggests that Laȝamon intentionally makes use of the alchemical properties of fire as transformational agent in the *Brut* to underscore Arthur's transformation from boy to king.

In an individual conflict between the two sides of Arthur, the Bear or individual and the Pendragon or public self, the presence of these east-west directions in a Christian analysis creates a more dynamic and complex battle. With the bear flying in from the east, indicative of Paradise and the mark of honor from God, and the dragon flying in from the west, indicative of the Last Judgment and death, Arthur's dream becomes symbolic of a life or death struggle within, in which only one side can be victorious, yet in which ultimately the bear – Arthur's individual self – is the one marked for honor and destined to be superior in the contest. The Pendragon – Arthur's collective and public side, will bring death to his individual self; yet, in the last judgment of that self, he will as an individual be the honored one – a reading that is

compelling, when the fate of Arthur as “the once and future king” is considered.

In a reading of the dream as the battle between Arthur/Britain and the Emperor/Rome, in which Rome is signified by the bear and Britain by the dragon, direction also plays a useful role in interpreting the symbolism. Rome, east of Britain, an earthly Paradise and the most honored of all civilizations, meets Britain, hailing from the western direction, harbinger of its death. In this reading, the complexity of British ties to Rome according to the tradition put forth by Geoffrey and retained by Laȝamon takes on added dimensions. Britain will destroy Rome and bring about her death; yet, in the face of the Last Judgment, Rome will be the most honored of the two; if the importance and lasting influence of Roman culture and ideas on those of the British is an indication, then in this reading, too, the directional symbolism renders the dream far more prophetic for Laȝamon’s audience.

In a third consideration, that of the alchemical associations in the dream, the addition of elemental imagery – in particular, the lightning and the thunder, and the sea bursting into flames – is not only indicative of a scene from the Last Judgment, in support of a reading of the dream through Christian symbolism, but also suggests a desire to align Arthur more closely with his quest for the *Imitatio Christi*. Lightning – an agent of light and fire – and the flames of the dragon, represent variant versions of the same element, and light up the darkened sky, thus representing opposites fusing together. The presence of fire and water simultaneously signified by the sea bursting

into flames underscores this idea of opposites fusing together; in alchemy, water and fire are the most important elements for transformation, water being the life-giving force and fire the forging, or transformational element (PA, 232-238). In alchemical terms, the coming together of the bear and dragon under such conditions thus leads to what Jung terms “the union of opposites” – the conjunction that leads to wholeness (MC, 457). In this reading, Arthur’s dream symbolizes the achievement of “the union of form and matter” – the individual side, representing Arthur’s *anima*, or soul, and the dragon side, representing his body, or form, which requires that the *anima* imbibe it with “the whole venture of life” in order to achieve the ideal state of being, come together and battle; through an alchemical combination symbolized by the lightning and fire, they are joined, and Arthur as *Imitatio Christi* becomes the subject of the prophetic dream (ACU, 27). With minor changes to the dream as it appears in Geoffrey’s text, Laȝamon thus renders it a stronger alchemical representation of Arthur’s shift in status from individual to collective representation of British supremacy.

More significant still in the claim that Laȝamon intentionally employs alchemical language in this scene is the image of the dragon “whirling through the clouds”. Whirling is synonymous with circular motion, the dragon’s movements paralleling the action of the wheel of Fortune, so that Arthur’s birth, the Round Table, and the dream maintain a thematic unity based on the idea of fate as symbolized by the wheel, and thus align with Jung’s *mandala* in alchemical imagery. According to Jung, the dragon, or serpent, is a central

symbol of alchemy, representing Mercurius, the “fundamental substance” which “forms himself in the water and swallows the nature to which he is joined” (PA 252). This dragon, the *uruboros*, “devours, fertilizes, begets, slays, and brings itself to life again. Being hermaphroditic, it is compounded of opposites and at the same time their uniting symbol” (PA 371-372). Thus Laȝamon’s version of Arthur’s dream, with its expanded elements, can undeniably be read as an alchemical vision: the presence of the water in flames, the dragon as Britain defeating the bear as Rome, symbolically “swallowing the nature to which he is joined”, as evidenced by Laȝamon’s own decision to maintain Geoffrey’s original union between Troy and Britain. As the *uroboros*, the dragon devours the bear, “fertilizes” through fire the alchemical transformation, thus “begetting” a new form, slays the bear, and reincarnates as Britain, the supreme nation. Although it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty that Laȝamon intended this alchemical vision to be read as such, all signs point to this as being the case, with deep-seated psychological implications for an audience versed in medieval Christian and philosophical symbolism.

Psychologically, in the *Brut* version of Arthur’s dream, Arthur as an individual man will cease to be, but at the fiery, apocalyptic end of the battle, the alchemical moment of unification of his elemental parts, Arthur as the ideal king of Britain will result, according to Fortuna’s directive. At the end of the *Brut* Laȝamon assures his audience that not only will Arthur, as in Geoffrey’s *HRB*, be taken to Avalon to be treated for his wounds, but in

Arthur's own words he will go to "the queen Argante, fairest of fairy women; and she shall make well my wounds [...] And afterwards I will return to my kingdom and dwell with the Britons in great contentment" (14277-14282). This attention to textual parallels in Arthur's birth and death through the presence of the fairies completes the cyclical nature of Laȝamon's treatment of Arthur, and reassures the audience of Arthur's eventual return through its adherence to circular construction. The effect is to unify a diverse audience through the archetypal figure of Arthur as representative of all Britons. As François le Saux states, "Laȝamon creates a distinct myth which makes allies of the hereditary enemies whose struggles are depicted in his *Brut*: from this point, Arthur is truly 'of the English'" (32). Laȝamon's text is highly complex, with its alchemical imagery, the incorporation of medieval Christian philosophy throughout the narrative, the relationships of Briton to non-Briton put forth in cultural and political rather than hereditary and racial terms, and the appeal to collective nationalism made through the alignment of the collective unconscious with Arthur as the archetype of the ideal British king. But the figure of Arthur as an archetypal ideal and symbol of British nationalism becomes still more complex and rich with the evolving sophistication and complexity of British society of the fifteenth-century, as demonstrated in Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*.

III. SIR THOMAS MALORY'S *LE MORTE DARTHUR*

It is comparatively easy to suggest that in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* and in Laȝamon's *Brut* the authorial intent was to provide Britain with a

national history and a collective sense of unity, because each attempts to ground Arthur to some degree in a historical capacity. It is comparatively easy to apply Jungian principles of alchemy and of the collective unconscious to these earlier texts because of the relative simplicity of their linear narratives. Malory's *Morte Darthur* provides a far greater challenge because of the fictional tone of the text as well as his equal incorporation of British and French elements, the predominance of courtly and chivalric themes, and the central presence of the legend of the Holy Grail, in a complicated text that does not lend itself easily to straightforward analysis. Malory's Arthur is not a section in a long, sprawling history of Britain, but a whole narrative situated in Arthur's kingdom and its environs, during Arthur's lifetime, featuring the adventures of Arthur and his knights. It is an "apt symbol for collective endeavor", and is far more complex because of the psychological elements of the "individual endeavor" symbolized in the quests of the knights (Field, 246). The easily discernible parallels drawn between Brutus and Arthur in the linear texts of Geoffrey and Laȝamon morph in that of Malory into an interwoven synthesis focusing on episodic adventures of Arthur and his knights, defying logical sequence and creating a confusion of purpose in constructing Arthur as a psychologically compelling socio-political ideal. Yet in many ways, the complex patterns and storylines in Malory's *Morte Darthur* not only incorporate Jungian ideas of alchemy and collective unconsciousness, as well as the importance of the archetypal ideal figure as a rallying point for national identity, but actually place them at a central position in the text through the

themes of the Holy Grail and of chivalry, of Arthur and his divine and mystical right to rule. The psychological complexity of the symbolism and imagery Malory employs throughout the *Morte Darthur* provides perhaps the strongest suggestion of authorial intent to craft national identity through the employment of strategies intended to draw forth from the collective unconscious those ideals which Malory felt were of supreme importance to British — by Malory's time, firmly English — unity and nationalism.

A member of the gentry, the son of a Member of Parliament and justice of the peace, and a knight himself, writing near the end of the War of the Roses after nearly seventy years of feuding between the houses of York and Lancaster, Malory could not help but be influenced by the ongoing political conflict between the two powerhouses and their respective factions (Shepherd, xix-xxvii). The conflict directly implicated not only Britain proper, but also the regions surrounding it — Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and France — in the socio-political upheaval caused by the ongoing battle for the crown (Shepherd, xix-xxiv). Begun prior to and contemporaneous with the War of the Roses, the Hundred Years' War complicated matters. The French House of Valois and the British House of Plantagenet, or Anjou, battled for the position of King of France, as the House of Lancaster and the House of York, both offshoots of the Plantagenet line, battled for the claim to the British throne as well. By Malory's lifetime, the idealized notion of an Anglo-Norman court more cultured and sophisticated than any other nation that ever

has been or ever will be had given way to a reality that was somewhere in-between earlier, warrior courts and the ideal court of the Arthurian romances.

The continued conflicts between France and England, especially as concerned English holdings and authority on the continent, led to a socio-political weakening of ties between the French and British, a relationship strained since the Norman Conquest and rendered even more strained over the course of subsequent conflicts over British and French rights to rule in France. With the completion of each military venture and insular rebellion throughout the fifteenth-century, beginning in 1415 with the Battle of Agincourt and continuing through the next forty-five years, a unified British identity must have seemed a distant possibility to the people caught between the forces of York and Lancaster during the War of the Roses (Shepherd xix-xxiv). British nobility and British citizenry alike were forced to choose sides between Yorkists and Lancastrians, as well as between native and hereditary alignments, as in the case of those descended from Normans and Bretons of Brittany, resulting in a society yet again fractured within itself by warring factions, this time not only racial and hereditary, but also cultural and political. The issues inherent in Geoffrey's and Laȝamon's times concerning what constituted a Briton gave way to issues of alliance raised between two established British houses, further complicating the question of national identity and loyalty.

In this politically-charged, war-torn environment, while himself in jail for various crimes and political reasons, Malory wrote what he called "The

Hoole Book of Kyng Arthur and of His Noble Knyghtes of the Rounde Table” – a dense, richly-imagined collection of tales ostensibly intended by its author to be the definitive British version of Arthurian legend. That the complicated nature of British politics and Anglo-Norman and French relations influenced Malory to no little degree can be seen in his refusal to adhere either to the French or to the British Arthurian tradition solely; while Malory relies heavily on French source materials, there remains throughout the *Morte Darthur* a sense of the British tradition as well. In Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, the various conflicts between Arthur’s court and other kings and kingdoms, as well as the insular questions of treason and loyalty, kinship and vassalage, speak, albeit in vastly different fashion, to the same, basic questions of national identity treated by Geoffrey and Laȝamon. The introduction of French elements – most notably, the presence and expansion of the character of Lancelot, the romance tradition of knights undertaking individual adventures, and the adaptation and assimilation throughout the narrative of the quest of the Holy Grail –not only demonstrates familiarity with courtly literature and fashionable literary texts, but also suggests a personal response to the fractured nature of French and British relations and of the British court itself. Malory attempts to recreate Arthur as a king who maintains all of the attributes familiar to Anglo-Norman readers through romance texts, but who also makes sense as the king of the Britons in the British tradition, for an audience that itself is chaotic and lacking in coherent patrimony.

It has been argued by scholars such as Derek Pearsall that Malory was writing an English-language version of the French romance tradition and not, or hardly at all, in the British literary tradition or with any degree of national feeling. But Ralph Norris maintains that the *Morte* is, in essence, “a brief English Arthurian prose cycle” based on the French tradition but English in nature (4). Beverly Kennedy states correctly that “Malory’s text assumes that its readers will be very English and [...] proud of their great king, Arthur” (2). Elizabeth Archibald also argues that Malory’s work is viewed as fundamentally English by his readership, and offers a compelling reason for this claim grounded in the conflicts contemporary to Malory’s writing:

The Englishness of Malory’s narrative may have seemed particularly relevant in 1485, the year of Caxton’s first publication of the *Morte* and also the year of the Battle of Bosworth Field that signaled the end of the Wars of the Roses and the establishing of the Tudor dynasty with the accession of Henry VII. (xiv)

Malory’s text may have been viewed as an English narrative, grounded in the Anglo-Norman romance literary tradition, which prophetically preceded (and thus in mystical fashion upheld the rightfulness of) the return to England of a basically “native” (in the sense that it adhered to traditional, Anglo-Norman principles at the outset) rulership and courtly culture under Henry VII, a stabilizing moment following years of conflict. Also compelling is the idea that Malory used French romance as his predominant source, but in a British fashion, as seen in Terence McCarthy’s argument that “Malory’s *matière* is the *matière* of romance, but the *sen*, the ‘feeling’ is perhaps not” (148).

Malory combines British historical and chronicle literary traditions with romance elements widely culled from French materials popular in Anglo-

Norman England, resulting in a controlled amalgamation of British and French sources. McCarthy states: "The romance features of his sources [...] are contained. They do not undermine the authenticity of the historical record; they become a testimony to a grandeur which has inevitably disappeared" (148). In writing the "Hoole Book of Kyng Arthur and of his Noble Knyghtes" Malory is also in essence writing a "hoole book" about the complicated and conflicted nature of the British socio-political structure. He attempts to impose order on a culture that by the fifteenth-century was so refracted by itself as to be rendered in hindsight almost nonsensical, with its blend of feudalism and chivalry, romance and historicity, innovation and tradition, heredity and invasion.

In attempting to impose order on this tangle of cultural issues, Malory unconsciously shapes a contemporary view of British culture for his audience based in the literary traditions familiar and popular in the fifteenth-century. Tapping into the Arthurian archetype, he rouses the collective unconscious of his audience by evoking a "golden age" however fictional in nature in which to explore his socio-political ideas. Furthermore, the choice to set his book in the world of King Arthur removes Malory sufficiently from his present world to avoid serious political repercussions should he err or in some way offend; as Jung notes: "It is always dangerous to speak of one's own times, because what is at stake is too vast to be comprehended" (PL 98-99). Malory's choice to employ the Arthurian archetype may, according to Jung, have been "involuntarily voluntary", or a deliberate but unconscious choice based on an

instinctive understanding of that archetype's ability to bring balance to his world: "Whenever conscious life becomes one-sided or adopts a false attitude, these [archetypal] images "instinctively" rise to the surface in dreams and in the visions of artists and seers to restore the psychic balance, whether of the individual or of the epoch" (PL 104). Malory was writing in jail during an era of prolonged civil unrest – Richard Barber calls it "the worst political crisis England had known since the Norman Conquest" (55). The archetype of Arthur – a just king, ruling over great knights earning individual honor and glory through their own actions and choices, only to fall from grace and, ultimately, to arrive at ruin because of insular conflict and treason within the court, must have seemed particularly compelling subject matter. It was, perhaps, far more *a propos* even than Malory, himself, imagined: an image of the collective unconscious designed to remind the audience of the "golden period" of the past, offering solace for the present and hope for the future, as well as a contemporary reconsideration of what it means to be "British".

Malory's book begins and ends with the participation and tacit approval of the supernatural, giving Arthur's life a timbre of fate and destiny, an existence as king sanctioned by forces beyond the mortal world. When the question arises as to who is to rule following Uther Pendragon's death, a sword, sheathed in a stone and set upon an anvil, magically appears in the courtyard of the "grettist chirch of London" while the lords and nobles of society are within praying for direction:

And whan matins and the first Masse was done, there was sene in the chircheyard ayenst the hyhe autler a grete stone four square, lyke unto

a marbel stone; and in myddes therof was lyke an anvylde of stele a foot on hyghe, and theryn stack a fayre swerd naked by the point – and letters there were wryten in gold about the swerd that saiden thus:
 WHOSO PULLETH OUTE THIS SWERD OF THIS STONE AND
 ANVYLD IS RIGHTWYS KYNGE BORNE OF ALL ENGLOND
 (8).

The archbishop warns the lords that they are not to touch the sword or stone until after Mass is over, and then informs them that “He is not here [...] that shall encheve the swerd – but doubte not God will make hym knowen” (8). He suggests that “we lete purvey ten knyghtes, men of good fame, and they to kepe this swerd” which command is carried out without question (8). There is no question in Malory’s version of Uther’s successor’s being elected or chosen by a council, as in Geoffrey’s and Laȝamon’s texts; the next king is already chosen, ostensibly by God, according to the appearance of the sword, stone and anvil next to the high altar of the most important church in London. The archbishop has prior knowledge that there will be a miracle of this sort, having been counseled by Merlin to hold the high mass and invite all of the gentry; his knowledge that the next king is not among them, however, appears to be mystical in nature, since Merlin did not say so.

This divine revelation is in keeping with Malory’s tendency throughout much of the *Morte Darthur* to align magical and unexplainable events with God and religious miracle, rather than the fairies present in earlier, Celtic-inspired texts. His choice to use the *Prose Merlin*, a “redaction of Robert de Boron’s poem of the same name” as a major source in this first book, with its explanation of Merlin’s nature as the child of a devil allowed to maintain his magical abilities as such due to God’s mercy in light of the love

and repentance of his mother, suggests that Malory, writing in a firmly Christian Britain and fearful of heresy, was mindful of the need to align his version of the legend with Christianity (Norris, 13). Where in the earlier versions of Geoffrey and Laȝamon pagan elements such as the Celtic-inspired fairies present at Arthur's birth (in Laȝamon) and death are accepted as folkloric elements incorporated within the tale in keeping with the pagan past, Malory's Arthur is firmly Christian, as are his knights. No pagans live at Arthur's court or serve him in battle, as they do in the works of Geoffrey and Laȝamon. The only named pagan in the whole of the *Morte Darthur*, Palomides, is ceremoniously baptized Christian by the end of the "Tale of Tristram", after confessing that he has believed in Christ and his Mother Mary in his heart and soul for "many a day" (492-495). In Malory's text, the magical events essential to the narrative in many cases are concretely identifiable as God's will, as in the case of the sword in the stone and Merlin's powers of prophecy. In this fashion, Malory is able to maintain the supernatural and otherworldly tone of the romance tradition while firmly establishing Arthur's reign as that of an upstanding, Godly king, thus appealing with an archetypal representation of Arthur as ruler by divine right to a predominantly Christian audience.

There is one element in the *Morte Darthur* that does not appear to follow the Christian construction Malory has imposed on the supernatural elements in the narrative, and that is the magical aspects of certain female characters. Carolyn Larrington names them: "the enchantresses - Morgan le

Fay, the Lady of the Lake, the multiply-named woman who turns Merlin's own magic against him...aristocratic ladies with the leisure time to devote themselves to the study of magic" (2). It may be, as Marion Zimmer Bradley has argued, that "Malory could not imagine telling tales of Arthur without them. In other words, they were so much a part of the Arthurian legends that their absence could not be imagined" (107). It may also be that Malory simply could not find a way to Christianize such clearly pagan elements, although he crafts the female figures as "ladies" or "demoiselles", rendering them enchantresses rather than faeries. Certainly, without the presence of Nimue it would be impossible to complete the tale of Merlin; without Morgan, there would be no Mordred; and without the Lady of the Lake, no Excalibur. Malory, working as he was from major, established sources such as the *Prose Merlin* and the *Prose Lancelot*, had to include these central female figures, magical powers intact, if he wished to remain faithful to the original material.

However, the reconciliation of such supernatural elements with the heavily-Christianized bulk of the tales remains problematic unless, as Larissa Tracy has shown, "magic was an integral part of medieval life and beliefs" and British society in the Middle Ages one "that embraced elements of a pagan past and reinterpreted them along its own religious lines" (38). In this instance, it can be argued that Malory realigns his text predominantly with Christian ideals and symbols, but that in the case of the figures of Morgan, Nimue, and the Lady of the Lake, he maintains their magical status by crafting them as human enchantresses, then aligning them with Christian and Boethian

ideals. Morgan becomes an Eve-like figure, through whose sins Arthur is eventually brought down by the treachery of his son. Nimue is a Marian entity who takes on the dual role of benefactor, or “vessel” to “birth” Arthur the true king through her bestowing upon him of the sword Excalibur, and his protector - intercessor in battle. The Lady of the Lake is a literary representation of the Goddess Fortuna, who through the alchemical properties of water and metal crafts Arthur from the raw material of wielder of the sword of the stone into the true king as wielder of Excalibur, only to turn again and take back Excalibur in the end, reversing his fortune and permitting Arthur, himself, to die and eventually, according to prophecy, to return in his ideal state. Malory preserves the overall Christian tone of his text while also maintaining the central narrative elements of the birth of Mordred, the prophecies of Merlin, and the sword Excalibur, moments an audience reading the “hoole book” of Arthur and his knights would expect to find. Malory’s realignment of the Celtic pagan elements found in earlier versions of the tale with Christian symbolism, a psychological shift of ideals, would have appealed to an audience steeped in religious and philosophical ideas while remaining mindful of his own precarious position with the law, the officers of which were undoubtedly Christian, serving as they did the Christian lords of the English king.

Arthur’s death and the prophecy of his return are thus presented in Malory according to divine will and Fortune. Mortally wounded, Arthur asks Sir Bedwere to take his sword, Excalibur, and throw it into the lake. Bedwere

must be sent back three times before he actually brings himself to do as Arthur commands – the number three, of course, a sacred number in Christianity, symbol of the Trinity and spiritual wholeness. On the third time, Bedwere “threw the swerde as farre into the water as he might. And there cam an arme and an honed above the water, and toke hit and cleyght hit, and shoke hit thryse and braundysshed, and than vanysshed with the swerde into the water” (687). This arm is that of the Lady of the Lake, and it is significant that she is awaiting the sword’s return, that her arm appears in time to grasp the sword, to shake it three times, and then to brandish it before arm and sword vanish under the water. She expects the sword because of the prophecy that Arthur will die and come again. Arthur’s words to Bedwere immediately prior to this return of the sword to the lake indicate that he is aware that this must occur in fulfillment of the prophecy: “but if thou do now as I bydde the, if ever I may se the, I shall sle the myne owne hondis, for thou woldist for my rych swerde se me dede” (687). If the sword is not returned to the lake, completing the cycle of events, then Arthur will die. As a Christian king, Arthur’s soul belongs to God. Merlin, given his ability to foresee the future by God’s grace, has prophesied that this all shall come to pass; since God grants Merlin the ability to foretell it, this must be according to God’s plan. Fortuna, symbolized by the Lady in the Lake, and God, unite to oversee the circumstances of Arthur’s death and the fulfillment of the prophecy. In its subtle but effective combination of Christian symbolism, paganism and philosophy, Malory’s version of the story is a syncretic narrative of elements and ideas both

traditional and less mainstream, appealing on the grounds that this is a familiar story, and also as a fresh approach to handling the Matter of Britain for a contemporary audience in search of a new identity following a century of civil war and international conflict.

With the sword safely returned to the Lady of the Lake, Arthur knows he must continue his journey; he asks Sir Bedwere to carry him to the water's edge, where: "evyn faste by the banke hoved a lytyll barge with many fayre ladyes in hit; and amonge hem all was a queen, and all they had blak hoodis [...] 'Now put me into that barge' seyde the Kynge. And so he ded [...] And anone they rowed fromward the londe" (679). Bedwere despairs as he watches Arthur's death barge depart, but Arthur speaks words of comfort: "I [wyl] into the vale of Avylyon to hele me of my grievous wounde – and if thou here nevermore of me, pray for my soule" (679). Arthur accepts God's will that he now depart, and shows no signs of remorse or of grief that this be so, in accordance with his status as the ideal Christian king. Malory preserves the tradition of Arthur's removal to the island of Avalon, but he is coy concerning his handling of the idea that Arthur was never heard from again and therefore remains on Avalon, awaiting his prophesied return. In fact, Malory insists that: "Now more of the deth of Kynge Arthur coude I never fynde, but that thes ladyes brought hym to hys grave, and [...] the ermyte [Bishop of Canterbury] bare wytnes [...] But yet the ermyte knew nat in sertayne that he was verily the body of Kynge Arthur" before adding that "Yet som men say in many partys of Inglonde that Kynge Arthure ys nat dede, but had by the wyll

of Oure Lorde Jesu into another place; and men say that he shall com agayne [...]” and, most tellingly, declaring that “Yet I woll nat say that hit shall be so; but rather I wolde sey, here in thys worlde he changed hys lyff” (689). Malory maintains the basic Christian tone of his text by allowing that Arthur actually died and was buried: “there ys written upon the tumbre thys [vers]: hic iacet Arthurus, rex quondam rexque futurus” and now resides in Paradise – “had by the wyll of Oure Lorde Jesu into another place” - while simultaneously paying homage to the tradition that Arthur, Christ-like, awaits the time of his foretold return to England: “and men say that he shall com agayne” before declaring that he, himself, believes that “here in thys worlde, he changed hys lyff” (689). This is a phrase that has been considered ambiguous, but that suggests an alchemical process: Arthur, “changing his life”, transforms from the raw matter of the mortal human to some other matter no longer of this world. He will come again, “*rex quondam, rexque futurus*” (689). In each of these possible outcomes, Malory maintains Arthur as an ideal figure — worldly or otherworldly, truly dead in the Christian sense, or squirreled away on the fairy isle of Avalon and destined to rise again in accordance with the needs of the future Britain, a physical or spiritual reincarnate. This choice at once rests faithful to the traditional elements of the subject matter with which he is working and hints at the evolution of the Arthurian tradition according to the needs and interests of each identifiable culture and subculture of its British audience. Felicity Riddy notes: “The death of Arthur, no longer held in place by the grand narrative or necessitated by the larger sweep of history, is freed

to create new meanings. And Arthur, who had originally been part of a narrative of dispossession, is now part of a narrative of empire" (64). The multitude of meanings suggested in Malory's rendition of Arthur's death is calculated to render Arthur an ideal archetypal representation of whatever his reader might need to see in order to feel connected to the Arthurian tradition and, by association, to Britain.

Throughout the *Morte Darthur*, Malory employs the theme of chivalry in all of its various guises, unconsciously projecting onto the text his own confusion concerning the conflict between chivalry in its ideal, literary state and the disparate nature and seeming corruptions of chivalry as it was practiced in reality. He is aware through his own experiences of being jailed interminably, accused but not sentenced, for crimes he may or may not have committed – as Loomis notes, he was “never convicted, only indicted” — that chivalry doesn't work in “real time” as it does in its literary construction (168-169). He seeks to explain his own shortcomings as well as those of his accusers as being inextricably linked to the shortcomings of chivalric society overall. Jung writes of this as tapping into the personal unconscious:

A more or less superficial layer of the unconscious is undoubtedly personal. I call it the personal unconscious. But this personal unconscious rests upon a deeper layer, which does not derive from personal experience and is not a personal acquisition but is inborn. This deeper layer I call the collective unconscious. (3)

Simultaneously, as he works through his own issues concerning the ideal versus the real natures of chivalry, Malory also crafts a criticism of it. Through his exploration of the theme of chivalry, Malory unwittingly delves deeply into the collective unconscious, permitting his audience to see and

identify with various positive character traits in the knights during their individual quests and adventures, to view and criticize negative character traits seemingly not in keeping with ideal – that is to say, unified – chivalry, and ultimately, to see the terrible cost inculcated by a fragmented chivalric order. In doing so, Malory also instills within the reader a desire to belong to the collective by subverting negative individual traits in favor of upholding the ideal state of Arthur's kingdom and, by association, Britain. He works through contemporary questions of national identity by crafting Arthurian chivalry as a parallel to British society in terms of its fragmented and disunified state. This leads to a psychologically complex and powerful narrative, in which chivalry plays a central role in defining identity, both individual and collective.

The construct of chivalry lends itself well to such psychological questions, because like “government”, it is an overall term for a system that in practical use differs widely. Government under a monarchy such as that of England begins at the top with the king, but is actually practiced locally in very different fashion according to law, custom, personal will and agenda, or some combination thereof. There are different codes of law for Church and State, and laws are interpreted and upheld differently by different classes – clergy, nobility and gentry, and peasantry. Chivalry, a political construct, is another form of government, one specifically directed to knights. In its ideal state, chivalry forges a sense of community, as Kenneth Hodges notes: “Chivalry has the power to shape communities, defining who are companions,

who should be fought for, and who should be fought against. Communities also define styles of chivalry that encourage knights to work for common interests" (5). Chivalry creates a collective identity for those who pledge to uphold its ideals much as do government and culture in various localities, becoming a microcosmic "country within a country" in which knights align themselves with the chivalric order and thus are construed, by self and by others, as knights. Hodges further points out how closely chivalry in the *Morte Darthur* mirrors the complicated nature of British government: "Instead of one absolute code of chivalry, there were many local codes of chivalry. France and England had different political structures [...] and the codes of behavior that grew up for nobles varied accordingly. Chivalric ideas varied by class; clergy, royalty and knights all had their own ideas about what knights should be" (3). Malory uses chivalry as a theme in the *Morte Darthur* to express the disparate nature and ultimate failure of the fractured practice of this ideal:

Le Morte Darthur responds to this chivalric diversity by analyzing how different chivalries evolve and interact [...] In the intersection of all the styles of chivalry there is no consistent, fundamental ideology. That is the point: despite all its allure, chivalry is too divided to provide a sustainable, practical ideology. (Hodges, 2-3)

In many ways, Malory's handling of the theme of chivalry as a flawed unifying element in the redaction of his source materials parallels the politics of fifteenth-century England, in which the various localities and subgroups of society are merged under a government that for over a century has been in conflict with itself and with the world concerning the issues of succession, authority, and justice.

Chivalry, like monarchy, may be a stable *concept*; but the reality of it as presented in the *Morte Darthur*, like the reality of English government in the fourteenth- and fifteenth- centuries, is that its flaws serve to further alienate the people living and working within it from one another and from the kingdom. The conflict between individual and community inherent in the chivalric code is exemplified through the characters of Balin, Tristram and Lancelot, although as in actual society all of the knights, whether actually involved or not in the actual situations, are implicated to a greater or lesser extent in the fall of Camelot. Each of these knights holds a valid, but individual, definition of chivalry that is at odds with the overall construction of chivalry at Arthur's court. The flaws inherent in a system that allows for individual definitions of loyalty and nationalism while seeking to uphold a collective national agenda are exposed throughout the *Morte Darthur*, rendering it a psychologically-driven examination of the role of the individual in upholding collective ideals.

Balin is a knight of foundationally pure chivalric values. Of all of Arthur's knights, he is the only one who can relieve the Damesell of Avilion of the sword girded to her, thus proving himself right when he says: "worthynes and good tacchis and also good dedis is nat only in araymente, but manhode and worship ys hyd within a mannes person, and many a worshipfull knight ys nat knowyn unto all peple – and therefore worship and hardynesse ys nat in araymente" (42) in the face of her disdainful refusal to allow him to try because of his lowly appearance. To her surprise, he "toke the swerde by

the gurdyll and shethe, and drew hit oute easily”, at which she declares to Arthur and the court that “Sertes...thys ys a passynge good knight and the beste that ever Y founde, and moste of worship, without treson, trechory, or felony” (42). But when she asks Balin to return the sword, he declines, even after – or, more correctly, especially after – being warned that the consequences of not relinquishing the sword would be dire. Told that the sword, if kept, will cause the deaths of the man he loves best as well as himself, Balin declares: “I shall take the aventure [...] that God woll ordayne for me: But the swerde ye shall nat have at thys tyme” (42). This refusal to return the sword has been interpreted by Robert L. Kelly as a moment in which Balin displays *hubris*: “implying that he is too self-confident to believe anything so terrible as the destiny revealed by the damsel could befall him” (90). Citing Carolyn Martin Craft, Kelly points out also that “Balin’s defiance of fate is a moral failure which contributes to his destruction” (92). Kelly is only partially right, however, in identifying this as a predominantly philosophical question concerning “the role that choice plays in shaping one’s destiny” (90). It is also a profoundly psychological question of “saving face” in front of one’s peers. Balin, newly-returned to court after having been imprisoned for six months following the slaying of Arthur’s cousin, is conscious of his status as “other” among the knights. Not yet back in the good graces of the court, he feels himself “poore and poorly arayde” and as a result “put hymselff nat far in prees” when the contest to draw the sword from its sheath is begun (41). Although “in hys herte he was fully assured to do as

well, if hys grace happed hym, as ony knight that there was", Balin is keenly aware of his appearance and reputation, which causes him at first to eschew the competition (41). As knight after knight fails, Balin finally steels himself for the task and to the surprise of all is successful. The sword in that moment becomes for him a symbol of his true right to be at court and of his true nature as a fine, upstanding knight. The reason for which he will not part with it is not simply because he is too proud – although pride certainly plays a role in the decision – but because it is an outwardly visible symbol of his true chivalric nature. This is a moment in which one who has been outcast and shunned for his outward appearance quantifiably demonstrates his worthiness – a moment with which every man who has felt slighted because of his perceived lesser status in society can identify – a moment with which, in fact, Malory, himself might have identified, in the circumstances under which he was writing the *Morte Darthur*.

Balin next decides he must leave court to further demonstrate his worthiness on adventure. As he prepares to leave, the Lady of the Lake arrives to collect the gift Arthur owes her in exchange for Excalibur: she demands the head of Balin, who slew her brother, or that of the lady who brought the sword, who caused the death of the Lady of the Lake's father (43). Arthur refuses to grant either; but Balin, seeing that the Lady of the Lake is present and hearing that she has demanded his head, tells her: "Evyll be ye founde; ye wolde have myne hede, and therefore ye shall loose youres" and lops her head off with his sword (43). Arthur, horrified and angered, demands justice for

this terrible deed. Balin counters by explaining that this was an act of vengeance for his mother's death, caused by the Lady of the Lake: "the untrwyste lady lyvyng, and by inchauntement and by sorcery she hath bene the destroyer of many good knyghtes – and she was causer that my modir was brente, thorow hir falsehode and trechory" (43). At this point, the disparate nature of chivalry is clearly shown: Balin, who has just shown himself to be the truest and best knight in Arthur's kingdom, has killed the Lady of the Lake, who gave Arthur Excalibur and helped him to establish his sovereignty. Arthur, who should have authority and sovereignty in his court, has watched an honored guest murdered before his eyes to settle a blood-feud which she initiated against Balin, who has just been revealed as his best knight. Balin is upholding chivalry to the letter, including that aspect of it which demands that he maintain loyalty to his kin. Arthur is upholding his position as the chivalric head, and also the rules governing how guests – particularly women and allies to his cause – should be treated in his court. Neither is wrong with regards to his actions in the name of chivalry, yet simultaneously, neither can be wholly right in this situation, either. It is a complex, psychological dilemma that points out a serious flaw in the concept of chivalry, in which "one man may have a different network of allies than another, and a man who is part of several networks risks having conflicting duties" (Hodges, 46). Balin makes choices that fulfill his individual definition of chivalry, and in response, Arthur has no choice according to his understanding of the code but to force Balin into immediate exile from court for the killing – an act which ultimately

leads to Balin's slaying of his brother and his own death, as well as to the Dolorous Stroke, and thus the downfall of an entire kingdom (45). Despite the fact that neither Arthur nor Balin is incorrect in his interpretation of the code of chivalry, the questions of identity, loyalty and the price of belonging to a community are raised in the *Tale of Balin*. The contradictory nature of his and of Arthur's views as to what constitutes correct chivalric behavior leads to a fissure in the community that leaves Balin dead, and Arthur deprived of a good knight and his benefactress. Malory makes it clear that mutual understanding, based on mutual goals, should be the goal of a nation, but that the role of the individual in achieving that ideal cannot be underestimated. This suggestion that the individual who does not align his own fundamental ideology with of the collective goals of a nation can ultimately serve as a catalyst for that nation's destruction is a powerful psychological message for an audience dealing with the realities of disparate goals and individual agendas during the Wars of the Roses.

Tristram is the knight who follows the chivalric code alone; a knight outside of the community who nevertheless upholds, in so far as he understands it, the code of the community – in every community into which he enters. His initial alliance is to Mark of Cornwall, and he is constantly compared to Lancelot; Galahad, refusing to fight Tristram, states that "hit had bene grete pyté that this knight sholde have bene slayne, for I dare say he is one of the noblyst knyghtes that beryth liyff, but yf hit be Sir Launcelot du Lake" (260). Kay the seneschal, upon meeting Tristram, also compares him to

Lancelot: “ye be Sir Trystrams, ye ar the man called now moste of proues excepte Sir Launcelot” (297). For his part, Tristram admires Lancelot, and Lancelot in turn admires Tristram; in a competition in which the two are disguised and Lancelot wounds Tristram, who flees into the forest, when Lancelot hears that his opponent was Tristram not only does he refuse the prize: “Sir Launcelot, nother for kynge, queen, nother knight, wold thereof; and where the cry was cryed thorow the fylde, “Sir Launcelot hath wonne the filde thys day,” Sir Launcelot made another cry contrary: “Sir Trystram hath won the fylde!”” (323) but he also insists on seeking Tristram out and bringing him to court to be honored:

than Sir Launcelot mad brynge for the a boke, and than seyde Sir Launcelot, “Here we ar ten knyghtes that woll swere upon thys booke never to reste one nyght where we reste another thys twelvemonth, untill that we fynde Sir Trystram [...] I shall brynge hym to thys courte, other ells I shall dye therefore. (325)

The parallels between Tristram and Lancelot are evident; “both are the greatest of earthly knights, both are pledged to the service of their respective lords, and both are enmeshed in adulterous relationships with their lords’ wives, relationships which drive them to madness” (Schueler, 58). Also evident is the fact that both represent chivalry gone awry through their respective affairs. However, as Schueler further notes, “In Malory, Tristram as lover and adulterer is far less important than Tristram, the near-equal of Lancelot in deeds and arms” (58). Through the figure of Tristram, Malory explores the implications of the “questions of how local loyalties intersect with national ones” by modeling a chivalry that deals more with “individual advancement and personal alliances than with national service” (Hodges, 85).

Where Lancelot is concerned with his individual advancement, but also owes allegiance to Arthur and to Britain *entier*, Tristram owes allegiance to Mark, but seems to serve Lancelot more so than either Mark or Arthur, as Schueler notes: "Tristram's deeds are usually inspired by a purely personal love of adventure, except when they are performed for the sake of Lancelot" (59). He refuses to join Arthur's court until held by oath to do so:

I pray you, seyde Kynge Arthure, graunte me a done." "Sir, hit shall be at youre commaundement," seyde Sir Trystram. "Well," seyde Kynge Arthure, "I wyll desire that ye shall abyde in my courte." "Sir," seyde Sir Trystram, "thereto me is lothe, for I have to do in many contreys." "Not so," seyde Kynge Arthure. "Ye have promised me; ye may not say nay." "Sir," seyde Sir Tristram, "I woll as ye woll" [...] And than Kynge Arthure made Sir Trystram a knyghte of the Rounde Table with grete nobeley. (345)

Most telling of all in terms of determining to whom Tristram owes allegiance is the fact that, after discovering that Isolde, too soft-hearted to coldly ignore any such missive, has made reply to the unbidden letter from Sir Kehydys declaring his love for her, Tristram challenges Kehydys, then sends for his horse and spear and rides away. Malory is careful to record Isolde's remorse at the misunderstanding and her part in it:

what that damesell founde Sir Trystramys she made grete dole, bycause she might nat amende hym; for the more she made of hym, the more was hys payne" and Tristram's response, which is to abandon her entirely: "at the laste Sir Trystram toke hys horse and rode away from her [...] ascaped away frome the damesell [...] And so he yeode unto the wyldirnes. (300-301)

The decision to leave rather than to stay and hear Isolde's explanation shows that Tristram's personal advancement and sense of self are more important to him even than his love; he has had enough of the conflicts loving her has caused for him and, rather than finding a way to resolve the situation, he flees

it entirely. Although he does eventually return and things are settled in favor of the lovers in Malory's version of the story, the implications are clear: a knight whose allegiance is to himself first, who swears allegiance to a regional king over the king of all Britain, but then abandons that allegiance for love, then abandons his allegiance to love for personal reasons, then swears allegiance to the high king, causing turmoil at court because of his multiple allegiances, represents personal chivalry as a faulty construction that leads to disunion not only for self, but also for country. Through the character of Tristram Malory argues that clear definitions of allegiance and loyalty must be made and then adhered to, whatever the personal cost. Tristram reveals the importance of establishing and upholding a true identity within one, established community under one, established authority.

Tristram's personal goals and multiple allegiances render him an outsider who causes problems in the community through his lack of true loyalty to anyone other than himself. Lancelot, on the other hand, is an example of an outsider who has chosen to become a member of the community. As such, his individual advancement is deeply connected to his allegiance to Arthur and Britain, and his love affair with Guinevere causes him deep psychological turmoil, resulting in the ultimate loss of his identity and, with it, the crumbling of the institution he serves, both king and country. As Schueler points out: "Lancelot is a knight whose destiny is connected with the vastly more important destiny of the Round Table fellowship; Tristram's destiny concerns only himself" – except, of course, insofar as Tristram's

actions and adventures affect the various knights of Arthur's realm, Arthur's relationship with Mark, and as a result Cornwall, itself, one of Arthur's holdings (58). In Lancelot's case, Hodges points out that "he is a border figure, a continental knight with his own relation to Rome through his own Gallic heritage. He must thus choose which side to support, and he decides that [...] Lancelot's knights will ride with Arthur" (72). As an outsider of Gallic descent, however, even though Arthur praises him, Lancelot is not fully accepted into the predominantly British fellowship until he "finds his place at court by becoming the queen's knight" (Hodges, 73). Having aligned himself with Arthur and proven his loyalty through service both to Arthur and to the queen, Lancelot serves as the ideal chivalric figure, a knight of great renown, who upholds Arthur's rule and Britain's supremacy over all enemies.

Derek Brewer has argued that Malory is not interested in Lancelot's affair with Guinevere as a major component of the narrative, and that he includes it because it is expected. He writes: "Malory [...] while keeping Lancelot's relationship with the queen in view [...] would prefer, like Arthur himself [...] not to notice at all; and only notices it when it is forced upon him by public witness. His concern is with Lancelot's goodness and greatness as a knight" (20). But falling in love with Guinevere and embarking upon an illicit affair with her causes a fissure in Lancelot's psychological makeup and renders him a deeply moving figure. A knight who defines himself solely by the success of the work he does for the man that he serves, Lancelot is guilt-ridden by his love for Guinevere, grown as it is from his service to Arthur,

which causes further damage to him emotionally as they “quarrel, because Guinevere cannot bear Lancelot’s inconsistent efforts to placate his conscience by staying away from her” (Field, 239). Malory not only includes the Lancelot and Guinevere story as a traditional element in the story; he incorporates it as a continual motif from one book to the next, showing the personal costs of the affair to Lancelot both psychologically and physically in terms of the code of chivalry by which he lives.

Recently returned after failing in the Grail quest, Lancelot seeks to repent of his sins by granting the same chivalric behavior to all women that he has shown to Guinevere, but she is angered by his efforts and refuses to accept his repentance as such. Instead, she accuses him of treachery and unfaithfulness towards her and banishes him from court: “For wyte thou well, now I undirstonde thy falsehede, I shall never love the more, and loke thou be never so hardy to com in my syghte; and right here I discharge the thys courte, that thou never com within hit” (589). Lancelot, whose identity is intrinsically linked to his dual role as a knight of the Round Table and Guinevere’s champion, is emotionally distraught. He prepares to leave the kingdom entirely, as she has bade him do, but by the counsel of Sir Bors, he amends his plans to ride to the hermitage of Brascias and stay there “tyll that I [Bors] sende you word of bettir tydynges” (589). It is not better tidings that arrive, however, but news that the queen, accused of poisoning a dinner and causing the death of Sir Patryse, will be burnt at the stake for treason unless a knight will fight in her honor. None of the knights of the Round Table who were in

attendance at the dinner agrees to champion Guinevere; they are united as a group that has, to all evidence, been betrayed. Lancelot alone, not present at the dinner, can avenge Guinevere and clear her name. He does so, and “caused hym to stoned in the Quenys good grace, and all was forgyffin” (598).

Lancelot’s anguish at being sent away from the court renders him willing to go to great lengths to be reappointed to his position as Guinevere’s champion and Arthur’s best knight, but he has neglected in this desire to see the implications of this choice in terms of his presence at court. He returns and is forgiven, but has betrayed his fellow knights by fighting for Guinevere’s honor against their belief that she is guilty of Sir Patryse’s death. His deep-seated need to belong to Arthur’s court has caused irreparable harm to his relationship with the larger community. The other knights, already suspicious of Lancelot’s relationship with the queen, do not see Lancelot’s behavior as that of a loyal member of the community but rather that of a subversive, adulterous figure, whose presence undermines Arthur’s sovereignty and therefore the court, itself.

This is the turning point at which Lancelot’s personal advancement, tied so intrinsically to his identity as a knight of the Round Table and the queen’s champion, undermines rather than upholds the chivalric code. In seeking to redeem himself and reclaim his position through the valorous deed of proving the queen innocent, he implicates himself in guilt, which in turn leads directly to the downfall of Camelot. The other knights, particularly those who already harbor suspicion, stop at nothing to find proof of Guinevere’s

infidelity to Arthur. An outsider seeking desperately to be a member of the community, Lancelot has unwittingly caused its downfall through his inability to realign his personal ideology with that of the collective. This suggests that for Malory, the individual who begins as an outsider and seeks to belong to the collective nation must be willing and able to realign his personal goals and ideals with those of the nation; otherwise, he risks causing irreparable harm through his actions, however well-intentioned. For an audience living through the Wars of the Roses, a conflict fraught with tension between the personal and collective goals of its participants, this is a psychologically compelling argument.

In the *Morte Darthur*, chivalry is a political system comprised of individuals bound together by a collective oath that is practiced according to individual interpretations. The sole, unifying element is Arthur, the ideal archetypal king, presiding over all with justice and authority. When Arthur is removed, the system cannot maintain itself because the various interpretations of chivalry are untenable without his overriding vision of a unified Camelot. Kenneth Hodges notes that “*Le Morte Darthur* goes well beyond an exercise in knightly nostalgia to lay bare the dynamics that drive the development of competing chivalries” (155). In Malory’s text, personal identity is closely aligned with both kingdom and king, because it is through the king that the kingdom is absolutely defined and through the deeds of the individual knights that the king’s rule is upheld. For Hodges, it is “not surprising [...] that Sir Thomas Malory, imprisoned in the midst of the Wars of the Roses, should be

painfully aware of the diversity of chivalric ideals and the resulting difficulties for knights attempting to figure out where their duties and advantages lay” (155). Malory identifies the complexity of the question of national identity by rendering each of the individual knights an “other”, until he pledges his oath to Arthur and becomes a member of the community. Malory’s knights are only held together in community by the archetypal figure of Arthur as the high king of Britain, whose vassals should serve him faithfully in the pursuit of goals common to self and state. Malory’s *Morte Darthur* thus initiated a discussion of national identity that continued well into the Renaissance, upholding Benedict Anderson’s contention that “the very idea of ‘nation’ is now nestled firmly in all print languages; and nation-ness is virtually inseparable from political consciousness” by introducing into English consciousness, through his English version of the Arthurian tradition, the question of individual responsibility in upholding the political ideals of the emerging national community (135).

Malory’s handling of the quest for the Holy Grail is an exercise in romance featuring Christian and alchemical imagery. The adventure begins with the appearance of a “full fayre jantillwoman on horseback that had ryddyn full faste – for hir horse was all beswette”, immediately creating a sense of urgency that suggests the importance of her arrival (496). She comes at the feast of Pentecost, which is of utmost significance, because as Stephen Shepherd notes, that is “the day on which Christ’s apostles ‘were all filled with the Holy Ghost’ (Acts 2:4) and on which the number of those following

in Christ's teachings was seen to increase" [...] Thus the day symbolically commemorates the founding of the Christian church" (10). Because the Holy Grail is, as Jung terms it, the "treasure hard to attain" (PA, 346) and symbolizes the attainment of the *Imitatio Christi*, this is a seminal moment for Arthur's court, in which the swiftly-degenerating union of the knights can be stalled or even reversed by realignment with the Christian foundation on which it rests.

The lady demands that Lancelot accompany her, and he does so; they "rode until that he com into a foreste and into a grete valey, where they sye an abbey of nunnys [...] And anone there cam a fayre felyship aboute Sir Launcelot and welcomed hym; and than they ladde hym unto the abbas chamber and unarmed hym" (496). Lancelot is removed from the known world by forest and valley, and stripped of his armor in the abbey hall, rendering him *prima materia*, a knight unarmed and thusly "unformed" in preparation for transformation. Sir Bors and Sir Lyonell are also present, asleep on a bed when Lancelot comes upon them; this is an alternate fashion of demonstrating *prima materia*, because when they wake from sleep, they are in a state of wakefulness in a strange place, thus signifying a change in condition from sleeping/dreams to wakefulness/visions. The condition of full consciousness – the ideal state of being – requires the union of four types of consciousness: individual consciousness, individual unconsciousness, collective consciousness, and collective unconscious. Bors, alone, and Lyonell, alone, in shifting from the state of sleeping to one of wakefulness,

represent personal consciousness; together, they represent collective consciousness; Lancelot, with no idea where he is or why, represents individual unconsciousness, and so together, the knights form three-fourths of the equation for achieving a perfect state of consciousness.

Twelve nuns next appear to the three knights, bringing with them a young man, Galahad, whom, they tell Lancelot, they “pray [you] to make hym knight, for of a more worthier mannes honde may he nat resceyve the order of knyghthode” (497). The twelve nuns parallel the number of Christ’s apostles, but also, twelve is comprised of four multiplied by three, which in numerology is symbolic of humanity and divinity in union. The collective group of nuns therefore symbolizes the unification of Christ and man, lending divine authority to this moment and also modeling clarity of purpose through combination of the secular and divine. The three knights represent an incomplete numerical view of man. With the addition of a fourth, they will achieve a supreme state of consciousness – Galahad does not know what to expect in this situation, nor does he know that Lancelot is his father, and therefore he can be termed a form of “unconscious” corresponding to Lancelot’s unconscious, forming the collective unconscious that is missing in the alchemical equation of wholeness. Furthermore, Lancelot, upon looking Galahad over, “saw hym seemly and demure as a dove”, an image symbolizing the Holy Spirit, which indicates that Galahad is a pure, Christlike figure endowed with the spirit of God (497). Malory’s choice of such imagery foreshadows Galahad’s role in the Grail quest; but on a more subconscious

level, it is also indicative of Galahad's role in fulfilling the *Imitatio Christi*. Galahad, son of an unknown father and living removed from society until he arrives to undertake the Grail Quest, is the only one to achieve the Grail, and thus to attain Christ like status among the knights. Malory aligns Galahad closely to Christ in order to highlight the flawed nature of the secular Round Table and to underscore Arthur's own greatness in leading his knights as far as he does before succumbing to the sins of his court. In the end, Arthur does not achieve the Grail, but neither is he dead and gone. Arthur may return again to complete his own transformation and, by association, to bring England back to glory and greatness. Galahad's attainment of the *Imitatio Christi* provides a precedent for its attainment and the hope that this collective unity of national ideals can still occur with Arthur's return.

Lancelot knights Galahad and asks if he will come with them to Camelot; Galahad refuses. In this moment, Malory almost seems to parallel the romance tale of *Sir Launfal*, in which Launfal must avoid court in order to avoid corruption; such a parallel suggests that Galahad must strive to remain in an ideal, "newly Christened" state as a knight as long as he can¹⁹. Galahad departs, taking Bors and Lyonel – collective consciousness, which bears witness to and protects his newly-knighted state of being - with him. Lancelot returns to Camelot, where the Sege Perelous indicates in gold letters Galahad's place at the Round Table. If the seats of the Round Table are of either wood or iron, then this appearance of gold letters symbolizes an alchemical transformation from inferior to perfected matter. Lancelot, still in

the state of individual unconscious, recognizes that the words are portentous and a potentially dangerous inciter among the knights, and bids that a cloth be brought to cover them; he remains unconscious of the full import of the situation, but he knows enough to know it is important. At that moment, a squire enters and tells King Arthur of a marvel which all of the knights gather to witness: "upon the river [...] a stone fletyng, as hit were of rede marbyll, and therein stake a fayre ryche swerde, and the pomell thereof was of precious stonys wrought with lettirs of golde subtylé" (498). The precious aspect of the sword is significant, for like the Holy Grail it, too is an "object hard to attain" (PA 346). The inscription on the sword states that only the best knight in the world can draw it; Arthur tells Lancelot it should be his, but Lancelot knows it is not for him to draw the sword. Instead, Lancelot proposes a quest for the Holy Grail. After Arthur commands Gawain and Perceval to attempt to draw the sword, against Lancelot's warning that it will bring them to bad end, the knights return to hall.

At dinner, the knights encounter yet another miraculous event: "all the doorys and wyndowes of the paleyse shutte by themselff. Natforthan the halle was nat gretly durked" (499). The knights suddenly find themselves closed in on all sides, but the closed doors do not cause the room to darken. Instead, they see "a good olde man and an awnciente, clothed all in whyght [...] And with hym he brought a yonge knight [...] without swerde other shyld sauff a scawberd hangyng by hys side" (499). The boy, of course, is Galahad, who "in a cote of red sendell, adnd bare a mantel upon hys shoulder that was furred

with ermine" is led by the old wise man through the darkened room to his place in the fellowship (499). That Galahad is a young, unarmed knight – *prima materia* – clad in red and white is doubly symbolic; religiously, red is representative of the blood of Christ and white the symbolic color of Christ's purity; alchemically, red symbolizes fire and white, water –opposites combined within a single figure, indicative as in Arthur's dream in Laȝamon's *Brut* of the process of alchemical transformation. The darkened room symbolizes *nigredo*, a concept that Bonnie Wheeler explains as the "essential elementary step recognized by alchemical treatises [...] in which the prime matter is dissolved through a blackening process" (183). Galahad takes his place among the knights, and the old man departs.

As Galahad sits at the table, he completes the union of consciousnesses, and all suddenly understand with perfect clarity who he is and why he is there: Lancelot "behylde hys sonne and had grete joy of hym", Bors foretells that Galahad will "com to grete worship", Guinevere reveals to all that Galahad is the son "that Sir Launcelot begat [...] on Kynge Pelles doughter", and all of the knights predict that "thys is he by whom the Sankgreall shall be encheved" (500). Arthur leads Galahad to his seat at the Round Table, and proclaims to Gawain that "upon payne of my lyff he shall encheve the Sankgreall, right as Sir Launcelot had done us to undirstonde" (500). Arthur and Guinevere accompany Galahad to the river, where he confidently claims the floating sword in the stone as rightfully his; to Arthur's protests that many other knights had tried and failed, Galahad replies: "thys

adventure ys nat theirs, but myne" (501). Galahad procures the sword, and thereby undergoes an alchemical transformation only subtly referred to in the text of the narrative. Clad in red and white, the colors of fire and water, he obtains the sword from a red-colored stone in the water. He, himself, being unarmed to that point was *prima materia*, but upon achieving the sword, he becomes "the best knyght of the worlde" through the combination of opposing elements, raw matter, and minerals, as foretold by the gold letters on the sword itself (501). At this point, the lady on horseback returns and informs Lancelot of the transformation that has occurred: "ye were thys day in the morne the best knight of the worlde; but who sholde sey so now, he sholde be a lyer, for there ys now one better than ye be. And well hit ys preved by the adventure of the swerde" (501). Galahad has undergone the transformation from newly incarnate knight into the best knight, and the quest for the Holy Grail is begun.

Each of the Grail knights undergoes a failed alchemical transformation throughout the book of the Sankgreall, because none of them fully possesses the ideal state of virtue and consciousness necessary to achieve the *Imitatio Christi*. This suggests that no mortal living in a community and adhering to an individualized code of greatness can achieve the ideal. Galahad, the outsider, is the only one who achieves the Grail. He is brought by a damsel on a palfrey to a castle "in a valey closed with a rennyng water, which had stronge wallis and hyghe" (559). In alchemy, Jung explains, "water is extracted from the stone [...] as its life-giving soul (anima)" and, quoting from an alchemical text

called the *VIII Exercitatio in Turbam*, Jung also gives among the alternate names for this “simple water” — quicksilver, dragon, and serpent — the alchemical symbol for reincarnation found in Laȝamon’s version of Arthur’s dream (234-235). Through alchemical imagery Malory foreshadows Galahad’s achievement of the *Imitatio Christi*.

The clearest alchemical imagery in Arthurian literature occurs in the long passage describing the interior of the boat, or vessel, which will provide the hero of the Grail Quest with his weapon. Malory writes:

amyddis the shippe was a fayre bedde, and anone Sir Galahad wente thereto and founde thereon a crowne of sylke. And at the feete was a swerde, rych and fayre, and hit was drawyn out of the sheeth [half] a foote and more. And the swerde was of diverse fassions: and the pomell was of stone, and there was yn hym all maner of coloures that ony man might fynde, and every of the coloures had diverse vertues; and the scalis of the hauffte were of two rybbis of two diverse bestis: that one was a serpent which ys conversaunte in Calydone and ys called there the serpent of the fynde — and the boone of hym is of such vertu that there ys no hande that handelith hym shall never be wery nother hurt; and the other bone ys of a fyssh which ys nat right grete, and hauntith the floode of Eufrate, and that fyssh ys called Ertanax, and the bonys be of such maner of kynde that who that handelyth hym shall have so much wyll that he shall never be wery, and he shall nat think on joy nother sorrow that he hath had, but only that thyng that he beholdith before hym. (And as for thys swerde, there shall never man begryope hym — that ys to say, the handils — but one; and he shall passé all other. (560)²⁰

These alchemical symbols are found in Jung’s study as images of the “ultimate transformation” leading to the *Imitatio Christi*: the empty boat is the vessel in which this alchemical transformation should take place. The crown of silk represents the mandala, a symbol of wholeness; the sword, made up of many different sections, indicates the *cauda pavonis*, or peacock’s tail, which leads to the white colour that contains all colours, or perfect purity (PA, 231).

The Caledonian serpent, often aligned with fire and the sun in pagan worship, was worshipped in ancient Caledonia for its longevity (Wise, 105-106); For Jung, it is the physical embodiment of quicksilver, and is “the serpent that rejoices in itself, impregnates itself, and gives birth in a single day, and slays all metals with its venom [...] The sages with their art have taught it to withstand fire [...] and then it performs works and transmutations” (MC, 500). The serpent, as the physical representation of quicksilver, is a thing inseparable from itself and thus is associated with perfection, or unity of form. Because of the properties of quicksilver – its speed and unity of form – the serpent renders the true bearer of the sword impervious to harm or separation – in other words, it grants immortality. In *Aion*, Jung explains the fish as: “a symbol of the lapis, the latter term denoting the prima material as well as the end product of the process [...] This [...] was regarded as a parallel of Christ. Thus [...] the alchemical fish attains the dignity of a symbol for the *Salvator mundi*” (127). The properties of the fish give the rightful bearer of the sword a life spent in contemplation of Divine holiness. This sword is the key to the Holy Grail, and as the only truly pure soul among the knights of Arthur’s kingdom its bearer, Galahad, will receive the Holy Grail and the gift of *Imitatio Christi*. Although most of the knights – and Arthur himself – are dead and gone by the end of the tale, yet does Malory maintain hope in the very ambiguity of Arthur’s death that Galahad does, indeed, promise through his perfection redemption and reincarnation. Through some mystical and alchemical experience, the ideal, archetypal King of the Britons will return

and rally the people to him, finally establishing England as a unified nation under God.

The Quest for the Holy Grail is taken almost directly from his French sources, yet as Felicity Riddy concludes, "Malory's Englishing of his French sources [...] is not simply a matter of translation, but of narrative perspective and [...] of ideology" (64). The knights in Malory's text, with the exception of Galahad, who is removed from the earthly sphere because of his perfection, are deeply flawed, harsh illustrations of the corruption of the institutions of court and chivalry. But what Malory is criticizing is not the institutions themselves, but the fragmented nature of the society in which they exist. Malory's knights with their warring factions and internal conflicts represent the sprawling, disorderly medieval British community. Malory's text does not simply point out the fatal corruption of Arthur's court, but rather warns his audience that England, like Camelot, is crumbling in on itself because of its lack of unified goals and ideals. Only by agreeing to set aside individual and regional differences in favor of upholding the overall ideals of the collective can the British hope to survive, and to thrive, as a unified nation. Malory's text, an amalgamation of the Latin, English and French literary and linguistic traditions, through its explication of the various socio-political barriers to a unified community and its incorporation of the Grail as a symbol of hope for the future of Arthur's Britain, suggests the possibility of a unified culture. His late-medieval and early modern readership, consisting of members of British aristocracy and of the emergent middle class, in an increasingly capitalist

society in which the rise of printing and the lessening influence of the Church made possible the idea of the politically hegemonous nation, identified with this story of the struggle for a sense of community as they, themselves sought to stabilize and define what England meant. The popularity of the Arthurian story thus coincided with the emerging British nation in the early modern period, resulting in Arthur's ultimate position as the archetypal hero of England.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, basing his version of Arthur's story on chronicle, historical record, folklore, and *authoritas*; Laȝamon, working from earlier versions of the Arthurian story, romance, religious, and philosophical and alchemical principles; and Malory, working from the Arthurian tradition, French romance, philosophy and chivalry, each contextualize the story for his particular audience through his choices of embellishing details, narrative style and tone, what to keep and what to jettison. Despite the ultimate differences in text and in agenda influenced by socio-political shifts in Britain from one generation to the next, all three of these writers manage to arrive at a mutual conclusion: a "Briton" is one who lives in Britain and hopes even in the face of internal and external invasions, wars, and other crises, that one day he and the nation itself will somehow achieve an ideal state of being. The texts present these authors' visions of what Britain under Arthur - *rex quondus*, *rexque futurus* – the ideal, archetypal once and future king – could and should have been, and what they each feel England can and should be in their respective time.

According to Jung, "Whenever the collective conscious becomes a living experience and is brought to bear upon the conscious outlook of an age, this event is a creative act which is of importance for a whole epoch. A work of art is produced that may truthfully be called a message to generations of men" (PL 98). The figure of Arthur and his knights in the kingdom of Camelot, despite their many transformations throughout the centuries, are as compelling for modern readers as they were for medieval audiences, and Camelot is still a model of the ideal, Christian British society. This is because of the archetypal ideal of human greatness which he embodies. In the hands of these writers Arthur achieved a superior state of being; undergoing transformation from raw and untried boy to King of the Britons, evolving from the hero of a Latin historical chronicle to the central figure of an English text grounded in romance and nationalism, he represents what it is possible to achieve as an individual and as a nation. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Laȝamon, and Sir Thomas Malory employed a psychological approach to the Matter of Britain through textual associations with the familiar symbols of Christian and alchemical doctrines, carefully considered reconstructions of the glorious, "golden age" past for contemporary audiences, and a direct appeal to the collective unconscious through the choices they made as writers concerning character, theme and symbol. In so doing, they crafted Arthur an archetypal representation of British national identity, moving him from the shadowy realms of the collective unconscious to the forefront of national consciousness as the symbol of Great Britain.

¹ Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, J.A. Giles, Ed. 10 January 2009. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/nennius-full.html> : "Then it was, that the magnanimous Arthur, with all the kings and military force of Britain, fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more noble than himself, yet he was twelve times chosen their commander, and was as often conqueror. The first battle in which he was engaged, was at the mouth of the river Gleni. The second, third, fourth, and fifth, were on another river, by the Britons called Douglas, in the region Linuis. The sixth, on the river Bassas. The seventh in the wood Celidon, which the Britons call Cat Coit Celidon. The eighth was near Gurnion castle, where Arthur bore the image of the Holy Virgin, mother of God, upon his shoulders, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Mary, put the Saxons to flight, and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter. The ninth was at the City of Legion, which is called Cair Lion. The tenth was on the banks of the river Trat Treuroit. The eleventh was on the mountain Breguoin, which we call Cat Bregion. The twelfth was a most severe contest, when Arthur penetrated to the hill of Badon. In this engagement, nine hundred and forty fell by his hand alone, no one but the Lord affording him assistance. In all these engagements the Britons were successful. For no strength can avail against the will of the Almighty."

² See the *Camelot Project* online, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/cambrian.htm> for pertinent passages in Latin with the English translation.

³ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, cited in Brengle, R.L., ed. *Arthur King of Britain: History, Chronicle, Romance & Criticism*. Meredith Publishing Co; New York, 1964, available online: http://www.uiweb.uidaho.edu/student_orgs/arthurian_legend/origins/malmesbu.html : "But when [Vortigern's son] died, the strength of the Britons dwindled away, hopes diminishing and fleeting; and indeed they would have then immediately perished had not Ambrosius--alone of the Romans surviving, who reigned as king after Vortigern--overpowered the presumptuous barbarians with the distinguished service of the warlike Arthur. This is the Arthur about whom the trifles of the Bretons rave even now, one certainly not to be dreamed of in false myths, but proclaimed in truthful histories--indeed, who for a long time held up his tottering fatherland, and kindled the broken spirits of his countrymen to war. At last, at the siege of Mount Badon, trusting in the image of our Lord's Mother which he had sewn on his armor, rising alone against nine hundred of the enemy he dashed them to the ground with incredible slaughter."

⁴ For text of the triads and further explanation of their place in the Arthurian tradition in Welsh, see Bromwich, "The Welsh Triads" in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed., Oxford, 1959, Pp. 44-51. Also, for further reading on Arthur in the Welsh tradition see Padel, 2000.

⁵ N.J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History*. Routledge, 2002: "The *Brittani* were rediscovering themselves as a sub-Roman people defined by common colonial history, common occupation of space, elite secular and clerical networks...and some degree of common, Christian, culture and language – be it bilingual in Latin and British. This sense of ethnicity was presumably inclusive of many residents in Britain whose antecedents were from elsewhere...and so it should be thought of as situationally constructed. This new *patria* of fellow *cives* of a Christian people offered a sense of community as a distinct, British people occupying what had been Roman Britain" (43).

⁶ The *OED*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 2 defines "British" as: "Of or pertaining to the ancient Britons" with an earliest appearance date of 855, "Of or pertaining to the Celtic (Brythonic) language of the ancient Britons; later, = Welsh, occ. Cornish" dating from Lazamon's *Brut* in a 1205 ms. (562); In Vol. 5 "English" is defined as: "Of or belonging to the group of Teutonic peoples [...] comprising the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, who settled in Britain during the 5th c. With the incorporation of the Celtic and Scandinavian elements of the population [...] the adj. came in the 11th c. to be applied to all natives of 'England' whatever their ancestry" (253). Both terms were therefore in use during Lazamon's time.

⁷ Freudian and Lacanian principles are frequently used to analyze literature, but Jungian cognitive theories are often overlooked both because they appear tenuous in fact in comparison to more empirical forms of scientific and psychological study and because of the negative associations they tend to evoke in those familiar with the role they unwittingly played in the "National Socialist version of a *volks-gemeinschaft* [in which] the role of the Other was played by the Jews...the ultimate victims of the regime inspired by *volkisch* anti-Semitism" in the World War II era (Pietikainen, 525).

⁸ Yet regardless of their academic reception, Jung's theories have proved startlingly relevant in terms of explaining situations of intense nationalism. Most tellingly, his work on archetypes and the collective unconscious stirred controversy when it was linked to Adolf Hitler and the rise of the Nazi party during World War II, as critics such as Petteri Pietikainen have noted. Although, as Walter Odajnyk has noted, "C.G. Jung never wrote a treatise that systematically defines the implications of his psychological theories for politics" and scholars such as Pietikainen and Mark Medweth point out as well that Jung, himself, was not an anti-Semite and did not favor Hitler's viewpoint, his association with the Nazi regime has had a lingering effect on the use and promotion of Jungian analysis throughout the twentieth century (142).

⁹ For further reading on the subject of medieval alchemy, see *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton* (Linden, Cambridge UP, 2003); for further reading on the subject of Jungian alchemy, see *Alchemy: An Introduction to the Symbolism and the Psychology* (Marie-Louise Von Franz, Inner City Books 1981).

¹⁰ Jung himself recognized the parallels between the Arthurian tradition and the theories of alchemy: in his *Mysterium Coniunctionis* he deals at length with the “Allegoria Merlini”, although Jung “leave[s] open [the] question whether it refers to the magician Merlin or is a corruption of Mercurinus” and states that “the name “Artus” which occasionally occurs, and which one might connect with the king of the same name in the Grail legend, is a corruption of “Horus”” (266). Jung therefore centers this argument of “the transformation of the king from an imperfect state into a perfect whole, and incorruptible essence” around an analysis of the Egyptian king-gods of the ancient world; yet his findings resonate heavily with the figure of Arthur and application of Jung’s alchemical theories to the Arthurian tradition underscore and support a reading of that tradition as an attempt to shape national consciousness through the employment of psychological universals (266).

¹¹ “And if he would permit them / they would make him a duke”. (Translation mine).

¹² W.R.J. Barron and S.C. Weinberg note that “Lazamon probably lacked access to and possibly interest in his [Geoffrey’s] classical models (lxvi); Weiss notes that the lay audience in the thirteenth-century is not as familiar with classical works as that of Geoffrey (xxiv).

¹³ For further reading on the subject of magic in these texts, see Michelle Sweeney, *Magic in Medieval Romance* (Dublin, 2000).

¹⁴ For a list of medieval texts containing the story of Tristan and Isolde as well as further background information on the story, see Joan Tasker Grimbert, “Introduction” *Tristan & Isolde: A Casebook* (New York, 2002) Pp. xiii-cxviii.

¹⁵ “The bishops called eachother forth / and the barons assembled all / Arthur, Uther’s son was summoned / They crowned him then at Silchester” (Translation mine).

¹⁶ Translation mine.

¹⁷ Translation mine.

¹⁸ Lazamon’s version of the dream is more closely aligned to that of Wace than of Geoffrey, but he removes Wace’s embellishments concerning the appearance of the dragon – “mult lai, mult fort, mult gros, mult grant” [“very ugly, very might, very large, very horrible”]. He also changes the wording concerning the dragon’s flames, which in Wace “de ses oilz flambé getout” [“shot from his eyes”] and renders the presence of fire more concrete; in Wace “de lui e de sa resplendur / Reluseit terre e mer entur” [“the earth and sea shone with his radiance”] whereas Lazamon writes “setting the whole kingdom alight with his fire / It seemed in my vision that the sea burst into flames from the lightning and the fire which the dragon brought” (12774-12776). Lazamon maintains Wace’s inclusion of the directions. The changes he makes suggest that he is intentionally maintaining the significance of the directions and playing up the presence of alchemical imagery. (Wace translations mine).

¹⁹ "Sir Launfal" in *Middle English Romances*, Stephen H.A. Shepherd, Ed., W.W. Norton & Co., 1995, Pp. 190-218.

²⁰ Malory's wording adheres closely to that of the *Vulgate Queste del Sainte Graal*, with changes in phrasing apparently due to style only. See *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, P. M. Matarasso, trans., Penguin, 1969, pg. 214.

Works Cited

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.
- Archibald, Elizabeth. "Introduction." *A Companion to Malory*. Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards, Eds. Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1996. Pg. xiv.
- Ashley, Mike. *The Mammoth Book of King Arthur*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2005.
- Barber, Richard. "Chivalry and the *Morte Darthur*." *A Companion to Malory*. Elizabeth Archibald & A.S.G. Edwards, Eds. Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1996. Pp. 19-35.
- Barron, W.R.J. "Introduction". *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001. Pp. xiii-xvii.
- "Dynastic Chronicles: Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*." *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001. Pp. 11-18.
- "Preface." *Layamon's Arthur: The Arthurian Section of Layamon's Brut*. W.R.J. Barron & S.C. Weinberg, trans. Exeter UP, 2001. Pp. vii-viii.
- Barron, W.R.J. & Weinberg, S.C., Eds. "Introduction." *Layamon's Arthur: The Arthurian Section of Layamon's Brut*. W.R.J. Barron & S.C. Weinberg, trans. Exeter UP, 2001. Pp. x-lxxi.

- . *Layamon's Arthur: The Arthurian Section of Layamon's Brut*. W.R.J. Barron & S.C. Weinberg, trans. Exeter UP, 2001.
- Bartlett, Robert. "Anglo-Norman Penetration of Wales and Ireland." *Atlas of Medieval Europe*. Angus MacKay and David Ditchburn, Eds. London: Routledge, 1997. Pp. 77-79.
- Bishop, Morris. "Le Roman Courtois." *A Survey of French Literature, Volume One*. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1955. Pp. 12-13.
- Bradley, Marion Zimmer. "My Search For Morgaine le Fay." *The Vitality of the Arthurian Legend*. Mette Pors, Ed. Odense UP, 1988. Pp. 105-109.
- Brewer, Derek. "The Presentation of the Character of Lancelot: From Chrétien to Malory." *Lancelot and Guinevere: A Casebook*. Lori J. Walters, Ed. New York: Routledge, 2002. Pp. 3-27.
- "British". Def.1a& b. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd Ed. 1989.
- Bromwich, Rachel. "The Welsh Triads." *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 44-51.
- Carley, James P. "Arthur in English History." *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001. Pp. 47-58.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory*. Second Edition. Cambridge UP, 2008.
- Chretien de Troyes. "Cligès." *Arthurian Romances*. William W. Kibler, Trans. New York: Penguin Books, 1991. Pp. 123-206.

- Donagher, Colleen P. "The Fairy Mistress in *Lanval*, *Le Bel Inconnu*, and *Partonopeu de Blois*." *Essay in Medieval Studies* 4. Richard W. Clements, Ed. Chicago: Illinois Medieval Association, 2002. Pp. 69-86.
- Drake, Carlos C. "Jung and His Critics." *The Journal of American Folklore*. 80:318 (October – December, 1967): 321-333. JSTOR. December 18, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/537409>>.
- Durant, Will. *The Age of Faith*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950.
- "English". Def.1a. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd Ed. 1989.
- Evans, G. R. *Fifty Key Medieval Thinkers*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Field, P. J. C. "Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*." *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*. W.R.J. Barron, Ed. Cardiff: University of Wales, 2001. Pp. 225-246.
- Foulon, Charles. "Wace." *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 94-103.
- Foster, Iris Llewelyn. "Culhwch & Olwen and Rhonabwy's Dream." *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 31-43.
- Geary, Patrick. *Phantoms of Remembrance*. Princeton UP, 1994.

- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Lewis Thorpe, Trans. New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1966.
- Gillingham, John. "The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*." *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*. Marjorie Chibnall, Ed. New York: Boydell Press, 1990.
- Grimbert, Joan Tasker. "Introduction." *Tristan and Isolde: A Casebook*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Pp. xiii-cxviii.
- Hanning, Robert W. *The Vision of History in Early Britain From Gildas to Monmouth*. Columbia UP, 1966.
- Higham, N.J. *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Hodges, Kenneth. *Forging Chivalric Communities in Malory's Le Morte Darthur*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005.
- Höltgen, Karl Josef. "King Arthur and Fortuna." *King Arthur: A Casebook*. Edward Donald Kennedy, Ed. New York: Routledge, 1996. Pp. 121-138.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone. "The Arthur of History." *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 1-11.
- "Arthur in Early Welsh Verse." *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 12-19.

- Jung, Carl Gustave. *Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*.
R.F.C. Hull, Trans. Princeton UP, 1978.
- . *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. Second Edition.
R.F.C. Hull, trans. Princeton UP, 1969.
- . *Mysterium Coniunctionis*. R.F.C. Hull, trans. Princeton UP, 1970.
- . *Psychology and Alchemy*. Princeton UP, 1968.
- . "Psychology and Literature." *The Spirit in Man, Art and Literature*.
R.F.C. Hull, Trans. Princeton UP, 1966. Pp. 84-105.
- Kelly, Robert L. "Malory's "Tale of Balin" Reconsidered." *Speculum*. 54.1
(January 1979): Pp. 85-99.
- Lacy, Norris J., Ashe, Geoffrey, and Mancoff, Debra N. *The Arthurian
Handbook*. Second Edition. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997.
- Larrington, Carolyne. *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters
in Arthurian Tradition*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2006.
- Laȝamon. *Brut (M.S. Cotton Caligula)*. Electronic Text Center, University of
Virginia Library. January 23, 2009.
<<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccernew2?id=LayBruC.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/vl1/Archive/modeng-parsed&tag=public&part=1&division=div1>>.
- Le Saux, François. "Laȝamon's Brut." *The Arthur of the English: The
Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*. Cardiff:
University of Wales Press, 2001. Pp. 22-32.
- . "Wace's Roman de Brut." *The Arthur of the English: The Arthurian*

- Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001. Pp. 18-22.
- Linden, Stanley J. *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton*. Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Lloyd, John Edward. "Geoffrey of Monmouth." *The English Historical Review*. 57.228 (1942): 460-468. JSTOR. Sept. 9, 2008.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/554371>>.
- Loomis, Roger Sherman. *The Development of Arthurian Romance*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1963.
- Mâle, Emile. "Medieval Iconography." *Readings in Art History, Volume I: Ancient Egypt Through the Middle Ages*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. Pp. 265-291.
- McCarthy, Terence. "Le Morte Darthur and Romance." *Studies in Medieval English Romances: Some New Approaches*. D. S. Brewer, Ed. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, Ltd., 1991. Pp. 148-175.
- Medweth, Mark. "Jung and the Nazis." 8 January 2009.
<<http://psybernetika.ca/issues/1996/winter/medweth.htm>>.
- Metcalf, Luke. *Mont St. Michel Page*. 10 January 2009.
<<http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Mont-St-Michel>>.
- Morris, Rosemary. *The Character of King Arthur in Medieval Literature*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1982.
- Nennius. *Historia Brittonum*. J.A. Giles, Ed. 10 January 2009.
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/nennius-full.html>

- Noble, James. "Patronage, Politics and the Figure of Arthur in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Laȝamon." *The Arthurian Yearbook II*. Keith Busby, Ed. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992. Pp. 159-178.
- Norris, Ralph. *Malory's Library: The Sources of the Morte Darthur*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008.
- Odajnyk, Walter. "The Political Ideas of C. G. Jung." *The American Political Science Review*. 67:1 (March, 1971): 142-152. JSTOR. January 23, 2009. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1958531>>.
- Opsopaus, John. "Fortune." *The Pythagorean Tarot An Interpretation of the Major and Minor Arcana on Pythagorean and Alchemical Principles*. January 28, 2009. <<http://www.cs.utk.edu/~mclennan/BA/PT/PT.html>>
- Padel, O.J. *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: Wales UP, 2000.
- Parry, John J. and Caldwell, Robert A. "Geoffrey of Monmouth." *Arthurian Literature in The Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 72-93.
- Pearsall, Derek. "The Idea of Englishness in the Fifteenth-Century." *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century British Poetry*. Helen Cooney, Ed. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001. Pp. 15-27.
- Pietikainen, Petteri. "The Volk and Its Unconscious: Jung, Hauer, and the 'German Revolution.'" *Journal of Contemporary History*. 35:4 (October, 2000): 523-539. JSTOR. January 1, 2009. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/261058>>.

- "Prose Merlin." *Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory*. Stephen H.A. Shepherd, Ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004. Pp. 705-714).
- Riddy, Felicity. "Contextualizing Le Morte Darthur: Empire and Civil War." *A Companion to Malory*. Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards, Eds. Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, Ltd., 1996. Pp. 55-73.
- "Sir Launfal" *Middle English Romances*. Stephen H.A. Shepherd, Ed., W.W. Norton & Co., 1995, Pp. 190-218.
- Sanders, Andrew. *The Short Oxford History of English Literature*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Schueler, Donald G. "The Tristram Section of Malory's "Morte Darthur"." *Studies in Philology*. 65:1 (January 1968): 51-66.
- Shepherd, Stephen H.A. "Chronologies." *Le Morte Darthur of Sir Thomas Malory*. Stephen H.A. Shepherd, Ed. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2004. Pp. xvii-xxxiv.
- Sweeney, Michelle. *Magic in Medieval Romance: From Chrétien de Troyes to Geoffrey Chaucer*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
- Tatlock, J.S.P. *The Legendary History of the Kings of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its Early Vernacular Versions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950.
- Thorpe, Lewis. "Introduction." *The History of the Kings of Britain*. New York: Penguin Books, 1966.

Tracy, Larissa. "A Knight of God or the Goddess? Rethinking Religious Syncretism in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*." *Arthuriana*. 17(3) (Fall 2007): Pp. 31-55.

Turville-Petre, Thorlac. *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Uitti, Karl D. "On Chrétien's Lancelot Romance: Le Chevalier de la Charrette." January 26, 2009.

<<http://www.princeton.edu/~lancelot/romance.html>>.

Van Dusen Wishard, William. "The Heart of History." *CG Jung Page*.

January 8, 2009.

<http://www.cgjungpage.org/index2.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=841&pop=1> .

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Robert Fitzgerald, Trans. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

Von Franz, Marie-Louise. "Analytical Psychology and Literary Criticism."

New Literary History. 12:1 (Autumn, 1980): 119-126. JSTOR.

December 18, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/468809>>.

———. *Alchemy: An Introduction to the Symbolism and the Psychology*.

Toronto: Inner City Books, 1981.

Weiss, Judith. "Introduction." *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British*. Exeter UP, 2002. Pp. xi-xxix.

———, Ed. *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British*. Exeter UP, 2002.

Wheeler, Bonnie. "The Prowess of Hands: The Psychology of Alchemy in Malory's "Tale of Sir Gareth." *The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend*. Martin B. Schictman & James P. Carley, Eds. New York: SUNY Press, 1994. Pp. 180-195.

Wickham-Crawley, Kelly M. *Writing the Future: Laȝamon's Prophetic History*. Cardiff: University Press of Wales, 2002.

William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum Anglorum. Arthur King of Britain: History, Chronicle, Romance & Criticism*. R. L. Brengle, Ed. New York: Meredith Publishing, 1964. Online. 16 February, 2009.
http://www.uiweb.uidaho.edu/student_orgs/arthurian_legend/origins/malmesbu.html

Wise, Thomas. *History of Paganism in Caledonia*. February 1, 2009.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=iCkuAAAAMAAJ>

Works Consulted

- Barber, Richard. "Malory's Le Morte Darthur and Court Culture Under Edward IV." *Arthurian Literature XII*. James P. Carley and Felicity Riddy, Eds. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1993. Pp. 133-155.
- Brown, Daniel Russell. "A Look At Archetypal Criticism." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 28:4 (1970): 465-472. JSTOR. 12 November 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/428486>>.
- Cherewautek, Karen. "The Saint's Life of Sir Launcelot: Hagiography and the Conclusion of Malory's Morte Darthur." *Arthuriana*. 5 (1995): Pp. 62-78.
- Crofts, Thomas H. *Malory's Contemporary Audience*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006.
- Fenster, Thelma S. Ed. "Introduction." *Arthurian Women*. New York: Routledge, 2000. Pp. xvii-lxiv.
- Flint, Valerie I.J. "The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Parody and its Purpose: A Suggestion." *Speculum*. 54.3 (1979): 447-468. JSTOR. 17 September, 2008 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2855771>>.
- Gérould, Gordon Hall. "Arthur and Politics." *Speculum*. 2.1 (1927): 33-51. JSTOR. 21 November 2008 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2849595>>.
- Kennedy, Beverly. *Knighthood in the Morte Darthur*. Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1992.
- Kennedy, Edward D. "John Hardyng and the Holy Grail." *Arthurian Literature*

- VIII. Richard Barber, Ed. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1989. Pp. 185-206.
- “Malory and His English Sources.” *Aspects of Malory*. Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer, Eds. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1981. Pp. 27-56.
- “Visions of History: Robert de Boron and English Arthurian Chroniclers.” *The Fortunes of King Arthur*. Norris J. Lacy, Ed. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 2008. Pp. 29-46.
- Loomis, Laura Hibbard. “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Stonehenge.” *PMLA*. 45.2 (1930): 400-415. JSTOR. 17 September, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/457800>>.
- Loomis, Roger Sherman. “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthurian Origins.” *Speculum*. 3.1 (1928): 16-33. JSTOR. 17 September, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2848118>>.
- “The Oral Diffusion of the Arthurian Legend.” *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*. Roger Sherman Loomis, Ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. 52-63.
- Matthews, William. “The Besieged Printer.” *Arthuriana*. 7:2 (1997): Pp. 63-92.
- Moll, Richard J. *Before Malory: Reading Arthur in Late Medieval England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

- Moorman, Charles. "The Tale of the Sankgreal": Human Frailty." *Malory's Originality: A Critical Study of Le Morte Darthur*. R. M. Lumiansky, Ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1964. Pp. 184-204.
- Nietze, William A. "Geoffrey of Monmouth's King Arthur." *Speculum* 2:3 (1927): 317-321.
- Noguchi, Shunichi. "Englishness in Malory." *Aspects of Malory*. Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer, Eds. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1981. Pp. 17-26.
- Olefsky, Ellyn. "Chronology, Factual Consistency, and the Problem of Unity in Malory." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. 68 (1969): Pp. 57-73.
- Padel, O.J. *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: Wales UP, 2000.
- Parins, Marilyn Jackson. "Looking For Arthur." *King Arthur: A Casebook*. Edward Donald Kennedy, Ed. New York: Routledge, 1996. Pp. 3-28.
- Parry, John J. "The Chronology of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia, Books I and II." *Speculum*. 4.3 (1929): 316-322. JSTOR. 17 September, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2849555>>.
- "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Paternity of Arthur." *Speculum*. 13.3 (1938): 271-277. JSTOR. 9 September, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3038944>>.
- Peck, Russell A. "Private Dreams and Public Myths: Perspective in Middle-English Literature." *PMLA*. 90.3 (1975): 461-468. JSTOR. 11 December, 2008. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/461632>>.

- Putter, Ad. "Finding Time For Romance: Mediaeval Arthurian Literary History." *Medium Aevum*. 68:1 (1994). Pp. 1-16.
- Reno, Frank D. *The Historic King Arthur*. London: McFarland and Co., Inc., 1996.
- Riddy, Felicity. "Reading For England: Arthurian Literature and National Consciousness." *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthur Society*. 43 (1991): 314-332.
- Salter, H.E. "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Oxford." *The English Historical Review*. 34.135 (1919): 382-385. JSTOR. 17 September 2008.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/551071>>.
- Schwartz, Arturo. "Androgyny and Visual Artists." *Leonardo*. 13.1 (1980): 57-62. JSTOR. 12 December 2008.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1577928>>.
- The Quest of the Holy Grail*. P. M. Matarasso, trans. New York: Penguin Books, 1969.
- Tatlock, J.S.P. "Geoffrey of Monmouth's Motives for Writing his Historia." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. 79.4 (1938): 695-703. JSTOR. 17 September 2008.
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/984946>>.
- Tucker, P.E. "The Place of the 'Quest of the Holy Grail' in the 'Morte Darthur'." *The Modern Language Review*. 48:4 (1953). Pp. 391-397.
- Vinaver, Eugène. "A Note on Malory's Prose." *Aspects of Malory*. Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer, Eds. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, Ltd., 1981. Pp. 9-16.