Textual Transition and Reception of the English *Reynard the Fox*

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Table of Contents

Introduction

Ever since the story of *Reynard the Fox* was introduced to England in a printed book by William Caxton in 1481, this didactic, satiric, and highly enjoyable tale has fascinated readers in various social classes as also was the case on the Continent. Although it may now in general be regarded as children's literature, the work has been actually enjoyed not only by the young but also by adults throughout the centuries and throughout Europe. This favorable reception is mentioned in the comments of editors of *Reynard* in nineteenth-century England. For example, William John Thoms makes a comment that '[f]or upwards of five centuries has the world-renowned history of Reynard the Fox, in one or other of its various forms, succeeded in winning golden opinions from all classes of society',[1] and David Vedder states that 'no secular work, since the invention of Printing, has obtained such as extensive circulation and unbounded popularity as the story of "Reynard the Fox."'[2]

Because of its enduring popularity and wide circulation, which can be ascribed to the delightful and profitable contents, *Reynard* naturally has a long literary history and its derivation is tangled and complicated. As regards the crux of grasping its historical origin, F. S. Ellis, who edited a metrical version of *Reynard* in the Victorian age, makes an interesting and pertinent remark by likening its history to Reynard's own castle, Malperdy, which has numerous holes like a labyrinth:

> … when the account came to be fully set out, which should trace

[1] William J. Thoms, *The History of Reynard the Fox from the Edition Printed by Caxton in 1481* (London, 1844), p. v.
[2] David Vedder, *The Story of Reynard the Fox* (London, 1857), p. v.

> Reynard back to the beginning of his literary life, verily the story appeared to have as many obscure corners, twistings and turnings, complications, intricacies, and doubtful passages, as were to be found in his own stronghold of Malperdy …[3]

It is not crucial to the present study to depict the whole history of Reynardian beast epics in Europe, but, as a preliminary sketch, it is necessary to trace back briefly the literary pedigree of *Reynard*, referring to some of the works which, directly and indirectly, are related to the English version. One of the earliest works that has a certain affiliation to the Reynardian tale is a Latin poem of the eleventh century entitled *Ecbasis cujusdam captivi per Tropologiam*. This tale, what is called 'a fable within a fable', is narrated by a wolf, and the story mainly deals with a lion's illness, treating the enmity between the wolf and the fox. *Ysengrimus*, a Latin verse written in the twelfth century possibly by Nivardus, is a collective work of preceding animal tales such as *Ecbasis captivi* and the *Romulus vulgaris*, and this is the first beast tale in which animals are given their distinctive names. After *Ysengrimus*, French *Roman de Renart,* which is to influence European Reynardian tales, is composed by Pierre de Saint Cloud in the 1170s, and in this work the 'branch' appears for the first time. Flemish *Reinaert*, composed in the thirteenth century, originates in French *Roman de Renart*, though with some supplementary episodes added which are not contained in the French version. The subsequent Flemish verse, *Reinaerts Historie*, is based on *Reinaert* and adds the continuation of the story. This tale is thought to appear in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Neither

[3] F. S. Ellis, *The History of Reynard the Fox with Some Account of His Friends and Enemies* (London, 1897), p. vii.

Reinaert nor *Reinaerts Historie* have chapter divisions, but the subsequent *Die Historie van Reynard die Vos* set 44 chapters explicitly as a new attempt. This Flemish work retells *Reinaerts Historie* in prose and was printed by Gerard Leeu in Gouda in 1479. This is the exact text which Caxton translated into his *The History of Reynard the Fox*, and he published it in 1481 in England. The Gouda edition is also used to make *Reyneke de Vos*, a Low German edition published in Lübeck in 1498. The story is divided into four parts and, at the end of most chapters, morals and exegetical interpretations, varied in length, are provided. The Low German edition was also translated into a High German version entitled *Reineke de Fos* in 1545. From this edition, a Danish rendering was made and published in Lübeck in 1554; and from the Danish, Swedish translations came out both in verse and prose in 1621 and 1775 respectively. In this way the lineage of the Reynardian story expanded itself throughout Europe both in time and place. Even after *Reynard* arrived in and settled in England, literary interactions between England and the Continent still continued on and on. For example, Hartmann Schopper's Latin *Reinike* (1567), which is based on the Low German *Reyneke de Vos* (1544), was translated into English in 1706, and in the nineteenth century, Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* (1794) was rendered into English in several editions.[4]

After arriving at England, *Reynard* attained a unique development and

[4] Before the unified and complete narrative of *Reynard* was brought into England, references to 'Reynard' as a proper noun were already made in some literary works. Additionally, the story, derived from Latin or French, had been accepted and well-known in a fragmentary way, as in Of the Vox and of the Wolf (*c.* 1250) or in Geoffrey Chaucer's Nun's Priest Tale (*c.* 1390). Jill Mann treats the predated reception of *Reynard* in England in her *From Aesop to Reynard* (Oxford, 2009) especially in Chapter 6, "Reynard in England" (pp. 220-61). An iconographical sketch of Reynardian stories in Medieval England is presented by Kenneth Varty in his *Reynard, Renart, Reinaert: and Other Foxes in Medieval England: The Iconographic Evidence* (Amsterdam, 1999).

the text was to be transformed over a period of 500 years. The textual transition of the English *Reynard*, in my view, can be divided into four groups in chronological order:

1. From Caxton's first edition to Edward Allde's first edition (1481-*c.* 1600).
2. From Allde's second edition to T. Ilive's edition (1620-1701).
3. The eighteenth-century editions beginning with Onely's 1697 edition.
4. Nineteenth-century editions.

In the first group, although there are slight and gradual modifications both in text and para-text between each edition, the only text that derives from Caxton's translation was taken over and reproduced. In the second group, contrastively, Caxton's full-length rendering was abandoned, and Allde's second edition, which considerably revises and abridges the preceding text, became a standard edition. During this period, two continuations to the original story and their respective shorter versions were brought out. Then, during the eighteenth century, the popularity of *Reynard* began to decline as compared with the previous centuries. The editions published during this period are included in the third group. In this period, *Reynard* was to be enjoyed mainly as a trilogy — (1) the original Reynardian story which was further modified from Allde's revised text, (2) the continuation about his son Reynardine, and (3) the non-Reynardian story of Cawwood the Rook.[5]

[5] Menke categorizes the eighteenth-century editions, except chapbooks, into seven groups: (1) *The [most pleasing and delightful] History of Reynard the Fox and Reynardine his Son. In two parts* (1697, 1702, 1708, *c.* 1710, 1723, 1735, 1749, 1758, 1763, 1763, 1787), (2) *Reinard the Fox. The Crafty Courtier*. (1706), (3) broadside versions (*c.* 1712, *c.* 1750), (4) *The ancient and delightful History of Reynard the Fox: Being newly corrected* (1717, 1728, *c.* 1745), (5) *The History of Reynard the Fox, Bruin the Bear etc.* (1756, 1756), (6) *Reynards prosecution* (1761), and (7) *The pleasant and entertaining History of Reynard the Fox*. See Hubertus Menke, *Bibliotheca Reinardiana. Teil 1: Die europäischen Reineke- Fuchs- Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800* (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 200-01.

Finally, in the last group, activated by Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*, Caxton's translation and Allde's revised edition gained wide attention again, and they came to be reproduced and enjoyed by a large number of people, i.e. the new reading public which emerged in the nineteenth century. However, within the social and cultural milieus which valued and demanded propriety, the tale was considerably modified with vulgar words and expressions eliminated.

On the basis of this overall sketch of English *Reynard*, my primary concern in this dissertation is to examine several printed editions from the viewpoint of text and para-text, focusing especially on three points: 1) textual derivation, 2) book production, and 3) reception and readership. These points are closely connected and interrelated with each other. As for the editions in the period of early printed books, my aim is to clarify the textual relation or derivation of the extant seven editions (Caxton 1481 and 1489, Pynson 1494 and *c.* 1500, de Worde 1525, Gaultier 1550, Allde *c.* 1600). I would also like to consider the textual and para-textual characteristics of those editions, correlating the features to the readership of each edition. After examining the early printed books, I shift my interest onto the second and the third points. Editorial manipulation of each edition is to be scrutinized, in order to interpret the textual transition of the English *Reynard* in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, taking into consideration the commercial and cultural backgrounds surrounding the book production, such as selling strategy and book price, I try to elucidate the problem of publication and reception of *Reynard* in those days.

In the first chapter, I deal with seven editions of English *Reynard* published in the first group above, treating the editorial issues and the textual transition among those editions. In positing their textual derivation,

I argue a new theory of textual derivation, focusing on three editions, Pynson's two texts and Gaultier's text which have been overlooked as bibliographically minor ones. I also examine Allde's first edition, or the so-called 'anonymous edition', which has been inaccessible owing to its private ownership. Through a careful collation of those texts, a new stemma is to be proposed in the present discussion concerning the extant copies published from 1481 to 1600.

In the second chapter, I examine Allde's second edition to define its editorial principle in terms of text and marginal morals. Although this edition occupies a significant position in the literary history of the English *Reynard*, since it was to replace Caxton's full-length translation and become a standard in the seventeenth century, its textual editing and marginal morals have not been investigated in detail. I discuss how skillfully the anonymous editor transformed the traditional beast epic into an early-modern 'fabled epic', which turns out to reflect the contemporaneous and the topical as well, while still retaining its old atmosphere.

In the third chapter, I deal with two continuations of *Reynard* together with the original story (Part One) and consider the reception of *Reynard* during the second stage above. By investigating the extant volumes in which the three parts are bound together, I try to make speculations about the bookseller's selling tactics by means of which *Reynard* in the seventeenth century was promoted and sold.

The last chapter focuses on various expurgated editions put out in the nineteenth century. I discuss why, after losing its position as a bestseller, *Reynard* came to regain its popularity, observing the editorial manners in which, for example, obscenity was erased and prudery was forcibly imposed. The wide textual variety, conservative or progressive in editing methods,

which is observed in this period, is also analysed from the viewpoint of the targeted clients of each edition.

In principle, I exclude the editions which deviate in a measurable way from Caxton's original. For example, I do not deal with chapbook editions which came out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[6] nor the various eighteenth-century editions. The verse edition by John Shirley in 1681, the translation from Schopper's Latin version in 1706, and several other editions for children are also excluded from my study. However, I deal with two sequels, which are not based on Caxton's translation, in order to obtain a better understanding of the reception of the original story. In addition, to examine the editing principles and reception in the nineteenth century, I treat a number of English translations from Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*.

In concluding this preliminary overview, the present study will, I believe, offer some new findings about and make contributions to the study of *Reynard* in the following respects:

1) to re-define the textual derivation, especially between Caxton and Allde through Pynson and de Worde,

2) to clarify the editorial characteristics of Allde's second edition,

3) to gain insight into the reception of the seventeenth-century *Reynard* from its sales strategies, and

4) to elucidate textual expurgations as a contributory factor to re-evaluation of *Reynard* in the nineteenth century.

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[6] According to Menke, there are two clusters of *Reynard* chapbooks. One is the thirteen-chapter edition entitled *The most pleasant History of Reynard the Fox* (c. 1685/88, 1769-1788, *c*. 1780), and the other is the nine-chapter version entitled *The History of Reynard the Fox* (*c*. 1750, *c*. 1775, *c*. 1780, and *c*. 1800). Menke, pp. 200-01.

Chapter 1:
Textual Editing and Derivation
from Caxton (1481) to Allde (1600)

1-1 Publishing History of *Reynard the Fox* from Caxton to Allde

Reynard the Fox is a unique work among Caxton's publications, because it is the only text translated by him from the Middle Dutch. His choice to use the Flemish *Reynard*, not the French cycle which was known in England in a fragmentary manner (as is seen in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest Tale*), was successful, for we can see that his translation turned out to be greatly enjoyed by the English reading public, and ever since the first edition of 1481, the book continued to be reprinted over time. Eight years later, in 1489, Caxton himself set about printing his second edition, but he did not attach any woodcuts for the revision. In this regard, *Reynard* can also be considered peculiar, as N. F. Blake points out, because it is the sole translation which Caxton reprinted without woodblocks.[7] As a reason for this, Blake posits a potentially good market for this didactic tale, for Caxton must have expected that, unlike the other reprints, it would sell well without any additional pictorial ornaments.

After his death, Caxton's successors took over his printed books. There must have been Wynkyn de Worde's first edition, now lost, at least before 1500, and Richard Pynson's came out twice in 1494 and around 1506. De Worde's edition was republished in 1525, and subsequently, several printers put their hand to producing *Reynard* in the period of early printed books. As this chapter aims to clarify the textual relation of the editions which were

[7] N. F. Blake, 'Caxton's Reprints', in *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), pp. 107-17 (first publ. in *The Humanities Association Review*, 26 (1975), 169-79), p. 116.

published in this period and succeeded to the text derived from Caxton's translation, it is useful to tabulate their bibliographical information and some other characteristics of the relevant editions including non-existent ones[8]:

[8] The bibliographical information cited here is mainly from A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, and Jackson W. A., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640.* 2nd edn. (London, 1976-91) (hereafter as 'STC'), and Hubertus Menke, *Bibliotheca Reinardiana. Teil 1: Die europäischen Reineke- Fuchs- Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800* (Stuttgart, 1992). Menke gives a whole list of English *Reynard* published from 1481 to *c*. 1800, with each edition numbered, as is cited in the following table (pp. 199-210).

	Year of publication	Publisher	(STC number) Physical description (number of pages/leaves: illustrations; format) [The identified number in Menke's study]
	Abbreviation, title and additional notes		
1	1481	William Caxton	(STC 20919) [85] leaves; 2^0 . [Menke 1]
	CX I:		
2	1489	William Caxton	(STC 20920) [70] leaves; 2^0 . [Menke 2]
	Hereafter as 'CX II'		
3	1494	Richard Pynson	(STC 20921) [92] p ; 2^0 . [Menke 3]
	Hereafter as 'PY I'.		
	A unique copy housed in the Bodleian Library lacks the leaves from Chapter 33 to the end except the 'table of contents' which is attached to the final page.		
4	1499-1500	Wynkyn de Worde	--- [Menke 4]
	There is no actual trace of this edition, but Duff speculated that there must have been an edition by de Worde in the fifteenth century, taking into consideration the existence of illustrations in de Worde's other works before 1500, which appeared in the later editions of *Reynard* along with many other illustrations. Hodnett gives the appellation "Reynard the Fox Series" to de Worde's these woodcuts used by de Worde (No. 1288, 1289, and 1290: 1.5mm. border. 123mm×92mm).[9]		

[9] See E. G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (London, 1917), p. 100. Also see E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford, 1973), p.

5	1500-1506	Richard Pynson	(STC 20921.5) [8+] p. : ill. ; 15 cm (4^0) [Menke 5]
	Hereafter as 'PY II'.		
	Only 8 pages are extant. The unique copy in the National Library of Scotland contains one woodcut. Although there is only one extant woodcut in PY II, which is not identified by Hodnett, Pynson must have borrowed a series of illustrations from de Worde for publishing his second edition. This illustration in PY II was taken over by Allde I together with the woodcut used in de Worde's second edition below (No. 6).		
6	1525[10]	Wynkyn de Worde	(STC 20921a) [2]+ leaves : ill. ; 4^0 . [Menke 6]
	Hereafter as 'deW'.		
	Only 4 pages with one woodcut are extant.		
7	1550	Thomas Gaultier	(STC 20922) [296] p. ; 8^0 . [Menke 7]
	Hereafter as 'GT'.		
	There is no woodcut in this edition.		
8	1560/61	William Powell	--- [Menke 9]
	Not extant. However, a description is left in the record of the stationers' company[11]. This copy is one of the possible candidates		

313.

[10] In the studies by Blake, Varty, and Menke, the year of publication of deW was posited as 1515, but I would like to follow the bibliographical information provided by STC, which describes deW as the 1525 edition.

[11] See E. Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, Vol. I (London, 1875), p. 152.

	for the 'Anonymous' edition, No. 10, described below.
9	1586 Edward Allde[1] --- [Menke 10] As William Powell's edition above, not extant; but a description is left in the record of the stationers' company[12]. This copy is another possible candidate for the 'Anonymous' edition (No. 10).
10	1550-1585 'Anonymous' or (STC 20922.5) 4^0 [Menke 8] (*c.* 1600) Edward Allde Hereafter as 'Allde I'. This volume is richly illustrated. Varty did not specify the printer and the year of publication of this copy and gave it the appellation 'Anonymous edition'.[13] However, ESTC identifies it with the edition published by Allde in *c.* 1600, which theory this thesis follows.

[12] See E. Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, Vol. II (London, 1875), p. 457.
[13] Kenneth Varty, 'The Earliest Illustrated English Editions of 'Reynard the Fox'; And Their Links with the Earliest Illustrated Continental Editions', *Reynaert, Reynard, Reynke: studien zu einem mittelalterlichen Tierepos* (Köln, 1980), pp.160- 95.

The textual derivations proposed by scholars concerning these editions have not achieved a complete consensus. As one possibility, N. F. Blake conjectures the following stemma, comparing the texts of five editions which were identified at that time:[14]

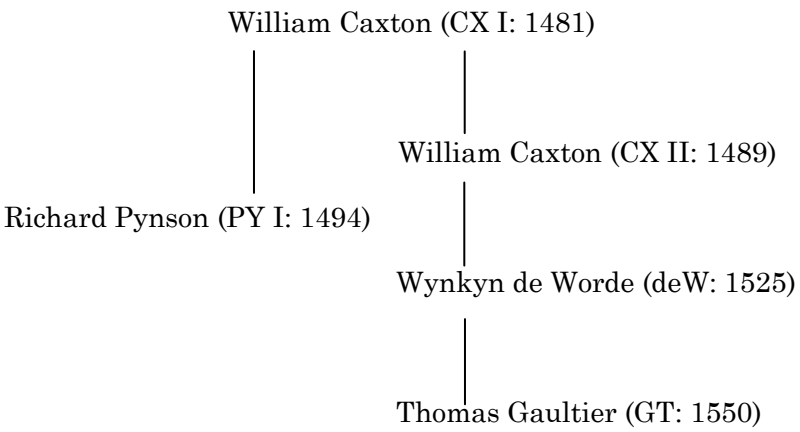

Figure 1　Blake's Stemma

In his study, Blake claims that there is a lineal transition from CX I to GT, whereas PY I deviates from this main stream. He also states that '[Pynson's edition] is not … a reprint of [Caxton's second edition], but it also is a reprint of [Caxton's first edition].'[15]

In contrast, Kenneth Varty, an expert on *Reynard* studies, while mentioning this research by Blake, arrived at a different conclusion:

> Pynson's *c.* 1494--*c.* 1500 edition is clearly and closely based on *both* Caxton's editions, while de Worde's [1525] edition is closely based on

[14] N. F. Blake, 'English Versions of *Reynard the Fox* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), pp. 259-73 (first publ. in *Studies in Philology*, 62 (1965), 63-77).
[15] Blake, 'English Versions', p. 260.

> Caxton's second edition, and quite independent of Pynson's. In short, Pynson's late fifteenth-century edition seems not to have been anybody's model, but Gaultier seems to have used de Worde as his model when he published his 1550 *Reynard the Fox*.[16]

Thus he speculates that PY I descends from not only CX I but also CX II. Incorporating Varty's supposition, H. Menke illustrates the textual derivation as follows:[17]

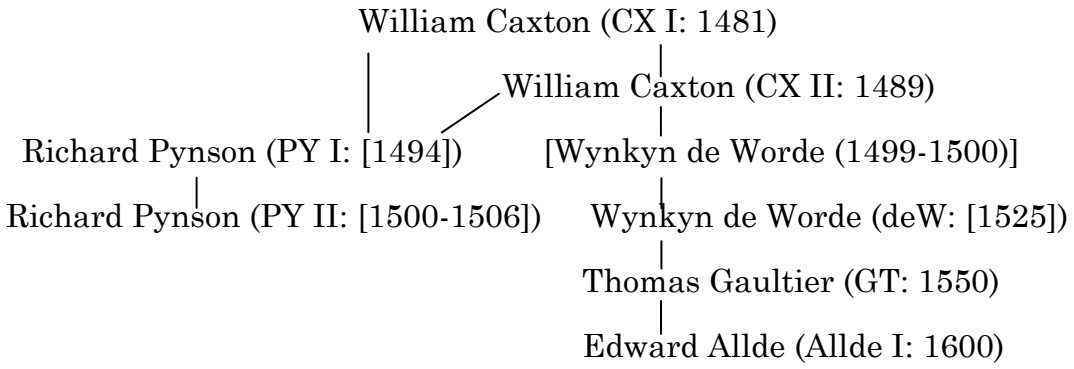

Figure 2　Menke's stemma

His diagram contains PY II, de Worde's lost edition, and Edward Allde I, which are excluded from consideration in Blake's stemma. What is to be

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[16] Kenneth Varty, 'The Earliest Illustrated English Editions', p. 164. As for the editions published after GT, Varty outlines the publishing history in a footnote thus: 'The early history of Reynard the Fox editions in England may have gone like this: 1481, Caxton's first edition; 1489, Caxton's second edition; *c.*1494/1500, Pynson's first edition; *c.*1499 de Worde's first edition (illustrated); *c.*1501/5 Pynson's second edition (illustrated); *c.*1515 de Worde's second edition (illustrated). During the period *c.*1500-*c.*1525 several other illustrated Pynson and de Worde editions were probably printed. 1550, Gaultier's edition; 1560 Cawood's (lost) edition (= Anon.?); 1586 Allde's (lost) edition (= Anon.?). During this period, the "Anonymous" edition appeared, perhaps in several editions. 1620 Allde edition (illustrated); 1629 Allde edition (illustrated), etc.' p. 195.

[17] Menke, p. 207.

noted is that Menke describes both Caxton's versions as Pynson's copy-text just as Varty does, and that he also argues that PY I is the copy-text of PY II, which seems a natural inference considering Pynson's own second printing. However, this conjecture has not been found in any previous studies.

This discrepancy in inference may be ascribed to incomplete research, as these studies do not survey the whole text of each edition in an exhaustive way. Furthermore, a new discovery of copies, which were deemed lost, suggests the necessity for a thorough re-examination including the newly found editions, such as PY II and Allde I, which are excluded from Blake's study. Therefore, it is essential to examine the entire text of all the extant copies in order to corroborate or modify the previous investigations.

According to my collation of the extant copies, the textual derivation can be depicted as follows:

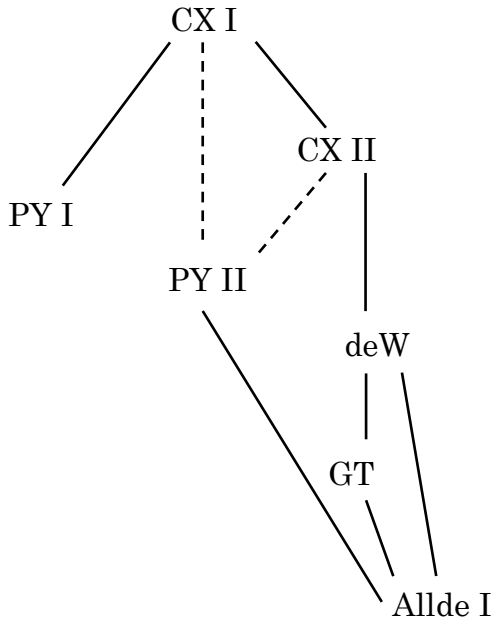

Figure 3 Stemma of the early books of *Reynard*

On the whole, the lineal line is similar to that in the stemmata by Blake and

Menke, but it appears to be more complicated on account of PY II and Allde I. As argued in the three previous studies, PY I is a version isolated from the main textual transition, but contrary to the statements by Varty and Menke, it does not descend from CX II. In addition, against Menke's theorization, PY II is not a mere reprint of PY I. Rather, it inherits Caxton's text, in which we can observe several improvements of the first edition in its textual quality. Moreover, PY II is actually influential on the later edition, Allde I, by playing a role as one of the copy texts for it.

In the following sections, I will deal with the textual matter concerning Pynson's two editions in order to prove my stemma illustrated above. Furthermore, I shall discuss Allde I and its base text GT, as Gaultier's texts have not been examined in detail. Examination of these two editions is essential as well to draw a complete, bibliographical picture of the publishing history of the English *Reynard*.

1-2 Pynson's First Edition (PY I)

Varty posits that PY I is based on both of Caxton's two editions. When, however, we compare the three texts, it is clear, as Blake claims, that PY I derives solely from CX I. Blake gives two examples in which PY I corresponds not to CX II but to CX I, stating '(e)xamples like these could be multiplied'.[18] In response to his expectation, I would like to add some other corroborative instances here:

(1) CX I be stylle chaunteclere holde your mouth (c5r)
CX II be styl chaunteclere <u>sayd the kynge</u> holde your month (b7v)
PY I be stylle chantecleer holde your mouth (B3r)

[18] Blake, 'English Versions', p. 261

[*emphasis added*]

(2) CXI and I had foure grete holes in my heed of his sharpe nayles that <u>the blood sprange out/ and that I was nyhe al a swoun/</u> but for the grete fere of my lyf ... (e6r)

CX II & I had foure grete holes in my heed of his sharpe nayles that but for the grete fere of my lyf ... (d6r-d6v)

PY I And I had four grete holes in myn hedde of his sharpe nayles that <u>that the blod spra[n]ge out. and that I was nyghe al a swoun</u> but for the grete fere of my lyf. ... (D1r)

In case (1), although CX II inserts a speaker, the king, with a reporting verb in an attempt to make the utterance clearly understandable, PY I does not give this additional information but reads just as CX I. In case (2), the underlined part of the sentence is omitted in CX II at the turn of the page, probably because of a wrong casting-off. However, in PY I, the removed clauses in CX II appear in almost the same expression as CX I. Many other cases like these, which can be observed throughout the text, evince that PY I descends from CX I. It is unconventional in the period of early books that Pynson did not refer to Caxton's latest edition, because a later edition was usually made in those days from the one immediately preceding it.[19]

This tendency not to choose the newest edition as its base text can also be observed as regard to the following editions of PY I. According to three studies by Blake, Varty and Menke, PY I is not the copy-text of the following editions, and turns out to be ignored in the textual transmission. The

[19] See Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing' in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, *Vol. III 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 65-108 (p. 91).

collation of PY I and the later editions demonstrates that this conclusion is apparently correct. However, it is not clear why PY I was completely dismissed by the following editors. In fact, Blake suggests the need of further investigation into Pynson's *Reynard* to find a convincing answer to this question.[20]

What textual characteristics does PY I have, then? According to my study,[21] PY I can be characterized as a careless and sloppy text. The inferior textual production can be defined by the following traits: (i) eye-skip, (ii) inappropriate choice of tense, (iii) incorrect inflection, and (iv) archaic word order.

Eye-skip is one of the mistakes caused by compositorial carelessness. In the entire extant text of PY I (72 printed pages), eye-skip, which produces an obscure sentence or even a nonsense discourse, occurs eight times. The following are typical examples of such errors:[22]

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[20] 'It is difficult to think of any satisfactory reason why [PY I] is an isolated text, but it might be a fruitful matter for further investigation.' See Blake, 'English Versions', p. 261.

[21] In my study I collated six editions of *Reynard*. For each edition I used a PDF version of the following copies available in Early English Books Online (EEBO):
(CX I) British Library, A-H^{8} [blank]^{1} I^{8} K-L^{6} (A1 and L6 blank);
(CX II) Cambridge University Magdalene College Pepysian Library, pi^{2} a-h^{8} i^{6} ;
(PY I) Oxford University Bodleian Library, A-F^{8} (-F7-8) [ESTC says that the collation formula is A-F^{8} (-F7-8). In my examination, however, this information is not correct. By my calculation the missing pages after F6^{v} correspond to a little more than eight pages, judging from the number of lines in WC I. Thus the signature should run as A^{8} B - G^{6} H^{4}];
(PY II) National Library of Scotland, unidentified signature [There are only eight pages extant in two different fragments, the margin of which is torn off];
(deW) Cambridge University Library, unidentified signature [There are only four pages extant, and the signature is gone];
(GT) British Library, A-S^{8} T^{4}.

[22] The other instances (CX I: PY I) are: (I sayde to hym yf he wolde bileue me/ and that he wolde crepe in to the dore/ (c3r): I saide to hym yf he wolde crepe into the dore (B2r)), (I wyl goo to her and shal anon vnderstonde the prys/ and bad me to tarye for hym/ and he ra[n]ne to the mare/ and axed of her how she wold selle her fool or kepe it/ (f3v): I wyl

(3) CX I I loue hem as wel as ony may loue his chyldren (c1v)

PY I I loue his chyldren (B1r)

(4) CX I it is a wonder thyng wene ye that I wolde not fayne goo with yow/ yf it were so wyth me that I myght goo wyth yow/ in suche wise that it no shame were vnto your lordshyp/ (d6r)

PY I it is a wonder thinge. wene ye that I wolde not fayne goo wyth you in suche wyse th[a]t it noo shame were vnto yonre lordshyp (c2r)

(5) CX I I shal neyther hate hym ne haue/ enuye at hym/ I shal For goddess loue forgyue hym yet is it not so clere out of myn herte/ (h5v)

PY I I shal neyther hate hym ne haue enuye at him yet is it not so clere out of my herte (f2r)

Certainly the occurrence may not be frequent, but these eight cases indicate that PY I is not proofread carefully enough.[23]

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goo to her and shal anon vnderstonde the prys and asked of her how she wolde selle her fool or kepe it. (D4[r])), etc. All examples do not seem to result from copy-fitting, which is a compositorial device to make the text seamless and tidy, for they do not occur at the bottom of the pages.

[23] There are three instances in CX II which seem to be eye-skip. They are (CX I: CX II): (yf he come not thane he is thanne gylty in alle the trespaces … (b8v): yf he come not thenne gylty in al the trespaces (b3v)), (but that ye haue sworen that ye shal goo ouersee and abide there/ that is the thyng that toucheth me moste/ (e3r): but that ye

The inappropriate selection of tense and aspect is a good witness to the textual inferiority of PY I. For example:

(6) CX I reynart one of the heed offycers of my hows had don so euyl whiche this daye shold haue ben hanged/ hath now in this courte don so moche/ that I and my wyf the quene haue promysed to hym our grace and frendshyp/ The quene hath prayde moche/ for hym/ in so moche that I haue made pees wyth hym/ (d6v)

PY I reynart one of the heed offycers of my hows had doon so euylle whiche this daye shold ben hanged. had nowe in this court doon soo moche. that I & my wyf the quene haue p*ro*mysed to hym our grace and frendshyp The quene had moche prayed for hym in so moche that I haue made pees wyth him (C2v)

(7) CX I the kynge hath sworn that he shal gyue you a shameful deth/ he hath commanded alle his folke withyn vi dayes for to be here/ Archers fotemen/ horsemen/ And peple in waynes ·And he hath gunnes/ bombardes tentes and pauyllyons/ (fIr)

PY I the kynge had sworn that ye shall gyue you a shameful deth. he had co[m]maunded al his folke wyth in vi. dayes for to be

haue sworen that ye shal goo ouersee and abyde there: that touched me moste. (d3v)), (Thenne he vnlosed hym and delyuerd hym out of the snare/ (g4v): the[n]ne he vnlosed hym out of the snare: (f2v)). However, as the expressions in CX I seem somewhat redundant and superfluous, it is not certain whether these cases in CX II can be regarded as resulting from eye-skip or editorial omission.

here Archers fotemen horsmen And people in waynes. And he had gonnes bombardes tentes and pauyllons (D2v)

Apart from the substitution of 'shold ben hanged' for 'shold haue ben hanged' in (6) of PY I, which is a sensible improvement in terms of the sequence of events, there is a wrong shift of tense commonly observed in examples (6) and (7). The present perfect in CX I is shifted to the past perfect in PY I, and the present tense in CX I to the past tense in PY I. As a result, the event or state is moved backwards inappropriately regardless of the context. There can be found some other instances of this kind.[24] Clearly the changes of tense and aspect in these examples in PY I result in violation of the natural temporal orientation.

Incorrect inflection provides further evidence of editorial or compositorial sloppiness in PY I. Some instances are:

(8) CX I PArys was that tyme an herde man and kepte his faders beestis and sheep … (h2v)

PY I [P]Aris was that time an herd man & kepe his faders beestys and sheepe … (E6v)

[24] See (CX I: PY I): (And yet hath he trespaced to me in many other thinges/ (a4v): And yet had he trespaced to me in many other thynges. (A1v)), (For the bere hath more madde folye in his vnthrifty heed and al his auncestris/ than ony other hath (d2v): for the bere had more mad folye in his vnthrifty heed and alle his auncestres than ony other hath (B6r)), (gyue hym grace to knowe who hath right and who hath wronge/ (f6v): gyue hym grace to knowe who had ryght and who had wronge. (D5v)), etc.

(9) CX I he ... halpe his wyf out/ (i3r)

PY I he ... halped his wyf (f5v)

(10) CX I god be thanked (f7v)

PY I god be tha[n]keth (D6r)

In (8) 'kepe' may be a corruption caused by a drop of 't'. In (9), PY I adds a suffix '-ed' redundantly to 'halpe', a strong preterite form of 'help'. In the passive construction of (10), '-eth' is used for the past participle marker '-ed'. These mistakes illustrate textual imprecision and imply a lack of careful proofreading in PY I.

The most interesting feature is the textual difference in word order.[25] Word order can be altered for stylistic and rhetorical reasons, but PY I shows a peculiar pattern of word order probably without such a supposedly rhetorical effect. The arrangement of words in PY I sounds old-fashioned or archaic as compared with that in CX I:[26]

[25] Blake explains that CX II has the instances in which word order is changed. Interestingly, they are similar to the alterations in PY I in that 'not' and verb, and verb and object are inverted. For example, (CX I) for he had founde it right as he wished/ (CX II) for he had it founde ryght as he wysshed/, (CX I) … my wyf. whiche wayteth after vs/ and shal make vs good chiere (CX II) … my wyf/ whiche wayteth after vs/ and shal vs make good chiere, (CX I) beware that reynart go not away・(CX II) beware that reynart not goo away, (CX I) but I muste kepe it in secrete/ (CX II) but I muste it kepe in secrete. This common characteristic may be worth investigating in more detail.

[26] Blake says "[PY I] differs from the other texts in that it was set up in two columns per page and therefore the problem of justifying the line was more acute. This is probably why the compositor had to tamper with the word order more frequently." (Blake, 'English Versions', p. 271) However, these examples from (11) to (18) are not related to the justification of the line, because the words do not stretch over two lines.

(11) CX I And yf he come not hyther/ er this feste be ended … (e8r)

PY I And yf he not come hyther er this feste be ended … (D2r)

(12) CX I ye shold not ete it in vij yere (bIv)

PY I ye not shold ete it in vii. yeres (A4v)

(13) CX I I wyl make you good chyere (b6r)

PY I I wyl yow make goode chyere (A7r)

(14) CX I I shold see hym destroyed/ (g7r)

PY I I sholds hym see destroyed (E4v)

(15) CX I Where as hunter ne hounde myght doo hym non harme· (h5r)

PY I where as hunter ne honde myght hym do non harme (f2r)

(16) CX I I haue truly holden the foxe for good (e8r)

PY I y haue truly the foxe holden for good (D1v)

(17) CX I this mater may not be longe taryed/ (b2r)

PX I this mater may not longe bee taryed (A4v)

(18) CX I And I shal late hym haue knowleche/ (f3v)

PY I & I shal late haue hym knowleche (D3v)

Out-of-date or marginal usage of negative construction can be observed in (11) and (12). In (11), PY I changes the construction of 'verb + not' into 'not + verb', and in (12) the negator 'not' is abnormally placed before the auxiliary verb. According to the developmental formula of negative construction, 'verb + not' was a standard pattern and 'not + verb' had become out-of-date or marginal by the turn of the fifteenth century,[27] when PY I was edited and printed.

In (13), (14), (15) and (16), word order is reversed from 'verb + object' to 'object + verb.' What is structurally common in these instances is that the object, nominal or pronominal, is moved back to the intervening position between the auxiliary and the main verb in the compound tense, thus producing a syntactic pattern 'auxiliary + object + main verb'. The modern formula (verb + object) is almost settled as early as *c.* 1500, and especially so in declarative sentences.[28] The change of word order in PY I goes obviously against this trend, and the resulting sentence sounds archaic or old-fashioned, even if we acknowledge that this pattern with a pronominal object can be found in the compound or periphrastic tenses of Middle English.[29]

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[27] See Yoko Iyeiri, *Negative Constructions in Middle English* (Fukuoka, 2001), pp. 44-46 and Gabriellla Mazzon, *A History of English Negation* (London, 2004), p. 75 and p. 85. They reported that instances of this anomalous pattern 'not + verb' can be sporadically found in Middle English and early Modern English, and that its occurrence is dominant in verse.

[28] C. C. Fries, *American English Grammar* (New York, 1940), p. 252.

[29] Ferdinand Mossé points out the usage of pronominal object found between auxiliary verb and main verb in Middle English. See his *Handbook of Middle English*, translated

So far, we have looked at the textual characteristics of PY I. We cannot possibly regard these alterations as textual improvement; rather, they make the text clumsy or awkward. Why does PY I have so many careless deviations? One might well wonder if a foreign compositor might have been involved in the text-production.[30] It is difficult to prove for certain a particular cause for such a deteriorated text, but one thing is clear: in the printing process, PY I was not proofread carefully, if at all.[31]

1-3 Pynson's Second Edition (PY II)

PY I's inferior quality as a text, as examined above, might have something to do with its being rejected as a base text for later editions. In fact, Pynson's own second issue, PY II, does not derive from PY I.[32] When we

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by James Walker (Baltimore, 1952), p.129.

[30] Actually, a foreigner did work for Pynson's press. A helpmate of Geillaume le Talleur's print shop, who was a printer in Rouen, worked with Pynson for a few years in London. See Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London, 2010), p. 115.

[31] Another possibility for the corrupt text is that as his copy text Pynson did not use a copy of CX I but a manuscript text, a manuscript with marks for casting-off used as a copy text for CX I, which is rather harder to read than a printed one. This interpretation is based on a suggestion which Professor Masako Takagi made about my paper read at the 27th general meeting of the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies (4th December, 2011).

[32] According to the digital ESTC (http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc), PY II is described as a 'Translation of the Dutch text of 1479', which is the 'Gouda edition', an edition Caxton used in publishing his *Reynard* in 1481. However, it is difficult to believe that PY II is a direct translation of the 1479 'Gouda edition'. This explanation may also suggest that PY II is a reprint of Caxton's edition translated from the 'Gouda edition', but the description is imprecise and misleading. The textual collation may show that PY II is not a direct translation of the Dutch text, but that it comes from some preceding text(s) derived from Caxton's edition. Compare PY II with Gouda and CX I in the following cases (Gouda: CX I: PY II): (PArijs die schone ionghelinc was doe ee*n* harder ende v*er*waerde doe sijns vaders scapen op dye heyde … (4236-38): PArys was that tyme an herde man and kepte his faders beestis and sheep without troye/ (h2v): Parys was that [time an he]rd ma[n] & kept his faders bestes & shepe with[out troy] (signature is unidentified)), (Hoe hi halena hier nae kreech en*de*

collate PY II with the preceding editions, it becomes clear that Pynson abandoned his first edition and adopted some other text in publishing his second edition:

(19) CX I And ye wold not that the man shold for his gentilnes and kyndenes be Iuged to deth (g5v)

CX II And ye wold not that the man shold for his gentlynes and kyndenes be Juged to deth/ (f3v)

PY I & ye wold not that the man sholde for his gentylnes be iuged to deth (E3v)

PY II And ye wolde nat that the man for h[is gentleness] and great kyndenesse sholde be Iuged v[nto death] [signature toen off]

(20) CX I I toke a glasse or a mirrour & a combe (h2r)

CX II I toke galasse or mirrour and acombe (f7v)

PY I I toke a glasse or a combe (E6r)

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hoe hise coninc menelaus nam. by hulpen venus d*er* godyn*n*en en*de* brochtse binne*n* troeyen (4275-77): how that he gate afterward helene by the helpe of venus and how he brought her in to troye and wedded her/ (h3r): Howe that he gate a[fterward] the fayre Helene by the helpe of venus that […]ne Venus: and howe he brought hir into T[roy and] wedded hir). In the first example, Caxton translates Gouda's 'sijn vaders scapen' into 'his faders beestis and sheep', embellishing 'scapen' by adding 'beestis'. This is an instance of 'word pairing'. This Caxtonian diction is taken over by PY II. In addition, Blake suggests a possibility that when translating *Reynard*, Caxton used his own knowledge acquired in the course of publishing *The Recuyell of Historyes of Troye*. The second case is exactly such an example. Caxton amplifies the story of Paris and Helen in Gouda's *Reynard* by additionally describing a celebratory detail in which Paris 'wedded her'. PY II contains the same information provided solely by Caxton. These two examples show that PY II is based on Caxton's version, not directly deriving from the Dutch text. This requires a revision of the bibliographical description of PY II in the digital ESTC. For 'Gauda edition', I used W. Gs. Hellinga, *Van den Vos Reynarde: I Teksten* (Zwolle, 1952).

PY II I toke a glasse or a m[irror] and also a combe

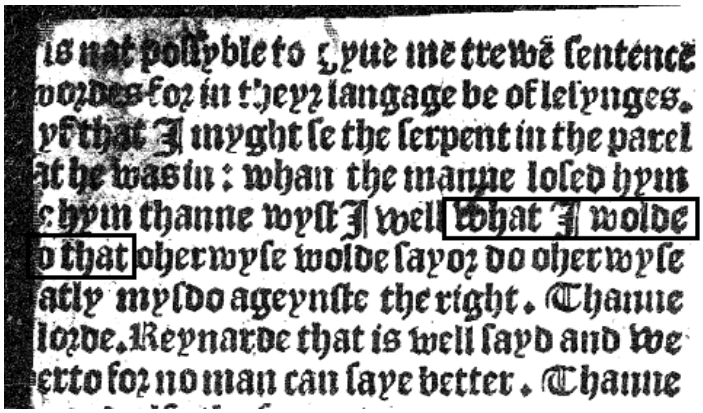
(21) CX I Thenne wyste I wel what I shold saye/ And who that … (g6r)

CX II Thenne wyste I wel what I shold saye And who that … (f4r)

PY I The[n]ne wyst I wel what I sholde saye & what iugement I shold gyue. And who th[at] … (E3v)

PY II thanne wyst I well what I wolde [say And wh]o that …

All these examples show that PY II is based not on PY I, but on either CX I or CX II. In examples (19) and (20), the words which do not occur in PY I appear in PY II as in CX I and CX II. In PY I (21), '& what iugement I shold gyue' is inserted in lines 2 and 3 from the bottom in the right column as a possible attempt at copy-fitting. This additional phrase does not appear in PY II, in which the extant printed page is defective and yet the missing portion in question does not have enough space to accommodate six words (See Picture 1).


is not possyble to gyue me trewe sentence
wordes for in theyr langage be of lesynges.
yf that I myght se the serpent in the parel
at he was in: whan the manne loked hym
e hym thanne wyst I well what I wolde
o that otherwyse wolde sayr do otherwyse
atly myldo ageynste the right. Thanne
lorde. Reynarde that is well sayd and we
erto for no man can saye better. Thanne

(Picture 1 Pynson's second edition)

If, however, we take into consideration Duff's assumption that there must have been another lost edition published by de Worde before PY II and Varty's inference that Pynson might have borrowed the woodcuts from de Worde for PY II,[33] then de Worde's lost edition can be considered a candidate for PY II's base text. The fact still remains that Pynson did not choose his own first edition as his copy text.

It is naturally inferred that the careless errors in PY I are corrected in PY II. In the extant eight pages of PY II, there can be found a case in which PY I's inflectional mistake treated in (8) is improved in PY II:

(22) PY I [P]Aris was that time an herd man & kepe his faders beestys and sheepe … (E6v)

PY II Parys was that [time an he]rd ma[n] & kept his faders bestes & shepe …

Furthermore, Pynson's original editorial hand can be detected in PY II:

(23) CX I reynard my neuew shold come and saye his aduys in this mater/ (g5v-g6r)

CX II reynart my neuew shold come and saye his aduys in this mater. (f3v)

[33] See Kenneth Varty, 'The Earliest Illustrated English Editions', pp. 160-95. It is said that de Worde had more woodcuts in stock than Pynson, and that Pynson sometimes borrowed them. See James Moran, *Wynkyn de Worde: Father of Fleet Street* (London, 2003), p. 41.

PY I reynart my neuew sholde come and saye his aduys in this mater (E3v)

PY II Reynar[t my ne]uewe shold come and saye & shewe his a[dvise] […] great mater. My ryght honourable lord …

(24) CX I they be shamefast and wyse/ and brynge a man in very Ioye and blysse/ Parys herde this venus whiche presented hym this grete Ioye and fayr lady and prayd her to name this fayr lady/ that was so fair and where she was/ (h3r)

CX II they be shamefast and wyse and brynge a man in veri Ioye and blysse. Parys herde this venus whiche presented hym this grete Ioye and fair lady and prayd her to name this fayr lady/ that was so fayr and where she was/ (f8r)

PY I they bee shamefast & wyse and brynge a ma[n] in very ioye and blyxe. Parys herde this venus whiche p[re]sentyd hym this grete ioye and fayr lady and prayde her to name this fayr lady that was so fayr & where she was. (E6v)

PY II They ben [shamefast a]nd wyse: and brynge a man in very ioye & […]yble to tell of theyr goodlynesse. [Paris he]rde this Venus that noble goddess which [presented him t]his great ioye and fayre prudente Ladye. […] hir for to name this fayre ladye that was […] where she was and in what coutre.

(25) CX I art not thou pryamus sone/ and hector is thy brother whiche haue al asye vnder their power/ art not thou one of the possessours of grete troye/ (h2v)

CX II art not thou pryamus sone and hector is thy brother whiche haue al asye under their power/ art not thou one of the possessours of grete troye/ (f8r)

PY I art thou not pryamus sone and hector is they brother whiche haue al asye under their power. art thou not one of the possessours of grete troye (E6v)

PY II art nat thou [pryamus] son & is hector nat thy broder. art thou nat […]osessours of great Troye/

In (23) and (24), PY II expands the text by adding synonymous phrases like 'saye & shewe' and 'where she was and in what courte', or by superfluous modifications like 'great', 'prudente', 'My ryght honourable lord', and 'that noble goddess'. In contrast, PY II excises the information about Priam and Hector, who have control over 'this land [*i.e.* Troy] far and near' in Gouda, and who are described by Caxton the translator as ruling Asia.[34]

Besides textual alterations, in terms of paratext, there are several differences between PY I and PY II. The format is changed from folio to quarto, and accordingly the two-column format in PY I is changed to a single

[34] Caxton translates Gouda's '*dit lant veer ende nae*' (ll. 4249-50: 'this land far and near') into a more specific place name *Asia*. In PY II, this substitution is rejected for some technical or interpretational reason.

column format in PY II. Caxton does not provide his second edition with woodcuts; in contrast, Pynson embellishes his text with illustrations which he might have borrowed from de Worde. Furthermore, there is a noteworthy attempt in the chapter heading of PY II. Chapter headings with a synoptic description appear both in the table of contents and the body text in PY I just as in CX I and CX II. Unfortunately, PY II is extant only in an eight-page fragment so that we cannot ascertain whether it contains a preliminary matter or not. However, there is indeed an original heading to the extant PY II. The new heading appears in the longest chapter of this story: Pynson composes and inserts an original heading at a divisible place in Chapter 32, and by so doing he divides the longest chapter in Caxton's *Reynard* into smaller sections. His new synopsis is:

> ¶ Here tolde Reynarde the foxe of the […]
> de Iewell whiche was a myrroure an […]
> two hystoryes which were wryten an[…]
> uen in the same myrroure.

By composing and inserting this synopsis at a divisible place in this long, discursive chapter, Pynson succeeds in making smaller sections for readers' ease of reference. However, taking into consideration the possibility that PY II might descend from de Worde's lost edition, we cannot deny, theoretically, that PY II's alterations are not of his own original devising, but that he owes

these editing to de Worde's lost edition. However, it is an interesting fact that the textual and paratextual modifications including this additional synopsis inserted in PY II do not appear in GT,[35] and this is proved, by my comparison, to be a literal reprint of deW. Therefore, deW, we can assume, does not contain this synopsis, and probably neither does de Worde's lost edition. In either case, these editorial modifications can be regarded as Pynson's own improvements for his second edition.

What motivated Pynson to make these revisions in both textual and paratextual respects in PY II? This may be partly related to the question of readership and marketing: who were intended to read Pynson's *Reynard*? It is assumed that Caxton published *Reynard* not only for the upper class but also for the bourgeois class. By nature, this didactic story had a wide range of readership. Adult readers probably read it for their own enjoyment and edification, and they also read it aloud to their children for recreation or education.[36] However, Pynson's edition seems to have acquired a different circle of readership. Considering his printing career and the location of his

[35] GT derives not from Pynson's edition but from deW. There are some examples which show that PY II was not chosen as GT's base text. See (PY II/ GT): ([be]cause that that they wolde ete of the man […]led for very pure hungre/ bycause they wolde eate of the man, for they howled for great hunger (M6r)) (Than iuge I that the man may go […] wyll at his owne lyberte and let the ser[pent …]yll bounde:/ Tha[n] iudge I that the man maye go frely where he wyll and the serpent abyde styll bounden (M7v)) (is hector nat thy broder. art thou nat […] [p]osessours of great Troye/ Hector is thy brother, whiche haue all Asye under theyr power, arte not thou one of the possessours of great Troye (N7v)). However, there are some cases in which GT corresponds with PY II: (and also he is mery: & glad […]/ and also he is mery and glad in his hearte (N7r)). From the extant parts of PY II, we can safely state that GT originates from deW, for GT is close to deW. The textual collation of deW and GT and the matter of chapter division are to be dealt with in the following section of this chapter.

[36] For a relevant discussion of readership, see Merridee L. Bailey, 'In Service and at Home: Didactic Texts for Children and Young People, *c.* 1400–1600', *Parergon*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2007), pp. 23-46.

print shop (in the parish of St. Clement Danes outside Temple Bar[37]), it is quite likely that Pynson's book was also enjoyed by legal customers.

Pynson was one of the pioneers in the field of law books in England. He was a Norman by birth, and educated at the University of Paris. Together with this educational background, his native language may have given him an advantage in editing and publishing legal books in Law French. These legal books, as H. S. Bennett explains, 'required expert handling'.[38] Pynson seems to have possessed this and other qualifications. As is shown by his succession to William de Machlinia, a monopolist of law books in London, and his later appointment as 'King's Printer' (1506-1530), his workmanship must have been highly reputed. One such professional activity is observed in his preparation of the *Abbreviamentum statutorum* (1499), a professionally legal text. To set up the text accurately, he employed three members of the Middle Temple as proofreaders.[39] PY I, a specimen of beast literature, is quite the opposite. As has been shown already, the text, without careful proofreading, passed into the customers' hands with a number of errors left uncorrected.

It is possible that he expected his *Reynard* to be read in a leisurely way by non-professional customers, as was the case with Caxton's editions. However, in view of the presence of Pynson's legal customers, it seems clear that *Reynard* was accorded status as both an entertainment and a practical

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[37] For his autobiographical information, see E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London, 1948), pp. 126-27.
[38] See H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475-1557* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 77.
[39] See Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton*, pp. 123-24.

book for legal readers in particular. If law experts read PY I, a slipshod text, we can suppose that its quality was unsatisfactory to them or it even provoked them to complain about it. As is the case with Caxton's second edition of *Canterbury Tales*, Pynson, as an established legal printer, may have decided to reissue it with as new an appearance as possible in response to such complaints. In preparing his new edition, he dismissed his own PY I, and chose to make a text afresh with a different set of founts[40], and to help to appreciate the text by supplying visual information.[41] As a result of this, PY I alone turned out to be isolated from the lineal derivation of texts in the publishing history of *Reynard*.

Now we can get the textual features of Pynson's second edition, which has escaped scholarly attention so far. To recapitulate our findings, it is derived with some textual alterations from its prior English texts other than PY I; it makes some changes in terms of paratext, such as format, fount, column, woodcut, and text-division. Above all, woodcut and text-division are of vital importance to clarify the textual derivation of PY II and later editions.

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[40] Pynson used a different set of founts in PY II from the ones in PY I. According to Duff's classification, in PY I he used founts of Type 2, which was used in his early works like *Canterbury Tales* (1492). In PY II he used Type 7, a gothic type, which was preferred by Pynson after 1495. This kind of 'black letter' type was also popular among his contemporary printers. See E. G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (Oxford, 1917), pictures xxxi and xxxvi.

[41] In order to make the reissue have as new a look as possible, he should have thought of the change of format and founts first. If, as Duff conjectured, Pynson used de Worde's lost edition as his base text and borrowed the woodcuts from him, it follows that he chose quarto, following de Worde's format (de Worde's extant second edition with woodcuts attached is quarto in size), since it was fairly easy to place those cuts in the same format. These pictorial ornaments alongside the use of the then-popular gothic types should have contributed a lot to produce a new appearance and at the same time helped to make the reissue more attractive as well as cheaper to the customers. Thus PY II must have catered for a broader layer of customers than PY I.

The woodcut of PY II belongs to the series of blocks "Reynard the Fox", and a different cut of this type appears in deW. Thus PY II and deW are proved to be connected to each other. The text-division, on the other hand, is very implicative. Pynson divides a long chapter into small sections by inserting an original heading. This synoptic heading is handed down to Allde I[42] and then to subsequent editions, although this division is not shared by Gaultier (1550), probably nor is it by deW. Thus PY II, which exerts a direct influence on later editions, has acquired a significant position in the stemma of textual transmission of *Reynard*.

1-4 Gaultier's (GT) and Allde's First Edition (Allde I)

De Worde's edition came out after Pynson's two editions. As already mentioned above, there are only four pages known to be extant. However, the small number of pages demonstrates an editorial tendency of modernization in this text, especially in regard to vocabulary.[43]

These modifications are taken over in GT,[44] and thus they imply that deW is GT's copy-text. In fact, GT is a faithful reprint of its exemplar, as there can be found only three deviations from the text in deW's four-page fragment:

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[42] I shall closely discuss this heading in Allde I in the following section of this chapter.
[43] Blake mentions the three main aspects observed as the tendency peculiar to deW: (a) Dutch loanwords replaced, (b) older English words replaced, and (c) older phrases replaced by more up-to-date idiomatic expressions. Blake, 'English Versions', p. 73.
[44] As for Gaultier's types, see Frank Issac, *English and Scottish Printing Types 1535-58* * *1552-58*, (Oxford, 1932). (no pagination)

(26) deW and now falsly haue a[ppe]led me & [brought] me in this trouble/ [signature torn off]

GT and and nowe falslye haue appeled me and brought me in this trouble ... (R3v)

(27) deW [Th]an wende the wolfe to haue ben starke blynde [the] [pis]se sterte in his eyen.

GT Than wend the wolf to haue ben starke blinde the pisse sterte in her eien. (R3r)

(28) deW I wyll yet [all] [other]wyse byte you/

GT I wyll yet all otherwise by you ... (R3r-R3v)

The first two examples are minor differences. They cannot be regarded as editorial modifications, but rather as mere compositorial errors. The third example can be identified as a trace of an editorial hand, though the meaning remains obscure even by the substitution of 'by' for 'byte' in deW.[45]

Despite the textual faithfulness, the paratextual characters differ considerably from those of deW. GT does not use the series of woodblock illustrations which must have appeared in deW, due to the shift of format from quarto to octavo. In addition, GT has many additional synopses making chapters into smaller segments, and oddly enough, GT is wrong in

[45] This part is different in all the preceding editions, that is, CX I, CX II, deW and GT. (The corresponding pages of PY I and PY II are missing.) (CX I) "I wyl al otherwyse on yow yet/ abyde" (k1v) (CX II) "I wyl al otherwyse oon yow yet byte" (h5v) (deW) "I wyll yet [all] [other]wyse byte you/"(the signature has gone) (GT) "I wyll yet all otherwise by you ..." (R3r-R3v).

chapter-numbering, allotting incorrect numbers to these new additional chapter headings. The headings in GT are not in the correct order, as follows:

i→ii→iii→iiii→v→vi→vii→viii→ix→x→xi→xii→xiii→xii→xii→xiii→xiiii→xiii→xv→xiiii→xv→xvii→xvii→xviii→xviii→xx→xx→xxi→xxii→xxiii→xxiiii→xxv→xxi→xxvii→xxviii→xxix→xxx→xxxi→xxxii→xxxiii→xxxiiii→xxxv→xxxvi→xxxvii→xxxviii→xxxix→xl→xli→xlii→xliii.

These inserted new chapters should not have been in deW; they were undoubtedly of GT's own making. Apart from these numbered chapters, GT also inserts a lot of unnumbered headings as shown in the following table:

CX I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
PY I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
PY II	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
deW	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GT	1	2	3	4	5 (5)	6	7 (7)	8	9	10 11 12	13
Allde I	—	—	—	4	5 (5)	6	7 (7)	8	—	— — 12	13

CX I	12	13	**14**	15	16	17	18	19	**20**	21	22
PY I	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
PY II	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
deW	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GT	12 13 14 14	15	14	15	17	17 (17)	18	18 20	20	21	22
Allde I	14 15 16 ×	17	18	19	20	21 22	23	24 —	26	27	28

CX I	23	24	25	26	27	28 (28)	29	30	31	32	33
PY I	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
PY II	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	31	32 (32)	—
deW	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GT	23	24	25	21	27 (27a) (27b)	28 (28)	29	30	31	32 (32a) (32b) (32c) (32d) (32e)	33
Allde I	29	30	31	32	33 34 35	36 37	38	39	40	41 42 43 44 (44) 45 46	47

CX I		34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	43
PY I		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PY II		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
deW		—	—	—	—	38	39	—	—	—	—	—
GT		34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	(42)	43 (43)
Allde I		48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58 —

CX II is not treated in this table, as its chapters are exactly the same as those of CX I. The numbers without parentheses are chapter headings with chapter numbers indicated, and the numbers in parentheses mean headings without chapter numbers allotted. For example, in GT's Chapter 27, there is a chapter heading numbered '27' and there are two more headlines without any indication of a chapter number, which are shown here as '(27a)' and '(27b)' in the table. A dash ('—') indicates that the corresponding page is not available in the respective extant text.

If we compare CX I and GT, we can notice a tendency that after incorrect numbering is allotted in GT (as in '13→12→13→14→14→15' or '17 → (17) → 18 → 18 → 20), the immediately subsequent number in GT corresponds to the number in CX I (as in '**14**' and '**20**' respectively, printed bold letter in the table). As the incorrect numbers occur only in the first part of the text, we may speculate that one compositor in charge of those pages mistakenly added chapter numbers to the headlines which were supposed by the editor to be subheadings without numbers allotted, whereas the other compositor assigned correct chapter numbers according to his edited printer's copy because he did not know his fellow worker's composing procedure.

There is also one interesting case in which the compositor may have created a chapter arbitrarily. As is shown in the table, in GT Chapter 14 appears three times. The case in question is the second Chapter 14, and it reads:

¶ The fox promised that he wolde so do. And than they wente bothe togyder towarde the kynges courte. Cap. xiiii. (GT, E 2r)

These sentences are originally not a chapter heading but a part of the text. However, the compositor separates this part from the narrative, placing a pilcrow in the initial position and the chapter number of the end, probably to arrange or adjust his printed page. It must have been a complicated task for the editor to make a copy-text for GT by casting off deW's text, because the format was reduced from quarto to octavo and proportionately large-size woodblocks were inserted in deW. As one instance arising in these circumstances, we can find in GT a number of errors due to loose editing or composing, such as mistaken catchwords resulting from incomplete casting-off, here and there.[46] Therefore, it is assumed that the copy-text given to the compositors was not accurate enough to make a precise text. As a result, compositors must have had to adjust their pages by copy-fitting, and the Chapter 14 mentioned above may have appeared as one such instance.

The probable readership of GT is neither the aristocracy nor specialists such as the law experts of Pynson's editions. Rather, the relatively lower class must have been intended as its audience. The small octavo format, the lack of illustrations and the incomplete proofreading as shown in the high

[46] Cases of mistaken catchwords which may result from inaccurate casting-off can be observed on many pages such as M4r, M4v, N6v, N7r, P3r, and R7r. In addition, probably because of mistaken casting-off, the number of lines is not consistent in GT.

frequency of mistakes in chapter-numbering indicate that GT was a comparatively cheaper product. By making additional headlines for easy reference, the editor of GT creates a book structure that makes it easier for the readers to enjoy this tale as an entertainment in their leisure time. Therefore, the insertion of chapters in GT can be seen as an attempt to divide the book into fragments so as to enable the readers to pick up the book and put it down in their spare time. Such reader-friendly devices probably result in these confusing errors.

GT's inferior quality as a product deserves considering in comparison with Pynson's editions. As I have stated, PY I is characterized by slipshodness, out of keeping with Pynson's career as King's printer and his specialization in law books. Likewise, the slack editing and proofreading of GT seem inappropriate for Gaultier's reputation, for he was also appointed as King's Printer of French service books.[47] GT is another case similar to Pynson's *Reynard*, in the sense that the printer did not pay enough attention to the accuracy of the text considering its genre and readership.

On the other hand, Allde I, which follows GT, emends the wrong chapter numbers appearing in GT, and as a result, the edition finishes at Chapter 58, or perhaps 59 if Allde I makes a separate chapter corresponding to GT's '(43)'. In addition, the editor of Allde I not only modifies the disorder

[47] See Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade,* p. 54 and Bennett, *English Books and Readers I*, pp. 38-9. Gaultier is known to have engaged in printing only from 1550 to 1553, but together with various religious books, Tyndale's New Testament (STC (2nd ed.), 2821) is to be noted among his publications.

but also improves chapters elaborately. The headline of the second Chapter 14 cited above, which is not a proper chapter heading but is originally a part of the narrative text, is now in Allde I removed to its original place in the narrative text (see '×' after Chapter 16 of Allde I in the above table). Furthermore, Allde I contains one chapter heading which does not appear in GT. Surprisingly enough, this additional heading originates in PY II. That is the synoptic heading in Chapter 32 in PY II (see '(32)' of PY II in the table), and Chapter 44 in Allde I ('44' of Allde I in the table). In this instance, the synoptic subheading in PY II is completely eliminated in GT, whereas it shows up in Allde I in almost the same phrase.[48] This is the only case that proves that PY II affects the make-up of Allde I.

As for the text itself, alongside the other inserted chapters, Varty asserts as follows:

> … a careful comparison of the text of the anonymous edition [i.e. Allde

[48] The relevant parts in each text are: (PY II) ¶Howe that he gate al[…] the fayre Helene by the helpe of venus that […]ne Venus: and howe he brought hir into T[…] wedded hir the great loue and iolye lyfe tha[…] togyder was all coruen in the felde eury thy[…]selfe and in the storye wryten.¶Here tolde Reynarde the foxe of the […]de Jewell whiche was a myrroure an[…] two hystoryes which were wryten an[…]uen in the same myrroure. Nowe shall ye here of the Goodly M[…] The glasse that stode therin was of s[…] ate vertue …. (GT) Howe that he gate afterward Helene by the helpe of Venus, & how he brought her into Troy & wedded her, the great loue and ioly life that they had togyther was all caruen in the field euery thing by himselfe, & the story writte[n]. Now ye shall here of th[e] mirroure. The glasse that stood theron was of suche vertue, … (N8r-N8v). (Allde I) Howe that he gate afterwarde Helene by the helpe of Uenus, & how he brought her into Troy and wedded hir: the great loue and ioly life that they had togither was al caruen in the field, euery thing by him selfe, and the story written. ¶ Here tolde Reynard of the thirde Jewell which was a Myrrour, and of two histories which were written and caruen in the same Mirrour. ca. xliiii. Nowe ye shall heare of the Mirrour. The Glasse that stode theron was of suche vertue, … (T2r-T3r)

I] with that of Caxton, Pynson, de Worde and Gaultier shows that it follows all of them, but is very close indeed to Gaultier. It is, in fact, so close to Gaultier that it might be by him, a slightly revised, unrecorded illustrated version of the story from his press.[49]

However, certain facts might make one speculate that Allde I might have used deW for its copy-text. It is because Allde I adopts the series of illustrations "Reynard the Fox" which are used in deW, and because the texts of deW and GT are too similar to determine which text is the exemplar of Allde I. Furthermore, in the case (28) above, GT uses a different word from deW, whereas Allde I is exactly the same as deW, not GT.[50] However, there is one conclusive piece of evidence to corroborate Varty's assertion. This appears in signature N6 verso in GT, and T1 verso in Allde I:

(29) GT This pa[n]thera hath a fayre bone, brode and thin, (whiche) whan it so is that this beaste is slayne all the swete odour resteth in the bone, whiche cannot be broken, … (N6v-N7r)

Allde I This Pa[n]ther hath a faire bone, brode and thinne, <u>which</u> whan it so is, that this beast is slaine: all the swete odour resteth in that bone, which can not be broke[n], … (T1v)

[49] Varty, 'The Earliest Illustrated English Editions', p. 165.
[50] 'I will yet all otherwise byte you' (Allde I, z4r) For other editions, see footnote 39.

The ‘whiche’ in GT, parenthetic above, does not belong to the text itself, but is placed in the position where a catchword is usually located. Nevertheless, in GT the first word on the next page begins with not ‘which’ but ‘whan’. No other extant editions have ‘which’ in this position, and it is difficult to make a grammatically sensible interpretation of this relative pronoun located before ‘whan’. Therefore, it can be regarded as a word unique to this edition, which was invented accidentally by the compositor and mistakenly placed in the marginal position due to his possible eye-skip.[51] However, Allde I contains this fortuitous, solitary word in the narrative text which is assumed to be exclusive to GT as a catchword. This case provides a decisive witness that Allde I originates in GT.

This conclusion also indicates that Allde I is a composite text. The editor of Allde I mainly used GT for his exemplar, but probably realizing its looseness of editing and composing, he decided to refer to some other editions, and inserted a chapter heading which he had found in PY II. As regards the woodblock, the publisher utilized a series of illustrations from deW in order to make the text more visually attractive. English *Reynard*, which is systematically adopted from Caxton’s translation, culminates in Allde I as a product in the sense that various aspects of each preceding edition, such as the modernized language, newly edited chapter-division and rich illustrations, converge into one edition, Allde I. This textual combination

[51] A relative pronoun ‘whiche’ in GT appears at two lines below the beginning of the printed page of signature ‘N7r’.

must have been the result of an attempt to provide a more accurate, well-edited and high-quality book in response to the contemporary demand.

Chapter 2:
Textual Editing and Marginal Morals in Allde's Revised Edition (1620)

2-1 Publishing History of Abbreviated Editions from Allde to Ilive

The textual inheritance of *Reynard,* which originates in Caxton's translation, is interrupted by and stops for a certain period of time with the appearance of Edward Allde's second edition in 1620 (hereafter as Allde II). Allde II abbreviates Caxton's 43 chapters (and the 58 chapters of Allde I) to 25, and this edition becomes the standard in the seventeenth century. As a fresh attempt, it incorporates 'Morals' in the marginal column in many pages. After Allde II made its first appearance, the condensed story seems to have been favorably accepted and enjoyed in place of the original, and it was to be taken over by many later editions with slight modifications.

According to Menke, there are 12 extant reprints of this digest version introduced by Allde II,[52] whereas, as far as we know, there is no single reprint of Allde I in the same period, whose text has the same length as Caxton's. By reducing the number of pages from about 200 in Allde I to about 160 in Allde II, the book price must have declined to a certain extent, but the financial aspect cannot be the only reason for its popularity. Instead, there must be various intrinsic factors favoring its positive reception. In this chapter, I shall examine the characteristic editorial manipulation observed in the text and the morals in Allde II by comparing them with its base-text, Allde I, in order to consider why Allde II turns out to supersede the original *Reynard* in its reception.

[52] Menke, pp. 199-200.

2-2 Text of Allde's Second Edition (Allde II)

As regards the English *Reynard* printed in the seventeenth century, there is a pivotal study with exhaustive descriptions made by C. C. Mish. In his article, Mish points out that, in the seventeenth century, *Reynard* was a story with great potential for popularity because of its nature: the chivalric elements and the morality. He also highly evaluates the anonymous editor's skillful technique to retell the story in Allde II and states as follows:

> Even while sticking as closely as possible to the original presentation of material, he took the liberty of completely rephrasing the sentences, making of a semi-medieval narrative a modern story, and producing an excellent piece of seventeenth-century prose, racy, strong, and nervous in the best sense.[53]

In addition to the modernization of the language for a Stuart reader, the tactful editing, whereby the editor considerably modifies the phrase and style but still retains the vigorousness of the narrative, is one of the factor contributing to its prevalence. In fact, comparing Allde II with Allde I makes us recognize the well-handled editing by the editor to make the text more readable and acceptable to the contemporary readers. The other factors can be classified, in my view, into three categories: first, the refinement of lexicon and style; secondly, elaborate editing with due attention to readers' knowledge and the illustrations; thirdly, amendment of inappropriate

[53] Charles C. Mish, '*Reynard the Fox* in the Seventeenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xvii (1953-54), 327-44 (pp. 331-32).

expressions.

The attempt to make the text more sophisticated can be particularly noted in the lexicon. Allde II uses an abundant vocabulary and often substitutes the simple and plain wording in Allde I with novel words or special terms. To cite a few, 'read' in Allde I (O4r) is changed to 'decipher'[54] in Allde II (L2v), and 'wise man, he understandeth all maner languages' in Allde I (S4r) appears as 'Linguist'[55] in Allde II (O2r). In the *OED*, the first citation of each word in Allde II is 1545 and 1591 respectively, so we may well understand that those words were comparatively up-to-date diction in those days. '(H)erbs' in Allde I (S4r) is amplified as 'herbes, Beasts and Mynerals' in Allde II (O2r), which reflects the latest knowledge in the seventeenth century about the scientific classification of natural objects.[56] In another case, the editor substitutes a technical term 'Augurisme' for a detailed and lengthy explanation about an augur in Allde I,[57] also using the new word 'ominous' (D2v) (its first citation is dated in 1592 in *OED*) together with it. These alterations, observed throughout the text, indicate an editorial precept to prefer the kind of words which, in the prospective readers' view, might belong to a relatively high register.

As for the style and narration, they are not only 'strong and nervous' as Mish says, but also are polished in just the same way as the vocabulary. In many cases, 'Now hearken', the expression used from time to time as a

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[54] See OED2, s. v. Decipher *v*. 1.
[55] See OED2, s. v. Linguist 1. a.
[56] See OED2, s. v. Mineral *sb*. 4.a.
[57] (GT (=Allde I*) : Allde II): (Than was Tybert wo, for he thought it was a shrewde token and a sygne of harme, for yf the byrde had flowen on his right syde, he had ben mery and glad, but bycause he did not, he trowed his iourney shuld turne to unhappiness. (C7r): then grew the Cat very heauy, for he was wise and skilfull in Augurisme, and knew the signe to be ominous, …(D2v)) *In the places where Allde I lacks, I use GT, which is the copy-text of Allde I, and Allde II.

compellation for attentive participation or a statement preliminary to a change of scene, is excised. This may be the result of leaving out the redundant parts to abridge the story, but the deletion of this expression which typifies the oral literature can also be deemed to be an influence of the shift from collective listening to a private reading style, because the vocative to the hearer's attention in communal reading is of no use in silent or private reading. Moreover, the original text in Allde I has a salient characteristic to develop its story on some occasions by interaction of the characters' speech, whereas Allde II smooths out its narrative by changing the dramatic dialogue between characters to the narrator's omnipotent retelling.[58] In some cases, the readers are generalized in that the personal pronoun 'ye' referring to readers is altered to 'hee':

(1) And if ye had seen Raynard how personably he went with his male and his staffe on his shulder and the shoes on his fete ye shoulde haue laughed (GT, h1v)

O, hee that had seene how gallant and personable Reynard was, and how well his staffe and his male became him: as also how fit his Shooes were for his feete, it could not haue chosen but haue stirred in him very much laughter (Allde II, h4r)

On the other hand, the presence of the narrator appearing as 'I' in the

[58] The examples are (Allde I: Allde II):(He sayd I was arested in the court, but the king let me go, … (L2v): to whom he deliuered from point to point, all that has passed with him at the Kings Court,… (h4v)): (She said; it is written in my hinder foot, if ye be a clarke & can read , ye may come see an read it.(O3v): She said the price was written in her hinder foote, which if I pleased I might come and read at my pleasure (L2v)), etc.

story recedes backward with the explicit mention of the narrator being excised.[59] Through these textual interpolations, although modest revisions, we can perceive and witness a medieval animal epic transformed into the mold of a modern narrative.

Naturally enough, the anonymous editor entertains a due concern for the subject-matter as well as for the wording and the structure of the tale, and this is the second aspect of the editorial tendency under consideration. Although the story neither adds extrinsic matter nor deletes inherent substance, following the same line as Caxton's, yet some additional information is contrastively given at several minute points, relying on the readers' knowledge or attached illustrations. For example:

(2) had I all the hony that is betwene this and Portingale … (Allde I, C4r)

for had I all the honey betwixt Hybla and Portugall … (Allde II, C3r)

(3) & many an hole had thei made in his cote & skin, his visage was all on bloud … (Allde I, y3r)

and all his skinne slasht like a Spanish Ierkin (Allde II, R2r)

(4) And therein is the story how Uenus, Iuno, and Pallas stroue for the apple of golde, which eche of them woulde haue had: … (Allde I, T1v)

[59] For example, (Allde I: Allde II): (I shall shorten the matter, and tell you forth of the fox. (G3v): om (f2v)). However, in some instances, the presence of narrator remains as follows: (Allde I: Allde II): (whom I shall haue afterward (p2v): which I will name hereafter (L4r)).

and therein is contained the story how Venus, Iuno, and Pallas stroue for the golden Ball in the mountaine Ida, … (Allde II, O3v)

(5) Paris … kept his fathers beastes & shepe without Troy (Allde I, T2r)

Paris … kept his flockes with Oenon on that hill, … (Allde II, O3v-O4r)

In (2), 'this' in Allde I is replaced by 'Hybla' in Allde II, which is renowned for honey. In the OED, the adjective 'Hyblæan' (which means 'of Hybla in Sicily' or poetically 'honeyed') has a first citation dated 1614, so this supplementary place name seems influenced by an association with honey. In (3), 'Spanish Ierkin' is particularly mentioned to express the injured appearance of the Wolf. 'Jerkin' is a garment worn by men in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, and around 1620 Spanish fashion was in mode among the upper-class in England.[60] Therefore, it must have been easy and hilarious for a reader to imagine Wolfe's pity face depicted here as 'Spanish Ierkin'. Both (4) and (5) are related to 'The Judgement of Paris'. Allde II adds detail about the myth by referring to 'mountaine Ida' and 'Oenon', which the editor may regard as knowledge familiar to the targeted contemporary readers.

Illustrations have a great role to the extent that they influence the textual editing of Allde II. Interestingly, against the ordinary procedure of producing and arranging the woodcuts, the editor in Allde II revises the text in harmony with the visual ornaments he has found in his exemplar. Some instances are:

[60] James Laver, *The Concise History of Costume and Fashion*, (New York, 1969), p. 103.

(6) he shewed to me a slauine, a pelch, and a hearen shurt thereunder, … (Allde I, B4r)

shewing unto me his beads, his bookes and the haire shirt next to his skinne (Allde II, B3v)

(7) th[e] noble king … stode upon an high stage of stone, … that they should sit downe in a round ring uppon the grasse, euerych one in his place after his estate and byrth, Reinard the fox stode by the Queen, … (Allde I, K1r-K2r)

the royall king mounted upon an high Throne made in manner of a scaffold, made of faire squared Stone, … and that euery one should take his place according to his Birth, or dignity in Office, onely the foxe was placed betweene the King and the Queen. (Allde II, h1r)

The modified descriptions such as 'his beads' in (6), 'high Throne made in maner of a scaffold, made of faire squared Stone' and 'onely the foxe was placed betwene the King and the Queen' in (7) are the very scenes described in the corresponding illustrations (see Figures 1 and 2 below). For the editor of Allde II, these illustrations are not just physical adornment of the book, as in many early books, but a picturesque device to go together in exact pace with the readers' imagination excited by reading each scene. Based on these pictures, he tries to delineate the text elaborately and succeeds in intensifying the vividness of each depicted scene.

Figure 1 (Allde II, B4r)

Figure 2 (Allde II, h1v)

The third tendency is to modify inappropriate descriptions. In regard to this point, the title page of Allde II contains an interesting advertisement: 'Newly corrected and purged from all the grosenesses both in Phrase and Matter'. Nevertheless, some parts, which reasonably ought to be deleted as 'gross' based on our present-day sense, are kept intact in the story. For example, as Varty notes,[61] the scene where Tibert the Cat bites a priest and tears his testicle remains, along with a vivid woodcut (Allde II, D4v). It is true that the purification is not carried out exhaustively, but we can actually detect traces of attempts to make the text less vulgar or more polite by means of paraphrasing. Here are some examples from the scene immediately following the fight between the priest and Tibert the Cat, in which the priest's wife laments the loss of her husband's testicle:

(8) Se Martinet dere sonne this is of thy fathers harueys, this is a great shame and to me great hurt. for though he be healed therof, yet he is but a lost man to me, and also shall not can do that sweete play and game. (Allde I, E3v)

see my Sonne this was thy fathers delight and my Jewell; but it is now spoyled, to his shame and my utter losse for euer: for howeuer he bee cured, yet to me hee can neuer more be comfortable … (Allde II, D4r)

(9) Dame Iullocke be still, and let your great sorowes sinke, though the priest hath lost one of his stones, it shal not hinder him, he shal do with

[61] Kenneth Varty, 'Reynard in England; From Caxton to the Present' in *Reynard the Fox: Social Engagement and Cultural Metamorphoses in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York, 2000) p. 165.

you wel ynough, their is in the worlde many a chappell in which is rong but one bel. (Allde I, E3v-E4r)

saying to dame Iullocke, fie woman doe not torment yourselfe so, the Priest hath lost but one stone, you may yet receiue due beneuolence, there is many a Chappell in which but one Bell rings. (Allde II, D4r-D4v)

In Allde II, the sexual expressions underlined above are euphemized. By rephrasing the wording, although the same matter is described, the coarseness is somewhat weakened. The same inclination can be found in the scene in which Isegrim the Wolf accuses the Fox of raping his wife:

(10) hereof hee can not say nay, for I founde him with the deed, for as I went aboue upon the banke: I sawe him beneath upo[n] my wife shouing and sticking as me[n] do when they do such worke and playe. (Allde I, X3r)

This no impudence can make him deny, for I came and tooke him in the action. (Allde II, Q2v)

Here the explicit description in Allde I is completely eliminated in Allde II. Thus the grossness is effectively revised by rewriting the phrases into restrained ones, as long as the storyline is not changed too much.

As other instances of grossness, oaths or statements including the word 'God' are removed:

(11) God thancke you (Allde I, X1r)

I humbly thanke you (Allde II, p4v)

(12) that by gods grace I shal giue forth the sentence and iudgement (Allde I, Bb1r)

I … so proceede to iudgement (Allde II, T2r)

(13) they cried to God (Allde I, I1r)

the frogs, who being free, … complained to Iupiter (Allde II, G2r)

(14) God giue them all shame, … (Allde I, Bb3r)

heauen hath for them a iudgement (Allde II, T2v)

The prohibition against abuses of prayers may be the reason for these alterations.[62] With regard to the revisions of profane swearing, there is a contemporary, similar example detected in Malory's *Morte Darthur* published by William Stansby in 1634.[63] In the preface to this edition, the anonymous writer makes a declaration that profane words and superstitious

[62] Hugh Gazzard,'An Act to Restrain Abuses of Players (1606)', *The Review of English Studies New Series*, Vol. 61, No. 251 (2010), 495-528.
[63] See Tsuyoshi Mukai, 'Stansby's 1634 Edition of Malory's *Morte*: Preface, Text, and Reception', *Poetica: An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* vol. 36 (1992), 38-54.

speeches are to be excised, but in fact the corresponding phrases are retained as they are. It may be safely said that *Reynard* of Allde II is more deliberately molded by the contemporary regulation regarding blasphemous expressions as compared with Stansby's *Morte Darthur*. Such prudent editing may be related to the moralistic purpose of this edition.

So far, we have examined the textual manipulation in Allde II. All the editorial modifications are not so great as to influence the overall storyline descending from Caxton's original. Instead, they are eloquent examples to prove the editor's precision all the more in dealing with a slight and trivial matter. The general trend detected in Allde II is to refine the text at diverse points ranging from style and content to illustrations. Along with these alterations, which are intended to cater to contemporary readers' literary taste and cultural background, its archaic features such as the use of Gothic founts or the inflection '-eth' in the third person singular present, remain as they are and produce a traditional atmosphere combined with such early-modern narrative style as has been explained in (1) and (2). At the same time, from its editorial manner, we can speculate to some extent about the readership of Allde II. They must have had, or at least have been expected to have, a rich vocabulary and knowledge corresponding to it, especially in such a field as augury, contemporary fashions and myth. They must have preferred a more decent and elegant work to a rough and unrefined medieval tale for both their own enlightenment and entertainment. However, taking into consideration the fact that even household or husbandry books in those days issued for the general reading public contain some special and technical knowledge of medicine, chemistry and various

technologies,[64] the readership of Allde II likewise must have been well-educated citizens but non-specialists who enjoyed reading the story for their own profit and pleasure. Edward Allde is known to have published various kinds of household and husbandry books.[65] By responding to such readers' potential demand, Allde II establishes its position as a standard edition of *Reynard* in subsequent centuries.

2-3 Morals of Allde's Second Edition

The morals, unlike the edited text which is based on the exemplar, are a newly created part as a feature unique to Allde II. Therefore, we can expect that the author's originality and intention can be explicitly displayed in this part, arranged in the margins of the printed pages. In addition, a careful consideration of the morals' nature can reveal the work's contemporary cultural inclination. Virtues promoted in such a popular book as *Reynard* can be generally compared to the values recommended or shared among the general public. In this respect, the marginal morals in Allde II are worthy of special attention from a cultural viewpoint.

In regard to the morals, the editor himself explains the aim of Morals in the preface:

> I haue for thy more ease and contentment to euery seuerall Chapter annexed the Morals and expositions of such darke places as may either holde thy minde in suspence, or trouble thy Iudgement in seeking to winde out of a laborinth so dark & curious … (Allde II, A2r-A2v)

[64] See Lynette Hunter, 'Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behaviour', in Barnard John and D. F. Mckenzie (eds), T*he Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. IV 1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 514-32 (p. 514).
[65] Hunter, p. 517.

Here he expresses his wish that the morals can help readers draw some lessons from the text and apply them to their daily circumstances. In many chapters, morals are placed not at the end but at the beginning of the story. With this locational arrangement, readers' interpretation could be led and guided by the morals, and those engaged in this book production might have expected this device to have the effect of controlling readers' interpretations.

Emphasizing the significance of moral elements as a common characteristic of Stuart fiction, Mish also states as follows:

> These comments, by no means all naive, are many of them not only universally applicable but aptly stated. But, more important, the presence of the moralizing makes the book acceptable reading, changing what otherwise would have been an apparent invitation to evil-doing into a warning-piece of strongly edifying character.[66]

In the Morals, by repeatedly warning against the *modus operandi* of evildoers or the tragic result of greed, the writer remonstrates against wrongdoings and instead recommends such virtues as truth and righteousness. An overall impression of the editorial principle is that the teaching in the morals encourages the readers to avoid such emotional qualities as rage or passion and to try to acquire wisdom and temperance. This moralistic attitude may be a reflection of contemporary cultural inclinations. In early modern England, didactic books, such as manner books

[66] Mish, p. 331.

or apprentice literature,[67] were popular and in demand for young people's education. *Reynard the Fox* could have been considered as an ancillary of this category of literature, so that Allde II was revised to acquire a more moralistic and educational aspect than in its original animal epic form. In this connection, here is a noteworthy contemporary reference to *Reynard*. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), emphasizing the value of the proprieties, John Locke, besides the Bible, mentions *Reynard the Fox* along with *Aesop* as an educative book suitable for teaching children the pleasure of reading.[68] Considering the year of publication, the text Locke refers to is probably the one containing the morals deriving from Allde II. From Locke's remarks, in the seventeenth century, we can see that *Reynard* was accepted as a work for 'profit and pleasure' which can be enjoyed by children as well as adolescents.

Interestingly, in order to extract morals, the context sometimes seems to be neglected. For instance, in Chapter 11, referring to the Fox which is caught and sentenced to death, the Moral reads:

> The Foxes patience and milde temper shewes that when men are in extremity, they must make vse of all their vertues, especially, meekenes, for that soonest doth insinuate with mens natures and drawes foorth pitty, whereas roughnes euer increaseth mischiefe. (Allde II, f3v-f4r)

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[67] Mark Thornton Burnett, 'Apprentice Literature and the 'Crisis' of the 1590s', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), 27-38.

[68] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) <https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=OCUCAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=some+thoughts+concerning+education&hl=ja&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi77Yinq8TQAhUKNbwKHYf8ATAQ6AEIGzAA#v=onepage&q=some%20thoughts%20concerning%20education&f=false> pp. 183-84.

Reynard is liable to the death penalty as the result of the serious crimes which he repeatedly committed, but disregarding such a context, the moral commends his 'patience', 'milde temper' and 'meekenes' as virtues that we have to imitate and exercise on an extreme occasion. This sort of moralizing, consistently identifying the Fox with goodness and the Wolf with wickedness, is discernible in the moral placed at the climax of the story, where the fox fights a duel with the wolf:

> By the Wolfs furious assailing the Fox, and the Foxes watching and pursuing of aduantage, is shewed, the folly of rage and passion, & the discretion of tempera[n]ce and wisedom, the first neuer bringing any thing but losse, the other co[m]monly accompanied with honor & safety: … The Wolfes catching the Fox, & holding him in his power, shewes that Fortune sometimes fauours fooles, but neuer giues them grace to enioy the benefit. The Foxes flattering of the Wolfe, shewes, that when soeuer wisedome is oppressed, it hath yet still one temperat meanes or other, to gaine its own liberty, and that faire words doe euer either vanquish or astonish. (Allde II, S3v-S4r)

Here the moral writer gives a figurative interpretation of the Wolf and the Fox, comparing them with the foolish and the wise, by associating the fox with good qualities such as discretion, temperance and wisdom, but, on the other hand, by associating the wolf with rage and passion. For a reader who has read *Reynard* up to this scene, it is obvious that the fox is not truely wise but is, on the contrary, a cunning offender. Therefore, this moral sounds

somewhat odd as applied to him. In addition, although the Fox's tactics, to beat the Wolf with his tail soaked with urine, serve as a comical parody of the duel scene in chivalric tales, yet the attached moral gives an explanation: 'by the pist tayle is exprest the sharpe afflictions with which wisedom euer punishes rashnes'.(S3v) In the subsequent explanation, referring to the Wolf who becomes blind after a lot of urine has been squirted into his eyes, the writer gives an instruction to the readers: 'by the losse of the Wolfes eye, is shewed, that madnes and rage is euermore but blindnes'.(S3v) The last moral concludes this chapter with 'Lastly, the weake Foxes conquering the strong Wolfe, is shewed, that in all these accidents of chance, neither force, rage, nor violence do preuaile so much as wisedome, discretion, & temperate, & wary cariage'.(S4r)

These moralistic interpretations placed in the margins certainly ignore in some places the Fox's vice and glorify his wisdom or temperance, and in others they can spoil the intrinsic comical elements in the narrative by superseding them with unhumorous interpretations. Did they not confuse the readers? If the readers had accepted these morals in an unhumorous way, they might have been confused and misled by them. However, we can recognize in the morals an implicative overtone beyond the literal meaning. These moralistic interpretations may have been intended as irony. Thus the fox tale, whose text is comical and humorous in itself, has acquired a dual dimension of amusement with some cynical elements sprinkled into it.

Furthermore, if these morals have such a satirical intention, the Fox's vice must be more strongly emphasized as a negative exemplar. It is difficult to show unanimously convincing lessons deduced from the Fox's example, for he continuously commits crimes but in the end he is not punished but

rewarded. At the worst, the tale can result in tempting readers into doing evil, as long as they do not reap the results. However, by means of an ironical and paradoxical presentation of lessons, readers may be led to draw implicit precepts spontaneously. This skillful manner of presentation, which enables readers to be self-taught, can be described as 'excellent', just as the title page claims.

The ironical teaching in Allde II, from a slightly different viewpoint, is also pointed out in the preface to John W. Parker's *Reynard the Fox* published in 1844, which is based on the 1701 edition containing the text and morals deriving from Allde II. The editor claims that the primary purpose of the work is 'to teach by irony, to caution the reader against the tricks of the artful, and the more delusive self-deceits', and by its obvious irony, a young reader who at first is shocked by the successful ending of Reynard can realize that 'the whole is a caricature.'[69] It is certain that readers will hardly fail to understand the implicit teachings. In this respect, morals which dare not mention the Fox's vices must have been a useful device to signal to readers the hidden messages.

Those morals which we have explored so far, whether there may have an ironical intention or not, probably reflect the contemporary need for cultivation of the young, a cultivation for which manner books or apprentice literature were considered to work, but it is not impossible to apply them to any generation beyond that particular time and place. In this respect, they

[69] 'The teaching by irony may not be at first so plain to a young reader as that by precept, but it is often not less effective; and such a work as the present, where the irony is so obvious, may serve as an introducer to others, in which it is more hidden. When a reader first finds a deceiver always successful, and the honest suffering for their confidence in him, he may feel somewhat shocked; but he soon finds that the whole is a caricature; that no creature could be so gulled as represented in the fable' *The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox, and of His Son Reynardine* (London, 1844), p. xi.

can be deemed to be universally applicable morals, promoting wisdom, temperance and discretion, and to be a warning to avoid fury, rage and passion. Besides this universal dimension, there are some lessons which are remarkably specified and formed by the peculiar situation of seventeenth-century England. For instance, as for the Ape's remark referring to excommunication by the Pope, the moral explains it as follows:

> By the tale of the Apes going for him to Rome, and his threatning the King is shewed the Ignorance & sottish blindnes of the old times, which would thrall Kinges vnder the Popes Curse, and make them subiect to his Commaunds though they were neuer so heathenish & Diabolicall (Allde II, M2r-M2v)

This interpretation, regarding excommunication as 'the Ignorance & sottish blindnes of the old times', is led by the peculiar situation, in which England had come to be no longer under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church when the author wrote this passage. In the following statement, as 'the wickeddes [*sic*.] of these days', he also illustrates the corruption of the Catholic Church by cleverly giving, in the marginal notes, a contemptuous interpretation of the names of the Ape's friends in Rome: 'Simon', 'Prentout', and 'Wayt-scath' as 'Simonye', 'Take-all', and 'Doe-mischief' respectively (M3r).

Such religious reproaches are cast against both Roman Catholics and Puritans. In Chapter 14, in the course of Reynard's preparation for pilgrimage to Rome, the King commands Bellin the Ram, a priest, to celebrate the Mass for the fox. The ram refuses this because Reynard has

been excommunicated, but in the end the priest obeys Noble the King reluctantly, for fear. This storyline descends from the Flemish version through Caxton's translation and therefore, in a strict sense, is based on Catholic beliefs. Nevertheless, the lesson connects the Ram's attitude to the Puritanical spirit:

> By the ceremonies done to the Fox, & the curiosity of the Ram, is shewed, that in cases of indifferencie, (where authority hath power to co[m]mand) for any man to stand vpo[n] nice and puritanicall termes with his superiour, doth not only dereprehension [*sic*], but punishment. (Allde II, h3v-h4r)

The behavior by the Catholic priest Bellin the Ram is criticized as 'curiosity' and 'nice and puritanicall', and it deserves denunciation and even punishment. This sort of morals, in which the author ignores the context to place focus on the current topic relating to a religious matter, is motivated by the particular circumstances in England, that is, a three-sided fight between Catholicism, Puritanism and the Anglican Church.

In addition to the religious allusions, there are also several morals related to the law court, as in Chapter 1[70], 6[71], and 10[72]. Considering that

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[70] 'Howsoever a vicious man perswads himself to escape punishment by absenting himselfe from the prefence [*sic*] of the Maiestrate, yet he deceiues himselfe, & by his contempt, animates his enemies to be more bolde in their complaintes against him' (A4r)

[71] 'By the sending of the Cat to fetch the Fox, is exprest the care of Magistrates, that when they haue beene deceiued by the pride and ostentation of such as they did imploy, and thought discreete' (D2v)

[72] 'In the Foxes appering at the Courtis shewed, that when a malefactour is brought before the Iustice, that the[n] is the fit time for all men that haue bin iniured, to vtter their co[m]plaints, because then only redresse is to be had.' (f1v-f2r)

many scenes in the story take place in the court, the morals referring to the court, the magistrate and Justice, may not be unnatural, but these references cannot be said to be either general or universal.[73] Thus the state of affairs which characterized seventeenth-century England, especially in religious matters, are woven into the traditional beast tale, creating a new and peculiar lesson which tactfully awakens readers' current interest.

It is by no means a revolutionary attempt for beast tales to separate moral sections from the story. A typical example of this characteristic is already seen in Aesop's fables, in which moral conclusions are usually placed separately from the story. A brief glance at *Aesop* published in the 16th and 17th centuries can reveal that some editions, such as H. Bynneman's edition (1577)[74] and Edmund Bollifant's edition (1585)[75], have the dual structure consisting of fable stories followed by 'Moral' statements. We do not know whether the editor of Allde II imitates and incorporates this structure for his *Reynard*, but what is noticeable is that he combines this fable element with the beast epic. *Reynard the Fox* is categorized as a 'beast epic', although the boundaries between literary genres are ambiguous, and by definition in a strict sense, its primary purpose is not to teach morals, but to tell animals' conducts as they are, implicitly presenting various lessons in the course of story. For the English *Reynard*, Allde II is the first edition that attempts to integrate the 'Reynardian' story with a fable-like structure,[76] and it turns

[73] Interestingly, the printer Edward Allde himself was once put in prison. See H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers III: 1603-1640* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 56.
[74] STC 186.5
[75] STC 187
[76] When it comes to the Continental editions of *Reynard*, the Lübeck edition in Low German (1498) has a bipartite structure consisting of the story and the following moralistic gloss since its first appearance. The morals were to be rewritten for the effect of their anti-Catholic nature, under the influence of the Reformation (1539), and then to be translated into High German as less Protestant versions (1544). See Wilfried

out to become a basic format for successive editions. Undoubtedly, the editor was not aware of this hybridity of fable and animal epic, the critical terms scholars nowadays use for convenience in order to differentiate and categorize such literary works. Instead, his wish was to compile a piece which could fulfill the contemporary demand of the readers, exploiting the traditional Reynardian story. His intention was successful, and what he creatively composed can be called a 'Fabled Epic', a traditional and yet new crossover work.[77]

With regard to the morals printed in columns, Allde II has the aspect of a fable, but the moral itself does not take on the nature of a fable. The manner of presentation of morals is remarkably different from that of traditional fables because in many cases, as we have observed, the morals are not simply exhibited in an ordinary or a monotonous way as seen in *Aesop*, but they are implicitly presented with ironical effects. Furthermore, as a basic requisite, the morals appearing in fables hardly deal with any contemporary topics by referring to a particular person or matter. Therefore, the teachings in fables are general in nature and a universal application is possible regardless of the historical period or readers' nationality.[78] However, the topicality of Allde II is one of its arresting features. Morals related to

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Schouwink, 'Hartmann Schopper's Latin Reinike of 1567', in *Reynard the Fox: Social Engagement and Cultural Metamorphoses in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York, 2000), pp. 175-76.

[77] Jill Mann gives Henryson's *Aesop* the appellation 'Epicized Fable', for his work has an epic-like atmosphere, breaking literary traditions in fables in many ways. See Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 262-305.

[78] See Arnold Clayton Henderson, 'Having Fun with the Moralities: Henryson's Fable and Late-Medieval Fable Innovation', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Vol. 32: Iss. 1 (2001): 67-87. Mann also shows the distinction between beast fable and beast epic by stating that '[u]nlike beast fable, which either excludes references to specific historical circumstances altogether, or includes them only in the outer frame that indicates the situation in which the fable was told, beast epic builds a particular satiric application into the narrative itself.' Mann, pp. 18-9.

Catholicism, Puritanism, or the law court cannot be transferred to any other places or times unlike the general lessons in *Aesop*. Nevertheless, this peculiarity is not a factor to belittle the editing of Allde II. Rather, the editor's manipulation can be evaluated as admirably creative, because he elaborately fuses various elements, such as a traditional tale and current affairs, a beast epic and a fable-like composition, universality and specialization in morals, into one condensed piece. Such exquisite editing, which amply displays creativity, originality and subtleties, contributes to the public's preference for it over Caxton's original, and thus it exceeds in demand during the subsequent centuries.

Chapter 3:
Continuations and Reception
as a Trilogy of *Reynard the Fox*

3-1 Two Continuations of *Reynard the Fox*

In the concluding part of *Reynard the Fox* published by Edward Allde in 1620, an abridged edition of Caxton's translation, there is a notable account by the editor:

> if all thinges sute to my whisht imagination, I shall then be encouraged to salute the world with a Second part, clad in some neater English, deeper matter, and if not more, yet euery whit as pleasant Morals. (U2r)

Here the editor expresses his intention to publish a continuation to the story, and this remark is taken over in its subsequent reprints. Setting aside who actually carried out this literary venture, this plan was fulfilled in 1672 with the appearance of a sequel printed by Anne Maxwell. This second part is entitled *A Continuation, Or, Second Part, of The Most Pleasant and Delightful History of Reynard the Fox. Containing Much Matter of Pleasure and Content. Written For the Delight of Young Men, Pleasure of the Aged, and Profit of all. To Which is added many Excellent Morals.*[79] This edition, having 112 pages in 32 chapters, contains woodblock illustrations and morals in the margins. The story is connected seamlessly to the ending of the first part and begins with Reynard's promotion and concludes with his

[79] ESTC Citation No. R4861

execution.[80] Charles C. Mish gives a comment that the story is well-organized but not as attractive as the first part, especially in that Reynard fails to defend himself.[81]

As the title page advertises 'For the Delight of Young Men, Pleasure of the Aged, and profit of all', this edition, at first sight, seems to target a broad range of readers. However, despite this advertisement, the morals tend to sound so political that they are inappropriate to be applied to a personal situation. For example:

> it is honourable in a King to give good Counsell, but it is baseness in a Subject not to regard the same; as this Chapter, and the whole History following, clearly prove; … (E2r)

Mish supposes that 'the strong political tone hints at concealed references to the contemporary or just-past political situation in England'.[82] We do not know whether the anonymous editor actually has such an intention, but there is a possible clue, in the preface and the postscript, to give an adequate interpretation to this problem. In the preface, the editor explains the reason he provides morals as follows:

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[80] Kenneth Varty provides a summary of the whole story: 'The new story, the Continuation, begins with Reynard in his new role as the lion's chief minister. His first move is to form an alliance with the wolf and make him chief prelate. This makes the bear and the cat jealous so he grants favours to them and wins them over. They all enrich themselves (especially Reynard) and plot against the lion. The leopard and the panther inform the lion of the plot against him, and together they attack Reynard and his allies. After suffering heavy losses, Reynard and his surviving friends retreat to his castle where they are besieged. After a long and fierce resistance, they are taken prisoner. Reynard is put on trial, found guilty of treason, and executed.' Varty, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[81] Mish, p. 337.

[82] Mish, p. 336.

> … I have to the subsequent Work (which I was minded to have committed to the Press without Marginal Notes) added a Moral, or Exposition of my own; in doing which, I hope no Man will be so disingenious [*sic*] as to wrest my words to a sense contrary to my true and proper intent. I, in the following History, aim not at the reproach or slander of any Man or Men whatsoever; but do only desire thy Content and Recreation with delight and profit. (A2v)

We can see the editor's prudent attitude in that he dares to state that he has no intention to 'reproach or slander' any real person. However, when this account is read and interpreted together with the postscript, it turns out to give an ironical tone, implying that the opposite is his true intention. There the editor says that 'If any one be offended, let his offence be to himself; my intent was not to give distaste but delight,'(O4^{r}), and also adds that 'I desire this my Labour may be as well taken as meant; If so, I shall be encouraged to divulge a more serious piece (not of Beasts but of Men) so soon as time and opportunity will permit'. Taking into consideration these authorial statements, which indicate the possibility that this story may incite someone's offence and also shows the editor/author's readiness to treat more serious topics in another work, Mish's comment about concealed political references seems to be the more persuasive.[83] This sequel is republished in

[83] In fact, the *Reynard* story is on one occasion used as a political allegory in a *c.* 1681 edition entitled *Reynard the Fox. fairly run down, or the geese in triumph. Being the hunters glory*. (ESTC Citation No. R204289) ESTC explains that in this edition 'Reynard possibly represents Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, at the time of his removal from the Privy Council (February 1681) due to his support for the Exclusion bill.' In about the early eighteenth century, according to James Drake, the *Reynard* story seems to be deemed by some learned people to be an insinuation against the Earl

1681 for a certainty, and perhaps in 1673 and 1699, but is to be ignored and excluded in some editions, such as in a 1697 edition which consists of the first and the subsequent third part alone, or as in several eighteenth-century editions which also skip the second part and add, instead, a non-Reynardian story about Cawood the Rook.[84] The excessively political and less personal substance might result in such unfavorable treatment of the relevant part.

As Reynard has died in the second part, a new protagonist is required for a further story; it is Reynardine, Reynard's youngest son. The third part is published in 1684 by Thomas James under the title *The Shifts of Reynardine The Son of Reynard the Fox, Or a Pleasant History Of His Life and Death. Full of Variety (etc.) And may fitly be applied to the Late Times. Now Published for the Reformation of Mens Manners*.[85] This 160-page-long version, being divided into 33 chapters, has no illustrations at all, but it has sporadic morals arranged in the margins. In this story, Reynardine swears vengeance on Firapel the leopard and Sly-Look the panther, who informed the lion about Reynard's rebellion and caused his execution in the previous story. While watching for an opportunity, Reynardine repeats minor crimes such as stealing food, selling indulgences at a low price or pretending to be a physician, and after carrying out his revenge, he is also executed.[86] It can easily be understood from this storyline, as Mish points out, that Reynardine,

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of Leicester, Robert Dudley. (See *Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Prime Minister and Favourite of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1706) fol. a4r (ESTC Citation No. T145843)). However, this statement is later to be evaluated as 'worth preserving as probably the most remarkable blunder on record concerning the origin and scope of the History of Reynard', by T. J. Arnold in the introduction to his *Reynard* in 1855, which is a translation of Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* (1794).

[84] ESTC Citation No. R180749

[85] ESTC Citation No. R40614

[86] For more details of the summary of this story, see Varty, 'Reynard in Englans', pp. 166-67.

unlike his father, cannot be regarded as a thorough villain; rather, 'the impression he leaves is that of a hypocrite and impostor rather than that of murderer.'[87] Therefore, as the author humbly admits the inferior quality of his literary attempt in 'To the Reader' by saying that 'I Confess my self but a Foile to the Luster of the first Author of the Delectable History of Reynard the FOX', this sequel, like the second part, also seems to fall behind the first traditional story in its quality and attractiveness.

3-2 Reception of *Reynard* as a Trilogy

All three parts of *Reynard* became available on the market. In this situation, the author of the third part gives reasonable or mercantile advice as his final words 'To the Readers':

> I am willing to satisfie the Readers, that as the perusal of the First Part of Reynard the FOX, is necessary for understanding the Continuation or Second Part; so the perusal of both is no less needful for the better understanding of several Passages in this following History of Reynardine the Son of Reynard. (A1v)

This recommendation seems to be seriously accepted and followed in a faithful way, because, according to Menke, there can be found several extant volumes in which all three parts are bound together. The composition of bound editions is, in Menke's order, as follows:[88]

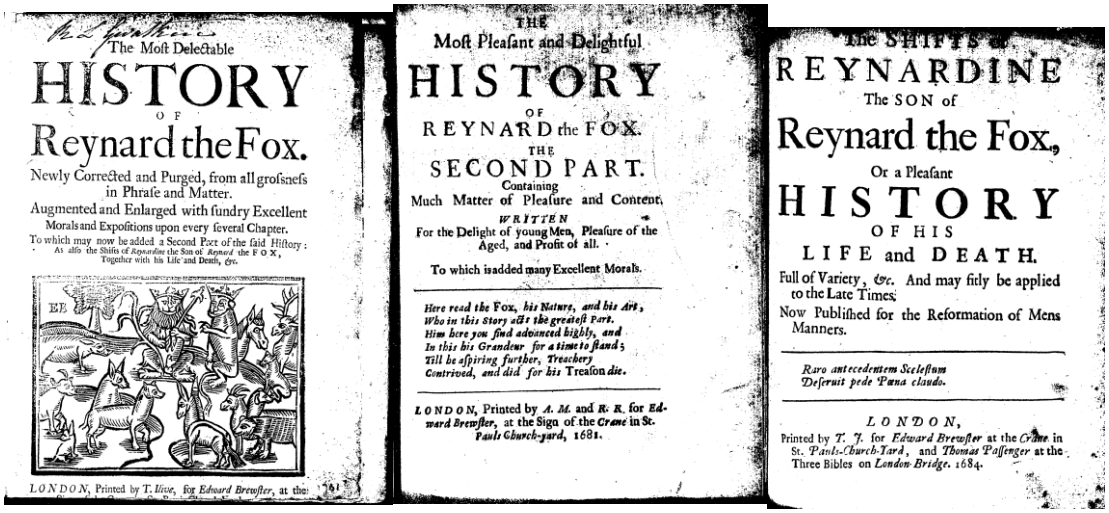
[87] Mish, p. 340
[88] Menke, pp. 221-22.

	First Part	Second Part	Third Part
(i)	1676	1681	1684
(ii)	1694	1681	1684
(iii)	1681	1681	1684
(iv)	1701	1681	1684

In regard to (i), since the two latter parts were not yet published when the first part came out in 1676, it was at least after the publication of the third part (i.e. after 1684) that the three editions were gathered into one. As for (iii), the owner probably bought the two former parts at the same time, but the binding of the three stories was made in or some time after 1684, that is, after he obtained the last part of *Reynard*. In these two types of volumes, no matter when they may have been bound, each edition must have come into an owner's hand in the order of publication year. However, that is not the case with (ii) and (iv), for, in those volumes, the first part is the latest edition of all three.

A distinction between volumes (i) and (iii) and volumes (ii) and (iv) is most apparent in the title page. In the title page of these two editions in 1694 by Thomas James and in 1701 by T. Ilive, we can detect the book-producers' strategy to sell their product as a trilogy. Whereas in the title page of the first part in 1676 and 1681, there is no reference to the subsequent parts, the title pages of the 1694 and 1701 editions, in addition to the traditional appellation of *Reynard*, actually refer to the continuations. It reads *The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox. Newly Corrected and Purged, from all grossness in Phrase and Matter. Augumented and Enlarged with Sundry Excellent Morals and Expositions upon every several Chapter. To which may*

now be added a Second Part of the said History as also the Shifts of Reynardine the Son of Reynard the FOX, Together with his Life and Death. Therefore, volumes (ii) and (iv) are totally different from the other two in that the possible binding and selling of the three parts together is intended on the part of the publisher.[89]



The Most Delectable
HISTORY
OF
Reynard the Fox.
Newly Corrected and Purged, from all grosnefs in Phrase and Matter.
Augmented and Enlarged with fundry Excellent Morals and Expofitions upon every feveral Chapter.
To which may now be added a Second Part of the faid Hiftory: As alfo the Shifts of *Reynardine* the Son of *Reynard* the FOX, Together with his Life and Death, &c.
LONDON, Printed by T. *Ilive*, for *Edward Brewfter*, at the

THE
Moft Pleafant and Delightful
HISTORY
OF
REYNARD the FOX.
THE
SECOND PART.
Containing
Much Matter of Pleafure and Content,
WRITTEN
For the Delight of young Men, Pleafure of the Aged, and Profit of all.
To which is added many Excellent Morals.
Here read the Fox, *his Nature, and his Art,*
Who in this Story acts the greateft Part.
Him here you find advanced highly, and
In this his Grandeur for a time to ftand;
Till he afpiring further, Treachery
Contrived, and did for his Treafon *die.*
LONDON, Printed by *A. M.* and *R. E.* for *Edward Brewfter*, at the Sign of the *Crane* in St. *Pauls Church-yard*, 1681.

The SHIFTS of
REYNARDINE
The SON of
Reynard the Fox,
Or a Pleafant
HISTORY
OF HIS
LIFE and DEATH.
Full of Variety, *&c.* And may fitly be applied to the Late Times;
Now Publifhed for the Reformation of Mens Manners.
Raro antecedentem Scelefum
Deferuit pede Pœna claudo.
LONDON,
Printed by *T. J.* for *Edward Brewfter* at the *Crane* in St. *Pauls-Church-Yard*, and *Thomas Paffenger* at the Three Bibles on *London-Bridge*. 1684.

(Title pages of three parts in one volume of the 1701 edition)

However, despite the title page referring to the sequels, there are some copies extant with the first part bound alone. For example, the 1694 edition housed in the Huntington Library[90] and the 1701 edition in the British Library[91] are reported to have the same title page as cited above, containing the solely first part and with no continuations added to it.[92] The diction in

[89] There is a possibility that the three parts might have been bound not just on purchase but at some later time, but the existence of the title page referring to the continuations makes it reasonable and natural to distinguish (ii) and (iv) from the other two volumes.

[90] ESTC Citation No. R24532 (Wing S3513)

[91] ESTC Citation No. T60836

[92] We cannot theoretically deny the possibility that those volumes were to be separated in a later period, as sometimes happened especially with the early printed books. However, there must have been some customers who bought the first part alone in 1694

the title page may afford a clue to interpret this difference in the combination of tales. The whole title can be divided into two sections: one section, as usual in the preceding prefaces, advertising to potential customers that this is a corrected and refined edition of the original gross *Reynard* story; the other section informing them of two more additional tales. What is to be noted is the second discourse. It runs '*To which may now be added a Second Part of the said History as also the Shifts of Reynardine the Son of Reynard the FOX*' (my emphasis). The sentence is not stated as a factual declaration. Here a modal auxiliary verb 'may' is used in a tactful way. This modal use implies that, for one thing, whether or not the sequels are bound together with the first part is not decided at the time of publishing, and that, for another, the binding of the first tale alone or together with its sequels is up to the customers' personal decision.[93]

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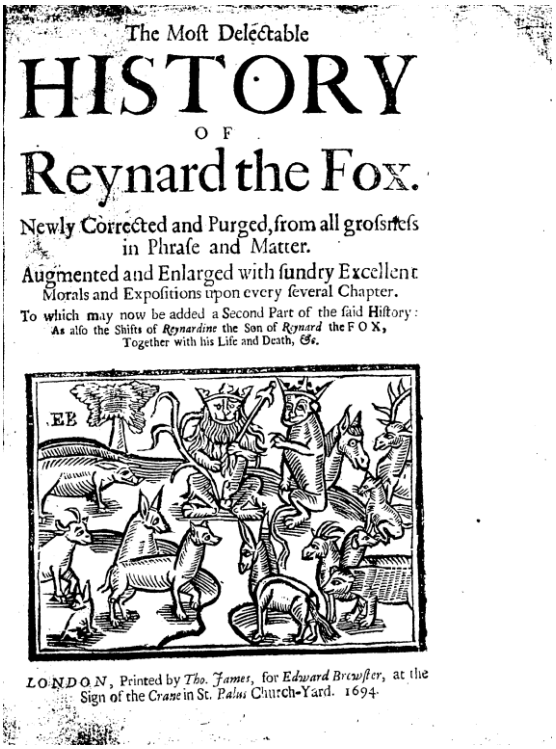
and 1701 without the continuations.

[93] As for the custom of binding books, Paul Needham explains that 'binding took place in the individual bookshops, usually at the time of sale, and the binding would be an extra expense for the customer, additional to the cost of the sheets themselves. A reader who bought three or four or more books at the same time and in the same format might naturally choose to have them bound up together, rather than pay the labor and materials for three or four separate bindings.' See Paul Needham, *The Printer & The Pardoner: An Unrecorded Indulgence Printed by William Caxton for the Hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, Charing Cross* (Washington, DC, 1986) p. 17. Therefore, it is conceivable that when a person bought the first part at the bookshop, he was recommended to buy and bind its continuations together with the first part in order to have the complete *Reynard* story.


The Moſt Delectable
HISTORY
OF
Reynard the Fox.
Newly Corrected and Purged, from all groſsneſs in Phraſe and Matter.
Augmented and Enlarged with ſundry Excellent Morals and Expoſitions upon every ſeveral Chapter.
To which may now be added a Second Part of the ſaid Hiſtory: As alſo the Shifts of *Reynardine* the Son of *Reynard* the FOX, Together with his Life and Death, &c.
EB
LONDON, Printed by *Tho. James*, for *Edward Brewſter*, at the Sign of the *Crane* in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1694.

(Title page of 1694 edition)

In order to speculate why such sales strategy is adopted, it must be useful to consider the situation of the printing industry, which continuously develops and varies during and after the early printed book period. According to the title page of those volumes, unlike in the preceding centuries in which basically only the printers' name is given on the title page, there is information about who the book is printed for and who sells the book, etc. In the case of the above editions, all of them are printed for the same person, Edward Brewster, a successful bookseller flourishing in the late seventeenth century.[94] In the early phase of the seventeenth century, with

[94] Edward Brewster was a bookseller in London and served as a Master of the Company of Stationers from 1689 to 1692. His father, Edward Brewster, was also a bookseller and a Treasurer of the English Stock of the Company of Stationers from 1639 to 1647. See H. R. Plomer et al, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland 1641-1667*. (London, 1907), p. 32.

the development of an impressive licensing system,[95] which was given by the stationer's company, the right to publish books came to be given even to those who had no experience and skills in the actual printing work. By the appearance of such people, who can be called 'copy-owning booksellers', the role of printers and publishers/booksellers came to be divided, and gradually the former lost their power and the latter rose in their place.[96] The license tended to be monopolized by a small number of copy-owners, and the majority of them were not printers but booksellers.[97] As for *Reynard* in the seventeenth century, Edward Brewster, who was a bookseller, must have had a nearly exclusive right in the publication. In fact, his name is referred to in the title page as a bookseller from the 1662 to the 1701 edition of *Reynard*, and from the 1671 edition onwards, the series of woodblock illustrations with the initial 'EB', which are made for Edward Brewster, replace the old woodcuts.[98] Taking these situations into consideration, we can suppose with good reason that, when the first part was prepared in 1694

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[95] This system was agreed in 1562. Feather describes it as follows: 'the basic principle upon which the Court operated is clear: the first person to enter a copy in the Register was the sole owner of it and had the sole right to print it, provided that no other member of the Company had a prior claim which could be properly documented.' See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 2nd edn (London, 2006), p. 39.

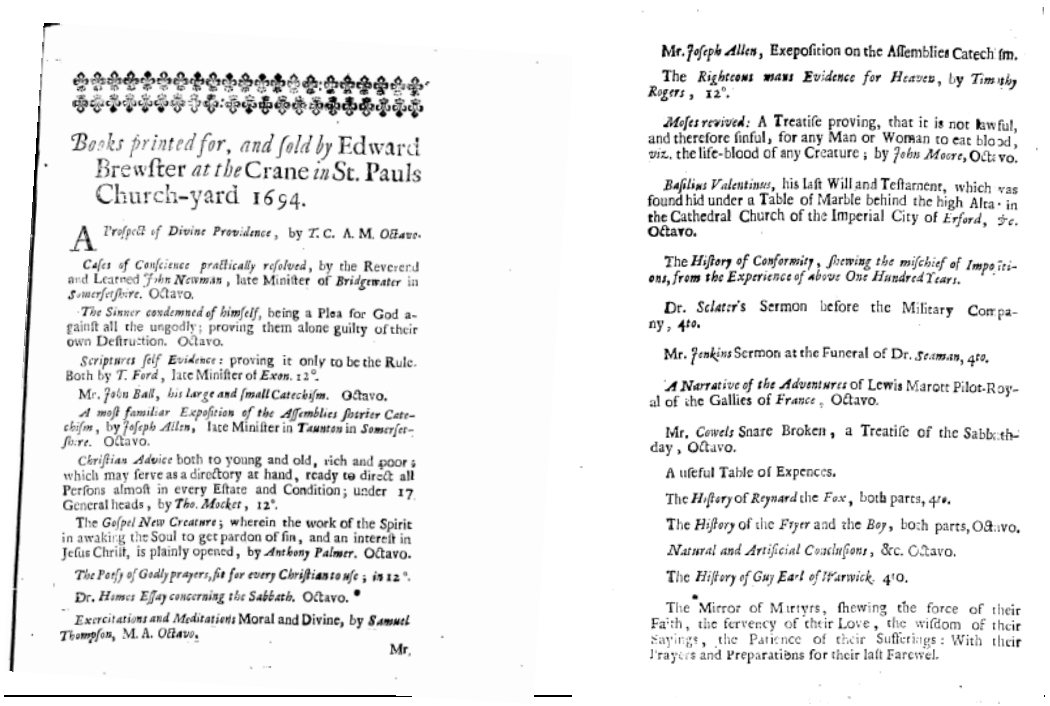
[96] The rise of publishers/booksellers is typically demonstrated in the assignment of a Master of the Stationers' Company. From 1580 to 1590, most Masters were printers, but between 1620 and 1639, six copy-owning booksellers held the office for eleven years as compared with five printers for the remaining eight years. See Feather, p. 40.

[97] The technical and distinctive division between publishers and booksellers was settled more clearly at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Feather, p. 83)As for their different roles in the seventeenth century, H. S. Bennett mentions that 'the publishers were the middle men, not very many in number', and booksellers 'had their shops easily to be found by the sign displayed outside each of them, and here it was that men came to see what was new or to search for a volume they had heard of and wished to buy'. See H. S. Bennet, *English Books and Readers III 1603-1640*, p. 202.

[98] Brewster does not seem to be involved in publishing a number of chapbooks published during the seventeenth century and W. Onley's 1697 edition (ESTC Citation No. R180749), whose title pages do not refer to Brewster's name. Onley's edition is sold by another bookseller, H. Nelme. This edition has a novel composition of the stories, as in the third part following the first part immediately with the second part omitted.

and 1701 respectively, Brewster must have had a specific numbers of unsold stocks of two continuations in 1681 and 1684, which had been printed and kept in storage. This circumstance, i.e. his large stock of unsold books, should have prompted him, allied with printers, to publish the new first part with an advertising title page.

Furthermore, there is a different and more direct advertisement of sequels in the first part. After the first tale in the 1681, 1694 and 1701 editions, respectively, a list of books published in the same year is attached. In the advertisement, *Reynard* can be found with the phrase 'both parts'.



Books printed for, and sold by Edward Brewster *at the* Crane *in* St. Pauls Church-yard 1694.

A *Prospect of Divine Providence*, by *T. C. A. M. Octavo.*

Cases of Conscience practically resolved, by the Reverend and Learned *John Newman*, late Minister of *Bridgewater* in *Somersetshire*. Octavo.

The Sinner condemned of himself, being a Plea for God against all the ungodly; proving them alone guilty of their own Destruction. Octavo.

Scriptures self Evidence: proving it only to be the Rule. Both by *T. Ford*, late Minister of *Exon.* 12°.

Mr. *John Ball*, *his large and small Catechism.* Octavo.

A most familiar Exposition of the Assemblies shorter Catechism, by *Joseph Allen*, late Minister in *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*. Octavo.

Christian Advice both to young and old, rich and poor; which may serve as a directory at hand, ready to direct all Persons almost in every Estate and Condition; under 17 General heads, by *Tho. Mocket*, 12°.

The *Gospel New Creature*; wherein the work of the Spirit in awaking the Soul to get pardon of sin, and an interest in Jesus Christ, is plainly opened, by *Anthony Palmer*. Octavo.

The Poets of Godly prayers, fit for every Christian to use; in 12°.

Dr. *Homes Essay concerning the Sabbath.* Octavo.

Excercitations and Meditations Moral and Divine, by *Samuel Thompson*, M. A. *Octavo.*

Mr.

Mr. *Joseph Allen*, Exeposition on the Assemblies Catechism.

The *Righteous mans Evidence for Heaven*, by *Timothy Rogers*, 12°.

Moses revived: A Treatise proving, that it is not lawful, and therefore sinful, for any Man or Woman to eat blood, viz. the life-blood of any Creature; by *John Moore*, Octavo.

Basilius Valentinus, his last Will and Testament, which was found hid under a Table of Marble behind the high Altar in the Cathedral Church of the Imperial City of *Erford*, &c. Octavo.

The *History of Conformity*, *shewing the mischief of Impositions, from the Experience of above One Hundred Years.*

Dr. *Sclater's* Sermon before the Military Company, 4to.

Mr. *Jenkins* Sermon at the Funeral of Dr. *Seaman*, 4to.

A Narrative of the Adventures of Lewis Marott Pilot-Royal of the Gallies of *France*, Octavo.

Mr. *Cowels* Snare Broken, a Treatise of the Sabbath-day, Octavo.

A useful Table of Expences.

The *History* of *Reynard* the *Fox*, both parts, 4to.

The *History* of the *Fryer* and the *Boy*, both parts, Octavo.

Natural and Artificial Conclusions, &c. Octavo.

The *History of Guy Earl of Warwick*, 4to.

The Mirror of Martyrs, shewing the force of their Faith, the fervency of their Love, the wisdom of their Sayings, the Patience of their Sufferings: With their Prayers and Preparations for their last Farewel.

(An advertisement in the end flyleaf of the 1694 edition)

In the case of the 1681 edition, 'both parts' means no doubt the first and the second part, as the third part was not published yet. 'Both parts' in the 1694 and the 1701 edition, however, may indicate the following two parts, which

are merchandised with the first-part purchasers as the intended targets, so that ideally they may be sold as a perfect set. Very interestingly, the list suggests the bookseller's mercantile ingenuity to attempt to reduce his inventory.

The custom of collecting and binding several works together within one cover was part of the manuscript culture. This kind of assembling of different works was certainly handed down to the print culture, and now there exist many volumes of printed pieces in the libraries, in due course described by adept scholars.[99] They are sometimes a combination of manuscripts and printed books or a compilation of works written in different languages. The form of such a volume is called 'Sammelband' (the German term) or 'tract volume' (the English term). The collective binding of *Reynard* is not an exact exemplification of 'Sammelband' or 'tract volume' in the strict sense, but if we examine the existing features of the various volumes of *Reynard*, some similarities can be observed.

What can be included in the category of 'Sammelband' or 'tract volume' depends on the definition of the terms, and therefore differs among scholars, but the explanation given by John Carter and Nicholas Barker seems to be most persuasive. According to them, 'Sammelband' can be defined as 'a German word for books in which two or more bibliographically distinct works are bound together within the same covers'[100], whereas 'tract volume' is defined from a qualitative point of view because this term is applied to those books in which 'short, ephemeral or even frivolous books, originally issued stitched and with little more protection, were often preserved by being bound

[99] Research focusing on these compilations began with Paul Needham's study, in which he reports 37 compilations consisting of manuscripts and Caxton's printed books.
[100] John Carter and Nicholas Barker, *ABC for Book Collectors*, 8th edn (London, 2004), p 197.

together', and in which 'sometimes such volumes share a common theme.'[101] Besides this difference, Needham adds a chronological distinction between these two terms: that is, 'Sammelband' is more appropriate to describe the volumes in the 15th and early 16th centuries, as they are made up with substantial editions which, at a later time, would have been sold and bound separately; and 'tract volume' is more properly applicable to volumes of the 17th and 18th centuries, in which pamphlet-length works were commonly bound together.[102] The extant volumes of *Reynard* I have dealt with in this chapter are closer to the definition of 'tract volume' from the viewpoint of their publication year, and yet the definition of 'Sammelband' can also be applied to the volumes of *Reynard* in that they are 'bibliographically distinct works' and they are substantial enough to be sold and bound in parts. No matter what they may be called in terms of bibliographical description, it is apparent that the selling strategy devised by a bookseller, Brewster, shrewdly exploits such a long-continued book-binding culture of assembling several individual works with a similar theme, which were originally supplied to the customers in sheets or with provisional wrappers. His tactics were undoubtedly aimed at reducing his unsold stocks of the second and the third part of *Reynard*, and, judging from the extant volumes, this strategy actually produced some positive results.

The extant volumes also suggest that there must have been a number of issues or states for the text of the first part printed in 1701. Among the six volumes which I have examined, three types of editions can be clearly discerned.[103] They are:

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[101] Carter and Barker, p. 218.
[102] Needham, p. 17.
[103] ESTC reports 33 extant copies of Ilive's 1701 edition. They are divided into two

a) The illustration on C1r is printed upside-down, and the moral which is supposed to be printed on C3v is printed on C1v by mistake.[104]

b) The illustration on C1r is printed upside-down, but the moral is rightly printed on C3v, not on C1v.[105]

c) The illustration on C1r is not reversed, and the moral is rightly printed on C3v.[106]

As the relevant parts are all in signature 'C', we may presume that in the course of printing, perceiving the reversed illustration and the moral set on the wrong page, the printers corrected their mistakes immediately. In addition, one edition, which is housed in the Bodleian Library and can be categorized as group (a) above, is mysterious and implicative. In its title page, the year of publication '1701' is erased artificially and enigmatically. This edition is for certain published in 1701, for it contains the upside-down illustration on C1r and the incorrect moral on C1v just like the above edition (a), and at the end of the first part, it also contains the advertisement of books printed for Edward Brewster in 1701. According to the librarian of the

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groups: the volumes containing only the first part (ESTC Citation No. T60836), and the volumes containing all three parts (ESTC Citation No. R35186). However, the classification turns out in my study to be inaccurate, because some volumes in which the three parts are reported to be bound together are actually categorized in the former group. In addition, Early English Books Online contains one volume printed by Ilive in 1701, categorizing it as the 1667 edition (maybe influenced by the identification by Wing as S3509A). This edition is housed in the University of Illinois, and ESTC properly includes it in Ilive's 1701 edition. A further investigation must be made into all the extant copies to determine whether or not they include the continuations.

104 British Library (1077. f. 16)

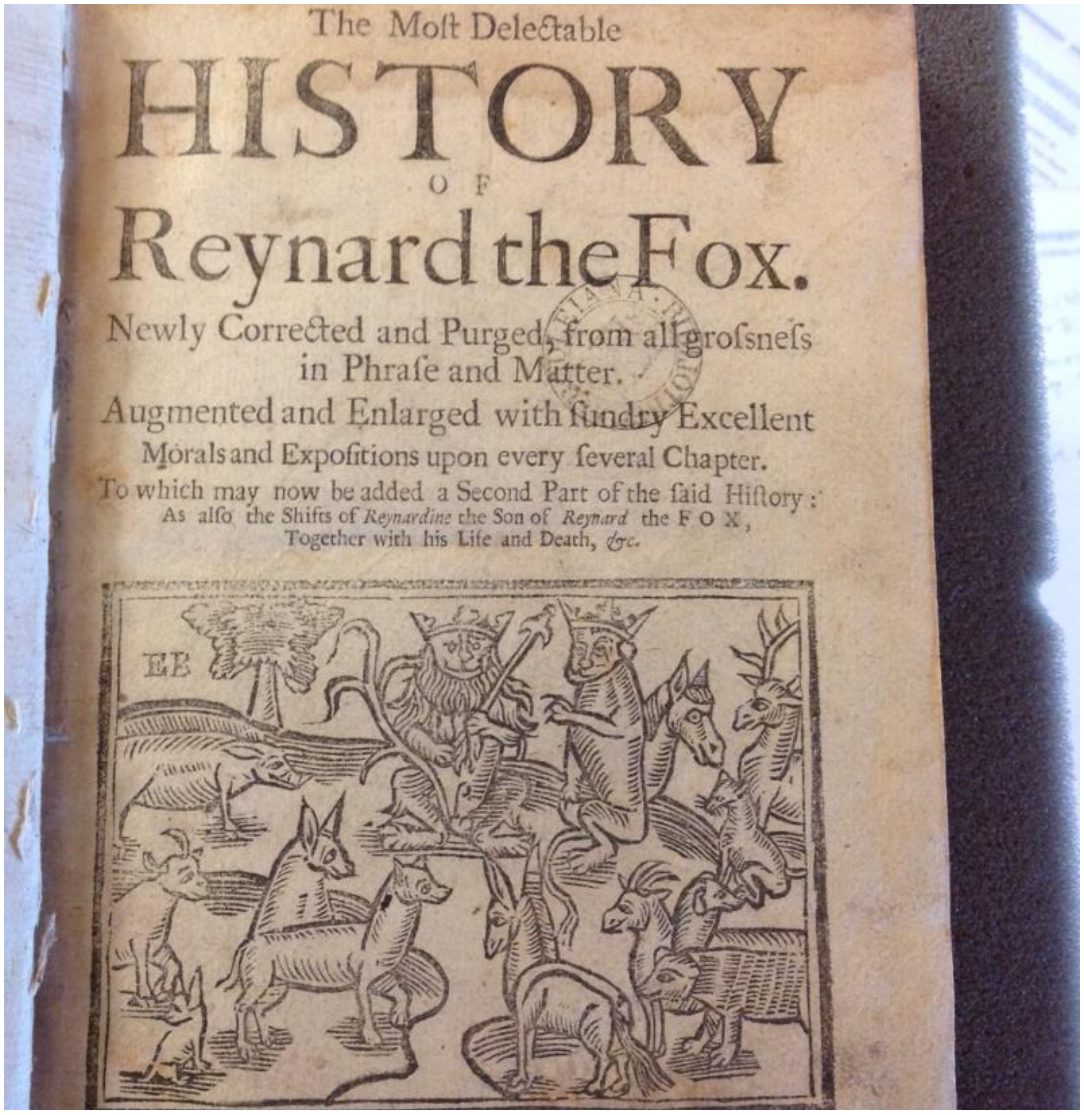
105 This edition is accessible in Early English Books Online as '1667' edition. (Wing S3509A)

106 Oxford, Bodleian Library (Douce R. 157); Cambridge, University Library (Syn. 7.70.17); Cambridge, St. John's College (A/G. 27.60)

Bodleian Library[107], there is a trace of erasure at the very place where the year of publication '1701' should appear, which indicates that someone, after the book was published, erased the year almost perfectly. This trace was already noticed when the edition was bequeathed to the library from Edmund Malone's collection in 1815. Therefore, we can safely conclude that the publishing year of Mal 699 must have been excised at any point in time between 1701 and 1815. The problem is, then, what motivated someone to attempt this deceptive operation. One conceivable interpretation of the deletion is that one owner of this edition omitted the year of publication, for, if the three parts were bound together, it was somewhat unnatural that the first part should contain the latest publishing year '1701' as compared with the '1681' and '1684' in the continuations. If so, this apparent deception might imply the owner's particularity concern to arrange his collection of three parts in an orderly way.

Furthermore, the composite binding of *Reynard* reveals the peculiar reception of this work. Whereas, in regard to the second and the third part, the old printed editions of 1681 and 1684 were resold several times in later years, the first part was newly typeset each time. The nature of these extant copies suggests the preferred reception of the First Part, i.e. the original story, as compared with its additional continuations.

[107] I have also received confirmation of this erasure from a private communication with the librarian.


The Moſt Delectable

HISTORY

OF

Reynard the Fox.

Newly Corrected and Purged, from all groſsneſs in Phraſe and Matter.

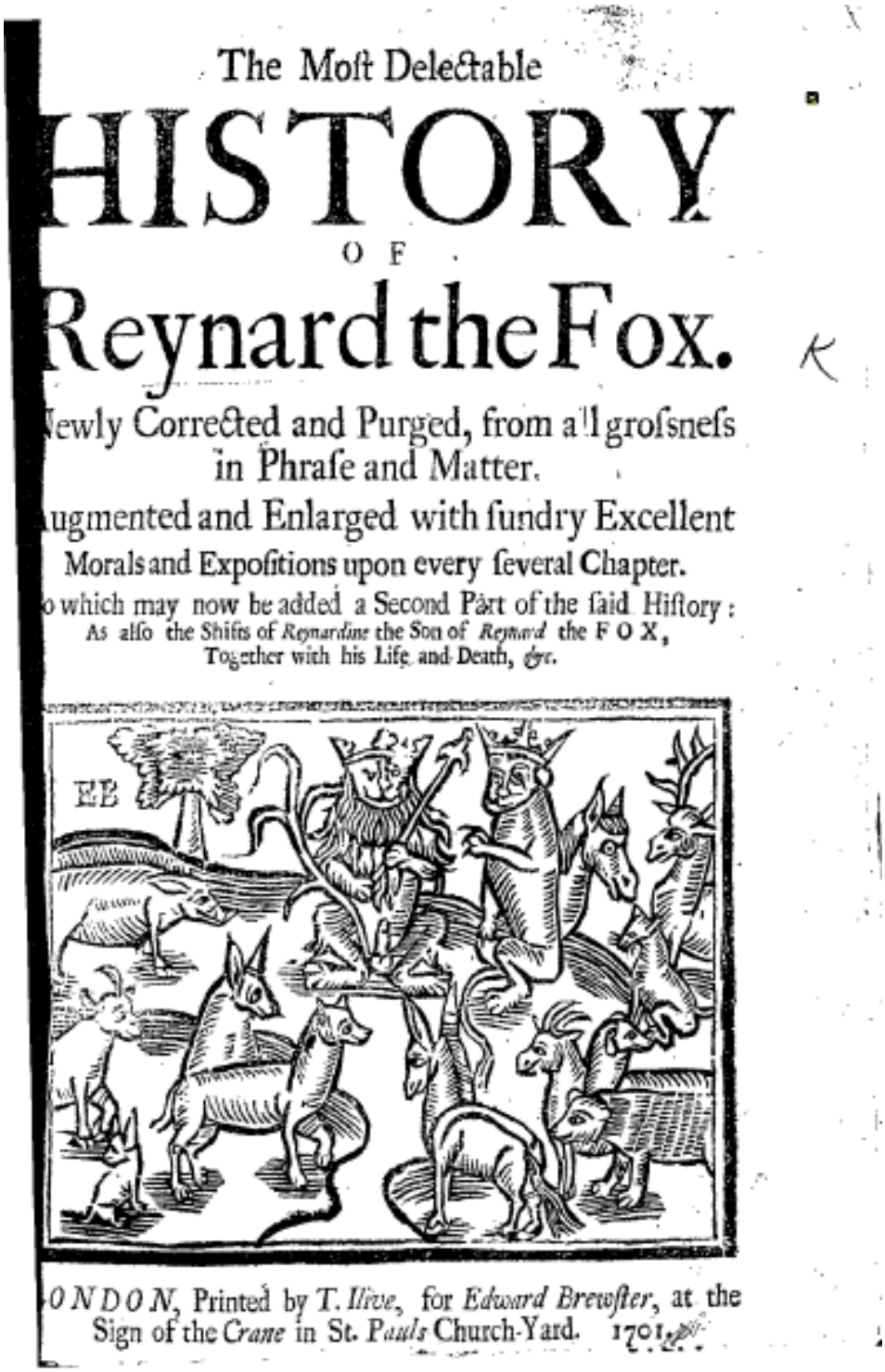
Augmented and Enlarged with ſundry Excellent Morals and Expoſitions upon every ſeveral Chapter.

To which may now be added a Second Part of the ſaid Hiſtory: As alſo the Shifts of *Reynardine* the Son of *Reynard* the FOX, Together with his Life and Death, *&c.*

EB

(Title page of the 1701 edition)[108]

[108] Oxford, Bodleian Library (Mal 699)



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To which may now be added a Second Part of the ſaid Hiſtory: As alſo the Shifts of *Reynardine* the Son of *Reynard* the FOX, Together with his Life and Death, *&c.*

LONDON, Printed by *T. Ilive*, for *Edward Brewſter*, at the Sign of the *Crane* in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1701.

(Title page of the 1701 edition)[109]

[109] British Library (1077. f. 16)

Chapter 4:

Textual Editing and Reception of *Reynard the Fox* in the Nineteenth Century

4-1 Reevaluation of *Reynard* in the Nineteenth Century

A most remarkable element which helps to make *Reynard the Fox* an attractive work is its rustic vigorousness, which is produced by the simple plot, the lively and straightforward narration, and the plain style. This vigorousness is also produced by the narrator's earthy and unaffected attitude, which can be detected most easily in the sexual or scatological episodes and greatly contributes to its humorous narrative world. Among these vigorous episodes are, for example, the combat between a priest and Tybert the Cat, the rape of the Wolf's wife by Reynard, and the duel between Reynard and Isegrim the Wolf. Readers must have enjoyed and appreciated these episodes as the authors and the editors intended. Therefore, if Caxton or some other editors in the past had read any version of *Reynard* published in the nineteenth century, they would have been perplexed at the drastic degree of emendation, for in a number of Victorian editions of *Reynard*, the ribald accounts are deleted and as a result, the impression of the tale is remarkably transformed from down-to-earth to refined. Such alterations may well be ascribed to the contemporary cultural climate, in which propriety was highly and unnaturally valued in every aspect of life. *Reynard the Fox*, as just one literary work, was not an exception to this movement. At the same time, the work was reevaluated from an academic and scholarly perspective, and along with sophisticated versions, several diplomatic texts appear, whose editing principle is to reproduce the original text faithfully

and even to retain bawdy episodes. Therefore, *Reynard* in the nineteenth century was to take dual courses of text production: one was that of expurgation, and the other was that of restoration of the original.

As examples of the kind of edition which returns to Caxton's original, Blake enumerates four editions in the introduction to his edited text: 1) W. J. Thoms' 1844 edition, 2) Edward Arber's 1878 and 1895 editions, 3) and 4) two private printings for the Bibliotheca Curiosa (1884) and for the Kelmscott Press (1892). Admitting the scholarly importance of these four editions, Blake adds the following comments about the other editions published in the nineteenth century:

> Quite apart from these four editions which set out to reproduce Caxton's original text of 1481, the last hundred years has seen the appearance of a host of modernized versions, metrical adaptations, renderings for children, etc. Yet despite this continued interest in the Reynard story there is no text that meets the demands of modern scholarship.[110]

In fact, although various modern versions of *Reynard* appeared in those days, they have not been treated academically in detail. Kenneth Varty provides an overall sketch of modernized *Reynard* editions including non-Caxtonian texts, pointing out that some are expurgated and modified,[111] but the textual characteristics of those editions, and the differences between them remain unexamined. Therefore further investigation concerning *Reynard* texts in the nineteenth century is required to understand how this story was enjoyed

[110] Blake, *Reynard the Fox*, p. lxiii.
[111] Varty, 'Reynard in England', pp. 168-74.

and accepted by the reading public. This chapter makes an attempt to conduct such an investigation into some important editions, especially those mentioned in Varty's study.

During the eighteenth century, by comparison with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the popularity of *Reynard* waned to a certain degree.[112] Caxton's original translation was thoroughly forgotten and the revised and abridged text, which had first appeared in Edward Allde's edition in 1620, was passed down throughout the century. In addition, to this revised text was now added a continuation which tells a story of Reynardine, Reynard's son, and to that was added a 'non-Reynardian' tale entitled *the History of Cawood the Rook* from 1702 onwards.[113] There is an account which is useful to gain an idea of the reception of *Reynard* in the early eighteenth century. In the 'Epistle Predatory' by James Drake, a Fellow of the Royal Society and College of Physicians, prefaced to *The Perfect Picture of a Favourite: or, Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Prime Minister and Favourite of Queen Elizabeth* published in 1708, Drake states that *Reynard* 'now passes through the Hands of old Women and Children only'.[114] Therefore, by that time, the work was to be enjoyed in a comparatively small circle of readers as a pastime and it was not to be treated seriously from the literary viewpoint.

In spite of the decline from its status as best-seller in the eighteenth century, there was a revival of this old-fashioned tale in the nineteenth century. The trigger of the boom was no doubt Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*. This was first issued in 1794, and was based on J. C. Gottsched's 1752 High

[112] Mish, p. 334.
[113] ESTC citation No. N478538. As for the continuations, see Chapter Three.
[114] T. J. Arnold, *Reynard the Fox after the German Version of Goethe* (London, 1855), pp. iv-v.

German translation of a Low German text in 1498[115]. In 1846, this edition was embellished with the beautiful illustrations by Wilhelm von Kaulbach, which are evaluated as 'perhaps the finest series of pictures with which a book was ever adorned.'[116] According to Varty, the probable earliest English translation of *Fuchs* is the edition by Soltau in 1803.[117] Not a small number of English translations of *Fuchs* followed Soltau's, and the influence was not limited only to the literary field. In 1851, perhaps influenced by Prince Albert, who, being of German origin, admired German literature, the abridged *Reynard* story with six illustrations selected from Kaulbach's series was prepared and sold as a keepsake for visitors to the Stuffed Animals Section in the Great Exhibition. As for the great influence of the Exhibition, T. J. Arnold, one of the Victorian editors of *Reynard*, states that 'the Great Exhibition of 1851 … contributed not a little to the renewed popularity of the story in this country'.[118] With such interest in the story, it came to enjoy popularity again, as J. A. Froude mentioned in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1882:

> … a few years ago it was rare to find a person who had read the Fox Epic … but now the charming figures of Reineke himself, and King Lion, and Isegrim, and Bruin … had set all the world asking who and what they are, and the story began to get itself known. The old editions, which had long slept unbound in reams upon the shelves, began to

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[115] As for Goethe's *Reineke* and its English translations, see Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 172.
[116] *The Comical Creatures from Wurtemberg, Including the Story of Reynard the Fox with Twenty Illustrations Drawn from the Stuffed Animals Contributed by Hermann Ploucquet of Stuttgart to the Great Exhibition*, 2nd ed. (London, 1851), p. 10. (This edition has no mention about the editor).
[117] Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 172.
[118] Arnold, p. v.

descend and to clothe themselves in green and crimson. … Everybody began to talk of Reineke …[119]

Although the influence of Goethe's *Reineke* was tremendous in the social domain, it was the 'medievalism' that formed a basis for the revival of *Reynard* in this period. This is demonstrated by the fact that many editions descended from Caxton's 1481 edition were published along with Goethe's translations. For example, Caxton's first edition was reprinted by William Morris returning to the fifteenth-century incunabulum even in the use of founts or initials. The 1701 edition printed by T. Ilive which contains Allde's contracted version also attracted a few editors' attention, and at least one revised edition was published in 1844.

4-2 Expurgation in Various Editions

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the story, as it was a period in which prudery was forcibly demanded, many editions did not tell the story as the original narrated it. The above book printed by David Bogue and sold as a souvenir in the Great Exhibition can serve as an official and authorized version of *Reynard* and provides a sure clue to grasp how the original story was modified to conform to the implicit request.[120] The preface says that 'the story of "Reynard the Fox" is told briefly in the words of an old version of this wonderful tale published in England many years ago', and it appears that 'old version' referred to here is not Caxton's full-length text but some edition

[119] Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 173.
[120] According to Varty, this edition is 'censored' and 'expurgated' See Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 173.

containing Allde's 1620 revised text.[121] As this version is abbreviated into thirty-three pages, only the minimum plot is introduced, and all the obscene lines in the story are omitted. Throughout the story, there is no single reference to the sexual liaison between the fox and the wolf's wife, which is necessary to the plot as one of the main reasons for the enmity between the fox and the wolf. What Tybert the Cat bites at is not the Priest's testicle but his legs.[122] In the combat, Reynard smites Isegrim with his tail, but on this occasion it does not sprinkle his urine.[123] At the end of their fight, the 'critical hit' by the fox is depicted as more moderate than in the original, for the fox wrings not the wolf's testicle but his belly[124]. The criterion observed in this official souvenir is understandable, because, as Varty supposes, this book must have been intended to be for both young and adult readers.[125]

As in the keepsake edition for Great Exhibition, textual manipulation by cutting the immoral parts is also seen in the versions available on the ordinary market. The text edited by William J. Thoms[126] is one of the typical examples representing Victorian emendation. This edition was published for

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[121] For example, the beginning of the story reads: (Allde: Bogue) (ABOUT the feast of Pentecost (which is commonly called Whitsontide) when the Woods are in their lusty:hood and gallantry, and every Tree cloathed in the green and white Livery of glorious leaves, and sweet smelling blossoms; and the earth covered in her fairest Mantle of Flowers, …(A3r): ABOUT the feast of Whitsuntide, when the woods were in their lustyhood and gallantry, when every tree was clothed in the green and white livery of glorious leaves and sweet-smelling blossoms, when the earth was covered with her fairest mantle of flowers,…(p. 63))

[122] 'The cat, mad with pain, suddenly gnawed the cord, and seizing the priest by the legs, bit him and tore him in such a way that he fell down in a swoon, …' (p. 73).

[123] 'the fox avoided the blow, and smote him on the face with his tail, so that the wolf was stricken almost blind, and was forced to rest while he cleared his eyes; …' (p. 95).

[124] 'Then the fox bethought himself how he might best get free; and thrusting his hand down, he caught the wolf fast by the belly, and he wrung him so extremely hard thereby, that he made him shriek and howl out with the anguish,…' (p. 95)

[125] Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 173.

[126] William J. Thoms, *The History of Reynard the Fox from the Edition Printed by Caxton in 1481* (London, 1844). Thoms was an English antiquarian and he devised the word 'folklore' (1846). See *Chambers's Encyclopædia* Vol. XIII (London, 1950), p. 606.

the Percy Society in 1844 as the first attempt at returning to Caxton's original for its base text in the Victorian Age. The editor Thoms, mentioning the lukewarm purification of the vulgar episodes in the seventeenth-century editions,[127] explained his editing policy in the preface as follows:

> In the present edition, care has been taken, by the modification of some few words and sentences, which are as little essential to the conduct of the story, as consonant to our present notions of propriety, to lay before the members of the Percy Society a volume which may be perused, it is hoped, with pleasure, certainly without offence. (p. ii)

As he declares, Thoms deletes what he regards as offensive in Caxton's text. For example:

(1) but tybert that sawe that he muste deye sprange bytwene the prestes legges wyth his clawes and with his teeth that he raught out his ryght colyon or balock stone/ that leep becam yl to the preest and to his grete shame. (Caxton, b7v)

but Tybert that sawe that he muste deye, sprange bytwene the prestes legges wyth his clawes and with his teeth, so that that leep becam yl to the preest and to his grete shame. (Thoms, p. 27)

(2) see mertynet lyef sone/ this is of thy faders harneys/ This is a grete

[127] 'The several republications of the History of Reynard the Fox, which appeared during the seventeenth century, professed to be "newly corrected and purged from all grossenesse in phrase and matter;" but notwithstanding such alleged purification, they still contain some most offensive passages.' (p. ii)

shame and to me a grete hurte/ for though he be heled herof yet he is but a loste man to me and also shal neuer conne doo that swete playe and game/ (Caxton, b8r)

see Mertynet lyef sone: this is a grete shame and a grete hurte, though he be heled herof. (Thoms, p. 27)

(3) The foxe stode wythoute to fore the hole and herde alle thyse words/ and lawhed so sore that he vneethe coude stonde/ he spack thus softly/ dame Iulock be al style/ and lete your grete sorowe synke/ Al hath the preest loste one of his stones it shal not hyndre hym he shal doo wyth you wel ynowh ther is in the world many a chapel/ in whiche is rongen but one belle/ thus scorned and mocked the foxe/ the prestes wyf dame iulock that was ful of sorowe/ (Caxton, b8r)

The Foxe stode wythoute to fore the hole and herde alle thyse wordes, and lawhed so sore that he vnnethe coude stoned; he spack thus al softly, dame Julock be al stylle, and lete your grete sorowe synke. He shal doo wel ynowh, ther is in the world many a chapel in whiche is rongen but one belle. Thus scorned and mocked the foxe the prestes wyf dame Julock, that was ful of sorowe. (Thoms, p. 27)

In (1), what Tybert tore off is not mentioned explicitly, although readers could guess from the context. In (2) and (3), we can perceive Thoms' efforts to get rid of all the sexual connotations and to make the tale less vulgar, for his editorial hand reaches even the slight phrases, such as 'to me' in (2) or 'wyth

you' in (3).

As a result of deletion and efforts to make the tale sophisticated, some scenes become less lusty and vigorous than the original. At the court, for example, in the scene of the accusation against Reynard of raping Isegrim's wife Erswind, the plea by the wolf sounds less earnest because of the textual alteration:

(4) And whan he sawe that. he sprange vp after on her body. Alas there rauysshyd he and forcyd my wyf so knauisshly that I am ashamed to telle it. …herof he can not saye naye ·For I fonde hym with the dede. for as I wente aboue vpon the banke I sawe hym bynethe vpon my wyf shouyng and stekyng as men doo whan they doo suche werke and playe. Alas what payne suffred I tho at my herte (Caxton, i2r)

And whan he sawe that, he sprange up after on her; alas! so knauisshly that I am ashamed to telle it. … Hereof he can not saye naye, for as I wente above vpon the banke I sawe hym bynethe. Alas! what payne suffred I, tho at my herte. (Thoms, p. 132)

Due to the omission of the explicit expressions, the testimony here is not so lively as the Caxton's translation. At the same time, we can see Thoms' tactfulness in his editing method in that the stream of the story is seamless despite the sporadic eliminations.

Since each edition had its own set of editing principles, textual diversity can be observed among different editions, even though they use the same copy-text. The revised edition by Henry Morley, published in 1889 as

one of the series of *Early Prose Romances,*[128] shows a different approach to Caxton's edition. Compare the above example (3) in Thoms with Morley's edited lines:

(5) The Fox stood without, tofore the hole, and heard all these words, and laughed so sore that he vnnethe could stand. Thus scorned and mocked the Fox the Priest's wife, Dame Julocke, that was full of sorrow. (Morley, p. 20)

As the speech by the fox is thoroughly omitted, readers of this text, unlike Thoms' edition, cannot understand how Reynard 'scorned and mocked' the Priest's wife. For Morley, the speech by the fox is entirely inappropriate and something to be cut, even if it entails a contradiction in the storyline.

Similarly, in some places Morley's edition adopts a more conservative attitude than Thoms'. For example:

(6) I wende to haue holpen her/ and heef and shoef and stack here and there to haue brought her out/ But it was al payne loste/ For she was to heuy for me/ (Caxton, i2v)

I wende to have holpen her, and heef and shoef, and stack here and there, to have brought her out; (Thoms, p. 133)

I went to have holpen her, and to have brought her out, but it was all

[128] Henry Morley, *The History of Reynard the Fox: William Caxton's English Translation of 1481* (London, 1889). Kenneth Varty mentions Morley's edition as one of the best scholarly editions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 168.

pain lost, for she was too heavy for me. (Morley, p. 82)

(7) So is it now knowen to yow alle by hys owen wordes that is a deffamer of wymmen as moche as in hym is ye may wel marke euerychone/ Who shold luste to do that game to one so stedfast a wyf beyng in so grete peryll of deth now aske ye hys wyf/ yf it be so as he sayth/ (Caxton, i3r-i3v)

So it is now knowen to yow alle by his owen wordes that is a deffamer of wymmen, as moche as in him is. Ye may wel marke everychone. Who shold luste to do that game to one so stedfast a wyf, beying in so grete peryll of deth. Now aske ye hys wyf, yf it be so as he sayth; (Thoms, p. 134)

So it is now knowen to you all by his own words, that he is a defamer of women as much as in him is, ye may well mark euerychone. Now ask ye his wife if it be so as he saith. (Morley, p. 82)

In both cases Morley regards the sexual allusion, which Thoms does not eliminate, as unsuitable for his readers.

On the other hand, Morley takes a tolerant direction in scatological scenes, which Thoms this time judges to be deserving of omission:

(8) but the foxe sawe to/ and smote hym wyth his rowhe tayle/ Whiche he had al be pyssed in his visage/ … the pysse sterte in his eyen/ thenne muste he reste for to make clene his eyen/ … For the sonde and pysse

cleuyd vnder his eyen … (Caxton, k1v)

but the foxe sawe to, and smote hym wyth his rowhe tayle al in his visage. … Thenne muste he reste for to make clene his eyen. … for the sonde cleuyd vnder his eyen … (Thoms, p. 148)

But the Fox saw to, and smote him with his rough tail, which he had all bepissed, in his visage. …the piss started in his eyen. Then must he rest, for to make clean his eyen. …for the sand and piss cleaved under his eyen, … (Morley, p. 90)

Unlike his persistent abhorrence of the sexual accounts, Morley retains the word 'piss' as in the original.[129] This discrepancy between Thoms' and Morley's editorial criteria may result from the time lag of over forty years in their dates of publication. However, taking into account that the custom of expurgation peaked in the 1860s and 70s, and it was about in 1915 that the practice began to gradually decline, this difference in time does not seem to be a significant problem.[130]

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[129] Other examples are: (Caxton: Thoms: Morley): (He is comen in to my hows ayenst the wylle of my wyf/ And there he hath be pyssed my chyldren where as they laye in suche wyse as they therof ben woxen blynde/ (a4r-4v): he is comen in to my hows ayenst the wylle of my wyf, and there he hath bespattered my chyldren where as they laye, in suche wyse as they therof ben woxen blynde. (p. 3): he is comen in to my house against the will of my wife, and there he hath bepissed my children whereas they lay, in such wise as they thereof ben waxen blind. (p. 5)), (they laye on fowle heye whiche was al be pyssed/ They were byslabbed and byclagged to their eres to in her owen donge/ (i4v-i5r): they leye on fowle heye which was al be fouled. They were byslabbed and byclagged to their eres to in her owen donge. (p. 138): They lay on foul hay which was all bepissed. They were beslabbed and beclagged to their ears too in her own dung. (p. 84)).

[130] Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas: A Companion for the Modern Reader of Victorian Literature* (New York, 1973), p. 195. Noel Perrin, *Dr. Bowdler's Legacy; A History of Expurgated Books in England and America* (London, 1970), p. viii.

A different set of editorial principles can be detected even between the first and the second edition by the same editor. F. S. Ellis' rendering first appears in 1894,[131] but in his second edition in 1897,[132] the editor expresses regret for his preceding edition, stating that he 'had so often been asked, "What is the origin of the story?" that he determined whenever the book was rewritten it should be accompanied by a full and complete dissertation on the literary history of Reynard, and thereto evoked the aid of one of the chief authorities on the subject'. In fact, he announces that the copy-text of the second edition is the 1892 product by Kelmscot Press, which is based on Caxton's first edition. The editor also expresses his wish that his second edition 'should be considered as altogether superseding that which he published in 1894'.[133] Ellis does not refer so much to his revision in the second edition, but some parts of the text become more respectable, as is observed in the following:

(9) Would not sweet joy your sorrow leaven
If the good man went straight to heaven?
Doth he not in his sermons teach
How we should long that place to reach?
And if he dies, you soon will find
Some other husband to your mind.
'Tis true you are not very young,

[131] F. S. Ellis, *The History of Reynard the Fox with Some Account of His Family, Friends, and Associates* (London, 1894).
[132] F. S. Ellis, *The History of Reynard the Fox with Some Account of His Friends and Enemies* (London, 1897). Varty states that 'Ellis's 1897 verse rendering are beautifully produced and were intended to appeal to collectors of fine books'. Varty, 'Reynard in England', p. 169.
[133] Ellis, p. viii.

And have a spiteful scholding tongue,
But you may pick up some poor fool
Who ne'er heard of the ducking-stool,
Whereon you made such pretty play;
Have you forgotten it, I pray?
Well, well, good-bye, a pleasant day." (Ellis, 1894, p.58)

"Dame Julock, now,"
Cried he, "'twere surely well to bow
Your head in thankful resignation
To Heaven's good will, a dispensation
Of mercy can it fail to be,
If thy dear man, from earth set free,
Attains the heavenly mansions blest?
There shall he find sweet peace and rest
From thy sharp tongue. He loved to preach,
Each week, what joy 'twould be to reach
The home of saints. Nay, dry thy tears,
And let sweet hope assuage thy fears:
Though thou be widowed, yet thou may'st
Ere long the joys of wedlock taste
Once more, if fortune send some fool,
Unware how oft the cucking-stool
Had charge of thee for thy sharp tongue
In days gone by." (Ellis, 1897, pp. 44-5)

This is the scene in which Reynard mocks Dame Julock as she laments, seeing that her husband lost a testicle. Both editions present an ironical image of her as a wife who is always nagging, but the first edition also contains a sexual connotation, 'such pretty play', which is implied mildly in the second edition merely as 'the joys of wedlock'. As the preface indicates that Ellis had some contact with readers who had asked him about his base-text, the retelling in the revised edition, including this sort of alteration, may have reflected readers' requests.

Besides the editions I have dealt with so far, diplomatic texts were also published. Private editions, such as those by H. H. Sparling for Kelmscot press in 1892[134] and by E. Goldsmid for Bibliotheca Curiosa in 1884,[135] are faithfully close to Caxton's text of 1481. Apart from these privately printed books for a specific reading circle, there must certainly be some editions leaving obscene words and phrases as they are. Edward Arber's edition in 1878 for English Scholar's Library is one such example.[136] Edward Arber (1836-1912), who studied English literature under the above-mentioned Henry Morley, was involved as an editor in publishing the *English Reprints* series, whose aim is to provide accurate texts by many English authors, such as Robert Naunton and Roger Ascham, which used to be accessible only by the expensive editions. English Scholar's Library follows these series, and Arber makes an important contribution to English literature by supplying

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[134] H. H. Sparling, *The History of Reynard the Fox by William Caxton* (Hammersmith, 1892).
[135] E. Goldsmid, *The History of Reynard the Fox: Translated and Printed by William Caxton 1481* (Edinburgh, 1884).
[136] Edward Arber, *The History of Reynard the Fox: Translated and Printed by William Caxton June 1481* (Westminster, 1895).

faithful texts for ordinary readers. *Reynard* also can be regarded as one such achievement.

4-3 Expurgation and Readership

Why and how, then, was such a difference caused in editorial principles? There must have been a number of factors involved, and one considerable factor is the book price. Noel Perrin makes a notable remark about the relationship between expurgation and price:

> Victorian publishers tended to expurgate large editions, even while continuing to print small unexpurgated editions of the same authors at higher prices for the old upper-class audience.[137]

One noted cause of this phenomenon is the rise of the general reading public and the expansion of the range of readers. According to an anonymous article in the *Edinburgh Review*, there were 20,000 upper-class readers in 1812, while ordinary common readers were ten times as many. The reading population grew larger and larger, and in the reprint of the same article in 1844, the numbers were changed into 30,000 and 300,000 respectively. The *Penny Magazine* in 1832 showed other figures for readers, stating that there were 200,000 purchasers of one periodical, and, if each copy was to be read by five people, one million prospective readers.[138] This circumstance also prompted the production of low-priced books. By 1850, the average book price became no more than one shilling, whereas it used to be one guinea (21

[137] Perrin, p. 21
[138] Perrin, p. 20

shillings) in 1800.[139] In addition, the availability of books increased due to the free libraries which had come to appear throughout the country since the 1850s,[140] and circulating libraries which enabled customers to borrow books at from half a guinea to two guineas per year as the subscription rate.[141] The practice of reading books became more common among people who had not previously had a reading habit, and the 'reading circle' at home became popular among the Victorian middle class. The sudden emergence of masses of readers, combined with the birth of cheap books, made the aristocracy feel a duty or responsibility to protect 'new readers', especially women and young readers, from being corrupted by reading indecent books.[142] Therefore it became common to expurgate the books which were supposed to be read by ordinary readers, and an editorial disparity between 'expensive complete texts for the few and inexpensive incomplete ones for the many' came to exist in the nineteenth century.[143] This also seems to have happened to *Reynard*. While many editions were published with expurgation exercised, there were also a few expensive non-expurgated texts including private editions.[144] Furthermore, the degree of expurgation, as we have seen, varied from text to text.

There is a good example to illustrate the degree of expurgation in

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[139] Perrin, p. 21
[140] Altick, p. 65.
[141] Kristine Hughes, *The Writer's Guide to Everyday Life in Reading and Victorian England from 1811-1901* (Cincinnati, 1998), pp. 128-29.
[142] Altick, pp. 192-93.
[143] Perrin, p. 23. As some other causes for this editorial inclination, Noel Perrin points out the rising vogue of sentiment and sensibility, the industrial revolution, and the rise of evangelical religion, particularly Methodism. pp. 3-24.
[144] It is reported that *Reynard* published for Kelmscott press in 1893 cost at three ponds three shillings for hand-made paper, and fifteen ponds fifteen shillings for vellum. See Colin Franklin, *The Private Presses* 2nd ed. (London, 1991).

conjunction with the price. A book catalogue published in 1860[145] contains seven editions of *Reynard*, and the ones by Samuel Naylor in 1845[146] and by E. W. Holloway in 1852[147] are in this list. Both editions, quarto in format, are based on Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*. The advertisement says that Naylor's edition is 'handsomely printed, with rubricated initials, cloth, scarce', while Holloway's has '37 fine plates by H. Leutemann'. It is not surprising that Naylor's edition, which has 251 pages in its 845 edition, cost 18 shillings, which is almost twice the price (9 shillings 6 pence) of Holloway's eighty-one-page edition. What is to be noted, although both texts refine the obscene passages in large measure, is that the cheaper one tends to show a more radical principle of expurgation than the other. Holloway himself explains his editorial policy in his preface:

> In several instances he [that is Holloway himself] has felt himself compelled to alter, or at least to qualify, the sense of the original, as the passages in question if literally translated, would have been offensive to the taste of his readers, and must necessarily have had the effect of excluding the work from the family circle. The same reasons have induced him to omit altogether an episode in the third canto, the more readily, as the omission does not in the slightest degree affect the thread of the narrative.[148]

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[145] John Russell Smith, *A Catalogue of Twenty-Five Thousand Volumes of Choice, Useful and Curious Books, in Most Classes in Literature, English and Foreign, on Sale, at the Reasonable Prices Affixed* (London, 1860), pp. 318-19.
[146] Samuel Naylor, *Reynard the Fox: A Renowned Apologue of the Middle Age Reproduced in Rhyme* (London, 1845).
[147] E. W. Holloway, *Reynard the Fox: A Poem in Twelve Cantos* (London, 1852).
[148] Holloway, p. XI.

As he declares here, considering those of his readers who are in 'the family circle', Holloway thoroughly excludes the whole episode in the third canto which tells that Tybert bites the priest's testicle and that Reynard violates the wolf's wife Erswind, and Holloway starts telling the story again skipping these details.[149] By contrast, Naylor shows a different attitude to the same scene. According to the preface, Naylor's edition is targeted at learned people such as 'readers who are familiar with the literary licenses of the early satirists',[150] and with their tastes in mind, Naylor revises the text, taking the contemporary taste of prudery into consideration. However, his edition retains the episode in the third canto, which is eliminated in Holloway's edition, keeping coarse episodes in the original, though rendered with refined phrases as follows:

> From scratch and scar, received in fight,
> And feline wound-inflicting bite.
> For—(pardon, Muse! I needs must tell it)—
> He'd made an eunuch of the prelate! (Naylor, pp. 56-7)

Therefore, if one were rich enough to buy an expensive book, it would naturally follow that a less expurgated book would be obtainable. But if not, the purchaser would have to satisfy himself with a moderately expurgated book sold at a low price.

Another example which illustrates the connection between price and textual quality is William Parker's edition of 1844.[151] In *Publishers' circular*

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149 Holloway, pp. 14-6.
150 Naylor, p. 10.
151 *The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox and of His Son Reynardine* (London,

and booksellers' record: 1844,[152] the copy is sold at 2 shillings in foolscap,[153] and this price is lower as compared with the other editions listed in the same catalogue, such as *Reynard* for Felix Summerly's Home Treasury with 40 etchings at '6s. 6p.; 31s. 6p. col'd'[154] or Naylor's translation at 18s[155]. This edition is similar to the other texts in its orientation toward the bawdy expressions, but the scale of such editing is sometimes more drastic. For instance, the whole accusation of rape by the wolf and the defense by the badger against it, which are seldom thoroughly deleted in some other editions, are entirely omitted as follows:

(10) but in many other things he hath trespast againt me, which to relate, neither the time nor your Highness patience, would give sufferance thereunto: suffice it, mine injuries are so great, that none can exceed them and the shame and villany he hath done to my wife is such that I can never bide nor suffer it unrevenged, but I must expect from him amends, and from your Majesty mercy. (Ilive, A4r-A4v)

but in many other things he hath wronged me, which to relate, neither the time nor your highness' patience would allow. I cannot forego my just revenge; but I expect from him amends, and from your majesty mercy. (Parker, p. 2)

1844). (This edition has no mention about the editor).
[152] *Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record: 1844* (London, 1844). (This edition has no mention about the editor).
[153] *Publishers' Circular*, p. 68.
[154] *Publishers' Circular*, p. 70.
[155] *Publishers' Circular*, p. 349.

(11) again, he complaineth that my kinsman hath wronged him in his wife: 'tis true and I confess Reynard hath lien with her: yet it was seven years before Isegrim did wed her: and if my Uncle out of courtesie did her a pleasure, what was that to him: she was soon healed of her sore: nor ought he to complain of any thing not belonging to him; wisdom would have concealed it; for what credit gets he by the slander of his wife, especially when she is not grieved? (Ilive, B2r)

[Parker's edition thoroughly omits the passages above] (Parker, p. 3)

Furthermore, in the original episode it is the priest who fights with the cat and loses his testicle, but Parker changes him into a farmer:

(12) but the Cat perceiving his death so near him, in a desperate mood he leapt between the Priests legs, and with his claws and teeth so fastned on his genitors, that in all the great Turks Seraglio, he was not a clearer Eunuch: which when dame Jullock his wife saw, she cryed out and swore (Ilive, D4r)

Sir Tibert, thinking his death to be nigh, grew desperate, and with a spring fastened on the farmer with teeth and claws, so that he cried out lustily: which when his wife heard, she screamed aloud to her son Martinet to come and help. (Parker, p. 12)

This modification may be made partly because the priest inappropriately has a wife, Dame Jullock, and also because a farmer seems to be more suitable

for this slapstick scene. Considering that Joseph Jacobs' 1895 edition, which aims at children, retains 'priest' as in the original, this editing of Parker's can be regarded as too strict and yet appropriate for a cheaper edition, which may be readily accepted by ordinary readers who are regarded as susceptible to the story unfolded before them. Parker's edition also eliminates the words 'buttocks' and 'dung', both of which remain in several other editions, such as Thoms' and Morley's.[156] As for the severely expurgated versions of *Gulliver's Travels* for adolescents, Noel Perrin enumerates elements that were thought to be undesirable and therefore deleted. They are, for instance, all references to the human torso, except the hands, feet, head, arms and legs; activities involving the torso; genital and anal activities; references to urination, defecation and laxatives; etc.[157] He also states that 'in milder expurgations the same rules apply, but more loosely.' Taking these criteria into consideration, it can be said that Parker's edition, which is referred to as a work 'for circulating among the rising generation',[158] has as a strict set of criteria as more severely rewritten editions of other literary works for young people.

The examples of textual modification we have examined so far may lead us to the conclusion that it costs relatively more to enjoy less expurgated books, and that hence the opportunity for ordinary people to read and appreciate such books is restricted. However, when seeing the records of a

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[156] (Ilive: Parker) (that in the end compelled by extremity, he set his buttocks on the ground, and trumbled his body over and over; (D1v): so at last, forced by extremity, he lay down on his side, and trumbled over and over; (p.9)), (for a fouler company I never saw, they were all laid in foul Litter, rotten and dirty with their own Piss they were all daubed and clogged with their own dung, which I stunk so filthily, that I was almost poysoned with the smell, (Q4v-R1r): They were all so dirty, that I thought I should have been poisoned. (p. 53)).

[157] Perrin, pp. 226-27.

[158] Thoms, p. lxxxvii.

circulating library catalogue, we can understand that the situation is not so simple or one-dimensional. *Reynard*, *as* translated from Goethe by T. J. Arnold, and advertised in a catalogue of Charles Edward Mudie's circulating library in 1860,[159] is of course sanitized to a certain degree, but not in such a conspicuous way. Mudie's library was famous for its careful selection both in terms of morality and quality, in accordance with its name, Mudie's 'select' library.[160] Therefore, Arnold's edition must have been judged as appropriate for his customers, but compared with some other editions which descend from the same copy-text, the vulgar scenes are not thoroughly altered or effaced. For example, Arnold's retains the episode of the rape of Erswind by Reynard in the third canto, which is entirely erased in Holloway's edition. Reynard's trick of wetting his tail with piss, which is not mentioned in either Holloway's or Naylor's, is implied by stating that 'wet well your brush —I need not tell you how—.' (p. 291) Moreover, in the last part of the battle of the fox and the wolf, Arnold's edition is couched in more vulgar phrases than Naylor's:

> Thus spake the Wolf; the crafty Fox meanwhile,
> Who saw that nothing could be gained by guile,
> Using the other hand he still had free,
> Gripped hold of his Opponent savagely ;
> And in so very sensitive a part,
> The startled Wolf howled with the sick'ning smart. (Arnold, p. 307)

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[159] Charles Edward Mudie, *Catalogue of New and Standard Works in Circulation at Mudie's Select Library*. (London, 1860), p. 131.
[160] Altick, pp. 195-97.

Whilst Isegrim his '*thee* and *thou*'
Indulged, the crafty Reynard, quick
Deliver'd him a villain kick
Right in the midriff!—down he dropp'd!
Like some tall forester, when lopp'd
By stroke of woodman's axe!—'t was all! (Naylor, p. ccxlv)

In this scene, the implicit expression in Arnold's, 'in so very sensitive a part', seems to convey the original nuance more faithfully and earthily than Naylor's. Therefore, this case indicates that books available in the circulating libraries could be one important medium for subscribers in the middle class to acquire more opportunities of enjoying less modified *Reynard* at a low cost.

Still, it can be fairly said that, in the nineteenth century, the chance to read a genuine or unexpurgated story of *Reynard*, either in the versions derived from Caxton or Goethe, is considerably reduced. This phenomenon is commonly observed not only in *Reynard* but also in a number of other archaic works, such as Chaucer, Malory and Shakespeare, and this inclination toward decency, as a cultural constraint, also exerts an influence upon contemporary works, such as those of George Eliot and Thomas Hardy. This editorial manner receives a special appellation 'bowdlerization',[161] which derives from the name of Dr. Thomas Bowdler, who published *Family Shakespeare* (1818), taken as a typical example of an expurgated book. 'Bowdlerization' is considered to be 'among the least praiseworthy

[161] See OED2. s. v. Bowdlerize.

contributions the Evangelicals made to Victorian literary culture',[162] but this does not seem to be disgraceful, in general terms, from the viewpoint of the Victorian public, or at least that of the editors of *Reynard* in the nineteenth century. For example, in the preface of T. J. Arnold's edition in 1885, Thoms' *Reynard* is introduced as if it were a Caxton's reprint, and there is no particular reference to the expurgation that it has undergone.[163] Similarly, Thoms introduces Parker's edition merely as 'a modernized version' without pointing out its significant modification.[164] The same phenomenon is observed quite often when one edition refers to others in its preface or introduction. Therefore, for the contemporary editors and readers, it makes no great difference whether, to appreciate the tale, the text was modified or not. Nor was it a significant matter for them whether the cat bites the Priest's testicle or thigh, or just scratches him, or whether the fox wrings the wolf's testicle or belly, or tongue, or just kicks him. Rather, from the perspective of their sense of literary values, the *Reynard* they read was a genuine story, and moreover, in terms of sociocultural values, what they read was a better work than the original story. Furthermore, this sort of 'tolerant' attitude to textual authenticity results in textual diversity, which first appears in the nineteenth century with the emergence of different ranges of readers. This multiplicity must have contributed to the resurgence of *Reynard*, to such an extent that its contemporary estimates were made among the literary world: 'the story began to get itself known' and 'everyone began to talk of Reineke'. This reputation is in quite sharp contrast with its

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[162] Altick, p. 194.
[163] 'This first English REYNARD [i.e. Caxton's edition] is also extremely rare, only three copies being known, of which two are in the British Museum; it is, however, easy of reference, having been reprinted by the Percy Society in 1844.' Arnold, p. 1.
[164] Thoms, p. lxxxvii.

reception in the preceding century: *Reynard* 'now passes through the Hands of old Women and Children only'. As a consequence of these expurgations, diverse versions became available for a variety of readers: from the young to adults, and from ordinary people to the educated reading public.

Conclusion

Before any book reaches a customer's hand, a number of interferers are directly involved in the course from production to reception, such as authors, editors, compositors, printers, and publishers or booksellers. Apparently, their intentions and activities exert some effects on the make-up of the book as well as the text itself; therefore an examination of the book can reveal the nature of their engagement. Likewise, the prospective readers are also involved, though indirectly, in book production in the sense that the book producers anticipate the readers' expectations and reflect them in their work, and that, furthermore, they then incorporate the readers' responses into their revised editions.

This fact can be applied, as has been examined in the present dissertation, to the entire publishing history of the English *Reynard the Fox* from the early printed books to the Victorian editions. For example, the edition published by Pynson, an expert in law books, might have provoked his legal, meticulous clients to complain about his frequent grammatical and compositorial errors, whereas the members of the Percy Society in the nineteenth century must have been satisfied with the refined *Reynard* edited by Thoms, which they subscribed to with some faith in the product prior to its publication. Thus, the careful examination of textual and para-textual differences can disclose the complicated interactions between book producers and readers. This dissertation, considering such interactions between them, has tried to clarify the textual transition and the characteristics of each edition.

One finding which has been made in the present study is a newly

advanced textual derivation from Caxton's first edition to Allde I through some intermediary texts. To be precise, in support for the previous studies by Varty and Menke, I have offered some more pieces of evidence to prove that Pynson's first edition (PY I) is based solely on Caxton's first edition, and to prove that Pynson's second edition (PY II) does not derive from his own first edition. The isolation of PY I from the main transition of *Reynard* is due to its textual slipshodness, for this edition was not composed or proofread carefully and as a result, it turns out to be full of wrong or anomalous expressions. On the other hand, an attempt to improve his product is detected in PY II, as is seen in the revising of the text, the insertion of a new synoptic heading, and the adoption of woodblocks from de Worde's edition. As for Pynson's attitude to the major English works, Hellinga states that 'Pynson's editions of major English texts show no traces of editorial interference or development; … he had neither ambitions in that respect, nor advisers encouraging him to tread that path'.[165] However, although *Reynard* may not be a major English printed publication to him, PY II apparently shows his intention to make his book well-qualified enough to meet the criteria of his prospective legal clients. In this respect, PY II may be a peculiar and exceptional work among Pynson's outputs. In addition to the present study, further research is required to finalize his editorial principle in his literary works.

Another important finding in my research is that one synoptic heading unique to PY II is taken over into Allde I. Thus Allde I is regarded as a composite text, which relies on deW for the illustrations and on GT for the text and the chapter divisions, and which uses PY II as a secondary source,

[165] Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London, 2010), p. 123.

probably for correcting the wrong chapter-numbering in GT. A general editing principle of *Reynard* in the first 100 years is that the inferior editing observed in the preceding editions is improved and the work is to be refined gradually every time a new edition is issued.

As for the seventeenth-century editions, some reasons can be posited for the supersedure of Caxton's translation by Allde II. Moralistic education aimed at young people, as seen in the contemporary manner books or apprentice literature, is a trend in those days, and, as if being in line with this cultural tendency, Allde II also reinforces its didactic features with marginal morals added in the corresponding places. This edition is tactfully composed in terms of both the text and the morals. The narrative style is elaborated by the erasure of the expressions of compellation or address to the readers and by replacement of dialogues with indirect speech. New words or technical terms are comparatively preferred in place of the plain diction in the preceding editions, and minute alterations are conducted in accordance with the prospective learned readers' knowledge and in harmony with the pictorial contents of the attached illustrations. In some cases, obscene expressions are reworded in a euphemistic way, and most profane words are eliminated under the influence of an act to restrain abuses of prayers in 1606. Also interestingly enough, the presentation of morals is full of wit. The text and the marginal morals being combined, the ironical and paradoxical teachings multiply the humorous effects. Just like the 'dialectical presentation' proposed in the reader-response criticism, these morals are of great help to effectively cultivate the readers by stimulating their minds. The placement of the marginal morals, separate from the text, originates from the traditional fable format, but the peculiarity of the beast epic

remains saliently in the domain of its contemporaneity and topicality, such as its allusions to Catholicism and Puritanism. The fusion of these elements mentioned above results in the transformation of a traditional beast epic into an early modern didactic tale that is at the same time enjoyable. The text derived from this edition turns out to exceed in demand its second and third continuations which are to appear in the late seventeenth century. The subtle wordings on the title page and the extant volumes of bound texts indicate that the bookseller, Brewster, attempted to sell the unsold printed leaves of his stock, exploiting the popularity of the first part, and they also indicate that it was up to the respective customer whether he bought and bound three parts of *Reynard* together. *Reynard* is a good example of two bibliological conventions intertwined: one is an old custom derived from the manuscript culture of binding several interrelated works in one cover (so-called 'tract volume' or 'Sammelband'); and the other is the appearance in the seventeenth century of the new 'copy-owning bookseller', who monopolizes an impressive license of one particular work and, in association with a printer, attempts to sell the interrelated pieces in his stock as a collective or serial work.

The factors which influence the editing of the nineteenth-century *Reynard* are the cultural emphasis on propriety and the emergence of the reading public. Within this socio-cultural milieu, Victorian people were robbed of the opportunities to enjoy the authentic *Reynard* with indecent expressions retained, as the newly published texts were mostly subject to expurgation or bowdlerization. In addition, with the social clusters of readers diversified, various editions with different editorial criteria in accordance

with those readers were to come out. The 'German Shakespeare',[166] Gothe's *Reineke Fuchs* and the adoption of *Reynard* as a keepsake at the Great Exhibition (1851) became triggers to revitalize *Reynard*, and the diverse editions responding to the demands from different social classes accelerated its revival.

The transition of the textual editing of *Reynard* is closely related to the transition of its readership. Although Caxton regarded as his readers the people who listened to the story, probably including children, since he described his readers as the people 'redynge or heeryng' (a3v) in his preface, nevertheless considering the book's price and the general public's literacy, the readers in the early phase were restricted within a narrow reading circle, such as the upper and the intellectual class. In the early modern period, however, the prospective readership was newly established on the part of book producers, who recognized and emphasized in this book a cultivating role for young readers, and who remolded the narrative style appropriate for a private and silent reading style. During the subsequent eighteenth century, the work came to be gradually regarded as a children's story, but in the nineteenth century, within the cultural or artistic movement known as 'medievalism', the range of readers was expanded from children to adults and from ordinary people to scholars. Therefore, as the readership became more varied, so the book was published in a variety of formats according to its respective purposes: cheap books, children's books, scholarly editions, and even private editions for a circle of connoisseurs.

For a better understanding of the readership and reception of English *Reynard*, more research is required into various genres in the eighteenth

[166] David Vedder, *The Story of Reynard the Fox* (London, 1857), p. v.

century, such as chapbooks or broadside versions, which are not examined in this dissertation. The richness and the variety of the eighteen-century fox tales indicate that they are worthy of an independent and exhaustive study. This is one of my future projects.

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