

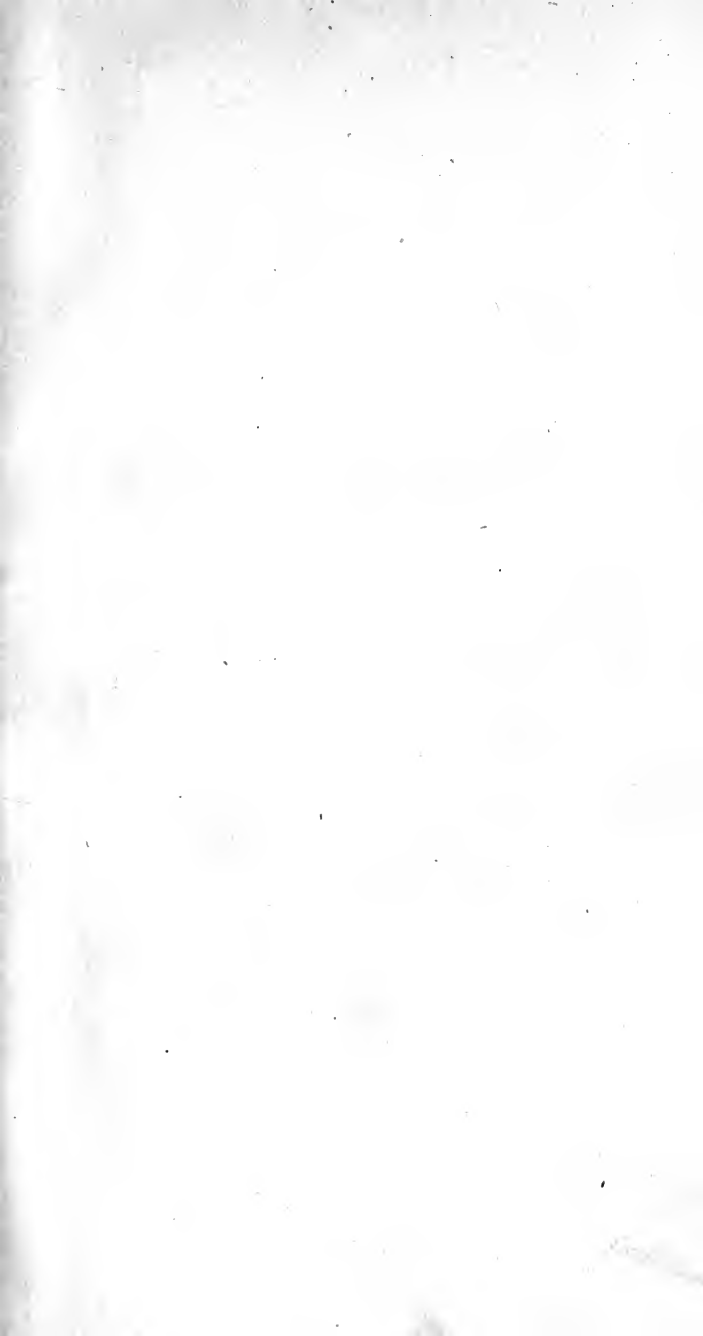
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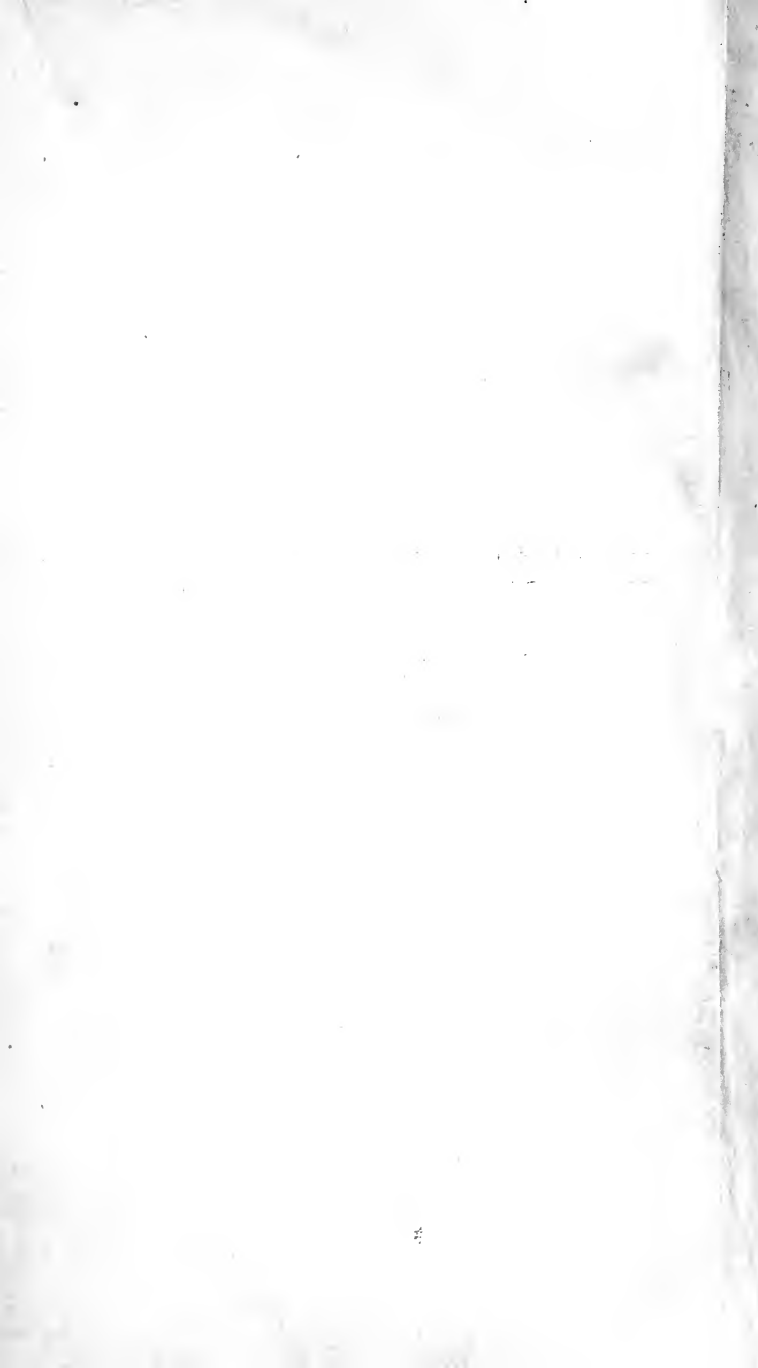
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ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

His Words and Works.



ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

His Words and Works.

PART I.

- I. EBERT'S Review of SANDRAS'S *Etude sur Chaucer, considéré comme Imitateur des Trouvères*: translated by J. W. van Rees HOETS, M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and revised by the Author.
- II. A Thirteenth-Century Latin Treatise on the *Chilindre*—"For by my *chilindre* it is prime of day" (*Shipmannes Tale*)—edited, with a Translation, by Mr Edmund BROCK, and illustrated by a woodcut of the Instrument from the Ashmole MS. 1522.

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FIRST NOTICE.

SINCE the publication of Tyrwhitt's "Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales" no book has appeared so fresh and stimulating, on the sources of Chaucer's works, as Monsieur E. G. Sandras's¹ *Etude sur Chaucer*. We have had one English opinion—not the last, I trust—on this book, in Professor Morley's *English Writers*; but as all our countrymen must needs be suspected of a strong *a priori* inclination to take sides against a writer who so greatly detracts from the originality of our great poet, as M. Sandras does, I thought it well to put before our members the judgment on this point of an impartial German critic, one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of the scholars of the Continent in such subjects—Professor EBERT. It is a

¹ Sound the final s, says a distinguished French Editor: *sans draps* means "without sheets." Follow the same rule in M. Paulin Paris's name. Compare in Henry V. act 4, "Est-il impossible d'eschapper la force de ton *Bras*?" Pistol. "*Brass*, cur, thou damned and luxurious mountain goat, offer'st me *Brass*?" Cited by the Rev. Mr Bowle, in *Archæologia*, vi. 76, with the following passage from 'Pasquier, who died at 87, in 1615:—Voyant le monde par un jugement delicat *mots proferez avec toutes leurs lettres* estre un peu trop rudes au son des oreilles, on reforma au long aller cette grossiere façon de parler en une plus douce, et au lieu d'*eschole, establir, &c.*, avec *prononciation de chaque lettre* et element, l'on s'accoustuma de dire *école, etablir, &c.*, vray que tousjours est demeuré l'ancien son en ces mots *espese* et *esperer*, mais peut estre que quelque jour viendront-ils au rang des autres, aussi bien que *de nostre temps* ce mot d'*honneste* (auquel en ma jeunesse j'ay veu prononcer la lettre de S) s'est maintenant tourné en vne E, fort long.—*Pasquier: Recherches de la France*, lviii. ch. i. 676, ed. Paris, 1633, fol.

judgment which, I think, no English student of Chaucer can read without interest and profit, whether he accepts it as just or not.

My old college-friend, Mr Van Rees Hoets, has been kind enough to translate Professor Ebert's review for us, and the author himself has been so good as to revise the translation.

The reason for printing the second Paper in this Part is, that the meaning of the word *chilindre* has long been lost, at least to editors of Chaucer. Some have read it *calendar*, others have left it out of their Glossaries, and the latest editor of the poet's works, having found it glossed *stomach* in one MS, naturally transferred the meaning to his Glossary, on the authority of that MS: "*Chilendre*, sb. stomach (the reading of one MS.*)" Mr Edmund Brock—one of the Society's copiers, to whose care and skill the Early English Text Society is so largely indebted—having found an early Latin treatise showing that the 'stomach' of the MS was in fact a kind of pocket sun-dial, it seemed well within the province of the Society to publish this Treatise, with a woodcut of the instrument, and so prevent further misconception of the word.

All such Papers and Scraps, illustrating in any way the Works, Words, and Life of Chaucer, as are too short to be published separately, will find a place in these *Essays*, and I hope for the co-operation of our members in adding to the present papers. I am sure that all who belong to the Society will join with me in thanking Prof. Ebert, Mr Hoets, and Mr Brock, for the start that they have given to this section of our work.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

2nd Dec., 1868.

* The Harl. MS 1758, leaf 160, back, reads :

"for be my *stomak* it is pryme of the day."

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Essays on Chaucer,

His Words and Works.

I.

PROFESSOR EBERT'S REVIEW

OF

E. G. Sandras's

ÉTUDE SUR CHAUCER CONSIDÉRÉ COMME
IMITATEUR DES TROUVÈRES

(PARIS, DURAND, 1859)

FROM THE

"Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur,"

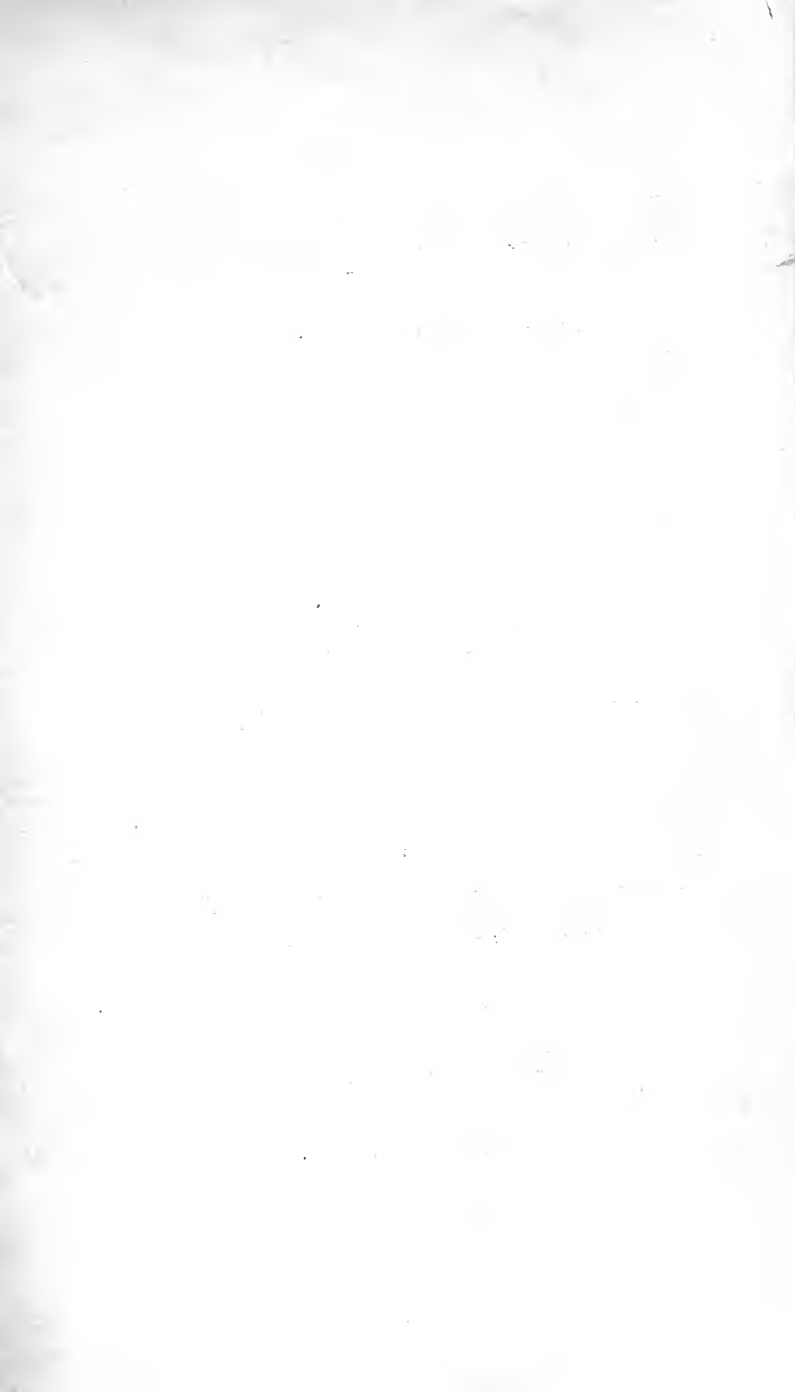
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TRANSLATED BY

JOHN W. VAN REES HOETS, M.A.,

TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE,

AND REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.



ESSAYS ON CHAUCER.

I. EBERT'S REVIEW OF SANDRAS,

TRANSLATED.

THE central point of this interesting treatise on the Father of English poetry,—of whom we still want a complete (all-sided) and thoroughly well-grounded literary-historical estimate,—lies in the investigation of the sources of his smaller, allegorical poems, and in the examination of the influences which the contemporary French poets exercised on his poetical art (*künstlerische Thätigkeit*). In this hitherto much-neglected field of Chaucer's extensive and varied art-creation the author has been successful in making many new discoveries which are of no slight literary-historical interest, through the vistas which they open to us. It is thus that the addition to the title justifies or explains itself.

A mere glance at the table of contents shows that the author has not confined himself to this field, but rather that he has taken into consideration the entire poetical production of Chaucer; and therefore also those poems of which Chaucer derived indeed the subject-matter from a French source,—but without imitating his original (the source itself not being a “*trouvère*,” that is, a French art-poet)—as well as those for which France furnished neither the material nor the example. The author appears to have not merely a too comprehensive notion of “*imitateur*” and “*trouvère*,” but also, from patriotic motives (which, how-

ever, are out of place in cosmopolitan science) seems to vindicate, more than is right, the extent of French influence, great as it in reality was. We will revert to this in particular instances. For we mean to accompany the author from the beginning, through his whole work,—tarrying here and there, in order to indicate briefly the most important results of his observations and investigations,—to interpolate our doubts and objections, and to add a few excursions of our own. For in a treatise of (comparatively speaking) such small compass, an exhaustive treatment of the subject is not to be expected. The author merely touches and gives hints on his subject, but does not work it out thoroughly and comprehensively. He aims at nothing else, at least in those cases in which he has to refer to his predecessors; but though we regret the short and sketchy treatment of those parts where the author offers us new investigations or views, we must confess that, as a rule, his judgment is grounded on a profound study of Chaucer's works, and that his well-arranged and accurate work does not merely furnish us with an excellent summary, but incites us to further investigation.

The author prefaces his work with a biography of the poet. It is known that the number of well-established facts is small; and the author has wisely shunned all that is mere hypothesis and rumour. There is, however, in our estimation, material enough in combination with his works to represent to us the Great Poet in fixed outlines in such a manner that the internal coherence of the oft-conflicting traits of his poems is clearly perceptible. It appears to us a matter of the greatest importance that Chaucer's position in life was such that he was not restricted within the narrow limits of a particular station or caste, and that Fortune favoured the complete unfolding of his rich individuality in its striving after freer development. Thus Chaucer did not belong exclusively either to the noble or to the civic class: a learned man of his time in the fullest sense

of the word, he nevertheless did not enter the clerical order; educated for the Bar, he cast aside the pen and grasped the sword to prove his manly energy; drawn into the highest court circles, possessing in an eminent degree the refinement peculiar to them, even cultivating that refinement as a poet, he yet did not allow himself to be fettered by these circles; he goes to Italy on a political mission, in order to become acquainted, at the very source, with the new literary culture which was to make young again the poetry of the world—a knowledge of the utmost importance to him in his poetical development, and which has never yet been sufficiently valued.¹ Whilst intercourse with foreign nations—for he sojourned also in France and the Netherlands—gave, on the one hand, a general character to his education, on the other hand, his later political position in his native country as a member of Parliament, and his office of Customs'-Inspector brought him into the most intimate relations, and into direct intercourse, with his fellow-countrymen. If we consider these important facts in Chaucer's life, it will by no means surprise us to find in him, on the one hand, the knightly court-poet, well endowed with learning, and, on the other hand, the popular singer who delights to make known the practical wisdom of life; not unfrequently in the one quality doing homage to a really lofty (*abstracten*) idealism, and in the other to the most solid realism. These various elements often interweave themselves in his poems in a strange manner; not unfrequently he drops involuntarily from the stately strain of lofty idealism to one which is realistic and lowly, prosaic and homely; even as the heartiness and artless originality of the Saxon speech is con-

¹ Pauli, in his *Pictures of Old England*, page 195, is an honourable exception; but he errs when he derives the seven-line stanza from the octave, and regards it, moreover, as the peculiar creation of the English poet; the old French lyrical poetry was already in possession of the stanza. (An example is also given by Sandras, p. 288.)

stantly mixed in his style with the refined elegance of the romance language, polished already in artistical, learned, and courtly hands. On the other hand, there lies also in this double nature of the poet that ironical element which is one of the most charming and most peculiar of his poetical characteristics. Only in his most important and on-the-whole genuine original work, one of the most beautiful poetical monuments of any age, those disjointed elements are welded together into one lofty whole (*Einheit*), which may therefore be considered as the result of the whole life and art culture of the man. That work, which sprung really from the very kernel of the poet's nationality, yet lifts itself up far above his nation and his age; yea, it stands forth out of the atmosphere of middle-age poetry, announcing a higher stage of art, like the works of his great Italian contemporaries. To them Chaucer is indebted for his higher artistical culture, and through that, for the full development of his poetical individuality; whilst he went only, as it were, to school to the middle-age French poets, his contemporaries, from whose trammels the example of the Italian poetry liberated him.

The author does not direct our attention to this process of the development of Chaucer's poetical genius; nor does he appear to be conscious of the great æsthetical difference between the poetry of a Boccaccio and that of a Guillaume de Lorris. As he is directly concerned with Chaucer's relation to French poetry, he fixes his eye mainly on the *subjects* of his works, whilst he endeavours to point out the sources whence Chaucer derived them; and of these the greatest part was French. He begins in the second chapter with the "Romance of the Rose," of which the translation (for such it partly is) certainly belongs to the earliest attempts of Chaucer's muse; a view which Pauli shares (*Pictures of Old England*, p. 194). The origin of the allegorical taste, the character of the remarkable work so important in a literary-historical sense, as also the relation of

the translation to the original, are pointed out in a brief but striking manner. The author justly stands up against the view taken by Warton,—which could only have been inspired by national vanity,—namely, that the translation was superior to the original. On the whole, the translation is rather marvellously faithful; but it is indeed excellent; since, in spite of its fidelity, it reads like an original. It is known that the French work comprising more than 22,000 verses, has only been translated by Chaucer to verse 13,105; the part appertaining to Guillaume de Lorris, composed in the spirit of knighthood as much as that by Jean de Meun is in the spirit of the *bourgeoisie*, comprises only 4068 verses, which correspond with Chaucer's 4432 verses. The part by Jean de Meun, comprising 9037 verses, has been rendered by Chaucer in only 3267; whilst the other 9000 verses of the same French poet, the remaining part of the Romance, are left unnoticed. This little piece of statistics, which we ourselves have compiled, is instructive, and deserves more attention, which we cannot give at present. Some one ought to investigate what part of the second division has been omitted by Chaucer, what abridged, and what enlarged. We know of no such investigation, and yet it might be of manifold interest.¹ It appears, however, from what has been said, that the knightly allegory—one may say, the allegory of love—had an altogether different charm for Chaucer than the satirico-didactic, and this, in spite of the rich satirical vein which he possessed, with a decided inclination for teaching. But only Guillaume's creation is clothed with that enamel of poetry which lends to the marble-cold allegorical figures an almost individual life in a manner truly marvellous, even as the statues amidst the shrubs of a beautiful garden under a southern sky are, as it were, inspired with life by the

¹ See however the article published, since this was written, by Mr ten Brink in the 8th Vol. of the *Jahrb. für roman-u-engl. Lit.* 1867, pag. 306.

surrounding objects of nature; for Guillaume's landscape-paintings are masterpieces of charming natural truthfulness, whilst Jean de Meun, although rich in ideas, is wanting in the magic charm of poetical representation. It is moreover a proof of Chaucer's poetical genius that he took the one for an example, and not the other, and that he did so, in spite of the special preference of his nation for satirical allegory, apparent even at that day, but more particularly in later times. How great was the influence of Guillaume on Chaucer is shown by the many reminiscences from his poetry which are found in the various works of Chaucer, as noticed by Sandras.

In the third chapter the author examines the poems which, according to his view, have been derived from both French and Italian sources (*poèmes de source italienne et française*). "Troilus and Creseide" heads the series. This poem, translated from the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio, although with alterations and additions, is reckoned by the author as coming under this head, because, in Benoit's poem of the Trojan war, this romantic love of the daughter of Calchas is first related, of which affair Dictys and Dares, in other respects Benoit's source, make no mention. Therefore the author is of opinion that Benoit is the inventor of the Fable, and thus also, at least indirectly, Chaucer's source. Moreover, Chaucer coincides clearly with Benoit (which the author does not mention) in some parts where he departs from the *Filostrato*, in the arrangement of the action of the poem. This appears in two very interesting extracts from the inedited works of Benoit, which the author produces amongst the *Pièces justificatives*, at the end of the treatise, with the object of giving a general idea of the character of Benoit's work.¹ But it is known that Guido

¹ According to Chaucer (Book V. verse 113) as well as Benoit, Diomedes declares his love to Chryseis, whilst he is accompanying her from Troy to the Greek camp, and immediately after she had parted from Troilus. Boccaccio might well consider this unseemly, especially as Diomedes' suit meets, in the end, with a favourable

de Colonna (1287) was the first after Benoit who handled this love-story, and that he did it with exactly the same features as the other. The author is forthwith prepared to make out Guido an imitator of Benoit. But our worthy fellow-labourer, M. Pey, has furnished us in this Journal (*Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, vol. i. p. 228¹) with the important proof that Guido had before him the now lost *original* of Dares, and that, in all probability, it comprised that love-story in a more detailed form than the Latin translation of Cornelius; to which we add that the invention of this Fable by Benoit, considering the manner in which it is interwoven in his work, is in the highest degree improbable.² Whether, however, those points in which Chaucer, departing from the Filostrato, coincides with Benoit, are also to be found in Guido, it is not in my power to state, as unfortunately I have not the work at hand; but the author [Sandras] leaves the whole affair in the dark, whilst he limits himself to the remark: "Le poète Anglais, outre le texte Italien, a eu sous les yeux, sinon Benoit de St Maure, certainement Guido, auquel il emprunte des détails négligés par Boccace." One sees the author has by no means gone to the bottom of the matter, and has taken things too easily; he takes no notice whatever of that Introduction by Moland and d'Héricault to

reception. According to him Diomedes does not open his heart to Chryseis till the fourth day after her arrival in the camp on occasion of a visit (Fil. vi. 9). The author, as already mentioned, has not troubled himself to point out this, though he has furnished material for it.

¹ On occasion of a review of the Introduction to the *Nouvelles Françaises du 14^e Siècle*, edited by Moland et d'Héricault (in which introduction the history of this Fable is given, as one of the novels is a translation of the Filostrato).

² The *table of contents*, comprising not less than 545 verses, which Benoit prefixes to his work, is given by Frommann, amongst many other extracts, in his Essay: Herbolt von Fritzlar und Benoit de St Maure, in the *Germania*, ii. p. 53. There it may be seen how this love-story winds through the long poem, here disappearing, there emerging again, being neither the leading fable nor a mere episode; if one or the other were the case, Benoit might perhaps, by disregarding everything else, be thought of as the inventor.

which we have alluded. And yet he ought to have justified the *source française*. With reference to the additions which are peculiar to Chaucer, namely, those which are certainly his own invention, and which occupy no little space, the author supplies still less accurate information, though the comparison which he has made of the two poems, the *Filostrato* and the *Troilus* (with results by no means incorrect) gives occasion for a guess at the importance of the additions. Although I myself have for the greater part compared both poems, it is not my object to fill up this gap, which has, I dare say, been already done by others,—for example, by Douce,—whose work is not at my command. But with regard to the nature and importance of the additions, I will state briefly what I have observed. They consist, as a rule, in enlargements of the *speeches*, which already in the original occupy so great a space, and they concern mainly the part of Pandarus; moreover, they are just those additions (namely, those of his own invention, and not drawn from other sources) which alter the characters, so that therefore this alteration belongs peculiarly to Chaucer. It is natural that the *speeches* should lay bare the whole character in the most searching manner; hence it will be easily understood that the character of Pandarus would be capable of the greatest change. The other chief characters are indeed modified by Chaucer, but that of Pandarus is altogether transformed; and it is exactly this transformation which gives to Chaucer's poem, although in a great measure a literal translation, an altogether different colour, a totally different expression. At the same time, it will not be denied that omissions, as well as slight alterations in the narrative, partly his own invention, partly borrowed, have contributed to the transformation of the poem just pointed out, though in a much less degree. The chief things, however, are those interpolations of speeches, and in the speeches. But as Chaucer, after such interpolations, continues with a literal

translation—for he proceeds with those omissions and alterations in a by no means systematic but in an altogether arbitrary manner—there arise, as may be easily imagined, the most extraordinary contradictions in the speeches themselves, and still more in the characters. Thus Pandarus, though transformed from the cousin to the uncle of Chryseis, though changed from the intimate youthful friend (who had somewhat the advantage over the demure Troilus, through a little more experience of life and love,) to a prosaic and knagging mentor, inexhaustible in proverbs and parables, and humorously blustering in the full consciousness of his superiority—Pandarus remains notwithstanding an unhappy, languishing lover, as in Boccaccio! If the part of pimp, which he plays in the poem of the latter, is by no means a worthy one—for which however some excuse may be found in his youth and intimate friendship,—that of Chaucer's Pandarus must needs make a most unfavourable impression. This is, however, somewhat softened by the fact that Chaucer makes this metamorphosed figure represent his own irony of the fantastical love of knighthood, the most decided and important feature of his work. Pandarus is in his way opposed to Troilus, as Sancho Panza is to Don Quixote; and it is remarkable, though easily explained, that the one shares also with the other the passion for quoting proverbs!¹ To give at least one sample of this irony, and therewith to make apparent the difference between the two poems, I may mention how Pandarus, in order to gain over his niece to the suit of Troilus, after he had, according to Boccaccio, declared in furtherance of his object, that Troilus would otherwise die, is made to add—

But if ye lat him deyen, I wol sterve,
Have here my trowth, and nece, I nyl nought lyen,

¹ Troilus himself mocks at it (lib. i. v. 755) :—
But suffre me my myschief to bywaylle,
For thi proverbes may me nought awaylle.

Al schold I with this knyf my throte kerve ;
 With that the teres briste oute of his eighen,
 And seyd, if that ye don us bothe deyen
 Thus gilteles, than have ye fished fayre.¹

That Chaucer's poem is altogether far behind the *Filoscato*, in an æsthetical sense, will appear undeniable after what has been said. He is wanting in every respect in unity, unity of composition as well as unity of delineation, of character, and of style, the place of which is occupied by a strange kind of *olla podrida* (*Quodlibet*). Of the *Filoscato*, on the contrary, this unity of composition and style is the peculiar ornament. This poem, as well as the *Teseide*,—of which we shall speak more fully hereafter—has never been properly valued in æsthetical criticism, or in literary history; on the contrary it has been on the whole rather neglected (how much, for instance, is said about it by Ginguené and Ruth!) Having its origin in the love of the poet himself, to which it often bears witness, it is distinguished by a truthfulness of feeling and a force of passion such as we rarely meet with in a work of art, and is represented with that picturesqueness of art which indicates an exuberance of fancy and a quickness of intuition, such as only a great poet possesses. I must bring forward another point which, so far as I know, has not before been noticed. When Chaucer incorporates a sonnet of Petrarch's in one of the monologues of Troilus, he had in this respect also (at least in a general sense) Boccaccio for an example. For we find in the letters of Troilus stanzas of the same lyrical character, which, if they have not been derived from particular sonnets, might easily be changed into such.²

¹ Lib. ii. v. 322. [*Morris*, iv. 166.] Compare with this also v. 351 :—
 And also thynke wel that [this] is no gaude,
 For me were levere that thow, and I, and he
 Were hanged, than I sholde ben his baude,
 As heigh as men *mighte* on us alle ysee.

² Such passages, however, remind us rather of Dante's than of Petrarch's Lyrics. See, by way of example, P. ii. st. 99 :

E che ch'io faccia, l'immagine bella
 Di te sempre nel cor reca un pensiero,
 Che ogn' altro caccia che l'altro favella
 Che sol di te, benchè d'altro nel vero

Emiliano-Giudici has noticed with justice how this æsthetically most important epic of Boccaccio indicates also in a marked manner the great influence of Dante on this poet. On the other hand, so far as I know, attention has never been directed to this fact, how, namely, the *Filostrato*, which exhibits the octave (which first makes its appearance in the *Teseide*) in a high and often quite perfect form, was not only a special model, in respect of form, to the succeeding epic poets, but also served as a pattern to the most important of them, Poliziano, in delineating the character of his hero, who reminds us of *Troilus* in a most striking manner.¹

But let us return, after this somewhat long digression, to the *Etude* of Monsieur Sandras. He next takes into consideration *The Knightes Tale*, under the title "Arcite and Palamon." Although a special section—the second half of the book—is devoted to the *Canterbury Tales*, the author is justified in taking this poem out of that collection, because Chaucer makes mention of it in "The Legende of Good Women," as a separate work, under the title "The Love of Palamon and Arcite," so that at a later time only can it have been incorporated, with the necessary modifications, in the cycle of the *Canterbury Tales*. As to the question in what these modifications may have consisted, especially whether Chaucer had originally translated the *Teseide* fully into "the love of Palamon and Arcite," the author disposes of it briefly with this remark: "Les changements qu'a subis la fable elle-même, permettent

All' anima non caglia, fatta ancella

Del tuo valor, nel quale io solo spero, &c.

¹ This is not the place to enter on a proof of my assertion; and it is scarcely necessary for those who are acquainted with both poems. But I cannot refrain from giving a singularly striking parallel passage. *Troilus* in *Filostrato*, P. i. st. 22: Che è a porre in donna alcuno amore? *Che come al vento si volge la foglia—Così in un dì ben mille volte il core—Di lor si volge*, etc. *Giuliano*, in *Poliziano*, Stanze L. i. st. 14. Quanto è meschin colui che cangia voglia—Per donna . . . *Che sempre è più leggier ch'al vento foglia,—E mille volte il dì vuole e disvuole*, etc.

de supposer que tout d'abord Chaucer n'a pas été plus esclave de la forme, et que le *Récit du Chevalier*, débarrassé d'incidents qui n'allaient pas au but, est à *peu près* la redaction primitive." We may agree with the premises without assenting to the *à peu près*. The whole plan of the *Teseide*, which, if we regard the principal fable, exhibits so many *hors-d'œuvres*, surely called for abridgment; but that Chaucer's first treatment held more to the original, had more the character of a translation, and was therefore more detailed, appears to me certain. This is evident from the literally translated passages scattered throughout the poem, which appear to me remains of the first version, and which were left untouched in the second revision. Tyrwhitt has already, in his notes, pointed out the greater part of those passages; not, however, some shorter and altogether fragmentary ones, and just these are perhaps of special use in confirmation of our view.¹ That our author should discuss this poem under this head,—that, namely, he should reckon it under the works of Chaucer which were derived from both French and Italian sources—is justified by him in a manner still less satisfactory than in the case of *Troilus*, which we have noticed. Let us see how the author proceeds in order to mount up to Boccaccio's original! In the first place he rejects the view that the *Teseide* is a translation of the poem *Θησεὺς καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμῆλιας*, published at Venice in 1529, as was first maintained by Granucci, whilst, on the contrary, the latter poem is a translation of the *Teseide*. The author is quite right here; but he has troubled himself needlessly; for Warton, so often cited by the author, has proved the same thing, and on exactly the same grounds, long ago. It is true that Granucci's mistake has been repeated more recently, and that by a learned man of

¹ Compare, for instance, *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Tyrwhitt, v. 1665, *The destinee, ministre general*, and *Teseide*, vi. st. 1, *L'alta ministra del mondo, Fortuna*; and moreover it should be noticed that the expression *ministre general* gives no correct sense, not in connection with what follows, and still less in itself.

note ; but it was clearly a *lapsus calami*. It would therefore have been sufficient to have reminded us merely of Warton's investigation. (For the rest the author adds a fresh example to that furnished by Warton from the Greek poem.) Thus far every one will agree with the author. But what does he go on to say ? To assume an older Greek text is for the author an hypothesis without foundation (*hypothèse sans fondement*), since it would require another hypothesis, that of a Latin translation ; as Boccaccio knew very little Greek at the time he composed the poem. There is therefore, says he, no proof that Boccaccio took his subject from the Greek ; on the other hand, he is also not the inventor, according to his own confession.¹ “ Mais qui a imaginé la fable ? Telle qu'elle se présente, avec les couleurs que Boccaccio paraît lui avoir en partie conservées ; je la rattacherais au cycle gréco-romain ; je lui ferais une place entre le Roman de Thèbes et celui de Troie. Au lieu de nous laisser aller aux conjectures, *il est plus sage de former des vœux pour la découverte d'un texte qui nous dise que cette charmante fiction est née de notre sol*” (p. 55). And has the author ventured, in consequence of this pious wish, to rank Chaucer's poem, copied from the Teseide, amongst the works derived partly from French sources ? Truly, 80 pages further on he ventures on something more, when he says : “ Chaucer a imité le Filostrato et la Théséide, poèmes qui sont, *l'un certainement (!), l'autre vraisemblément d'origine française.*” It is an instructive example to notice how these mistakes in the field of literary history arise, and are wont to grow. And not a few have sprung from just such patriotic wishes ! But however wide the limits of the dominion of

¹ This appears from a passage in Boccaccio's letter to Fiammetta, in which he dedicates the Teseide to her, and may here be quoted as being of such importance in the following investigation : *trovata una antichissima storia, e al più delle genti non manifesta, bella sì per la materia, della quale parla, che è d'amore, e sì per coloro, de' quali dice che nobili giovani furono e di real sangue discesi, in latino volgare e in rima acciocchè più dilettaſſe, e massimamente a voi. . . desiderando di piacervi, ho ridotta.* (Ed. Florence, 1831.)

French influence in the middle ages,—and we acknowledge that French literature possessed at that time the command of the world,—we are nevertheless unable to share the hope of the author in the case before us. Rather, in our estimation, there cannot be the least doubt, after a close examination, that Boccaccio's poem flowed from a *Greek* source.¹ The whole character of the Fable, in its general as well as in its particular features, points to a Greek origin. Not merely is the scene in Greece, but the poem stands in the closest relation to the Hero legends of that land; yea, has evidently been called forth by the recollection of them: the principal heroes of the poem—one of whom, Palemon, is no doubt called after a descendant of Cadmus, the son of Ino—are cousins, and “the last of Theban blood” (Tes. v. st. 59), being withal the most intimate friends, who love each other as brothers; their combat, which at Palemon's desire was originally to have been for life or death, reminds us of the combat of the brothers Eteokles and Polynikes, as well as of that of the cousins Laodamas and Thersander; Theseus's expedition to Thebes is described in the second of the two introductory Books of the poem; at the conquest of Thebes both the friends became his prisoners. I will merely call to mind here the constant and numerous allusions to the legends of Thebes and Troy, which presuppose the most intimate acquaintance with them in all their particulars, not only in the poet, but (and this should be specially noted) also in the reader. I do not however lay so much stress on this, as it might occur to some one or other to place them all to the account of Boccaccio, an objection which (for want of space) I should not be able to refute in every particular instance.² Greek mythology

¹ Not direct, but from Statius, says Mr Ward; and he'll prove it.—F.

² To give at least one example of such allusions: Emilie bestows amongst other things, a chain on Palemon, the peculiar qualities of which are merely indicated by comparing it with that of Amphiraus. Tes. ix. st. 70:

also is not merely intermingled with the fable in a general way, but, what is far more important for our proof, is united with it in the most intimate manner. The catastrophe itself is a work of the gods. The Fury "Erinnys" appears at the command of Venus; and at her terrible appearance the horse of Arcite shies, so that, overbalancing himself, he wounds his rider mortally. Venus and Mars, the one the tutelar deity of Palemon, the other of Arcite, had agreed between themselves, according to the manner of the Homeric gods, as to the issue of the combat. But it is still more important that the poem does not show even a trace of Christianity; rather, the religious consciousness which it displays appertains throughout to Greek paganism. The highest world-power is *Fortuna*, Fate. This observation, which requires no proof here, as the reading of the poem itself confirms it (see, for instance, vi. 1; vii. 1; also v. 80, etc.), leads necessarily to the important result that the composition of the *original* reaches back to a more remote age, as the poet who wrote it was evidently not a Christian. The manners and customs also are throughout Greek, and so are the sacrifices in the temples, the oracles, the funeral solemnities with their combats. And this adoration of the gods and the departed occupies whole songs, and is represented in the minutest detail. The decisive duel itself, with its triumphal procession, is no western tournament, but a combat in the circus (*teatro*), fought out, not by the two antagonists alone, who hardly meet together in person at all, but by whole multitudes who follow them.¹ This

Appresso una collana simigliante
 A quella, per la qual si seppe il loco
 U Anfiarao si stava latitante,
 Lieta gli diè, dicendo, etc., etc.

This allusion, for instance, cannot be Boccaccio's work, for we should then have to accept the whole passage to which it refers as being his invention—which, for many reasons, is highly improbable.

¹ Arcite obtains the victory, whilst Palemon is bitten and thrown on the ground by a horse of Cronis (one of his antagonists), which recollects having eaten men (*che si ricordava gli uomini mangiar*). Tes. viii. st. 120.

last circumstance may perhaps serve to fix more accurately the time when the original was composed. Might it not refer to the faction-fights of the circus at Constantinople? We should then have more reason to regard the close of the 5th century as the time when it was written. Boccaccio himself also points in the 2nd stanza of his poem to an earlier age, as well as to a Greek source.¹ In my opinion, to speak briefly, a Greek Romance in prose was Boccaccio's source. The prose composition of the original is indicated by the expression "*storia*," which Boccaccio also employs in the introductory letter to *Fiammetta* to designate the original; likewise also by the *e in rima* of that introduction;² and still more surely by the composition of the whole, as well as the treatment of particular parts.³ At the same time we find here again the peculiar characteristics of the Greek Romance, about which M. du Méril has enlarged with as much learning as critical acumen in the introduction to his edition of *Floire et Blanceflore*, and just those which are of an altogether objective nature; such are the falling in love at first sight (*dès la première rencontre l'amour éclate subitement, comme un coup de tonnerre, l. 1, cxxiv.*), the solution by a *deus ex machinâ*, the prediction of the end, the *déguisements* (compare l. l., especially cxcv.). It is also certain that

¹ The author does not appear to have paid the least attention to this:—

Chè m'è venuta voglia con pietosa
Rima di scriver *una storia antica*,
Tanto negli anni riposta e nascosa,
Che latino autor non par ne dica,
Per quel ch'io senta, in libro alcuna cosa.

If therefore the "*storia*" is so old that no *Latin* writer speaks of it, it must needs follow that it was written by a Greek.

² See note 1, page 17. These words (*e in rima*) are wanting in older editions; for instance, that of the *Parnaso Italiano*: Venezia, 1820, vol. xv.

³ The latter is of a decided prosaic nature. See, for instance, *Tes. v. st. 20, &c.* Such passages are strikingly different in tone from the rest of the performance, as they are nothing but versified prose. As regards the composition, however, it is necessary to bear in mind the first two books, and their relation to the whole.

the heroes display refinement of culture and regard for what is expedient (see the speeches of the two friends, iv. st. 45); but these might be put to the account of Boccaccio. Lastly, it may be observed that also the æsthetical fundamental idea of the work, the conflict of love with friendship, bears witness to its Greek origin, in which respect our fable reminds us of "Athis and Prophilias."¹ With regard to the question whether Boccaccio was in a position to work after a Greek original, it may be answered in the negative, for the knowledge of the original may easily have been imparted to him by means of a Latin translation, perhaps made for this very purpose, a process for which other examples even of a documentary nature are found.²

But that, after what has been stated, it is impossible to think of a *French* origin of the Fable of Teseide, will, I trust, be conceded by every reader; perhaps also that it is difficult to believe with the author that Boccaccio, in his portrait of Emilia, copied the Lady Oyseuse of Guillaume de Lorris, the allegorical figure of the Romance of the Rose. The resemblance is indeed striking; both, clad in green, wear a wreath; both have light (blonde) hair, a straight nose, a small mouth, a chin with a dimple, and arched eyebrows with a wide space between.³ This last feature is re-

¹ See, concerning the latter poem, Du Ménil, l. 1, cxxiii.; W. Grimm, in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1846, p. 394, &c., and in Haupt's Journal, xii. p. 185, &c.

² I am not in a position to enter on the difficult inquiry how Boccaccio may have gone to work in his treatment of the Greek source. The question is all the more difficult as it is impossible to know what transformation the original work may have undergone in a Latin version, which it is very likely that Boccaccio employed. It is known that the description of the abode of Mars (book vii.) is taken from the *Thebais* of Statius; and in the choice of words Boccaccio follows Statius so closely that he must have had the original before him, or at all events a *Latin* version.

³ Sorcis votis—Son entr'oil ne fus pas petis—Ans iert assez grans par mesure. . . Sotto la quale (sc. fronte) in volta tortuosa—quasi di mezzo cerchio terminata—Eran due ciglia . . . che una lata—Bianchezza si vedea lor dividendo (Tes. xii. st. 55);—arched eyebrows were a special characteristic of the Byzantine style of art!

markable in itself, and still more so in the coincidence of the two poets, and therefore demands a thorough consideration, especially as one cannot assent to the apparently so simple and yet so improbable explanation of the author.¹

Lastly, the author rejects most justly the English view, namely, that Chaucer has improved on the original in his treatment of the Teseide. Exactly the reverse is the case.² He has, in reality, diminished its poetic merit, and not even in the interest of a prosaic probability. His poem is more unpoetical, and at the same time less true. The idea of the fable is spoiled, its finest features are omitted,—for instance, that Palemon, when looking for Arcite in the wood, in order to do battle with him, and finding him sleeping, waits till he awakes of his own accord; prosaic motives occupy the place of poetical ones, &c. In short, in the opinion of an unprejudiced person, of even the least æsthetical culture, there can be no question as to which poet deserves here the prize. This question, however, has in itself no interest; rather this other: how did it happen that Chaucer, whom as a poet we value as high as Boccaccio, should have acted thus? I know not if this question has been already answered, or even suggested. To answer it thoroughly would be not merely of interest, but of importance. There are three points which should be postulated in treating this subject: 1st, Chaucer's peculiar poetical individuality in opposition to that of Boccaccio; 2nd, The difference of his culture, not only from that

¹ Want of space prevents me at present from entering on this investigation, but I hope to find another opportunity for it; and, in addition, to consider another parallel passage, the description of the garden of Venus, by Guillaume de Lorris and Boccaccio. But let it be remarked here, that the influence of Byzantine literature on that of Western Europe has, for the greater part, not yet been determined; and that influence is far greater, that is, deeper, than is suspected. No one can be surprised at the great blank which indicates the extent of our knowledge in that direction, when we consider how little even the *Latin* literature of the middle ages is known, investigated, and valued.

² Mr Henry Ward has something to say on this point. See also Prof. Morley's *English Writers*, vol. ii. Pt. 1.—F. J. F.

of Boccaccio, but, what is of more importance, from that out of which the Teseide sprang ; 3rd, The interpolation of the poem in the cycle of the Canterbury Tales, which not only necessitated some important abridgments, but also a modification in the recital, on account of the character of the narrator (the knight) and his surroundings. Chaucer *was obliged* to give, as it were, a middle-age version of this antique-modern story. As related by Boccaccio it would in no way have fitted the mouth of his knight ; but I doubt, at the same time, whether Chaucer, even had he acted independently, could or would, on the whole, have treated the subject in a different manner, considering the difference of his culture and individuality ; and thus an accurate comparison of the two poems with respect to the second point we have noticed, might furnish also a proof in favour of the Greek origin of the fable.

Lastly, *the Court of Love* and *the Assemble of Foules*¹ are brought forward amongst the poems derived from both Italian and French sources. In the first, the portrait of Rosiall is said to be a copy of the Emilia of the Teseide, of which it certainly reminds us much more than Emilia herself of Dame Oyseuse. At the same time, however, Rosiall shows many peculiar traits, which, because they are far from those of an *ideal* beauty, make it manifest to me that the poet was drawing the picture of a fair one dear to his heart, even though, in many respects, he idealized it, and then perhaps after the pattern of Emilia. Moreover, this is perhaps another indication that the hero of the poem, Philogenet, is Chaucer himself. But we are not able, with the author, to find in the prayer addressed to Venus an imitation of a passage in the *Filstrato* (iii. st. 74, &c.), scarcely even a reminiscence of it. With regard to the French sources of this poem, the author refers to the *Romance of the Rose* (ed. Méon, i. p.

¹ Mr Bradshaw does not allow *The Court of Love* to be Chaucer's.—F.

83) in the case of the Statutes of Love, and to Condé's *Débat des Chanoinesses et Bernardines* in that of the Parliament of Briddes. Here, however, we may go further than the author, and believe that Chaucer was indebted to French examples for the very idea of the poem, whilst they on their part followed the lead of the Latin allegorical poetry. I refer, in the first case, by way of example, to the "Paradise of Love," of which mention is made by Le Grand d'Aussy (3rd ed. ii. 254), and to which I have directed attention on another occasion (*Jahrbuch*, vol. ii. 297); and in the other case to the *Architrenius* of Johann von Hauteville, in which the palace of Venus and Cupid is described. With regard to the Assemble of Foules, an interesting discovery is brought forward by the author. The *roundel* sung by the birds (v. 673, &c.), whose *note ymakid was in Fraunce*, and of which the first verse, according to Chaucer, ran thus: *Qui bien aime a tard oublie*, has been found by the author, together with the music, in a manuscript of Machault's. Besides this Rondeau, the author mentions also a ballad strophe of E. Deschamp's, which has exactly the same refrain.

In the fourth chapter the author passes on to the study of the poems derived exclusively from French sources. He introduces the subject by pointing out the above-mentioned Machault, the poet to whom Chaucer, in this particular branch, owes the most, as the chief representative of the French poetry of the 14th century, namely, that Epigoni¹ poetry, of a courtly-allegorical style, and he endeavours to get him acknowledged as such. Guillaume de Machault (1295-1377) has been so little noticed until the present

¹ Epigoni (Ἐπίγονοι), that is, the heirs or descendants. By this name ancient mythology understands the sons of the seven heroes who had undertaken an expedition against Thebes, and had perished there. Ten years after that catastrophe, the descendants of the seven heroes went against Thebes to avenge their fathers, and this war is called the war of the Epigoni. . . The war of the Epigoni was made the subject of epic and tragic poems. L. Schmitz, in *Smith's Dictionary*.—F.

time that his name has not once been recorded in literary history. Froissart was, according to our author, not merely a pupil, but an imitator (*copiste*) of Machault—a too severe judgment in our opinion; it was he, however, who succeeded in making the poetry of his master familiar to England, and even at court. Those of Chaucer's poems in which his influence appears, are all of a courtly character, and have a special reference to the Lancaster family. In *Chaucer's Dreame*¹ the chief poetical ornaments of which are Keltic legends partly through the medium of the Lais of Marie de France, the starting-point is said to be borrowed from Machault's *Dit du Lyon*²; but for this no proof is furnished. The "Book of the Duchess" appears, according to the researches of the author, a most remarkable piece of Mosaic, composed chiefly of reminiscences from the Romance of the Rose and Machault's two poems *la Fontaine amoureuse* and *le Remède de Fortune*. On this point there is no lack of interesting and convincing proofs. For the idea of that charming poem *the Flower and the Leaf*³ Chaucer is indebted to Eustache Deschamps (1340—1410), a pupil and nephew of Machault. In two ballads,—one of which, brought to light by Tarbé, is dedicated to Philippa of Lancaster; the other, first published here by Sandras,—Deschamps compares the flower with the leaf, and gives the prize to the flower; in a third (as yet unpublished) ballad, he, like Chaucer, gives it to the leaf. But the commencement of Chaucer's poem is imitated from Machault's *Dit du Vergier*, in some places even with a literal rendering; the conclusion reminds one of the *Lai du Trot*. With all this the author justly praises the poem, since the principal idea is developed with perfect spontaneity, in a manner peculiar to the poet. With regard to the *Complaint of the Black*

¹ Which is clearly not Chaucer's, says Mr Bradshaw, and I think so too.—F. J. F.

² It is certainly not so borrowed, says M. Paul Meyer.—F.

³ Mr Bradshaw does not allow this poem to be Chaucer's.—F.

Knight,¹ which poem is exactly like Froissart's *Dit du bleu chevalier*, the author abstains from giving an opinion as to the question of priority. The French origin of the poem "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale" is easily to be recognized by the cry of the latter, *Ocy, Ocy*; and still more by means of the explanation of it (v. 131, &c.). Though the author conjectures the same origin in the case of Chaucer's A B C, he is not able to point to the precise original, which however the Chevalier de Chatelain, the latest translator of the *Canterbury Tales*, has succeeded in doing (Vol. iii. of this translation, 1861): it is a hitherto unknown poem of Guillaume de Guilleville.

In the 5th chapter the author considers briefly Chaucer's imitation of the ancients in *Annelida and Arcite*, the *Legende of good Women*, and the *House of Fame*. As to the first poem, of which the source is to a great extent obscure, the author is not able to give any new explanation; as regards the others, we are obliged, for want of space, to refer to the book itself.

For the same reason we can only refer very briefly to the most important points in the second part of the treatise, which is entirely devoted to the celebrated *Tales*. Besides, here the author's statements, as he himself declares, rest in reality on the studies of his predecessors. The author believes that the idea of the composition of the *Canterbury Tales* is not due to the *Decameron*, but to the *Disciplina clericalis*, and the *Romance of the Seven Wise Men*. No real proof whatever is given. To me this view is by no means obvious; I rather discover in it a fresh proof of that misconception or undervaluing of the importance of Italian art as contrasted with that of the middle ages, which France represents in such power and fulness,—to which I have already alluded. The author delineates in the first place the forms and characters of the pilgrims, whilst he inter-

¹ More generally called *The Complaynte of a Ioveres Lyffe* (ed. Morris, vi. 235). Mr Bradshaw holds that it is not Chaucer's.—F.

weaves ample and well-translated extracts from the poem, in his elegant sketch, and draws attention, here and there, to analogous characteristics of the *Trouvères*. Even here he still discovers reminiscences from the *Romance of the Rose*, but not always with justice, though such parallel passages are nevertheless of considerable interest.¹ Lastly, he considers the sources of the *Tales*, distinguishing them in three classes: *Legends*, *Breton Lays*, and *Fabliaux*: to which is added, by way of supplement, a fourth class, embracing all the remaining tales. As to the way in which Chaucer availed himself of these sources, the author in conclusion sums up his opinion to this effect: "J'ai constaté que, dans les légendes, le poète suit ordinairement le texte; que, dans les lais bretons, il mêle l'érudition et la satire à l'élément chevaleresque; qu'enfin, dans les fabliaux, tout en se conformant au canevas primitif, il devient créateur, à la manière de *La Fontaine*, dans l'apologue, par la poésie des détails, par l'éloquence si variée qu'il prête aux différents personnages, et par la profondeur et la vérité des caractères." As the last sentence shows, the author knows well enough how to acknowledge Chaucer's poetical merits, even though he may not always have known where to discover them; and it is by no means his object to put Chaucer in the shade; but since it is the special design of his book to point out what, and how much, Chaucer owed to *French* poetry (which, in fact, the title indicates in the one-sided or exaggerated addition: "*imitateur des trouvères*"), he allows himself to be carried away too easily in rejecting, on the one hand, other influences, when they come into collision with the French, and in ascribing, on the other hand, to the latter a greater importance than is due to them. This

¹ Thus, in describing the dress of the *Squier*, Chaucer is said to have copied the garments of the "*Dieu d'amours*." For in Chaucer (v. 89, &c.) we read: "Embrouded was he, as it were a mede—alle full of freshe floures, white and rede;" in the *Romance of the Rose* (v. 887, &c.): *Fu la Robe de toutes pars—Portraite et ovrée de flors—Par diverseté de colors. Flors i avait de maintes guises, &c.*

shows itself again in this section of the book. Thus in one place the author believes that Chaucer had probably not known the Decameron at all—he who did not merely avail himself of so many of Boccaccio's works, but actually translated them! Subjects which have been treated by Fabliaux-poets and by Boccaccio, are put down as inventions of the former, made use of by Boccaccio and Chaucer, whilst, in fact, the only thing that is *certain* is a priority in the treatment of the subject, which may have had quite a different origin, and may therefore have come to Boccaccio and Chaucer through different channels. Instead of assertions it would have been better to have given proofs! Thus, for instance, M. Sandras says it is falsely maintained that Chaucer, in the Frankleyn's Tale, had copied Boccaccio's novel of the Magic Garden, which he put forth first in Filocapo, and afterwards abridged in the Decameron, x. 5, because the fact is that both have drawn from the same source. Chaucer, M. Sandras goes on to say, mentions the source of the tale: a Breton Lay. And, we ask, does Boccaccio mention the same? No. The conclusion therefore is premature, and without further proof, false. Chaucer may have drawn from the Breton Lay, as Tyrwhitt also thinks; but it does not follow that Boccaccio also did; on the contrary, it is even possible that he took the subject from a source which, in fact, was the source of the Lay itself!

Interesting as is the Treatise of M. Sandras, and little as he is wanting in new and well-established results, it is nevertheless advisable to accept his statements only with the necessary critical caution.

29

II.

A LATIN TREATISE

ON THE

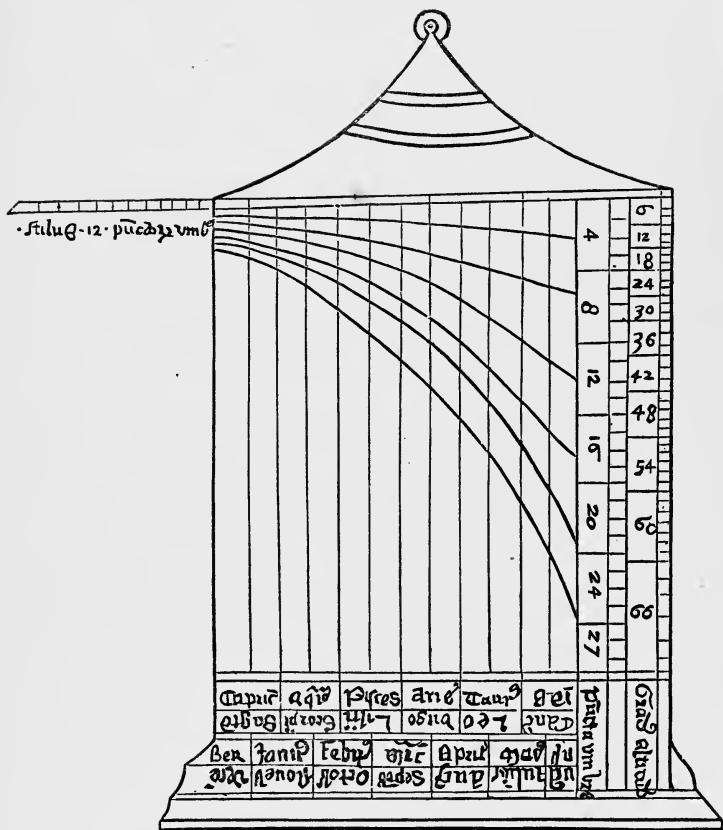
CHILINDRE

(XIII. CENTURY).

EDITED WITH TRANSLATION

BY

Edmund Brock.



[CHILINDRE]

[From Ashmole MS 1522, leaf 181, back.]

P R E F A C E.

Goth now 3our way, quod he al stille and softe,
 And let vs dyne as sone as 3e may,
 ffor by my *chilindre* it is prime of day¹.

CHAUCER, *Shipman's Tale*, Harl. MS 7334, leaf 196, bk.

Passed the throp of Bowtoñ on þe ble,
 By my *chilyndre* I gan anoñ to se,
 Thorgh þe sonne þat ful cler gan shyne,
 Of þe clok that it drogh to nyne.

LYDGATE, *Siege of Thebes*, Arundel MS 119, leaf 18.

THE *Chilindre* (*chilindrus*²) or cylinder is one of the manifold forms of the sun-dial, very simple in its construction, but rude and inaccurate as a time-shower. According to the following treatise, it consists of a wooden cylinder, with a central bore from top to bottom, and with a hollow

¹ Mr Skeat says:—Prime of day by the *chilindre* can only mean the *end*, not the beginning, of the first hour; for the beginning of the first hour is *sunrise*, when no *chilindre* is needed, or can be used. But at the *end* of the first hour the shadow comes to the mark 1. The time then is 7 A.M., if at the equinoxes; 5.7 A.M., if at midsummer; and 8.46 A.M., if at midwinter; unless *prime* be taken for the first *quarter* of the day, ending at 9 A.M. at the equinoxes.

² The form *chilindrus*, not *cylindrus*, is used throughout the tract in the three British Museum copies, and, to judge from the extracts given in the catalogues, in other copies also. The same form of the word is retained as late as 1524, as the following extract shows: Sed umbram uersam uocamus umbram, quam res horizontis superficiei æquidistans efficit in superficiei orthogonali super horizontem: uelut est umbra stili in pariete aut *chilindro*. *Elucidatio Fabricæ Vsusque Astrolabii*, Ioanne Stoflerino *autore*. Fol. Oppenheim, 1524, leaf 69. I consider these sufficient grounds for retaining *chilindre* as a special name for this instrument.

space in the top, into which a moveable rotary lid with a little knob at the top is fitted. This lid is also bored in the centre, and a string passed through the whole instrument. Upon this string the chilindre hangs when in use. The style or gnomon works on a pin fixed in the lid. When the instrument is in use, the style projects at a right angle to the surface of the cylindrical body, through a notch in the side of the lid, but can, at pleasure, be turned down and slipt into the central bore, which is made a little wider at the top to receive it. The body of the chilindre is marked with a table of the points of the shadow, a table of degrees for finding the sun's altitude, and spaces corresponding to the months of the year and the signs of the zodiac. Across these spaces are drawn six oblique hour-lines. To ascertain the time of day by the chilindre, consider what month it is, and turn the lid round till the style stands directly over the corresponding part of the chilindre; then hold up the instrument by the string so that the style points towards the sun, or, in other words, so that the shadow of the style falls perpendicularly, and the hour will be shown by the lowest line reached by the shadow.

The text of this little treatise, now printed for the first time, is taken from Arundel MS 292. It has been collated, for the purpose of correcting and completing it, with two other copies, one in Egerton MS 843, the other in Cotton MS Vitellius A i. At least three other copies exist, one at Cambridge in the University Library MS II. i. 13, another in Oxford University MS XLI., a third in Ashmole MS 1522.

There is a paragraph on the marking of the chilindre in Cambridge Univ. MS II. i. 15,¹ which Mr Bradshaw was kind enough to copy and send me through Mr Furnivall;

¹ This MS once belonged to Dan Michel of Northgate, Canterbury, the author of the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, and still bears his cypher, the same as that in his autograph MS of the *Ayenbite*, Arundel MS 57. The cypher consists of a capital M and L combined, with a smaller I above. See Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.

but, as it differs little from a part of the present tract on the same subject, I have not considered it necessary to print it here. Another copy of this is contained in Camb. Univ. MS Hh. vi. 8, and a third in Egerton MS 843. Additional MS 24,010 contains a treatise on the use of the sphere, written in 1551 or 1552, part of which is headed *Fabricatio Horolog[i]orum*. In this at leaf 61, back, I find the following direction, accompanied by a square diagram¹ showing how to mark the cylinder, and a sketch of the complete instrument:—

Compositio Cylindri.

Ducatur in plano quadratum, idque secundum latitudinem diuidatur in 7 partes; interuallum primum pertinet ad inscriptionem numerorum, secundum attribuitur ∞ et Π , tertium 8 et Ω , &c. Vmbram horarum singularium accipe ex quadrante supra posito, et signato illam in lineis signorum, deinde pu[n]cta quæque proxima coniunge linea &c., ut docet te sequens figura.

Besides the sketch mentioned above, there is another in Camb. Univ. MS Hh. vi. 8, a tracing of which Mr D. Hall kindly made for me. Neither of these, however, gives so full a representation of the instrument as a drawing in Ashmole MS 1522, which I have chosen for the woodcut. It is needful to observe that the cut gives at one view the whole surface of the body, which causes it to be at least double its proper width in proportion to the height, that it places the signs above the months, and otherwise deviates from the directions of our treatise. The knob at the top of the lid seems to be replaced by a ring; if so, there would be no need of the central bore, since the instrument might be suspended by the ring; the lid, however, would need to be fastened on in some way. The numerals of the MS are modernized in the cut to make them more intelligible.

¹ Compare Florio's definition, pointed out by Mr Viles: *CILINDRO, a kinde of diall or square figure.*

I have to thank Mr Bradshaw for pointing out three of the MSS mentioned above, and the Lydgate passage, Mr D. Hall for referring me to Stoflerinus, for the tracing of the Cambridge drawing, &c., Mr G. Parker for the tracing from which the woodcut was taken, and Mr Skeat for the notes printed with the translation and for other help. To all these gentlemen I am much obliged.

EDMUND BROCK.

Upper Holloway, April, 1869.

ABBREVIATIONS, &c.

C. = Cotton MS Vitellius A i.

E. = Egerton MS 843.

MS in the various readings always means Arundel MS 292.

DE COMPOSICIONE CHILINDRI.

[*Arundel MS 292, leaf 106—109 b.*]

Inuestigantibus chilindri compositionem, qui dicitur orologium uiatorum. Sumendum est lingnum maxime solidum, minime¹ porosum, equale, non nodosum; arte uertitoris circumuertendum quousque eius superficies rotunda fuerit et undique planissima, tam in superiori parte chilindri quam in inferiori, et medio equalis² grossiciei. Quod si sit tale, de facili per filum potest perpendi, base in inferiori³ eius parte decenter composita, alciore aliquantulum corporis superficie. Et infra alteram extremitatem, scilicet in capite chilindri, fiat unum⁴ spacium rotundum, parum profundum, superficie corporis exterius illesa remanente; in quo spacio pars circuitus cóóperculi interius concaui ad proporcionem dicti spacij constructa apte ingrediendo. Spacium, á centro [suo]⁵ per medium usque [ad]⁵ centrum basis perforatum, cóóperiat cóóperculo per medium⁶ noduli in summitate uertitoris arte constructi [perpendiculariter]⁷ perforato, vt foramen cóóperculi corespondeat foramini corporis; foramine tamen corporis in parte superiori existente laciore, vt laqueus post construccionem chilindri una cum stilo siue nothro ingredi foramen possit competenter. Per iam dicta habebitur chilindri compositio⁸ sufficiens.

¹ E. non.

² MS medie equans, E. medio equalis, C. in medio equalis.

³ MS superiore, E. C. inferiori.

⁴ E. C. omit.

⁵ From E. C.

⁶ E. modum.

⁷ From C.

⁸ MS apposicio, E. C. compositio.

¶ Restat ut de figuracione eiusdem incipiamus. Figuratur autem sic chilindrus: totum corpus in circuitu pedibus circini per 7 partes diuidas equales, scilicet¹ per 7 puncta, ita quod a duobus punctis protrahas duas lineas á summitate chilindri usque ad basim, et alteram lineam in medio earum á summitate usque deorsum. Et tunc erunt duo spacia equaliter diuisa. Et ut apcius fiat, iuxta primam lineam, scilicet dextram prope, protrahas lineam a summo usque deorsum illi equedistantem; infra quas a summitate usque deorsum gradus ex transuerso paulatim augendo figurari debent, ut postea patebit. Et in spacio iam facte linéé proximo numerus graduum per sextas uel² per quintas aptissime conscribatur. Et p[ro]pe mediam lineam versus sinistram similiter alia linea equedistans a summo [usque]³ in deorsum protrahatur; infra quas puncta umbre uerse⁴ equalia, ut postea patebit, ex transuerso inserantur. Et in spacio sinistro numerus punctorum umbre, per bina ad⁵ bina addendo, apte collocetur; per que cuiuslibet rei erecte⁶ super terram altitudo per suam umbram potest perpendi, ut postea patebit. Patebit etiam quid sit umbra uersa, et umbra extensa in subsequentibus. Hijs itaque lineis sic⁷ protractis, separabis in inferiori parte illius corporis tantum spacium ex transuerso ad minus, quantum est inter primam lineam dextram et quartam uersus sinistram, que fuit equedistans medie, protrahendo lineam in circuitu á linea predicta dextra usque ad sinistram [et]³ aliam in inferiori parte corporis in circuitu similiter super basim. Infra quas sit iam dictum spacium in quo menses et signa debent inscribi; quod spacium per lineam mediam prioribus equedistantem in circuitu apte diuidatur. Et inter illam mediam et supremam lineam protrahatur una linea illis equedistans in circuitu. Ad huc inter illam mediam [lineam]⁸ et inferiorem, que est super basim, protrahatur alia linea illis

¹ MS et, E. C. scilicet.² MS et, E. uel.³ From E.⁴ MS reuerse, E. C. uerse.⁵ E. et, C. et per.⁶ MS recte, E. C. erecte.⁷ MS supra, E. C. sic.⁸ From C.

equedistans ; et sic complentur omnes 5 linéé transuersales in inferiore parte chilindri facte in predicto spacio ; in quo sunt modo 4 spacia per dictas lineas equaliter diuisa. Postea protrahantur 6¹ linéé equedistantes a summo sex¹ diuisionum primo factarum² usque deorsum ad lineam primam transuersalem ; et alias³ sex lineas medias illis equedistantes consimili modo usque ad eandem lineam transuersalem protrahere non omittas ; ita quod in uniuerso tunc in vi diuisionibus sint duodecim linéé a summo chilindri usque ad dictam⁴ lineam transuersalem equaliter protracte⁵. Et linea proxima prime linéé dextre in principio protracte, stans super primam lineam transuersalem, transeat equaliter deorsum per medium illius et etiam per medium linéé transuersalis sibi proxime usque ad [mediam]⁶ lineam transuersalem, linea sibi⁷ proxima uersus dextram stante super primam lineam transuersalem ; et sic de ceteris lineis usque ad numerum⁸ punctorum, semper altera transeat usque ad mediam, et altera stet super lineam [primam]⁹ transuersalem. Et quelibet linea stans super [primam lineam]⁹ transuersalem habeat lineam sibi equaliter¹⁰ corespondentem á media transuersali usque ad finalem.

In spacijs autem per iam dictas lineas in inferiore parte chilindri distinctis¹¹ omnes menses anni et singna illis corespondencia sic debent describi¹²: in [superiori]⁹ spacio proximo sub prima linea transuersali, quod spacium est uersus dextram post primam lineam factam in chilindro, scribatur ultima medietas Decembris. Et ratio huius est, quia tunc incipiunt dies crescere. Et in proximo spacio sub illo, scilicet super lineam mediam [transuersalem]⁹, scribatur alia medietas eiusdem mensis, ordine retrogrado, quia in illa

¹ E. C. quinque.² E. predictarum, C. prefactarum.³ MS has, E. alias.⁴ MS dextram, E. C. dictam.⁵ MS protractate, E. C. protracte.⁶ From E. C.⁷ E. similiter, C. sibi.⁸ E. inum, C. numerum.⁹ From E.¹⁰ E. C. linealiter.¹¹ MS distantis, E. C. distinctis.¹² MS describi, C. describi.

medietate dies decrescere comprobantur. Hoc facto, in sequenti spacio post finem Decembris. Ianuarius scribatur [processiue]¹, et sub eo Nouember² ordine retrogrado; consequenter Februarius superius processiue, October inferius retrograde; postea Marcus superius processiue, September inferius retrograde; postea Aprilis superius processiue, Augustus inferius retrograde; postea Maius ordine processiuo, Iulius econtrario; vltimo [spacio]¹ Iunij prima medietas processiue, quia dies adhuc crescunt, et alia medietas ordine retrogrado, quia tunc dies decrescunt. Aptissime literis subtilibus conscribantur. Et quia in medio singulorum mensium singna oriuntur, hoc signum Capricornus in quo dies crescunt, Decembri³ corespondens, sub linea transuersali media in toto spacio usque ad proximam⁴ lineam ordine processiuo conscribatur; et sub eo Saggiarius ordine retrogrado inseratur; postea Aquarius ordine processiuo, sub eo Scorpio⁵ econtrario; deinde Pisces⁶ superius, Libra econtrario inferius; postea Aries superius, Virgo econtrario inferius; quinto Taurus superius processiue, Leo inferius retrograde; sexto et vltimo Gemini superius, et Cancer inferius retrograde imprimantur.⁷ Et notandum vniuersaliter quod signa et menses, in quibus dies⁸ crescunt, scribuntur⁹ processiue; singna vero et menses in quibus dies decrescunt, retrograde. Et in hoc terminatur insertio mensium et singnorum artificialiter in chilindro.

¶ Restat ut pu[n]eta umbre uerse in loco sibi [in corpore chilindri]¹ deputato¹⁰ aptissime inseramus. Et primo quid sit punctus, et que umbra uersa, et que extensa uideamus. Et est umbra extensa, secundum Arsachel in suis Canonibus, umbra omnis rei erecte super faciem terre per lineam directam. Punctus uero est duodecima pars status illius rei

¹ From E.² MS Nouembris, E. C. Nouember.³ MS Decembre, E. C. Decembri.⁴ E. C. paruam.⁵ E. C. Scorpius.⁶ MS Piscis, E. C. Pisces.⁷ E. imprimatur, C. inprimatur.⁸ MS signa in quibus dies et menses.⁹ MS scribentur, E. C. scribuntur.¹⁰ MS reputato, E. C. deputato.

erecte ; et similiter punctus umbre est duodecima pars status illius umbre. Cum igitur interrogatus fueris quot pu[n]cti sint¹ in umbra, vult intelligi quot² duodecim[e] [partes]³ vnus status [illius rei erecte]⁴ sint in ea. Vmbra autem versa est umbra omnis rei que fit in directo superficie terre in aliqua re, que fuerit erecta super faciem terre, super lineam directam. Status quoque est in ea ex duodecim punctis, quemadmodum est in extensa. Cum autem uolueris figurare puncta umbre uerse, quod primo oportet facere, diuide spacium ad hoc deputatum secundum longitudinem per lineas paruas transversales ab una linea ad aliam equedistantem, per tot spacia equalia, quot sunt puncta umbre uerse meridiane maxime diei illius regionis, in qua⁵ uolueris chilindrum componere. Et si chilindrus fuerit longus, diuide per tot spacia equalia quot possunt esse puncta umbre uerse in regione [ad]⁴ quam credis aliquando accedere, uerbi gratia, ad Terram Sanctam. Et ad hoc sciendum tabulam inspice, que docet altitudinem solis in ingressu illius⁶ signi quod dicitur Cancer ad omnes horas diei, scilicet quando sol est in maiori altitudine sua, ut est in

inicio Cancri ad sextam horam diei ; et est tabula [Cancri]⁷ hec. Tabula ista docet altitudinem solis in ingressu Cancri. ¶ Et constat per tabulam istam, quod altitudo solis hora sexta, siue [in]⁷ meridie maxime diei regionis huius,⁸ est 61 gradus [et] 34 minutorum, hoc est, et dimidij

Cancer		
Gradus	Minuta	Hora
12	0	1
24	0	2
36	0	3
48	0	4
57	0	5
61	34	6

gradus et parum plus ; [cum 30 minuta faciunt dimidium gradum ;]⁹ quibus gradibus et¹⁰ dimidio respondent¹¹ 22 puncta umbre uerse et 7 minuta, quod est parum plus quam xx duo puncta ; et hoc est manifestum per tabulam umbre,

¹ MS sunt, E. sint, C. sunt.

² MS quod, E. C. quot.

³ From C.

⁴ From E.

⁵ E. quam.

⁶ E. C. istius.

⁷ From E. C.

⁸ E. C. istius.

⁹ From E. C.

¹⁰ MS uel, E. C. et.

¹¹ MS respondeat, E. C. respondent.

qua ad presens non indigemus. Diuide ergo spacium ad puncta deputatum ad minus per xxiiij spacia equalia uel partes equales; etiam, si chilindrus fuerit aliquantum longus, ut prius dixi, uidelicet transuersio quinque digitorum uel huiusmodi, diuide á summo usque ad basim predictum spacium in viginti septem uel in 26 partes equales, et protrahe tot lineas transuersales, que linéé puncta distinguant; ita quod ad lineam paruam¹ transuersalem distinguentem duo puncta protrahatur linea sibi continua equaliter versus sinistram, et in spacio superiori scribatur figura algorismalis denotans dualitatem. Et sic protrahatur linea distinguens 4 puncta, et in spacio superiori scribatur numerus excrescens priorem in dualitate; et sic² usque ad basim. Et in hoc terminatur diuisio punctorum cum numerorum subscriptiõibus.

Restat [nunc]³ ut de diuisione graduum discuciamus. Si ergo uolueris artificialiter gradus diuidere in spacio sibi deputato, uide puncta et minuta que fuerunt⁴ in hac tabula [in]³ directo 5 graduum ex gradibus altitudinis [umbre]³ uerse, et sume tantum de pu[n]ctis chilindri, et protrahas secundum hoc spacium punctorum lineam transuersalem in capite chilindri; et erunt inter capud chilindri et dictam lineam 5 gradus, i[d est], illud spacium continebit 5 gradus. Post hec considera quot puncta et minuta fuerint⁵ in hac tabula in directo 10⁶ graduum altitudinis [umbre]³ uerse, et sume tantum de punctis chilindri a capite eius ut prius, et duces lineam transuersalem; et erunt inter illam lineam et priorem alij 5 gradus: et sic facies de omnibus gradibus, donec compleueris tot gradus, quot potest sol ascendere in maximo die in regione qua uolueris. Et constat quod in hac regione, [scilicet apud Oxoniam uel Londoniam,]⁷ ascendit [sol]⁸ per 61 gradus⁹ et dimidium et 4 minuta, ut predictum

¹ MS proximam, E. paruam, C. omits.

² E. C. similiter.

³ From E.

⁴ E. sunt, C. fuerint.

⁵ MS fuerunt, E. C. fuerint.

⁶ MS 20, E. C. 10.

⁷ From C.

⁸ From E.

⁹ MS and C. gradum, E. gradus.

est; quibus respondent¹ in chilindro 22 puncta et 7 minuta. Et post quam compleueris tot gradus, facias² similiter³ alios gradus, si plura puncta fuerint sub illis 22 punctis. Et est hec tabula quam debes inspicere. ¶ Post quam sic feceris, in inferiori⁴ p[ar]te super basim fere scribatur in spacio numerorum graduum hec dictio *gradus*, ad denotandum quod numerus supra positus est numerus graduum; & consimiliter sub numero punctorum scribatur hec dicio *puncta*, ad denotandum quod numerus superpositus est numerus punctorum.

Restant [iam]⁵ linéé horarum protrahende sic: considera que sit alt[it]udo solis ad omnes horas [diei],⁶ cum fuerit in inicio signorum in quibus dies crescunt in regione qua uolueris, quod⁷ scies per astrolabium,⁸ aut in partibus illis⁹, [scilicet apud Oxoniam uel Londoniam,]⁵ per tabulam subsequentem; et sume tantum de gradibus chilindri, faciesque puncta super singula¹⁰ [inicia]⁵ singnorum in quibus dies crescunt, directe contra tot gradus, et deinde protrahas lineas obliquas transuersales¹¹ per omnia puncta; et erunt linéé horarum perfecte.

Puncta	Minuta	Gradus
1	3	5
2	7	10
3	0	14
4	26	16
5	6	23
6	7	27
7	13	31
8	6	34
9	3	37
10	4	40
11	11	43
12	0	45
13	20	48
14	18	50
15	21	52
16	30	54
17	8	55
18	29	57
19	12	58
20	47	60
21	40	61
22	34	62
23	33	63
24	36	64
25	44	65
26	57	66
Puncta	Minuta	Gradus

¹ MS respondeat, E. correspondent, C. respondent.

² MS facies, E. C. facias. ³ MS and C. super, E. similiter.

Table 2.—E. has lost this table. C. reads: 4 | 0 | 19, 10 | 7 | 40, 22 | 30 | 62.

⁴ MS superior, E. C. inferiori. ⁵ From C.

⁶ From E. ⁷ MS et, E. C. quod.

⁸ MS austrabium, E. C. astralabium. ⁹ E. C. istis.

¹⁰ MS singulum, E. C. singula.

¹¹ MS et numerales, E. C. transuersales.

Hore	Capricornus		Aquarius		Pisces		Aries		Taurus		Gemini	
	Gradus	Minuta	Gradus	Minuta	Gradus	Minuta	Gradus	Minuta	Gradus	Minuta	Gradus	Minuta
1	4	0	5	20	7	0	9	0	11	40	12	0
2	8	0	9	0	13	30	18	0	22	0	24	0
3	10	0	12	0	18	40	26	0	33	0	35	40
4	12	0	15	0	23	0	32	20	42	0	47	0
5	13	0	16	0	25	0	36	40	47	0	55	0
6	14	26	17	45	25	46	38	0	50	0	58	15

¶ Et simul cum hac inspicere tabulam paruam¹ precedentem, [videlicet de altitudine solis in principio Cancr].²

Hijis itaque sic³ peractis, fiat stilus siue lingua ex cupro uel argento fabricata, in laciori extremitate perforata, per cuius foramen abilater pertransire possit quedam uirgula similiter³ [cuprea uel]⁴ argentea, gracilis et rotunda; cuius due extremitates ex transuerso in chilindri cóóperculo interius, per subtilia foramina iuxta medietatem cóóperculi constructa, infigantur. Et ex altera parte cóóperculi ex opposito parum de plumbo subtiliter infundatur, quod quidem ponderet contra linguam á cóóperculo egredientem per exitum sue magnitudinis in circumferencia cóóperculi proportionaliter constructum. Qve lingua orthogonaliter, i[d est], ad angulum rectum composita, extra cóóperculum nunquam sit pluris longitudinis quam duodecim punctorum. Et in hoc terminatur chilindri compositio.

DE ARTE OPERANDI PER IPSUM ALIQUID UIDEAMUS.

Cum uolu[er]is scire horas quacunque die⁵ [uolueris]⁶, uerte stilum siue notrum super partem mensis in quo fueris, et umbra stili ostendet tibi horas pertransitas, et hoc est, duodecim horas diei,⁷ siue dies sit maior siue minor.

Table 3.—E. has lost this table. C. has it with the following differences: Capricornus 6 | 14 | 27, Pisces 6 | 26 | 40, Taurus 2 | 21 | 0, 6 | 44 | 14. C. also includes the table of Cancer (see the first table), and adds other tables for the city of York and the border of Scotland.

¹ MS proximam, E. C. paruam.

² From C.

³ E. C. omit.

⁴ From E. C.

⁵ MS diei, E. C. die.

⁶ From E. C.

⁷ E. C. omit.

Et cum uolueris scire altitudinem solis, uerte stilum super gradus, et umbra stili ostendet tibi gradus altitudinis solis, in quacunque hora uolueris.¹

[Et si uolueris scire puncta umbre uerse, uerte stilum super² puncta chilindri, et umbra ostendet tibi³ puncta umbre uerse, in quacunque hora uolueris.]⁴

Et si uolueris [scire]⁵ puncta umbre extense in aliqua hora, diuide 144 per puncta que habueris, et numerus quociens ostendet tibi puncta umbre extense in eadem hora.

Et si uis⁶ scire altitudinem cuiuslibet rei in plano erecte, scias que est proporcio punctorum umbre uerse ad stilum in aliqua hora, et eadem econtrario erit proporcio omnis rei erecte ad suam umbram; ut, si fuerit umbra equalis stilo, et omnis res erecta erit equalis sue umbre; vel⁷ si fuerit hec umbra medietas stili, erit econtrario quelibet res erecta medietas sue umbre; et sic de alijs partibus intellige. Et sic per umbram scies altitudinem [cuiusque rei erecte].⁴
Explicit compositio chilindri cum arte sua.

¹ E. adds:—q. d. pro toto umbra in chilindro comparatur rei erecte supra superficiem terre; ideo si uolumus scire aliquid spacium siue latitudinem alicuius aque, ponatur lancea directe sursum in aera plana propter spacium indicandum, et supra undam aque propter latitudinem aque sciendum, ita, s[cilicet], quod umbra lancee transeat aquam. Tunc uidendum est que sit proportio lingue diuise in 12 partes ad umbram uersam in chilindro, quia talis erit proportio umbre ad rem erectam. Vnde si lingua sit equalis umbre, tunc res erecta erit equalis sue umbre, uel si lingua contineat in duplo plura quam puncta facit umbra uersa, tunc umbra rei erecte continebit duplum rei erecte; & similiter intelligendum est proportionaliter. Si lingua contineat umbre uerse tertiam partem uel quartam, tunc umbra rei erecte continebit longitudinem sue rei ter uel quater; et hoc intendit in littera.

² E. supra, C. super.

³ E. sibi, C. tibi.

⁴ From E.

⁵ From E. C.

⁶ E. C. uolueris.

⁷ E. C. et.

ON THE

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHILINDRE.

To those who investigate the construction of the chilindre, which is called the traveller's dial. A piece of wood must be taken, very solid, imporous, equal, and without knots. It must be turned by the art of the turner until its surface is round and very smooth on all sides, both in the upper and in the lower part of the chilindre, and of an equal thickness in the middle. If it be such, it can easily be balanced on a thread, the base at the lower part of it being fitly constructed, a little thicker than the surface of the body. And in the other end, that is to say, in the head of the chilindre, let a round shallow space be made, the surface of the body outside remaining undamaged. In which space [let there be] a part of the rim of the inwardly concave lid, made to the size of the said space, going in fitly. Let him bore the space in its centre, right through to the centre of the base, and cover it with a lid bored perpendicularly through the middle of a knob at the top formed by the art of the turner; so that the hole of the lid may correspond with the hole of the body, the hole of the body nevertheless being wider in the upper part, that the string, together with the style or indicator, may go freely into the hole after the chilindre is constructed. By what is already said, the construction of the chilindre will be sufficiently understood.

It remains for us to begin concerning the marking of it.

Now the chilindre is marked thus : divide the whole body¹ in its circumference with the feet of the compasses into seven equal parts, by seven points ; so that from two points you may draw two lines from the top of the chilindre to the base, and another line in the middle, between them, from the top to the bottom ; and then there will be two spaces equally divided. And that it be done more fitly, beside the first line, that is to say, near the right hand, draw a line from top to bottom parallel to the former, between which (lines) the degrees are to be marked crosswise, from the top to the bottom, increasing gradually, as will appear afterwards. And in the space next to the line already made, let the number of degrees be very fitly written by sixths or fifths. And near the middle line, to the left, in like manner let another parallel line be drawn from the top to the bottom ; between which (lines) let the equal points of the inverted shadow be inserted crosswise, as afterwards will appear. And in the lefthand space, let the number of points of the shadow be fitly placed, adding them two by two. By these points the height of every upright object upon the earth may be calculated by its shadow, as afterwards will appear. It will also appear below what the inverted shadow and the extended shadow are. Therefore, these lines being drawn thus, you shall separate in the lower part of the body, crosswise, as much space, at least, as there is between the first righthand line and the fourth to the left, which was parallel to the middle line, drawing a line round from the foresaid righthand line to the lefthand one, and another in like manner around the lower part of the body over the base ; between which (lines) let the said space be in which the months and signs are to be inscribed. Let this space be fitly divided by an intermediate line equidistant to the former ones ;

¹ The 'whole body' means the 'whole circumference.' In the figure, the dial-lines only go *half* round the cylinder, or rather, the draughtsman supposes one to see *all* round it at once. The *breadth* of the figured part of the cylinder is immaterial, but the broader the better.

and between that intermediate line and the uppermost one, let a line be drawn round equidistant to them. Moreover, between that intermediate line and the lower one which is over the base, let another line be drawn equidistant to them ; and thus are completed all five transverse lines made in the lower part of the chilindre in the foresaid space, in which there are now four spaces equally divided by the said lines. Afterwards let six equidistant lines be drawn from the top of the six divisions first made, downward to the first transverse line ; and do not omit to draw, in like manner, six other intermediate lines equidistant to them, down to the same transverse line, so that there be then altogether in the six divisions, twelve lines drawn equally from the top of the chilindre to the said transverse line. And let the line nearest to the first righthand line drawn in the beginning, standing upon the first transverse line, pass equally, downward through it, and also through the transverse line next to it to the middle transverse line, the line nearest to it on the right, standing upon the first transverse line ; and so of the other lines up to the last of the points, always let one pass over to the middle line, and the other stand upon the first transverse line. And let every line standing upon the first transverse line have a line corresponding equally to it from the middle transverse line to the final one.

Now in the spaces marked off in the lower part of the chilindre by the foresaid lines, all the months of the year, and the signs corresponding to them, must be written thus : in the upper space next under the first transverse line, which space is to the right, after the first line made in the chilindre, let the latter half of December be written. The reason of this is that the days then begin to increase. And in the next space under it, that is to say, over the middle transverse line, let the other half of the same month be written in retrogressive order, because in that half, the days are proved to decrease. This being done, in the space following, after the end of December, let January be written progressively,

and under it November in retrogressive order ; next in order, February above progressively, October below retrogressively ; after that March above progressively, September below retrogressively ; after that April above progressively, August below retrogressively ; after that May in progressive order, July on the contrary ; in the last space, the first half of June progressively, because the days hitherto increase, and the other half in retrogressive order, because then the days decrease. Let them be written very fitly with thin letters. And because a sign rises in the middle¹ of each month, let this sign, the Goat, in which the days increase, and which corresponds to December, be written under the middle transverse line, in the whole space to the next line, in progressive order, and under it let the Archer be inserted in retrogressive order ; afterwards the Water-carrier in progressive order, under it the Scorpion on the contrary ; then the Fishes above, the Balance on the contrary below ; afterwards the Ram above, the Virgin on the contrary below ; fifthly, the Bull above progressively, the Lion below retrogressively ; sixthly and lastly, let the Twins be imprinted above, and the Crab below retrogressively. And it is to be noted universally that the signs and months in which the days increase are written progressively, but the signs and months in which the days decrease, retrogressively. And with this ends the skilful insertion of the months and signs in the chilindre.

It remains for us to insert the points of the inverted shadow very fitly in the place assigned to them in the body of the chilindre. And in the first place, let us see what is a point, and what the inverted shadow, and what the extended one. The extended shadow, according to Arsachel in his *Canones*, is the shadow of every upright object (cast) in a straight line on the surface of the earth.

¹ The sign does not rise exactly *in* the middle of the month, but only *near* it. In Chaucer's time, Aries rose on the *twelfth* of March, not the fifteenth, and similarly for other signs. Hence arises an inaccuracy in the use of the cylinder.

But a point is the twelfth part of the length of that upright object, and in like manner, a point of a shadow is the twelfth part of the length of [the object casting] that shadow. Therefore when you are asked how many points there are in the shadow, it must be understood to mean, how many twelfth parts of one length of that upright object are in it. The inverted shadow is the shadow of every object thrown straight down to the surface of the earth, upon some object which is upright upon the surface of the earth, upon the direct line.¹ The length in it also is of twelve points, as it is in the extended shadow. Now, when you wish to mark the points of the inverted shadow, which you must do first, divide the space assigned to them in its length by small transverse lines, from one line to another parallel one, into as many equal spaces as there are points of the inverted shadow at midday, on the longest day of that region for which you wish to construct the chilindre. And if the chilindre is long, divide it into as many equal spaces, as there can be points of the inverted shadow in the region to which you think to go sometime, say, to the Holy Land.² And to know this, look at the table which teaches the altitude of the sun at the entering of the sign which is called the Crab, at all hours of the day, that is to say, when the sun is at his greatest altitude, as he is at the beginning of the Crab at the sixth hour of the day; and this is the table of the Crab. (*See p. 39.*) And it

¹ The *umbra recta* is the shadow cast on the ground by an upright object, when the altitude of the sun is greater than 45° . The *umbra extensa* is the same shadow, when the altitude of the sun is less than 45° ; and, consequently, the shadow is *lengthened* beyond the length of the object. The *umbra versa* is the shadow cast (in the latter case, i. e. when the sun is low) by a horizontal object projecting from a vertical wall. This is, of course, cast *downwards*, or *towards the earth*. In using the cylinder, it should be turned till the shadow points *straight* downwards, which it will do when the style or gnomon points accurately to an azimuthal circle passing through the sun's centre.

² This is very unnecessary. The cylinder is only useful for a *fixed latitude*. If carried to the Holy Land, the hour-lines would have to be drawn all over again, and the cylinder must be of great length, or else the gnomon very short.

is evident by this table, that the altitude of the sun at the sixth hour, or at midday on the longest day of this region, is 61 degrees and 34 minutes, that is, and a half degree and a little more, since 30 minutes make a half degree; to which (61) degrees and a half correspond 22 points of the inverted shadow, and seven minutes, which is a little more than 22 points; and this is manifest by the table of the shadow, which we do not need at present. Therefore, divide the space assigned to the points into at least 23 equal spaces or parts, and if the chilindre be somewhat long, as I said before, namely, the breadth of five fingers or thereabouts, divide the foresaid space from the top to the base into 27 or 26 equal parts, and draw as many transverse lines to distinguish the points; so that at the little transverse line distinguishing two points, a line may be drawn continuous with it, equally, towards the left; and in the upper space let the arithmetical figure denoting two be written. And so let a line be drawn distinguishing four points, and in the upper space let the number be written, increasing the former number by two, and in like manner down to the base. And with this ends the division of the points with the writing of the numbers.

It now remains for us to discuss the division of degrees. If, then, you wish to divide skilfully the degrees in the space assigned to them, see the points and minutes which are in this table on a level with five degrees of the degrees of the altitude of the inverted shadow, and take as many points of the chilindre, and according to this space of the points, draw a transverse line in the head of the chilindre; and there will be between the head of the chilindre and the said line five degrees, that is, that space will contain five degrees. Afterwards, consider how many points and minutes are in this table on a level with 10 degrees of altitude of the inverted shadow, and take so many points of the chilindre from the head of it, as before, and draw a transverse line; and there will be between that line and

the former other five degrees ; and do so with all degrees, until you have completed as many degrees as the sun can ascend on the longest day in the region you wish. And it is certain that in this region, that is to say, at Oxford or London, the sun ascends 61 degrees and a half, and four minutes, as is aforesaid, to which correspond 22 points and seven minutes in the chilindre. And after you have completed so many degrees, make other degrees in like manner, if there are more points under those 22 points. And this is the table which you are to look at. (*See p. 41.*) After you have done so, let the word *gradus* (*degrees*) be written in the lower part, almost upon the base, in the space of the numbers of degrees, to denote that the number placed above is the number of degrees ; and in like manner under the number of points, let the word *puncta* (*points*) be written, to denote that the number placed over is the number of points.

Now the hour-lines remain to be drawn thus : consider what is the altitude of the sun at all hours of the day in the region you wish, when he is in the beginning of the signs in which the days increase, which you shall know by the astrolabe, or in these parts, that is to say, at Oxford or London, by the following table (*See p. 42*) ; and take so many degrees of the chilindre, and make a point over the beginning of each sign in which the days increase, directly opposite that number of degrees ; and then draw oblique transverse lines through all the points, and the hour-lines will be completed. And at the same time with this (table), look at the little table preceding, namely, of the altitude of the sun in the beginning of the Crab.

These things being finished, let a style or tongue be made of copper or silver, bored in the wider end, through the hole of which a pin, likewise of copper or silver, slender and round, may be able to pass easily. Let the two ends of it be fixed crosswise in the lid of the chilindre inside, by small holes made near the middle of the lid. And on the other side of the lid, opposite, let a little lead be

nically melted in to weigh against the tongue, which projects from the lid by an outlet of its own size in the circumference of the lid proportionally constructed. The tongue, made rectangularly, that is, at a right angle, may never be of greater length outside the lid than 12 points. And with this ends the construction of the chilindre.

Let us see somewhat on the art of operating with the same.

When you wish to know the hours on any day you wish, turn the style or indicator over the part of the month in which you are, and the shadow of the style will show you the hours passed, that is, the twelve hours of the day whether the day be longer or shorter.¹

And when you wish to know the altitude of the sun, turn the style over the degrees, and the shadow of the style will show you the degrees of the sun's altitude, at whatever hour you wish.

And if you wish to know the points of the inverted shadow, turn the style over the points of the chilindre, and the shadow will show you the points of the inverted shadow, at whatever hour you wish.

And if you wish to know the points of the extended shadow at any hour, divide 144 by the points which you have, and the quotient will show you the points of the extended shadow at the same hour.²

And if you wish to know the height of any upright

¹ This is important. It proves that the hours used are those called the 'unequal hours.' If the time from sunrise to sunset on any given day be divided into twelve equal parts, each of these is called an *unequal hour*. The title implies that they are of different lengths on different days. The first of these hours is *prime*, which is commonly wrongly explained as meaning 6 A.M. It is 6 A.M. at the equinoxes; but begins at a quarter to 4 at Midsummer, and 10 minutes past 8 at Christmas, nearly.

² The reason is simple. It will appear from a figure, that the following proportion holds, by similar triangles. As the *umbra versa* on the cylinder : stylus : : object : *umbra extensa*. Hence, by the rule of three, multiply 12 (the points in the *stylus*) by 12 (the points in the object), and divide by the *umbra versa*. In other words, 'divide 144 by the points which you have.' The last part of this 4th example is merely the same thing repeated in other words.

object on a plane, know what the proportion of the points of the inverted shadow to the style is at any hour, and the same inversely will be the proportion of every upright object to its shadow, as: if the shadow be equal to the style, every upright object will also be equal to its shadow; or if the shadow be half of the style, inversely, every upright object will be half of its shadow; and so understand of other parts. And thus you shall know the height of every upright object by the shadow.

Explicit the construction of the chilindre with its art.

NOTES ON THE TABLES.

These are all more or less inaccurate.

The marking-off of the degrees, so clumsily done by help of the table of points (p. 41), is much more easily and accurately effected by help of a scale of tangents, which appears (marked T) on a common footrule.

The 'table of the Crab' (p. 39) is a table of the altitude of the sun at the *end* of each unequal hour of the day. From it we can determine the latitude of the place for which the cylinder is constructed. Thus, roughly taking the obliquity of the ecliptic at $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, add 90, and subtract $61^{\circ} 34$ min. The result is $51^{\circ} 56$ min., which was probably intended to represent Oxford.

In the same way, the table at p. 42 represents the altitude of the sun at the *end* of each unequal hour on the days when the various signs are entered.

By marking off these altitudes on the cylinder, the curved hour-lines are then easily formed by connecting the points.

N.B. The cylinder is fairly accurate during the summer months, but uselessly inaccurate in winter.

ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

His Words and Works.



PART II.

- III. PRACTICA CHILINDRI : or, The Working of the Cylinder, by JOHN HOVEDEN. Edited, with a Translation, by EDMUND BROCK.
- IV. The use of final *-e* in Early English, and especially in CHAUCER'S *Canterbury Tales*. By Professor JOSEPH PAYNE.
- V. ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING on CHAUCER. From her "English Poets," ed. 1863.
- VI. Specimen of a critical edition of CHAUCER'S *Compleynte to Pite*, with the Genealogy of its Manuscripts. By Prof. BERNHARD TEN-BRINK.



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III.

PRACTICA CHILINDRI:

OR

THE WORKING OF THE CYLINDER,

BY

JOHN HOVEDEN.

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION

BY

Edmund Brock.

P R E F A C E.

By the kindness of Mr Frederick Norgate, we are now able to lay before the reader another short treatise on the cylinder. How it was found, and what it contains, may be learnt from the following notice, which we reprint from *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, III, June 12, 1869.

“CHILENDRE: (‘SCHIPMANNES TALE, 206.’)

“We have to thank the Chaucer Society for the publication of a very early tract on the ‘Chilindre,’ removing to a great extent the difficulty about the meaning of this word, which for ages has puzzled all the commentators on the *Canterbury Tales*. This little tract is devoted almost exclusively to information as to the construction of the instrument in question, with only a few brief rules at the end for its use. I have recently been so fortunate as to discover another MS. which may be a useful and interesting supplement to that which Mr Brock has edited for the above-named society; and before describing its contents, let me mention the strange way in which I found it. Looking through the Index of Authors at the end of Ayscough’s *Catalogue of the Sloane MSS.* (not thinking at the time of Chaucer or anything relating to him), my attention was arrested by the name ‘Chilander,’ and on turning to the page referred to, I found Chilander noted as the author of a work entitled *Practica Astrologorum, &c.* Hereupon I determined on taking the first opportunity of examining the MS. itself, and having done so, to my surprise I found, instead of *Practica Astrologorum*, with Chilander for its author, a tract entitled *Practica Chilindri secundum magistrum Johannem Astrologum!* The MS. is of the beginning of the fourteenth century, neatly written (on vellum), and differs from that which the Chaucer Society has brought to

light, inasmuch as it is devoted exclusively to instructions for *using* the instrument.

“The whole is comprised in six pages, closely written, and in a small but neat hand. The titles of the several chapters are as follows¹ :—

1. Primum capitulum est de horis diei artificialis inueniendis.
2. De gradu solis inueniendo.
3. De altitudine solis et lune, et vtrum fuerit ante meridiem uel post.
4. De linea meridiei inuenienda et oriente et occidente.
5. Quid sit vmbra versa, quid extensa.
6. De punctis vmbre verse et extense similiter.
7. De altitudine rerum per vmbra uersam.
8. De declinatione solis omni die, et gradu eius per declinationem inueniendo, et altitudine eius omni hora anni.
9. De latitudine omnis regionis inuenienda.
10. De inuenienda quantitate circuitus tocius orbis et spissitudine eius.

“The colophon is as follows :—

‘Explicit practica chilindri Magistri
Iohannis de Houeden astrologi.’

FRED. NORSGATE.

“*Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.*”

This tract, with the former, will give a tolerably clear idea of the nature and uses of the instrument ; but there is much more on the subject which we have no space to print, and we must therefore be content with giving the reader references, which will enable those who care to read more about the cylinder, to do so.

1. Compositio horologiorum, in plano, muro, truncis, anulo, con[uexo], concauo, cylindro & uarijs quadrantibus, cum signorum zodiaci & diuersarum horarum inscriptionibus : autore Sebast. Munstero. Basileae, 1531. *Compositio cylindri, hoc est, trunci columnaris. Caput xxxix.*

2. Horologigraphia, post priorem æditionem per Sebast. Munsterum recognita, & plurimum aucta atque locupletata, adiectis multis nouis descriptionibus & figuris, in plano, concauo, conuexo, erecta superficie &c. Basileae. 1533. *Compositio cylindri, hoc est, trunci columnaris. Caput xlili.*

¹ The table is printed according to the MS, from which Mr Norgate's copy deviates in one or two cases.

3. *Der Horologien / Oder Sonnen vhren / Künstliche Beschreibung / wie dieselbigen nach mancherley ahrt an die Mauren / Wendte / Ebne / sie seyen ligende / Auffgerichtet / Schreg / auch auff Ronde / Außgehölte vnd sonst aller Handt Instrument / Außzüreiffen / Durch Sebastianum Münster. Basel, 1579. Wie man einen Kylinder Circulieren vnd zürichten soll. Das xxxvj. Capitel.*

4. *Dialogo della descrittione teorica et pratica de gli horologi solari. Di Gio: Batt. Vimercato Milanese. In Ferrara, per Valente Panizza Mantouano Stampator Ducale. 1565. In qual modo per pratica operatione si possono fabricare i Cilindri. Capitolo xi.*

5. *Gnomonice Andreae Schoneri Noribergensis, hoc est: de descriptionibus horologiorum sciotericorum omnis generis, proiectionibus circulorum Sphæricorum ad superficies, cum planas, tum conuexas concavasque, Sphæricas, Cylindricas, ac Conicas: Item delineationibus quadrantum, annulorum, &c. Libri tres. Noribergæ, 1562. The second book treats of spherical, cylindrical, and conical dials.*

6. *Io. Baptistæ Benedicti Patritij Veneti Philosophi de Gnomonum umbrarumque solarium usu liber. Augustæ Taurinorum. 1574. De examinatione pensilium horologiorum, & de nouo horologio circulari. Cap. LXXVIII.*

7. *Horarii Cylindrini Canones, 1515. Reprinted in Opera Mathematica Ioannis Schoneri, fol. Norinbergæ, 1551. This, like Hoveden's treatise, consists of rules for using the cylinder.*

8. *Histoire de l'Astronomie du Moyen Age par M. Delambre, Paris. 1819, 4to. The third book, entitled Gnomonique, gives an account of the cylindrical dial (cadran cylindrique) of the Arabians as treated of by Aboul-Hhasan (pp. 517—520), and of Sebastian Münster's (pp. 597, 598).*

There is a large cut of the cylinder on page 166 of Münster's *Compositio Horologiorum*, page 269 of his *Horologigraphia*, and page 125 of *Der Horologien Beschreibung*; a smaller one on the title-page and page 131 of *Horologigraphia*. In Vimercato's treatise, page 165, is a cut showing the separate parts of the cylinder.

In Cotton MS. Nero C ix, leaves 195—226, we find eight Latin poems by John Hoveden, chaplain of Queen Eleanor, mother of King Edward. There can be little doubt that this writer is the same as the author of the present treatise. We here give the beginnings and endings of these poems.

I. Incipit meditatio Iohannis de houedene, clerici regine anglie, matris regis Edwardi / de natiuitate, passione, et resurrectione domini saluatoris edita, ut legentis affectio in christi amore profici[a]t et celerius accendatur / hoc opus sic incipit: Ave verbum ens in principio. & sic finitur. & uoluit editor quod liber meditationis illius philomena uocaretur.

Begins : Ave uerbum ens in principio,
Caro factum pudoris gremio ;
Fac quod fragret presens laudacio.

Ends : Melos tibi sit et laudacio,
Salus, honor, et iubilacio,
Letus amor lotus in lilio,
Qui es uerbum ens in principio.

Explicit libellus ritmichus¹ qui philomena uocatur, que meditatio est de natiuitate, passione, et resurrectione, ad honorem domini nostri iesu christi saluatoris edita, a Iohanne de houedene, clerico Alianore regine anglie, matris edwardi regis anglie.

II. Incipiunt .xv. gaudia virginis gloriose, edita a Magistro Iohanne houedene Clerico.

Begins : Virgo vincens uernancia
Carnis pudore lilia.
Ends : Et noctem hanc excuciens,
Ducas ad portum patrie. Amen.

Expliciunt .15. gaudia beate virginis, edita ritmice² ex dictamine Iohannis de Houedene.

III. Hic scribitur meditatio Iohannis de Houedene, edita ad honorem domini saluatoris, et ut legentes eam proficiant in amore diuino : et uocatur hec meditatio cantica .50. quod in .50. canticis continetur.

The first canticle begins :
In laude nunc spiritus omnis exultet,
Et leta mens domini laude sustollat.

The last one ends :
Et ut nouella cantica cumulentur,
In laude nunc spiritus omnis exultet. Amen.

Explicit meditatio dicta cantica 50^{ta}, edita a Iohanne de Houedene ad honorem domini saluatoris.

IV. In honore domini saluatoris incipit meditatio, edita a Iohanne de houedene, clerico Alianore regine anglie, matris regis Edwardi / faciens mencionem de saluatoris redolentissima passione ; et amoris christi suauem inducit affectum. Hec meditatio uocatur cythara eo quod uerbis amoriferis,

¹ So in MS.

² MS. ricunee.

quasi quibusdam cordis musice, ad delectacionem spiritualem legentes inuitat.

Begins : *Iesu vena dulcedinis,
Proles pudica numinis,
Verbum ens in principio,
Fructus intacte virginis.*

Ends : *Verbum ens in principio,
Et des ut post has semitas
Nos foueat et felicitas
In celebri collegio. Amen.*

Explicit laus de *domino* saluatore uel meditacio que *cythara nominatur*, a Iohanne de Houedene, edita ut *legentis affectus in amore diuino proficiat et celerius accendatur.*

V. Incipiunt 50^{ta} salutaciones *beate virginis*, quibus *inseritur memoria dominice passionis*, edita a Iohanne de houedene ad honorem virginis matris, & laudem *domini saluatoris*.

Begins : *Ave stella maris,
Virgo singularis,
Vernans lilio.*

Ends : *Fer michi remedia,
Vt in luce qua lustraris
Michi dones gaudia. Amen.*

Expliciunt 50^{ta} salutaciones *beate marie*, edita a Iohanne de Houedene.

VI. Incipit laus de *beata virgine*, que *uiola uocatur*, edita a Iohanne de Houedene.

Begins : *Maria stella maris,
Fax summi luminaris,
Regina singularis.*

Ends : *Penas mittigatura,
Assis in die dura,
Maria virgo pura.*

Explicit *uiola beate virginis*, a Iohanne de Houedene edita.

VII. Incipit *lira extollens virginem gloriosam*.

Begins : *O qui fontem gracie
Captiuis regeneras,
Celos endelichie.¹*

Ends : *Quos expiat sic puniat,
Vt vices quas variat, |
Alternis sic uniat, ne lira deliret.*

Explicit *lira Magistri Iohannis houedene*.

¹ So in MS.

VIII. *Canticum amoris quod composuit Iohannes de Houedene.*

Begins : Princeps pacis, proles puerpere,
 Hijs te precor labris illabere,
 Vt sincere possim disserere
 Laudem tuam, et letus legere.

End lost from :

Eius clavi punctura peream,
 Cum superstes magis inteream.

There is a copy of the first of these poems in the Lambeth MS. 410, and another in Harleian MS. 985 with the heading : *Incipit tractatus metricus N. de hondene, de processu christi & redemptionis nostre, qui aliter dicitur philomena.* At the end are merely these words : *Explicif liber qui uocatur philomena.* It appears from Nasmith's Catalogue that there is a French version of the poem in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 471, intitled, *Li rossignol, ou la pensee Iohan de Hovedene, clerc la roine d'Engleterre, mere le roi Edward de la neissance et de la mort et du relievement et de l'ascension Iesu Crist et de l'assumpcion notre dame.*

It is perhaps worthy of mention that Hoveden's *Philomena* has long been confounded by the catalogue-writers with a wholly different composition, by another writer, and beginning :

Philomena preuia temporis ameni,
 Que recessum nuncios imbris atque ceni,
 Dum demulces animos tuo cantu leni,
 Auis predulcissima, ad me queso veni.

End : Quicquid tamen alij dicant, frater care,
 Istam novam martirem libens imitare ;
 Cumque talis fueris, deum deprecare

Vt nos cantus martiris faciat cantare. Amen.

Copies of this poem are contained in Cotton MS. Cleopatra A xii., Harleian MS. 3766, and Royal MS. 8 G vi., from the first of which the above lines are taken. A late hand has written the following mistaken heading over it in the Cotton MS. : *philomela Canticum per Ioannem de Houedene Capellanum Alienoræ Reginæ matris Ed. primi.*

The Laud MS. 368 contains both these poems; the latter has the following heading: *Incipit meditacio fratris Iohannis de peccham, quondam cantuarie archiepiscopi, de ordine fratrum minorum, que vocatur philomena.* The real author, however, appears to be Giovanni Fianza, better known as Cardinal Bonaventura. The whole poem, with some additional lines at the end, is printed in his works, Mayence, 1609, vol. 6, p. 424, and Venice, 1751-56, vol. 13, p. 338. The English poem of *The Nyghtyngale* in Cotton MS. Caligula A ii., leaves 59-64, has no connection with Hoveden's *Philomena*, but is an imitation of Bonaventura's poem.

According to Bale's account,¹ which is followed by Pits² and Tanner,³ John Hoveden was a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain of Queen Eleanor, but afterwards parish priest at Hoveden, where he died in the year 1275. Besides the poems already mentioned, Bale, Pits, and Tanner ascribe to him the work called *Speculum Laicorum*;⁴ but this could not have been written till long after Hoveden's death, since it contains mention of Henry the IVth's reign.⁵

¹ Bale, v. 79. ² Pitseus, p. 356. ³ Tanner, under *Hovedenus*

⁴ See Royal MS. 7 C xv and Oxford Univ. MSS. 29 and 36.

⁵ In chapter 36.

PRACTICA CHILINDRI.

[*Sloane MS 1620, leaf 2.*]

PRACTICA CHILINDRI SECUNDUM MAGISTRUM [IOHANNEM]¹
[A]STROLOGUM.

1. Primum capitulum est de horis diei artificialis inueniendis.
2. De gradu solis inueniendo.
3. De altitudine solis et lune, et vtrum fuerit ante meridiem uel post.
4. De linea meridiei inuenienda et oriente et occidente.
5. (6.)² Quid sit vmbra versa, (5) quid extensa.
6. (7.) De punctis vmbre verse, et extense similiter.
7. (8.) De altitudine rerum per vmbra[m] uersam.
8. (9.) De declinatione solis omni die, et gradu eius per declinationem inueniendo, (10) et altitudine eius omni hora anni.
9. (11.) De latitudine omnis regionis inuenienda.
10. (12.) De inue[n]ienda quantitate circuitus totius orbis et spissitudine eius.

DE HORIS INUENIENDIS.

1. **C**um volueris scire horas diei, verte stilum superiorem super mensem aut signum in quo fueris, et super partem que preterit de ipso; cumque hoc feceris,

¹ Nearly obliterated.

² The numbers in parentheses correspond to those which head the sections.

THE WORKING OF THE CYLINDER.

THE WORKING OF THE CYLINDER ACCORDING TO MASTER
JOHN, THE ASTROLOGER.

1. THE first chapter is on finding the hours of the artificial day.

2. On finding the sun's degree.

3. On the altitude of the sun and of the moon ; and whether it is before midday or after.

4. On finding the meridian line, and the east and the west.

6. What *umbra versa* is, (5) and what *umbra extensa*.

7. On the points of the *umbra versa*, and likewise of the *umbra extensa*.

8. On (finding) the height of objects by the *umbra versa*.

9. On (finding) the sun's declination on any day, and on finding his degree by the declination ; (10) and on (finding) his altitude at any hour of the year.

11. On finding the latitude of any region.

12. On finding the extent of the circumference of the whole world, and its thickness.

1. ON FINDING THE HOURS.

When you wish to know the hours of the day, turn the upper style¹ over the month or sign in which you are, and over the part of it which is gone by ; and when you have

¹ Only one style is mentioned in the former treatise.

vertes *etiam* inferiorem stilum in oppositum stili superioris, et erit instrumentum dispositum ad horas sumendas. Cumque volueris horas sumere, suspende chilindrum per filum suum ad solem, mouendo ipsum chilindrum huc et illuc donec vmbra superioris stili super chilindrum equidistanter longitudini eius ceciderit ; et ad quamcumque horam peruenerit vmbra stili, ipsa est hora diei pertransita. Quod si ceciderit finis vmbre inter duas horas, tunc apparebit *etiam* pars hore in qua fueris, secundum quod plus uel minus occupauerit vmbra de ipso spacio quod est inter duas lineas horarum. Est enim hora spacium [co]ntentum inter duas lineas horarum ; ipse autem linee sunt fines horarum.

DE GRADU SOLIS.

2. **C**um volueris scire in quo signo fuerit sol, et in quoto gradu eius, equabis solem ad meridiem diei in quo volueris hoc scire, sicut in leccionibus tabularum docetur, et addes ei motum 8^{ue} spere, et habebis gradum solis quesitum. Quod si volueris hoc ipsum leuius scire, intra cum die mensis in quo fueris in aliquam 4 tabularum, secundum quod fuerit annus bissextilis uel distans ab eo ; que quidem tabule intitulantur sic :—Tabule solis ad inueniendum, locum eius in orbe decliui fixo. Et in directo diei cum quo intras statim inuenies gradum solis equatum, et hoc est quod voluisti. Quod si nec has nec illas tabulas

¹ That is, straight down the cylinder.

² The following extract from Delambre's *Astronomie du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1819, pp. 73, 74, may serve to explain the motion of the eighth sphere :—

“*Thebith ben Chorath*.—Son malheureux système de la trépidation infecta les tables astronomiques jusqu'à Tycho, qui, le premier, sut les en purger. Ce long succès n'a point empêché que son livre ne soit resté inédit ; mais j'en ai trouvé un exemplaire latin manuscrit, à la Bibliothèque du Roi, n° 7195. Ce traité a pour titre *Thebith ben Chorath de motu octavæ Spheræ*. . . .

“Il imagine une écliptique fixe, qui coupe l'équateur fixe dans les deux points équinoxiaux, sous un angle de 23° 33', et une écliptique mobile, attachée par deux points diamétralement opposés à deux petits cercles, qui ont pour centres les deux points équinoxiaux

done this, turn also the lower style into the place opposite the upper style, and the instrument will be set in order for taking the hours. And when you wish to take the hours, suspend the cylinder by its string against the sun, moving it to and fro, until the shadow of the upper style falls on the cylinder parallel to its length,¹ and whatever hour the shadow of the style reaches, the same is the (last) past hour of the day. But if the end of the shadow falls between two hours, then will appear also the part of the hour in which you are, according as the shadow occupies more or less of that space which is between the two hour-lines. For the space contained between two hour-lines is an hour; but the lines themselves are the ends of the hours.

2. ON THE SUN'S DEGREE.

When you wish to know in what sign the sun is, and in what degree thereof, you must adjust (?) the sun to the noon of the day on which you wish to know this, as it is taught in the readings of the tables, and add to it the motion of the eighth sphere,² and you will have the sun's degree which you have sought. But if you wish to know the same more easily, enter with the day of the month in which you are into one of the four tables according as it is leap-year or distant from it. These tables are thus entitled :—Tables of the sun for finding his place in the fixed ecliptic, and in a line with the day with which you enter

de l'écliptique fixe, et dont le rayon est de $4^{\circ} 18' 43''$. Ces points de l'écliptique tournent sur la circonférence des deux petits cercles opposés; l'écliptique mobile s'élève donc et s'abaisse alternativement sur l'écliptique fixe; les points équinoxiaux avancent ou rétrogradent d'une quantité qui peut aller à $10^{\circ} 45'$. Ce mouvement est commun à tous les astres; ce mouvement est celui de la huitième sphère, et il s'appelle mouvement d'accès ou de recès. Le lieu de la plus grande déclinaison du Soleil change donc continuellement, puisqu'il est toujours à 90° de l'une et l'autre intersections de l'écliptique mobile avec l'équateur fixe. La plus grande déclinaison est donc tantôt dans les Gémeaux et tantôt dans le Cancer."

For Thebit's treatise see Harleian MS 13, leaf 117. *Incipit thebit de motu octaue spere.* Or Harleian MS 3647, leaf 88, col. 2, *incipit liber thebit bencorat de motu octaue spere.*

habueris, et volueris [leaf 2, bk] aliter querere gradum solis [a]ut fere, scito quod secundum comptistas xv. kalendas cuiuslibet mensis ingreditur sol nouum signum, sicut patet in kalendario. Considera ergo quot dies transierint de mense in quo fueris, et adde super eos quindecim dies, et serua eos. Computabis ergo ab inicio signi, in quo fuerit sol, totidem gradus, et ubi finitus fuerit numerus, ipse est gradus solis quem queris. Quod si numerus tuus excesserit xxx., tot gradus quot excedit xxx. perambulauit sol de signo sequente, si Deus voluerit.

DE ALTITUDINE SOLIS.

3. **Q**uod si altitudinem solis seu lune placuerit inuestigare, verte stilum superiorem super gradus chilindri, et stilum inferiorem in oppositum eius semper; et hoc sit tibi generale, ut uersus quamcunque partem chilindri uerteris stilum superiorem, semper uertas stilum inferiorem in partem ei oppositam. Post hec opponas instrumentum soli, et ad quemcunque gradum peruenerit umbra, ipsa est altitudo solis, seu lune, si feceris de luna, in eadem hora. Quod si volueris scire si fuerit ante meridiem uel post, aspice super quot gradus ceciderit umbra, et expectans paulisper, iterato sumes altitudinem solis; quod si creuerit umbra, tunc est ante meridiem. Similiter quoque scies de luna. Et per hoc ipsum quod dictum est, scies utrum ipsa fuerit orientalis a meridie uel occidentalis; quia dum umbra crescit, est in parte orientali a meridie, dum uero decrescit, est in parte occidentis.

you will immediately find the sun's degree rectified, and this is what you desired. If, however, you have neither of these tables, and wish to seek, in another way, the sun's degree or thereabouts, know that, according to the calculators, the sun enters a new sign on the 15th before the kalends of every month, as appears in the calendar. Consider, therefore, how many days of the month in which you are have passed, and add to them fifteen days, and keep them. Reckon then the same number of degrees from the beginning of the sign in which the sun is, and when the number is completed, the same is the sun's degree which you seek. But if your number exceeds 30, the sun has passed through as many degrees of the next sign as it (the number) exceeds 30, if God will.

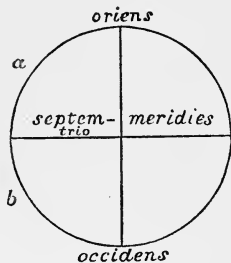
3. ON THE ALTITUDE OF THE SUN.

Now if it is your pleasure to investigate the altitude of the sun or of the moon, turn the upper style over the degrees of the cylinder, and the lower style always into the opposite place. And let this be a general rule, that to whichever part of the cylinder you turn the upper style you always turn the lower style to the part opposite to it. After that hold up the instrument against the sun, and to whatever degree the shadow reaches, the same is the altitude of the sun; or of the moon, if you are dealing with the moon, at that hour. But if you wish to know whether it is before midday, or after, see over how many degrees the shadow falls, and having waited a little time, take the sun's altitude again, and if the shadow has increased, then it is before midday. In like manner you will know also of the moon. And by what has been said you shall know whether she is on the east of the meridian or on the west; for while the shadow increases, she is on the eastern side of the meridian, but while it decreases, she is on the western side.

DE LINEA MERIDIEI.

4. **Q**uod si volueris scire lineam meridiem per hoc instrumentum, fiat circulus in superficie aliqua preparata, equidistanter horizonti, cuiuscunque magnitudinis volueris, non sit tamen nimis paruus; deinde sumes altitudinem solis diligentissime, et serua eam; et suspendes etiam in eadem hora filum vnum cum aliquo ponderoso in directo iam facti circuli, ita ut umbra eius cadat omnino super centrum circuli, et attingat circumferenciam in parte opposita soli; notabisque contactum vmbre in circumferencia, et post hoc expectabis donec iterato post meridiem fiat sol in prius accepta altitudine, notabisque etiam [leaf 3] tunc vmbra filii super centrum ut prius transeuntem notabis, dico, contactum eius in circumferencia in opposito solis. Deinde diuide arcum qui est inter duas notas vmbre per equalia, et notam inprimes, coniungesque eam cum centro, perficiens diametrum circuli, et hoc diametrum erit linea meridiem. Quadrabis quoque circulum ipsum per diametra, et habebis lineam orientis et occidentis, ut apparet in isto circulo. Sic etiam inuenies omnes partes orientis, si Deus voluerit. Et nota quod hec consideracio verior et leuior est quam illa que fit per ereccionem stili orthogonalis in circulo, quia vix uel nunquam possit ita orthogonaliter erigi, sicut perpendiculum dummodo pendeat immobiliter. Sed hec consideracio verissima erit, si sumatur in solsticialibus diebus, et hoc antequam sol ascendat multum in illa die.

Nota quod a. et b. sunt note vmbre ante meridiem et post ad eandem altitudinem solis; et medium inter a. et b. est meridiem.

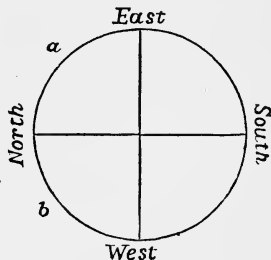


4. ON THE MERIDIAN LINE.

And if you wish to know the meridian line by means of this instrument, let a circle be made, of whatever size you will, only let it not be too small, on some plane prepared (for the purpose) parallel with the horizon. Then take the sun's altitude very accurately, and keep it; and also at the same hour hang, over the circle already made, a thread with something heavy (on it), so that its shadow falls exactly upon the centre of the circle and reaches the circumference on the side opposite to the sun; and mark the (point of) contact of the shadow with the circumference, and after this wait until the sun again arrives at the before-taken altitude after midday; and mark then also the shadow of the thread passing as before across the centre, mark, I say, its point of contact with the circumference opposite to the sun. Then divide the arc which is between the two shadow-marks into equal parts, and impress a mark. Join it with the centre, and complete the diameter of the circle. This diameter will be the meridian line. Quarter the circle itself by diameters,¹ and you will have the line of east and west, as appears in this circle. Thus also you will find all parts of the horizon, if God will. Note that this observation is truer and easier than that which is made by raising a rectangular style in the circle, because it can with difficulty or never be raised as rectangularly as a plumb-line, provided it (viz. the plumb-line) hangs motionless. But the observation will be truest, if it be made on the solstitial days, and that before the sun rises high on that day.

Note that *a* and *b* are the shadow-marks before midday and after, at the same altitude of the sun, and the middle point between *a* and *b* is midday.

¹ That is, draw another diameter at right angles to the former.



DE VMBRA EXTENSA.

5. **N**unc dicendum est quid sit umbra versa, et quid sit umbra extensa. Igitur intelligamus superficiem quandam equidistantem orizonti, et super hanc superficiem intelligamus aliquid orthogonaliter erectum, verbi gratia, palum rectum; huius pali sic erecti cadens umbra in dictam superficiem dicitur umbra extensa. Est igitur umbra extensa rei erecte ad superficiem orizontis perpendiculariter umbra cadens in eadem superficie.

DE VMBRA VERSA.

6. **I**tem intelligamus eandem superficiem quam prius, et in ipsa aliquid perpendiculariter erectum, et ab illo sic erecto intelligamus stilum orthogonaliter prominentem, sicut sunt stili qui prominent in parietibus ecclesiarum ad horas sumendas; umbra huius stili cadens super rem orthogonaliter erectam, equidistanter s[cilicet] longitudini eiusdem rei, dicitur umbra versa; equidistanter, dico, cadens, quia aliter esset umbra irregularis. Et huiusmodi umbra cadit in chilindro. Hec autem umbra versa semper crescit vsque ad meridiem, et tunc, i[d est] in meridie, est maxima. Econuerso est de umbra extensa, quia illa decrescit vsque ad meridiem, et tunc fit minima.

DE PUNCTIS VMBRE.

7. **C**um volueris scire omni hora quot puncta habuerit umbra versa, verte stilum super puncta vmbre, et super quot puncta ceciderit umbra, ipsa sunt puncta vmbre quesite. Quod si volueris [scire] vmbra[m] extensam ad eandem altitudinem, diuide 144 per [leaf 3 v] puncta que habueris, et exhibunt puncta vmbre extense in eadem hora. Et si volueris scire quot status sunt in umbra, diuide puncta que

5. ON THE *UMBRA EXTENSA*.

Now we must explain what is the *umbra versa*, and what the *umbra extensa*. Therefore let us conceive some plane parallel to the horizon, and on this plane let us conceive something raised at right angles, for instance, a straight stake; the shadow of this stake so raised, falling on the said plane, is called *umbra extensa*. The *umbra extensa* is, therefore, the shadow of an object which is raised perpendicularly to the plane of the horizon, falling on the same plane.

6. ON THE *UMBRA VERSA*.

Also let us conceive the same plane as before, and upon it something raised perpendicularly; and from the latter so raised let us conceive a style jutting out at a right angle, like the styles which jut out from the walls of churches for taking the hours; the shadow of this style falling upon the object raised at right angles, parallel, of course, to the length of the same object,¹ is called *umbra versa*—falling parallel, I say, because otherwise the shadow would be irregular. And such a shadow falls on the cylinder. Now this *umbra versa* always increases until midday, and then, that is at midday, it is greatest; the contrary is the case with the *umbra extensa*, for that decreases until midday, and then becomes least.

7. ON THE POINTS OF THE SHADOW.

When you wish to know how many points the *umbra versa* has at any hour, turn the style over the points of the shadow; and as many points as the shadow falls over, the same are the required points of the shadow. But if you wish to know the *umbra extensa* at the same altitude, divide 144 by the points which you have, and the result will be the points of the *umbra extensa* at the same hour.

¹ That is, straight down it.

habueris per 12, et exhibunt status. Quod si non habu[er]is 12 puncta, uide quota pars sint puncta de 12, et tota pars erunt puncta que habueris ad vnum statum. Est autem¹ status tota longitudo cuiuslibet rei, et quia omnem rem quo ad vmbra[m] eius sumendam diuidimus in 12 partes equales, propterea 12 puncta vmbre faciunt vnum statum; est enim quodlibet punctum longitudinis omnis equale duodecime parti² rei cuius est vmbra.

DE ALTITUDINE RERUM PER VMBRAM.

8. **C**um volueris scire altitudinem turris per vmbra[m] versam que cadit in chilindro, aut altitudinem alicuius rei erecte, cum hoc, inquam, volueris, verte stilum super puncta vmbre, et vide super quot puncta ceciderit vmbra. Deinde considera in qua proporzione se habent puncta vmbre in chilindro ad stilum, in eadem proporzione se habet omnis res erecta ad suam vmbra[m], hoc est, si puncta vmbre in chilindro fuerint sex, stilus duplus est ad vmbra[m], et tunc in eadem hora erit omnis vmbra extensa dupla ad suam rem; et si vmbra in chilindro fuerit dupla ad stilum, hoc est, cum vmbra fuerit 24 punctorum, erit omnis res erecta dupla ad suam vmbra[m]; et sic semper in qua proporzione se habet vmbra chilindri ad stilum, in eadem proporzione se habet econtrario omnis res erecta ad vmbra[m] suam extensam, omnis res erecta, dico, que fecerit vmbra[m] sub eadem solis altitudine, in illa hora; vel, si nescieris proporcionem sumere, diuide 144 per puncta que habueris, sicut dictum est, et exhibit vmbra rei erecte que dicitur extensa, vide ergo quot status sint in illa vmbra extensa, aut quota fuerint puncta de 12, et habebis quod voluisti.

¹ *Read enim.*

² The word *vmbre* is wrongly inserted after *parti* in the MS.

And if you wish to know how many *status* are in the shadow, divide the points which you have by 12, and the *status* will be the result. And if you have not 12 points, see what part of 12 the points are, and the points which you have will be that part of one *status*. For a *status* is the whole length of any object; and because we divide every object into 12 equal parts whereby to take its shadow, therefore 12 points of the shadow make one *status*; for every point is equal to a twelfth part of the whole length of the object, whose the shadow is.

8. ON (FINDING) THE HEIGHT OF OBJECTS BY THE SHADOW.

When you wish to know the height of a tower by the *umbra versa* which falls on the cylinder, or the height of any upright object—I say, when you wish this, turn the style over the points of the shadow, and see over how many points the shadow falls. Then consider: whatever proportion the points of the shadow on the cylinder hold to the style, every upright object holds the same proportion to its shadow; that is, if the points of the shadow on the cylinder be six, the style is double of the shadow, and then at the same hour every *umbra extensa* will be double of its object; and if the shadow on the cylinder be double of the style, that is, when the shadow is of 24 points, every upright object will be double of its shadow; and so always, whatever proportion the shadow on the cylinder holds to the style, conversely every upright object holds the same proportion to its *umbra extensa*, every upright object, I say, which throws a shadow under the same altitude of the sun at that hour. Or, if you do not know how to take the proportion, divide 144 by the points which you have, as was said, and the result will be the shadow which is called *extensa* of the upright object; see, then, how many *status* are in that *umbra extensa*, or what part of 12 the points are, and you will have what you desired.

DE DECLINATIONE SOLIS.

9. **C**vm volueris scire declinationem solis omni die anni, scias umbram uersam Arietis in regione in qua fueris, i[d est], scias ad quem gradum chilindri proueniat umbra stili eius in meridie, cum fuerit sol in primo gradu Arietis, et hec est umbra Arietis in gradibus chilindri in illa regione. Quo scito, sume umbram meridiei per chilindrum quocunque die volueris scire declinationem solis, et vide super quot gradus chilindri ceciderit umbra, et quantum plus uel minus fuerit umbra illa quam umbra Arietis, tanta erit declinatio solis in meridie illius diei. Sed si umbra tua fuerit maior quam umbra Arietis, erit declinatio solis [leaf 4] septentrionalis; si uero minor fuerit, erit declinatio meridiana. Quod si volueris scire gradum solis in illa die per eius declinationem, intra¹ in tabulam declinationis solis, et quere similem declinationem ei quam inuenisti per chilindrum, et aliquis 4 graduum quem in directo eius inueneris erit gradus solis uel fere; et scies quis erit gradus ex illis 4, ut aspicias utrum declinatio fuerit meridiana uel septentrionalis. Quod si fuerit meridiana, erit vnus de gradibus meridionalibus, et si fuerit declinatio septentrionalis, erit vnus de gradibus septentrionalibus; habent autem omnes 4 gradus equidistantes ab equinoctiali eandem declinationem. Cum ergo sciueris quod fuerit vnus de gradibus septentrionis seu meridiei, scies quis duorum fuerit gradus solis, ut aspicias sequenti die declinationem per chilindrum, et si umbra fuerit maior quam die precedenti, fueritque declinatio meridiana, erit gradus ille a Capricorno in Arietem; et si umbra talis declinationis fuerit minor, erit gradus ille a Libra in Capricornum; si uero umbra creuerit, fueritque declinatio septentrionalis, erit gradus ille ab Ariete in Cancrum; si uero decreuerit, a Cancro in Libram.

¹ MS 'iuxta.'

9. ON THE DECLINATION OF THE SUN.

When you wish to know the declination of the sun on any day in the year, know the *umbra versa* of Aries in the region in which you are, that is, know to what degree of the cylinder the shadow of its style reaches at midday, when the sun is in the first degree of Aries, and this is the shadow of Aries in the degrees of the cylinder in that region. That being known, take the midday shadow by the cylinder on whatever day you wish to know the declination of the sun, and see over how many degrees of the cylinder the shadow falls, and the declination of the sun at noon of that day, will be as great as that shadow is greater or less than the shadow of Aries. But if your shadow is greater than the shadow of Aries, the sun's declination will be northern, but if it is less, the declination will be southern. And if you wish to know the sun's degree on that day by his declination, enter into the table of the sun's declination, and seek a similar declination to that which you have found by the cylinder, and some one of the 4 degrees which you find on a line with it will be the sun's degree or nearly (so); and you shall know which will be the degree out of those 4, as you look whether the declination is southern or northern; for if it be southern, it will be one of the southern degrees, and if the declination be northern, it will be one of the northern degrees. But all the 4 parallel degrees have the same declination from the equinoctial. When, therefore, you know that it is one of the northern degrees or of the southern, you shall know which of the two is the degree of the sun, as you observe the declination on the following day by the cylinder, and if the shadow be greater than on the preceding day and the declination be southern, the degree will be that from Capricorn towards Aries; and if the shadow of such declination be less, the degree will be that from Libra towards Capricorn; but if the shadow has increased and the declination is northern, the degree will be that from Aries towards Cancer; but if it has decreased, from Cancer towards Libra.

DE ALTITUDE SOLIS OMNI HORA ANNI.

10. **E**T si volueris scire *altitudinem solis que poterit esse omni hora anni, vide quantum capiet quelibet hora anni de gradibus chilindri, mensurando per circum aut per festucam, et ipsa erit altitudo solis ad quamlibet horam anni in regione tua, s[cilicet], super quam figurantur hore chilindri, si Deus voluerit.*

DE LATITUDE REGIONIS.

11. **S**I volueris scire *latitudinem regionis ignote ad quam veneris, tunc vertes stilum super gradus altitudinis, et vide ad quot gradus peruenerit umbra. Quod si hoc feceris in die equinoctiali, minue gradus quos habueris de 90, et residuum erit latitudo regionis. Quod si non feceris hoc in equinoctio, vide per tabulam declinationis que fuerit declinacio solis in ipsa die. Quam declinationem, si fuerit australis, adde super susceptam altitudinem, et habebis altitudinem equinoctialis in eadem regione; et si declinacio fuerit septentrionalis, minue eam de accepta altitudine, habebisque altitudinem equinoctialis in eadem regione. Habita autem altitudine equinoctialis, minuas ipsam semper de 90, et residuum erit latitudo regionis, que est distancia cenith ab equinoctiali.*

DE QUANTITATE ORBIS TERRE.

12. **S**I autem volueris scire *quantitatem [leaf 4, bk] circuitus terre per chilindrum, verte stilum super gradus chilindri, et scias optime gradum solis et declinationem eius, et serua eam. Cumque hoc sciueris, sumas altitudinem solis meridianam, et serua eam; post hec autem procedas directe uersus septentrionem uel meridiem, donec altera die, absque augmenta[ta] uel minorata interim*

10. ON (FINDING) THE ALTITUDE OF THE SUN AT ANY HOUR OF THE YEAR.

And if you wish to know the sun's altitude, which may be at any hour of the year, see how much of the degrees of the cylinder any hour of the year will take, measuring with the compasses or with a rod, and the same will be the sun's altitude at any hour of the year in your region, that is to say, (the region) upon which the hours of the cylinder are figured, if God will.

11. ON (FINDING) THE LATITUDE OF A REGION.

If you wish to know the latitude of an unknown region to which you have come, then turn the style over the degrees of altitude, and see to how many degrees the shadow reaches. And if you do this on the equinoctial day, subtract the degrees which you have from 90, and the remainder will be the latitude of the region. But if you do this *not* at the equinox, see by the table of declination what is the sun's declination on the same day; add the declination, if it be southern, to the altitude you have taken, and you will have the altitude of the equinoctial in the same region; and if the declination be northern, subtract it from the taken altitude, and you will have the altitude of the equinoctial in the same region. Moreover, the altitude of the equinoctial being had, subtract it always from 90, and the remainder will be the region's latitude, which is the distance of the zenith from the equinoctial.

12. ON THE SIZE OF THE WORLD.

If, moreover, you wish to know the extent of the earth's circumference by the cylinder, turn the style over the degrees of the cylinder, and know most accurately the degree of the sun and his declination, and keep it. And when you know this, take the meridian altitude of the sun, and keep it. Then after this travel directly northward or southward, until on another day, without increase or de-

declinacione, ascenderit sol in gradibus chilindri plus vno gradu quam prius ascenderit, plus dico, si processeris versus meridiem, uel minus, si processeris uersus septemtrionem, et iam pertransisti spacium in terra quod subiacet vni gradui celi. Metire ergo illud, et vide quot miliaria sint in eo. Deinde multiplica, s[cilicet], miliaria illius spacij quod habueris per 360, qui sunt gradus circuli, et tot miliaria scias esse in circuitu mundi. Quod si uolueris scire spissitudinem mundi, diuide circuitum eius per tria et septimam partem vnus, eritque hoc quod exierit diametrum terre, et medietas eius erit quantitas que est a superficie ad centrum eius, si Deus uoluerit. De inueniendis autem ascendente et ceteris domibus per umbram satis dictum est in leccionibus tabularum, et ideo de illis nichil ad presens. Et hec de practica chilindri sufficiant. Explicet.

EXPLICIT PRACTICA CHILINDRI MAGISTRI IOHANNIS DE
HOUEDEN ASTROLOGI.

crease of declination in the mean time, the sun has risen one degree more in the degrees of the cylinder than he rose before; more, I say, if you have travelled southward, or less, if you have travelled northward; and now you have traversed on the earth the space which lies under one degree of the heaven. Measure it therefore, and see how many miles are in it. Then multiply, of course, the miles in that space which you have by 360, which are the degrees of a circle, and know that there are so many miles in the circumference of the world. But if you wish to know the thickness of the world, divide its circumference by three and the seventh part of one, and the result will be the diameter of the earth, and half of it will be the distance from its surface to the centre, if God will. But on finding the ascendant and the other houses by the shadow enough has been said in the readings of the tables, and therefore nothing of them at present. And let this suffice upon the working of the cylinder. End.

HERE ENDS MASTER JOHN HOVEDEN, THE ASTROLOGER'S,
WORKING OF THE CYLINDER.

IV.

THE USE OF FINAL *-e*

IN EARLY ENGLISH,

AND ESPECIALLY IN

CHAUCER'S CANTERBURY TALES.

BY

JOSEPH PAYNE, ESQ.

SYNOPSIS OF THE ARGUMENTS.

THE two main arguments are :—

I. That in the ordinary English speech of the 13th and 14th centuries there was no recognition of the formative, and little of the inflexional, *-e*, which, chiefly for orthoëpical reasons, was appended to many words employed in written composition.

II. That the phonetic recognition of final *-e* was confined to verse composition, and only occasionally adopted by license, under rhythmical exigency, and consequently not adopted at the end of the verse where it was unnecessary.

These arguments are maintained, (1.) by considerations inherent in the nature of the case, (2.) by reference to the practice of Anglo-Norman and Early English writers, and are supported by illustrations derived (*a.*) from the laws which governed the formation of words in early French, (*b.*) from the manner in which Norman words are introduced into ancient Cornish poems, and (*c.*) from the usage of old Low German dialects (especially that of Mecklenburg), in respect to words identical (except as regards final *-e*) with Early English words.

THE USE OF FINAL *-e* IN EARLY ENGLISH, WITH
 ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FINAL *-e* AT
 THE END OF THE VERSE IN CHAUCER'S
 CANTERBURY TALES.

1. STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

THE question whether the final *-e*, which is so obvious a feature of numerous English words in the 13th and 14th centuries, was or was not frequently recognized as a factor of the rhythm in verse, is not the question which it is here proposed to discuss. It needs, in fact, no discussion, since there can be no doubt whatever on the point. The real question is what it meant, that is, whether it was an organic and essential element of the words in which it occurred, to be accounted for by reference to original formation, inflexion, &c., or whether it was, for the most part, an inorganic orthoëpic adjunct of the spelling, and only exceptionally performed any organic function.

If the former hypothesis is true, the *-e* was recognized in the rhythm because it was recognized in ordinary parlance as a necessary part of the pronunciation of the word, and the instances in which it was silent were exceptional and irregular. If the latter is true, the instances in which it was silent represent the regular pronunciation of the words, and those in which it is sounded an exceptional pronunciation, allowed by the fashion of the times in verse composition. It is a consequence, moreover, of the former theory that the *-e*, being by assumption a necessary organic part of the word, ought to be sounded even where, as in the case of the final syllable of the verse, it is

not required by the rhythm. By the latter theory the -e of the final rhyme, being generally an inorganic element of the orthography, not recognized in the ordinary pronunciation and not required by the rhythm, was (with rare exceptions, such as *Rome—to me, sothe—to the*, &c., in the *Canterbury Tales* and elsewhere) silent.

These theories are obviously inconsistent with each other, the exceptions of the one being the rule of the other, and *vice versâ*. The former is that adopted by Tyrwhitt, Guest, Gesenius, Child, Craik, Ellis, Morris, and Skeat; the latter is that maintained by the present writer, supported to some extent by the authority of the late Mr Richard Price.

In anticipation of the full discussion of the various points involved, it may be here briefly remarked, that the former theory requires us to assume that such words as *schame, veyne, sake, space, rose, joie, vie, sonne, witte, presse*, were in ordinary parlance pronounced as *scha-me, vey-ne, ro-se, joi-e, son-ne, wit-te, pres-se*; moreover, that *corage, nature*, were pronounced as *cora-ge, natu-re*, and *curteisie, hethenesse*, as *curteisi-e, hethenes-se*, and that the recognition of the -e in verse as a factor of the rhythm was required to represent the true pronunciation. The second theory, on the other hand, assumes that *schame, veyne, seke, joie, witte, nature, curteisie*, &c., conventionally represent *schām, vēyn, sēk, jōi, wīt, natūr, curteisī*, as the ordinary pronunciation of the words, and that the recognition of the -e as significant, was a rhythmical license.

By way of further illustration of the difference between the two theories, it may be noted that in such verses as these:

Enbrouded was he, as it were a *mede*—*C. T.* v. 89.
Ful wel sche sang the servise *devyne*—*ib.* v. 122;

the first theory requires *mede* and *devyne* to be pronounced *me-de, devy-ne*; the second, regarding *mede* (= A.S. *med*) and *devyne* (= Fr. *devyn*) as conventional

spellings, requires them to be pronounced *mēd* and *derǵn*. *Servise* (Fr. *servis*, *service*), here *servi-se*, is regular by the first theory, exceptional by the second.¹

The main principle of the theory here adopted is that very early (probably in the 12th century) phonetic began to supersede dynamic considerations, and, as a consequence, to change the significance of the originally organic *-e*; and that this change was especially due to the introduction of the Norman speech and the usages of the Norman scribes into England. The Norman dialect was the simplest and purest of all the dialects of the French language, and largely exhibited the influence of phonetic laws. This influence it began to propagate on its contact with English. The first effect was to simplify the formative English terminations of nouns. Hence in the beginning of the 12th century *-a*, *-o*, *-u* (as in *tima*, *hælo*, *sceamu*) became *-e* (as in *time*, *sceame*, or *schame*, *hele*). It next acted on the grammatical inflexions, as, for instance, in nouns, either by suppressing the *-e* of the oblique or dative case altogether (cf. Orrmin's "be word," "bi bræd," "o boc," "off stan," &c.); or by converting it from an organic to an inorganic termination, reducing it, in short, to the same category as *name*, *shame*, *hele*. It next affected the orthography generally by introducing an expedient of the Norman scribes (before unknown in England), which consisted in the addition of an inorganic *-e* to denote the length of the radical vowel, an expedient which, when adopted in English, converted, after a time, A.S. *lár*, *bén*, *béd*, into *lare*, *bene*, *bede*, without disturbing the individuality of the words, and re-acted on *name*,

¹ In support of the assumption that sonant *-e* is exceptional, not regular, it may be noted that in the first 100 lines of the Prologue (Ellesmere text) out of 160 instances of final *-e* only 22 occur in which it is sounded before a consonant; of the remaining 138 25 are silent before a consonant, 49 before a vowel or *h*, and 64 in the final rhyme where its sound is superfluous—that is to say, in 138 instances the words in *-e* have, it is assumed, their natural pronunciation against 22 in which, by license, the *-e* is reckoned as an additional syllable.

schame, hele, &c., by treating them (whatever they may have been before) as monosyllables. It finally acted on the versification by introducing the license, well known in early and, by descent, in modern French, of recognizing, under rhythmical exigency, the inorganic *-e* (silent in ordinary discourse) as a factor of the verse. It hence appears that certain principles introduced by the Normans, and exhibited in their own tongue, affected first the spoken and then the written English, gradually superseding the organic function of the *-e*, by treating it as inorganic, as an orthoëpic sign to guide the pronunciation of the reader; and that this great change was fundamentally due to the law of phonetic economy, which, by its tendency to simplification, gradually overpowered the original dynamic laws of the language, and ended in converting the formative and inflexional *-e* into a conventional element of the spelling.

2. OBJECTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE VERSIFICATION CONSIDERED.

Two *à priori* objections may be taken, and indeed have been taken, against this conclusion as applied to Chaucer's versification. The first is indicated in these words of Mr Ellis,¹ "that Chaucer and Göthe used the final *-e* in precisely the same way," and in these of Professor Child,² "that the unaccented final *-e* of nouns of French origin is sounded in Chaucer as it is in French verse," by which assertions it is affirmed that the laws of modern German and French versification are identical with those of Chaucer.

The full answer to this objection will be found in the subsequent investigation, but for the present it may be urged, without pressing the argument already presumptively

¹ "Early English Pronunciation," p. 339.

² "Observations on the Language of Chaucer," by Professor Child of Harvard University, a paper contributed to the "Memoirs of the American Academy," vol. viii. p. 461.

stated, that the use of *-e* in German and French versification is (with very rare exceptions) regular and constant, while that in Chaucer is continually interfered with by instances of silent *-e*, which, indeed, outnumber those in which it is sounded (see note, p. 87), even without taking into consideration the *-e* of the final rhyme. Then with regard to the final rhyme, the objection as applied to French versification proves too much, inasmuch as the *-e* at the end of a French verse is not, and probably never was, a factor of the rhythm. This argument, then, as far as it is worth anything, is for, not against, the theory here maintained.

The following instances, which are typical, show that the laws of French versification are continually violated by Chaucer :

And he *hadde* ben somtyme in chivachie.—v. 85.

In *hope* to stonden in his lady grace.—v. 88.

He sleep *nomore* than doth a nightyngale.—vv. 97, 98.

Ful semely aftur *hire mete* sche raught.—v. 136.

By cause that it was old and somdel streyt.—v. 174.

A *frere* ther was, a wantoun and a merye.—v. 208.

In *alle* the ordres fourre is noon that can.—v. 210, &c.

If these verses are read by the French rule they become unmetrical ; it is only by ignoring it that they can be read with metrical precision. The conclusion, then, is that the only exact identity between French and early English versification consists in the silence of the *-e* at the end of the verse.

Nor would it be difficult to show from the above and from thousands of other instances, that the strict application of the laws of German versification would render Chaucer unreadable.

The second *à priori* argument, first put forward by Tyrwhitt, against the theory here adopted, that the *-e* at the end of a verse was silent, is to the effect that Chaucer intended the verse of the Canterbury Tales to be an imitation of the Italian endecasyllabic, that of Boccaccio, &c., and, therefore, that he required the *-e* at the close of the

line to be pronounced to make the eleventh syllable. Against this assumption, however, it may be urged that he simply adopted the decasyllabic French verse, of which there were numerous examples before his time. The metre of the *Chanson de Roland*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Guillaume d'Orange*, &c., as well as of many of the "Ballades" of his contemporary *Eustache Deschamps*, appears to be precisely that of the *Canterbury Tales*. The following are typical examples :—

Co sent Rollenz que la mort le tresprent,
 Devers la teste sur le quer li descent.—*Chan. de Roland*.
 Ma douce mere jamais ne me verra.—*Huon de Bordeaux*.
 Cis las dolans, vrais dex, que devenra.—*ib.*
 Forment me poise quant si estes navres
 Se tu recroiz, a ma fin sui alez.—*Guillaume d'Orange*.
 En bon Anglais le livre translatas.—*Eustache Deschamps*.
 Grant translateur, noble Geoffroy Chaucier.—*ib.*
 Ta noble plant, ta douce melodie.—*ib.*

We see, then, that there was no occasion for Chaucer to go to the Italians for a model. It may, moreover, be plausibly urged that in none of Chaucer's earlier works is there any trace of Italian influence, whether as regards subject, general treatment, or versification.

3. THE SECTIONAL PAUSE.

Before entering on the illustration by reference to the actual usage of early French and English poets of the theory which has been already stated, some notice may be taken of a characteristic feature of early French and English verse which has an important bearing on the point at issue.¹ It is that of the sectional pause, a stop made in the reading of the verse, for the sake of the sound, and having no immediate connection with the sense. This pause in decasyllabic verse (to which, however, it is by no means confined) occurred at the end of the fourth or

¹ It is remarkable that scarcely any of the writers on early English versification (except Dr Guest) have noticed the sectional pause, or explained the true use of the prosodial bars or full-points found in the MSS.

sixth measure, and divided the verse into two parts, which were prosodially independent of each other; that is, it made each part a separate verse. Dr Guest (*History of English Rhythms*, i. 181) thus states the rule generally: "When a verse is divided into two parts or sections by what is called the middle pause, the syllable which follows such pause is in the same situation as if it began the verse." The bearing of this point, however, on the question at issue is more fully seen in the usage of early French verse, in which the effect of the pause was to silence the *-e* which closed the section. This usage is altogether unknown in modern French verse; a fact which of itself forms an argument against the presumed identity of the laws of early English and modern French versification. The rule is thus stated by Quicherat (*Versification française*, p. 325): "*Une preuve de l'importance que nos anciens poètes donnaient au repos de la césure*" (he means the sectional pause) "*c'est qu'ils la traitaient comme la rime, et lui permettaient de prendre une syllabe muette, qui n'était pas comptée dans la mesure.*"

This principle, in its application to early Anglo-Norman and English, may be thus formulated:—

The *-e* that occurred at the sectional pause (and, presumptively, that at the final pause closing the verse) was silent, and not a factor of the rhythm.

Instances in which the *-e* at the pause was silent abound in early French and Anglo-Norman poems, and this usage was borrowed or imitated by English poets, as may be seen in the instances which follow.

Fors *Sarraguce* || ki est en une muntaigne.—*Chanson de Roland*, v. 6.

De *vasselage* || fut asez chevaler.—*ib.* v. 25.

Mais ami *jeune* || quiert amour et amie.—*Eustache Deschamps*, i. 122.

Car *vieillesse* || sans cause me decoipt.—*ib.* ii. 20.

Desous la loi de *Rome* || na nule region.—*Rutebeuf*, i. 236.

Si li cors voloit *ferre* || ce que lame desire.—*ib.* i. 399.

Toz cis siecles est *foire* || mais lautre ert paiement.—*ib.* i. 400.

- De medle se *purpense* || par ire par rancour.—*Langtoft* (ed. Wright), i. 4.
 Lavine sa bele *file* || li done par amour.—*ib.*
 Norice le tient en *garde* || ke Brutus le appellait.—*ib.*
 I rede we chese a *hede* || þat us to werre kan dight.—*De Brunne* (ed. Hearne, i. 2).
 þat ilk a kyng of *reame* || suld mak him alle redie.—*ib.* i. 4.
 Sorow and site he *made* || þer was non oþer rede.—*ib.* 5.
 That ben *commune* || to me and the.—*Handlyng Synne* (ed. Furnivall, p. 1).
 In any *spyce* || þat we falle ynne.—*ib.* p. 2.
 For none *parefore* || shulde me blame.—*ib.*
 On Englyssh *tunge* || to make þys boke.—*ib.*
 In al *godenesse* || þat may to prow.—*ib.* p. 3.
 þe yeres of *grace* || fyl þan to be.—*ib.*
 Faire floures for to *fecche* || þat he bi-fore him seye.—*William of Palerne* (ed. Skeat), v. 26.
 and comsed þan to *crye* || so ken[e]ly and schille.—*ib.* v. 37.
 þanne of saw he ful *sonne* || þat semliche child.—*ib.* v. 49.
 þat alle men vpon *molde* || no miȝt telle his sorwe.—*ib.* v. 85.
 but carfuli gan sche *erie* || so kenely and lowde.—*ib.* v. 152.

It will be seen that in all these instances the power of the pause overrides the grammatical considerations. *Alle*, *commune* (plurals), *reame*, *spyce*, *tunge*, *grace*, *molde* (datives), *erie* (infin.), *to fecche*, *to crye* (gerundial infinitives), have the *-e* silent.

The following examples show that Chaucer adopted the same rule:—

- Schort was his *goune* || with sleeves long and wyde.—*Harl.* v. 93.
 He sleep no *more* || than doth a nightingale.—*ib.* v. 97.
 Hire grettest *othe*¹ || nas but by seint Eloi.—*Tyrwhitt*, v. 120.
 Hire grettest *ooth* || nas | but by | seint Loi.—*Harl.* v. 120.
 That no *drope* || fil | uppon | hire brest.—*ib.* v. 131.
 That no *drope* || ne fille upon hir brist.—*Ellesmere*, v. 131.
 I durste *swere* || they weyghede ten pound.—*Harl.* v. 454.
 And of the *feste* || that was at hire weddyng.—*ib.* v. 885.
 And maken *alle* || this lamentacioun.—*ib.* v. 935.
 For Goddes *love* || tak al in pacience.—*ib.* v. 1086.
 Into my *herte* || that wol my bane be.—*ib.* v. 1097.
 No *creature* || that of hem maked is.—*ib.* v. 1247.
 And make a *werre* || so scharpe in this cite.—*ib.* v. 1287.
 Thou mayst hire *wynne* || to lady and to wyf.—*ib.* v. 1289.
 Ther as a *beste* || may al his lust fulfille.—*ib.* v. 1318.

¹ *Othe* and *ooth* are the same word, the inorganic *-e* being merely an index to the sound. This exclamation occurs in "Nenil, Sire, par Seint Eloi" (*Théâtre Français du Moyen Age*, p. 120). *Loi* itself appears to be simply a contraction of *Eloi*.

In the following instances the independence of the second section of the verse is shown :—

Whan that *Aprille* || with | hise shore | wes swoote.—
Harl. v. 1.

And whiche they *were* || and | of what | degree.—*Elles.* v. 40.

In al the *parisshe* || wyf | ne was | ther noon.—*Harl.* v. 451.

Sche schulde *slepe* || in | his arm | al night.—*ib.* v. 3406.

That wyde *where*¹ || sent | her spy | cerie.—*ib.* v. 4556.

Than schal your *soule* || up | to he|ven skippe.—*ib.* v. 9546.

For Goddes *sake* || think | how I | the chees.—*ib.* v. 10039.

And with a *face* || deed | as ai|sshēn colde.—*ib.* v. 13623.

In view of the numerous instances given above of the silence of the *-e* at the sectional pause, it would seem *à fortiori* improbable that it would be sounded at the greater pause, that formed by the end of the verse. This argument, though as yet only presumptive, is held to be strongly in favour of the theory adopted by the present writer, who would therefore read,

In God|des love || tak al | in pa|cience

as ten syllables and no more.

Even if the illustrations adduced are not admitted as decisive of the silence of *-e* at the end of the verse, they undoubtedly account for its silence at the sectional pause as a characteristic of Anglo-Norman and Early English versification, and confirm the general argument, that in Chaucer's time the law of phonetic economy prevailed over what have been assumed to be the demands of word-formation and grammar.

4. THE USE OF FINAL *-e* AS A FORMATIVE CONVENTIONAL ELEMENT OF THE SPELLING.

The position to be here maintained has been already stated (see p. 87), and amounts to this, that, as a consequence of Norman influence, the *-e*, which, whether

¹ If the *-e* of *where* is sounded, it is probably the single instance in which it is so used, either in Chaucer or any other Early English writer. *Here* and *there*, too, are always monosyllables, and therefore Mr Child's marking of them as dissyllables when final, as in 1821, 3502, 5222, &c., is entirely gratuitous. They will be considered hereafter.

formative or inflexional, was once organic and significant, became, as in *time* = *tīm*, *dede* = *dēd*, &c., simply a mark or index of the radical long vowel sound, or as in *witte* = *wit*, *presse* = *press*, a mere conventional appendage of the doubled consonant which denoted the radical short vowel sound.

It is further assumed that this phonetic influence, which probably acted first on the formative *-e*, as in the instances just given, gradually involved with varying degrees of velocity also the inflexional *-e*, and therefore that the so-called oblique cases as *roote*, *brethe*, *ramme*, &c., and the infinitives as *take*, *arise*, *telle*, *putte*, merely represent in their spelling the sounds *rōt*, *brēth*, *rām*, *tāk*, *arīs*, *tēl*, *pūt*, the formative and the inflexional *-e* being reduced to the same category.

The doctrine here laid down in its largest generality involves, it is easily seen, the whole question of the correspondence between the sound of words uttered in ordinary speech and their orthographic representation, as far as the final *-e* is concerned, and is to be considered independently of the exceptional use of *-e* as, by the usage of the times, an occasional factor of the verse. If, however, it can be proved it disposes entirely of the assumption that the *-e* was sounded at the end of the verse, and this is the main object in view.

5. CANONS OF ORTHOGRAPHY AND ORTHOEPY APPLICABLE TO EARLY ENGLISH.

The main points, then, to be proved—by reference to the nature of the case and to actual usage—are, that in the time of Chaucer and long before, final *-e* had become either (1) an orthoepic or orthographic mark to indicate the sound of the long radical vowel or diphthong, or (2) a superfluous letter added for the eye, not for the ear, after a doubled consonant.

These conventionalities may be reduced for convenience of reference to the following

Canons of orthography and orthoepy.

Canon I. (1) When final -e followed a consonant or consonants which were preceded by a long vowel or diphthong, it was not sounded.

Thus *mede* = *mēd*, *rose* = *rōs*, *veyne* = *veyn*.

(2) When final -e followed a vowel or diphthong, tonic or atonic, it was not sounded.

Thus *curteisie* = *curteisí*, *glórie* = *glóri*, *weye* = *wey*, *mérie* = *mēri*.

Canon II. When final -e followed a doubled consonant or two different consonants, preceded by a short vowel, it was not sounded.

Thus *witte* = *wīt*, *blisse* = *blīs*, *sette* = *sēt*, *ende* = *ēnd*, *reste* = *rēst*.

Once more admitting that the -e in each of these cases could be made, and was made, at the will of the poet, exceptionally significant, we proceed to consider these propositions seriatim, merely observing, by the way, that these rules—framed and adopted five or six hundred years ago—are in substance the same as those now in common use.

(1.) *Final -e suffixed to a consonant or consonants which were preceded by a long vowel or diphthong, as in mede, penance, veyne.*

On this point we are bound to listen to the doctrine of Mr Richard Price, contained in the preface to his edition of Warton's History of English Poetry.

Referring first to the fact that in A.S. the long vowel of a monosyllabic word was commonly marked by an accent, which in the Early English stage of the language was entirely disused, he inquires what was done to supply its place, and maintains that in such cases an -e was generally suffixed to indicate the long quantity of the preceding

radical vowel. "The Norman scribes," he says, "or at least the disciples of the Norman school, had recourse to the analogy which governed the French language;"¹ and, he adds, "elongated the word or attached, as it were, an accent instead of superscribing it." "From hence," he proceeds to say, "has emanated an extensive list of terms having final *e*'s and duplicate consonants, [as in *witte*, *synne*, &c.] which were no more the representatives of additional syllables than the acute or grave accent in the Greek language, is a mark of metrical quantity." He adds in a note, "The converse of this can only be maintained under an assumption that the Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable multiplied their numbers after the Conquest, and in some succeeding century subsided into their primitive simplicity." Illustrating his main position in another place,² he observes, "The Anglo-Saxon *á* was pronounced like the Danish *aa*; the Swedish *å*, or our modern *o* in *more*, *fore*, &c. The strong intonation given to the words in which it occurred would strike a Norman ear as indicating the same orthography that marked the long syllables of his native tongue, and he would accordingly write them with an *e* final. It is from this cause that we find *hár*, *sár*, *hát*, *bát*, *wá*, *án*, *bán*, *stán*, &c., written *hore* (hoar), *sore*, *hote* (hot), *bote* (boat), *woc*, *one*, *bone*, *stone*, some of

¹ Mr Price makes no attempt to prove this position, but a few remarks upon it may not be out of place here. The general principle in converting Latin words into French was to shorten them, and the general rule, to effect this by throwing off the termination of the accusative case. Thus *calic-em* would become *calic*, which appears in Old French both as *caliz* and *calice*, evidently equivalent sounds. So we find *vertiz*, *devis*, *servis*, *surplis*, *graas*, and in phonetic spelling *ros*, *chos*. Conversely, as showing the real sound of such words, we find in Chaucer and other English poets, *trespaas*, *soluas*, *caas*, *faas*, *gras* (also *grasse*), *las*, which interpret *solace*, *ease*, *face*, *grace*, *lace*, as words in which *-e* was mute, and this because it was mute in French. French words ending in *-nee*, as *sentence*, *pacience*, *experience*, were presumptively sounded without *-e*, since we find Chaucer and other English writers expressing them as *sentens*, *paciens*, *experiens*. See Appendix I "On the final *-e* of French nouns derived from Latin."

² End of note to the Saxon Ode on the Victory of Athelstan.

which have been retained. The same principle of elongation was extended to all the Anglo-Saxon vowels that were accentuated; such as *réc*, *reke* (reek), *lif*, *life*, *gód*, *gode* (good), *scúr*, *shure* (shower); and hence the majority of those *e*'s mute, upon which Mr Tyrwhitt has expended so much unfounded speculation."¹

Mr Price means to assert—what is maintained by the present writer—that an original monosyllable, as *lif*, for instance, was never intended by those who subsequently wrote it *life* to be considered or treated, when used independently, as a word of two syllables, though when introduced into verse it might be employed as such, under the stress of the rhythm. There seems an *à priori* absurdity in the conception of such an interference with the individuality of a word, as is involved in denying the essential identity of *lif* and *life*. The fact, too, that in Early English, as distinguished from Anglo-Saxon so called, nearly, if not quite all, the words in question appear as monosyllables, seems strikingly to confirm the hypothesis. Thus in the Ormmulum we find *boc*, *blod*, *brad*, *braed*, *cwen*, *daed*, *daef*, *daep*, *god*, *soþ*, *wa*, *an*, *stan*, nearly all of which are the identical A.S. forms, and were most of them in later texts lengthened out by an inorganic *-e*. As the pronunciation of these words was no doubt well established, there seemed no need for the scribe to indicate in any way what was everywhere known, but soon the confusion that began to arise, in writing, between long and short syllables, suggested the more general use of the orthoepical expedient in question, and accordingly we find in early English texts both forms employed. Thus along with *lif*, *strif*, *drem*, *bot*, &c., we see *bede* (A.S. *béd*), *bene*, *bone* (A.S. *bén*), *bode* (A.S. *bód*), &c.

The "Early English Poems" (written before 1300,

¹ Mr Price promised to resume the subject "in a supplementary volume, in an examination of that ingenious critic's 'Essay upon the Language and Versification of Chaucer.'" This promise was, however, never fulfilled.

in a "pure Southern" dialect¹) supply us with numerous examples. The following are from "A Sarmun":

þe <i>dere</i> (A.S. <i>deór</i>) is <i>nauzte</i> (A.S. <i>náht, náhht</i>) þat þou mighte sle	v. 24
If þou ert <i>prute</i> (A.S. <i>prút</i>) man, of þi fleisse	v. 25
þe wiked <i>wede</i> (A.S. <i>wéd</i>) þat was abute	v. 49
Hit is mi <i>rede</i> (A.S. <i>rád, réd</i>) while þou him hast	v. 61
þen spene þe <i>gode</i> (A.S. <i>gód</i>) þat god ham send	v. 68
His hondes, is <i>fete</i> (A.S. <i>fét</i>) sul ren of blode	v. 117
Of sinful man þat sadde þi <i>blode</i> (A.S. <i>blód</i>)	v. 124
Boþe <i>fire</i> (A.S. <i>fýr</i>) and wind lude sul crie	v. 125
And forto hir þe bitter <i>dome</i> (A.S. <i>dóm</i>)	v. 134
Angles sul quake, so seiþ þe <i>boke</i> (A.S. <i>bóc</i>)	v. 135
To crie ihesu þin <i>ore</i> (A.S. <i>ár</i>)	v. 142
While þou ert <i>here</i> (A.S. <i>hér</i>) be wel <i>inware</i> (A.S. <i>gewár</i>)	v. 143
Undo þin hert and live is <i>lore</i> (A.S. <i>lár</i>)	v. 144
Hit is to <i>late</i> (A.S. <i>læt</i>) whan þou ert <i>þare</i> (A.S. <i>þær, þar, þer</i>)	v. 146
For be þe <i>soule</i> (A.S. <i>sáwl</i>) enis <i>oute</i> (A.S. <i>út</i>)	v. 171
he nel nozt leue his eir al <i>bare</i> (A.S. <i>bær</i>)	v. 174
and helpiþ þai þat habiþ <i>nede</i> (A.S. <i>neád, neód, néd</i>)	v. 186
þe ioi of heven hab to <i>mede</i> (A.S. <i>méd</i>)	v. 188
heven is heiz boþe <i>lange</i> (A.S. <i>lang</i>) and <i>wide</i> (A.S. <i>wíd</i>)	v. 213

In this long list of passages it will be seen that not one instance occurs in which the formative *-e* is phonetic, so that *bede*, *bone*, *blode*, *boke*, *ore*, *here*, *lore*, *nede*, *bare*, *ware*, *wide*, *late*, &c., are all treated as words of one syllable in which the *-e* is merely an orthoepical index to the sound.

These instances, alone, go far to show what the ordinary pronunciation of the words in question was, and to make it appear very improbable that, except by poetical license, the *-e* which closes them was ever pronounced.

It appears, then, clear that the A.S. words above quoted are absolutely equivalent to the corresponding Early English words ending in *-e*. But the principle admits of some extension. We find that not only A.S. words ending in a consonant assumed *-e* in Early English, but that the A.S. terminations *-a*, *-o*, *-u*, were also represented by *-e*. This we see in *time* from *tima*, and *hele* from *hælo*, or *hælu*. When

¹ "Some notes on the leading grammatical characteristics of the principal Early English dialects." By Wm. T. P. Sturzen-Becker, Ph.D. Copenhagen, 1868.

these forms were generally adopted, the next step would be to consider them as in the same category as *blode*, *dome*, &c., and to apply the same rule of pronunciation to them. Hence, except by way of license, we find in the 13th and 14th centuries no practical difference in the use of the two classes of words—*crede* from *creda*, *stede* from *steda*, *care* from *cearu*, *shame* from *sceamu*, being treated precisely as *blode* from *blód*, *dome* from *dóm*, &c. ; and the same remark applies to such adjectives as *blithe*, *clene*, *grene*, &c., which in their simple indefinite use, at least, were probably monosyllables.

The position now gained is, that the *-e* in such English words as *dome*, *mede*, *fode*, *mone*, *name*, &c., was orthoepic, not organic. It is highly probable—as Mr Price appears to have believed—that Latin words became French by a similar process, and that the orthoepic expedient in question is of French origin.¹ The Norman words *place*, *grace*, *face*, *space*, as interpreted in English by *plas*, *graas*, *faas*, *spas*, are found in “Early English Poems,” and later, in Chaucer, and we also find conversely *trespace*, *case*, for the French *trespas*, *cas*. Both in Early French and English we moreover find as equivalent forms, *devis*, *devise*, and *device* ; *servis*, *servise*, *service* ; *pris*, *prise*, *price* ; *surplis*, *surplice* ; *assis*, *assise*.²

It will now be shown by examples, both Anglo-Norman and English, that in words containing a long vowel followed by a consonant and final *-e*, the *-e* was simply an index to the quantity of the vowel, and therefore not generally pronounced in verse composition—though under stress of the rhythm it might be.

The usage in Anglo-Norman verse will first be shown generally :

¹ See Appendix I.

² The phonetic identity of *-s*, *-sse*, *-ce*, in Anglo-Norman and English is shown by numerous illustrations in a paper by the present writer, on Norman and English pronunciation, in the *Philological Transactions* for 1868-9, pp. 371, 418-19, 440.

Quy a la *dame* de parays.—*Lyrical Poetry of reign of Edward I.* (ed. Wright), p. 1.
 Quar *ele* porta le noble enfant.—*ib.*
 De tiele *chose* tenir grant pris.—*ib.* p. 3.
 Vous estes *pleyne* de grant docour.—*ib.* p. 65.

The word *dame* is derived from *domin-am* = *domin* = *domn* = *dōm* = *dām* = *dame*, just as *anim-am* becomes *anim*, *anm*, *ām*, *ame*. In both instances the -e is inorganic.

Dame frequently occurs in Chaucer, and generally, as we might expect, with -e silent.¹ Examples are:—

Of themperoures doughter *dame* Custaunce.—*Harl.* v. 4571.
Madame, quod he, ye may be glad & blithe.—*ib.* v. 5152. (See also v. 4604, 7786, &c.)

We may presume, then, that at the end of a line, the -e in this word would be silent, and that the -e of any word rhyming with it would therefore be silent, as of *blame* in

And elles certeyn hadde thei ben to *blame* :
 It is right fair for to be clept *madame*.—*Harl.* v. 378-9.

We may infer, then, that English words of the same termination—as *schame*, *name*, &c., would follow the same rule—and accordingly we find—

þe more *schame* þat he him dede.—*Ear. Eng. Poems*, p. 39.
 We stunt noþer for *schame* ne drede.—*ib.* p. 123.
 In gode burwes and þer-*fram*
 Ne funden he non þat dede hem *sham*.—*Havelok* (ed. Skeat),
 v. 55-6.
 Ful wel ye witte his *nam*,
 Ser Pers de Birmingham.—*Harl.* v. 913 (date 1308);

and in Wiclif's "Apology for the Lollards" (Camden Society), "in þe *nam* of Crist" (p. 6); "in *nam* of the Kirke" (p. 13), &c., as also "in the *name*" on the same page. We may therefore conclude that *shāmē* = *shām*, and *nāme* = *nām*.

Following out the principle we should conclude that

¹ Professor Child, in a communication to Mr Furnivall, intended for publication, decides that "*dame* is an exception" from the general rule, but quotes Chaucer's usage of *fame* throughout the "House of Fame" as a dissyllable. There is, of course, no disputing the fact, but we see nothing in it beyond a convenient license. Does Mr Child pretend that *fame* was formed on some special principle, and for this reason employed by Chaucer as a dissyllable?

what is true of *-ame* would also be true of *-eme*, in *dreme*, *-ime* in *rime*, *-ome* in *dome*, *-ume* in *coustume*; and by extending the analogy we should comprehend *-ene* in *quene*, *-ine* in *pine*, as well as *-ede* in *bede*, *-ete* in *swete*, *-ote* in *note*, *-ute* in *prute*, *-ere* in *chere*, &c., and expect that the *-e* in all these cases would be mute. This, with exceptions under stress, is found to be the case—the Northern MSS. (as seen above) very frequently even rejecting it in the spelling.

For the purpose of this inquiry it is obvious that such terminations as *-ume*, *-ine*, *-ete*, *-ere*, *-age*, *-ance*, &c., are virtually equivalent to monosyllabic words of the same elements. As, however, it would be quite impossible without extending the investigation to an enormous length, to illustrate them all, the terminations *-are*, *-ere*, *-ire*, *-ure*, *-age*, *-ance*, will be taken as types of the class.

-ere. We commence with *-ere* because Professor Child asserts that “there can be no doubt *-e* final was generally pronounced after *r*,” a conclusion inconsistent with the law of formation already considered, and, as it would appear, with general usage in early Anglo-Norman and English. He farther maintains that “the final *-e* of *deere* (A.S. *deor*, *deore*) and of *cheere* (Fr. *chere*) was most distinctly pronounced” [in Chaucer].

The first of these propositions evidently includes the second, and means that words in *-are*, as *bare*, in *-ere*, as *here*, in *-ire*, as *fire*, in *-ore*, as *lore*, generally have sonant *-e*. Now it has been shown (p. 98) that *bare*, *here*, *fire*, *lore*, were monosyllables in the 13th century. It is, therefore, extremely improbable that these words would in the 14th century put on another syllable. And if not these words, why others of the same termination, as *deere* and *cheere*? However frequently, then, such words may appear in Chaucer, with sonant *-e*, the cases are exceptional, and being themselves exceptions from a general rule, cannot form a separate rule to override the general one.

Although, then, it were proved that Chaucer more generally than not uses *deere* as a dissyllable, that fact being exceptional cannot prove that *here*,¹ *prayere*, *frere*, *manere*,¹ *matere*, have the -e sonant because they rhyme with *deere*. The argument, in fact, runs the other way, inasmuch as *here*, which is without exception a monosyllable—*manere* and *matere*, which are almost without exception dissyllables, being themselves representatives of the general law of analogy—have a right, which no exceptional case can have, to lay down the law. When therefore we find *heere* and *deere* rhyming together, it is *here*, not *deere*, that decides the question, and proves *deere* in that instance to be a monosyllable. We are indeed, in determining such cases, always thrown back on the formative law, which, being general, overrides the exceptions. All the instances, then, in which *deere* rhymes with *here*, *manere* and *matere*, are instances of monosyllabic *deere*. As to *chere*, on which Mr Child also relies, he seems to have forgotten that this word is very frequently written *cheer* (there are eight such instances in the Clerk's Tale alone), and wherever so written confirms, and indeed proves, the contention that it was only exceptionally a dissyllable. Every instance, then, in which *deere* and *cheere* rhyme with *here*, *there*, *where*, *matere*, *manere*, *frere*, *cleere*, all representatives of the formative rule, is an argument against Mr Child's partial induction.

A few instances will now be given, showing the use of -are, -ere, -ire, -ore, -ure, in Anglo-Norman and English writers:

-are, -ere, -ire, -ore:—

¹ No instance has yet been met with in Chaucer of *here*, *there*, or *manere* with sonant -e. Two from Gower of *manere*, as a trisyllable, have been found by Professor Child. Gower however, who affected Frenchisms everywhere, being, if possible, more French than the native authorities, and in his French ballads writes in the "French of Paris," not Anglo-Norman—is no authority on the question.

Si fut un *sire*¹ de Rome la citet.—*Alewis*. v. 13.
 Quant vint al *fare*, dunc le funt gentement.—*ib.* v. 47.
 En cele *manere*² Dermot le reis.—*Conquest of Ireland* (ed. Michel), p. 6.
 Vers *Engleterre* la haute mer.—*ib.* p. 153.
 En *Engleterre* sodeinement.—*French Chronicle* (Cam. Soc.), Appendix.
 Deus le tot puissant ke ceel e *terre* crea.—*Langtoft* (ed. Wright), v. 1.
 Ke homme de *terre* venuz en *terre* revertira.—*ib.*
Uncore vus pri pur cel confort.—*Lyrical Poetry*, p. 55.

Then, for English instances :

Lyare wes mi latymer.—*Lyrical Poetry*, p. 49.
 Careful men y-cast in care.—*ib.* p. 50.
 Therefore ne lette me nomon.—*ib.* p. 74.
 Ther is [mani] *maner* frute.—*Land of Cokaygne*, v. 49.
 On þys *manere* handyl þy dedes.—*Handlyng Synne*, p. 5.
 Four *manere* joyen hy hedde here.—*Shorcham's Poems* (Percy Soc.), p. 118.
 And alle ine nout *maner* . . . Ine stede of *messenger*.—*ib.* p. 119.
Sire quap þis holi maide our louerd himself tok.—*Seinte Margarete* (ed. Cockayne), p. 27.
 Fyrst of my *kyre* my lorde con wyne.—*Allit. Poems*, i. v. 582.
*Bifore*³ þat spot my honde I spennd.—*ib.* i. v. 49.
 Þat were i-falle for prude an *hore*
 To fille har stides þat *wer ilor*.—*Ear. Eng. Poems*, p. 13.
 And never a day þe *dore* to pas.—*ib.* p. 137.
More þen me lyste my drede aros.—*ib.* v. 181.

¹ In Anglo-Norman verse of the 13th century *Sire* is generally a monosyllable, and is even repeatedly written *Sir*. See in "Political Songs" (Camd. Soc.), pp. 66, 67, "Sir Symon de Montfort," "Sir Rogier," and also in "Le Privilège aux Bretons," a song containing, like that just quoted from, a good deal of phonetic spelling, "Syr Hariot," "Syr Jac de Saint-Calons" and "Biaus Sir" (Jubinal's "Jongleurs et Trouvères," pp. 52—62). Writings of this kind in which words are phonetically, not conventionally, spelt, are often very valuable as showing the true sound, and illustrate a pithy remark of Professor Massafia's, that "pathological examples are frequently more instructive than sound ones."

² In the "Assault of Massoura," an Anglo-Norman poem (13th century, Cotton MS. Julian A. v.), we find *mere*, *frere*, *banere*, *arere*, almost always spelt without the *-e*. *Manere* (when not final) is a dissyllable, and, when final, rhymes with *banere*, which in its turn rhymes with *frer*. *Mester* and *mestere* both occur, and the latter rhymes with *eschapere* and *governere*, for *eschaper* and *governer*, showing that the added *-e* was inorganic and merely a matter of spelling.

³ A.S. *biforan* became in Early English *biforen*, which fell under the orthoepic rule which, as in many infinitives (see *infra*), elided the *-e* in the atonic syllable *-en*. *Biforen* thus became *biforn*, then lost the *n* and received an inorganic or index letter, *e*, becoming *bifore* or *before*. No instance has yet been found by the present writer, of *bifore* as a trisyllable.

py worde *bifore* py wytte con fle.—*Ear. Eng. Poems*, v. 294.
 Louerd, heo seide, ic bide þe : þat *ibore* were of Marie.—
Seinte Marg., p. 25.

These instances in both languages are true illustrations of the formative law, and the spellings *mer*, *frer*, *maner*, *mater*, *baner*, *ther*, *ilor*, &c., show that *-e* in *mere*, *frere*, &c., was not sounded in the 13th century. Other Norman words, too, on entering into English lost the inorganic *-e*, as N. *grenere*, E. *garner*; N. *vicaire*, E. *viker*; N. *gramaire*, E. *gramer*; N. *messagere*, E. *messenger*, *messanger*; N. *damisele*, E. *damsel*; N. *crenelle*, E. *kernel*; N. *doctrine*, E. *doctrin*; N. *merveille*, E. *mervel*, *marvel*; N. *vitaille*, E. *vittel*; &c.

Chaucer recognized the principle by writing *maner*, *mater*, *baner*, *ryver*, as well as *hopper*, *sleper*, &c., and in not sounding the *-e* in *mellere*, *outridere*, &c.

-ure. The case of *-ure* demands special consideration. It appears that Norman *-ure*, when tonic, became sometimes English *-our*, as *armúre* = *armóur* (without *-e*), and it further appears that the same Norman termination when the accent was displaced became English *úr* = *er*. Thus Norman *aventúre* became English *áventur*, *áventer*, *aunter*. These changes had taken place in the 13th century. In the 14th we find in Wiclif's "Apology" *figer*, *creater*, *scripter*, &c., for *figure*,¹ &c. In all these instances there is no trace of *-e*. It is probable that, whether the spelling was changed or not, the *-e* in *-ure*, both tonic and atonic, was never sounded, except by poetical license.

A few passages are subjoined to illustrate the usage of *-ure*:²

¹ Mr Grant White (as quoted in *Ear. Eng. Pron.*, 3rd part) also cites from Shakspeare, *nurter*, *futer*, *venter*, *lecter*, *nater*, &c., apparently showing that the usage of the 13th century had been maintained throughout. This pronunciation persisted until the end of the 17th century, and is still provincial or, so called, vulgar.

² In the "Privilège aux Bretons" we find *cur*, *aventur*, *caintur* (mod. *ceinture*), *frossur* (mod. *fressure*), also *droitur* and *escriptur* both rhyming with *mesure*, &c., and moreover (*je*) *jur* rhyming with the adjective *dur*, and both with the Latin *loquitur*.

Ne þy *sekutoure*, þy *fysycyene*.—*Handlyng Synne*, v. 1182.

þyn *executur* to haue þy þyng.—*ib.* v. 1182.

A more curteyse *creature* || ne cunnynghere of hire age.—*Wm. of Palerne*, v. 406.

þe deuil is his *executur* || of is gold and is *tresure*.—*Ear. Eng. Poems*, p. 19.

Uche cristen *creature* || knowen hymself ouht.—*ib.* p. 130.

Her *fygure* fyn quen I had fonte.—*Allit. Poems*, i. v. 170.

From the law of formation, then, and from the argument that the *-e* was only sounded when the rhythm required it, we infer that in the following final rhymes of the Prologue the *-e* was silent: *hare, spare* (191); *cheere, manere* (139); *sire, schire* (357); *byfore, i-bore* (369); *huyre, myre* (509); *desire* (in French *desir*), *schire* (585); *bare, hare* (685); *mateere, cheere* (729), &c. &c.

-age. The following instances illustrate its use in Norman, Anglo-Norman,¹ and English:

E li *message* descendirent a pied.—*Chanson de Roland*, v. 120.

Cum *mariage* ceo serreit mal.—*Manuel des Pechiez*, v. 1633.

Car a *huntage* grant et peine dure.—*ib.* v. 2529.

Encountre son *homage* ne encountre sa feelte.—*Langtoft*, ii. 220.

Elfrede þorgh *heritage* || toke him the coroune.—*Rob. de Brunne* (ed. Hearne), p. 21.

Grete *taliage* laid he þeron || bi ester and bi weste.—*ib.* p. 45.

A *message* tille hem nam || unto Normundie.—*ib.* p. 78.

Hyr *vy sage* whyt as playn yuore.—*Allit. Poems*, p. 6.

And fro þat *maryag* al other depres.—*ib.* p. 24.

Chaucer too has,

Of hir *visage* children weren sore aferd.—*Harl.* v. 630.

In this *viage* shal telle tales tweye.—*ib.* v. 794.

Of *mariage* which ye han now on honde.—*ib.* v. 9560.

This mayde was of *age* twelf yer and tway.—*ib.* v. 13445.

We appear, then, to be justified, by the above instances from Anglo-Norman and English writers, in pronouncing the following final rhymes of the Prologue, in which the rhythm has no stress, without sonant *-e*: *pilgrimage, corage* (21); *visage, usage* (109); *lungage, mariage* (211);

¹ In the "Privilège aux Bretons" we find repeatedly such instances as the following, which show that the final *-e* was not recognized—"best *sauvag*" (rhyming with *outrage*), *usag, linag, rag, corag, outrag, eritag*, &c.; also the forms *sawach, domach, usach* and *privileg*.

lodemenage, *Cartage* (405); *age*, *arrerage* (603); *viage*, *pilgrimage* (725).

-ance, -ence. Lastly, as to *-ance, -ence*, which may be brought under the same general rule, we find these instances in Anglo-Norman texts :

Esperance li fu done grant.—*Manuel des Pechiez*, v. 1222.

Après priue *fiance* dune.—*ib.* v. 2149.

A *remembrance*¹ sun bras ad tuche.—*ib.* v. 2703.

Ne fole *cuntenance*¹ pur changer.—*ib.* v. 3110, &c.

Fu par le rai de *France* || rumpu e refuse.—*Langtoft*, ii. p. 220.

Ke la *parlaunce* de pes || se fist pur nul esplait.—*ib.* p. 276.

So in the English :

And pure þe with *penaunce* tyl þou a perle worþe.—*Allit. Poems*, p. 71.

With alle þe *syence* þat sende þe souerayn lorde.—*ib.* p. 81.

And do *penaunce*² for hys folye.—*Handlyng Synne*, v. 334.

Whan swyche *bobauunce* for þe ys wroghte.—*ib.* v. 993.

For *veniaunce* to take *veniaunce*.—*ib.* v. 1461.

The Chaucerian usage appears to conform to the Anglo-Norman. In the “Man of Law’s Tale” *Custaunce* before a consonant occurs eighteen times, in sixteen of which the *-e* is silent.³ We also find,

Of *indulgence* so nys it to repreve.—*Man of L. T.* 5666.

For here *acquaintaunce* was not come of newe.—*ib.* 6924.

In spite, then, of *abstinencë* (7482); *countenauncë* (8169), and a few other instances, we are warranted, on the strength both of Anglo-Norman and ante-Chaucerian usage, in refusing to sound the *-e* in the final rhymes, *reverence*, *conscience* (141); *penance*, *pitance* (223); *aqueyntance*, *avaunce* (245); *governaunce*, *cherysaunce* (283); *prudence*, *sentence* (307); *excellence*, *reverence* (313); *dispençe*,

¹ This kind of contraction—*rembrance* for *remembrance*, *cuntnaunce* for *cuntenance*—is by no means uncommon in French poetry. In the next page of the poem we have *tesmoine* for *testimoine*.

² In the section “Of Penaunce” in “Handlyng Synne,” this word occurs as a middle word before a consonant ten times, in nine of which the *-e* is silent.

³ Notwithstanding this fact, Mr Skeat (*Specimens of Early English*, pp. 249—269) marks the word at the end of a line “Custancë.” It was obviously a dissyllable both by formation and by usage.

pestilence (443); *parchaunce*, *daunce* (477); *substaunce*, *suffisance* (491), &c. &c.; more especially as we find *experiens* (5583); *vengeans* (7586); *pleisauns* (8749); *paciens* (16312); *sentens* (17352); interpreting *experience*, *vengeaunce*, *paciencie*, *sentence*.

Having thus gained a standing-point for the argument that the final *-e*, as appears from the cases examined, was merely an orthoepical device for removing the ambiguity that would arise when the accent denoting a long syllable, as in A.S., was lost, or, as in *paciencie* for *paciens*, a mere variation of spelling, and a presumption that these usages (as Mr Price also believed) were borrowed from the practice of the Norman scribes, to whom similar devices in the case of French words were already well known (as shown in *devis*, *servis*, *service*, &c.,) we may, without arrogance, assume that the *-e* in *beste* (mod. *beast*), *feste*,¹ *molde*, *grounde*, *herde*, &c., followed the same general law. We are therefore justified in silencing the final *-e* in the rhymes from the Prologue, *fiftene*, *Tramassene*; *mede*, *reede*; *Englentyne*, *devyne*; *heede*, *neede*; *mone*, *sonne*; *roote*, *boote*, &c.; and, indeed, in all the instances throughout the C.T. to which Canon I. (1) refers, excluding for the present those in which the *-e* is presumptively inflexional. It will afterwards be shown that these also come under the same category.

(2.) *Final -e suffixed to a vowel (tonic or atonic) or a diphthong, without the intervention of a consonant, as in curtesie, glorie, merie, weye.*

We have next to consider the large class of words, mainly furnished by the Norman, in which a long vowel or diphthong immediately preceded the final *-e*. If we re-

¹ There is abundance of evidence in English literature generally (see also the Knight's Tale) that *beste* and *feste* were monosyllables, and in an Anglo-Norman poem (Pol. Songs, p. 68) we accordingly find *fest*, *test*, *best*, *honest*, rhyming together. The same spelling of *test* and *best* is found in "Le Privilège aux Bretons."

gard the -e in the case already considered merely as an inorganic index letter, used to show that the preceding vowel was long, we might naturally infer that in cases in which a long vowel immediately preceded the final -e without the intervention of a consonant, the same rule would apply. As, however, some rather important conclusions respecting Chaucer's texts, or supposed texts, are thought to depend upon the question whether *maladie* or *curtesie*,¹ for instance, were words of three or of four syllables, this case will be considered on its own merits. The assumption, then, is that both in early French and English, when the accented syllable which contained a long vowel or a diphthong was followed by -e, the -e was generally absorbed in the long sound which preceded it, just as, in the Greek, *δίκη*, *χωρῆ*, the *ι*, though written, was not sounded.

The instances to be cited will be taken from Anglo-Norman poems, with the exception of those from "La Prise de Pampelune," edited by Professor Massafia, from a Venetian MS. of the 14th century, a poem which presents many variations both from the Paris French and that of Normandy. We find the following among other examples :

Quand Desirier vit Carle ne sembla *mie* bricon.—p. 2.

Li aubres e portier por lour *vie* mantener.—p. 7.

Puise sempre portier çainte la *spée*² forbie.—p. 10.

Adonc fu la peis feite e la *meslée*² fenie.—p. 11.

¹ The rule of French derivation which required that words from the Latin should preserve the original accent appears to be violated in *curtesie*, *maladie*, &c. Many words of this class were not derived directly from Latin at all, but either from Italian forms, in which the Latin accent had been already displaced, or they were constructed in imitation of such forms. Thus *curtesie* resembles, in accent, Italian *cortesia*, and *maladie* is formed on the same model, from *malade*, in old French *malabde* = Latin *male aptus*, indisposed. (See Diez, "Grammatik," ii. 257.) The *i* therefore in these words is practically treated as long.

² Respecting words of this form, such as *armée*, *contrée*, *meslée*, *mesnée*, &c., it may be observed that they belong to the same category as *vie*, *envie*, &c., and therefore if "Chaucer" (i. e. the Harleian 7334 scribe) considered *armee*, &c., to be *ar-me-e*, he unlawfully docked off a syllable by writing them *armé*, *contré*, *meigné*, &c.; and if, on the other hand, "Chaucer" (i. e. the Ellesmere and Hengwrt scribes) held them to be trisyllables, he was

Ne faiz *mie* dist cellu car isu sui d'enfance.—p. 15.

E se fiert en la prese des Franzois *irément*.—p. 46.

Commenting on these instances in his preface, Professor Massafia, while pointing out some exceptions, says, "Stummes e nach einem Vocale für keine Sylbe zählt," thus confirming, as regards these instances, the usage now under discussion.¹

In an Anglo-Norman poem "De Conflictu Corporis et Animæ," printed by Wright in the appendix to his edition of Walter Mapes's Latin Poems (Camden Society), "not more modern than the beginning of the 13th century," we find the following verses, which are the more remarkable as being written in long lines in which a word at the pause rhymes with one at the end of the verse, and suggesting the inference that as the *-e* at the sectional pause was certainly mute, it must have been also mute at the end of the verse.

L'ame estoit *essue* || ce me ert vis tote *nue*.—p. 324.

Par itel *felenie* || cresseit ta *marautie*.—*ib.*

Or as perdu ta *vie* || e la grant *marautie*.—*ib.*

Ki departet la *preie* || ne lor chaut qui *le veie*.—p. 325.

La semence est *faillie* || toute est *dechartillie*.—*ib.*

Or sui de toi *tornée* || remese est ta *pognée*.—p. 328, &c.

The following instances also show the usage :

La *uertue* del seint esprit.—*Manuel des Pechiez*, v. 1.

Creient les uns qe est *folie* grant.—*ib.* v. 1095.

Si il oient la *pie* iangler.—*ib.* v. 1096.

De li querez *folie* par tant.—*ib.* v. 3094.

De *cor|teysie* | soit for | banys.—*Lyrical Poetry*, p. 1.

Desouz | la *joie*² | de pa|raÿs.—*ib.* p. 4.

guilty of a "bad rhyme," by making (C. T. 215) *he* and *contrée* rhyme together. As regards *armée*—the only proper form in Norman texts—its interpretation (60) as *armee* (Elles., Heng.), *armé* (Corp., Lans.), and *armeye* (Pet.), shows that *-e* was silent. So by the above argument the rhyme (55) *dégré*, *be* (Elles., Heng.) must be "bad," for the only form in French is *dégré*.

¹ In the phonetically spelt poem "Le Privilège aux Bretons," we have these rhymes, *compaigni*, *chevalerie*, *mi* (for *mie*); *Sainte Mari*, *trecheri*.

² *Joie* occurs in these poems not unfrequently as a dissyllable, but more generally as represented above. Hence we see why this word early received the form in English *ioi* and *joy*: e.g. "Of al þis *ioi* þer nis non end."—*Ear. Eng. Poems*, p. 7 and passim.

La *joie* | que de eux | descent.—*ib.* p. 8.

La *vi|leynie* | de fem|me dist.—*ib.* p. 8.

Marie | par toun | enfant.—*ib.* p. 54.

Par *ge|losie* | que ele a.—*ib.* p. 109.

The next Anglo-Norman quotations are from De Langtoft's Chronicle, where similar instances are very numerous. The following may be considered as typical examples :

Le ray se mette en *veye* dekes a un rivage.—i. 8.

Si tost cum cele *navye* fu venu a ryvage.—i. 50.

Jo serray par ma *vie* si De le m'ad grauntez.—i. 116.

Pur *maladie* garrir pur playe ben saner.—i. 124.

Le duk de *Normendye*¹ William le Conquerour.—i. 410.

Les gens de *Normendye*¹ suz Dover aryvaynt.—ii. 224.

The English treatment of Norman words introduced into English is in strict accordance with our theory. Early English poets almost always treat the -e when preceded by a long vowel or diphthong as silent.

The Northern scribes generally settle the question of final -e in this case by either peremptorily rejecting it even in the spelling or rhyming words in -ye with words in -y alone.² Thus in the "Cursor Mundi" (about 1320) we find *propheci*, *progeni*, &c., and in the "Metrical Homilies" (about 1330) we find everywhere *Mari*, *curtaysi*, *maistri*, *foli*, &c., and such rhymes as these :

¹ The word *Normendye* appearing in the Saxon Chronicle first as *Normendize*, becomes without exception in the later chapters *Normendi*, thus testifying to the fact that the -e was not generally sounded, and confuting the assumption of Mr Lowell, that when found in the final rhyme it was necessarily *Normendi-e*. (See "My Study Windows," *Essay on Chaucer*.)

² The difference generally between the usage of Northern and Southern scribes is simply a difference of spelling, not of sound. The Northerners were more strictly phonetic in their spelling, and hence we find in "Early English Homilies" and "Cursor Mundi" such rhymes, *passim*, as *Adam*, in *blam*; to *tak*, for mannes *sak*; ilke a *yer*, in fair *maner*; of my *pouert*, in *hert*; in the *servis*. his *quaintis*; which in Southern conventional spelling would be *Adame*, *blame*; *take*, *sake*; *yere*, *manere*; *pouerte*, *herte*; *servise*, *quaintise*. So the Northumbrian scribes wrote indifferently, *Mari*, *Marie*; in *hel*, in *helle*; in *sin*, of her *sinne*; *wille*, *wil*; *fet*, *feet*, *fete*; *godspel*, *godspelle*; and numbers of such rhymes as *messe*, *riktwisnes*; *drane*, *sau*; *Baptiste*, *Crist*; *Baptist*, *Criste*; *telle*, *spel*; *cume*, *dom*; *gret*, *bete*; *vis*, *grise*, &c., in which the phonetic interprets the conventional spelling.

Thir wordes says God *almihty*
 Thoru the prophet *Malachye*.—p. 9.
 Godd of heuin es ai *redi*
 For to haf of hem *mercie*.—*ib.* p. 16
 Ful god help þar þoru hir *mercy*
 For scho bisoht Crist *inwardlie*.—*ib.* p. 32.

Can we, then, believe that a phonetic *-e* was added in reading the following?

Forthi hafd God of man *mercye*
 That was bigilid thoru *envie*.—p. 7.
 That man that hers spek of *Marie*
 Thar haf wanhop of Godes *mercie*.—*ib.* p. 16.

Minot (about 1350) also wrote *galay* (for Nor. *galeie*), *cumpany* (p. 14), *Normundy*, *Mari*, and indeed scarcely ever sounds the *-e* at all—certainly not once in fifty times.

Northern usage, then, is decidedly against the recognition of the sound. Midland is less uniform, but no opposing example has been met with in "Alliterative Poems"¹ (14th century), while the theory is confirmed by the spellings *drwry* (for *druerie*), *glory* (for *glorie*), and by the rhymes *awaye*, *gaye*, *play* (p. 9); *prayse*, *uncortoyse*, *rayse*, *westernays* (p. 10); *Arraby*, *cortaysye* (p. 13); *baily* (for *bailie*), *cortaysie* (p. 14); *saye*, *pray*, *day*, *fay*, *aray* (p. 15); *felonye*, *query* (p. 24); *affray*, *paye* (p. 35); *day*, *paye*. In "Sir Gawayne," by the same author, we have also *nwe* repeatedly spelt *nw*, also *storie*, *stori*, &c., and the rhymes *daye*, *gray*, *say*, *way*. We find also in these Alliterative Poems *mangerye* (p. 39); *felonye* (p. 44); *drwrye* (p. 64); and many others with the *-e* always silent.

In "Early English Poems" we find the same usage steadily maintained: *Marie*, *crie*, *curteisie*, *maistrie*,

¹ The writer of these poems was a true artist in verse, who dealt skilfully with his materials, and whose taste was under the control of a musical ear—an authority therefore among the writers of the 14th century. He seldom recognizes the *-e* under any circumstances as significant. In the first 60 lines of the "Pearl," for instance, we find, excluding the final rhyme, 30 instances of *-e* silent against 3 sounded; including the final rhyme, 69 instances against 3.

vilanie, lecherie, fantasie, victorie, remedie, &c., being written as *Mari, cri, curteisi, curtesy, maistri, vilani, lecheri, victori, remedi, &c.* The following instances also illustrate the argument :—

Of paradis al þe *balye* whan him likid to is honde.—p. 13.

To him þe devil had *envie* þat he in his stid schold be broȝte.—*ib.*

þurf *clergie* þis holi maide resouns makede so quoynte.—*ib.*
p. 91.

þo Pilatus hadde þer longe þe *maistrie* fur and nher.—*ib.*
p. 113.

Dame *mercie* quaþ þe messenger maie þulke ymage oȝt.—*ib.*
p. 115.

Now *harlotrie* for murþe is holde.—*ib.* p. 122.

For *envie* never mon þou chas.—*ib.* p. 126.

No instances contradicting these have been found in Early English Poems, and we are therefore warranted in assuming that in numerous final rhymes, such as *ribaudye, curtesye, harlotrie, eschuwe, duwe, suwe, &c.*, the -e would be silent.

In view of these numerous examples, all appearing, without exception, to establish the same principle, we can scarcely doubt that *-ie, -ye = -i, -y*, that is, that in accordance with the well-understood Anglo-Norman usage of the 13th and 14th centuries, words of the form *curtesie* were words of three syllables. A question however has been raised involving the authenticity of the "Romaunt of the Rose," arising from what are called the "bad rhymes" of the scribe of that poem. This charge is founded on the discrepancy occasionally observable between the customary spelling of certain words found in the "Romaunt of the Rose" and that of most or all of the manuscripts of the "Canterbury Tales." In the former poem we find such rhymes as *I, maladie* (1849), *curtesie, gladly* (2985), *generaly, vilanye*, and on the assumption that *-ye* is a dissyllable termination they are, of course, as they have been declared, on high authority, to be, "bad." If however, as is proved by a large preponderance of instances, the *-ye* was = *-y*, then, whatever may be said of the spelling, the

rhymes themselves must be pronounced to be good. A rhyme is addressed essentially to the ear, not to the eye, and cannot with propriety be called "false" or bad because the symbols which represent it to the eye are not literally identical. If the rhyming combinations clearly echo to each other, we get a proper ear-rhyme, even if, through ignorance, carelessness, caprice, or special notions on the part of the scribe, there is no satisfactory eye-rhyme. If the ear-rhyme is good he means right, at all events, and the rest resolves itself obviously into the vexed question of spelling. This explanation of the difficulty in question will not, of course, be admitted by those who assume, without proving, that the unaccented *-e* at the end of a verse must always be sounded; they are, of course, bound to maintain that whenever a word lacking the *-e* rhymes with one which has it, the resulting rhyme must be faulty. According to the theory, however, of this paper, founded on the double argument of formative law or analogy and usage, the *-e* in question ought generally, if not always, to be mute, and consequently words with and without *-e* may lawfully rhyme together. Taking, for example, the instances collected by Mr Ellis from Wright's edition of the "Canterbury Tales" (see "Early English Pronunciation," p. 249), in which text, by his judgment, "the spelling indicates a difference of pronunciation,"—we find, (1.) *trace, allas* (1953); *solace, allas* (9149); (2.) *bere, messenger* (5142); *ever, dissevere* (12802); *matere, gramer* (14946); (3.) *hew, newe* (8253); *may, aye* (17105); *leye, pray, way* (8753),—in which, if the assumption is correct, we certainly have a collection of "faulty rhymes." But then that is the very question at issue. Mr Ellis's invaluable book contains no argument to show that *solace* ought to be a word of three syllables, and consequently none to show that it could not be a dissyllable and rhyme properly with *allus*. And so with respect to *matere, gramer*; *hew, newe*, &c. On the other hand, the reader is

referred to the numerous instances recently cited, which appear to show conclusively that the *-e* in these cases was generally silent, and consequently that the rhymes in question are good. There is a considerable presumption too, founded on analogy, that the other "faulty" rhymes quoted by Mr Ellis on the same page of his treatise were allowable, and therefore allowed. These are *born, biforne*¹ (1225); *eeke, leek* (6153); *potestate, estaat* (7594); *mighte, sight* (8556); *witte, it*² (8303); *hert, smerte* (10793); *hoste, wost* (11007); *gold, olde* (15645), and a few others. There are reasons even for such rhymes as *be, companie*; *joye, the*; *joye, conveye*.

On the whole, then, it is maintained that rhymes of the type *curtesie, gladly*, found in the "Romaunt of the Rose," were not faulty as regards the rhythm, though they appear to represent a fashion of rhyming in use when Chaucer first began to write, rather than that which he adopted 30 or 40 years later, when he wrote the "Canterbury Tales." And this hypothesis confirms the arguments by which Professor Ten Brink, in his recently published valuable work,³ attempts to show that the "Romaunt" was probably one of Chaucer's earliest works.

The answer, then, founded on the previous investigation, to Mr Furnivall's hypothetical inquiry ("Temporary Preface to the Six-Text edition of Chaucer," p. 108), "if in Chaucer's undoubted works [which text is Chaucer's undoubted work?] *mal-a-dy-e* or *cur-tei-si-e* is four syllables,

¹ The readings of the Six Texts are, *born, biforn* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet.); *bore, bifore* (Cam.); and *borne, be-forne* (Lans.), showing *biforn* = *bifore* = *be-forne*, which we also frequently find as *bifor* in other texts, to be essentially a dissyllable. So as regards *eeke*, not a single instance has yet been produced of the dissyllabic use of this word. It ought to be, and always is, a monosyllable, and *therefore* the infinitive *seeke*, with which it rhymes seven times in C. T., was a monosyllable also.

² This case, in which a doubled consonant is followed by *-e*, will be subsequently discussed.

³ Chaucer. Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung und zur Chronologie seiner Schriften. Von Bernhard Ten Brink. Erster Theil. Münster, 1870.

how *-y-e* or *-i-e*, proved by derivation to be a two-syllable termination," can rhyme with *-y* or the pronoun *I*? is, (1) that *-y-e* or *-i-e* is not proved by derivation to be a two-syllable termination, as no attempt has been made to prove this point; and, (2) that the usage both of Anglo-Norman and ante-Chaucerian poets shows that in the 13th and 14th centuries words of the form *maladye* and *curtesie* were generally accounted as trisyllables, and that it was therefore to be expected that Chaucer's usage would be the same; that is, including the whole proposition, not merely one case of it, that he would be found illustrating the general principle or formula, **Orthographical long vowel or diphthong — e = phonetical long vowel or diphthong + e.**

The following instances from Chaucer are in accordance with Canon I. (2.):

- To take oure *weye* ther as I yow devise.—*Harl.* v. 34.
 How gret a *sorwe* suffreth now Arcite.—*ib.* v. 1221.
 His eyen *holwe*, grisly to behold.—*ib.* v. 1366.
 He never yit no *vilonye* ne sayde.—*ib.* v. 70.
 In *curtesie* was set ful muchel hir list.—*Elles.* v. 132.
 For *curtesy*,¹ he sayde, he wolde noon.—*Harl.* v. 3351.
 That is to *seye*, that telleth in this caas.—*ib.* v. 799.
 Schal *paye* for al we spenden by the *weye*.—*ib.* v. 808.
 The tiraunte, with the *preye* by force y-raft.—*ib.* v. 2017.
 Enforce my might thi *trew*e servant to be.—*ib.* v. 2237.
 All that he spak it was of *heye* prudence.—*ib.* v. 307.
 To seeken hem a *chaunterie* for soules.—*ib.* v. 512.
 And in his oost of *chevalrie* the flour.—*ib.* v. 984.
 That *Emelie*² that fairer was to seene.—*ib.* v. 1037.
 Nought in *purgatorie*, but in helle.—*ib.* v. 1228.
 Of *maladie* the which he hath endured.—*ib.* v. 1406.
 Your *malady* is for we have to lite.—*ib.* v. 7545.

¹ We find the same negation of *-e* in Chaucer's *oratory*, *memory*, *sorcery*, *baudery*, *flattery*, *gelousy*, *company*, *chivalry*, *remedy*, *glotony*, *harlotry*, all showing *-ye* = *-y*. How is it possible, then, to consider *memorie*, *gelosie*, &c., as four-syllable words?

² So *Emelye*, 1070; *Emely*, 1822, 2819, 2943; but *Emelyé*, 1688, 1862, 2334. Other manifest exceptions are *trewé*, 2420, 2659; *prayé*, 2318; *carpentryé*, 3859; *compaignié*, 4321, 14773; *aspié*, 5980; *glotonyé*, 13913 (but *glotony*, 13927); *Cecilié*, 12350 (but *Cecilie*, 12203). It is believed, however, that scarcely any others can be found. One appears in the Appendix to "Boethius" (p. 181):

Hadden no *fantesie* to debate.

- That al this *storie* tellen more pleyn.—*Harl.* v. 1466.
 For I *defye* the seurte, and the bond.—*ib.* v. 1606.
 An egle tame, as eny *lylie* whyt.—*ib.* v. 2180.
 The *mynstralceye*, the servyce at the feste.—*ib.* v. 2199.
 The *menstraleye* and noise that was maked.—*ib.* v. 2526.
 Of no *partye* ne cantel of a thing.—*ib.* v. 3010.
 Ne clepe ne *erye* but be in his preyere.—*ib.* v. 3587.
 O foule lust, O *luxurie*, lo thin ende.—*ib.* v. 5345.
 In *surgerie* ful perilous is the cure.—*ib.* v. 11426.
 As his *Rosarie* maketh menciou.—*ib.* v. 13357.
 Some drope of *pitee* (Fr. *pit *) thurgh youre gentilnesse.—
ib. v. 922.
 Out of his toun a *journee* largely.—*ib.* v. 2742.
 And he began with right a *merie* chere.—*ib.* v. 859.
 What helpeth it to *tarye* forth the day.—*ib.* v. 2822.

These instances, in connection with the previous investigation, appear to justify us in claiming as under the same category the finals in the Prologue: *chivalrye*, *curtesie* (45); *Belmarie*, *Satalie* (57); *chivachie*, *Picardie* (85); *berye*, *merye* (207); *philosophie*, *sawtrie* (297); *companye*, *dayesye* (333); *surgerye*, *astronomye* (415); *maladye*, *drye* (421); *weye*, *seye* (469); *myscarye*, *mercenarie* (515); *dayesie*, *pultrie* (599); *thre*, *decree* (641); *moneye*, *tweye* (705); *storye*, *offertorye* (711); *curtesie*, *velanye* (727); *lye*, *companye* (765); *weye*, *pleye* (773); *seye*, *weye* (781); *weie*, *tweye* (783); *withseie*, *weye* (807); *seye*, *weye* (857).

Before closing this department of the subject, it may be observed that the following cases of *-ie = y* occur in the Harleian MS. 7334: *victorie*, *story* (5387); *quirboily*, *yvory*, for *yvorye*, *fetisly* (7323), and *yvorye* (15283); *Sir Gy*, *chivalry*, for *chivalrye* (15307); and *lustily*, *vicory*, for *vicorye* (17333). And, as bearing on the general argument, the following instances should be noted:—to the *lond*, *stronde* (5281); *renegat*, *desolate* (5353), also *desolat* (4549); *fynd*, *mynde* (5546); *booke*, *took* (4610); *entente*, *sent* (4744); *bere*, *messenger* (5143); *curious*, *house* (577); *tresor*, *Nebugadonosore* (15630); *potestate*, *estaat* (7599); *deed*, *rede* (7619); *mede*, *heed* (7622); *matere*, *gramer* (14946). Will it be said that all these are slips of the scribe?

To these may be added the following rhymes from Harleian MS. 913, as transcribed in *Early English Poems*, all, be it observed, consistent with our Canons:—*beste lest*; *tak quake*; *none ston*; *riche ilich*; *spech wreche*; *Austin fine*; *rise agris*; *was grace*; *snowe ithrow*; *Lucifer were*; *forbede red*; *Arimathie honuri*; *face was*; *none Ion*; *over-cam name*; *preche tech*; *clere sopper*; *gote wot*; *flure odor*; *therbi nunnerie*; *river stere*; *danger yere*; *vote abbot*; *milke silk*. To these add from Robert of Gloucester, *kynedom come*; *com nome*; *lond understonde*; *lond honde*; *here power*, &c., &c.; and from Shoreham's *Poems*, *bost goste*; *londe fond*; *manyour creature*; *seet ete*, &c.

(3) **Final -e suffixed to a doubled consonant or two different consonants, preceded by a short vowel, as in *witte*, *reste*.**

The next case we have to consider is that of final -e preceded by a doubled consonant (as in *witte*), and the question is, whether this formative -e was an organic element of the word, or merely a fashion of spelling of no phonetic significance, though capable of being made such at the will of the poet.

The phonetic spelling of Orrmin has accustomed us to the fact, that in early times a short vowel was indicated by doubling the consonant which followed it. Hence we find him writing the tonic syllables *mann*, *patt*, *iss*, *uss*, *witt*, *writt*, &c.; and also the atonic in *fündenn*, *wærenn*, &c. In this he merely adopts the usage of A.S., where we find *man*, *mann*; *wit*, *witt*; *hyl*, *hyll*; *syn*, *synn*; *neb*, *nebb*; *bed*, *bedd*, &c., in which cases the first consonant was radical, the second orthoepic. When these words appear in Early English, we often find them with a suffixed -e, as *witte*, *synne*, *bedde*, &c. It is not to be supposed, however, that, contrary to the general principle before illustrated, it was intended to make them dissyl-

lables. The *-e* was probably added, (1) to prevent what was evidently distasteful to our early English writers, the ending of a word in two similar letters; and, (2) probably to imitate the usage adopted in the case of long syllables, though not for the same reason. There is, however, no more cause to believe that *witte* was a dissyllable than were *ware* or *prute*, which represented *wár* or *prút*. The new form was, from some cause or other, evidently more agreeable to the eye, and being received, furnished an additional resource to the verse writer, who sometimes, as a license, made the final *-e* phonetic. Orrmin, for instance, knew the A.S. words *blis*, *bliss*; *gódnæs*, *gódnýss*; *drún-cenes*; but it suited the rhythm which he adopted to add a syllable to each of them, and on the same principle to ignore the original accent at will, and he therefore writes *blisse*, *godnése*, *drunkennése*, treating the words respectively as if consisting of two, three, and four syllables. But the *-e* which he suffixed to the form and made phonetically significant represented no etymologic or grammatical feature. It was simply, (1) a fashion of spelling, or (2) a rhythmical license. When convenient to him, he ignores his own rule and writes *kynn* (though exactly analogous to *synn*) without *-e*, even when inflexional, as “*off kynn*,” so “*i flumm*,” &c. So in “Early English Poems” (Furnivall) we find these rhymes: *his*, *blisse* (p. 3); *blysse*, *amys* (p. 146); *a cuntis*, *i-wisse* (p. 3); *i-wisse*, *blis* (p. 15); *begin*, *of sinne* (p. 18); *wel*, *felle* (p. 19); *welle*, *schel* (*ib.*); as also *wel*, *schel* (*ib.*); *helle*, *hel* (p. 20); while almost all the words with doubled consonant + *e* occur also with a final single consonant. Again, in “Alliterative Poems,” we find these rhymes: *clot*, *spotte* (p. 1); *not*, *spotte* (p. 2); also *flot*, *schot spot* (p. 2); *spakk*, *sake*, *take* (p. 28); *wasse* (was), *passe*, *tras* (trace), *mas* (masse), (p. 34). Then we find everywhere, before Chaucer, *wil*, *will*, *wille*; *wit*, *witt*, *witte*; *skil*, *skille*, used interchangeably, and apparently without regard to flex-

ional use. Thus we see "on worldes *blisse*," and on the same page, "on worldes *blis*" ("Anecdota Literaria," p. 90).

The general use of such words is seen in the following lines from De Brunne's Chronicle (ed. Hearne):

In felawschip *whenne* þai sitte samen.—v. 10.
 Of thare dedes *salle* be my sawe.—*ib.* v. 21.
Alle þat kinde, and *alle* þe frute.—*ib.* v. 31.
 That *calle menne* now þe Inglis gent.—*ib.* v. 38.
 Among þe bretons with *mykelle* wo.—*ib.* v. 53.
 I *telle* myn Inglis þe same ways.—*ib.* v. 63.
 And Pers tellis *alle* þe Inglis dedes.—*ib.* v. 66.
 But I here it no *manne* so say.—*ib.* v. 100.
 And my *witte* was ouer *thynne*
 So strange speche to travayle *In.*—*ib.* v. 112, 113.
 And *menne* besoght me many a tyme.—*ib.* v. 117.
 For this making I *wille* no mede.—*ib.* v. 129.
 That alle in metur *fulle* wele lys.—*ib.* v. 195.

The usage is the same in "Handlyng Synne:"

In al *godenesse* þat may to prow.—v. 62.
 On *englysshe* tunge out of frankys.—*ib.* v. 78.
 Lytyl or mochel *synne* we do.—*ib.* v. 91.
 We *synne* þat shal we bye ful soure (sure).—*ib.* v. 96.
 Elles *forbarre* þey þe blys of heune.—*ib.* v. 106.
Begynne we þan to telle in hast.—*ib.* v. 141.

After these examples we need not hesitate to silence the *-e* in the following final rhymes:

At þy wurschyp shall we *byggyn*
 To shame þe fende and shew our *synne*.—*ib.* v. 3, 4.
 For þys ys one þe most *synne*
 þat any man may fallyn *inne*.—*ib.* v. 159, 160.
 Hit was onys a munke and hade a *celle*
 In a wyldernes (*al.* wyldernesse) for to *dvelle*.—*ib.* v. 171, 172.
 Sey þou me be certeyn of *alle*
 Wheþer y *shal* or y ne *shalle*.—*ib.* v. 225, 226.

We now proceed to ascertain how far Chaucer's usage justifies this Canon. Words of this form—doubled consonant + *e*, are very common in his verse. The position assumed is, that this spelling was generally conventional, not phonetic, and represented no etymological or grammatical feature. It was a fashion adopted, but not uniformly maintained, by Chaucer; and in most cases we find in other authors, antecedent or contemporary, the true

phonetic spelling of the words. Take first the word *hadde*. This is frequently *had-de* in Chaucer, but is shown to be simply = *had*, by our finding it so written in the parallel texts. In 1488, we find "fortune *had* brought" (Elles., Pet.); "fortune *hadde*" (Heng., Cam., Corp., Lans.). In 1624, "*had* leyd" (Elles., Pet., Lans.); "*hadde* leyd" (Heng., Cam., Corp.). It occurs, too, almost always as *had* in the prose "Boethius" (Morris's ed.), in place of the *hadde* of the later MS. Before Chaucer, *had* continually occurs in Northern and Midland texts, as Hampole, De Brunne, Minot, Syr Gawayne; and also in Southern writings, as "Sarmun," "Fifteen Signs," &c., of Harl. MS. 913, written, as Mr Furnivall says, before 1300. The spelling *had* is, in these Southern poems, uniform, simply because the scribe of this MS. followed his ear and not his eye. Indeed, the spellings of this MS. alone, which is noted by Dr Sturzen Becker as "pure Southern," of themselves confute much that has been written on behalf of sonant versus silent *-e*. We presume, then, that *hadde* means *had* in Chaucer, except when the rhythmical beat requires *had-de*. So as regards words ending in *-nesse* = A.S. *-nys* or *-nes*; we know that Orrmin always treated *-nesse* as *nes-se*, but there is no reason to believe that such words in common use were considered as lengthened by a syllable. Chaucer writes in the prose "Boethius," *derkenes*, *bisines*, *sekenes*, *foolhardines*. So in words ending in the French *-esse*, he writes in "C. T." *goddess*, *soudanes*, *ryches*; and *godesse*, *gesse* (1101), is in Lans. MS. *godes*, *ges*. We may, then, presume that the final rhymes *hethenesse*, *worthinesse* (49); *gesse*, *presse* (82); *gesse*, *prioressse* (117), &c., were phonetically equivalent to *hethenes*, *worthines*, &c. Similarly *-tte* = *-t*, as is shown by the identical use of *wit*, *witt*, and *witte*; also by *y-sette*, *mette* (1635), which are so spelt only in Pet., Lans.—the words being in the other four MSS. *y-set*, *met*,—and by *writte*, *itte*, Corp., Pet., Lans. (738), which are *writ*, *it*, in Elles., Heng., Camb., Harl., 7334.

So *set*, *sett*, *sette*, all appear in the various readings of 740. It would be easy—but it is needless—to show that *-nne* = *-n*, as in *pyune* = *pyn*, *synne* = *syn*, *inne* = *in*; also that *-lle* = *-l*, as *helle* = *hel*, *dwelle* = *dwel*, *telle* = *tel*, *wille* = *wil*, in Harl. 913, and the Chaucer MSS. generally. On these grounds, then, as all agreeing with the 4th Canon, we demand silence for *-e* in the following final rhymes of the Prologue: *sonne*, *i-ronne*¹ (7); *i-falle*, *alle* (25); *inne*, *beginne*² (41); *werre*, *ferre* (47); *hethenesse*, *worthinesse* (49); *wonne*, *bygonne* (51); *gesse*, *presse* (82); *gesse*, *prioresse* (117); *withalle*, *falle*³ (127); *chynne*, *pyune* (196, Corp., Pet., Lans.), which is *chyn*, *pyn* (Elles., Heng., Camb.; and *pyn*, mid-verse 10630); *presse*, *wan-tounnesse* (265); *Orewelle*, *selle* (279); *bisette*, *dette* (281); to *wynne*, to *beginne* (429); *happe*, *cappe* (587); *hadde*, *bladde*⁴ (619); I *telle*, *Baldeswelle* (621); *atte fulle*, *pulle* (653); *hadde*, *overspradde* (679); *cappe*, *lappe* (687); *Belle*, to *telle* (721); *withalle*, *halle* (753); *bifalle*, *alle* (798); *twynne*, *bygynne* (837); *prioresse*, *schamfastnesse* (841), and many others; to which may be added from the

¹ It is assumed for the present that the apparently flexional *-e*, like the formative, is simply orthographic. The question is whether in the rhyme *sonne*, *i-ronne*, the former word, which was evidently *sun* or *son* before Chaucer (see “briȝter þan þe sun,” “E. Eng. Poems,” p. 6; “Wiclif’s Apology,” “liȝt and sun of the world,” p. 55), and which ought, by our theory, to be = *son*, or *sun*, dictates silence to the final *-e* of *i-ronne*, or whether the presumed flexional *-e* of this word converts *sonne* = *son* into *son-ne*. This question must be discussed hereafter; in the mean time, however, the fact that *forlōren* becomes *forlōrn*, *forlōr*, *forlōre* (just as *biforan*, *biforen*, *biforn*, *bifor*, *bifore*), throws some doubt over the often repeated assertion, that the *-e* of *i-ronne* must be sounded because it is part of the inflexion.

² Cf. “Ferst at prude i wol *be-gin*,
for hit is heuid of al *sinne* ;”
and the quotation from “Handlyng Synne” (*supra*, p. 119).

³ *Withalle* is frequently written *withal*, which (“E. Eng. Poems,” p. 9) rhymes with infinitive *befal*:

þe fiftē tokning þat sal *be-fal*

Wel sone hi sal quake *wiþ al*.

⁴ *Bladde* = A.S. *blæd*. The spelling is merely conformed to that of *hadde* = *had*, *bladde* therefore = *blad*.

“Knight’s Tale,” *goddesse, gesse* (1101), (cf. *godes, ges, Lans.*); to *telle*, in *helle* (1199), (cf. infin. *tel, helle*, rhyming with to *dwel*, Harl. 913); *hadde, ladde* (1445); *i-sette, mette* (1635); your *fille, wille*; *thikke, wikke* (1578), (cf. *thyk, prik*); on the *walle, coralle* (1909), (cf. on the *wal*, 1934, 1975); *ladde, hadde* (2275), (cf. “*lad* him bi-for Pilate,” “Fall and Passion,” 64); to *telle*, they *dwelle* (2813).

6. THE USE OF FINAL *-e* AS AN ORTHOEPICAL SUBSTITUTE FOR THE ORIGINAL FLEXIONAL *-e*.

The last point for examination is obviously suggested by the assumption inherent in our theory, that grammatical inflexions were subordinated to orthoepical considerations, and that many of the final *e*'s, which look like inflexional syllables, were simply features of the conventional spelling of the time. We therefore lay down the following proposition to be illustrated by reference to the usage of Early English :

In the English of the 14th century the law of phonetic economy had generally prevailed over and set aside all other laws, so that the orthographic or orthoepic use of *-e* had, for the most part, superseded its former dynamical or grammatical use.

What is maintained, then, is that in spoken English the so-called inflexional *-e* was no longer pronounced, and therefore that, although in written English it still persisted, as formerly, its dynamical function had ceased, being merged in that—whatever it was—which it exercised as a conventional adjunct of the spelling; that although it looked the same it was no longer the same, having become virtually reduced to the same category as the so-called formative *-e*, which, as has been shown, was no longer an organic feature of the word. It follows, as a consequence from this position, that words ending in the

so-called inflexional *-e* are to be pronounced (except by poetical license) in accordance with the Canons already laid down; and therefore that *roote* in "to the *roote*," *presse* in "in *presse*," *gesse* in "I *gesse*," *ryde* in "he cowde *ryde*," *fedde* in "sche *fedde*," &c., are = *rōt*, *prēs*, *gēs*, *rȳd*, *fēd*, &c. It is not pretended that there were no exceptions to the rule here laid down, but its general strictness is strongly maintained, as will be evident from the instances now to be produced. The scribes generally adopted the current orthography; but sometimes a man was found who wrote down—not always uniformly, but, as a rule, the sounds that he heard. Such a scribe was the writer of the MS. Harl. 913; and in the "Early English Poems," "A Sarmun," "xv. Signa ante iudicium," "The Fall and Passion," "The ten Commandments," "Fragment on the Seven Sins," "Christ on the Cross," "A rhyme-beginning Fragment," as well as in pp. 156—161, "The Lord of Cokaygne," we see the usage of an unconventional writer of the 13th century in the Southern dialect.

The cases will be considered separately. (i.) *The -e of the dative case.*¹—The scribe of the Harleian MS. 913 writes "of this *lif*" (p. 1); but, "liue is lore" (p. 5); and "fram *deþ* to liue" (p. 15); "wiþ *drit*" (p. 2); "of such a *sizt*" (*ib.*); "in ure *hert*" (*ib.*) [never *herte*]; "to þere *deþ*" (p. 3); "of *lond*" (*ib.*); "in þoʒt" (p. 4); "of *heuen*" (*ib.*); "for *soþ*" (p. 5); "to *met*" (*ib.*); "of all þis *ioi*" (7); "wiþ in þe moder *wom*" (p. 8); "for man-is *sin*" (*ib.*); "for *dred*" (p. 9); "wiþ hur *mund*" (*ib.*); "of *ston*" (p. 10); "in *erþ*" (*ib.*); "ful of *angus*" (*ib.*); "in to þe *stid*" (p. 11); "to his owne *plas*" (*ib.*); "in *steuen*" (*ib.*); "in *uois*" (*ib.*); "in *hel*" (p. 12), &c.; also in "Lord of Cokaygne," from the same MS.—"of *wel*," "of *godnis*" (v. 4); "in *paradis*" (v. 9); "wiþ-ute

¹ "I suspect that this dative had become obsolete before the time of Chaucer."—*Guest*, i. 30.

swink" (v. 18); "of *met* no *cloþ*" (v. 29); "in *bed*" (v. 38); "of *melk*" (v. 46); "of *fleis*" (v. 55); "of *swet odor*" (v. 76); "of *baum*" (v. 85), &c. It is also noticeable that when, in mid-verse, he writes ("A Sarmun") the -e, it is not sounded.

And in to *duste* we schulleþ wende.—p. 1.

Oþir of þi *velle* þat is wiþ-oute.—p. 2.

Wormis of þi *fleisse* schal spring.—*ib.*

In to þe *blisse* þat is an hei.—p. 3.

Of al þi *time* fram *3er* to *3ere*.¹—*ib.*

Of ioi and *pine* to *mani* man.—p. 4, &c., with some few exceptions.

(ii.) *The -e of the plural adjective.*—We see in this writer's poems "that *helplich*" (pl.), &c. (p. 1), "þe *dede* be so *lolich*" (*ib.*); "we—*mek* of *mode*" (p. 7); "as *fair* and *bri3te* as þou seest hem" (p. 8); also "we a3t be *ware*," rh. w. *þar* (there), a word universally one syllable; "rivers *gret* and *fine*" ("L. of Cok.," v. 95); "gees al *hote*, al *hot*" (*ib.* v. 104); "the monkes *hei3* of *mode*" (*ib.* v. 124); "lordinges *gode* and *hend*" (*ib.* v. 183).

So Wiclif has "wan þei are wel *good*;" "a few *seek*;" "to wisit þe *sek*;" "to be *mek*" (pl.), &c. In the Northern "Metrical Homilies," "*gret* *fises*," "*stanes* *gret*," "*wod* men," "*quek* men," "*ded* men," are constant. The apparent exceptions in all these instances are merely orthoepical, not grammatical.

(iii.) *The definite -e.*—We find "þe *wiked* *wede*" (p. 2); "þat *ilk* *dai*" (p. 9); "þe *eizt* *dai*" (p. 10); but "þe *sixte* *dai*" and "þe *sefþe* *dai*" (p. 10); "is *swet* *grace*" (p. 12); "þe *swet* *þing*" (p. 14); "þat *swet* *bodi*" (*ib.*); "þe *þrid* *dai*" (p. 15); also "þro3 *prier* of ure *swete*

¹ In p. 19, "Fragment on the Seven Sins," we have, "be *gon*" (Chaucer's *goune*), rhyming with *schone* = *schoon*; also "in is *end*," rhyming with "he sal *wend*" (cf. Chaucer's "from *ende*," rhyming with "they *wende*").

It may also be noticed that our scribe not unfrequently writes at the end of a line, or before a vowel in the middle, words with -e, which his constant practice shows to have the -e silent, as above, where *3ere* rhymes with *here*, a word universally of one syllable.

leuedi" (p. 7); and "whate mai ich bi þe *riche* man telle" (p. 3), where the *-e* is silent; "þe *zung* nunnes" ("L. of Cok.," v. 152); "þe *zung* monkes" (*ib.* v. 159).

So Wiclif "in þe þrid maner" (also "þe þridde"), "þe fourt," "þe secound," &c. The Northern instances, in "Metrical Homilies," are almost uniformly without the *-e*; "the first day," "the tother day," "the fift day," "the tend day;" and when "the ferthe day," "the sexte day," &c., occur, the *-e* is apparently added for the rhythm, not for the grammar.

(iv.) *The -e of the infinitive and gerundial infinitive.*

—The following instances are significant :

Whan al is pride sal *turne* to noȝte.—*Ear. Eng. Poems*, p. 2.
And to þe deuil hi sal *wend*, rhyming with *spend* (error for *spend*).—p. 3.

And helle sal *berne* þou salt ise.—p. 4.

No for no hungir he no sal *kar*.—p. 6.

Angles sul *quake* so seiþ þe boke.—p. 10.

þer nis no tunge þat hit mai *tel*.—p. 6.

An þe sinful folk to *tech* (rhyming with *preche*).—p. 15.

And þat he me let so wel to *spek* (rhyming with to *brek*).—p. 18.

What is þe gode þat he sal *hab*,

A wikid wede whi sold i *gab*.—p. 5.

þat ne sal adun *to-falle* (rhyming with *salle* = *sal*).—p. 10.

As heuen and erþe sold to *fal*.—p. 11.

Wiþ duple pine þer in to *dwel* (rhyming with *helle*).—p. 12.

So Wiclif everywhere, in hundreds of instances, and also "Metrical Homilies."

(v.) *The -e of the past participle :*

þat were *i-falle* for prude an hore
to fille hur stides þat were *ilor*.—p. 13.

hi mad bot þat appil *i-zette* (rhyming with ȝe *i-nit*).—*ib.*

þat bi no man þat was *y-cor* (rhyming with *for-lor*).—p. 16.

A litil pride was him *in-com*

þer-for god him haviþ *be-nome*.—p. 18.

þat ne mai in him slepe *cum*

lest is mukke be him *be-nome*.—p. 19.

The loss of the participial *-e*, either in the spelling or the rhythm, is very general.

A poem in "Ritson's Songs," p. 38, taken from the

same MS., Harl. 913, confirms all the above usages. It is on the exploits of Sir Piers de Birmingham :

A thousand *3er hit isse* = is
 Thre hundred ful *i-wisse* = i-wis (A.S. *gewis*).—p. 38.

Ful wel ye witte his nam
 Sir pers þe *Birmingham*.—*ib.* p. 39.

Of *slep* he wold hem *wak*
 For ferdnis he wold *quak*.—*ib.* p. 41.

Alas what ssold hi *ibor*
 Þroz ham þis lond is *ilor*.—*ib.* p. 42.

He þoȝt ordres to *mak*
 What time he miȝt ham *tak*.—*ib.*

Siȝ hoodis he let *mak*
 Noht on nas for *sak*.—*ib.* p. 43

Subsequently, *nam*, *wak*, *quak*, *mak*, *sak*, &c., were written with suffixed -e, but there is no reason to suspect any alteration in the sound.

“Wiclif’s Apology” (Camden Society) also remarkably confirms all the usages already illustrated. Instances are found bestrewn on nearly every page: “of myn *entent* ne *purpos*” (p. 1); “to perpetual *3el* of soule” (*ib.*); “in *3erþ*” (p. 4); “of *peyn*” (p. 5); “in þe *sted* of Crist” (p. 6); also “in þe *name*” (p. 7); “for *hel* of soul” (p. 8); “in þis *caas*” (*ib.*); “in *witt*” (p. 11); “in þe *nam* of Crist” (p. 13); “to *wari*” (*ib.*); “mai not *bles*” (p. 17); “to *tak*” (*ib.*); “be *dom*” (p. 18); “on his *syd*” (*ib.*); “to leef” (believe) (p. 20); “in *soþnes*” (p. 27); “a few *seek*” (sick) (p. 28); “to wisit þe *sek*” (p. 30); “of *prest*” (*ib.*); “in þe *fourt book*” (p. 31); “of þe *syn*” (p. 32); “of ilk man mai *prech*” (*ib.*); “of þin *hond*” (p. 33); “may *mak*” (*ib.*); “of *lif*” (p. 34); “to *cum* in to *blis*” (p. 35); “in *prid*” (p. 36); “al *riches*” (p. 42); “to be *mek*,” pl. (*ib.*); “of þis *bred*” (p. 46); “in þis *ston*” (p. 56); “in *holines*” (p. 59); “to *execut*” (p. 61); “mai no man *blam*” (p. 62); “out of *sin*” (p. 66), &c., &c.

The rhyme-beginning fragment in Harl. 913 illustrates and confirms the doctrine here maintained, and shows that *sinne* = *sin*, *winne* = *win*, and *inne* = *in*.

Loue hauip me broȝt in lipir þoȝt,
 þoȝt ic ab to *blinne*;
blinne to pench hit is for *noȝt*;
Noȝt is loue of *sinne*.
Sinne me hauip in care *ibroȝt*,
 broȝt in mochil un-*winne*.
winne to weld ic had *i-þoȝt*
 þoȝt is þat ic am *inne*.
In me is care. how i ssal fare, &c.

It appears from these instances, taken altogether, that in the 13th and 14th centuries—

(1.) The *-e* of the dative was often omitted, and where written, generally silent.

(2.) The *-e* of the plural of adjectives was often, if not generally, silent.

(3.) The *-e* of the definite adjective, though often neglected, was frequently sounded.

(4.) The *-e* of the infinitive and past participle was very generally silent.

It is therefore maintained that much of what has been written on Chaucer's strictness of versification, as founded on grammatical accuracy, or supposed accuracy, is beside the purpose, inasmuch as in securing rhythmical uniformity, he very generally ignored the grammatical value of the inflexions. The only point which he almost uniformly maintains is the definite *-e*. Nearly all others gave way before the laws of the verse.

On this assumption it is now proposed to examine some of Chaucer's usages, especially those which are typical and representative.

(i.) *The -e of the dative case.*—Instances: "to the roote" (2); "from every schires ende" (15); "whan the sonne was to *reste*" (30); "in his lordes *werre*" (47); "in *hethenesse*" (49); "in *space*" (86); "of *grene*" (103); "of *sperre*" (114); "atte *Bowe*" (125). With these compare "with his swete *breeth*" (4), in five of the MSS.; "in every holte and *heeth*" (5), in the same MSS., and *holt* in three, "of his *port*" (69, 138); "in *hope*," with *-e* mute (88); "in his *hond*" (108); "atte *hond*" (193); "of

a *lond*" (194); "uppon hire *breſt*" (130); "in hire *nose*," with *-e* mute (123); "of *court*" (140); "with *fleiſſh* or *mylk* or *wastel breed*" in four MSS., *brede* in the remaining three.

roote = root. (Canon I. 1.) By analogy of "of *ston*," "for soth," "of *met*" (p. 123), and Wiclif's "in *rot* of *resoun*" ("Apology," p. 91), *roote* may be = *root*. The nom. *roote*, found v. 425, rhyming with *boote* = A.S. *bót*, shows that the *-e* in "to the *roote*" need not be inflexional. Nor does the rhyme decide the question, since *swoote* (see *infra*) may be = *swoot*.

ende = end. (Canon II.) In "A Sarmun" we have nom. *ende*, rhyming with infinitive *wende*. This writer, however, regularly rejects the infin. *-e*, as Wiclif does, and uses infin. *wend* twice in the same poem, and therefore by *wende* means *wend*. This is shown by "to *zur end*," rhyming with "he sal *wend*;" and in another poem of the same MSS., "in is *end*," rhyming with "he sal *wend*."

reste = rest. (Canon II.) Cf. "and doth his likam al to *rest*," rhyming with *best* (adv.), *Lord of Cokaygne*, v. 174.

werre = wer. Cf. Canon II., and note that *ferre* with which it rhymes often = *fer*. See v. 3395.

hethenese = hethenes. (Canon II.) Chaucer's own usage, besides the general analogy, seen in "with al the *lustynes*" (1941); "of *worthines*" (2594); "by his *clennesse*," with *-e* mute (508), supports this assumption. He generally spells such words with *-esse*, but means *-es*. So that in "by *fairnesse*" (521); "with *holinesse*" (9582); "of *seeknesse*" (1258); he means no more than Wiclif's "in *soþnes*," "in *holines*." It is believed that not one instance can be adduced in which the final *-e* of *-esse* is unquestionably inflexional. This remark also applies to the fem. *-esse*. Chaucer uses *goddes*, *goddese*, *soudanes*, *soudanesse*, &c., indifferently. The *-esse* is merely a fashion of spelling *-es*, sometimes employed by Chaucer and others

before a vowel, or at the end of a verse. See "Boethius" for hundreds of instances.

space = spaas. (Canon I. 1.) Chaucer's own usage of *gras* for *grace* (15242); *prefas* for *preface* (12199); *faus* for *face*, shows that the conventional *space* = phonetic *spaas*.

spere = speer. (Canon I. 1.) The *-e* in *daggere*, with which it rhymes, is certainly neither organic nor inflexional, for it is the acc. case. The accent is displaced to accommodate the termination to the final rhyme, and an orthoepic *-e* added to make it long. The same expedient is employed to make *müller* into *millére* (542), but neither of these expedients seems to have anything to do with grammar.

(ii.) *The -e of the plural adjective.*—Instances: "schowres swoote" (1); "they were seeke" (18); "floures, white and reede" (90); "sleeves long and wyde" (93); "with fetheres lowe" (103).

swoote = swoot. (Canon I. 1.) The usage of all the dialects (see p. 124) and the argument founded on *roote* justify the silence of the plural *-e*, though when required by the metre, as in "*smale fowles*," "*straunge strondes*," it was sounded.

reede = reed. (Canon I. 1.) The same arguments apply here, and as *mede* (A.S. *mæd*), with which it rhymes, was certainly a monosyllable, the *-e* being merely an index-letter, there is little doubt that *reede* was = *reed*.

seeke = seek. (Canon I. 1.) The *-e* here does perhaps represent the plural, but whether it was sounded depends (1) on Canon I. 1; (2) on the *-e* in "to seeke," with which it rhymes (see p. 131); and (3) on the usage of Harl. 913, and Wiclif's "a few *seek*," "to visit þe *sek*," "to be *mek*" (pl.). The inference is that *seeke* = *seek*.

wyde = wyd. (Canon I. 1.) In the same category as *seeke*.

lowe = low. (Canon I. 2.) By the same Canon, *lowe*

with which it rhymes, = *bow*. The -e is orthoepic, not organic.

(iii.) *The -e of the definite adjective.*—Instances: “his *swete* breeth” (5); “the *yonge sonne*” (7); “his *halfe* cours” (8); “this *ilke* monk” (175); “his *owne* cost” (213), &c.

It has already been stated that this grammatical usage is the only one that Chaucer almost uniformly preserves. In presence, however, of “*þat ilk dai*,” “*is swet* grace,” “*þe swet þing*,” “*þat swet bodi*,” “*þe þrid dai*,” “*the þift*,” &c. (p. 124), it is doubtful whether it was not often in Chaucer a rhythmical rather than a grammatical feature. With regard to *owne*, the remark may be made that such combinations as -*le*, -*ne*, -*re*, in *temple*, *owne*, *tendre*, and perhaps *more*, are often to be considered as transpositions, and to be pronounced -*el*, -*en*, -*er*, as separate syllables, as *tempel*, *owen*, *tender*, *moer*. The instances, “*þi slak skyn*,” “*þilk deep*,” “in *þe neþerest* hem,” “in *þe heyzest* bordure,” “*þis seek* man,” “*þe utterest* corner,” “for *þe greet* weyzt,” in “*Boethius*,” are consistent with Wiclif’s spellings. The usage is not uniform, for we also find “*þe selve* heven,” “*þe rede* sunne,” “*þe smope* water,” &c. The general analogy, however, would lead us to consider the -e silent in these cases.

On the whole, then, we conclude, that in ordinary speech the definite -e was no longer pronounced, though we see that Chaucer in his verse frequently uses it as a help to the metre.

(iv.) *The -e of the infinitive and gerundial infinitive.*—Instances: “to *seeke*” (17); “erly to *aryse*” (33); “wol I first *byggynne*” (41); “wel cowde he *sitte*” (94); “wel cowde he *dresse*” (106); “leet . . . *pace*” (175); “to *powre*” (185); “he dorste *make*” (227); “men moote *yere* silver” (Elles. 232); “for to *yive* faire wyfes” (234); “to *have* with sike lazars acqueyntaunce” (245); “wold he *teche*” (308).

seeke = seek. (Canon I. 1.) The full form of *seeke* is *seken*, as of *make* is *maken*, and such forms, obsolescent in Chaucer's time, are occasionally adopted by him to help the verse. These infinitive forms in *-e* are usually explained as abbreviations to the eye, in which, however, the sound of the *-e*, representing, it is said, the *-en*, was still preserved. It is suggested, however, that the case admits of a different explanation. We know that words like *seken*, *maken*, &c., were very commonly pronounced in verse as *sēkn*, *mākn*, and that the *-n* was afterwards rejected, leaving *sēk*, *māk*. The Harl. 913 and also Wiclif's "Apology" show us these forms, almost without exception, as (see p. 125) *spek*, *brek*, *talk*, *walk*, *mak*, *let*, &c. But by orthoepic law (see Canon I. 1.) these words might be, and were, written *speke*, *breke*, *take*, *wake*, *make*, &c., while the sound remained the same. We infer, then, that as *seken* = *sēkn* = *sēk* = *seke*, and also *poren* = *pōrn* = *pōr* = *pore*, the *-e* in *aryse*, *pace* (= *paas*), *yeve*, is inorganic and silent, except under rhythmical stress in verse.

byginne = bygin. (Canon II.) This word, *sitte*, and *dresse*, are in the same category. *Biginnen* = theoretic *biginnn* = *biginnn*, which, by the fashion of spelling a short syllable explained before, = *biginne*, in which word it is submitted the final *-ne* is orthoepic, not grammatical. So *sitten* = *sittn* = *sitt* = *sitte*. French *dresser* would give, in making it English, *dress*, but as the fashion was to add *-e*, it becomes *dresse*. *Have* really comes under this head. A.S. *habban* became *habben* = *habbn* = *habb* = *hab* (the form in Harl. 913) = *habbe*. *Hab* appears, however, to have been softened to *hav*, and with the vowel lengthened became *hāve*. The rhymes confirm the argument. *Seeke* rhymes identically with *seeke*, both being shown to be monosyllables. *Arise* rhymes with *I devise*, where *-e* appears to represent the inflexion. At this time, however, the *-e* of the 1st person was very generally disused, or if retained in spelling, not sounded. *Inne*, which rhymes with *bygygne*, is,

phonetically, the same word as *in*, the only difference being that *inne*, according to the fashion, was more usually placed at the end of a line. (See "Rhyme-beginning Fragment," p. 127.) *Teche* rhymes with *speche*, which by Canon I. 1. must = *spēch*. See also "to *tech*," rhyming with "preche," p. 125.

(v.) *The -e of the past participle of strong verbs.*— Instances: "*i-ronne*" (8); "*i-falle*" (25); "it was *wonne*" (51); "hadde *bygonne*" (52); "to hire *unknowe*" (126); "sche was not *undurgrowe*" (156); "he hadde *sunge*" (267); "*i-bore*" (380); "had he *y-drawe*" (398); "hadde his bird ben *schake*" (408), &c.

i-rónne = i-rón. (Canon II.) By the process already suggested in relation to the infinitive, *i-ronnen*, after throwing off the last syllable to avoid the unpronounceable combination *-nnn* becomes *ironn* = by Canon II. to *i-ronne* = *i-ron*. So *bygonnen* becomes *bygonn* = *bygonne* = *bygon* (cf. in "Boethius" he hadde *bygon*), and similarly *wonnen* = *wonn* = *wonne* = *won*. In the same way we see that the noun *sun* or *son* of Harl. 913 is *sonne* in Chaucer, which may under metrical exigency be *son-ne*, as in 30, but at the end of a line, where not required to be two syllables, = *son*.

i-fälle = i-fal. (Canon II.) *Fallen* = *falln* = *fall* = *fal*, as we see, p. 125, where *i-falle* occurs as a disyllable. *Alle*, also with which it rhymes here, though plural, frequently = *al*, as in 929.

unknowe = unknow. By Canon I. 2. *-owe* = *-ow*, but also because *knownen* = *known* = *know* = *knowe*. So *Bowe* = *Bow* = *Bowe*.

i-bore = i-bōr. (Canon I. 1.) *I-boren* = *i-bōrn* = *i-bōr* = *i-bore*. *Bifore*, with which it rhymes, is formed in the same way; *biforeñ* = *bifōrn* (*beforn* rhyming with *i-shorn*, 590) = *bifor* = *bifore*, a word which, it is believed, is not found as a trisyllable in any English author. Similarly, *i-loren* = *i-lor* (see p. 125) = *i-lore*; *fortoren*

= *forlor*, and *i-coren* = *i-cor*. The rhymes *i-coren*, *i-loren*, occur in "Castel off Love" (203-4), and also *for-lore*, *per-fore*, the last word being, it is believed, nowhere found as a trisyllable.¹

schake = **schäk**. (Canon I. 1.) *Schaken* = *schäkn* = *schäk* = *schake*, which rhymes with *undertake* (gerund. inf.), which by analogy = *undertäk* (p. 125). Similarly, *maked* = *makd* = *mäd*, *maad* (found everywhere in Wiclif and "Boethius") = *made*.

(vi.) *The -e of the past tense of weak verbs.* In "Boethius" we everywhere find such instances as *favored*, *auaunted*, *recorded*, *constreyned*, *semed*, *touched*, *perced*, *glowed*, &c., to all of which the editor has needlessly added an *-e* in brackets. These instances represent the usage of Wiclif (except that he generally writes *id* for *ed*), and, doubtless, also represented the pronunciation of the time. We venture, then, to suggest that *lovede* = *loved* (45), and *wypude* = *wypud*, especially as we also find *wered*, *drowpud* (for *drowpuden*), &c., and *loved*, as the reading in four out of the seven MSS. in 166, and to doubt whether these words were pronounced *lordé*, *wypdé*, &c., as Mr Ellis² and Dr Morris direct. These spellings in *-ede* seem indeed to be a novelty of the latter end of the 14th century. Langland and Chaucer have them, but they are not to be found, it is believed, in the Castel off Love, Minot, or William of Palerne, &c. These authors always write *chaunged*, *entred*, *gayned*, *chased*, *woned*, *bowed*, &c. The logical inference, therefore, is that Langland's *leonede*, *lokede*, *slumberede*, *sownede* =

¹ The only instance in Chaucer given by Child is—

As was Grisild, therefore, Petrark writeth (9023)

which we venture to consider as an instance of division into two independent sections (see p. 91), and to scan thus :

As was | Grisild || ther|fore Pe|trark writeth || (writ'th).

It is not possible to believe that Chaucer, who often wrote the word *therfor*, intended to make the *-e* a syllable.

² Mr Ellis has since (Early Eng. Pron., p. 647) recalled this instruction and adopted *-ede* = *-ed'*.

leoned, loked, &c., and that Chaucer's usage was the same.¹

The last point for consideration is one which has been thought by some to be decisive of the question of Chaucer's final -e (see Gesenius, Ellis, &c.), inasmuch as in the instances cited, the -e in such words as *sothe, prime, &c.*, is, for the nonce, undoubtedly sounded. Our position with regard to them is that they are exceptional, and in no respect representative. The instances are such as these (see Early English Pronunciation, p. 318): "from the court of *Rome. Come—to me*" (3699); "my swete *cynamome—speketh to me*" (3699); "I schal say the *sothe—let me talk to the*" (12590); "considering then *Youthe—I aloue the*" (10987); "and that as *swithe—go forth thy way and hy the*" (13222), &c.

That in the course of 17,000 lines only seven such instances can be found is surely a remarkable case of exceptions that prove the rule. Had they been anything but exceptions we might have expected to find hundreds of such instances. The words *sothe* and *youthe* are original monosyllables made for the nonce into dissyllables, in which the -e is phonetic, not organic. Even as an oblique case *soth* is constantly, almost uniformly, written without -e in the phrase *forsoth*. The rhymes in question, therefore, are forced and exceptional, and may be properly characterized by Quicherat's epithet (see next page) as "très mauvaises." However this may be, they prove nothing as to Chaucer's usage as to final -e, which is the point in question. They

¹ It is probable that in the numerous instances in Tyrwhitt's text in which the 3rd pers. sing. of the pret. tense is written with -e, as *bare, swore, stale, spake, rose, smote, toke, &c.* (see the Reeve's Tale), the scribe intended a phonetic rather than a grammatical form, and does not deserve, nor the editor for him, the severe censures passed upon Tyrwhitt by Wright, who charges him with not knowing the singular from the plural form (see Preface to Wright's edition of the Canterbury Tales), and generally "with entire ignorance of the grammar of the language of Chaucer." Tyrwhitt, probably, did not know everything, but he gave us much for which he deserves praise rather than the vituperation with which it is now the fashion to load him.

only prove that in seven instances of final rhymes *-e* was certainly sounded, and they are the only ones in the whole poem that prove this, and they leave untouched all the arguments for its silence in thousands of others, as well as for the monosyllabic individuality of *sothe, youthe, time, &c.*

To these may be added from "King Horn," "nu is þe *time*—to sitte *bi me*" (532); from Syr Gawayne, "*scaþe, wape, ta þe*" (take to thee), (2356); and a few also in Gower and Occleve. Very rarely this license is found in old French, as "la fleur de la *ronce*—li meurtrier *larron ce*," quoted from Gautier de Coinsy, by Dumeril, and also "*en ce*—*commence*; *apprins ce*—*le prince*; *querelle*—*querez-le*," which Quicherat, who quotes them ("Versification française," p. 415), characterizes as "très mauvaises rimes."

SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE QUESTION.

The main object of this paper has been to prove that the *-e* of the final rhyme in the Canterbury Tales is not to be sounded. This point, however, involves the whole question of the true meaning of the *-e* everywhere. The first argument employed was founded on the nature of the versification, and it was presumed that as the *-e* was silent at the lesser or sectional pause in the middle of the verse, it was *à fortiori* silent at the greater pause occurring at the end of the line, especially as the *-e*, forming an additional syllable, was superfluous in a decasyllabic verse. As, however, this assumption is in opposition to the theory that the *-e*, whether formative or inflexional, was an organic element of the word, and therefore an essential factor of the verse, it was necessary to show that from the time of the introduction of the Norman speech into England, and as a consequence of the influence of the Norman scribes, the originally formative or inflexional *-e*, though still retained in written English, had lost its dynamical function, and had gradually become nothing more than an

orthoepical or orthographical symbol—an inorganic conventional element of the spelling. This point could only be made out by showing, both from the nature of the case and from the usage of Anglo-Norman and English poets, that the written *-e* represented nothing that existed in the ordinary pronunciation, and was therefore only exceptionally (by rhythmical license) significant in verse. The arguments and illustrations (a summary of which, for the sake of distinctness, is subjoined below) throughout have had this object in view; and if it is accomplished, the question of the pronouncing of *-e* at the end of the verse is conclusively settled; and, with it, the larger proposition that the silence of *-e* generally is the rule, its utterance the exception, in the *Canterbury Tales*, as well as in the other poems of Chaucer.

I. Formation.—(1.) Commencing with the law of formation, it was shown that in nouns and adjectives the *e* was, (1) as it is now, an orthographical device for indicating the length of the preceding vowel, or (2) a modal suffix to the doubled consonant which denoted the shortness of the preceding vowel, and that being in neither case organic, it was generally, both in ordinary speech and in verse composition, silent; hence, that *boke*, *pine*, *dome*, from earlier *bók*, *pín*, *dóm*, as well as *chere*, *prise*, *rose*, *peyne*, *beste*, of Norman origin, were essentially monosyllables; that *matère*, *comüne*, *doctrīne*, *scriptūre* (with English accent, *máter* or *mátter*, *cómŭn* or *cómmŭn*, *dóctrĭn*, *scrĭptŭr* or *scrĭpter*), were essentially dissyllables, and that *desolāte*, *privilēge*, *medicīne*, *covetīse* (with English accent *désolăt*, *prĭvilĕg* (*g* soft), *médicĭn*, *cóvetĭs*), were essentially trisyllables. Hence also in illustration of (2) it was shown that *witte*, *ramme*, *synne*, *clennesse*, *rihtwĭsnesse*, from earlier *wit* or *witt*, *ram* or *ramm*, *syn* or *synn*, *clennyss*, *rihtwĭsnyss*, were essentially words of one, two, or three syllables respectively.

It was hence concluded that these laws of orthography

being generally recognized as orthoepic, were applied also (1) to forms in which *-e* was not added to, but substituted for, an earlier termination, and hence that *name*, *shame*, *care*, from *nama*, *sceamu*, *cearu*, came under the first rule, and (2) to earlier forms which ended in a single consonant, and hence that *blisse*, *iwisse*, *inne*, from *blis*, *gewis*, *in*, came under the second rule.

(2.) The same general law was shown to be applicable (1) to cases in which the *-e* was preceded by a long vowel or diphthong, and (2) to some cases in which the *-e* was preceded by an atonic *-i* or *-y*. In illustration of (1) it was shown that *joie*, *preye*, *arraye*, *weye*, *folie*, *curtesye*, were phonetically = *joi*, *prey*, *aray*, *wey*, *folý*, *curtesý*; and of (2) that *glórie*, *memórie*, *tragédie*, were phonetically = *glóri*, *memóri*, *tragédi* (or with English accent *mémory*, *trágedy*), and that *mérie*, *cárie*, *tárie* = *merry*, *carry*, *tarry*.

II. Inflexion.—It was further shown that at the end of the 14th century the notes of grammatical inflexion were generally giving way before the law of phonetic economy.

(1.) *The oblique case-inflexion -e was confounded with the formative -e*, so that "to the roote," "with his brethe," "in his hede," "of wretchednesse," meant nothing more than "to the root," "with his breath," "in his heed," "of wretchednes."

(2.) *The adjective plural inflexion -e was confounded with the formative -e*, so that in "showres soote," "they were seeke," "floures white and reede," (with which may be compared from "Boethius," "to the fair bryzt dayes," "gret discordes," "wikked men," "fals opiniouns," "with blak clouds,") *soote*, *seeke*, *reede*, were phonetically equal to *soot*, *seek*, *reed*.

(3.) *The -e of the definite adjective was confounded with the formative -e*, so that these prose examples, "the slak skyn," "to þis seek man," "of þe wikked multitude," "þilk man," "þilk deef," "in þe first time," "in the neþer-

est hem, "þe secound," "þe þrid," "þe fourt," as well as "þe swet þing," "þat swet bodi," "þe þrid dai," represent the usage. (The first seven instances are from "Boethius," the next three from Wiclif's "Apology," the last three from "Early English Poems.")

(4.) *The -e of infinitives and gerundial infinitives was confounded with the formative -e,* so that in "for to seeke" (= *seek*), "wolden ryde" (= *rȳd*), "to aryse" (= *arȳs*), "wel cowde sche kepe" (= *kēp*), "to geve" (= *gēv*), are illustrations of the first Canon, and "wol I first bygynne" (= *bygǵn*), "wel cowde he sitte" (= *sīt*), of the second. With these instances may be compared "as he myzte geet" (Boethius), "desiryng to put furþe" (*ib.*), "may not tak part" (Wiclif), "to bles þe puple" (*ib.*).

(5.) *The -e of the past participle of strong verbs was confounded with the formative -e,* so that "was to hire unknowe" (= *unknow*), "sche was not undergrowe" (= *undergrow*), "rially ibore" (= *ibōr*), "hadde . . . ben schake" (= *schāk*), are instances of the first Canon; and "hath . . . i-ronne" (= *i-rón*), "it was wonne" (= *wōn*), "he hadde bygonne" (= *bygón*), of the second. Compare "he hadde bygon" (Boethius), "I am put away" (*ib.*), "þou hast set" (*ib.*), "þis þat is put" (Wiclif), "þis þat is putte" (*ib.*).

(6.) *Final -e of the termination -ede of the past tense of weak verbs was silent,* so that *lóvede* = *lóved*, *sémede* = *sémed*, &c. With these instances from *C. T.* may be compared *favored*, *recorded*, *semed*, *perced*, &c., from "Boethius." This unaccented *-ed* continually tended to become *-d*, as *lovđ* for *lóved* (206), with occasional change of *-d* to *-t*, to which an inorganic *-e* was added. Thus *wéndede* = *wénded* = *wendd* = *went* = *wente*; *slépede* = *sléped* = *slepd* = *slept* = *slepte*; *mákede* = *maked* = *mākd* = *mād* = *made*; *seiede* = *seied* = *seid* = *seide*. Similarly *háfede* = *háfed* = *háved* = *havd* = *hād* = *hadde*; *fédede* = *féded* = *fědd* = *fěd* = *fedde*; *wétede* = *wéted* = *wětd* = *wět* = *wette*.

(7.) On the same principle the *-e* = *earlier -en* of the plural of the past tense was silent, so that *droupeden*, *stemedēn*, *rwinkleden*, became *drouped* (107), *stemed* (202), *twinkeled* (269). So *weren* became *were* = *wēr*, which is, with few exceptions, the value of *were* everywhere in Chaucer.

(8.) In conformity with the general Canons of spelling, and without grammatical intention, many scribes added an inorganic *-e* to the 3rd person singular of the present strong verbs, writing *bare*, *rose*, *spake*, &c., for *bar*, *ros*, *spak*, &c. (see Tyrwhitt's text, and the Petworth and Lansdowne MSS. *passim.*); and by analogy the past participles *yhilde*, *putte*, &c., for *yhild*, *put*, &c. Such forms as *sene* (p. part.), *borne* (*id.*), *to seyne* (ger. inf.), for *sēn*, *bōrn*, *seyn*, are to be accounted for in the same way.

(9.) The *-e* of the 1st person of the present tense was generally silent, so that *I gesse* = *I ges* (Lansdowne MS.), *I seie*, *preie*, &c., = *I say*, *pray*, &c. Hence we find *I witnes*, *I knowlech*, *I graunt*, *I tak*, *I dar*, &c., in Wiclif.

It hence appears that at the end of the 14th century, when Chaucer wrote the Canterbury Tales, the final *-e* had become little more than a modal orthographic note of spelling, scarcely, if at all, recognized in common parlance, while at the same time the use of it as an element of rhythmical composition was freely admitted. It was therefore adopted at the will of the poet, wherever thought necessary, in the middle of his verse (except at the sectional pause, where it is, as a rule, silent), but not at the end where it was unnecessary.

The writer, then, believes that he has made out the proposition with which he commenced this discussion, and hopes to receive the thanks of Professor Child for disposing of thousands of cases of final *-e* at the end of the verse, which he agrees with him in considering as a "puerile" sound, and as producing by its constant recurrence at the end of a long succession of verses "a

monotony all but intolerable." He ventures also to believe that he has thrown some light upon the early formation both of French and English words, and done something to illustrate the connection between the vocabulary of the two languages.

APPENDIX.

I. ON THE FINAL -e OF FRENCH NOUNS DERIVED FROM LATIN.

As those who contend that when in Early English A.S. *blód, méð, bók, néð, lór, dóm* became *blode, mede, boke, nede, lore, dome*, the suffixed -e was essential and organic, and converted the original monosyllables into disyllables, also maintain that the -e in French nouns of the same form as *rose, muse, fortune* was also essential and organic, and, therefore, constituted a separate syllable, it may be worth while to examine the question of the formation of French nouns from Latin in some detail.

The general principle which governed the process, as already stated (p. 96, note 1,) was to convert the Latin word into a French one, by rejecting the flexion of the accusative case, in obedience to the law of accentuation, which required that the tonic syllable of the Latin should also be the tonic of the French. The result was, generally speaking, the conversion of Latin paroxytons and proparoxytons into French oxytons and paroxytons, all proparoxytons being, therefore, absolutely excluded from the early French language. Thus we have *amór* from *amór-em*, *mercéd, mercít* (afterwards *merci*) from *mercéd-em*, *cáliz* (afterwards *calice*) from *cdlic-em*, *mur* from *múr-um*, *mund, mond* (afterwards *monde*) from *múnd-um*, *cel, ceil* from *cæl-um*, *cas* from *cas-um*, *pas* from *pass-um*,—the French word being the Latin word minus the termination.

As, however, we at the same time find, in the earliest French, *rose* from *ros-am*, *muse* from *mus-am*, *fortune* from *fortun-am*, *grace* from *grat-iam* or *grac-iam*, *monde* from *mund-um*, *veile*, *voile* from *vel-um*, *frere* from *fratr-em*, *face* from *fac-iem*, it has been plausibly urged that the *-e* in these cases represents the lost vowel of the Latin flexion, and is, therefore, essential and organic. It is, however, contended, on the other hand, by the present writer, that the phonetic law of formation in these instances is the same as in those previously quoted; and, therefore, that the essential forms are *ros*, *mus*, *fortún*, *gras*, *mund*, *mond*, *vel*, *veil*, *frer*, *fas*, and that the actual forms are their phonetic equivalents. In answer to the obvious objection that the *-e* in *rose*, *muse*, &c., is very commonly significant in old French verse, it may be remarked that this is also the case in modern French verse, while the same words in the ordinary language ignore the sound of *-e*. Our concern, however, at present is merely with the formation of the words, not with the uses to which they may be put.

Reserving for the present the nouns derived from the Latin 1st declension, we notice some that are derived from the 2nd declension. Here we find *mund-um* giving *mund*, *mond*, *monde*; *divis-um* (participle) giving *devis*, *divise* (in English also *device*); *partit-um* (part.) giving *parti*, *partie*, and it is contended that *monde* = *mond*, *divise* = *devis*, *partie* = *parti*, that is, that the *-e* is no organic part of the word. For further illustrations of this point we turn not to classical texts in which the scribe usually adopts a conventional spelling, but to incidental examples furnished by glosses or by slang poems in which the spelling is intentionally phonetic. The writers of such compositions generally avoid the conventional spelling, but they evidently mean to give the sound. If, therefore, we find them in certain cases almost uniformly docking off the *-e*, we conclude that they do so because it was not considered to be an organic part of the word.

Thus we find from *vel-um*, *veil*,¹ *veile*, *voile*; from *flagell-um*, *fleil*, *flaele*; from *rendit-a* = *reddit-a*, *rent*, *rente*; from *brogil-um*, *bruel*, *bruelle*; from *pom-um*, *pom*, *pome*, *pomme*; from *casn-um* = *quercin-um*, *chen*, *chesne*, *chene*; from *proposit-um*, *propos* (English *purpos*, *purpose*); from *flocc-um*, *floc*, *floche*; from *pers-um*, *pers*, *perse*; from *gest-a*, *gest*, *geste*; from *despect-um*, *despit* (English *despit*, *despite*, *spite*), &c.

Sometimes only a form in -e, evidently inorganic, is found, as from *polyp-um*, *poulpe*; from *tympan-um*, *timbre*; from *composit-um*, *compote*; from *modul-um*, *mole*; from *muscul-um*, *moule*; from *cumul-um*, *comble*; from *capitul-um*, *chapitre*, &c.

But the majority of the Latin nouns of the 2nd declension from which French ones are derived have the termination -ium. This was also generally rejected in the formation. Hence, we find *servis*, *servise*, *service*, from *servit-ium* = *servic-ium*; *pris*, *prise* (English *pris*, *prise*, *price*), from *pret-ium*, *prec-ium*; *chemis*, *chemise*, from *canis-ium*; *lus*, *luce*, *luce*, from *luc-ium*; *juys*, *juise*, from *judic-ium*; *usag*, *usage*, from *usag-ium*; *corag*, *corage*, from *corag-ium*; *domag*, *domage*, *damage*, from *domag-ium*; *privileg*, *privilege* (Wiclif *privileg*), from *privileg-ium*. We also find *brac*, *bras*, *brace*, *brache*, from *brach-ium*; *fuel*, *fuelle*, *feuille*, from *fol-ium*; *joi*, *joie*, from *gaud-ium*, &c.

The terminations -arium, -orium, -oreum, -onium in becoming French were treated somewhat differently. In Norman French the vowel following the *r* or *n* was

¹ The instances cited are collected from, (1) Anglo-Norman glosses in Neckam's Latin treatise "De nominibus utensilium." (See Wright's "Volume of Vocabularies" and Scheler's edition of Neckam, with various readings from other MSS in "Lexicographie latine du xii^e et du xiii^e Siècle.") (2) A phonetically spelt poem, entitled "Le privilège aux Bretons," published by Jubinal in "Jongleurs et Trouvères." (3) A poem of the same kind, entitled "La pais aux Englois," published by Jubinal in the work just named, and by Wright in "Political Songs" (Camden Society). The rest may be generally found in Burguy's "Glossaire étymologique de la langue d'Oil," of the 12th and 13th centuries.

preserved, thus *vicári-um*, *Gregóri-um*, *ebóre-um*, *testimóni-um*, became *vicárie*, *Gregórie*, *ivórie*,¹ *testimónie*, and in standard French *vicaire*, *Gregoire*, *ivoire*, *testimoine*. In none of these cases is it probable that the *-e* was sonant. The law of French formation which forbade proparoxytons from entering the language, requires us to consider *vicárie*, *ivórie* as dissyllables = *vicári*, *ivóri*, not as trisyllables = *vicá-ri-e*, *ivó-ri-e*. In the case of *vicaire* and *ivoire*, the *-i* was probably inserted at first simply to lengthen the vowel sound, and the *-e* was conventionally suffixed, as it was by imitation in English words in similar circumstances. (See Canon I. (1), p. 95.) This use of *i* to lengthen or strengthen the simple vowel finds a parallel in old Scottish, where we find *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui* (as in the 'Brus'), for the older *a*, *e*, *o*, *i*, *u*, without alteration of sound, so that *refuse* rhymes with *dois*, just as in Anglo-Norman *nuit* (also written *noit* and *nut*) rhymes with *dedut*, *brut*, *frut*, which are also spelt *deduit*, *bruit*, *fruit* and *froit*. (See Mr J. H. Murray's 'History of the Lowland Scottish Dialects,' p. 53, Trans. Phil. Soc., and the present writer's paper on Early Norman and English Pronunciation, p. 401.) In confirmation of this view of the case, we note that English words are derived from both forms of these words. Thus we have *vicorý* for *vicarý* (wrongly accented), rhyming in "Syr Topas" with *quirboili*,² and *vícar*, *víker*, the proper equivalent (with English accent) of *vicaire*, just as Fr. *gramáire* = Eng. *grámer*. Neither *vicory* nor *viker* shows a trace of sonant *-e*. So *Gregórie* becomes *Grégory*, and also *Grégor* ('Apology for Lollards'), and *ivórie* becomes *ivorý* (rhyming in Chaucer with *fetisly*), and *yvore* = *yvōr*, rhyming with *more* (*Allit. Poems*, p. 6), and with *therefore* ('Le bone Florence,' Ritson's *Met. Rom.*, iii. 26)—the latter word being uni-

¹ Cascun tient en sa buche un corn de *ivorie* (= *ivóri*) blanc.
Charlemagne, v. 353.

² Cf. þe prest ys crystys *rycarye*,
Do þe alle yn hys *mercy*.—*Hand. Synne*, 11791.

versally a dissyllable in English, and *more* being generally a monosyllable.

Imparissyllabic nouns of the 3rd declension generally become French by simply rejecting the flexion, without adding -e, as *amor* from *amor-em*; *vertut*, *vertu*, from *virtut-em*; *flum* from *flum-en*; *nom* from *nom-en*, but even in this case there are the equivalent variants *flume*, *noune* (Burguy),¹ and in English texts, the interchangeable forms *vertu*, *vertue*; *flour*, *floure*; *honour*, *honoure*; *duk*, *duke*; *merci*, *mercie*, &c. Sometimes also an inorganic -e is added, as in *home* from *hom[in]-em*; *maire* from *major-em*; *bitume* from *bitum-en*; *orine* from *origin-em*, &c.

In parisyllabic nouns, as *pere*, *mere*, *frere*, from *patr-em*, *matr-em*, *fratr-em*, we generally find the -e added, as in the earliest forms (see 'Alexis' of the 11th century), *pedre*, *medre*, *fratre*. This last word, however, in the same poem is *frere*, but in rhythmical value it is simply a monosyllable, as we infer not only from its function in the verse, but also from the fact that we find it ten times written as *frer* in the Cottonian MS. referred to below. In early French, indeed, the combinations -*cle*, -*ple*, -*dre*, -*tre*, &c., simply represent *cl*, *pl*, &c. Thus *secle* in 'Alexis' is generally a monosyllable, and so *temple*, *pedre* = *templ*, *pedr*, not *tem-ple*, *pe-dre*, the -e being suffixed merely to preserve uniformity of spelling, or possibly to represent the unavoidable sound left on the ear in articulating the liquids. Words of this form, however, were often subsequently in verse accounted as dissyllables, and in Chaucer -*ble*, -*ple*, are found as -*bel*, -*pel*.

In the 4th declension we have *cas*, *pas*, &c., from *cas-um*, *pass-um*, &c., and hence *trespas* from *transpass-um* (also *porch*, as well as *porche* from *portic-um*), but that these

¹ The word *comit-em* should by analogy give *comt* or *count* but is generally spelt *conte*. It occurs, however, 27 times as *count* in 'The Assault of Massoura,' an Anglo-Norman poem of the 13th century (about 1260), MS. Cotton. Julius A. v.

words might have been written *case*, *cace*, *pace*, *trespace*, is proved by our finding *case*, *trespace* (Ear. Eng. Poems, p. 122) as well as *cas*, *trespas*, in the same MS. These words then are phonetically identical, and the difference is merely in the spelling.

Words of the 5th declension generally have a vowel before the *-em*, but this vowel, as in *-ium*, was rejected with the *-em*, and hence *fac-iem* becomes *face*, just as *spat-ium*, *spac-ium*, becomes *space*. That both these words were monosyllables is shown by their becoming in English *faas* (also *prefas*), *spaaas*, interchangeably with *face*, *preface*, *space*. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that *face* was ever as an English word *fac-e*, and hence we see why it can rhyme in Chaucer with *has* (Canon Yeoman's Tale). Everywhere, indeed, in Early English texts (including Chaucer) we find *-s* = *-se* = *-ce*,¹ as *devis*, *devise*, *device*; *pris*, *prise*, *price*; *faas*, *face*; *prefas*, *preface*; *solas*, *solace*; *graas*, *grace*; *spaaas*, *space*; *experiens*, *experience*; *paciens*, *paciencie*. We therefore conclude that the difference between *faas* and *face*, as between *pas* and *pace*, is a difference of spelling, not of sound, and that the French *face* was never, except by license, *fa-ce* in English.

We now return to the 1st declension, and insist that the *-e* of *rose*, *muse*, *chose*, *fortune* (from *ros-am*, *mus-am*, *caus-am*, *fortun-am*) had precisely the same function as that of *space*, *face*, that is, that it was merely an orthographic device of the French scribe, and, therefore, that *rose* = *rōs*, *muse* = *mūs*, *cause* = *cōs*, *chōs*, *fortune* = *fortūn*,² not *ros-e*, *mus-e*, &c., (1) because the normal law of French formation, before enunciated, converted the Latin nouns *ros-am*, *mus-am*, *fortun-am*, into *rōs*, *mūs*, *fortūn*, what followed being a matter of spelling, not of sound; (2) because the analogy of *grace* = Eng. *graas*, *grace*;

¹ See this point fully made out in the writer's paper on Early Norman and English Pronunciation. (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1870.)

² *Fortun* is found both in Chaucer and Wiclif.

space = Eng. *spaa*s, *space*, suggests conversely *rose* = *rōs*, *cose*, *chose* = *chōs*; (3) because we actually find *ros*, *chos*,¹ for *rose*, *chose*, in the phonetically spelt Anglo-Norman poem "La Pais aux Englois."

As additional illustrations, we find in the Anglo-Norman glosses on Neckam's Latin text, *saus* = *sauce*, from *sals-am*; *creym*, *crem* = *creme*, *creme*, from *crem-am*; *sei*, *say* = *scie*, *soie*, from *set-am*; *essel*, *aissel* = *aisselle*, from *axill-am*; *muel* = *moelle*, from *medull-am*; *test* = *teste*, *tete*, from *test-am*; *mol* = *mole*, from *mol-am*; *veyn* = *veyne*, from *ven-am*; *aguyl* = *aiguille*, from *acicul-am*, &c., and in the phonetically spelt poem "Le privilège aux Bretons," *mi* = *mie*, from *mic-am*; *semain* = *semaine*, from *septiman-am*; *genest* = mod. *genêt*, from *genist-am*; *droitur* = *droiture*, *dreiture*, from *directur-am*; *escriptur* = *escripture*, from *scriptur-am*; *aventur* = *aventure*, from *adventur-am*; *caintur* = *ceinture*, from *cinctur-am*; *cur* = *cure*, from *cur-am*; *cir* = *cire*, from *cer-am*; *ter* = *tere*, *terre*, from *terr-am*; *fest* = *feste*, *fête*, from *fest-am*; *dam* = *dame*, from *dom(in)-am*; *ru* = *rue*, from *rug-am*; *som* = *somme*, from *summ-am*; *vi* = *vie*, from *vit-am*; *Rom* = *Rome*, from *Rom-am*; *fos* = *fosse*, from *foss-am*; *vil* = *vile*, *ville*, from *vill-am*.

All these instances confirm the theory that this -e was merely orthographic, and go far to confute that of its being, except by license, pronounced or sonant.

As in the parallel cases of *-ium*, *-iem* of the 2nd and 5th declensions; *-iam*, *-eam* of the 1st were generally rejected in the formation of French nouns. Hence we find in the phonetically spelt poems already cited *best* ("un best sauvag") = *beste*, *bête*, from *best-iam*; *gras* = *grace*, from *grat-iam*; *manas* = *manace*, *menace*, from *minac-ias*; *parois* = *paroisse*, from *parœc-iam*; *Frans* = *France*, from

¹ Or vint la tens de May, que ce *ros* panirra.—p. 63, *Pol. Songs*.
Lessiez or cesti *chos*;—Francois nest mi anel.—p. 66.

Je farra ma talent coment la *chos* aele.—p. 67, and in four other passages.

Franc-iam ; *Normandi* = *Normandie*, from *Normand-iam* ; *fil* = *file*, *fille*, from *fil-iam*. Compare also *envi* = *envie*, from *invid-iam* ; *lin* = *lique*, from *lin-eam*. There were, however, some exceptions to this treatment of *-iam* as *-am* by rejecting the *i*. *Tragédie*, *comédie*, for instance, from *traged-iam*, *comed-iam*, would by analogy have become *tragede* = *tragēd*, *comede* = *comēd*, as *remed-ium* became *remede*, as well as *remédie*. For some reason or other the shorter form was distasteful in these cases. The atonic *i* was, therefore, retained, and an inorganic *-e* suffixed. In these instances as in the analogous ones of *victorie*, *glorie*, *estorie*, &c., the *-e* could not have formed a syllable (except by poetical license) because, as before stated, no French word could end in two atonic syllables, or, in other words, could be accented on the antepenultimate, and *tragédi-ë*, *comédi-ë*, *glóri-ë*, *vic-tó-ri-ë* are, therefore, (except by poetical license) impossible French words. The *-e*, then, in these words was certainly not sounded ; they were virtually = *tragédi*, *comédi*, *glóri*, *victóri*, *estóri*, just as *vicárie*, *librárie*, *exemplárie*, *contrárie*, *necessárie* were = *vicári*, *librári*, *exemplári*, *contrári*, *necessári*.

The forms *glorie* = *glóri*, *vicarie* = *vicári*, are properly Norman. In standard French the difficulty of accommodating the French accent to the Latin (a fundamental law of formation) was got over somewhat differently. The atonic *-ie* was altogether rejected, and *victor-iam*, *glor-iam*, &c., became phonetically = *victōr*, *glōr*. Hence, with the addition of the orthographic *-e*, we find *glore* (in St Bernard's Sermons), and *victore*, *memore*, *estore*, in Philippe de Mousque's Chronicles *passim*. Very early, however, a strengthening *i* was inserted before the *o* (probably without at first affecting the sound), and hence the ordinary forms *victoire*, *gloire*, &c., in which there is no reason to believe the *-e* was sonant (cf. Chaucer's *glour* ; also *gluir* and *estoir* in "Le privilège aux Bretons").

The word *matérie*, from *matér-iam*, is a type of a some-

what different difficulty, the accented syllable being short. The only instance in which this word has been found is in "The Conquest of Ireland" (p. 145), where this line occurs,

A ma | *materie* | voil re|peirer,

in which it is evident that it was pronounced *matér*. We find it, however, as an English word in Shoreham's Poems, rhyming with *merie*. The difficulty of dealing with the word was got over in French by treating the short accented syllable as long, and hence we have subsequently *materie* = *matiere* (2 syl.), and as an English word *matere*, *mater*, *matter*.

Hitherto the case of atonic *-ie* has been considered. But there is a large class of words in which it was tonic. Such are *curtesie*, *maladie*, *cumpanie*, *philosophie*, &c. (See p. 108, note 1.) It is contended that this termination *-ie* = *i*, (1) because it comes under the general analogy shown in contemporaneous English by Canon I. 2; (2) because frequently in standard French, and almost always in Anglo-Norman texts, the *-e* is silent; (3) because in nearly all Early English texts (including Chaucer) the *-e* in such words as *chivalrie*, *maladie*, &c., is mute in the rhythm (except by license) when written, or its silence is implied in the constantly occurring variants, *curtesy*, *malady*, &c. (See p. 115, note 1.)

It appears, then, that *-ie*, whether atonic or tonic, was orthoepically equivalent to *-i*, both being represented in English by tonic or atonic *-y*.

The upshot, then, of the whole investigation would seem to be that, as already stated, Latin nouns became French essentially by the rejection of the flexional termination from the stem of the word, the addition of the *-e* being a device of the scribe generally, but not uniformly employed to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. That this was the intention of the device in question is seen in its adoption in English for the same purpose, and its English application to words in which (for some reason difficult

now to ascertain) it was not applied in French, as, e. g. *case, pace, vertue, desire, despite, honoure, floure, duke, degree, mercie, mestere, frute, dedute, &c.*, as well as in Anglo-Norman poems where we find *nome, chemine, maine, pele* (pel, peau), *flume, orgueille, pee, matine, gine, artoise*, and even the infinitives *eschapere, governere*. (See "The Assault of Massoura."¹) We contend, then, that all the facts adduced are consistent with the theory, that the essential principle in the formation of French nouns from Latin consisted in absolutely rejecting the termination, whether one syllable or two, and that the *-e* was an orthoepic addition, which was not phonetically significant, except by poetical license; and further, that the English scribes borrowed and adopted this usage from the contemporary Norman scribes.²

As to French nouns ending in *-e* generally, it is probable that at their first formation the *-e* was a significant syllable, intended by analogy, with feminine adjectives, to show that they were feminine. The adjective *seint*, for instance, became *seint-e* in old French, and this distinction was long maintained in the standard language. The *-e* of feminine nouns, derived from the Latin feminine declension, may therefore for a time have been sounded. In the 13th century, however, there is reason to believe (as our instances show) that this distinction was obsolescent, if not obsolete, in England, and hence its practical insignificance in Anglo-Norman is seen in such rhymes as *arivé, maisnée; meserret = meserré, corucée*;³ *Marie, merci*;

¹ The argument derived from the omission of the *-e* is also confirmed by this MS., in which, as already stated, we find *frer* (10 times); *mer, Count* (27 times); *Ver (= Vere)*; *Normandi, arer* (4 times); *baner, trer (= traire)*; *mond, espe, &c.*

² The converse loss of *-e* in making French words English with change of accent illustrates the position maintained above. Thus *matère, manère, batáile, mitáine, gramáire, armúre, aventure, figúre, manúre, mesúre, doctríne, medecíne, araine, Marie*, became in the 14th century *máter, máner, báttel, mitten, grámer, ármour, áúnter, figer* (Wiclif), *mánnér* (Northern patois), *mézzur* (do.), *árran* (do.), *dóctrin* (Wiclif), *médicín* (do.), *márry* (patois).

³ See Anglo-Norman Fabliau in the first number of "Romania."

fierté, entrée, &c., and also numerous instances in which the -e of the feminine adjective does not count in the rhythm. In view, therefore, of all the circumstances of the case, it is maintained that no sonant -e was heard either in the Anglo-Norman nouns of the 14th century spelt with -e, and consequently none in the Anglo-Norman nouns imported into the English of the same age; and therefore that *veyne, veyle, space, grace, face, rente*, were monosyllables, *manere, matere, bataile, corage, viage, glorie*, dissyllables, and *pilgrimage, curtesie, companie, vilenie*, trisyllables to the reader of Chaucer's prose, and that only by poetical license was the -e pronounced in his verse.

This conclusion, which is in perfect accord with the arguments of the text in reference to English nouns in -e, is strikingly confirmed by the high authority of M. Paul Meyer, who, in a communication to Mr Furnivall, which the writer is obligingly permitted to use, says, after discussing the point in question, "Il est donc hors de doute que pendant tout le temps où vivait Chaucer le -e final atone était muet en anglo-normande, ou, pour me servir d'une expression plus juste, dans le français parlé en Angleterre."

II. ON THE FINAL -e OF FRENCH NOUNS IN THE CORNISH LANGUAGE.

The writer's attention has been drawn to the peculiarity which distinguishes the French words so largely adopted in the Cornish language of the 14th century. These, as appears from the Cornish Glossary furnished to the Philological Society's Transactions, 1868-9, by Mr Whitley Stokes, are almost universally found without the final -e of the original form. Two reasons may be given for this fact.

M. Paul Meyer, commenting on this poem, says: "Il y a un fait notamment, que paraît hors de doute, c'est que l'e final s'est assourdi il est devenu proprement muet, bien plus tôt dans le Grande Bretagne qu'en France."

One is, that as there was no such termination, that is, no final unaccented *-e*, in pure Cornish words, it would not be admitted when the French words became Cornish; the other is, that this sound was not recognized because it did not exist. The accented final *-é* of French words was retained, the unaccented *-e* was rejected. Hence, we find *batel*, *bateyl*, Fr. *bataile*; *beleny*, Fr. *vilenie*; *blam*, Fr. *blame*; *concyans*, Fr. *conscience*; *covaytis*, Fr. *coveitise*; *coyntys*, Fr. *cointise*; *caryn*, Fr. *careyne*; *davyys*, Fr. *devis*, *devise*; *dyboner*, Fr. *debonere*; *dyses*, Fr. *disese*; *damsel*, Fr. *damisele*; *es*, Fr. *ese*; *envy*, Fr. *envie*; *fas*, Fr. *face*; *gyl*, Fr. *guile*; *joy*, Fr. *joie*; *larges*, Fr. *largesse*; *maner*, Fr. *manere*; *natur*, Fr. *nature*; *pray*, Fr. *praie*, *proie*; *person*, Fr. *persone*; *pryns*, Fr. *prince*; *spas*, Fr. *space*; *strang*, Fr. *estrange*, &c.; but *cyte*, Fr. *cité*; *cherite*, Fr. *charité*; *pete*, Fr. *pité*; *plente*, Fr. *plenté*.

These forms, and the reason given for them below,¹ confirm the theory maintained in this paper, that the final *-e* was a phonetic index of the sound of the preceding vowel, and was not itself sounded either in Early French or Early English of Chaucer's age.

The English words found in Cornish are very few, but, as in *clowd*, *soth*, *mery*, *pat* (for *pate*), *scham*, *smoth*, &c., they generally reject the *-e*.

III. PROFESSOR LOWELL'S CRITICISM.

Professor Lowell, of Harvard University, in his charming work "My Study Windows," recently published, has commented with some asperity on the theory respecting final *-e* broached in the *Philological Transactions* for 1868-

¹ The writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. R. Williams of Rhydicroesau, one of our greatest authorities in Cornish, for the information that "The (i. e. the final) *-e* was not admitted into Cornish, because it was not sounded in words borrowed from the French, and being written phonetically, letters without sound were not written in Cornish or Welsh. Celtic words ending in *-e* always sounded it."

9 by the present writer, whom he charges with having "undertaken to prove that Chaucer did not sound the final or medial *-e*, and," he adds, "throws us back on the old theory that he wrote 'riding-rime,' that is, verse to the eye and not to the ear." In reply to this charge (maintained, by the way, with a certain "Sir Oracle" air, which scarcely befits a Professor of the Humanities) the writer begs to quote his own words. He asserted, "that as a general rule, and in common parlance, the final *-e* was silent, but in verse composition might be sounded whenever the metre required it;" again, that in the first eighteen lines of the Prologue, "a large majority of the final *-e*'s were not necessarily sounded by the readers of the Harleian MS. 7334;" and lastly, at the end of the investigation, "There seems, then, some reason to believe that the utterance of final *-e* was in Chaucer's verse the exception, its silence the rule, and that orthoepical superseded, when thought necessary or advisable, even grammatical considerations." These, and not those given by Mr Lowell, are the positions maintained by the writer in the paper referred to. They are the outcome of the more minute investigation of the present paper.

Then as to the charge of representing that Chaucer wrote "verse to the eye and not to the ear," the reply is, that the writer maintained, by implication, the exact contrary. His argument throughout was that the *-e* which met the eye was very frequently not recognized by the ear—that, for instance, the word *curtesie*, which to the eye is a quadrisyllable, was to the ear a trisyllable, as shown by the usage of Anglo-Norman and contemporary English writers. Is Mr Lowell's a fair representation of this argument?

Again, Mr Lowell shows by quotations from Rutebeuf, Wace, and Marie de France, that these writers generally required the *-e* to be sounded, as if any body had ever doubted it. At all events, the present writer expressly states

the fact in these words, "the sounding of final *-e* was a characteristic of the oldest French writers," i. e. poetical writers. His endeavour was to show that though this was the fact with regard to Rutebeuf, who represented the "French of Paris," and might, therefore, be true of others, who, like Marie de France and Wace, imitated to a great extent the standard style, yet that it was not a "characteristic," that is, not generally true, of pure Anglo-Norman writers, a class to which neither Wace nor Marie de France belongs. No one before Mr Lowell has considered Wace as a writer of pure Norman, much less of Anglo-Norman; and Marie de France, who writes (as Rutebeuf does) *clar̄tei*, *beautei*, *amenei*, *afermei* (past participles), *furmaige*, *paraige*, &c., for the Norman forms *clar̄te*, *amene*, *furmaige*, &c., when compared with the writers of "Charlemagne," "The Conquest of Ireland," "The life of Edward the Confessor," Langtoft's "Chronique," &c., though she employs many Norman forms, is not a pure Anglo-Norman writer. She affected the French of Paris, as did Gower, who in writing French would not for the world, though an Englishman, have written like the authors just named, or like the writers of the pretty Anglo-Norman lyrics of the 13th century given in Wright's "Lyrical Poetry." Mr Lowell's arguments, then, drawn from the usage of the writers of standard French, are irrelevant—this usage was not in question. His reference to the Scottish *bonny*, which he amusingly derives from *bone*, *bonne*, and to English words of Romance derivation ending in *-y*, meaning apparently such as *courtesy*, *jealousy*, &c., as proving his point, is entirely beside the mark. The case of *bonny* does not require a serious answer; and as to the others, the fact that Chaucer frequently writes *curtesy*, *jealosity*, for *curtesie*, *jealosite*, contradicts his argument. Mr Lowell is, notwithstanding, a charming writer, and if he did not profess to know everything, and were not so very positive in his assertions, would be more charming still.

IV. MECHLENBURG PLATT-DEUTSCH OF THE 13TH CENTURY.

As an incidental evidence that the suffixing of an inorganic *-e* to a syllable containing a radical long vowel was merely an orthoepic expedient, and probably borrowed from the Norman scribes, it may be observed that the same words—words common to A.S. and the Mecklenburgisch dialect of the 13th century—appear without *-e*. Indeed, they never assumed the *-e* at all. Thus we find in this dialect *dal, sal, lam, sham, har* (hair), *gewar, dar* (there), *her* (an army), *her* (here), *sper, dep, ber* (beer), *lif, vif* (five), *bok, stol* (stool), *hus*, almost literatim, identical with the A.S. words. We especially note *sham* as a monosyllable, which A.S. *sceamu* very early also became. It is also noticeable, though not connected with the point under discussion, that in this dialect we find *bor, kolt, ok, &c.*, at the present time corresponding to the A.S. *bár*, Eng. bore, boar, A.S. *ceald, cald*, Eng. cold, A.S. *eald, ald*, Eng. old. It is further noticeable that *is, was*, and *hudd*, and *drunken, broken, &c.*, not *gedrunke, gebroken*, are, and have been from the 13th century, the forms corresponding to our own *is, was, &c.* See *Grammatik des Meklenburgischen Dialektes älterer und neuerer Zeit*. Von Karl Nerger. "Leipzig, 1869." In an earlier grammar of the same dialect by J. Mussæus, "Neu-Strelitz, 1829," we find the following remark, "Da das Platte wenigsylbige Wörter liebt, und daher nie verlängert, sondern gewöhnlich verkürzt, so wird das *-e* gerne ausgestossen: Hase (in German) = Has (Platt-Deutsch), so auch (as remarked above) allemal das ge des Particip. getrunken (German) = drunken (Platt-Deutsch), deshalb sind Apostrophirungen häufig." These points of resemblance between our old English and Platt-Deutsch only make the differences more striking, and aid the argument, that the final *-e* in the English words in question never was, nor was intended to be, an organic element.

V.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

ON

CHAUCER,

FROM HER "ENGLISH POETS," ED. 1863.

"And Chaucer, with his infantine
Familiar clasp of things divine—
That mark upon his lip is wine."

A Vision of Poets (1844), in *Poems* by Elizabeth
Barrett Browning, 1850, i. 219.

It is well for all lovers of Chaucer to hear a woman's opinion on him, and specially well when that woman is one, pure of spirit and noble of soul, our great Victorian poetess, Elizabeth Barrett Browning. She wrote this opinion before she married, in "The Book of the Poets," in the *Athenæum* of 1842; it is reprinted in her *Greek Christian Poets and English Poets*, 1863, p. 110, &c., and taken thence now by leave of her husband, the poet, Robert Browning, who says that she took part, with Wordsworth and others, in modernizing some of Chaucer's Tales. Mr J. W. Hales has kindly called my attention to the following little-known estimate of Chaucer, by Drayton.

"That noble *Chaucer*, in those former times,
 The first inrich't our *English* with his rimes,
 And was the first of ours that euer brake
 Into the *Muses* treasure, and first spake
 In weighty numbers, deluing in the Mine
 Of perfect knowledge, which he could refine,
 And coyne for currant; and as much as then
 The *English* language could expresse to men,
 He made it doe; and by his wondrous skill,
 Gaue vs much light from his abundant quill.
 And honest *Gower*, who in respect of him,
 Had onely sipt at Aganippas brimme,
 And though in yeares this last was him before,
 Yet fell he far short of the others store."

MICHAELL DRAYTON *Esquire*. 'To my most dearely-loued friend *Henry Reynolds* Esquire of *Poets and Poesie*.' *Elegies*, in "The Battaile of Agincovrt," 1631.

Mr Hales proposes to collect for us a chain of poets' opinions on Chaucer: a pleasant Paper this will make.—
 F. J. F.

MRS BARRETT BROWNING ON CHAUCER.

“BUT it is in Chaucer we touch the true height, and look abroad into the kingdoms and glories of our poetical literature,—it is with Chaucer that we begin our ‘Books of the Poets,’ our collections and selections, our pride of place and names. And the genius of the poet shares the character of his position: he was made for an early poet, and the metaphors of dawn and spring doubly become him. A morning star, a lark’s exultation, cannot usher in a glory better. The ‘cheerful morning face,’ ‘the breezy call of incense-breathing morn,’ you recognise in his countenance and voice: it is a voice full of promise and prophecy. He is the good omen of our poetry, the ‘good bird,’ according to the Romans, ‘the best good angel of the spring,’ the nightingale, according to his own creed of good luck heard before the cuckoo,

‘Up rose the sunne, and uprose Emilie,’

and uprose her poet, the first of a line of kings, conscious of futurity in his smile. “He is a king, and inherits the earth, and expands his great soul smilingly to embrace his great heritage.” Nothing is too high for him to touch with a thought, nothing too low to dower with an affection.” As a complete creature cognate of life and death, he cries upon God,—as a sympathetic creature he singles out a daisy from the universe (*‘si douce est la marguerite’*), to lie down by half a summer’s day¹, and bless it for fellow-

¹ Prol. to the *Legende of Good Women*, l. 179-182 of the 2nd cast of the Prologue.—F.

ship. His senses are open and delicate, like a young child's—his sensibilities capacious of supersensual relations, like an experienced thinker's. Child-like, too, his tears and smiles lie at the edge of his eyes, and he is one proof more among the many, that the deepest pathos and the quickest gaieties hide together in the same nature. He is too wakeful and curious to lose the stirring of a leaf, yet not too wide awake to see visions of green and white ladies¹ between the branches; and a fair House of Fame and a noble Court of Love² are built and holden in the winking of his eyelash. And because his imagination is neither too 'high fantastical' to refuse proudly the gravitation of the earth, nor too 'light of love' to lose it carelessly, he can create as well as dream, and work with clay as well as cloud; and when his men and women stand by the actual ones, your stop-watch shall reckon no difference in the beating of their hearts. He knew the secret of nature and art,—that truth is beauty,—and saying 'I will make "A Wife of Bath" as well as Emilie, and you shall remember her as long,' we do remember her as long. And he sent us a train of pilgrims, each with a distinct individuality apart from the pilgrimage, all the way from Southwark, and the Tabard Inn, to Canterbury and Becket's shrine: and their laughter comes never to an end, and their talk goes on with the stars, and all the railroads which may intersect the spoilt earth for ever, cannot hush the 'tramp tramp' of their horses' feet.

"Controversy is provocative. We cannot help observing, because certain critics observe otherwise, that Chaucer utters as true music as ever came from poet or musician; that some of the sweetest cadences in all our English are

¹ And by the hande he helde this noble quene,
Crowned with white, and clothed al in grene.

Prologue to the Legende, 2nd cast, l. 241-2.

But the allusion is doubtless to the Ladies of *The Flower & Leaf*, which certainly Chaucer never wrote. It must be more than 50 years after his date.—F.

² This poem cannot be proved to be Chaucer's.—F.

extant in his—'swete upon his tongue' in completest modulation. Let 'Denham's strength and Waller's sweetness join' the Io pæan of a later age, the '*eurekamen* of Pope and his generation. Not one of the 'Queen Anne's men' measuring out tuneful breath upon their fingers, like ribbons for topknots, did know the art of versification as the old rude Chaucer knew it. Call him rude for the picturesqueness of the epithet; but his verse has, at least, as much regularity in the sense of true art, and more manifestly in proportion to our increasing acquaintance with his dialect and pronunciation, as can be discovered or dreamed in the French school. Critics, indeed, have set up a system based upon the crushed atoms of first principles, maintaining that poor Chaucer wrote by accent only! Grant to them that he counted no verses on his fingers; grant that he never disciplined his highest thoughts to walk up and down in a paddock—ten paces and a turn; grant that his singing is not after the likeness of their singsong; but there end your admissions. It is our ineffaceable impression, in fact, that the whole theory of accent and quantity held in relation to ancient and modern poetry stands upon a fallacy, totters rather than stands; and that, when considered in connection with such old moderns as our Chaucer, the fallaciousness is especially apparent. Chaucer wrote by quantity, just as Homer did before him, as Goethe did after him, just as all poets must. Rules differ, principles are identical. All rhythm presupposes quantity. Organ-pipe or harp, the musician plays by time. Greek or English, Chaucer or Pope, the poet sings by time. What is this accent but a stroke, an emphasis with a successive pause to make complete the time? And what is the difference between this accent and quantity, but the difference between a harp-note and an organ-note? otherwise, quantity expressed in different ways? It is as easy for matter to subsist out of space, as music out of time.

“Side by side with Chaucer comes Gower, who is ungratefully disregarded too often, because side by side with Chaucer. He who rides in the king’s chariot will miss the people’s ‘hic est.’ Could Gower be considered apart, there might be found signs in him of an independent royalty, however his fate may seem to lie in waiting for ever in his brother’s ante-chamber, like Napoleon’s tame kings. To speak our mind, he has been much undervalued. He is nailed to a comparative degree; and everybody seems to make it a condition of speaking of him, that something be called inferior within him, and something superior out of him. He is laid down flat, as a dark background for ‘throwing out’ Chaucer’s light; he is used as a *πov στω* for leaping up into the empyrean of Chaucer’s praise. This is not just nor worthy. His principal poem, the *Confessio Amantis*, preceded the *Canterbury Tales*, and proves an abundant fancy, a full head and full heart, and neither ineloquent.¹ We do not praise its design,—in which the father confessor is set up as a story-teller, like the bishop of Tricca, ‘avec l’âme,’ like the Cardinal de Retz, ‘le moins ecclésiastique du monde,’—while we admit that he tells his stories as if born to the manner of it, and that they are not much the graver, nor, peradventure, the holier either, for the circumstance of the confessorship. They are, indeed, told gracefully and pleasantly enough, and if with no superfluous life and gesture, with an active sense of beauty in some sort, and as flowing a rhythm as may bear comparison with many octosyllabics of our day; Chaucer himself having done more honour to their worth

¹ Apply here what Mrs Browning (that is, Miss Barrett) says at p. 163-4 on the difference between the Elizabethan period and the Cowley one. “The voices are eloquent enough, thoughtful enough, fanciful enough; but something is defective. Can any one suffer, as an experimental reader, the transition between the second and third periods, without feeling that something is defective? What is so? And who dares to guess that it may be INSPIRATION?” Gower, of course, writes most respectable verse; but he is a *bore*. It’s just like him, to patronise Chaucer!—F.

as stories than we can do in our praise, by adopting and crowning several of their number for king's sons within his own palaces.¹ And this recalls that, at the opening of one glorious felony, the Man of Lawes tale, he has written, a little unlawfully and ungratefully considering the connection, some lines of harsh significance upon poor Gower,² whence has been conjectured by the grey gossips of criticism, a literary jealousy, an unholy enmity, nothing less than a soul-chasm between the contemporary poets. We believe nothing of it; no nor of the Shakespeare and Jonson feud after it:

‘To alle such cursed stories we saie fy.’

“That Chaucer wrote in irritation is clear³: that he was angry seriously and lastingly, or beyond the pastime of passion spent in a verse as provoked by a verse, there appears to us no reason for crediting. But our idea of the nature of the irritation will expound itself in our idea of the offence, which is here in Dan Gower's proper words, as extracted from the Ladie Venus's speech in the *Confessio Amantis*:

¹ I do not believe for a moment that Chaucer adapted his stories from Gower, as he had probably written his *Constance*, &c., long before Gower's *Confessio* appeared. The stories were common enough; and both writers went to the same original. But out of that they made very different poems.—F.

² l. 78-88. Where he says that he wouldn't write of such cursed stories as Canace's (who loved her own brother sinfully), or such unnatural abominations as Tyro Apollonius, who ravisht his own daughter, and of whom Gower had written the story in his *Confessio*. Why shouldn't Chaucer have been chaffing the “moral Gower,” that most respectable man, for his gross impropriety? It's just the kind of thing Chaucer would have enjoyed, especially when he had himself just finisht his free-and-easy Miller's and Reeve's Tales, and broken off the Cook's, because the flavour was getting a little too strong. He, in fact, said to his readers, “You may perhaps think my stories a little naughty; but really they're not half so bad as that moral and proper old gentleman's who's Poet Lawreate. Mine are only fun, whereas that old respectable's are about incest! Bad I may be; but as bad as that proper old Gower who writes about unnatural crimes!! God forbid!!!” It's something like Swinburne reproaching Tupper for the immoral tendency of his productions. And who wouldn't enjoy that joke?—F.

³ Not to me.—F.

'And grete well Chaucer whan ye me'e,
As my disciple and poëte!

.

Forthy now in his daies old,
Thou shalt him tellë this message,
That he upon his latter age,
To sette an ende of alle his werke
As he who is mine ownë clerke,
Do make his testament of love.'

We would not slander Chaucer's temper,—we believe, on the contrary, that he had the sweetest temper in the world,—and still it is our conviction, none the weaker, that he was far from being entirely pleased by this 'message.' We are sure he did not like the message, and not many poets would. His 'elvish countenance' might well grow dark, and 'his sugred mouth' speak somewhat sourly, in response to such a message. Decidedly, in our own opinion, it was an impertinent message, a provocative message, a most inexcusable and odious message! Waxing hotter ourselves the longer we think of it, there is the more excuse for Chaucer. For, consider, gentle reader! this indecorous message preceded the appearance of the *Canterbury Tales*,¹ and proceeded from a rival poet in the act of completing his principal work,—its plain significance being 'I have done my poem, and you cannot do yours because you are superannuated.' And this, while the great poet addressed was looking farther forward than the visible horizon, his eyes dilated with a mighty purpose. And to be counselled by this, to shut them forsooth, and take his crook and dog and place in the valleys like a grey shepherd of the Pyrenees—he, who felt his foot strong upon the heights! he, with no wrinkle on his forehead deep enough to touch the outermost of inward smooth dreams—he, in the divine youth of his healthy soul, in the quenchless love of his embracing sympathies, in the untired working

¹ Did the *Canterbury Tales* ever *appear* at all, in our sense of the word? Separate Tales, or fragments or groups of them, may have been circulated during Chaucer's life; but assuredly they never "appeared" as a whole, like Gower's *Confessio* did.—F.

of his perpetual energies,—to ‘make an ende of alle his werke’ and be old, as if he were not a poet! ‘Go to, O vain man,’—we do not reckon the age of the poet’s soul by the shadow on the dial! Enough that it falls upon his grave” (p. 119).

(p. 134). “But this Sackville stands too low for admeasurement with Spenser, and we must look back, if covetous of comparisons, to some one of a loftier and more kingly stature. We must look back far, and stop at Chaucer. Spenser and Chaucer do naturally remind us of each other, they two being the most cheerful-hearted of the poets—with whom cheerfulness, as an attribute of poetry, is scarcely a common gift.”

(p. 136). “Chaucer and Spenser fulfilled their destiny, and grew to their mutual likeness as cheerful poets, by certain of the former processes [glorifying sensual things with the inward sense, &c.]. They two are alike in their cheerfulness, yet are their cheerfulnesses most unlike. Each poet laughs: yet their laughters ring with as far a difference as the sheep-bell on the hill, and the joy-bell in the city. Each is earnest in his gladness: each active in persuading you of it. You are persuaded, and hold each for a cheerful man. The whole difference is, that Chaucer has a cheerful humanity: Spenser, a cheerful ideality. One, rejoices walking on the sunny side of the street; the other, walking out of the street in a way of his own, kept green by a blessed vision. One, uses the adroitness of his fancy by distilling out of the visible universe her occult smiles; the other, by fleeing beyond the possible frown, the occasions of natural ills, to that ‘cave of cloud’ where he may smile safely to himself. One, holds festival with men—seldom so coarse and loud, indeed, as to startle the deer from their green covert at Woodstock¹—or with homely Nature and her

¹ There is no foundation for the late legend that connects Chaucer with Woodstock.—F.

‘dame Marguerite’ low in the grasses :¹ the other adopts, for his playfellows, imaginary or spiritual existences, and will not say a word to Nature herself, unless it please her to dress for his masque, and speak daintily sweet, and rare like a spirit. The human heart of one utters oracles ; the imagination of the other speaks for his heart, and we miss no prophecy. For music, we praised Chaucer’s, and not only as Dryden did, for ‘a Scotch tune.’ But never issued there from lip or instrument, or the tuned causes of nature, more lovely sound than we gather from our Spenser’s Art. His rhythm is the continuity of melody. It is the singing of an angel in a dream.”

(p. 163). “Shirley is the last dramatist, *Valete et plaudite, o posteri*. Standing in his traces, and looking backward and before, we became aware of the distinct demarcations of five eras of English poetry : the first, the Chaucerian, although we might call it *Chaucer* ; the second, the Elizabethan ; the third, which culminates in Cowley ; the fourth, in Dryden and the French school ; the fifth, the return to nature in Cowper and his successors of our day. These five rings mark the age of the fair and stinging serpent we are impelled, like the Ancient Mariner, to bless—but not ‘unaware.’ ‘*Ah benedicite!*’ we bless her so, out of our Chaucer’s rubric, softly, but with a plaintiveness of pleasure.”

¹ Prologue to the *Legende*.—F.

VI.

SPECIMEN OF

A CRITICAL EDITION OF CHAUCER'S

COMPLEYNTE TO PITE,

WITH THE GENEALOGY OF ITS MANUSCRIPTS,

BY

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THE present edition of the *Compleynte to Pite* is founded on the six MSS published by Mr Furnivall in the *Parallel Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, Part I, 1871, namely :

- T* = Tanner 346 (vellum, ? 1440; Bodl. Libr.);
F = Fairfax 16 (vellum, ? 1440-50, Bodl. Libr.);
B = Bodleian 638 (paper and vellum, ? 1460-70);
H = Harleian 78 (paper, ? 1450, by Shirley);
C = Cambridge Univ. Libr., Ff. 1. 6 (paper, ? 1460);
Tr = Trinity Coll., Cambr., R. 3. 19 (paper, ? 1460-70).

The genealogy of these MSS may be traced without any great difficulty.

C seems to be a copy from *T*. It has all the bad readings of this MS (even such unaccountable ones as *yereres* for *yeres*, l. 8),—with the sole exception of *yore* (l. 86) for *youre*,—and in addition to them the following blunders of its own: *if* omitted (l. 4), *I* om. (12), *As* for *And* (32), *hys beaute* altered from *hye beaute* (70), *stremis* for *streme* (94). Also in orthography (or rather cacography) the two MSS resemble each other very closely. Still in this respect too *C* is somewhat worse than *T*; cf. *grase* (91), *mersi* (92), *Alliauns* (83), for *grace*, *merci* or *mercy* (*T*), *alliaunce* (rhyming with *obeisaunce*).

T and *Tr* belong to the same type, having many false or dubious readings in common, especially many omissions. They drop *when* (8, and again 45), *I* (10), *to* (48), *the* (82), *youres* (113). On the other hand, each MS has some blunders not found in the other.¹ *T* has *worde* for *world* (3 and 77), *and* for *all* (10), *ffull* instead of *ffor* (33), *euyr* om. (33), *there* om. (36), *and by* for *and* (42), *of* om. (56), *your* om. (59), *that* om. (103). *Tr* has *with my trouth* instead of *for my trouth* (7), *doth dy* for *doth me*

¹ Those occurring in *T* are, of course, found also in *C*.

dye (7), *of* for *on* (11), *Downe* for *Adown* (15), *sowne* for *swone* (16), and for *or* (34), *mo* for *wo* (37), *Bounte*. *Perfytwyll Amor* and *ryghtly* for *Bounte perfite wel armed and richely* (38), *yong* for *youth* (40), *cause* (repeated from the preceding line) for *pleynte* (47), *no man* for *no bill* (49), *bounde* for *beaute* (70), *Your penaunce ys for to do in a throw* for *youre renown is fordo in a throwe* (86). Hence we may infer that neither MS was copied from the other, but that both were copied from the same earlier MS, which we call *z*.

To a different group belong *F* and *B*; these two MSS agree in a few false readings, ll. 32, 50, 111, and as *F* was certainly not copied from *B* (which is evident from ll. 24, 36, 42, 45, 97, 117), nor *B* from *F* (cf. ll. 87, 91, 102, 114), both were probably copied from the same earlier MS (= *v*).

If we compare *v* and *z* with *H*, we see that *H* has a great many peculiar readings, whereas *v* and *z* more generally agree. In the greater part of these passages *H*, no doubt, is wrong, and this MS seems to be the less trustworthy, as its scribe (Shirley) has evidently tried to correct the text, as he found it, by conjectural emendation. To give an instance, the three opening lines of the poem may be supposed to have run thus in the prototype of *H*:

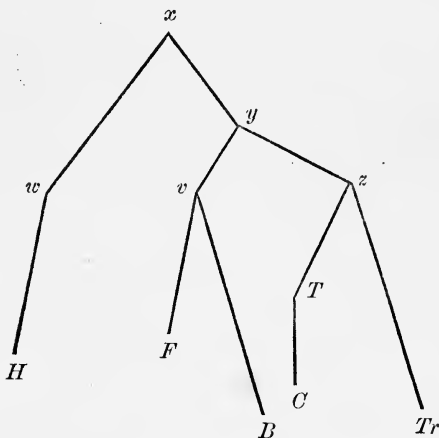
“ Pitye þat I haue sought so yore
With hert sore ful of besy peyne
þat in þis worlde nas þer no wight so woe.”

Shirley saw that the first line was corrupt, but he was not aware of the concluding word: *ago* having been dropped. He therefore probably inserted *whiche* before *þat*, and, in order to make the first line rhyme with the third, altered in the latter *so woe* into *woer*. Not unlikely it was also Shirley who wrote l. 5 of *pitee for to pleyne*, instead of *to pitee*, &c. (at the same time, inserting *And eke* at the beginning of the following line), and who accordingly called the poem a *complaint of Pitee*.

But numerous as the errors of *H* are, still there are many passages where Shirley's MS alone either has the true reading or helps us to find it out. See ll. 9, 25, 34, 35, 50, 71, 109, &c. A careful examination of these passages leads us to the conclusion that *v* and *z* were both copied from the same MS (= *y*), which was not the source of *H*.

H and *y*, of course, finally derive from the same source,—we call this common source of *H* and *y* : *x*,—but from what has been said about the alterations made by Shirley and the errors he found in his prototype, it is evident that *H* was not directly copied from *x*, but is linked to it by another MS (= *w*).

The results we have arrived at with respect to the genealogy of our six MSS, may be illustrated by the following scheme :—



Of all six MSS *F*, no doubt, is the best, and *Tr* the worst, whereas *C* is the most worthless. *H*, though perhaps more unlike the original than any other MS, may be called the most precious of all, inasmuch as it is the unique copy of its type.

THE COMPLEYNTE TO PITE.

(1)

Pite, that I have sought so, yoore ago,	1
With herte soore, and ful of besy peyne,	
That in this world nas never wight so wo,	
Withoute deeth,—and if I shal not feyne,	4
My purpos was to Pite to compleyne	
Upon the cruelte and tirannye	
Of Love, that for my trouthe dooth me dye.	7

(2)

And whan that I by lengthe of certeyn yeeres	8
Hadde ever in oon a tyme sought to speke,	
To Pite ran I, al bespreynt with teeres,	
To preyen hir on Cruelte me awreke ;	11
But er I myght with any worde outbreke,	
Or tellen any of my peynes smerte,	
I fond hir deed and buried in an herte.	14

1. whiche þat *H.* ago *om. H.* 2. and *om. H.* 3. this worde *TC.* was neuer *FBTCTr.* nas þer no *H.* woer *H.* 4. if *om. C.* 5. of pitee for to pleyne *H.* 6. And eke opon þe cruwel thirannye *H.* 7. with my trouthe dooth dy *Tr.*

8. whau *om. TCTr.* 9. sought(e) a tyme *FBTCTr.* 10. I ran *H.* I *om. TCTr.* and besprente *TC.* 11. of cruelte *Tr.* wreke *H.* 12. I *om. C.* 13. telle her eny *TCTr.* 14. Pitee ded *H.*

(3)

Adoune I fel, whan that I saugh the herse, 15
 Deed as stoon, while that the swogh me laste ;
 But up I roos with colour ful diverse,
 And pitously on hir myn yne I caste, 18
 And neer the corps I gan to presen faste,
 And for the soule I shoop me for to preye :
 I nas but lorn, there nas no moor to seye. 21

(4)

Thus am I sleyn, sith that Pite is deed ; 22
 Allas the day, that ever hit shulde falle !
 What maner man dar now holde up his heed ?
 To whom shal any sorwful herte calle ? 25
 Now Cruelte hath cast to sleen us alle
 In ydel hope, folk reedeles of peyne,
 Sith she is deed, to whom shul we compleyne ? 28

(5)

But yet encreseth me this wonder newe, 29
 That no wight woot that she is deed, but I,
 So many men as in hir tyme hir knewe ;
 And yet she dyed noght so sodeynly : 32
 For I have sought hir ay ful besyly,
 Sith first I hadde witte or mannes mynde,
 But she was deed, er that I koude hir fynde. 35

15. And doune *H*, Doune *Tr.* that *om.* *MSS.* 16. as a ston *Tr.* whyles þat *H.* swoue *T*, swone *C*, sowne *Tr.* me *om.* *HTr.* 17. wel dyverse *H.* 18. ey *Tr.* 19. nerer (*nerrer*) *TCTr.* nerre *H.* I came to presen *H*, I gan presen *FBTCTr.* 21. was . . . was *FBTCTr.* Me thought me lorn þer was noon oþer weye *H.*

23. that day *FBTCTr.* 24. now *om.* *B.* heve vp *H.* 25. now eny *FBTCTr.* 27. In ydelle hope we lyve redlesse of peyne *H.* 28. we shoulde vs pleyne *H.*

30. wot hir ded oonly but *IH.* 31. So many a man þat *H.* 32. As yette *C.* she *om.* *FB.* noght *om.* *Tr.* so *om.* *FBTCTr.* or mynde *FBTC*, and mynde *Tr.* 35. that *om.* *FBTCTr.*

(6)

Aboute hir hers there stooden lustyly,	36
Withouten any wo, as thoughte me,	
Bounte parfyt, wel armed and richely,	
And fresshe Beaute, Lust, and Jolyte,	39
Assured maner, Youthe, and Honeste,	
Wisdom, Estat, and Dreed, and Governauce,	
Confedred booth by bonde and alliaunce.	42

(7)

A compleynte hadde I, writen, in myn hond,	43
For to han put to Pite as a bille,	
But whanne I al this companye there fond,	
That rather wolden al my cause spille,	46
Than do me helpe, I heeld my pleynte stille ;	
For to tho folk, withouten any faylle,	
Without Pite ne may no bille avaylle.	49

(8)

Than leeve I al thise vertues, sauf Pite,	50
Keeping the corps, as ye have herd me seyn,	
Confedred all by bonde of cruelte,	
And been assented that I shal be sleyn.	53
So I have put my compleynte up ageyn,	
For to my foos my bille I dar nocht shewe,	
Theffect of which seyth thus in wordes fewe :	56

36. there *om TC*. lustel *F* (? *press or clerical error*), besylye *B*. 37. without any mo *Tr*, With outen making doel *H*. 38. parfyte weel arrayed *H*, Perfytywyl Amour *Tr*. ryghtly *Tr*. 40. yong and honeste *Tr*. 41. and (*before Dreed*) *om. MSS*. 42. by hande *H*. and assurance *H*, of alaunce *B*, and by alliaunce *TC*.

44. To haue put *FBTCTr*. 45. whanne *om. TCTr*. but when I saw all this companye ther stonde *B*. 47. my compleynt *H*, my cause *Tr*. 48. to *om. TCTr*. that folke *FBTCTr*. 49. ther may *FBTCTr*. noman *Tr*.

50. leve we al *FB*, leue al *TCTr*. thes *om. FBTCTr*. saue only pite *FBTCTr*. 51. the heerse *H*. 52. all *om. FBTCTr*. and by cruelte *FBTC*, and cruelte *Tr*. 53. when I shal *FBTCTr*. 54. So þanne I putte *H*, And I haue put *FBTCTr*. vp my complaynt Agayne *Tr*. 55. foomen *H*. dourst *H*. 56. of *om. TC*. þeffect of þe matere was this at wordes fewe *H*.

(9)

Humblest of herte, highest of reverence, 57
 Benygne flour, coroune of vertues alle,
 Sheweth unto your rial excellence
 Your servaunt, if I durste me so calle, 60
 His mortal harme, in which he is yfalle,
 And noght al oonly for his evel fare,
 But for your renoun, as he shal declare. 63

(10)

Hit stondesth thus: your contraire, Cruelte, 64
 Allied is ayenst your regalye,
 Under colour of womanly Beaute,
 For men ne shuld not knowe hir tirannye, 67
 With Bounte, Gentilesse, and Curtesye,
 And hath depryved yow now of your place,
 That hight "Beaute, apertenaunt to Grace." 70

(11)

For kyndly, by youre heritage ryght, 71
 Ye been annexed ever unto Bounte,
 And verrayly ye oughte do your myght
 To helpe Trouthe in his adversyte; 74
 Ye been also the coroune of Beaute,
 And, certes, if ye wanten in thise tweyne,
 The worlde is lore, there nis no moor to seyne. 77

59. your *om.* *TC.* souuereyne excellence *H.* 60. dourst
 my self *H.* 61. in which he is falle *FBTCTr.* whiche he is
 Inne falle *H.* 62. al *om.* *Tr.* 63. as I shal *H.*

64. that your contrary *FBTC.* that contrary *Tr.* 65. ayens
 (agaynes) *BTC.* 66. Under þe coloure *H.* 67. ne *om.* *MSS.*
 nought loo knowe *H.* 69. now *om.* *FBTCTr.* 70. That is
 hygh (hye) beaute *FBT.* That is hys beaute *C.* That ys hygh
 bounde *Tr.* to your grace *FBTCTr.*

71. and ryght *H.* 72. beope *H.* 75. beope *H.* 77. worde
TC. ther is *FBTCTr.*

(12)

Eek what avaylleth Maner and Gentillesse	78
Withoute yow, benygne creature?	
Shal Cruelte be now governeresse?	
Allas, what herte may hit longe endure?	81
Wherfore, but ye the rather take cure	
To breke that perilous alliaunce,	
Ye sleen hem that been in youre obeisaunce.	84

(13)

And further over, if ye suffre this,	85
Your renoun is fordoon than in a throwe,	
There shal no man wete what Pite is;	
Allas that your renoun shuld be so lowe!	88
Ye been than fro youre heritage ythrowe	
By Cruelte, that occupieth your place,	
And we despeyrd, that seeken to your grace.	91

(14)

Have mercy on me, vertuouse queen!	92
That yow have sought so tenderly and yooere;	
Let som stream of your lyght on me be seen,	
That love and dreed yow ay lenger the moore;	95
For, sooth to seyne, I bere the hevvy soore,	
And though I be noght kunnyng for to pleyne,	
For Goddes love, have mercy on my peyne!	98

78. or gentillesse *H.* 79. With yowe benigne and feyre creature *H.* 80. be nowe oure *H.* be your *FBTCTr.* governeresse *TCTr.* 81. shal may þat endure *H.* 82. the *om. TCTr.* 83. To breke of þoo persones þe allyaunce *H.* 84. of your obeyssaunce *H.* vndyr your obeysaunce *Tr.*

85. forthermore *TCTr.* 86. than *om. BFTCTr.* with a throwe *H.* Your penaunce is for to do in a throw *Tr.* 87. no wight wit *H.* no man wete well *F.* what the peyne is *H.* 88. that euer your renoun is falle *FBTCTr.* 89. Ye be also fro *FBTCTr.* throw *Tr.* 91. we be dispeyred *TC,* woo dyspeyreth *Tr.* that spoken *F.* to *om. TCTr.*

92. yee vertuouse queene *H.* thow herenus (heremus *Tr.*) quene *FBTCTr.* 93. so tenderly and so yore *TC,* so truwely and so yore *H.* 94. some strems *C,* þe streme *H.* your *om. FBTCTr.* 95. loueþe and dredeþe *H.* euer *FBTCTr.* the *om. H.* 96. For sothely *FBTC,* That sothly *Tr.* þe sooþe *H.* for to seyne *MSS.* I bere so soore *FBTCTr.* 97. no kunnyng *B.*

(15)

My peyne is this, that what so I desire, 99
 That have I noght, ne no thing lyk therto,
 And ever set Desire myn herte on fire ;
 Eek on that oother syde, where so I go, 102
 What maner thing that may encrese my wo,
 That have I reedy, unsought everywhere :
 Me ne lakketh but my deeth, and than my bere. 105

(16)

What needeth to shew parcel of my peyne ? 106
 Syth euery wo that herte may bethynke
 I suffre, and yet I dar noght to yow pleyne.
 For wel I woot, al thogh I wake or wynke, 109
 Ye rekke noght whether I fleet or synke.
 Yet natheles my trouthe I shal sustene
 Unto my deeth, and that shal wel be sene. 112

(17)

This is to seyne : I wol be youres ever ; 113
 Thogh ye me sle by Cruelte, your fo,
 Algate my spirit shal never dissever
 Fro your servise, for any peyne or wo. 116
 Sith ye be deed,—allas that hit is so !—
 Thus for your deeth I may wel weepe and pleyne,
 With herte soore, and ful of besy peyne. 119

99. thus that what I desire *Tr.* 100. nor nothing lyke therto *Tr.*, ne nought þat lyþe þerto *H.* 101. setteth *MSS.* 102. sydes *F.* 103. that *om. TC.* my *om. H.* : 104. euyr where *TC.* 105. ne *om. MSS.* (pronounce 'Me ne' as 'Meen': see the Notes). but deth *Tr.*

106. What needeþe it shewe *H.* parcelles (-ys) *HTr.* 107. can bethynk *Tr.* 109. al *om. FBTCTr.* 110. where I *FB.* 111. Yit neuer þe lesse *H.* But natheles yet *FB.* And netheles yit *TC.* And neuerthelesse yet *Tr.*

113. youres *om. TCTr.* 114. your soo *F.* as foo *H.* 115. Algates *H.* 117. Sith yet be deed *B.* Nowe pitee that I haue sought to yoore a goo *H.* 119. al ful *H.*

NOTES.

l. 1. *Pite, that I have sought so, yoore ago.* That *so* refers to the verb, and not to *yoore ago*, is evident from l. 3 :

“That in this world nas never wight so wo.”

Compare the somewhat different line 93 :

“That yow have sought so tenderly and yoore.”

l. 11. *To preyen hir on Cruelte me awreke.* The *e* of *me* is elided. See my edition of the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, note to l. 148. To the passages there referred to, I add *Prioresses Tale*, l. 18 :

“Thurgh thyn humblesse the goost that in thalighte,”

where *in thalighte*, of course, is = *in the alighte*. *Second Nunnes Tale*, l. 32 :

“Thou confort of us wrecches do me endite.”

l. 27. *folk reedeles of peyne.* Cf. *Deeth of Blaunche*, l. 587 :

“This ys my peyne wythoute rede.”

l. 33. *For I have sought hir ay ful besyly.* For *ay* the MSS read *euer* (with the exception of *HTC*, which omit the word) ; but *euer*, when followed by a consonant, is always, I believe, a dissyllable in Chaucer. Cf. l. 95.

l. 50. *Than leeve I al thise vertues, sauf Pite.* So *H*. The scribe of *y* dropped *I* and *thise*, and inserted *only* (before *Pite*) ; thereupon the scribe of *v*, seeing that the verb wanted a pronoun, added *we*.

l. 52. *all* = *all'* for *alle*.

l. 53. *And been assented that I shal be sleyn. And been assented* = *who been assented* or *being assented*. Cf. *Legende of Cleopatra*, l. 124 seq. :

“Now or I fynde a man thus trewe and stable

And wele for loue his deth so frely take

I preye god letoure hedys neuere ake.”¹

l. 70. *That hight Beaute, apertenaunt to Grace.* A most beautiful line, which *H* alone gives us in its original shape.

l. 71. *For kyndly by youre heritage ryght. heritage*, of course, stands in the genitive case.

¹ MS Cambr. Univ. Libr. Gg. 4. 27, printed by Mr H. Bradshaw. The Fairfax MS (edd. Bell, Morris) has (l. 125) *And wolde*.

l. 91. *And we despeyrd that SEEKEN TO youre grace.* Cf. 1 Kings x. 24: *And all the earth sought to Solomon, &c.*

l. 95. *That love and dreed yow ay lenger the moore.* The *y* MSS have *ever lenger the more*, and this is not necessarily wrong, though I hold *ever* to be a dissyllable. In *ever lenger the moore*, *never the moore*, *never the lesse*, Chaucer not unfrequently drops the *e* in *the*, pronouncing *lengerth*, *neverth*. Cf. *Clerke Tale*, l. 687; *Man of Lawes Tale*, l. 982, &c.

l. 101. *Set*, not *seth*. We meet with 'comth', 'makth', &c., but whenever Chaucer wants to shorten forms like 'findeth, biddeth, slideth, riseth, sitteth,' he writes 'fint, bit, slit, rist, sit.' When the theme ends in *d*, *t*, or *s*, the *eth* is thrown aside, the *d* is changed to *t*, the *t* is left alone, and the *s* has *t* added to it. See Tyrwhitt, *Canterbury Tales*, note to l. 187. *Set* for *setteth* is found also in the *Somnours Tale*, l. 1982:

"With which the deuel set youre herte afyre."

l. 105. *Me ne lakkeþ but my deeth, and than my bere.* *ne* is not in the MSS (it is also omitted l. 21). It is, however, a necessary complement to *but* = 'only,' as *but* properly means 'except,' and a collation of the best MSS of the *Canterbury Tales* shows that Chaucer never omitted the negative in this case. (The same observation was made already by Prof. Child in his excellent paper on the language of Chaucer and Gower; see Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 374.) *Me ne* in line 105 forms but one syllable, pronounced *meen*. In the same manner *I ne* = *in* occurs, *Prolog. to the Canterbury Tales*, l. 764 (from Harl. 7334),

"*I ne* saugh this yeer so mery a companye;"

Man of Lawes Tale, l. 1041,

"*I ne* seye but for this ende this sentence."

Compare middle high German: *in* = *ich ne*, f. inst. *in kan d'r nicht* (Walter v. d. Vogelweide, ed. Lachmann, 101, 33). In early French and Provençal *me*, *te*, *se*, &c., when preceded by a vowel, often become *m*, *t*, *s*, &c.; in Italian we have *cen* for *cc ne*, &c.



ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

179

His Words and Works.

PART III.

VII. CHAUCER'S PRIORESS, HER CHAPLAIN AND THREE PRIESTS, illustrated by the Survey of the Abbey or Monastery of St Mary, Winchester, 14 May, 1537 A.D. (*From the Paper Surveys of Monasteries in the Record Office, "Augmentation Office Miscell. Books," vol. 400, pp. 24—32.*) By FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL (written in 1873).

VIII. THE ALLITERATION IN CHAUCER'S CANTERBURY TALES. By FELIX LINDNER, Ph.D., Rostock, Mecklenburg.

IX. CHAUCER A WICLIFFITE. An Essay on Chaucer's Parson and *Parson's Tale*. By H. SIMON, Schmalkalden.

X. *a.* THE SOURCES OF THE WIFE OF BATH'S PROLOGUE :
b. CHAUCER NOT A BORROWER FROM JOHN OF SALISBURY.
By the Rev. W. W. WOOLLCOMBE, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford ; Syde Rectory, Cirencester.

(Dr Weymouth's Paper on *Here and There* in Chaucer is nearly ready for Press.)

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VII.

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VII.

SURVEY OF THE ABBEY OR MONASTERY
OF ST MARY, WINCHESTER.

(May 14, 1537.)

TURNING over these Paper Surveys for further evidence as to Bondmen in England at the time of the Reformation (see my papers in *Notes and Queries*, 1873, vol. 1), I came on this St Mary's Survey; and as it helpt me with Chaucer's Prioress, I hope it may help others, on these points:—

1. I had often wonderd why Chaucer made such a great point of the fine manners, the *deportment*, of his Prioress. One would have expected, in a description of the Presidentess or Vice-Presidentess of a religious house, that her religion or her holiness, her worn features or her abstraction from human vanities, would have been most dwelt on. But no; with Chaucer, the Prioress's nice manners are his chief theme. Why? Because, as the following 'Survey' shows, the Prioress must have been 'finishing governess,' like her sister of St Mary's, to perhaps 'xxvj Chyldren of lordys, knyghttes and gentylnen, browght up yn [her] Monastery'. In early days, *Deportment* was of far greater importance than it is now—see my *Babees Book* (E. E. Text Soc. 1868)—and therefore Chaucer rightly makes the most of his Prioress's pretty ways.

2. He gives his Prioress 'Another Nunne . . . that was hire chapelleyne'. This 'chaplain' has been a sad stumbling-block in critics' way; and for this reason, that no Nun could be a chaplain—understanding that term as involving that of Priest—in the Romish church, as no woman can be one in the English Establishment. The remedies proposd hitherto have been: 1, with Mr Bradshaw and

Prof. Ten Brink, to alter the reading of the two lines, and make a priest the Prioress's chaplain; 2, with Dr R. Morris and (independently) Mr Selby of the Record Office—to whose courtesy I am much indebted—to read 'chapelley'n' as 'chastelleyn,' castellan; or with Dr R. Morris afterwards 'chamberlayn;' 3, with me, to heed D'Arnis's¹ (or Ducange's²) definitions of *Capellanus*³, which show that its meaning of 'priest' was a comparatively late one, and was preceded by that of 'amanuensis, secretary', the exact meaning we want; or, if we must suppose that this historical succession of meanings was not known to Chaucer, we may well imagine that as he saw bishops and other grand male ecclesiastical officials always attended by their Chap-

¹ *Capellanus*—[1] Primitus qui *capam* seu *capellam* S. Martini in regis palatio asservabat, eamque in praliis deferebat; *gardien de la chässe de S. Martin de Tours* (Sec. VI, VII).—[2] Notarius, *amanuensis*, cancellarius; *secrétaire, greffier, chancelier* (passim).—[3] Rector ecclesiæ; *curé* (Anno 1282).—[4] Quivis presbyter; *prêtre, ecclesiastique*. (*Ch. Occit.*)—[5] Qui capellæ, seu ædiculæ sacre præfectus est; *prêtre qui dessert une chapelle, un oratoire, chapelain* (passim). *Capellanus auroræ* seu *de alba*, qui sacra facere debet *aurora* seu diluculo, Hispanice *alba*. (*Conc. Hisp.*) *Capellanus perpetuus*, major vicarius (An. 1386).—[6] Qui ex aliqua capella seu parochia est; *paroissien* (*Martyr. Pist.*).

² Mr H. H. Gibbs first call'd my attention to Ducange's definition: but long after I had adopted the same meaning from common sense.

³ See also Ducange, ed. 1733, vol. ii, col. 228:—

"*Capellanos* vero dictos scribas, **secretarios**, & **amanuenses** Regios constat . . . Ita etiam *Capellanos* pro **secretariis** & **amanuensibus** passim usurpant Poëta nostrates. Le Roman de *Garin* MS.

Un *Chappelein* appelle; si li dist:
'Fés unes lestres orendroit, biaux amis,
Si les envoie Fromondin le posteis,' &c.

Alibi:

Tenés ces lestres, que il voie vers Pepin.
Et cil les prant; son *Chapelein* a dit:
'Gardés qu'il a és lestres, biaux amis &c.'

Idem de Fromondino:

Les lestres tent son *Chapelein* Baudri;
Et cil les prant; de chief en chief les list.

Alio loco de Pipino:

Veez cy les lestres qu'il envoie par mi,
Li Rois les baille son *Capellein* Hervi.

Rursus:

Là sont les tables au *Chappelein* Yvon,
Qui fet les briez au preu Comte Fromont.

Vide *Brevés*."

lains, he just us'd the same name for the female attendant or companion of the female head or officer of a religious house. If however any perverse man still insists on a change of reading for Chaucer's 'chapeleyn', we find in the following pages a more probable one than Dr Morris's and Mr Selby's 'chastelleyn'—an officer (or officess) unknown, I apprehend, in houses of nuns or monks.

The St Mary's Survey shows that Abbess Elizabeth Shelley had a 'gentyllwoman,' Jane Sherley, besides a servant Isolde Salter. Jane Sherley, however, was not a nun; but we do find a nun with a title that will suit us, namely, that of 'Sacristan',—spelt as we want it, 'sekesteyn', in my Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (A.D. 1303), l. 11,098 (cp. 'Cexteyne (cyxten) *Sacrista*', Prompt. Parv.)—Dame Margarett Lee was 'Sexten' of St Mary's (p. 192, l. 5, below). If then the word 'chapelleyne' is to be changed, I think that 'sekesteyn', not 'chastelleyn', must take its place; but I should myself unhesitatingly retain 'chapelleyne' in the sense of 'private secretary, attendant'.

4. Besides her 'Chapelleyne', Chaucer gives his Prioress 'thre Preestes'. Now why two Nuns should want three Priests, has often been askt, and never answerd. Where did they get 'em from; what did they do with 'em? One apiece, and one for a change, is surely full measure. Moreover, we only have one 'Nonnes Preest' among the Tellers of Tales, and we only want one Priest to make up the number of Chaucer's pilgrims as stated by himself, 29. Mr Bradshaw accordingly suggested that we should, or might, alter Chaucer's

Another Nonne / with hir hadde sche 163
That was hire Chapeleyne / and preestes thre

into

Another Nonne with hire had she certeyn,
And eke a Prest that was here chapeleyn.

Such a slashing change as this might suit a German editor, but would hardly recommend itself to an English one with any respect for his MSS. I have no doubt that the MSS

are right, and that the Prioress and her Nun had their three Priests. Our Survey of St Mary's shows that there were no less than five chaplains in the Monastery, who, I take it, from their titles of 'Magister' (the Confessor) and 'Sir,' must have been all priests. Surely two of these must have been enough to do all the religious work of the monastery; and the other three priests might well have been spared for a holiday outing to Canterbury or elsewhere, in company with their Prioress and one of her Nuns. The 'Magister' would be specially "*The Nonnes Preest*", the two 'Sirs' being lookt on as his underlings. So we don't want any alteration whatever of Chaucer's text.

I hope no reader will groan over the 'base use' of such a Record as the following, for mere illustration of Chaucer, when it should call up thoughts of desecrated shrines, saintly ladies torn from venerated altars and holy homes, good works stopt, and pledgd lives forsworn. To the Chaucer student, the world from 1340 to 1400 consisted of just two parts, one CHAUCER, the other not-Chaucer; the latter valuable mainly, if not only, as it illustrates the first part, Chaucer. And to the studier of social England, it is plain that there was better work in the world for 26 Nuns, 13 poor Sisters, 9 women servants, 5 male chaplains, and 20 male officers and servants—73 adults in all—than educating, or deducating, 26 girls, and saying prayers.

Of the numbers above given, with 3 Pensioners, the Abbey or Monastery of St Mary, Winchester, consisted. The Abbess had under her a Prioress, Sub-prioress, Sacristan, and 18 other professt Nuns, besides 4 Novices. The Abbess had, as was aforesaid, her own gentlewoman and servant, besides her own laundress; and the Prioress, Subprioress, Sacristan, and one of the nuns (Dame Mawde Bruyne) had each a separate house and servant. There were 2 laundresses for the convent generally; and two male cooks; besides two other male cooks, for the female and male officials, I presume. The other male officers and

servants comprised a Receiver (of rents, &c.) and his servant, a Clerk and his servant, a 'Curtyar' (? holder of courts-baron, &c.), Caterer (like Chaucer's 'Manciple'), butler, baker, brewer, miller, two porters, one under-porter, two 'Churchemen' (care-takers of the Church?), and one 'Chyld of the hygh aulter' (p. 194). The three Pensioners or Corodiers no doubt took their ease, and enjoyed themselves.

It is pleasant to hear that the Nuns were liked in their town, and were of 'very clene, vertuous, honest, & charitable conversacion, order & rule'. Only one of them, Dame Feith Welbek, told the Commissioners that she wanted to be free from her bonds. I hope that she and more found good husbands afterwards. As the Monastery was in the centre of the town (p. 189), the St Mary's Nuns had no fine dairy like their Sisters at Syon (Isleworth): at any rate we find none of those interesting accounts of the Cellaress, saying how many bulls, cows, and calves, the Sisters had. Nor are we given other Syon-like returns from the Cellaress and Camarissa, telling us how much ginger and spice, thread, thimbles, and linen, &c., they bought yearly for the Convent's use (see *Myroure of our Lady*, E. E. Text Society, 1873, Extra Series).

SURVEY OF THE ABBEY OR MONASTERY OF
ST MARY, WINCHESTER, 14 MAY, 1537¹.

² W.

Comd South^h.³

Monasterium } THE Cer[tificatt of the Kinges Commys-
beate Marie } sioners of the Comptes of theyr procedinges
Wintonensis } there, xiiiij^{mo} die Maij Anno xxviiij^{mo} H.
viiij^{ui} [A.D. 1537].

¹ After copying this in the Record Office, I found it printed in the 2nd edition of *Dugdale*; but as that's such a big and dear book, and I want the document for Chaucer folk, I print this Survey accordingly.

² Page 24.

³ County of Southampton, or Hampshire.

Abbatia beate Marie Wintonensis, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, vocate Minchyns.)¹ Com^d Southt.
 The Certificatt of James Worseley knight. John poulett esquier, George poulett esquier, Richard poulett & William Berners gent. Commyssioners of our Souerayne lord the Kinge, made of the Comptes of theyr procedinges & execucion of the Tenure of the Kinges Commyssyon to theym in that behalf directed, with the articles therunto annexed, the xv daye of Maye in the xxvijth yere of the Reigne of Kinge Henry the viijth, as herafter ensuyth.

¶ Furst, Dame Elizabeth Shelley, Abbes there, Thomas Lee, Auditour, Thomas Legh Receyuour, and Thomas Tichebourne Clerke, sworne & examyned before the seid Commyssioners the xij daye of Maye, the seid yere, of & vpon the Conuersacion of the Religious persons within the same, and also of the astate & plight of the seid Monastery, & the value of the landes & possessions, Goodes, Catallis, & redy Money, Stokkes & Stores in the Fermours handes belonginge vnto the foreseid Monastery, accordinge vnto the seid Instruccions, Certefye as herafter ensuyth.

¶ They seyen & certefye that there be founden and dayly Resiaunt within the said Monastery, at the Chargez & Costes of the same, Cij persons, Viz: Religious persons .xxvj. Preestes .v. leye Sisters by Foundacion .xiiij. Wymen *seruauntes* ix. Officers of household & waytinge *seruauntes* xx. ²Corodyers iij. & Childern .xxvj. whose names doo ensue.

¶ Item they seyen that the seid Religious persons haue bene, & been, of very Clene vertuous honest & Charitable Conversacion order & Rule, sythen the furst profession of theym, which is also Reported, not oonly by

¹ Page 26.² Holders of a corody or pension.

the Mayour & Comynaltye of the Cytie of Winchester, butt also by the most worshipfull & honest persons of the Contre adioynnge therunto, which haue daylye made con-
tynuall sute vnto the seid Commyssioners to be Sueters vnto the Kinges highnes for Tolleracion of the seid Mon-
astery.

Item the seid Monastery is in very good astate of Reparacion, & standith nigh the Middell of the Cytie, of a great & large Compasse, envyroned with many poore householdes which haue theyr oonly lyuynge of the seid Monastery, And haue no demaynes wherby they may make any prouysion, butt lyue oonly by theyr landes, making theyr prouysion in the markettes

¹ Item they Certefye the seid Monastery & Religious persons to be Clere oute of Dette

Item the Comente Seale is putte in a purse sealed with the Seale of Richard poulett esquier, locked in a Cooffer with iij lockes, which Cooffer Remayneth in the Custody of the seid Abbes & ij other of the Chieff Gouvernours of the seid Monastery.

Item all the Charters, Evidences, writinges & mynumentes concerynge the possessions of the seid Monastery bene in diuerse Cooffers and Almeres within the house called the Tresory there. The Keyes wherof bene Commytted to the Custody of the same Richard poulett.

Item the value of lj ffoder *dimidium*² of leade estemed to be vpon the Churche & oder houses of the seid Monastery, Ciiij li. xs. And of v great belles & oon litell Bell, estemed to be of weight xl.^c xx lb. xxviiij li. ij s vj d. } ³ Ciiij^{xx} ij li. xij s. vj d.

¹ Page 27. ² 51½ fother. A fother is 19 cwt.—Halliwell.

³ A hundred four-score and two pounds, £182.

Item there is an Inventory Indented made betwene the seid Commyssioners and the seid ladye Abbes, Thomas lee esquier & Thomas legh, of alle the Iuelles & plate CCClxxj li. xvij s. iij d.

Redy money xv li. xij s. viij d.

Ornamentes of the Church ^{xx} iij li. ix s.

Dettes owinge to the house vj li. ij s. viij d.

Stuffe of houshold xxvij li. iij s. viij d.

Graynes seuered lj li. ix s. viij d.

& Stokkes & Stores in the Fermours handes, CCCxxiiij li. xvs. vij d., Sauely to be kepte to the Kinges vse without Consumpcion or wastinge of theym or any parte of theym oderwise thenne for the necessary Expensis of the house, & *seruauntes* wages / estemed & valued to

Cccciij ^{xx} vj li.
xij s. vij d.

Item there Remayneth in the Tenauntes handes, of the Rentes & Fermes due to the seid Monastery at the Feast of Easter last passid

xxiiij li. vj s.
viij d.

¹ Item there is Commaundement geuen by the seid Commyssioners to the seid Abbes & her Officers, that they, nor any for theym, or by Commaundment of theym, doo Receyue any Rentes or Fermes of any theyr Fermours & Tenauntes vntill they knowe fferther the Kinges pleasure, excepte it be for the necessary findinge of the houshold there, & payment of *seruauntes* wagez.

Item the value of the landes & possessions belonging to the seid Monastery is made accordinge to the seid Instruccions, which extendith to the Clere yerely value of

CCCxxx li.
xviij s. vj d. q^a 2

Item the leases & Indentures & grauntes made by the Common Seale of the seid Monastery bene parte en-

¹ Page 28.

² *quadrans*, farthing.

rolled, & residue, the Counterpartes of the seid Indentures & leases, bene putt in oon box togider in the seid Tresory.

Item there belongyth to the seid Monastery in diuerse Mannours, woddes of diuerse ages, that is to sey, in Erchefount in Comite Wiltes', in great woddes, by estimacion C acres, valued to be sold Cxxxij li. vj s. viij d. In yonge woddes there of xiiij yeres growinge, xij acres valued at viij li. In Froyle in the Countye of Southampton, in great wodde xlvi acres, xlvi li.; in yonge woddes vij acre, iiij li xvj s viij d. In Icchyn¹, in Comite Southampton, yonge woddes xxx acres, xiiij li. vij s. iiij d. And in Gratford in Comite lincōln, yonge woddes xxix acres, xxiiij li. xvj s. viij d. the value of all to be solde, by estimacion CCxxxj li. vij s. iiij d.

Item there bene no manner leases nor grauntes made to any person, vnder the Conuent Seale of the seid Monastery, sithen the iiijth Daye of February, Anno xxvj^{to} Regis Henrici viijth, butt oonly oon Indenture made vnto Edward Shelley, of the Mannour of Allcannynge in Comite Wiltes', and theyr Mille & Medowe belonginge to the same, From the Feast of Seint MicheH tharchaungell which shalbe in the yere of our lord God MDliij. vnto thende & Terme of xlth yeres, Yeldinge & payinge yerely .xxvj li vj s. viij d., beringe date the xx daye of October in the xxvij yere of the seid Kinge.

Item they Certefye that there is noo husbandry kepte to thuse of the seid house wherby any Commaundement shulde be geuen for contynuaunce therof.

[*Dwellers in the Monastery.*]

³ Monasterium }
Beate Marie } Furst, Dame Elizabeth Shelley, Abbes
Wintonensis } there.

Item there bene in the same }
Monastery Religious persones, } xxvj, viz { professed xxij
professed, & not professed } { Nouesses iiij.

¹ Itchen.

² Page 29.

³ Page 30.

Dame Elizabeth Shelley, Abbes	}	professed	All which Religious persons, & euery of theym, entende to kepe theyr habite & Religion, To what house Religious so euer they shalbe commytted by the Kinges highnes / Dame Feith Welbek oonly excepted, which desir-eth, Rather thenne to be commytted to any oder house, to haue Capacite.
Dame Agnes Marsham, priores			
Dame Agnes Bachecrofte, sub-prioeres.			
Dame Margarett lee, Sexten.			
Dame Edburge Stratford			
Dame Maude Brune			
Dame Elizabeth Wynettes			
Dame Margarett Sellewod			
Dame Cristian Cuff			
Dame Maude Eldrege			
Dame Thomasyn Middelton			
Dame Anne Mundy			
Dame Jane Wayte			
Dame Johanne Frye			
Dame Anne Gygges			
Dame Margery Percher			
Dame Margarett Shelley			
Dame Feith Welbek			
Dame Cisselie Gaynesford			
Dame Johanne Gaynesford			
Dame Johanne Eyere			
Dame Mary Marten			
Jane Morton	}	not professed	
Dorathe Ringellod			
Anne lidford			
Johanne Ridford			

¹The Chapeleyens of the sayd Monastery

Mr John hasard, confessor	}	v
sir John hylton		
sir Walter Bayly		
sir Walter Dashewod		
sir Wylliam Orton		

The pore Systers of the sayd Monastery

Agnes Kyng	} xiiij.
Kateryne Argentyne	
Iohanne Johnson	
Margaret Wayte	
Alys parkar	
Agnes Beale	
Agnes Garnesey	
Agnes Rason	
Johanne Bowyere	
Alys Johnson	
Alys hawkyn	
Anne Fulborne	
Clare Bowyere	

Wymmen *seruauntes* of the sayd Monastery

Jane Sherley, the Abbas gentyllwoman	} ix	
Isold Salter, <i>seruaunt</i> to the sayd Abbas		
Agnes Cosyn, the prioeres <i>seruaunt</i> yn her howse		
Agnes Baker, the subprioeres <i>seruaunt</i> yn her howse		
Alys Johnson, <i>seruaunt</i> to the sexten yn her howse		
Alys Trowte, <i>seruaunt</i> to dame Mawde Bruyne yn her howse		
Alys strong, the Abbas lavender		
Alys Geffereys		} lavenders for the Covent
Iohanne Clerke		

The offycers & *seruauntes* resydent and abydyng' apou the sayd Monastery

Thomas Legh, generall Receyver	
Thomas Tycheborne, Clerke	
[Rychard Chekley, Vsher, <i>crossed out</i>]	
Lawrens Bakon, Curtyar	
George Sponder, Cater	[4]
Wylliam Lime, Botyler	
Rychard Bulbery, Coke	
John Clerke, Vndercoke	
Richard Gefferey, Baker	[8]
May WednaH, covent Coke	
John Wener, vndercovent Coke	
John hatmaker, Bruer	

Wylliam harrys, Myller [12]
 Wylliam Selwoꝛt, porter
 Robert Clerke, vnderporter
 Wylliam platting, porter of Estgate [15]
 Joĥn Corte } Churchemen
 henry beale }
 Peter Tycheborne, Chyld of the hygh aulter
 Rycharde harroldt *seruaunt* to the receyver
 Joĥn Serle *seruaunt* to the Clerke [20]

[*Girls educating in the Monastery.*]

¹ Bryget plantagenet, dowghter vnto the lord vycounte
 Lysley
 Mary Pole, dowghter vnto *sir* Gefferey pole, knyght
 Brygget Coppely, dowghter vnto *sir* Roger Coppeley,
 knyght
 Elizabeth phyllpot, dowghter vnto *sir* peter phyllpot,
 knyght
 Margery Tyrreſſ
 Adryan Tyrreſſ
 Johanne Barnabe
 Amy Dyngley
 Elizabeth Dyngley
 Jane Dyngley
 Frances Dyngley
 Susan Tycheborne
 Elizabeth Tycheborne } xxvj.
 Mary Iuſtyce } Chyldren of lordys
 Agnes Aylmer } knyghttes and gentyl-
 Emme Bartne } men browght vp yn the
 Myldredt Clerke } sayd Monastery
 Anne Lacy
 Isoldt Apulgate
 Elizabeth Legh
 Mary legh
 Alienor Merth
 Johanne Sturgys
 Johanne Fylder
 Johanne Francis
 Jane Raynysfordt

Corodiers { Thomas legh }
 { John lichfeld } iij
 { Richard Jeckelely }

[page 34 : p. 33 is blank.]

The names of all the Woddes belongyng vnto all the maners, Domynyons & lordshypps belongyng vnto the howse & Monastery off seynt Mar[i]es in Wynchester, in whatt lordsheppe & shere they doo lye, & by estymacion what number of acres they conteyne, and of whatt groythe & age they be of, as ney as ytt can be estemed.

Erchefountt } Item a wodde Called 'Croke wodde,' all the
 within the } okes & scrugges, lyng in commyne to the
 Countye of } tenauntes ther, conteynyng by estymacion,
 Wylteschire } a C acres, or theraboughts, very thynne sett:
 price the acre, xxvj s. viij d. Cxxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.

Item a nother lytell Coppys wodde called 'foxeleyse,' lyng seuerall ther, conteynyng by estymacion xij acres off xiiij yeres of age, thynne sete with lytell scrugges, & of smale growethe: price the acre, xiiij s. iiij d. viij li.

Froyth, } Item a wodde called 'yernhame,' beyng
 within the } seuerall, off grett bechys & oke, conteynyng
 Countye of } by estymacyon vj acres thynne sett. price the
 Suthampton } acre, xx s. vj li.

Item an other wodd ther, called 'scrubbecrist wodde,' of beche & oke, lyng in seuerall to the ferme of the personage, conteynyng by estymacion xx acres, thynne sett: price the acre, xx s. xx li.

Item an other wodde there called 'stoweH,' of beche & scrugges, beyng very thynne of wodde, lyng to the personage in seuerall, conteynyng by estymacion iiij acres: price the acre, to be sold, xvj s. viij d. lxvj s. viij d.

Item a wodd called 'pollycumbe,' lyng in comen, of beche & oke, conteynyng by estymacion xx acres thynne sett: price the acre, to be sold, xx s. xx li.

Item a lytyll grownd of wodde called 'penley,' off oke, lyng in seuerall to Isynghurst, conteynyng by estymacion iii acres off yonge wodde, lytel worthe: price the acre, to be sold, x s. xxx s.

[page 35.] Comitatus Lincolnie.

Grattford in the counte of Lincoln	} The lady wode, being a copes lying in seuerall, of diuers ages, the eldest of x yeres age, thin sett with small scrobed okes & other Runttes, conteynyng xxv acres—price the acre, xvj s. viij d.	} { acres xxv argent xx li. vj s. viij d.
---	--	---

A seuerall wode called the 'Lawnde' thin sett with bosches & some tymbre, con- teynyng iiij acres : price the acre, xx s.	} { acres iiij argent iiij li.
---	-----------------------------------

Comitatus Suthamptonie.

Itchyn within the Counte of Southampton	} Ther be iij seuer- all copeses lying in seuerall in a grounde called 'Shrouner,' wherof one is x yers age, of small growth, thin sett with gret wode, conteynyng xvj acres—price the acre, xiiij s. iiij d.	} { acres xvj argent x li. xiiij s. iiij d.
--	--	---

A nother copes thin sett with okes & of small growth, v yers age, conteynyng viiij acres—price the acre, viij s.	} { acres viij argent lxiiij s.
--	------------------------------------

A nother copes also thin sett with gret wode & of smal growth, being iij yers age, conteynyng vj acres—price the acre, xx d.	} { acres vj argent x s.
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[page 42 : pp. 36—41 are blank.]

Monasterium beate Marie Wintonensis. } Money remaynyng in the Tenautes
handes due at the feest of the An-
nunciacion of our Lady in the xxvijth yere of the Reigne of
Kynge Henry the eight.

§ Furst, in thandes of William Noyes, ffermor of Ercheffounte, for his fferme & parsonage	} viij li. vj s. viij d.
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Item, in the handes of Iohn Burdon, fermer of Cannynge	} xvj li.
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Summa—xxiiij li. vj s. viij d.

VIII.

THE ALLITERATION IN CHAUCER'S
CANTERBURY TALES.

BY

FELIX LINDNER, P.H.D.,

ROSTOCK, MECKLENBURG.

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THE ALLITERATION IN CHAUCER'S CANTERBURY TALES.

I was induced to undertake the following investigation by reading an article by Professor K. Regel, 'Die Alliteration im Layamon,' which is published in the first volume of 'Germanistische Studien,' p. 171, ff. In this he shows to what a surprising extent alliteration, the original German manner of versifying, is retained in Layamon, long after the law of rhyme had been in use among the German nations. I will in this essay attempt to show that alliteration reaches to a later date,¹ that it is to be found in the poems of Chaucer, and to a greater extent than we should have expected.

I believe an investigation like this has not been undertaken till now, since the oft-quoted statement of Chaucer in the prologue to the 'Persones Tale' seemed opposed to it.² This statement in which Chaucer says that alliterative metre was not within the range of a southern man (comp. verse 17353, ff.) runs thus :

" But trusteth wel, I am a sotherne man,
I cannot geste rom, ram, ruf by letter,
And God wote, rime hold I but litel better."

Now, if we did not know that Chaucer was possessed of the gift of humour, and that he was also continually chaffing his own poetry, we should plead that he, in these verses, is not speaking himself, but that these words are only the 'Persones,' who says that, being unacquainted with either

¹ It of course exists, more or less, in the whole range of English poetry, and is freely used by Gower, and Chaucer's other contemporaries and successors. "Alliteration's artful aid" has always been too great a help to the charms of poetry, to allow of its being neglected by writers of verse.

² See an essay on alliterative poetry by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, in vol. iii. of Bishop Percy's Folio MS., Ballads and Romances.

alliteration or rhyme, he therefore intends to tell his tale in prose. And we should argue that if the poet said, referring to himself, that he 'holds rime but litel better,' all his poems prove the contrary; while there is no objection whatever to attributing these words to the Parson, who indeed at that time may not have been able to write verses. But knowing Chaucer's sly humour as we do, and recollecting some of the other places in which like statements are made about himself and his poetry and knowledge,¹ we cannot get out of the conclusion, that Chaucer, in the lines above, while he meant to make an excuse for giving the Parson a prose tale, also meant to chaff the old stiff alliterative poetry, as well as his own rymes (whose ease and grace were such a contrast to the former's roughness and clumsiness), just as in the 'Rime of Sire Thopas,' which is intentionally so bad,² he was parodying the balderdash into which the minstrels and rymers of his day had degraded the old Romances, those Romances which even Shakspeare praised.³

¹ Compare in the 'Man of Lawes Prologue :'

"I can right now no thrifty tale sain, 4466
 But Chaucer (though he can but lewedly
 On metres and on riming craftily)
 Hath said them, in swiche English as he can
 Of olde time," etc.
 "But natheles 4516
 I speke in prose and let him rimes make."

We know that in spite of the last verse the 'Man of Lawes Tale' is not told in prose, but in verse.

In another place, ver. 11578 in the 'Frankeleines Tale,' he says, as almost in the *Hous of Fame* :

"I can no termes of Astrologie."

But not only this tale, but many others contain such a multitude of astrological expressions, and show such a knowledge of the science, that they prove just the contrary.

² The host exclaims, ver. 13858 :

"Thy drasty riming is not worth a tord ;
 Thou doest nought elles but dispendest time,
 Sire, at o word, thou shalt no lenger rime."

³ (SONNET CVI.)

When in the chronicle of wasted time
 I see descriptions of the fairest wights,
 And beauty making beautiful old rhyme,
 In praise of ladies dead, and lovely knights,
 Then, in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,
 Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,

But because Chaucer made fun of the *rom-ram-ruf* poetry, that was no reason why he should not make use, judicious use, of the power, the gratefulness to the ear, the old-friend's-voice tones, that alliteration lends to verse. And we shall see that Chaucer has indeed made frequent use of alliterative combinations, not only of such as are found in the old English language, but also of others made up of words of French origin. In Shakspeare it is the same. He endeavours to make the use of alliterative rhyme ridiculous by usually placing it in the mouths of his comic characters ; for instance, *Mids. Night's Dream*, V. i. :

"Whereat with blade, with bloody blameful blade,
He bravely broached his boiling bloody breast."

Or in *Love's L. L.*, IV. ii. 58 : "I will something affect the letter, for it argues facility : The preyful princess pierced and prickt a pretty pleasing pricket."

And yet how many alliterative verses and combinations are to be found in Shakspeare. See a very interesting article on this subject, 'Die Alliteration im Englischen vor und bei Shakspeare,' by Rector Dr K. Seitz in the programme of the 'Marne Höheren Bürgerschule,' Easter, 1875, to whom I am indebted for most of the parallels I quote from Shakspeare.

I will now endeavour to point out the reasons which made Chaucer often revert to alliteration. Our poet was a man who, from his manner of life, had sufficient opportunities of observing people of all classes. With what avidity he seized these opportunities, and borrowed from every condition its especial peculiarities, is shown in his 'Canterbury Tales.' Every character of them is a type of

I see their antique pen would have express'd
Even such a beauty as you master now.
So all their praises are but prophecies
Of this our time, all you prefiguring ;
And for they look'd but with divining eyes,
They had not skill enough your worth to sing :
For we, which now behold these present days,
Have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praise.

its class. Not only does he depict their outward appearance, their thoughts and feelings, but makes them speak the language of their class. I do not mean, of course, that Chaucer produces examples of the peculiar dialects then spoken in England; only rarely do we find proofs of dialect; for example, in the 'Reeves Tale,' where Chaucer puts the forms 'makes,' 'fares,' 4021; 'findes,' 'bringes,' 'says,' 'Tis,' 4084, 4200, 4237; 'thou is,' 4087, etc., into the mouths of persons from Cambridge. But the tales of the lower classes are composed in a popular tone and in the popular language, and the stories of higher situated persons are written in a loftier style and nobler language. Certainly at that time the feeling for and the pleasure in alliteration was preserved by the people to a far greater extent than at the present, when many of the old forms then in common use are lost. If Chaucer endeavoured to imitate the people's style he was almost compelled to admit into his poems alliterative forms and combinations. In the tales of persons of higher rank this was not in the same degree necessary, as they, being for the most part either of Norman descent, or brought up in the use of Norman customs and opinions, paid but little heed to the form and contents of the old English poems; while the lower classes, for the most part of Saxon descent, preserved faithfully the songs which told of the great deeds of their forefathers, and with them the tendency to alliteration. Compare Geoffrey Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' translated into German by Wilhelm Hertzberg, Hildburghausen, 1866, p. 45: "But just at Chaucer's time the original form of the Anglo-Saxon verse with alliteration became popular again amongst the lower classes through 'Piers Ploughman's Vision,' and other similar poems of a religious tendency."

Now, Chaucer held for many years the post of Controller of the Customs in the port of London—a duty which, as his appointment testifies, he was obliged to fulfil per-

sonally, and which he might not perform by deputy. The poet was called to this office on the 8th of June, 1374, and only on the 17th of February, 1386, did he receive permission to exercise his control of customs by deputy. During this long time he certainly had daily opportunities of studying and observing the language of the people. Being a man of unusually quick observation, he made use of his varied experience. The fruit of his study of the world and of men is exhibited in his 'Canterbury Tales.'

The imitation of the language of the people was therefore one reason for the poet to revive alliteration. To this may be added a second,—his sympathy with old customs and manners; this is visible in all his tales. The character of the Anglo-Saxon seems not to be quite lost in Chaucer's poems. See 'Hertzberg,' p. 53: "It is almost as if his Anglo-Saxon nature (which we recognize in his preference for the hard-handed son of the people) wished to avenge itself on the French culture in him, by mixing blunt, peasant wit with the refined character of the court." So we may conclude, with tolerable certainty, that he had a strong natural inclination for the old alliterative forms, which was perhaps unknown to himself. We observe how he reverts to alliteration in depicting camp scenes and strong emotions, and often produces the most glorious effects by this mixture of alliteration and rhyme.

The third reason for Chaucer's use of alliterative forms is to ornament his verses, and to make them more striking. The national character at this time was rather inclined to find peculiar pleasure in artificial verses, and therefore the poet frequently made use of alliteration for rhythmical painting, which was highly prized by the art-poets of that time. This is also shown by the many onomatopoeic verses in the 'Canterbury Tales,' of which I am going to quote a few. In the verses 170 and 171 we can clearly hear the sound of the bells on the bridle of the monk's horse:

“. . . men might his bridel here
Gingling in a whistling wind as clere
And eke as loud as doth a chapel belle.”

The description of the sound of church bells, comp. ver.
3655 :

“Till that the belles of laudes gan to ringe.”

In the verses 2339-2340—

“And as it queinte it made a whisteling
As don these brondes wet in hir brenning,”

we can plainly hear the hissing of the burning wood.

Similar to the well-known onomatopoeical verse in the beginning of the ‘Iliad,’ the rattling of the arrows in the quiver of Apollo is described, ver. 2360 :

“. . . the armes in the cas
Of the goddesse clatteren fast and ring.”

Other verses of this kind are :

2434 : “And with that sound he heard a murmuring
Ful low and dim”

2602 : “Now ringen trompes loud and clarioun.”

4099 : “With kepe kepe; stand stand; jossa warderers.”

2607 : “Ther shiveren shaftes upon sheldes thicke.”

2693 : “His brest tobrosten with his sadel bon.”

These few hastily-selected examples are sufficient for our purpose. The two last verses are especially important, as they are both onomatopoeic and alliterative.

These are the reasons which probably induced Chaucer to employ alliterative forms and combinations. The same was the case with Chaucer’s contemporaries on the continent. In Middle High German the poets also made frequent use of alliteration; compare Ignaz von Zingerle: ‘Die Alliteration bei mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern,’ Wien, 1864; and Ferdinand Vetter: ‘Zum Muspilli und zur germanischen Alliterations poesie,’ Wien, 1872.

What Regel says of Layamon, that he shows his pleasure in similar sounds by his tendency to repeat several words at the beginning of successive verses, is true of Chaucer also. Here, too, I will limit myself to a few out of the great number of examples which at once strike one

when reading—

- 404 : " His stremes and his dangers him besides
His herbergh and his mone, his lodemenage."
983 : " Thus ryt this duke, thus ryt this conquerour."
1872 : " Who looketh lightly now but Palamon ?
Who springeth up for joye but Arcite ?
Who coud it tell, or who coud it endite . . ."
2275 : " Up roos the sonne and up roos Emelye."
2573 : " And after rood the queen and Emelye,
And after hem of ladyes another companye,
And after hem of comunes after her degre."
2775 : " Alas the deth ! alas min Emelye !
Alas departing of our companye !
Alas min hertes quene ! alas my wif !"

We may compare with this vers. 590—592, 2927-60, 11458-61, etc. To the poet's lively joy in similar sounds his plays upon words also bear testimony :

- 7289 : " God *save* you alle *save* this cursed frere."
10419 : " Al be it that I can nat sowne his *style*,
Ne can nat clymben over so heigh a *style*."
10569 : " And yit is glas nought like aissheh or *ferne*
But for they han yknowen it so *ferne*."
11035 : " *Colours* ne know I none withouten drede
But swiche *colours* as growen in the mede."

To these may be added the repetition of certain forms of sentences which the poet frequently uses with epic skill : 'Still as eny stoon,' 3472, 7997, 10485 (compare Shakspeare, *King John*, IV. i., 'I will not struggle, I will stand stone-still ;' *Lucretia* : 'Stone-still astonished '); 'domb as eny stoon,' 776 ; 'deed as eny stoon,' 10788 ; 'wel I wot,' 'thou wost,' 'you wote,' 742, 773, 5609, 11008, 11284, 11311, 11353, 12246, 12720, etc. ; 'now wol I stint,' 1336, 2481, 11126 ; 'If you lest, as him list,' etc., 10919, 11163, 11353, 13975, etc. ; 'I undertake,' 3532, 3541, 3577, 14332, etc. ; 'all so mote I the,' 5943, 6114, 6797, 6853, 9102, 12243, 13747, 14982 ; 'wala wa,' 3714, 4070, 4111, 4790, 5052, 5230, 5798, 6640. Here, too, these few examples may suffice, as they only indirectly bear on our subject.

After this introduction, which is intended to show how the poet was induced to introduce alliterative combinations

in his 'Canterbury Tales,' and how much he was inclined to use frequently the same words without considering alliteration, I now give the alliterative combinations which occur in his most renowned poem.

In the following classification I follow scrupulously in Regel's foot-steps. He treats the alliterative combinations in a threefold manner. He considers the relations in which the alliterative words stand to each other etymologically, according to their meaning, and grammatically. This classification will meet our purpose. We come, then, first to the case in which

A. WORDS OF THE SAME ROOT ARE ALLITERATIVE.

Compare Regel, p. 178.

1. *Armed in armes*, 15853.

2. *Bathed in a bath*, 6836. In Anglo-Saxon we meet with the same connection. Comp. Grein, 'Anglo-Saxon Poets,' vol. iii.: "Twelf sīðum hine bebaðað and symle swâ oft of þām wyllgespryngum brimcald teorgeð at baða gehwam," Ph. 110.

3. *Brond brenning*, 2340. In Layamon (see Regel, p. 178), 'lete bi-leuen þine brune,' 'his lond þe þu for baernest,' 8255-56; 'þa burh born alle niht,' 'þe brune wes vnimete,' 29307-8. In Anglo-Sax., 'baeron brandas on bryne blâcan fýres,' Daniel, 246. In Old Friesic, 'berna brond;' cf. Richthofen, 670, 671, and Moritz Heyne: 'Formulæ alliterantes ex antiquis legibus lingua Frisica conscriptis extractæ et cum aliis dialectis comparatæ,' Halle, 1864, p. 7, No. 13; 'mith êne bernande bronde,' 31, 11, Leg. Rüstingens; 'mith eine bernande bronde,' 76, 27, Leges Emsigens.

4. *Clothed in clothes*, 16025; 'clad in clothes,' 901.

5. *To die the death*, 5012; 'dey on shames deth,' 5238; 'die of deth,' 11322. A similar phrase in Layamon, Regel, p. 179: 'þat no mihte þat fole burien þa dede,' 'swiðe heo gunnen dege,' 31837-38; 'þer deigede þe

quike uppen þen dede,' 31841-42; 'in Eouerwicke he daeide,' 'her þe king wes ded,' 8987-88; comp. Middle High-German Diction., 3, 62^b: 'mit dem tôde teun.' In Shakspeare we find the same combination: 'to die the death,' *Cymbel.*, IV. ii.; *Mids. N. Dream*, I. i.; 'Death and deadly night,' *Henry IV.*, part 1, III. iv.

6. *To do a dede*, 16815. In Shakspeare, *Love's Lab. L.*, III. i., the same.

7. *To draw a draught*, 398. *Cor.*p. l. 4: 'to drink a draught.'

8. *Give giftes*, 2737, 12082. *Comp. Matt.* vii. 11: 'to give good gifts.'

9. *Hasty hast*, 3545.

10. *Kneel on knees*, 8063.

11. *Live a life*, 8363, 9160, 9320, 12714. In Layamon, *Regel*, p. 181, 'buten he libben wolde his lif in þruldome,' 29385-86; 'þus þu miht libben a þin lif,' 31697; 'swa þu miht on liue libben alre saclest,' 15452-53; in Anglo-Sax., 'lif álibban,' *Dernes dæg*, 63; 'on life lifian,' *Ps.* lxii. 3. In Old Norse, 'lifa fénaðar lifi-pucadum more vivere,' *Egilss.* 516^a. *Comp. M. H. German*, 'leben verleben; lebendez leben,' *M. H. G. Diction.*, I. 955.

12. *Lernen lore*, 12004; 'lerning of this lore,' 16310; 'lerved in this lore,' 5181; 'lerved men in lore,' 12908.

13. *Manly man*, 167.

14. *Send a sonde*, 4808. In Layamon this combination occurs very frequently; *comp. Regel*, p. 181: 'Humbald sende sonde,' 11726, 9940, 12467, 12744, 14902, 23439; 'send þine sonde,' 14486-87; 'sende his sonde,' 17007-8; 'larrais nom his sonde and sende 3eond þisse londe,' 10564-65; 'nomen ænne sondes-mon and senden toward Lunden,' 13595-96. The *Angl.-Sax. subst. masc.* 'sond' = 'nuntius' is never connected with 'sendan,' and we find only 'sendan bodan' in Old Norse: 'senda boð,' *Egilss.*, 71^a. In Old Friesic: 'senda boda,' *Richthofen*, 1007^a.

15. *Servant to serve*, 15887.

16. *See a sight*, 2118, 2335, 2656 in the edition of the Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., Clarendon Press, as well as in the edition of Robert Bell. I prefer reading in this place, 'And whan that Theseus hadde seen this sighte,' to, 'hadde seen this fight,' as the Routledge edition has it. In Layamon, 'iseon siht;' comp. Regel, p. 183: 'heo liðen after vðen, þat nænne siht of londe iseon heo ne mahten,' 20929-30; 'wa was heorn on heorte þo hii siht isezen,' 5724-25. In Angl.-Sax., 'he sume gesyhðe geseah,' Luc. i. 22. Middle H. G., 'alse wunneclich ist diu gesiht, die man an gote siht;' 'sach in einer gesichte,' M. H. G. Dict., 2^a, 283^b. In Old Norse, 'sjá sýn, sjá sjónum oculis adspicere,' Egilss., 711^a.

17. *Sift in a sieve*, 16408.

18. *Singe a song*, 13514; 'whan that song was songe,' 712; 'the songes that the Muses songe,' 9609. In Anglo-Saxon, 'Singað us ymnum ealdra sanga,' Ps. cxxxvi. 4; 'Singað him neone sang,' Ps. cxlix. 1; see also Ps. xc. 1. 'On sangum singan dryhtne,' Ps. cxxxvii. 5.

19. *Tell a tale*. Very frequently, for instance, 737, 794, 833, 892, 3111, 4454, 10320, 10482, 11009, 13636, 13775, 13894, 13931, etc. etc. In Layamon, 'tellen tale;' comp. Regel, p. 184: 'þa þe talen weoren alle italde,' 26217; 'þa hauweres talden al heore tale,' 26880. This combination is nowhere met with either in Anglo-Sax. or Old Saxon, or Old Friesic, or in the Old Norse idiom, although both the substantive and the verb are current in all these idioms. In M. H. German both words are sometimes repeated, comp. M. H. G. Dict., 3, 842^a, 'alsô ich diu buoch hoere zelen, sô wurde diu zala minneclich;' compare also Gottfried's 'Tristan,' 6513. This phrase is to be found in Shakspeare, *Tempest*, V. i., 'to tell tales, as well as in modern times, though the meaning of it has been altered. The substantive 'tell-tale' in Shakspeare's *Merry Wives*, I. iv., 'he is no tell-tale I warrant you,' is

used also now-a-days. Shakspeare employs it sometimes as an attribute, *Richard III.*, IV. iv., 'Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women.'

20. *Wirchen werk*, 3308; 'his wicked werkes that he had wrought,' 5414; 'wrought this werk,' 11184. In Layamon, 'wurchen werk,' comp. Regel, p. 185; 'he þohte wurche þer a werk,' 16971; 'þe while he wurchen lette an werk swiðe riche,' 27856; 'godes werk to worchen,' 32042-43; 'godes workes wurchen,' 24961-62; 'scaðe werk wurchen,' 1547. In Anglo-Saxon, 'weorc wyrcean,' Ps. lxxxv. 7, 8; 'wyrhta wyrcean,' Ps. c. 8; 'wyrhta, weorc,' Crist. 2, 3. In M. H. German, 'ob gedanke wurken sulen diu werc' (Parz.), 'tugentliche werc wirken,' M. H. G. Dict. 3, 591^b. There is not the combination 'vaurkjan gavaurki' in Meso-Goth., but 'vaurkjan vaursto,' Mark xiv. 6; John xvii. 4; 1 Cor. xvi. 10.

21. *Wounded with woundes*. 'Tale of Melibeus,' p. 347, Routledge ed.

Let us now quit this purely external side of the question, that words of the same root adjoin each other, and are alliterative in the nature of things, and turn to

B. THE RELATIONS IN WHICH ALLITERATIVE WORDS STAND TO EACH OTHER ACCORDING TO THEIR MEANING.

(1.) *Concrete ideas* are joined together because they naturally belong to the same sphere of life. Comp. Regel, p. 186.

1. *Bestes, briddes*; 'Bestes ne no briddes,' 8448; 'as a bird or as a beste,' 9157; 'or brid or best,' 9739; 'no brid ne best,' 10774; 'ne brid ne best,' 11186; 'bestes and briddes,' 14887. Compare Shakspeare, *Titus Andronicus*, V. iii.; *Julius Cæsar*, I. iii.

2. *Blood, braun, bones*; 'of braun and eke of bones,' 548; 'of braunes and of bones,' 13947; 'by blood and bones,' 3127; 'bothe blood and bones,' 15433. Compare Shakspeare, *Richard II.*, III. iii., 'blood and bone.'

3. *Dombe and deve*, 15754. In Anglo-Saxon, 'deáf, dumb,' Seel. 65; 'deáfne, dumban,' Râ. 50, 2; 'deáfra, dumbra,' Sal. 78; 'deáfum, dumbum,' Ful. 150. Comp. Shakspeare, *Tit. Andr.*, II. i., 'deaf and dull;' and *Henry VI.*, part 2, III. ii., 'dumb-deaf.'

4. *Flesh, fish*: 'Of fish and flesh,' 346; 'Old fish and yonge flesh wold I have fain,' 9292. In Layamon, 'fisc and flaesc;' comp. Regel, p. 186: 'ne cumeð nauere inne ure disc neoþer flaes na no fisc,' 19692-93. In M. H. G., 'ez waere vleisch oder visch—vleisch unde viske—vleisch mit den vischen,' comp. M. H. G. Dict., 3, 328^a. In modern German, 'weder Fleisch noch Fisch,' comp. Gr. Dict., 3, 1680, 5. Also in Shakspeare: *Pericles*, II. i., 'Half fish half flesh;' *Henry IV.*, part 1, III. iii., 'neither fish nor flesh;' *Comedy of Errors*, III. i., 'Flesh or fish;' *Rom. and Jul.*, II. iv., 'O flesh, flesh how art thou fishified!'

5. *Hat, hed*: 'neither hood ne hat,' 3124; 'a hat upon his hed,' 6965.

6. *Hevy, hote*: 'But if it be to hevy or to hote,' 7018. In Shakspeare a similar phrase is found: *Much Ado About N.*, II. i., 'hot and hasty.'

7. *Hont, horn, horse, hound, hauke*: 'hors and houndes,' 5867; 'to hauke and hunt,' 7957; 'with hunte and horne and houndes,' 1678. Also to be found in Layamon, comp. Regel, p. 189: 'þenne siþeð him to hontes vnder beorþen mid hornen, mid hundem,' 20854-55; 'nu he is bécumen hunte and hornes him fulieð; beorkeð his hundes,' 21337, 38, 40; 'hundes and hauekes,' 6975, 3299; 'hundem, haueken,' 31403-4; 'mid horsen and mid hundes,' 3275. In Old Norse, 'hauka en hunda,' Grimismál, 44. In Anglo-Saxon, 'þeah þe haeðstapa hundum geswenced heorot hornum trum holtwudu sêce feorran geflymed,' Beow. 1368-69. In M. H. G., 'daz horn und den hunt alsam,' Gottfr. Trist. 16662. In Old Friesic, comp. M. Heyne, p. 31: 'sâ hwer sâ ên tichta lât werth

fan harses hove tha fon ritheres horne, tha fon hundes tōthe tha fon hona itsile,' etc., 61, 27, Leg. Rüstring.; also 60, 26, Leg. Emsig.; 226, 31, Leg. Emsig.; 227, 31, Leg. Emsig.; 420, 17, Leges Westergav. Compare also Shakspeare, *Tit. Andr.*, I. ii., 'with horn and hound;' the same *Passion. Pilgr.* ix.; *Sonnets* xci., 'Some in their hawks and hounds, some in their house.'

8. *Lion and lepart*, 2182; 'Cow and calf,' 15391.

9. *Maid, martyr, mother*: 'thou maide and mother,' 15504; 'maid and martir,' 15496.

10. *Shaftes, sheldes*, 2607. In Layamon, 'sceldes and scaftes;' comp. Regel, p. 193: 'mid scaeftes and mid sceldes,' 8128; 'scaeftes and gold-faȝe sceldes,' 9786-87; 'scaftes and sceldes and longe heore sweordes,' 20915; 'sceldes gonnen scanen, scaftes tobreken,' 28552-53. In Anglo-Saxon, 'hlyn wearð on rīcum scylda and scafta,' Genes. 2062; 'scyld scefte oncwyrð,' Finsb. 7; 'scyld seal cempa, scaft reáferē,' Vers. Gnom. Exon. 130; 'he sceáf þá mid þam scylde, þát se scaft tō-bārst,' Byrhtn. 136. In Old Norse, 'skjöldu kneguð þar velja ok skafna aska,' *Atlakv.* 4. In M. H. G., 'sie neigten úf die scilde die scefte mit ir kraft,' *Nibel.* 183, 3. In Old Friesic, comp. M. Heyne, p. 24: 'mit schied ende mit swird,' 388, 16, v. 441, 21, Leg. Westergavens. Compare also Shakspeare, *Henry V.*, III. ii., 'sword and shield.'

11. *Stile and ston*, 13727. In Layamon, 'stock and stan;' the same combination also in Old Norse, Old Friesic, and M. H. G.; comp. Regel, p. 194.

12. *Town, tour*: 'toun and tour,' 7936, 10046; 'tounes and toures,' 14377.

13. *Wind, wether*, 5293. In Layamon, 'wind and weder;' compare Regel, p. 195: 'haueð þeos wind and þeos weder a wiðer him istonden,' 12059; 'þeos wederes abiden, windes bidelde,' 28238-39; 'wind stond and þat weder after heore wille,' 20509. In *Angl.-Sax.*, 'winter bringeð weder ungemet cald, swifte windas,' *Alfr. Metr.* 11, 59, 60;

'wedercandel sweart, windas weoxon, waegas grundon,' Andr. 372, 373; 'þonne wind ligeð, weder bið fäger,' Phön. 182. In Old Norse, 'í vindi skal við höggva, veðri á síó róa,' Hávam. 81. In Old H. G., 'ther wint thaz scif fuar iagouti, thio undun bliventi, was in thrato herti thaz wetar in theru ferti' (Ottfr.), Grff. 1, 629. In M. H. G., 'guot weter unde guoten wint sîn schepfer im bescherte,' comp. M. H. G. Dict. 3, 609^b. Compare also Shakspeare: *Tw. Night*, I. v., 'wind and weather.'

14. *Wery, wet*, 4105: 'Wery and wet, as bestes in the rain.'

(2.) In like manner abstract ideas are connected, because the conditions, deeds, and attributes indicated by them are usually consequent to or connected with each other, in the natural course of things, *in a common sphere of life*.

1. *Hope, herte*: 'with hope and herte,' 1880.

2. *Legende, life*: 'I wol tell a legende and a lif,' 3143; 'he knew of them mo legendes and mo lives,' 6268.

3. *Lust, like*: 'Lust and liking,' 6318; 'lust and liketh,' 9886.

4. *Monstre, merveille*: 'swiche a monstre or merveille,' 11656.

5. *Pore, prie*: 'he gan to pore and prie,' 7320; 'he coude pore or prien,' 9986.

6. *Sentence, solas*: 'Tales of best sentence and most solas,' 800.

7. *Sorwe, shame, siknesse*: 'his siknesse and his sorwe,' 9884; 'for veray sorwe and shame,' 16170; 'sorwe have he and shame,' 16177. In Layamon this combination is not to be found, but in a similar sense: 'sare, sorge;' compare Regel, p. 205: 'mid seorwen and mid seore,' 6885; 'þer wes sarinesse, sorezen inoze,' 27560-61, etc. Also 'scome and sconde,' as in *Angl.-Sax.*: 'scand and

sceamu,' Ps. lxx. 12. In Shakspeare, *Lucretia*, we find connected, 'sighs and sorrows.'

8. *Vilanie, vice*: 'they mighten do no vilanie or vice,' 6720. In [?] Shakspeare, *Titus Andron.*, II. i., 'villainy and vengeance.'

9. *Ware, wise, worthy*: 'ware and wise,' 311; 'that was ful ware and wise,' 13295; 'bothe ware and wise,' 13946; 'ful wise and worthy,' 5000; 'this worthy wise knight,' 11099. In Layamon, 'wis and war;' compare Regel, p. 210: 'God cniht wis and war,' 26000; similarly, 7261, 7329, 8578, 17997, 18165, 26949. In Ormulum, 'beþ warre and wise,' 18313. In Anglo-Saxon, 'wes þu giedda wís, wár wið willan,' Fäd. Larcv. 41, 42; 'waru mid wisdôme,' Psalm cviii. 17, etc.

10. *Werre, woundes*: 'The open werre with woundes bebledde,' 2004.

11. *Werk, word, wo*: 'he knew of all this wo and all this werk,' 11418; 'as preved by his wordes and his werk,' 7904; 'in word and werk,' 8043; 'in word or werke,' 8736; 'in word ne werk,' 11297.

(3.) More often it is not so much the collection of different ideas in an external cognate form, *as their internal similarity of meaning* which is the cause of their connection. Expressions resembling each other, or similar in sound, showing forth but slightly differing sides of the same idea, are connected by the bond of alliteration in lively parallelism to enhance the importance of the collective idea; comp. Regel, p. 201.

1. *Clepe, crie*: 'what so men clap or crie,' 6433; 'ne clepe ne crie,' 3589.

2. *Complayne, crie*: 'that thus complaine and crie,' 910.

3. *Clene, clere*: 'as clene and eke as clere,' 12848.

4. *Dayes and duration*, 2998.

5. *demen, devise*: 'demen and devise,' 10575. There is in Layamon the similar phrase: 'don, demen;' comp. Regel, p. 212.

6. *Dike, delve*: 'and therto dike and delve,' 538. In Layamon, 'delven dic;' comp. Regel, p. 236: 'he bigon to deluen dic swiðe muchele,' 14225-26; 'heo letten deluen diches vnimete deope,' 9238; 'þa þe dic wes idoluen and allunge ideoped,' 15472.

7. *Drugge and drawe*, 1418. In Old Friesic also, comp. M. Heyne, p. 10, 47: 'thâ drivanda and thâ dreganda,' 123, 5, Leg. Rüstring.; 'al thet ma driwa and drega muge,' 164, 9, Leges Brokmannienses; 'driwant and dregant gôd,' 165, 4, *ibid.*; 'alle thet thêr ma driwa and dregna muge,' 196, 13, Leg. Emsigens.; 'driwen ieftha dregen gôd,' 197, 24, *ibid.* The same, Weistümer, I. 355: 'tryben noch tragen.'

8. *Faire, freissche*, 2388.

9. *God and governour*, 11343.

10. *Governe and gie*, 13026, 14707.

11. *Ire and iniquity*, 942.

12. *Hakke and hewe*, 2867. In Shakspeare, *Merry Wives*, IV. i., 'hick and hack.'

13. *Herde, hyne*: 'ne herde ne other hine,' 605.

14. *Halke, herne*: 'in every halke and every herne,' 11433.

15. *Knotty, knarry*, 1979.

16. *Lady, love*: 'my lady and my love,' 6812; 'his lady and his love,' 11108, 17167.

17. *Matrimoine or mariage*, 3097.

18. *Mind, memorie*: 'in the minde and in memorie of Mars,' 1908.

19. *Plat, plain, bare*: 'tellen plat and plain,' 5306; 'it mote be bare and plain,' 11032.

20. *Proineth and piketh*, 9885.

21. *Rape and renne*, 16890.

22. *Rome or ride*, 7994.

23. *Sike, sore*: 'that dwelled in his herte siko and sore,' 2806. Comp. B. 2, No. 7.

24. *Sterne and stoute*, 2156.

25. *Stibborne and strong*, 6038. In Layamon occurs a similar combination, 'strong and staerc,' which is also to be found in Anglo-Saxon, M. H. G., and Modern German; compare Regel, p. 208. In Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæsar*, I. ii., 'stubborn and strange.'

26. *Soft, sote, stille*: 'soft and sote,' 12477; 'al stille and soft,' 13134.

27. *Slepen, snoren*: 'he snorteth in his slepe,' 4161; 'he slepeth and he snoreth in his gise,' 5210. In Shakspeare, *Merchant of Ven.*, II. v., 'sleep and snore.'

28. *Swelte, swete*: 'that I swelte and swete,' 3703. In Layamon only 'swinc and swaet;' compare Regel, p. 201.

29. *Swepe and shake*, 8854.

30. *Swymbul, swough*: 'in which ther ran a swymbel in a swough,' 1981, in the edition of Rob. Bell, and in that of Morris. The Routledge edition has: 'ther ran a rombel and a swough.'

31. *Wane, wende*: 'the greate tounes see we wane and wende,' 3027.

32. *Wepeth, waileth*, 1223, 1297, 3618, 9089, 9255, 9946, 11131, 11428, 11660, 14549; 'wepe, wringe and waille,' 9088. In Layamon 'wepen' is connected with 'wanen,' as in Anglo-Sax. and M. H. G.; compare Regel, p. 209.

33. *Wild, wood*, 3517. In Layamon, 'wod and wild;' comp. Regel, p. 211: 'ne wurðe nan cniht swa wod ne kempe swa wilde,' 8593-94; 'he wes wod, he wes wild,' 13741. In Anglo-Sax., 'wêðan swâ wilde deór,' Julian. 597, Guthl. 879. In Modern German, 'in wilder Wuth.'

34. *Wind and wrappe*, 8459.

(4.) As naturally as we have hitherto found similar and cognate ideas united according to the law of parallelism, we see in other cases the reverse in combinations uniting words of *entirely opposite meaning*. Compare Regel, p. 212.

1. *Dale, down*: 'by dale and eke by doun,' 13725. In Layamon, 'dal, dune;' comp. Regel, p. 212: 'þa he com in ane dale under ane dune,' 27162-63; 'nu ich al þis kinelond sette in eower aȝene hond, dales and dunes,' 21437; 'alle þa dales, alle þa dunes,' 27352-53; 'ȝeond dales and ȝeond dunes,' 20860; 'over dales and over dunes,' 21489; 'of dalen and of dunen,' 21775. In Ormul, 'wude and feld and dale and dun, all wass i waterr sunnkenn,' 14568; 'nohhti dale ne uppo dun,' 13264. In Anglo-Saxon, 'ne dene ne dalu ne dûnscafu,' *Phôn*. 24.

2. *Foul, fayr*: 'she wold no man seye for foule ne faire,' 4945; 'al be it foule or faire,' 5184; 'thurgh foule or faire,' 10435. In Anglo-Saxon, 'byrgenum gelice, seô bið utan fæger and innan fûl,' *Ps. Th.* 13⁵. In Shakspeare, 'fair or foul,' *Henry VI.*, part 3, IV. vii., and *Cymbeline*, I. vii. 'Fair is foul and foul is fair,' *Macb.*, I. i.; 'fairing the foul with art's false borrowed face,' *Sonnets* CXXVII.

3. *Frend, fo*: 'who is your frend or fo,' 10450; 'fortune was first a frend and sith a fo,' 14641.

4. *Humble, high*: 'Thou humble and high over every creature,' 15507. I think this is an imitation of the combination 'heȝe and haene' which we find in Layamon; compare Regel, p. 213: 'alle þa heȝe men he hatede to daeðe and alle þa hacne mid harme he igraette,' 11096, 98; 'þa haene swa hah mon,' 2565-66; 'riche men and hacne, to haeȝen þan king,' 19968-69.

5. *Lewed, lered*: 'For be he lewed man or elles lered,' 12217. In Layamon, 'laered, laewed;' compare Regel, p. 213: 'nes he nauere iboren of nane cniht icoren, ilaered no laewed, a nauere nare leode,' 24625; 'quelen þa lareden,

quelen þa leouweden,' 31829-30. In *Ormulum*, 'he turrnde mikell folc till Godd 3a laewedd folc, 3a laeredd,' 846; 'þatt laerede folc—lawedd folc,' 7440, 7442.

6. *Loth, lefe*: 'al be him loth or lefe,' 1839; 'the neighe slie maketh oft time the fer leef to be lothe,' 3393; 'be hire lefe or loth,' 9835; 'for lefe ne loth,' 13062. In *Layamon*, 'leaf lað,' compare *Regel*, p. 213: 'were him lef, were him lað,' 3036, 19998, 22877; 'cnihtes je beoð me leofue, ah þas tiðende me beoð laðe,' 13941-42; 'lije þer, þu laðe mon, leaf þu beo þan scucke,' 28724-25. In *Anglo-Sax.*, 'ne leof ne lâð,' *Beow.* 511; 'leofes and lâðes,' *Beov.* 1061, 2910; 'wið leofne and wið lâðne, leofum ge lâðum,' *Crist.* 847. In *Old Saxon*, 'the wið mi habbiad lêð -werk giduan, leobho drohtin,' *Hêl.* 3245; 'sô liof sô lêð,' *Hêl.* 1332; 'liof wiðar iro lêðe,' *Hêl.* 1458. In *Old Norse*, 'ljúfr verðr leiðr,' *Hávam.* 34; 'opt sparir leiðum þaz hefir ljúfum hugat,' *Hávam.* 39. In *M. H. German*, 'liep oder leit,'—'liep âne leit,'—'liep unde leit,'—'leit und liep,'—'hiute liep, morne leit,'—'liep mit leide,'—'liep nâch leide,'—'nâch liebe leit,'—'ein leit nâch liebe, ein liep nâch leide,' *M. H. G. Dict.*, I. 1014. In *Old Friesic*, comp. *M. Heyne*, p. 19: 'thâ lêtha alsa thâ liava,' 6, 9, *Leges Hunsingavenses*; 'thâ liava antha lêtha,' 6, 9, *Leg. Êmsing*.

7. *Queinte, quiked*: 'one of the fires queinte and quiked again,' 2336. In *Layamon* only, 'quellen-quick;' compare *Regel*, p. 214.

8. *Save, spill, sleen*: 'to chese whether she wold him save or spill,' 6480; 'ye may save or spill your owen thing,' 8379; 'with a word ye may me sleen or save,' 11287.

9. *Soft, sore*: 'the fourthe stroke to smiten, soft or sore,' 15999.

10. *Stile, strete*: 'I shal him seke by stile and eke by strete,' 12628.

11. *Wane, wexe*: 'the mone that may wane and waxe,'

11957. In Layamon, 'waxen wonien;' compare Regel, p. 216: 'heore uole gon waxen and Bruttes gunnen wonien,' 26990-91; 'zif heo wel wexit, heo wulleð wonien us,' 981-82. In Ormul. 1901-2, 18481, 83, 'wannsenn-waxenn.' In *Angl.-Sax.*, 'wanað and weaxeð.' In Old Friesic, comp. M. Heyne, p. 27: 'nauder waxa ni wônia,' 164, 24, 27, *Leg. Brokmanniens.*; 'nauder wônnie ieftha waxa,' 208, 12, *Leg. Emsig.*; 'waxe sât wônîe,' 68, 5, *Leg. Hunsingav.* Compare also, 'weder schwynen noch wachsen,' *Weistümer I.* 66.

12. *Wele, wo*: 'for no wele ne for no wo,' 8847; 'for wele or wo she 'ill him not forsake,' 9166. In Anglo-Saxon, 'welan and wâwan,' *Gen.* 466. In Shakspeare, *Romeo and Jul.*, III. ii.; *Henry VI.*, part 1, III. ii., the same; *Pericles*, IV. iv., 'woe and well-a-day.'

Up to this point we have observed alliterative combination from two sides,—etymologically, and according to the meaning of the words. Both their use together and their tendency to alliterative forms are explained by the roots or by the similarity of the meaning of the words. The case is the same if we investigate a third side, and consider,

C. THE GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

in which the alliterative words stand to each other. Especially the repetition of alliterative forms is explained here, by the fact that such word-combinations were continually solidifying under the influence of grammar.

(1.) *Substant. and Adject. in attributive or predicative combinations.* Compare Regel, p. 217.

1. *Brode, bocler*: 'as brode as is a bocler,' 473.

2. *Bright brest-plat*: 'in a bright brest-plat and in a gypoun,' 2122 in R. Bell's edit., whilst the Routledge edition has here: 'And in a brest-plate and in a gipoun;' and Morris reads: 'in a brest-plat and in a light gypoun.'

3. *Busy, bee*: 'as besy as bees,' 10296; 'like a besy bee,' 15663. Very frequent in Mod. English.

4. *Care, cold*: 'That me han holpen fro my cares cold,' 11617; 'that was ybound in sinne and cares cold,' 15815.

5. *Cursed crone*: 'This olde Soudannesse, this cursed crone,' 4852.

6. *Dere daughter*, 4867, 12142, 12152, 12171.

7. *Fayn, foul*: 'as fayn as foul is of the brighte sonne,' 2439; 'as foul is fayn whan that the sonne up riseth,' 12981.

8. *Faire forest*: 'he priketh thurgh a faire forest,' 13684.

9. *Faire forehead*: 'she hadde a fayre forehed,' 154.

10. *Fressche flowers*: 'ful of freshe floures,' 90; 'see the freshe floures,' 15208.

11. *Feigned flattery*: 'with fained flattering,' 707; similarly in Shakspeare, *Henry VI.*, part 1, V. iii.: 'flatter or feign.'

12. *Foule fend*: 'the foule fend me fetche,' 7192; 'he foule fend him hent,' 7221; 'the foule fend him fetch,' 16627.

13. *Garden, grove, gaudy, grene*: 'the garden ful of branches grene,' 1069; 'in gaudy grene clothed,' 2081; 'in that grove sote and grene,' 2862. Compare Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dream*, II. i.: 'in grove or green.'

14. *Hasty hast*: compare A, 9.

15. *high hand, halle, hill, heaven*: 'if that he fought and hadde the higher hand,' 401; 'the ruin of the highe halles,' 2465; 'of Apennin the hilles hie,' 7921; 'high on an hill,' 14057; 'in the hevens hie,' 15976. In Layamon, 'haeh hul,' 17272, 25737, 21439-40; comp. Regel, p. 220. Also, 'haeȝe haeuene;' compare Regel, p. 219: 'ich wullen bidden drihten-ȝa an haefuene haeȝe sitteð,' 19543. In Anglo-Sax., 'heáh of heofonum,' Exod. 492; 'heáh heofona gehlidu,' Genes. 584; 'heáh on heofonum,'

Gen. 97. In Old Saxon, 'up te themu hôhon himile,' Hêl. 656; 'bî himile themu hôhon,' Hêl. 1510; 'hôh himiles lioht,' Hêl. 2602, etc. In Old Norse, 'hár himinn : fallo or hám himni,' Egills. 337, etc. In Old H. German, 'fone himilê hôhistim,' Grff. 4, 939. Middle H. G., 'ûf dîne hôhen himele dort,' comp. M. H. G. Dict., I. 686^a. In Modern German this combination occurs very frequently, also the compound adverb: 'himmelhoch-bitten, betheuern,' etc. Compare also Shakspeare, *Rom. and Jul.*, III. v.: 'The vaulted heaven so high above our heads.'

16. *Herte humble, hardy*: 'His hardy herte,' 2651; 'with an hardy herte he gan to crie,' 15045; 'with humble herte,' 15865. Compare the Modern German: 'hochherzig, hartherzig.'

17. *Lovely look*: 'many a lovely loke he on hem caste,' 3342.

18. *Longe lene legges*: 'ful longe were his legges and ful lene,' 593.

19. *Likorous lust*: 'No likorous lust was in hire herte yronne,' 8090.

20. *lif lusty, longe*: 'so long a lif,' 3021; 'the lusty lif,' 9269. In Layamon we find only the combination 'libben long.' Comp. Regel, p. 226, where the parallels in the other dialects are to be found.

21. *Maid meke, merciful*: 'as meke as is a mayde,' 69; 'and like a maiden meke for to se,' 3202; 'thou merciful mayde,' 5060.

22. *Mighty maces*, 2613.

23. *Red rode, rubies*: 'his rode was red,' 3317; 'ful of rubies red,' 2166.

24. *Sorwes sore*: 'have reuthe upon my sorwes sore,' 2421; 'he told his sorwes sore,' 5178. Compare in Anglo-Saxon: 'sorga sârost,' Gen. 2029; 'sârra sorga,' Ful. 182.

25. *Salte see*: 'she sayleth in the salte see,' 4865; 'in the salt see,' 5250, 5459, and 5529. Compare Shakspeare, *Henry VI.*, part 2, III. ii.: 'as salt as sea.' In Old

Friesic, comp. M. Heyne, p. 23: 'thi salta sê,' 122, 7, Leg. Rûstr.; 'witha saltha sê,' 40, 23, Leg. Ems.; 'wither tha saltha sê,' 42, 2, Leg. Huns.; 'withir thene salta sê,' 43, 9, Leg. Rûstr.; 'toienst dyn salta sâ,' 388, 15, Leg. Westerg. Very frequent in Anglo-Saxon.

27. *Strange strondes*, 13.

28. *Streames sterne, stoute, sternes*: 'many a strange streme,' 466; with 'sterne stremes rede,' 2612, following the Morris and Routledge edition, while Rob. Bell reads in this place: 'stoute stremes reede.'

29. *Wide walles, woundes, world*:

a. 'with his waste walles wide,' 1333; 'with his olde walles wide,' 1882.

b. 'the large woundes wide,' 4482; 'al be his woundes never so depe and wide,' 10469; 'the blodly woundes depe and wide,' 15021.

c. 'This wide world,' 7188; 'all this wide world,' 11133; 'this wide world,' 11540; 'throughout the wide world,' 14119; 'this wide world,' 14384 and 14552. Compare Shakspere, *Much Ado*, etc., IV. i.: 'not for the wide world.' Very frequently employed in Modern German.

30. *Wikked wight*: 'blisse this house from every wikked wight,' 3484; 'to maken me a wikked wight,' 15933.

31. *Wilde waves, woodes*: 'the wilde waves wol hire drive,' 4888. Shaksp., *Tempest*, I. ii.: 'the wild waves;' similarly, *Pericles*, IV. i.: 'winds and waves;' 'to walke in the wodes wilde,' 2311. In Layamon, 'wilde wude;' comp. Regel, p. 221: 'into pisse wilde wude,' 25905; there is, besides, the combination 'wude and wildernes' very frequent; comp. Regel, p. 196. In M. H. G., 'die wilden unde welde,'—'ûf waldes wilde,'—'der wilde walt,'—'der wilden welde;' compare M. H. G. Dict., 3, 667^b, 471^b, 472^a. In Old Friesic, following M. Heyne, p. 29, we find only: 'of thera wilda wôstene,' 131, 24; 134, 15,

Leg. Rüstr.; 342, 26, Leg. Hunsig. Compare also Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, IV. ii: 'with wild wood-leaves and weed.' Very often used in Modern German.

32. *Wif, wedded, wikked, wise, worthy*: 'I am thy trewe veray wedded wif,' 3609; 'to reden of wikked wives,' 6267; 'ye wise wives,' 5807; 'wives that ben wise,' 5811; 'a wise wif,' 5813; 'another worthy wif,' 6118.

33. *Woman weke, wery, wikke, wise, woful, worldly, worthy*: 'This weke woman,' 5352; 'this wery woman,' 4942; 'a woman wikke,' 5448; 'a wise woman,' 5791; 'every woman that is wise,' 6106; 'this woful woman,' 4942; 'of worldly woman,' 5446; 'worldly women,' 6615; 'with worthy wimmen,' 217; 'a worthy woman,' 461.

(2.) *Verbs or adjectives combine with the adverb or substantive* which contains their secondary adverbial meaning. Compare Regel, p. 221.

1. *Clothed in clothes*. Compare A, 4: 'clad in clothes blake,' 901; 'cladde in cote,' 103; 'clothed in clothes,' 16025.

2. *Doun descend*, 10637.

3. *Fallen to fote*: 'falleth him to fete,' 5524; similarly, 'foin if him list on foot,' 2552. In Layamon, 'fallen to foten;' comp. Regel, p. 223: 'eodon to þon kaisere and feollen to his foten,' 8848, also 29855, 12716. In Anglo-Saxon, 'þæt him át fôtum feóll faege cempa,' Byrhtn. 119. In Old Saxon, 'ef thu wilt hnîgan te mi, fallan te mînum fôtun,' Hêl. 1103. In M. H. G., 'einem under die vüeze vallen, einem ze vuoze vallen,' etc.; comp. M. H. G. Dict. 3, 445^a. In Mod. German, 'zu Füßen fallen, fuszfällig, Fuszfall.'

4. *Faire of face*: 'that was so faire of face,' 12958. 'smal and faire of face,' 13632.

5. *Ful*, as adverb combined with—

a. *Faire and fetisly*: 'ful faire and fetisly,' 124; 'faire and fetisly,' 275; 'ful fetisly,' 3319, 4367.

- b. *Faire*, 541, 575, 608, 5151, 13938, 16004.
 c. *Fat*, 200.
 d. *Free*, 13651.
 e. *Fin*, 455, 3794, 13783.
 f. *Fresh*, 367, 8657.
 g. *Farsud*, 233.
 h. *Fain*, 4593, 5207, 15304, 16059, 17351.
 i. *Fast*, 4088, 5259, 6254, 12058, 13015, 13756,
 14209, 14322, 15093, 15608, 16614.
 6. *Gaudid with grene*, 159 ; compare C, 1, 13.
 7. *Light as lefe on linde*, 9087.
 8. *Sike sore*, 3488, 5405, 6810, 11316, 14210 ; 'sike
 sorwefully,' 6495, 11894.

9. *Smiten smert* : 'Or if men smote it with a yerde smert,' 149. In Layamon, 'Smiten mid smaerte biten ;' compare Regel, p. 227 : 'uppen Colgrime smiten mid swiðe smaerte biten,' 21363-64 ; 'mid longe sweorden heo smitten, þa ȝifen smaerte biten,' 30097-98 ; 'alle somed smiten on mid smarten heore dunten,' 27050-51 ; 'ofte me hine smaet mid smaerte ȝerden,' 20317-18.

10. *Sore smiten* : 'God him so sore smote,' 14517 ; compare also, 'his dedly woundes sore smerte,' 14631 ; 'though we sore smerte,' 16339.

11. *Sothly sain*. Compare C, 4, 10, 3670, 11082, etc., etc. Angl.-Sax., 'sôðlice seggan,' Beow. 141, 273, 2899, etc.

12. *Water, well* : 'Hire body wesshe with water of a well,' 2285 ; 'to fetchen water at a welle is went,' 8152 ; 'take water of that well and wash his tonge,' 12290.

13. *Wonder wide, well* : 'wonderly wel,' 415 in Morris's edition, and in that of Rob. Bell. The Routledge edition has here : 'He kept his patient a ful gret del ; wonder wide,' 8598.

(3.) *Substantives and verbs are combined in the relation of subject and predicate*. Compare Regel, p. 230. This combination rarely occurs in Chaucer.

1. *Day daweth* : 'ther daweth him no day,' 1676.

2. *Grass groweth* : 'ther grownen gras and herbes,' 6356; 'every gras that groweth upon rote,' 10467. Compare Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, III. ii.: 'While the grass grows.'

3. *Route rideth* : 'And to the paleis rode ther many a route,' 2496.

4. *Shaftes shiveren upon shouldres*, 2607.

5. *Speres sprengen*, 2609.

6. *Stedes stomblen*, 2615.

7. *Tonge telleth* : 'Ther may no tonge telle,' 9215.

(4.) *Verbs and substantives are often found combined as predicate and object.* Compare Regel, p. 236.

1. *Breken his behest*, 11010; comp. 'holdeth your hest,' 11376; 'she must nedes holden hire behest,' 11475.

2. *To drink a draught*, 135, 6041, 12294, 12390, 12502.

3. *To dreden dremes*, 14936, 14975, 14979, 15069, 15115.

4. *To harrow hell* : 'by him that harwed helle,' 3512; 'for him that harwed helle,' 7689.

5. *Leden lif*, 4230, 5396, 5578, 6761, 9149, 9309, 9502, 9519, 11056, 11856, 13236, 13248, 14832. In Layamon, 'leden lif;' comp. Regel, p. 239: 'ne scalt þu nauere mare þi lif þenne lede,' 26846; 'þus he laedde his lif,' 7015; 'swa we sculden-ure lif laeden,' 1065; 'þus heo leodeð heore lif inne þire leode,' 19720. In Anglo-Saxon, 'forþon orsorg lif ealnig laedað woruldmæn wîse búton wendinge,' *Ælfr. Metr.* 7, 40. In Modern English this is very frequent.

6. *Lesen lif*, 3521, 6323, 11672, 11904, 15148, 15368, 15376, 15789. In Layamon, 'leosen lif;' see Regel, p. 239: 'þat he scal þat lif leosen,' 20112; 'hire lif heo losede sone,' 25918. In Angl.-Sax., 'lif forleósan.' In Old Sax., 'nio the sterbhan ni skal, lif farliosān, the her gilôbbhid te mi,' *Hél.* 4057. In M. H. G., 'den líp verliesen,' *Nib.*

2, 4, 603-4, 1703-4; Twein 1084, 1164, 1491. In Old Friesic, 'ther hi sin lif mithe machte urliase;' comp. Riehthfn. 1113^b.

7. *Leten lif*, 15874, 15991. Angl.-Sax., 'âlaetan lif and leódsceipe,' Beow. 2750; also Ful. 483; Gen. 1073. Comp. Regel, p. 240.

8. *Make melodie*, 9, 15602.

9. *Make mention*, 895, 1937, 5614, 4474, 14127, 16897, 17055.

10. *To say soth*, 286, 4353, 4354, 5777, 6032, 6183, 6523, 9106, 4863, 9956, 9999, 12620, 15431, 16132, 16753; 'to say sothfastnesse,' 15334. In Layamon, 'suggen soð;' comp. Regel, p. 242: 'hire fader heo wolde suge seoð,' 3035; 'we wulleð soð sugen,' 4620, also 3181, 4972, 8015, 9836, 13888, 14944-45, 16108, 18952-53, 24933, 26385, 28002-3, 28134, etc. In the Ormulum, 'forr þatt he sezðde soþ þeking off his depe sinness,' 19945; 'Godess soþ to segzenn,' 19958; 'ioc segge 3un to fulle soþ,' 13814. In Mod.-Engl., 'to soothsay,' 'soothsayer,' 'soothsaying.' In Anglo-Sax., 'swâ hy naefre man lyhð, se þe secgan wile sôð âfter rihte,' Beow. 1049; similarly, Andr. 853; Ps. xci. 2; 'secge ic þe tô sôðe,' Beow. 590; Andr. 618; 'gif þu him tô sôðe sâgst,' Genes. 570; similarly, Beow. 51; Tul. 132. In Old Saxon we find, not 'sôd seggean,' but 'giseggian te sôðe,' Hêl. 4110; 'seggean te sôðon,' Hêl. 925; 'seggean sôðlîko,' Hêl. 1361, 2652; 'giseggian sôðlîko,' Hêl. 565; 'sôðlîko sagis,' Hêl. 3020, 5092; 'sagda sôðlîko,' Hel. 494, 581, etc. In Old Norse, 'fylgði saðr slîku, sagði hon mun fleira,' Allam. 45, etc.

11. *Wendeth his way*, 6500; 'went his way,' 5022, 7316, 7318, 7609, 8450, 8561, 14452, 15104, 16002, 16500, 16686; 'walke by the way,' 7669, 14032.

12. *To wed a wife*, 5748, 5750; 'a woman,' 5831, compare 'wynne to wif,' 1291.

13. *Werken will*: 'werketh after your will,' 8386

In Layamon, 'wurchen iwille;' comp. Regel, p. 245 : 'wurchen ic wulle muchel godes wille,' 23743-44; 'al ich wulle wurchen after þine willen,' 12167-68; 'alle we sculle wurchen after þine iwille,' 18372-73. In Meso-Gothic, 'saei allis vaurkeiþ viljan guþs,' Marc. 3, 35. In Anglo-Saxon, 'þæt we môton wyrcean willan þinne,' Hymn. 7, 81; 'þæt hie his gion gorscipe fulgân woldon, wyrcean his willan,' Genes. 250, etc. In Old Saxon, 'wirkean willeon godes,' Hêl. 855; 'wirkiað mînan willeon,' Hêl. 2585; 'wickead after is willeon,' Hêl. 2590.

I have now finished the enumeration of the principal alliterative combinations occurring in Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales.' My object was to make this essay a continuation of Regel's investigation of the alliterative forms in Semi-Saxon, and to show that in Chaucer many of the old alliterative formulæ have been preserved, some of which have come down to our times. This series of alliterative combinations, as we have seen, not only belongs to one or two tribes of the German race, but its traces may be found in the idioms both of the old and modern German tribes.

FELIX LINDNER, PH.D.

Rostock, Easter, 1876.

IX.

CHAUCER A WICLIFFITE.

AN ESSAY ON CHAUCER'S PARSON AND
PARSON'S TALE.

BY

H. SIMON,

SCHMALKALDEN.

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CHAUCER A WICLIFFITE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immense amount of work done, from the days of Caxton down to our own time, for the study of the second greatest English poet, and in spite of the meritorious publications of *Tyrwhitt*, *Warton*, *Sir Harris Nicolas*, *Bradshaw*, *Furnivall*, *Ten-Brink*, and others, many a problem concerning him remains still unsolved, and—considering the want of sure information about his life, and the fragmentary state in which we possess his principal work—this is not to be wondered at.

One of the questions to which no satisfactory answer has yet been given is : *What was Chaucer's relation to the Church ?*

In commenting on 'Speght's Life of Chaucer' Tyrwhitt (*Introd. Disc.*¹) speaking of the preface to the *Plowman's Tale*, makes the following remark : "Though he (Chaucer) and Boccace have laughed at some of the abuses of religion and the disorders of Ecclesiastical persons, it is quite incredible that either of them, or even Wicliff himself, would have railed at the whole government of the Church, in the style of the *Plowman's Tale*. If they had been disposed to such an attempt, their times would not have borne it ; but it is probable that Chaucer, though he has been pressed into the service of Protestantism by some zealous writers, was as good a Catholic as men of his understanding and rank in life have generally been. The necessity of auricular Confession, one of the great scandals of Popery, cannot be more strongly inculcated than it is in the following *Persones Tale*." Professor *Seeley*² believes

¹ Morris's edition, I. 249, Note 42.

² Chaucer Soc. Rep. 1873.

that the Plowman of the Prologue is, or is founded on, the ideal Piers Plowman; but with regard to Chaucer's relation to the Church, all the principal English Chaucerians seem to share Tyrwhitt's opinion. Of course, nobody can help perceiving the strong contrast between the *Parson's Tale* and Chaucer's well-known enmity against the clergy, as shown in many parts of the *Canterbury Tales*, but it has not, as yet, given rise to any suspicion, the generally accepted opinion being that Chaucer, bowed down by poverty, age, and infirmity, made his peace with the Church; and Mr Furnivall suggests that he got the lease of the little house in the garden of St Mary's chapel, Westminster, as a reward for his penitence and the *Parson's Tale*. I cannot help doubting this. An engraving of the lease has been published by the Society of Antiquaries. The monk Robert Hermodesworth, who was keeper of St Mary's, and made the contract with the consent of the abbot and convent, reserved a rent of £2 13s. 4d.,—but this was, I imagine, a high rent for a little house, at that time, when money had ten times more value than now¹,—and he expressly reserved for himself, or the monastery, the ordinary power in leases, to distrain, if Chaucer should be in arrear with any part of the payment of rent for the space of 15 days². Does that look like a reward?

A prominent German scholar, Professor *Pauli*, seems to hold an opinion opposed to that stated above. In his '*Bilder aus Altengland*' (VII. 209) he says that the great political and religious questions of his time didn't puzzle Chaucer like his friend Gower, or drive him to the opposite extreme; that, on the contrary, he saw perfectly clearly, and endeavoured to treat these questions objectively, according to his nature. The American Reed³ says that Chaucer

¹ "In 1350 the average price of a horse was 18s. 4d.; of an ox, 1l. 4s. 6d.; of a cow, 17s. 2d.; of a sheep, 2s. 6d.; of a goose, 9d.; of a hen, 2d.; of a day's labour in husbandry, 3d."—(Morris, *Introduct. to Ch.*, Clar. Press Series ed., p. vii.)

² Sir H. Nicolas, *Life of Ch.*, in Morris, I. 41.

³ *Engl. Lit.*, p. 69.

greeted Wicliffe's work of reform with joy; Gättschenberger¹ unconditionally calls him Wicliffe's intimate friend;—I don't know his reasons; to my direct inquiry I received no answer. Ebert, Kissner, and Hertzberg have, to my knowledge, not examined this point; Ten-Brink has not yet given his opinion; of his excellent '*Chaucerstudien*' only one volume is out.

To get at the truth, we must first recollect what was the public opinion in England, in the second half of the 14th century, with regard to the Pope and the Church. The reign of Edward III., in which Chaucer's youth and early manhood fell, is one of the grandest and most glorious periods in English history. During the preceding 300 years the gifted Normans had been completely amalgamated with the morally noble and bodily powerful Anglo-Saxons, and the nation thus grown into existence offered a rare image of health and strength². A lively consciousness of their belonging to one another—which expressed itself in the common use of a rich and powerful, though still somewhat unwieldy, language,—had taken the place of the former hatred between the conqueror and the conquered, and, in consequence of the exercise of constitutional rights for above a hundred years, the brilliant victories in France, Spain, and Italy, the fast growing culture, the development of arts, and the increase of wealth produced by commerce, had intensified itself into a strong national feeling, into a high, but justified, self-esteem. In such times of spiritual and material progress, new ideas irresistibly make their way, overthrowing everything opposed to the general tendency—however venerable may be the traditions upon which it is founded. It was a time like that we have now in Germany; and even as the conflict with Popery has now broken out with us, so did it then rage in England; only

¹ History of Engl. Lit., I. 157.

² See Macaulay's brilliant paragraphs on this subject in his Introduction to his *Hist. of England*, i. 16—20, ed. 1849.

much more furiously, because the bull *Unam sanctam* had soon been followed by the "Babylonian Exile"; the immoderate pretension of the popes, depending, as they did, on England's deadly foe, could not but be doubly felt, and the awful moral depravity of all the clergy, as well as the great Schism, must at last have filled the whole nation with contempt.

The general abhorrence vented itself in poems like the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, in the writings of Wicliffe, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. When, in this immortal work, we see Chaucer pour the biting acid of his satire on the representatives of Rome, and especially the friars, he most decidedly appears as the second and avenger of him who in his pamphlet *De otio et mendacitate*¹ had mercilessly exposed the foulest sore of the Roman Church. All the clerical and semi-clerical pilgrims are made to feel his weighty scourge; the only² exception—a brilliant one—is

THE PARSON.

By the side of the repulsive characters of the friars and clergy and their officials, the Parson of the Prologue appears like a bright figure of sublime beauty. Nobody, perhaps, has read this delicate yet pithy picture without emotion; hundreds of times the Parson has been quoted as the ideal of Christian charity and humility, evangelical piety, unselfish resignation to the high calling of a pastor.

It cannot be that Chaucer unintentionally produced this bright image with so dark a background. Involuntarily it occurs to us, as to former critics, that a Wicliffite, perhaps the great reformer himself, sat for the picture; and the more we look at it, the more striking becomes the likeness. This observation is not new; to say nothing of

¹ Wycliffe.

² The companions of the Prioress seem to make an exception also; this semblance is, however, completely destroyed by what Tyrwhitt says in his *Introd. Disc.* (Morris, I. 209 ff., with the notes).

English critics, *Pauli* (Bilder, VII. 202) says that the likeness of the Parson has decidedly Lollardish traces, and *Lechler* (Iohann von Wiclif, I. 408 ff.) expressly declares it to be Wicliffe's portrait, though he says, at the same time, that it is not only doubtful, but improbable, that Chaucer should have sympathized with, or really appreciated, Wicliffe's great ideas of and efforts for reform. Both scholars, however, principally refer to the description in the General Prologue; but the Parson is mentioned also in the *Shipman's* prologue and in that to the Parson's Tale; and it is exactly in the latter two that we find the most striking proofs of his unquestionably Wicliffite character.

THE GENERAL PROLOGUE

as a whole, and its description of the Parson, are the best-known parts of the *Canterbury Tales*. I can, therefore, be brief about it.

In three passages it is stated with great emphasis that the Parson took his doctrine from the gospel:

v. 481. That Cristes gospel gladly¹ wolde preche.

v. 498. Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte.

v. 527. But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve
He taught, and ferst he folwed it himselve.

This was a pointedly distinguishing characteristic of a Wicliffite; for the gospel was the foundation-stone of their doctrine and sermons. Wicliffe himself was indefatigable in drawing general attention to it²; he and his associates translated the Bible; with this sword and shield the great "Dr Evangelicus" attacked the Roman dogmas and

¹ Tyrwhitt and the Six-Text edition have "trewely," which is, perhaps, still more convenient for a Wicliffite.

² *Wicliffe's Festpredigten*, No. 22, fol. 42: Idem est spiritualiter pascere auditorium *sine sententia evangelica*, ac si quis faceret *convivium sine pane* . . . and: Quando praedicatum est ab apostolis *evangelium*, crevit ecclesia in virtute; sed modo ex defectu spiritualis seminis, continue decrescit.—*Vermischte Predigten*, No. 9, fol. 207: sacerdos Domini missus ad gignendum et nutriendum populum *verbo vitae*.—(In *Lechler*, I. v. Wiclif, I. 401.) See also p. 422.

statutes, and refuted the accusation of heresy ; while the orthodox Catholic clergy never allowed the Scripture to be looked upon as the only source of Christian truth, and, especially in Chaucer's time, mostly moved on the barren sands of subtle scholastic theology. In their sermons, instead of preaching the gospel, they frequently amused their hearers by telling fables, romances, and jests.

Moreover, the Parson was a holy man ; he made the gospel, as we know from v. 528, his rule of thought and life. The whole prologue proves it ; I only quote two more passages :

v. 479. But riche he was of holy thought and werk.

v. 505. And though he holy were, and vertuous, . .

Wicliffe and his disciples distinguished themselves by an irreproachable life ; even their worst enemies were obliged to acknowledge that. How very different were the orthodox clergy in this point ! The secular clergy, indeed, were better than the monks, but it was exactly among them that Wicliffe found many most zealous followers, and out of their number he recruited his itinerant preachers¹.

v. 480 brings a new characteristic :

He was also a lerned man, a clerk.

Wicliffe and his school did not indulge in the illusion that learning was unnecessary for holy purposes ; they loved and cherished it ; in the ranks of their antagonists reigned incapacity and ignorance.

Finally we have a peculiar outward mark :

v. 495. Upon his feet, and in his hond a staf.

A chronicler of those times, KNIGHTON, a prebendary of Leicester, says that the Wicliffite Aston "*vehiculum equorum non requisivit, sed pedestris effectus cum baculo incedens ubique ecclesias regni—indefesse cursitando visitavit, ubique in ecclesiis regni praedicans.*"—*Hist. angl. Scriptores*, X. London, 1652, vol. III. col. 2658 f. (in Lechler, I. 421, Note). TH. WALSINGHAM describes the

¹ *Pauli*, Bilder, VII. 202. *Lechler*, I. 417 f. and 421.

associates of Wicliffe, "talaribus indutos vestibus de russeto, insignum perfectionis amplioris, *incedens nudis pedibus*, qui suos errores in populo ventilarent et palam ac publice in suis sermonibus praedicarent."—*Hist. angl.*, ed. Riley, 1863, I. 324 (*ibid.*). And Pauli says (*Bilder*, VII. 243) that Archbishop *Courtenay* in 1382, after Wat Tyler's insurrection, when trying to pass the bill against heretics, expressly stated in his speech in parliament, that the Wicliffite itinerant clergy walked about in plain apparel of coarse reddish cloth, *barefoot* and *staff in hand*.

This contradicts at the same time the assumption that Wicliffe himself had been the Parson's prototype; for it was no peculiarity of his to walk about on foot and with a staff; in fact, he never was "a pore Persoun" (v. 478), for the King's favour amply provided for his wants.

THE SHIPMAN'S PROLOGUE

proves plainly that the Parson was a Wicliffite. When he earnestly, and yet mildly, rebukes the host for taking the Lord's name in vain, Henry Bailey exclaims derisively,

v. 10. . . . O Iankyn be ye there?
Now, goode men, . . . herkneth me;
I smel a *loller* in the wind, . . .

and as the Parson makes no reply, he repeats the invective with a new oath, as if to try if he would put up with it:

v. 13. Abideth for Goddes digne passion,
For we schul have a predicacion;
This loller heer wol[de] prechen us somewhat.

He does not "smell a loller" only, he sees him now, points him out! Even now the Parson remains silent. This silence speaks very plainly. For the nickname applied to him was in those times as generally used for "Wicliffite," as now, for instance, "quaker" is for a member of the Society of Friends¹. The heaviest charge imaginable that

¹ From Harl. Cat. 1666: "And to absteine fro othes nedeles and unlefel and repreve sinne by way of charite, is cause now why Prelates and sum Lordes sclauderen men, and clepen hem *Lol-*

could be brought against any priest had been thrown in the Parson's face: He was branded as a heretic!

For an orthodox clergyman it would have been impossible to put up with this epithet; even the most peaceful and longsuffering must have resented it, if only for the sake of the laymen who witnessed the scene, and who would, in consequence of it, and if need were, have been able to cite the example of an heretical priest as an excuse for their own heresy. But the Parson remained silent. Here we may alter the proverb: *Qui tacet consentire videtur*, and say: *Qui tacet consentit*, or in ordinary English phrase, "Silence gives consent."

There can be no doubt, I think, that the Shipman was of the same opinion, as we may see by

- v. 16. 'Nay by my father soule! that schal he nat,
 Sayde the Schipman¹; 'heer schal he naught preche,
 He schal no gospel glosen heer ne teche.
 We levyn al in the gret God,' quod he.
 'He wolde sowen som difficulte,
 Or springen cokkil² in our clene corn.'

Three times he protests energetically against the Lollard's expected sermon³, against his 'gospel glosing,' that would only disturb the peaceful harmony of the pilgrims (or the conformity of their faith). With the skilful remark "We levyn al in the gret God," and the decided declaration that he himself is going to tell a tale now, he prevents the pending quarrel.

Who used to 'glose' on the gospel in those times?

lurdes, *Eretikes*, etc." Tyrwhitt concludes (p. 349, note 1) that '*Lollard*' was a common invective. Common enough it was, no doubt; but to denote a *Wicliffite*! All the historical works on that time prove it. Thus Knighton says: "sicque a vulgo Wyclyf discipuli et Wicliviiani sive *Lollardi* vocati sunt." (Lechler, II. 5, where some more passages to this effect are to be found, among which is one from an official document. See also p. 55!)

¹ Only Arch. Seld. B. 14 has "Schipman"; 18 of the 22 MSS. of the Six-Text print have Squire, 3 Sompnour, 2 of them in opposition to the headings. It is, however, not material who spoke.

² Lollium, in allusion to the then general derivation of "Lollard."

³ Some Protestants hate evangelical sermons as much as Papists do.

Who grounded on it a doctrine differing from that of the Church, and which was sure to produce the most violent disputes, as soon as it was pronounced before orthodox ears? Who else but the Wicliffites?

THE PARSON'S PROLOGUE

at last removes all doubt. The host, who only a short time before used very passionate language against the Monk, and spoke "with rude speech and bold" to the Nonne-priest, behaves very respectfully to the Parson. Not till all the other pilgrims have told their tales, and then in a conciliatory manner, does he ask him :

v. 20. I pray to God to yeve him right good chaunce,
That tellith us his tale lustily.

Had the quiet dignity of the Lollard made an impression upon him, or had he been struck by the idea that a religious persuasion enabling to suffer insults so quietly, could not be quite objectionable? 'Sir prest,' he says, perhaps still somewhat in doubt, owing to the Parson's peculiar dress,

v. 22. artow a vicory?
Or artow a persoun¹? say soth, by thy fay.

Perhaps he thought he might yet have done the Parson wrong, and was anxious to give him an opportunity to clear himself of the suspicion of heresy by explaining his real station. But the Parson did not avail himself of the opportunity. What could he have said? Tell an untruth he would not; and to declare himself a Wicliffite in this society would have been neither safe nor advisable. The host, however, instead of growing impatient, as was his wont, passes over this painful silence, saying: "Be what thou be, ne breke thou nought oure play" (v. 24); he even flatters him:

¹ The Vicar took only the small tithes of his parish, while the great ones went to a Monastery or Cathedral, &c. The Parson or Rector took both the great and small tithes.

- v. 27. For trewely me thinketh by thy chier,
Thou scholdist wel knyt up a gret matier.

Chaucer couldn't have paid more delicate homage to the Lollard, nor shown more forcibly the powerful influence of the Wicliffite preachers over the minds of others, than by the effect which the dignified bearing of the Parson had upon this unlicked cub of an innkeeper who had clumsily trodden on the corns of all the other tale-tellers, and even now could not quite renounce his innate coarseness. The Host asks for a fable. Now, at last, the Parson bursts out:

- v. 31. Thou getist fable noon i-told for me,
For Poul, that writeth unto Timothé,
Repreveth hem that weyveth sothfastnesse,
And tellen fables, and such wrecchednesse.
35. Why schuld I sowen draf out of my fest,
Whan I may sowë whete, if that me lest?
For which I say, if that yow lust to hiere
Moralité and vertuouse matiere,
And thanne that ye wil yeve me audience,
40. I wot ful fayn at Cristis reverence
Do yow plesauncé leful, as I can.
But trusteth wel, I am a suthern man,
I can not gesté, rum, ram, ruf, by letter,
Ne, God wot, rym hold I but litel better.
45. And therfor, if yow lust, I wol not glose,
I wol yow telle a mery tale in prose,
To knyt up al this fest, and make an ende;
And Ihesu, for his gracé, wit me sende
To schewë yow the way, in this viage,
50. Of thilkë parfyt glorious pilgrimage
That hatte Jerusalem celestial.

To understand the whole weight of these words, we must read what Lechler (I. von W., I. 395 ff.) says about the Wicliffites' manner of preaching, as opposed to that of the Romish priests. Instead of preaching the word of God, the latter used to tell episodes from universal, or pieces of natural, history, the *Gesta Romanorum*, all sorts of legends, romances, and fables, from profane sources, as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, sometimes even jokes, for the amusement, if not for the edification, of their hearers. The form of these sermons was as worldly as their contents, verses in alliteration and in rhyme alternating with each

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other. This sort of preaching Wicliffe denounced with all the fervour of his pious, evangelical heart, with all the power of his mighty word. I only cite a few passages from Lechler's excellent work. In 61, *Evangelia de sanctis*, No. 56, Wicliffe speaks of "tragoediae vel comoediae et *fabulae* vel *sententiae apogryphae*, quae sunt hodie populo praedicatae." In his *De officio pastorali*, II. ch. 5, Leipzig, 1863, p. 37, he says of the friars: "Et tota sollicitudo est eorum, non *verba evangelica* et saluti subditorum utilia seminare, sed *fraudes joco mendacia*, per quae possunt populum facilius spoliare." In the book *De veritate s. scripturae*, ch. 14: "Theologus debet seminare *veritatem scripturae*, non *gesta vel cronicas mundiales*." In his sermon on the Parable of the Sower: "Unde manifestum est, quod praecipua causa mortificationis spiritualis in populo, et per consequens totius nequitiae regnantis in seculo, est defectus vel mortificatio seminis verbi. Sed unde quaeso tam perniciosa radix peccati? Revera 'inimicus homo' surrepens in animas sacerdotum, superseminavit zizania! Nunc enim si quis loquitur, non quasi sermones Dei, sed gratia extraneandi praedicabit *gesta, poëmata vel fabulas* extra corpus scripturae, vel praedicando scripturam dividet ipsam ultra minuta naturalia et allegabit moralizando per *colores rithmicos*, quousque non appareat textus scripturae sed sermo praedicantis, tanquam auctoris et inventoris primarii. Et ex illa affectione dyabolica, qua quilibet appetit a se ipso, et non ab alio, habere talia, insurgit tota vitiosa novitas hujus mundi;" and further: "Sed quod pejus est, dum declamatorie sic loquuntur sapientiam quae ex solo Deo est, *formam metricam* induunt" (II. App. B, III.). In *De officio pastorali*, II. ch. 3, p. 34: "Debet evangelisator praedicare *plane evangelicam veritatem*."

Condemning thus strictly the "fables and such wretchedness" told by the clerical pilgrims; choosing for his "meditacioun" the same subject that Wicliffe treated in his "Wicket"; following, as to form and contents, the

rules given by Wicliffe in a hundred passages of his works ; and doing all this not only in the spirit and manner, but partly with the very words, of the great reformer¹, the Parson, in my opinion, *declares himself as unequivocally to be à Wicliffite, as it was possible to do without using the name.*

One essential point, however, is still to be mentioned : the Parson's citing the epistles of St Paul to Timothy in vindication of his refusal to tell a fable. In this condemnation, seemingly directed only against the tales of the clerical pilgrims, he, by this allusion, strikes the whole Roman Church a blow as with a club. For in no other part of the Bible do we find such emphatic, nay, imploring exhortations to cling to the gospel ; nowhere is the necessity of the clergy's leading a holy life so forcibly urged ; nowhere are the false doctrines and ecclesiastical statutes, as they were afterwards smuggled into Christianity from Rome, more decidedly condemned !

In three passages in the Epistles to Timothy occurs the expression "*fables*": 1 Timothy i. 3 and 4 ; iv. 1—8 ; 2 Tim. iv. 1—5. All of them are directed against false doctrines ; the 2nd condemns *celibacy* and *fasting* (abstinence from certain food) ; the 3rd contains *an exhortation to faithfully discharge the duties of a minister*. It is well known that the latter was a favourite theme with Wicliffe ; he treated of it at large in his pamphlet *De officio pastorali*, touched it in many of his sermons, and has shown by his example, in his quality as parish priest, what value he laid upon a faithful administration of the holy office.

1 *Tim.* i. 3 and 4. As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine ;

Neither give heed to *fables*, and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith ; so do.

¹ Concerning the expression "leful" (v. 41) see *Lechler*, II. 17 f., and especially *Knighton*, col. 2664.

1 *Tim.* iv. 1—8. Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils ;

Speaking lies in hypocrisy ; having their conscience seared with a hot iron ;

*Forbidding to marry*¹, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.

For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving :

For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.

If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained.

But refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness.

For bodily exercise profiteth little ; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

2 *Tim.* iv. 1—5. I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing in his kingdom ;

Preach THE WORD ; be instant in season, out of season ; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine.

For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers having itching ears ;

And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.

But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.

Another point is the great precaution shown by the Parson before he delivers his "meditacioun." Twice he asks the other pilgrims' consent ; twice he declares his willingness to be corrected, if wrong.

¹ That the Wicliffites rejected celibacy, we may see from the petition they presented to Parliament in 1395. *Conclusiones Lollardorum* : III. Quod *lex continentiae* injuncta sacerdotio, quae in praedictum mulierum prius fuit ordinata, inducit sodomiam in totam sanctam ecclesiam . . . XI. Quod *rotum continentiae* factum in nostra ecclesia per mulieres, . . . est causa inductionis maximorum horribilium peccatorum. (*Shirley*, Fasc. ziz. 360 ff., in *Lechler*, II. 24 f.)

Wicliffe's opinion on fasting is too well known to require evidence.

37. if that yow lust to hie
 Moralité and vertuou matiere,
 And thanne that ye wil give me audience, . . .
52. And if ye vouchesauf, anoon I schal
 Bygynne my talë, for which I yow praye
 Telle your avis, I can no better saye.
55. But natheles this meditacioun
 I put it ay under correccioun
 Of clerkës, for I am not textuel ;
 I takë but the sentens, trustith wel.
 Therfor I makë protestacioun,
60. That I wol stondë to correccioun.

What could be the use of all this, if he intended to follow the beaten paths of church-doctrine? There is no sense in it, except it be said to introduce some new doctrine; and it is perfectly in character with a Wicliffite whose master also, at the beginning of 1378, before the inquisition in Lambeth Hall, declared his readiness to retract as soon as they should convince him of the fallacy of his religious belief¹.

Not till the pilgrims consent to hear his meditacioun does the host invite him to begin, but to be brief².

I have now to discuss the seeming inconsistency in the Parson's taking part in the pilgrimage.

Canterbury had, besides the tomb of the "martyr," many attractions, even for a Wicliffite. Beda tells us that at the time of the Romans, one of the first, if not the first, Christian church in Britain had been erected in Canterbury and dedicated to St Martin; there Augustin with his 40 monks had first preached the gospel, and the first Christian King of England had there received holy baptism; there lay, besides Becket's, the remains of Augustin, Æthelbert, Stephen Langton (to whom England chiefly owes her Magna Charta), and the Black Prince, the idol of the nation, which only a short time before had been plunged in the deepest grief by his untimely death³. And must

¹ Pauli, Bilder, VII. 227 ff.

² The variations in the Six-Text print of the Parson's Prologue (Blank-Parson Link) are immaterial as to the sense; they all spring from mistakes of the copyists or their different orthography.

³ Pauli, Bilder, VII. "Canterbury."

not Canterbury, as a far-famed place of pilgrimage, powerfully attract a Wicliffite preacher, whether he wished to see with his own eyes how the "miracles" were wrought, or hoped to find a particularly rich field of labour in a city so much frequented from religious reasons?

One thing more. All the historians of English literature agree in maintaining that the *Canterbury Tales* were intended to be a great picture of the morals and customs of those times, and by this they excuse many things that would otherwise throw a bad light on our poet. But what should we think of this picture, if, by the side of so many persons from all classes of society, and of such different intellectual standing, it wanted a representative of that prodigious world-known movement, which the great Wicliffe, according to directions from the King and parliament, first raised on a question of politics, but which, with internal necessity, soon reached the department of religion, and almost overthrew the government and doctrine of the Established Church? Even if Chaucer himself was no Wicliffite, such a character would have been indispensable in his immortal picture of his times.

But we can scarcely suppose that our poet was not heartily attached to Wicliffe's tenets. If such were the case, how could he depict the "Lollard"¹ so ideally, and, at the same time, display, as we have seen, such knowledge of the reformer's writings and way of thinking? His near connection with Wicliffe's protector, John of Gaunt, who took the learned professor as his assistant with him to Bruges, and, in 1377, delivered him, with peril to himself, from the hands of the court of inquisition at St Paul's; the interest he took in the political struggles of his nation; his journeys to Italy, in which he, perhaps, passed Avignon and closely saw the hierarchical Babel, but which, at any rate, made him acquainted with the more enlightened

¹ I assume that the reader admits the validity of my evidence and argument.

religious views of prominent Italians¹; his high sense of right and truth; lastly, the beginning of the great Schism which deprived Popery of the last remnant of esteem;—all these tended to alienate him from the Pope and the Church, and make him join the great reformer with whom he was very probably personally acquainted².

All that his works seem to contain to the contrary, vanishes upon closer examination. Thus his *A B C* and the *Legende of Seint Cecile* are earlier productions³; his *Mother of God* and the *Story of Custance* are most likely so too; and it is doubtful whether the latter was meant to form part of the *Canterbury Tales*⁴. After the pathetic, though 'bait-the-Jews,' legend of the Prioress, Chaucer lets fly his fantastic *Sir Topas*, as if to show that it deserves to be thrown into the same pot with the *Fabliaux*; he has not a single word of praise for this nor for the rest of the "fables and such wrecchednesse" told by the other Romists, and the Monk's water-fall of tragedies is roughly interrupted, while even the *Miller's* and *Reve's* tales are applauded. But the *friars* are treated more despicably than all the others. We have only to remember the place of abode assigned to them in hell,

¹ *Kissner*, Ch. in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur, p. 78.

² What Wicliffe thought of the Schism we see in his work *De quatuor sectis novellis*, MS. 3929, fol. 225, col. 3: "Benedictus Deus, qui—divisit caput serpentis, movens unam partem ad aliam conterendam. . . Consilium ergo sanum videtur permittere has duas partes Antichristi semet ipsas destruere."—(In *Lechler*, I. 650.) That he dared to write thus, shows plainly what was the public opinion about Popery in England.

³ *Furnivall*, Recent Work at Chaucer (in *Mac Millan's Magazine*, 1873), p. 6; *B. ten-Brink*, Chaucerstudien, p. 130, and *Tyrwhitt* (Morris, I. 240).

⁴ I only mention one reason: *Man of Law's Prol.*, v. 90, "I speke in prose and let him rymes make;" the *Story of Custance* being in rhyme. To solve the difficulty by supposing v. 90 to mean "I make no rhymes myself, but I will tell you a rhymed story of his," is impossible, for he *does* make rhymes in his Prologue; and, besides, if he was going to tell one of Chaucer's rhymed stories, he could not have said: "Though I come after him *with havebake*" (v. 95).

and the punishment they incur by their greediness (Somponour's Prol. and Tale). A hatred so furious, a contempt passing so far beyond all bounds, are not to be explained by the Somponour's irritation, nor by Chaucer's dislike of the clergy in general. They must have their peculiar cause. We need not look long for it: the synod held at Blackfriars, which, in May 1382, condemned Wicliffe's doctrines, consisted for the greatest part of friars; they preached against heresy, after the Whitsuntide procession; they published the resolutions of that synod at Oxford; they were the beadles who executed them; they helped to obtain Wicliffe's excommunication, and to condemn him to lose his place as professor¹.

That Chaucer himself takes part in the pilgrimage may be accounted for by what was said about Canterbury.

The words in the General Prologue:

- v. 17. The holy blisful martir for to seeke,
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke;

are certainly the repetition of a current phrase rather than his own sincere opinion. He knew better what to think of a pilgrimage: he makes the Parson simply call it a 'viage' (v. 49, P. Prol.), and in the Wife's Prologue he has preserved for us a proverb still applicable in our own time:

- v. 655. Who that buyldith his hous al of salwes,
And pricketh his blynde hors over the falwes,
And suffrih his wyf go seken halwes,
Is worthy to ben honged on the galwes.

Nay, it is not impossible that the *Canterbury Tales* were intended to hold pilgrimage up to ridicule and contempt, by showing what loose and sinful people took part in it, and what unholy conversation used to shorten the way.

THE PARSON'S TALE.

The strictly orthodox contents of the Parson's Tale are consequently the only remaining proof that Chaucer either

¹ *Pauli, Bilder, VII. 242 ff.*

remained always true to the Roman creed, or at least died an orthodox Catholic. A man who could write a sermon on Penitence in which the necessity of auricular confession is so emphatically enjoined, cannot have been of Wicliffe's persuasion. True. But is it so sure that Chaucer did write it? That he wrote it as it now lies before us¹? If it can be shown that there is a great dissimilarity between the parts, that some of them are dry, poor of thought, clumsy, yet full of paltry subtlety and hairsplitting, full of inconsistencies with the Parson's way of thinking, the Bible, common sense, and the scheme of the treatise, full of grammatical and stylistic mistakes; if the remainder can be shown to form a genuine, evangelical *De Poenitentia*—short, powerful, coming from, and going to, the heart, with a completely exhaustive and well worked-out scheme, containing nothing of auricular confession; if the probability of a falsification, and the fact that it was easy to perpetrate it, can alike be proved—will it then still be possible to adduce the Parson's Tale as a proof of Chaucer's orthodox catholicism?

This gives us the strongest inducement to examine the Tale minutely. Owing to the narrow limits of this Essay, I cannot take into consideration all the questions concerning it; I shall content myself with proving that the different parts cannot, from their contents, all belong to one another, nor be considered as Chaucer's. The grammatical and stylistic differences I shall only touch incidentally, leaving it to professional scholars to enter into particulars. I'm sorry to say, that even for this limited investigation I have not all the means desirable at my disposal. A comparison of the MSS. is impossible, owing to the distance; the Six-Text print is only advanced to the end of the Parson's Prologue, and I can, therefore, only

¹ The title it bears according to Tyrwhitt (Morris's ed., I. 251) in some MSS.: "Tractatus de Poenitentia pro fabula, ut dicitur, Rectoris," may possibly be meant to convey a doubt.

refer to the texts given by Tyrwhitt and Morris. Fortunately they agree almost literally, and thus form a firm base upon which operations are possible. Restricting my criticism to pointing out the defects that remain in the best possible sense of the passages, after the mistakes which may possibly be ascribed to the copyists are subtracted; laying stress on blunders as to style and grammar only where they appear united with others of a different nature, I hope to satisfy all reasonable demands for caution.

The quotations are from the revised Aldine Edition of Chaucer's Poetical Works, by Dr R. Morris (G. Bell and Sons, London), for which the excellent MS. Harl. 7334 has been used and carefully compared with MS. Lansdowne 851. The few deviations in Tyrwhitt's text are given in the notes. They have not much weight, for Tyrwhitt had not the best MSS., and he has corrected the text in many instances.

A full analysis of the whole Parson's Tale would suit my purpose best; but it is not practicable, owing to the great length of 106 pages. I must, therefore, content myself with fragments.

"THE PERSONES TALE.

Jer. 6°. "State super vias, et videte et interrogate de semitis antiquis quae sit via bona, et ambulate in ea, et invenietis refrigerium animabus vestris, etc.

"Owre swete Lord God of heven, that no man wil perische, but wol that we comen alle to the knowleche of him, and to the blisful lif that is perdurable, ammonestith us by the prophet Jeremye, that saith in this wise: Stondeth upon the weyes, and seeth and axeth of olde pathes, that is to sayn, of old sentence, which is the goode way, and walketh in that weie, and ye schul fynde refresshyng for youre soules, etc. Many ben the wayes espirituels that leden folk to oure Lord Jhesu Christ, and to the regne of glorie; of whiche weyes, ther is a ful noble way, and ful covenable, which may not faille to man-ne to womman, that thorough synne hath mysyon fro the righte way of Jerusalem celestial; and this

wey is cleped penitence. Of which men schulden gladly herken and enquire with al here herte, to wyte what is penitence, and whens it is cleped penitence, and in what maner, and in how many maneres been the acciones or workynges of penaunce, and how many spieces ben of penitences, and whiche thinges apperteynen and byhoven to penitence, and whiche thinges destourben penitence¹.”—p. 263, l. 16, to p. 264, l. 17.

Leaving aside the spurious ‘wil’ and ‘wol’ (p. 263, ll. 21 and 22), this passage, up to p. 264, l. 12, contains nothing that Chaucer could not have written, or the Parson not have said.

The scheme given here is the following :

(Subject :) PENITENCE.

- I. What is penitence, and whens it is cleped penitence.
- II. In how many maneres ben the acciones or workynges of penaunce.
- III. How many spices ben of penitences.
- IV. Whiche thinges apperteynen and byhoven to penitence.
- V. Whiche thinges destourben penitence.

I. WHAT IS PENITENCE, AND WHENS IT IS CLEPED PENITENCE.

“Seint Ambrose saith, that penitence is the pleynnyng of man for the gult that he hath doon, and no more to do ony thing for which him oughte to pleigne. And som doctour saith, penitence is the waymentynge of man that sorweth for his synne, and peyneth himself for he hath mysdoon. Penitence, with certeyn circumstaunces, is verray repentaunce of man that holt himself in sorwe and in woo for his giltes; and for he schal be verray penitent, he schal first bywaile the synnes that he hath do, and stedfastly purposen in his hert to haven schrifte of mouth, and to doon satisfacioun, and never to do thing for which him oughte more to bywayle or to complayne, and to continue in goode werkes, or elles his repentaunce may nought avayle.”—p. 264, ll. 18—33.

¹ The passage from the Vulgate is not in Tyrwhitt; instead of ‘penitence’ he always has ‘penance’; p. 264, l. 12, he leaves out ‘and in what maner.’

The definition of penitence given here by the Parson offers difficulties. Coming after the two others, and being more ample, it must have been intended to be better. But it is obviously inferior, both in contents and in form. It consists of two parts: the first essentially repeats that given by 'som doctour¹,' only in other words, and with the addition, 'with certeyn circumstaunces,' which expresses a reservation; the second part corrects or completes the first, adding the bewailing of sin, the purpose to confess, to do satisfaction (i. e. to suffer the punishments inflicted by the Church, or the exercise of penance), to avoid sin and to continue in good works (negative and positive reform of life). The whole may be rendered thus: Penitence may be defined as true repentance, with this reservation, that true penitence also includes auricular confession, satisfaction and reforming. Compared with that of St Ambrose, this definition would consequently add confession, satisfaction, and positive virtue, as principal requisites; compared with that of *som doctour*, confession, satisfaction, and virtue, both negative and positive.

This conception is contradicted by 'verray repentaunce' (l. 25). By what is true repentance to be distinguished, if not by its being followed by a new life? What, then, can 'verray penitent' mean, since real, not sham penitence, was the subject under consideration from the outset? It obviously served to introduce and emphasize confession and satisfaction. But these two requisites are not so much as mentioned in the remainder of Part I., only the necessity of leading a holy life is urged; in the last sentence but one, redemption is said to depend merely on repentance and 'forletting of synne'; the last sentence expresses the hope that repentance on the deathbed will alone suffice for salvation:

¹ Wicliffe? The fifth of his tenets, condemned by the so-called earthquake-council, says: "If a man be as contrite as he ought, all outward confession is superfluous or useless for him."—*Lechler*, I. 669.

“And therefore repentaunt folk that stinte for to synne, and forlete synne er that synne forlete hem, holy chirche holt hem siker of her savacioun. And he that synneth, and verraily repentith him in his last ende, holy chirche yit hopeth his savacioun, by the grete mercy of oure Lord Jhesu Crist, for his repentaunce; but take ye the siker way.”—p. 265, ll. 11—18.

That these lines are genuine, we may infer from the expression, ‘forlete synne’, etc., l. 12, which almost literally occurs at the end of the Doctor’s Tale¹, and by the cordial advice (ll. 17 and 18), which seems peculiarly proper in the Parson’s mouth. The third definition (p. 264), as we have seen, is not so unobjectionable. Its form is strange too. From the general and abstract way of speaking—the only appropriate one to define an abstract idea like that of penitence—it suddenly passes over to the injunction “and for he schal be verray penitent, he schal first bywaile the synnes that he hath do” (ll. 27 and 28). This injunction cannot well be allowed to form a proper part of an abstract definition. It would be less objectionable, if separated from the definition by a full stop; but then the words ‘with certeyn circumstaunces’ would be quite uncalled for. Besides, there are two awkward and unnecessary repetitions: “verray repentaunce—verray penitent” (p. 264, ll. 25 and 27), and “he schal first bywaile the synnes that he hath do,” for this sentence contains the same idea as “holt himself in sorwe and woo for his giltes” (l. 26); and a pleonastic and ungrammatical ‘bywayle’ comes hobbling after in line 31. In no other passage of the *Persones Tale* is ‘bywaile’ constructed with the preposition ‘for’; it only occurs with the simple accusative (p. 264, l. 27; 272, 17 and 23), or without any object (p. 282, l. 8), and these two passages are exactly in those parts which I consider genuine. It is scarcely to be supposed that Chaucer, who, in his *Melibe*, proves himself perfectly equal to the nicest requirements of dialectics, should have shown himself such a bungler in a

¹ v. 286. Forsakith synne, er synne yow forsake.

definition intended to correct those of two authorities quoted by him ; and considering the weighty objections to which the second half of the third definition is open besides, we are justified in doubting the genuineness of it and of the corresponding restriction 'with certeyn circumstaunces.'

If we suppose for a moment that some churchman, finding that Shrift and Satisfaction, which he considered absolutely necessary, were wanting in all Chaucer's three definitions, inserted the suspicious lines, in order to correct the third definition, and, with it, the others, but was not sufficiently master of the language to do so without blundering ; if we suppose this, and, by way of experiment, leave out all that is doubtful, we get, with a single trifling alteration :

"Penitence . . . is verray repentaunce of man, that holt himself in sorwe and woo for his giltes, . . . and steadfastly purposeth in his hert . . . never to do thing for which him oughte more . . . to complayne, and to continue in goode werkes, or elles his repentaunce may nought awayle."

Now, everything is clear, there is not one word too much, no grammatical mistake. This definition corresponds with the two by St Ambrose and 'som doctour,' and yet it is better, since it adds something wanting in each. At the same time the words 'or elles,' now, in harmony with the remainder of Part I., lay stress only upon the reformation of heart and life. Of course, the definition no longer sounds quite orthodox, on the contrary, rather strongly Lollardish¹ ;—but would that make it less suitable for the Parson ?

This is a mere conjecture ; still it may, perhaps, prove correct. That something is wrong in I. follows also from the want of an answer to 'whens it is cleped penitence.' It is nowhere to be found in the Tale.

¹ XXIV *Predigten Wicliffe's*, No. VI. MS. 3928, fol. 143, col. 4. "Verum concluditur, quod pro nullo peccato suo posset homo satisfacere nisi esset immensitas misericordiae Salvatoris. *Poenitet ergo homo DEO fructuose, et deserat peccata praeterita, et virtute meriti Christi et suae gratiae sunt deleta.*"—(In *Lechler*, I. 523.)

II. IN HOW MANY MANERES BEN THE ACCIONES OR WORK-
YNGES OF PENAUNCE.

“And now sith that I have declared yow, what thing is penitence, now schul ye understonde, that ther ben thre acciouns of penitence. The first is, that if a man be baptized after that he hath synned. Seint Augustyn saith, but-if he be penitent for his olde synful lif, he may not by-gynne the newe clene lif. For certes, if he be baptized withoute penitence of his olde gilt, he receyveth the mark of baptisme, but nought the grace, ne the remissioun of his synnes, til he have repentaunce verray. Another defaute is this, that men doon deedly synne after that thay have receyved baptisme. The thridde defaute is, that men fallen into venial synne after here baptisme fro day to day. Ther-of saith seint Austyn, that penitence of goode men, and of humble folk, is the penitens of every day.”—p. 265, l. 19, to p. 266, l. 2.

There are three cases to be enumerated in which an act of penitence is needed. The first, “if a man be baptized after that he hath synned,” is correct; but what are we to think of ‘defaute’? Is a ‘defaute’ an act of penitence? If we take ‘acciones’ to be equivalent to ‘workynges’—as we very well may, in fact, *must*, on account of ‘acciones or workynges’ in the heading—the nonsense becomes still worse, since ‘workynges of penaunce’ may signify *practice* as well as *effect* of penitence (the German *Wirkung*). Or are we to suppose that the author intended to say: Baptism without penitence is ineffective, faulty, a ‘defaute’; other ‘defautes’ are the commission of deadly and venial sins after receiving baptism? No; for he meant to speak of “acciones or workynges of penaunce,” not of defaults or defects! It is no mistake of the copyist’s; is it a bungle? Has he been misled by the passage from St Augustine to presume that the question is about things that make baptism ineffectual? Or has he been absurd enough to fancy ‘acciones of penitence’ to mean ‘actions for which penitence is due?’ We place the comma (l. 21) behind the following ‘that,’ and read (ll. 30 and 31): “Another . . .

is this, *if*. The thridde . . . is that, *if*," supplying: "case in which an act of penitence is required." But even then the passage is not unobjectionable, Chaucer-like. How poor are the definitions! they remind us of the soldier's: "Pumice-stone is, if we have none, we take sand." There is no escape, we must come to the conclusion that this passage is spurious too. When we see piety and genius throw up such bubbles, I suppose we may be allowed to suspect.

III. HOW MANY SPICES BEN OF PENITENCES.

"The spices of penitence ben thre. That oon of hem is solempne, another is comune, and the thridde is pryvé. Thilke penaunce that is solempne, is in tuo maners; as is to be put out of holy chirche in lente, for slaughtre of childre, and such maner thing. Another is, whan a man hath synned openly, of whiche synne the fame is openly spoken in the contré; and thanne holy chirche by jugement streyneth him to doon open penaunce. Comune penaunce is, that prestes enjoynen men comunly in certeyn caas, as for to goon, peradventure, naked in pilgrimage, or barfot. Privé penaunce is thilk that men doon alday for privé synnes, of whiche we schryve us prively, and receyven privé penaunce."—p. 266, l. 3—17.

The penitence spoken of here is very different from that defined in I.; it is *penance*, or punishment imposed by the Church or one's self, and from l. 5 this (Romance) form of the word is continually used in consequence. 'Penaunce,' a contraction of *poenitentia*, *penitence*, had come to signify only the punishment inflicted by the Church, because clerics and laymen used to consider this punishment as the principal part of penitence. 'Penitence' remained still in use with the educated who knew its origin and near relation to 'repentance,' and it conveyed to them an idea differing strongly from 'penaunce,' while the uncultured simply replaced 'penitence' by 'penance,'—the word as well as the idea. In Harl. MS. 7334 we have always found, till now, the form 'penitence'—with the single exception (p. 264, l. 14) already men-

tioned. It is, therefore, to be presumed (and the third definition confirms it even in its doubtful form) that Chaucer did *not* confound the two ideas; for down to this Part III. repentance has always been considered the first requisite of penitence. If we notice, besides, the clumsy exemplification, "for slaughtre of childre and such maner thing," and the definitions which here also are awkward in the highest degree, especially the last of them, in which, by the repetition of 'penaunce' we get complete nonsense, we cannot but doubt this part too.

IV. WHICHE THINGES APPERTEYNEN AND BYHOVEN TO
PENITENCE.

"Now schalt thou understonde what bihoveth and is necessarie to verray parfyt penitence; and this stondith in thre thinges, contricioun of hert, confessioun of mouth and satisfaccioun. For whiche saith seint Johan Crisostom, penitence distreyneth a man to accepte benignely every peyne that him is enjoyned with contricioun of herte, and schrift of mouth, with satisfaccioun, and in werking of alle maner humbledé. And this is fruytful penitence agayn tho thre thinges, in whiche we wraththe oure Lord Jhesu Crist; this is to sayn, by delit in thinking, by rechelesnes in speking, and by wicked synful werkyng."—p. 266, ll. 18—30.

Of the four parts of penitence enumerated in the third definition (p. 264, ll. 24—32) only three are mentioned here; the fourth, correction of life, so emphatically enjoined in I., is completely passed over. It cannot be meant by "werking of alle maner humbledé" (l. 25); that would be a singular way of introducing so important a point; the words are, most probably, a mere circumlocution for exercises of penance. Does 'satisfaccioun,' perhaps, comprise reform of life? We look for the chapter 'satisfaccioun.' Good works are mentioned there, it is true. But if a new life be part of 'satisfaccioun,' why make detailed mention of it, by the side of 'satisfaccion' in I.? Of course, he who didn't make the third definition himself, but only smuggled

'schrifte and satisfaccioun' into it, he, and he alone, could consider the new life demanded in I. to be only a part of satisfaction, and—overlook it here.

In turning over the leaves, when looking for 'satisfaccioun' (*De tertia parte penitentie*) we also perceive that the first part of penitence, 'contricioun of hert,' fills 17 pages; the second, 'confessioun of mouth,' 77 (!); the third, 'satisfaccioun,' 5 pages. More than 99 pages for the three subdivisions of IV., while I., II., III., and V. together only require six! What? Chaucer, who according to the unanimous opinion of all judges, distinguishes himself by a rare symmetry in his productions, is supposed to have made such a striking exception in the *Parson's Tale*, only to make this Wicliffite parson (as I assume) deliver a copious and detailed sermon on auricular confession, which, as we all know, Wicliffe rejected? Our suspicion increases in spite of ourselves!

After an artificial parallel between penitence and a tree, which, with the exception of a few disorderly and illogical passages (in one of which sin is compared with the milk of a nurse), is tolerably well worked out, we arrive at the details of the three points, 'contricioun, confession, satisfaccioun.'

I. CONTRICIOUN.

"In this penitence or contricioun men schal understonde foure thinges, that is to sayn, what is contricioun, and whiche ben the causes that moeven men to contricioun, and how he schulde be contrit, and what contricioun availeth to the soule. Thanne is it thus, that contricioun is the verray sorwe that a man receyveth in his herte for his synnes, with sad purpos to schryve him, and to doo penaunce, and never more to don synne."—p. 268, l. 7—15.

Penitence or *contricioun* (l. 7) seems to be a mistake in copying, but is not! For, l. 12 ff., we find for contricioun the third definition of penitence (I.) again, with this difference, that, instead of satisfaction, and a new life, we have here 'penaunce' only, perhaps because the author

considered submission to ecclesiastical punishments the principal thing. In IV. 18—21, however, it was distinctly said that penitence consisted in three things: 1. contrition, 2. confession, 3. satisfaction. Repeating, therefore, here, for contrition alone, the definition of penitence, the author *makes a part equal to the whole!*

Was Chaucer such a blockhead? Or the Parson? The third definition was of itself suspicious; it does not become less so by recurring here in the wrong place. Besides, the introductory words "Thanne is it thus, that contricioun" (l. 12) sound just like: "Now, after I've made the necessary alterations, it is thus."

The three passages coming into collision here: I. 24—32; IV. 18—21; IV. i. 12—15, cannot, by any means, be all genuine. They all look suspicious; the question is only: Are they all spurious, or only one, or two; and if so, which? To proceed safely, we must examine them again side by side.

I begin with the third (IV. i. 12—15). It is directly opposed, as we have seen, to the enumeration of the three things belonging to penitence: 'contricioun,' 'confessioun,' 'satisfaccioun' (IV. 18—21). This definition, besides, is but the misplaced repetition of the third definition of penitence (I. 24—32) which I have already called in question; and it is clear that whoever interpolated 'schrifte and satisfaccioun' there, could, by the words '*penitence or contricioun,*' easily be induced to do the same here, the more so because the repetition would lay the desired stress on the two requisites that appeared to him absolutely necessary. The third definition of penitence in I. becoming thus entangled in the downfall of the definition of 'contricioun' (IV. 1, *a*), my conjecture concerning it is confirmed. But if 'schrifte and satisfaccioun' were interpolated in I., the passage IV. 18—21, already suspicious on account of its passing over the necessity of beginning a new life, must needs lose its semblance of genuineness,

seeing that it enumerates these very things as the second and third parts of penitence.

There is, consequently, hardly any doubt that these passages are all three spurious. A sad result! Reluctantly we turn to the examination of the other parts of 'contricioun' (IV. 1, *b*, *c*, *d*). What is our surprise! No more inconsistencies, no confusion, no merely outward conception of penitence, no idle words, no grammatical and stylistic blunders;—logic, brevity, vigour, genuine feeling, enthusiasm; Chaucer's style and language! Even a passage from his favourite Seneca, whom he quotes 15 times in "Melibee," and the first verse of a French song! In short, all desirable proofs of genuineness, so that the part 'contricioun'—with the exception of the impossible definition (IV. 1, *a*) and the end (IV. 1, *d*) of which I shall speak presently—appears to be imbedded in the nonsense of the other parts like a lump of gold in worthless sand.

We now recollect the Wicliffite character of the Parson. A Wicliffite could very well say "penitence *or* contricioun," for he did not define penitence in the mere outward sense of the Romish Church; to him, repentance or contrition was the great thing, the necessary preliminary condition of a new life, and its beginning; since on it depends conversion of heart. We compare the lump of gold with the purified third definition; it exhausts it completely! Should this part 'contricioun' be the pith of the Tale? I think so. But to avoid saying the same thing twice, I reserve further reasons till I try to reconstruct the *Parson's Tale* in its original form. I only remark here that *this* Tale has also the advantage of being short enough to correspond with the host's request (Pers. Prol., v. 72 and 73); while the *Parson's Tale* in its present form is of an enormous length.

Not the whole of Part IV. 1, however, appears to me to be genuine: besides the definition I must also challenge the last subdivision:

IV. 1, *d*. WHEROF AVAILETH CONTRICIOUN?

"The laste thing that a man schuld understonde in contricioun is this, wherof availith contricioun? I say, that som tyme contricioun delivereth man fro synne; of which that David saith, I say, quod David, that is to saye, I purposid fermely to schryve me, and thou, Lord, relesedist my synne. And right so as contricioun availith nat withoute sad purpos of schrift if man have oportunité, right so litil worth is schrifte or satisfaccioun withoute contricioun¹. And, moreover, contricioun destruyeth the prisoun of helle, and makith wayk and feble the strengthes of the develes, and restorith the yift of the holy gost, and of alle vertues, and it clensth the soule of synnes, and delivereth the soule fro the peynes of helle, and fro the compagne of the devel, and fro the servage of synne, and restorith it to alle goodes espritueles, into the compagne and communioun of holy chirche. And fortherover, it makith him that somtyme was sone of ire, to be the sone of grace; and alle these thinges he provith by holy writte. And therefore he that wil sette his herte to these thinges, he were ful wys. For sothe he scholde not thanne in al his lyf have corrage to synne, but yiven his body and al his herte to the service of Jhesu Crist, and therof do him homage. For certis oure swete Lord Jhesu Crist hath sparid us so debonerly in oure folyes, that if he ne hadde pité of mannes soule, sory songe mighte we alle synge."—p. 284, l. 30, to p. 285, l. 25.

The words 'som tyme' (p. 284, l. 32) for one thing, mince the originally correct idea; the passage (Psalm 32, 5) is not applicable here, for it speaks of confession of sin, and consequently belongs to IV. 2, 'confessioun,' not to IV. 1, *d*. The sentence 'And right so' (p. 285, l. 2—5) is hardly possible, because the first part of it has not yet been mentioned, much less proved, these things being only treated of in IV. 2 and 3. The interpolator has evidently lost his way, owing to the wrongly applied Bible-passage. Secondly we have (ll. 6—14) twice nearly the

¹ Tyrwhitt: . . . "I say that contrition som time delivereth man fro sinne: of which David saith; I say (quod David), I purposid fermely to shrive me, and thou Lord relesedest my sinne. And right so as contrition availith not without sad purpos of schrift and satisfaction, right so litel worth is shrift or satisfaction withouten contrition."

same fourfold fruit of contrition: Deliverance from hell, devil, and sin, re-entering into the state of grace; and in ll. 14 and 15 the latter is even mentioned for the third time; '*he provith*' (l. 16) would, quite perversely, refer either to 'sone of grace,' or 'sone of ire,' or—'the devil' (but, perhaps, the original had '*be proved*,' and it is merely a mistake in copying); finally, the last sentence (ll. 21—25) is again quite illogical. The accumulation of "I say, . . . David saith, I say, quod David, that is to saye" (p. 284, l. 31 ff.), shows plainly what a hard piece of work this was for the interpolator. In Tyrwhitt's text the passage is a little more tolerable, but we know that Tyrwhitt improved the text in many instances; and even with his alteration we cannot believe Chaucer to have written it.

The gap made by rejecting this part (IV. 1, *d*) will be filled up with the section at the end of the Tale, in which 'the fruyt of penitence' is expounded.

Now follows a new chapter with the heading: "Explicit prima pars Penitentiae; et incipit secunda pars ejusdem," with which, 77 pages further on, corresponds a similar one: "De tertia parte Penitentiae¹."

IV. 2. CONFESSION.

"The secounde partye of penitence is confessioun, that is, signe of contricioun. Now schul ye understonde what is confessioun; and whethir it oughte needes be doon or noon; and whiche thinges ben convenable to verray confessioun. First schalt thou understonde, that confessioun is verrey schewyng of synnes to the prest; this is to sayn verray, for he moot schewe him of alle the condiciouns that ben longynge to his synne, as ferforth as he can; al mot be sayd, and nought excused, ne hyd, ne forwrappid; and nought avaunte him of his goode werkis. And forthermore it is necessary to understonde, whens that synnes springe, and how thay encreesen, and whiche thay ben."—p. 286, l. 3—17.

From here, then, the arrangement followed till now is given up, and is replaced by that of Part IV. ("Contricioun,

¹ In Tyrwhitt they are somewhat different.

confessioun, satisfaccioun"). This results not only from the superscription—that would be of little importance, since any copyist could insert it—but from the dimensions, the contents and the handling of the parts "confessioun and satisfaccioun."

IV. 2, *a*. WHAT IS CONFESSIOUN?

In the "secounde" part of penitence (confessioun) three questions are to be considered: *a*. "What is confessioun"? *b*. "Whethir it oughte needes be doon or noon." *c*. "Whiche thinges ben convenable to verray confessioun." The first is answered exactly in the spirit which caused the interpolation of 'schrifte and satisfaccioun' in I. (p. 264, l. 24—32), and the repetition of them in IV. 1 (p. 268, l. 12—16), where they had nothing to do. The answer to the second (IV. 2, *b*: "Whethir, etc.") is nowhere to be found; the third (IV. 2, *c*: "Whiche thinges, etc.") is discussed 71 pages later!

The style is in perfect harmony with this conscientious and classically clear exposition. With truly sovereign contempt the manufacturer of this passage defies all grammatical and stylistic rules, by awkward turns, arbitrary change of the agents *ye, thou, he*, of the active and passive voice, and of the abstract and concrete way of speaking. I'll not urge the circumstance, that the coarse energy with which an extensive and submissive confession of sins is demanded, does not at all agree with the mild character of the Parson (General Prol., v. 516: "He was to senful man nought dispitous"); I only ask: Did Chaucer ever write thus?

TRACT ON SIN.

We get a notion, what has become of the answer to IV. 2, *b* ("Whethir it oughte needes be doon or noon"), and why the question, IV. 2, *c* ("Whiche thinges ben convenable to verray confessioun"), is discussed so very late, when we find that from the words "And forthermore"

(p. 268, l. 14), seven pages are taken up by a detailed explanation of the origin of sin, and the difference between venial and deadly sins; and that, after this, 61 pages are filled with a tract on the seven deadly sins. In a wholesale business, little bits of goods are easily misplaced and lost. The new subject does not begin with a new break, probably to cover the forgery the more effectively; and for the same reason, most likely, the real beginning of the tract was left out. It almost seems as if, for the purpose of interpolating the *Parson's Tale*, an old stored-up Sermon on Penitence was used, and that the Treatise on Sin was afterwards inserted to make the whole more complete.

The origin of sin is shown in the fall of Adam; then an explanation is given of sinful desires in general; after this, there is a proposal to treat of each single lust. Only carnal desire, however, is explained, as the first; that's all. Then the author shows how sin increases. In doing so, he, by mistake, mentions the devil as the *second* cause of the growing of sin (p. 289, l. 30), though only two pages before he had been No. 1 (p. 287, l. 20—21: "Here may ye see, that dedly synne hath *first* suggestioun of the feend"). But this unmerited slight is repaired by allowing Beelzebub to enter twice: first, armed with a pair of bellows, then with a sword.

After a monstrously long passage, in which 14 successive sentences begin with 'eek whan,' or 'eek if' (p. 292), the venial sins are detailed; then the interpolator goes on:

"Now schal men understonde, that al be it so that noon erthely man may eschiewe alle venial synnes, yit may he refreyne hem by the brennyng love that he hath to oure Lord Jhesu Crist, *and by prayeres, and by confessioun, and other goode werkes, so that it schal but litil greve.* For, as saith seint Austyn, yif a man love God in such a maner that al that ever he doth is in the love of God, or for the love of God verraily, *for* he brenneth in the love of God, loke how moche that a drope of watir, that fallith in a furneys ful of fuyr, annoyeth or greveth the brenninge of the fyre, so moche in like manere annoyeth or greveth a venial synne unto a man that is perfyt in the love of Jhesu

Christ. *Men may also refreyne venial synne, by the reseeyving of the precious body of Jhesu Crist; by receyving eek of holy water; by almes dede; by general confessioun of Confiteor at masse, and at pryme, and at complyn; and by blessing of bisschops and of prestes, and by other goode werkis.*"—p. 293, l. 11—30.

Read this passage again, leaving out the words in italics, and placing a full stop before 'loke' (l. 21). We then have a great and truly scriptural idea of one cast, with a striking figure, in language good enough for any pulpit orator. How lame is the twofold mention of 'goode werkes' compared with it! A person full of burning love to Jesus Christ will practise prayer and good works as a matter of course; consequently it is not necessary to mention them. And what good works are enjoined? Prayers, confession, partaking of the Lord's supper, sprinkling with holy water, almsgiving, general confession at mass, at morning and evening prayers, blessing of bishops and priests—all of them ritual observances, among which alms, perhaps, are only mentioned, because monks and friars received them also. Last of all, 'other goode werkis' make their appearance, as it were, like an insignificant appendix. By the first passage in italics, statement and argument are needlessly torn asunder, for the same points recur afterwards in detail. Why, then, was it inserted? Obviously to prepare the way for the second, because otherwise the interpolation would have been easily found out. I only quoted the whole passage to show how the mania to correct did not even spare the Tract on Sin¹, because it did not seem ecclesiastical enough.

Now follows the tract on the Seven Deadly Sins. In the introduction of it occurs the following sentence:

... "The roote of these seven synnes thanne is pride, the general synne and roote of alle harmes. For of this roote springen general branches: as ire, enyve, accidie or

¹ "a translation or rather adaptation of some chapters of a work, entitled, 'Li libres roiaux de vices et de vertus' by Frère Lorens."—Tyrwhitt (M., I. 251).

sleuthe, avarice or covetise (to commune understondyng), glotonye, and leccherie : and everich of these synnes hath his braunches and his twigges, as schal be declarid in here chapitres folwinge."—p. 294, l. 3—10.

Are we to suppose that Chaucer was inconsistent enough to denounce here pride as the root of all sins, in opposition to 1 *Tim.* 6, 10, and afterwards (p. 330, l. 10) to quote this very passage of the New Testament? And should not so thorough a judge of the human heart and of all its weaknesses have known that pride is more likely to keep men from sloth, avarice, gluttony, and unchastity, than to produce them?

But if the Tract on Sin was by Chaucer, he would have committed still another inconsistency. The expression 'chapitres' in the introduction (p. 294, l. 10) and p. 308, l. 13, as well as the corresponding one, 'this litel tretys,' at the end of the tract (p. 354, l. 32), prove that the author conceived the whole Treatise on Sin as something written and not delivered by word of mouth

Without any further consideration, however, these expressions cannot be used as proofs of spuriousness, since other passages of the *Canterbury Tales* seem to offer analogies to them. One of these is in the Prologue to *Melibee*, the other in the *Life of St Cecile*.

This makes a little digression necessary. The passage in the Prol. to *Melibee* runs thus :

- v. 37. . . . "though that I telle som what more
Of proverbes, than ye have herd bifore
Comprehended in this litel tretys here,
40. To enforcen with theeffect of my matiere,
And though I not the same wordes say
As ye have herd, yit to yow alle I pray,
Blameth me nought ; for, in my sentence,
Schul ye no wher fynde difference
45. Fro the sentence of this tretys lite,
After the which this litil tale I write."

If we suppose that Chaucer represents himself *with the then well-known Livre de Melibee et de dame Prudence, or a compilation from it, in his hand, and pointing to it;* declaring that he is going to relate exactly according to the

contents, if not in the very words of the "tretys," the story which some of his hearers, perhaps, had heard before (v. 23 and 24: "Al be it told som tyme in sondry wise of sondry folk"), the seeming contradiction of 'tretys' is done away with. As to 'write' I believe it to be an interpolation, and that the original reading was:

v. 45. "Fro the sentence of this tretys *smale*,
After the which *I telle this litel tale*."

It is very likely that the copyist, either because his hand itched to correct the poet, or, more probably, because he had, by mistake, written the synonyme 'lite,' instead of 'smale,' altered the following line to avoid an erasure.

Of course, this is again a mere conjecture; but it does not affect the sense of the verses, it removes the tasteless threefold repetition of the adjective 'litel,' it re-establishes the disturbed harmony with the beginning of the Prologue in which Chaucer is *speaking*, and it dissolves the glaring contradiction to the verses immediately following:

v. 47. "And therfor *herkeneth* what I schal *saye*,
And let me *tellen* al my *tale*, I praye."

The expressions 'reden' and 'write' in the Legend of St Cecile¹ are pointed out by Tyrwhitt and *Ten-Brink*² to prove that the *Legend* was originally composed as something written. Since two such competent judges authorize my opinion, I need not add another word. Still, I'll do so. There are two real analogies: the very words 'chapitre' and 'tretys'—the latter as object to 'reden'; but they are in that part of the *Parson's Tale* following the tract on Sin (p. 355, l. 3) and in the Retraction!

If³, therefore, my conjecture concerning the Prologue to Melibee be admitted, we have to choose, whether we are

¹ "Yet pray I you that reden that I write."—Morris, III. p. 30; v. 78.

² M., I. 240; *Ten-Brink*, Chaucerstudien, 130.

³ "Your *If* is the only peace-maker; much virtue in *If*" (*As you like it*, V. iv. 108). I can't conceive any English Chaucerian admitting Mr Simon's conjectural emendation, except as one that Chaucer might have made if his attention had been called to the inconsistency of his lines as they stand.—F.

to suppose that the *Parson's Tale* was, like the *Legend*, written before, or not originally for, the *Canterbury Tales*; or that Chaucer, by a slip of the pen, twice made use of these expressions; or that the Tract on Sin, and what immediately follows it, are not by Chaucer. Nobody has as yet ventured to declare himself for the first possibility; the second I oppose in spite of the *Merchant's Tale*, v. 441—3¹, for I believe with Mr Furnivall, "that Chaucer was not such a muddler or goose as the scribes, editors, and critics have made him for five hundred years." Thus we have only the third possibility left, which, I hope, I have made plausible already, and which will become more probable still as we advance.

For brevity's sake I'll not examine critically each separate Deadly Sin and its "*Remedium*," though it would be easy to expose, on almost every one of the 61 pages, inconsistencies, digressions, poorness of thought, clumsiness of style, and peculiarities of language that seem to point to another author than Chaucer². One single instance will show how the compiler of the tract on this popular and much-treated theme is mastered by his subject, instead of mastering it. After having discussed, on five consecutive pages in the chapter, "De Ira," the different kinds of this sin, he begins to speak of cursing and swearing (2 pp.), then of witchcraft and soothsaying (24 ll.), then of lying, and at last of flattery!

¹ The wif of Bathe, if ye han understonde,
Of mariage, which ye han now in honde,
Declared hath ful wel in litel space;
Fareth now wel, God have yow in his grace.

² The following words I've not found in any other works of Chaucer: bynymen (p. 288, l. 6; 310, 31 and 33; 311, 20; 323, 25 and 30), evencristen (294, 30; 314, 29; 316, 15; 337, 16 and 23), anslet and slop (297, 14), eschawfen (308, 26; 309, 24; 350, 6), hokerly (313, 16), wrawe and wrawness (323, 23 and 33), forslowthen and forsluggen (324, 20), thurrok (291, 13), ayeinstonde (329, 18), mawmet (= idol, probably a corruption of Mahomet, 331, 7; 343, 26), contubernially (332, 12); underling (332, 25; 333, 31), malisoun (338, 28), holour (318, 4; 343, 14), bygripe (343, 32), putour and putrie (346, 15, 16, 19), houselen (362, 23), &c.

“ Let us now touche the vice of flaterie, which cometh not gladly, but for drede, or for coveitise. Flaterie is generally wrongful preysing. Flaterers ben the develes norices, that norisshen his childrén with mylk of losingerie. For sothe Salamon saith, that flaterie is worse than detraccioun; for som tyme detraccioun makith a hawteyn man be the more humble, for he dredith detraccioun, but certes flaterie makith an man to enhaunsen his hert and his countenance. Flaterers ben the develes enchauntours, for thay make man to wene of himself that he is like to that he is nought like. Thay ben like Judas, that bitraised God; and thise flaterers bitrayen a man to selle him to his enemy, that is the devel. Flaterers ben the develes chapelains, that singen ay ‘*Placebo*.’ I rekene flaterie in the vices of ire; for ofte tyme if oon man be wroth with another, thanne wol he flatere som man to mayntene him in his querel.”—p. 316, l. 26 to p. 317, l. 1—10.

That flattery is counted among the kinds of ire is astonishing enough, but the reason given for it is downright dumbfounding! At the end of the chapter “*De Ira*” (!) seven more sins of the tongue are discussed, among which are “*idele wordes, jangling and japery*”! And that nobody may fancy the author himself had made a bad joke, he says in conclusion (p. 321, ll. 4 and 5): “*These are the sinnes that cometh of ire, and of other sinnes many mo.*”—This may be enough!

The Deadly Sins are: Pride, envy, ire, sloth, avarice, gluttony, lechery. The end of the whole Tract on Sin runs thus:

“ Now after that I have declared yow the seven dedly synnes as I can, and some of here braunches, and here remedyes, sothely, if I couthe, I wolde telle yow the ten commaundements; but so heigh a doctrine I leve to divines. But natheles, I hope to God thay ben touchid in this litel tretys everich of hem alle.”—p. 354, ll. 27—32.

We don't see how the Parson, who was “*a lerned man, a clerk*” (Gen. Prol., v. 480), can mention the divines in opposition to himself¹. Coming from an ignorant monk

¹ Tyrwhitt long ago saw this inconsistency, but tried to explain it by supposing that Chaucer forgot that he himself was not the Parson. Great indeed is my admiration for the sagacity and learn-

who, with great difficulty, had just done patching up a poor treatise on sin, these words would be more in character; nor would it be very unnatural if such a one declared that nothing but the difficulty of the subject had prevented his adding to this tract of 68 pages, another, perhaps just as long, on the 10 commandments. But what are we to think of the Parson's making this remark, after having just interrupted his sermon on penitence by a digression beyond all measure?

With the following words the author—at last! returns to his subject according to the scheme in IV., but only to put it aside again directly.

“Now for as moche as the secounde part of penitence stant in confessioun of mouth, as I bigan in the firste chapitre.” . .—p. 355, 1.

By the ‘firste chapitre’ only that beginning “The secounde partye of penitence is confession” (286) can be meant, since no other contains that idea. This “firste chapitre,” however, is headed: “*Explicit prima pars penitentiae; et incipit secunda pars ejusdem.*” How, then, can the author refer to it with the words, “as I bigan in the firste chapitre,” after having put down the preceding 22 pages (p. 263—285) as *prima pars*? Are there two first parts? Yes! Is the second the first? To be sure! Is it possible to begin the second part of a sermon with the first part? Of course!! All this, and much more, is possible, if we insert a whole Tract (on Sin) into this second part, and then forget that the first chapter of this Tract cannot now be the first of the whole performance too¹.

I distinguish, then, three different pieces of writing in the *Parson's Tale*: 1. Chaucer's “*De Penitentia*,” 2. an orthodox Sermon on Penitence which served to adulterate the former, 3. the Tract on Sin which was inserted to

ing of this eminent scholar, but I don't think that his solution at the expense of the poet is peculiarly happy.

¹ The Tract on Sin being alone divided in “chapitres” pointedly suggests this assumption.

make the whole more complete. This at once explains the pompous headings: "Explicit prima pars," and "De tertia parte Penitentiae," and those of the deadly Seven, the quotations from the *Vulgata* and similar things in the Tract on Sin (while the *prima pars* in Morris has only *Jer.* vi. 16, and in Tyrwhitt no Latin at all); the want of a break at the beginning of the Tract on Sin (this trick was probably intended to cover the transition to a new subject); the possibility of so long a digression in which the original subject is only just mentioned by the way¹; the conspicuousness of the seams, i. e. the peculiar confusion where the contrasting patches meet; Tyrwhitt's remark (*M.*, I, 251) that the *Parson's Tale* was "a translation, or rather adaptation of a work, entitled *Li livres roiaux de vices et de vertus*, by Frère Lorens"; finally the difference in grammar and phraseology, to show which the space at my command is too limited.

But to proceed with the Tale!

Instead of taking advantage of the opportunity afforded here by the return to IV. 2, to bring in, at last, the wanting answer to the question "Whethir it (confession) oughte needes be don or noon" (IV. 2, *b*), the definition of sin, and an enumeration of the kinds of it, are given for the second time, and two pages are filled with an explanation of the circumstances that ought to be noticed in confessing the sins against the seventh Commandment. These sins have already been treated of with disgusting prolixity in the fourteen pages of the chapters "*De Luxuria*" and "*Remedium contra Luxuriam*." Had the author imperceptibly returned to his favourite theme? No; for the Tract does not mention auricular confession; and this is a

¹ In the passage quoted above to show the corrupt form of the interpolations (p. 293, l. 11—30), Confession is mentioned as a means to avoid venial sins. It is doubtful whether confession (l. 15) means *auricular* confession; l. 28 it is the "*general* confessioun of Confiteor at masse," but in all the other (spurious) parts of the *Parson's Tale* auricular confession is spoken of.

piece of an instruction to confess. Whence, then, comes this rag of different colour? I can find but one explanation; it is a mere conjecture, and I give it as such. This new interlude fills exactly a leaf. Did the interpolator, when arranging the leaves of the Tract for insertion, by mistake catch hold of a leaf of some Instruction to confess which thus got into the place of IV. 2, *b*? Without this supposition, I am at a loss to account for the appearance of this heterogeneous shred instead of IV. 2, *b*; *with* it, my opinion that another already extant orthodox sermon on Penitence was used to interpolate Chaucer's "*De Penitentia*" appears to be confirmed. For it is not likely that the author of the orthodox work should have committed such a blunder in composing it, and still less probable that Chaucer himself should have done so. I'm aware that the absence of the answer to the question: "Whethir it (confession) oughte needes be don or noon," seems to argue against a falsification of the Tale. *Seems!* For I don't say that it was left out intentionally; and an accidental omission was the more possible, considering the large amount of material used, and the fact that in the other parts, IV. 2, *a* and *c*, the necessity of confession is repeatedly urged. This occasional injunction, however, does not get rid of the question which was to form a separate Part IV. 2, *b*; on the contrary, it is, and remains, passed over.

IV. 2, *c*. WHICHE THINGES BEN CONVENABLE TO VERRAY
CONFESSION?

"Thanne schal men loke it and considre, that if he wol make a trewe and a profitable confessioun, ther moste be foure condicions."—p. 362, l. 24.

It will be well to remember that there are *four conditions* to a true confession. The first of them is

a. *Bitternesse of herte.*

This has again five "signes": shamefastness (p. 357, ll. 26 and 27), humility (358, 5 f.), tears (358, 27 f.), publicity (358, 33—359, 5), obedience "to resceyve the penance" (359, 5 ff.).

In the second "signe," humility, occurs the following passage:

... "thanne schulde nought the confessour sitte as lowe as the synnere, but the synnere schulde knele biforn him, or at his feet," . . .—p. 358, l. 17—20.

How does this agree with the General Prologue

v. 516. "He was to sinful man nought dispitous"

and

v. 525. "He waytud after no pompe ne reverence"?

β. *Haste.*

"The other condicioun of verray confessioun is that it hastily be doon; . . .

... "Haste has four 'things': (1.) First thy schrifte moste ben purveyed byforn, and avysed, for wikked haste doth no profyt; and that a man can schryve him of his synnes, be it of pride or of envye, and so forth alle the spices and the circumstaunces; (2.) and that he have comprehendid in his mynde the nombre and the gretnes of his synne, and how longe that he hath leyn in synne; (3.) and eek that he be contrit of his sinnes, and in stedefast purpos (by the grace of God) never eft to falle in synne; (4.) and eek that he drede and countrewayte himself, and that he flee the occasiouns of synne, to whiche he is enclyned. (5.) Also that thou schalt schrive the of alle thin synnes to oon man, and nat a parcel to oon man, and a parcel to another¹ man; that is understonde, in entent to parte thy confessioun as for schame or drede for it nys but strangelyng of thy soule. For certes, Jhesu Crist is enterely al good, in him is noon imperfeccioun, and therefore outhur he foryiveth al parfityly, or elles never a del. I say nought, if thou be assigned to thy penitencere for certein synne, that thou art bounde to schewe him al the remenaunt of thy synnes, of whiche thou hast ben schryven of thy curate, but-if it like the of thin humilité; this is no departyng of schrifte. Ne I ne say not, there as I speke of divisoun of confessioun, that if thou have licence to schryve

¹ Tyrwhitt: "and not parcelmele to o man, and parcelmele to another."

the to a discret and to an honest prest, wher the likith, and eek by the licence of thy curate, that thou ne maist wel schrive the to him of alle thyn synnes; but let no synne be behinde untold as fer as thou hast remembraunce. And whan thou schalt the schrive to thi curate, telle him eeke al thy synne that thou hast doo sith thou were last i-schryve. This is no yikkid entent of divisioun of schrifte."—p. 359, l. 10, to p. 360, l. 1—32.

After having removed the mistakes that may be ascribed to the copyist, and rendered the construction supportable, we have the fundamental idea: 'True confession must be done in time, but not in a hurry and inconsiderately; with a repenting heart, a firm purpose henceforth to avoid sin, and before one priest, unless a dispensation be obtained to confess to several.' But how awkwardly and confusedly is it expressed! The momentary idea, suggested by the hint at reforming, that what was concluded above from the neglect of this point might yet be erroneous, must be dismissed immediately. How in the world could the Parson have treated the most important points (repentance and reforming) so superficially, if he intended to mention them here at all; how could he have thrown them into one heap with such an unseemly long discussion of a purely outward and, as it were, technical question ('division of schrifte')? How could the fact that "Crist is enterely al good, . . . and therefore outhur foryiveth al parfityly, or elles never a del" be made the reason why all must be confessed to one priest? If we notice, besides, that instead of four "things" there are at least five, that here again the author suddenly leaves the abstract way of speaking, and unjustifiably starts from the second to the third person, and from the third to the second again, we may well say that the mere flash of a thought that Chaucer could have written in this manner, would be high treason against genius.

γ.

"Also thy verrey schrifte askith certeyn condiciouns. First, that thou schrive the by thy fre wille, nought con-

streyned, ne for schame of folk, ne for maladye, or such thing; for it is resoun, that he that trespassith with his fre wille, that by his fre wille he confesse his trespas; and that noon other man schal telle his synne but himself; ne he schal wol naye it or denye his synne, ne wraththe him with the prest for his amonestynge to lete synne. The secounde condicioun is, that thy schrifte be laweful, that is to sayn, that thou that schrivest the, and eek the prest that herith thy confessioun, ben verrayly in the feith of holy chirche, and that a man be nought despaired of the mercy of Jhesu Crist, as Caym or Judas."—p. 360, l. 33, to p. 361, l. 1—13.

We are not told what "condicioun" this is. It ought to be the third; but the author being puzzled by the great number of artificial divisions and subdivisions, now calls "condicioun" what, corresponding with α and β , should be called "signe" or "thing," and merrily begins to count from one again, as if such a category had never been mentioned before. Here also he jumps, without any reason, from the second person into the definite third, then into the second again, and at last into the indefinite third. Finally, the admonitions not to be angry with the priest (l. 17), and not to despair of mercy (ll. 13 and 14) are quite heterogeneous to what precedes and follows them.

The rest of the part contains a very prolix and awkward caution against unnecessarily exposing others by one's own confession.

δ.

In this part also the number of the "condicioun" in question is forgotten. It begins with an admonition not to confess sins that one has not committed (the confessor does not wish to be made a fool of!), not to confess by letter, nor to excuse anything. It then runs on:

. . . "thou moste telle it platly, be it never so foul ne so horrible. Thou schalt eek schrive the to a prest that is discrete to counsaile the; and thou schalt nought schryve the for veinneglorie, ne for ypocrisie, ne for no cause but only for the doute of Jhesu Crist and the hele of thy soule. Thou schalt not eek¹ renne to the prest sodeinly, to telle

¹ Why not "neither", which is very frequently used by Chaucer?

him lightly thy synne, as who tellith a tale or a jape, but avysily and with gret devocioun; and generally schrive the ofte;" . . . —p. 362, ll. 6—15.

There is no harm in confessing the same sin twice; confess at least once a year!

Again a mere disorderly stringing together of tediously culled and incoherent directions to confess, most of which have been given before. The wretched diction of this passage is in perfect harmony with its pitiful contents, and the whole is a true miniature likeness of the 77 pages-long so-called "second part," confessioun, which ends here.

IV. 3. SATISFACCIOUN.

The next part is headed "*De tertia parte Penitentiae.*" It begins (p. 362, l. 26):

"Now have I told of verray confessioun, that is the secounde partye of penitence. The thridde partye of penitence is satisfaccioun, and that stondith generally in almesdede and bodily peyne. Now ben ther thre maner of almesdede; contricioun of herte, where a man offereth himself to God; the secounde is, to have pité of the defeute of his neighebor; the thridde is, in yeving of good counseil and comfort, gostly and bodily, where men han neede, and namely in sustenaunce of mennes foode."—361, l. 1.

There can be no doubt that this is really the third subdivision of IV. (IV. 3, 'satisfaccioun'), but, true to the substitution of the scheme of IV. for that of the whole, it is called the third part. From the very outset of this part confusion reigns supreme. Not only do we find (p. 362, l. 31 f.) 'contricioun of herte' (IV. 1) here under 'satisfaccioun' (IV. 3), but the compass of our knowledge is also enlarged by two unexpected discoveries; for the assertion that contrition and compassion are two species of "almesdede" is, no doubt, as new as the other, that we can vouchsafe alms to God by offering ourselves to him.

But perhaps the copyist is responsible for this confusion, and not the author. Harl. 7334 does not say "thre maner" (p. 30), Morris has made up the deficiency from

another MS. If we read "thre *condiciouns*," part of the nonsense is done away with. This, however, by no means makes Part IV. 3 correct. Thus in

IV. 3, *a*. ALMESDEDE

the caution not to leave off giving alms, if it cannot be done in secret, is supported quite thoughtlessly by *Matth.* v. 14. If the passage really referred to almsgiving, it would, in opposition to *Matth.* iv. 3 and 4, strictly enjoin publicity; but it refers, together with the expression 'works,' to the propagation of the gospel and a Christian life in general, as we may infer, plainly enough, from the preceding "You are the light of the world." He who quoted the passage ought to have known that. But, of course, the interpolator was *not* well versed in the Bible, like the Parson.

IV. 3, *b*. BODILY PEYNE.

"Now as to speke of bodily peyne, it is in prayere, in wakinges, in fastynges, in vertuous teachinges."—p. 363, l. 28.

The beginning of this part, though extremely dry, is tolerable, except that prayer and a virtuous life cannot well be called a 'bodily peyne.' In the argument of the fourth point we find the usual confusion again:

"Thanne schal thou understonde, that bodily peyne stant in discipline, or teching, by word, or by writyng, or by ensample. Also in weryng of heires or of stamyn or of haberjeouns on her naked fleisch for Cristes sake, and suche maner penaunce; but ware the wel that such maner penaunce of thyn fleisch make nought thin herte bitter or angry, or anoyed of thiself; for better is to cast away thin hayre than for to caste away the swetnes of oure Lord Jhesu Crist. And therefore seith seint Poule, clothe-yow, as thay that ben chosen of God in herte, of misericorde, debonaireté, sufferaunce, and such maner of clothing, of the which Jhesu Crist is more appayed than of haire or of hauberkis.

"Than is discipline eek in knockyng on the brest in scourgyng with yerdes, in knelynges, in tribulaciouns, in

suffring paciently wronges that ben doon to him and eek in pacient sufferaunce of maledies, or lesyng of worldly catel, or of wif, or of child, or of othir frendes."—p. 365, l. 18—p. 366, l. 5.

'Discipline' is understood here to mean penance. Though in this signification it has nothing whatever to do with teaching, it is thrown together with it (l. 19), owing to its lingual affinity with *discere*, *discipulus*, etc. The result is a succession of ideas quite incompatible with logical thinking. The passage *Coloss.* iii. 12, too, does not at all speak of penance; it cannot, therefore, prove what it is quoted for.

V. WHICHE THINGES DESTOURBEN PENITENCE.

"Thanne schalt thou understonde whiche thinges destourben penaunce, and this is in foure thinges; that is drede, schame, hope, and wanhope, that is, desperacioun."—p. 366, l. 6—9.

1. *Drede.*

"And for to speke first of drede, for which he weneth that he may suffre no penaunce, ther agayns is remedye for to thinke that bodily penaunce is but schort and litel at the regard of the peyne of helle, that is so cruel and so long, that it lastith withouten ende."—p. 366, l. 9—14.

This is the beginning of the last part according to the scheme given on p. 264, ll. 11—17. Penitence, as we have seen in the third definition (p. 264, ll. 24—32), comprises repentance, schrift, satisfaction (i. e. penance), and reforming; here, however, it is confounded, as often before, with penance (= punishment), and ll. 7, 10 and 11 this term is used accordingly. With this confusion of ideas correspond "whiche thinges destourben penaunce, and *this is* in foure thinges" (p. 366, l. 6 f.), and the repeatedly employed 'he' (ll. 9 and 10) which comes like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, as nobody has been mentioned to whom it could refer.

2. *Schame.*

“Now agains the schame that a man hath to schryve him,—and namely these ypocrites, that wolde be holde so parfyt that thay have no neede to schryve hem,—agains that schame schulde a man thinke, that by way of resoun he that hath not ben aschamed to do foule thinges, certis him oughte not be aschamed to doon faire thinges and goode thinges, and that is confessioun. A man scholde eek thinke, that ‘God seeth and knoweth alle thy thoughtes and thy werkes; to him may no thing be hyd ne covered.’ Men schulde eek remembre hem of the schame that is to come at the day of doom, to hem that ben nought penitent and schriuen in this present lif; for alle the creatures in heven, and in erthe, and in helle, schuln seen apertly al that they hydith in this world.”—p. 366, l. 15—30.

In V. we were to learn “whiche thinges destourben penaunce,” and Shame is numbered as the second of them. Having just witnessed (in V. 1, Drede) that the author took ‘penaunce’ in the sense of punishment, we are at a loss to conceive how he can mention Shame here as a hindrance to shrift only; since it most certainly also deters men from suffering punishment, which in many cases would be more exposed to the eyes of the world than auricular confession, and excite more mockery too.

Here the incongruence of ‘thinges’ and ‘confessioun’ (21) may be removed by reading ‘swich’ instead of ‘that.’

After *c. hope* and *d. wanhope* have been treated of, the *Persones Tale* ends with a short meditation on the fruit of penitence.

“Thanne schal men with his precious blode. Amen.”—p. 368, l. 6—26.

I’ve already remarked that I consider this part the genuine finale of Chaucer’s *Persones Tale*. Here are my reasons:

Nobody, I suppose, will deny that it is a genuine part, for it is certainly one of the best: short, pithy, full of conviction and enthusiasm, without any inconsistencies in itself or with the Parson’s character, and, with the exception

of some trifles, faultless. These trifles are: 'penaunce' for 'penitence' (l. 7), four superfluous 'as' (11, 12, 13, 15), 'of' for 'and' (20). After having set down to the charge of the copyist so many, and more important things in the spurious parts, we may also be allowed to put these trifles to his account in favour of a genuine one. Secondly, I hope I have proved the impossibility of Part IV. 1, *d* being genuine; and there is no other piece, save this one, that could take its place. Thirdly, the present ending is neither foreseen in the original scheme (p. 264, l. 11—17) nor in that of IV. (p. 266, ll. 20 and 21), since neither of them says a word about fruit of penitence; on the other hand, it is very proper as IV. 1, *d*; for it makes little difference, whether it is introduced by "Wherof availith contricioun," or, as it is here, by: "What is the fruyt of penitence"—penitence and contrition having been equalized in IV. 1 by "penitence *or* contricioun." Finally, the motive to displace the genuine IV. 1, *d* is not wanting: The genuine introduction of the Tale had been preserved, and it was now provided with a genuine end part also, in order the more easily to cover the falsification.

The so-called "Retractation" does not belong to the *Persones Tale*, but, according to Tyrwhitt,¹ is to be found in all complete MSS. In Morris it is headed "Preces de Chauceres," and in Askew MS. I. it begins: "Here taketh the maker his leve," and ends: "Here endeth the Persones Tale" (!); in Caxton's second edition it is separated from the Tale, and superscribed "The Prayer"; in other MSS. it is also separated, but without a heading. It is so well known, that I need not copy it. The name of Retractation was given it by Urry.

Tyrwhitt says (p. 584):

"Mr Hearne, whose greatest weakness was not his incredulity, has declared his suspicion, 'that the Revocation . . . is not genuine, but that it was made by the Monks.'

¹ C. T., 583, Note 2.

App. to Rob. Gloster, p. 603. . . . I think, if the Monks had set about making a Revocation for Chaucer . . . , they would have made one more in form ;” but he immediately adds : “The same objection lies to the supposal, that it was made by himself.”

He continues :

“The most probable hypothesis which has occurred to me for the solution of these difficulties, is to suppose that the beginning of this passage, except the words ‘or reden it’ in p. 582, l. 28, and the end, make the genuine conclusion of the *Persones Tale*, and that the middle part . . . is an interpolation. . . . The doubt expressed in l. 30, ‘if there be anything that displeaseth,’ is very agreeable to the manner in which the *Persones* speaks in his Prologue, ver. 17366. The mention of ‘verray penance, confession and satisfaction’ in p. 583, l. 12, seems to refer pointedly to the subject of the speaker’s preceding discourse, and the title given to Christ in p. 583, l. 15, ‘Preste of all Prestes’ seems peculiarly proper in the mouth of a priest. . . . With respect to the middle part, I think it not improbable that Chaucer might be persuaded by the Religious who attended him in his last illness, to revoke, or retract, certain of his works ; or at least that they might give out, that he had made such Retractations as they thought proper . . . , and that the same zeal might think it expedient to join the substance of these Retractations to the C. T., the antidote to the poison.” Further proofs adduced by him for the correctness of his hypothesis are that in the enumeration of his works the ‘Legende of Good Women’ is erroneously called ‘The Boke of the five and twenty Ladies,’ that the *Canterbury Tales* are only mentioned in a general manner, and that the ‘Roman de la Rose’ is omitted entirely.¹

I perfectly agree with his argument for supposing an interpolation ; I take it for granted, however, that Tyrwhitt supposed the *Canterbury Tales* to have been published piece by piece, for otherwise it would have been more reasonable to destroy the ‘poison’ than to add an antidote. The rest appears to me to stand on a weak foundation ; for his reasons for the spuriousness of a part of the Retractation will serve as well to prove the spuriousness of the

¹ In opposition to this he says (M., I. 251, § XLI.) : “The recital, which is made in one part of it of several compositions of Chaucer, could properly be made by nobody but himself.”

whole; and his belief that part of the Retraction is genuine is founded on the supposition that the whole *Persones Tale* is genuine—a supposition the improbability of which I venture to hope I have made evident, showing, at the same time, that exactly those parts in which “verray penaunce, confessioun and satisfaccioun” are demanded, bear very strong marks of spuriousness. In my opinion, then, these terms afford but a hint that he who adulterated the *Persones Tale* crowned his ignoble work by adding the Retraction.

For better survey of the whole question, I here give the skeleton of the *Persones Tale* in its present form. Those parts which I consider genuine are in black letter; the numbers in the margin refer to Morris's edition; my remarks are in brackets.

263

Introduction.

264

(Subject:) Penitence.

- I. What is penitence, and whens it is cleped penitence.
- II. And in what maner, and in how many maneres been the acciones or workynges of penaunce.
- III. And how many spices ben of penitences.
- IV. And whiche thinges apperteinen and byhoven to penitence.
- V. And whiche thinges destourben penitence.

Definition according to St. Ambrosius.

“ ” ” som Doctour.
 “ ” ” the Person (partly spurious).

(The answer to “whens it is cleped penitence” is wanting.¹)

¹ The answer may possibly have been: “Penitence is called so from *poena*, punishment, because we deserve punishment for our sins; but since Christ has suffered the punishment for us, God demands only contrition of us. Hence penitence now means contrition.” This would at once account for the singular expression “penitence OR contricioun” (p. 268, l. 7), as well as for the omission of this Wicliffite answer to the question “Whens it is cleped penitence.” (Compare Note, p. 249.)

265 II. **Ther ben thre acciouns of penitence.**

- (No argument.)
1. If a man be baptized after that he hath synned.
 2. Another defaute is this, that men doon deedly synne after that thay have receyved baptisme.
 3. The thridde defaute is, that men fallen into venial synne after here baptisme.

266 III. **The spices of penitence ben thre.**

1. Oon of them is solempne.
 - a. To be put out of holy chirche in lente.
 - b. Open penaunce for open synnes.
2. Comune penaunce.
3. Privé penaunce.

IV. **What bihoveth and is necessary to verray parfyt penitence:**

1. Contricioun of herte,
2. Confession of mouth,
3. Satisfaccioun.

(Comparison between penitence and a tree.)

268. 1. **In this penitence or contricioun men schal understonde foure¹ thinges.**

- a. What is contricioun. (= Parson's definition of penitence.)
- b. Whiche ben the causes that moeuen men to contricioun.
 - a. I man schal remembre him of his synnes.
- 269 (Quotation from Seneca.) β . Why so doth synne, is thral of synne.
- 270 γ . Drede of the day of doome and the horrible pynges of helle.
- 277 δ . The sorwful remembraunce of the good that he hath left to doon heer in eorthe, and eek the good that he hath lorn.
- 279 ("Frenshe song.") ϵ . The remembraunce of the passioun that oure Lord J. Chr. suffred for us and for oure synnes.

¹ Contrition being = penitence ("penitence or contricioun"), and the definition of penitence having been given before, the question "What is contricioun," or, at least, the answer to it, appears to be superfluous.

- 282 ζ. The hope of foryevenes of synne,
 (Reform of life.) the gifte of grace wel for to do,
 and the glorie of heben.
- 283 ("some doctours.") c. In what maner schal be his contri-
 cion.
- 284 d. Wherof availith contricioun. (In-
 stead of it: The fruct of pen-
 aunnt.)

"*Explicit prima pars penitentiae; et incipit secunda pars ejusdem.*"

286 **2. Confessioun.**

a. What is confessioun. (Illogical and un-
 grammatical definition.)

286 (New theme :
Tract on Sin;
 but no break.) . . . "And forthermore it is necessary to
 understonde, whens that synnes springe,
 and how thay encreesen, and whiche thay
 ben" (venial and dedly).

293 Whiche ben dedly synnes.
 (. . . "schal be declarid in here *chapi-
 tres* (!) folwinge.")

294 a. De Superbia. Remedium contra Superbiam.

303 β. De Invidia. " " Invidiam.

308 γ. De Ira. " " Iram.

323 δ. De Accidia. " " Accidiam.

330 ε. De Avaritia. " " Avaritiam.

338 ζ. De Gula. " " Gulam.

341—354 η. De Luxuria. " " Luxuriam.

(. . . "they ben touchid in this litel *tretys* (!)
 everich of hem alle.")

355 (Confused transition: "Now for as moche as the
seconde part of penitence stant in confessioun of mouth,
 as *I bigan in the first chapitre* . . .")

b. Whethir it oughte needes be doon or noon.

(This second part of Confession is wanting entiere-
 ly; instead of it: Rules for the confession of sins

355 against the seventh commandment—"Now it is good
 to understonden—parforme it."—p. 357.)

357 c. Whiche thinges ben convenable to verrey
 confessioun. ("four *condiciouns*.")

a. Bitternesse of herte. (With "fyve
 signes.")

aa. Schame.

358 bb. Humilité.

cc. Teeris.

dd. "That he lette nought for schame
 to schewen his confessioun."

- ee. "That a man or womman be obeis-
saunt to resceyve the penaunce, etc."
359 β. Haste. (With "fourre thinges.")
aa. "Thy schrifte moste ben purveyed
byforn, etc."
360 bb. "That he have comprehendid the
nombre and gretnes of hys synne."
cc. "That he be contrit of his synnes." (!)
dd. "That he drede and countrewayte
himself, etc."

(Appendix: Confess to one priest. 22 lines.)

- 360 γ. "Also thy verray schrifte askith certeyn
condiciouns." (!)
361 aa. fre wille.
bb. "that thy schrifte be laweful (2de
condicioun)."
δ. "Make no lesyng in thy confessioun."

(Other rules follow without order. Part IV. 2, Con-
fession, fills nearly 77 pages.)

- 362 "De tertia parte Penitentiae."

3. Satisfaccioun.

- a. Almesdede.
363 b. Bodily peyne.
a. Prayer.
β. Wakyng (3 lines and 1 word).
365 γ. Fastyng.
δ. ("Discipline, or *teching*" (!) 2½ lines.
teching without argument.)
aa. weryng of heires, or of stamin, or of
haberjeouns.
bb. knokkyng on the brest.
cc. scourgyng with yerdes.
dd. knelynges.
366 (mere enumeration.) ee. tribulaciouns.
ff. suffring paciently wronges.
gg. pacient sufferaunce of maledies.
hh. lesyng of wordly catel, or of wif, or
of child, or of othir frendes.

(The whole Part IV. fills more than 99 pages.)

V. Whiche thinges destourben penaunce.

1. Drede.
2. Schame.
3. Hope.

- 367 4. Wanhope.
 a. In the mercy of Crist.
 b. "that he schulde not longe persevere
 in goodnesse."

368 *The fruyt of penaunce.*

(This part, which is not mentioned in the scheme, I take to be the genuine IV. 1, *d.*)

RETRACTATION.

This skeleton, in spite of its ichthiosaurus-like aspect, enables us to see at a glance that it wanted very little skill to perpetrate the fraud. The interpolator took an orthodox sermon on penitence, inserted the scheme of it after Chaucer's introduction, made the Parson's definition of penitence orthodox, by adding 'schrifte' and 'satisfacioun'; employed the substance of the original Tale as Part IV. 1, "Contricioun." The part beginning "In this penitence or contricioun" being thus separated from the definition of penitence (p. 264, l. 24—33) by an interpolation of 2½ pages, he repeated here (in the wrong place) the Parson's definition of penitence with his own additions. In order to have a genuine conclusion, he placed the part "Fruyt of penitence" at the end of his Tale, and filled the gap as well as he could (IV. 1, *d.*); finally, to remove all doubt about Chaucer's conversion, he added the Retracting. The Tract on Sin (most likely a translation from *Li livres roiaux*) was afterwards inserted to make the whole more complete and exhaustive.

I now give what I consider the original Tale. The interpolations are in italics and between parentheses; the few alterations I propose are in large type and, when necessary, supported by notes.

The Persones Tale.

(*Jer. 6°. State super vias, et videte et interrogate de semitis antiquis quae sit via bona, et ambulate in ea, et in venietis refrigerium animabus vestris, etc.*)

Owre swete Lord God of heven, that no man (*wil*) perische, but (*wol*) that we comen alle to the knowleche of him, and to the blisful lif that is perdurable, ammonestith us by the prophet Jeremye, that saith in this wise: Stondeth upon the weyes, and seeth and axeth of olde pathes, that is to sayn, of old sentence, which is the goode way, and walketh in that weie, and ye schul fynde refreshyng for youre soules (*, etc.*). Many ben the weyes espiituels that leden folk to oure Lord Jhesu Crist, and to the regne of glorie; of whiche weyes, ther is a ful noble way, and ful covenable, which may not faile to man ne to womman, that thorough synne hath mysyon fro the righte way to Jerusalem celestial; and this wey is cleped penitence. Of which men schulden gladly herken and enquere with al here herte, to wyte what is penitence, and whens it is cleped penitence (*, and in what maner, and in how many maneres ben the acciones or workynges of penaunce, and how many spieces ben of penitences, and whiche thinges apperteynen and byhoven to penitence, and whiche thinges destourben penitence*).

Seint Ambrose saith, that penitence is the pleynnyng of man for the gult that he hath doon, and no more to do ony thing for which him oughte to pleyne. And som doctour saith, penitence is the waymentyng of man that sorweth for his synne, and peyneth himself for he hath mysdoon. Penitence (*, with certeyn circumstaunces,*) is verray repentaunce of man, that holt himself in sorwe and in woo for his giltes; (*and for he schal be verray penitent, he schal first bywaile the synnes that he hath do*) and stedfastly purposeth in his hert (*to haven schrifte of mouth, and to doon satisfaccioun, and*) never to do thing for which him oughte more (*to bywaile or*) to complayne, and to continue in goode werkes, or elles his repentaunce may nought avayle. (*For, as saith seint Isidre, he is a japere and a gabberre, and no verray repentaunt, that eftsoone doth thing for which him oughte to repent. Wepynge, and nought for to stynte to doon synne, may nought avayle. But natheles, men schal hope that at every tyme that man fallith, be it never so ofte, that he may arise thorough penitence, if he have grace; but certeyn it is a gret doute. For as saith seint Gregory, unnethe arist he out of his synne that is charged with the charge of yvel usage.*) And therefore repentaunt folke that stinte for to synne, and forlete synne er that synne forlete hem¹ holy chirche holt hem siker of her savacioun. And he that synneth, and verrailly repentith him in his last ende, holy chirche yit hopeth his savacioun, by the grete

¹ Doctour's T., v. 286.

mercy of oure Lord Jhesu Crist, for his repentaunce; but take ye the siker way.—p. 263, l. 16, to p. 265, l. 17.

(*And now sith . . . to p. 268, l. 6: Salomon*¹).

In this penitence or contricioun men schal understonde **thre**² thinges, that is to sayn, (*what is contricioun, and*) whiche ben the causes that moeven men to contricioun, and how he schulde be contrit, and what contricioun availeth to the soule. (*Thanne is it thus, that . . . to p. 268, l. 25, helle.*)

The causes that oughten to moeve a man to contricioun ben vj. First a man schal remembre him of his synnes; but loke that thilke remembraunce be to no delyt of him by no way, but gret schame and sorwe for his gilt. For Job saith that synful men doon werkes worthy of **contricioun**³.

And therfor saith Ezechiel, I wol remembre me alle the yeres of my lyf, in bitternesse of myn herte . . . p. 269, l. 9, for ye trespassen so ofte tyme, as (*doth*) the hound (*that*)⁴ torneth to ete his spewyng; line 33. Ne a fouler thral may

270, l. no man . . . ,, 33. remembre me of the day

271, l. of doom . . . ,, 33. the world al brennyng.

272, l. Whider . . . ,, 33. develes that

273, l. him tormenten . . . ,, 33. hondes of al

274, l. her tresor. . . ,, 33. he hateth his

275, l. soule . . . ,, 33. here deth schal

276, l. alway lyven . . . ,, 33. delivere hem

277, l. fro peyne . . . ,, 33. wrought,

278, l. ne schuln . . . ,, 33. that no

279, l. goode werkes . . . ,, 20. rekenyng.

279, 21. The fite **thing** that moeveth a man **to contricioun**⁵, is the remembraunce . line 33. of the foule moves

280, l. and of . . . ,, 27. rebel to God,

28. there is man worthy to have sorwe (*and to be deed*)⁶.

29. This suffred oure Lord . line 33. as mochil as resoun

281, l. of man . . . ,, 33. viley-

282 l. nously byspit⁷ . . . ,, 33. of synne; I

¹ In the place of this interpolation there was perhaps some explanation of the word 'penitence,' to the effect that penitence is equivalent to contrition. See note, p. 279.

² The text has 'four'; see, however, note, p. 280.

³ The interpolator has replaced it by 'confessioun,' which is obviously wrong.

⁴ The interpolations make the sense ridiculous.

⁵ The reading of the text (ll. 21 and 22) is: "The fite *maner* of contricioun, *that moeveth a man therto*"—an awkward correction of what seems to have been a slip of the copyist's pen.

⁶ Death is not treated of till p. 281, l. 6.

⁷ In this 'sixte thing' reform of life, which was mentioned in

- 283, 1. wol entre line 4. schal yive him.
 5. Thus schal man hope that for his werkis of pen-
itence¹ line 21. dede, yit
 22. sayn some doctours,² „ 33. grete synnes out-
 284, 1. ward „ 20. him.
 284, 20. . . . And fortherover, contricioun moste ben con-
 tinuel (*ly, and that a man have stedfast purpos to*
schryve him, and for to amende him of his lyf),
 for sothly, whil contricioun lastith, man may ever
 hope of foryevenes³ line 29. hateth.
 368, 6. Thanne schal men . . „ 26. Amen.

This Tale has the following plan :

INTRODUCTION.

(Subject :) Penitence.

What is penitence, and whens it is cleped penitence ?

Definition after St. Ambrosius.

„ „ som doctour.
 „ „ the Persone.

Explanation of the word.

(Wanting. It perhaps put penitence = contricioun.⁴)

In this penitence or contricioun men schal understonde
thre thinges :

- a. Whiche ben the causes that oughten moeve a man
 to contricioun ?
 - a. A man schal remember him of his synnes.
 - β. Who so doth synne is thral of synne.
 - γ. Drede of the day of doome and the peynes of
 helle.
 - δ. The sorwful remembraunce of the good that he
 hath left to do(on) heer in eorthe, and eek the
 good that he hath lorn.
 - ε. The remembraunce of the passioun that oure Lord
 J. Chr. suffred for us and for oure synnes.

the third definition, is repeatedly spoken of ; it has, besides, been
 discussed at large in the "fourthe poynt" (277 f.).

¹ The text has 'penaunce.'

² This reminds us of the second definition.

³ The interpolation is to be recognized by the uncalled-for ad-
 monition to confess, and the characteristic change from the abstract
 to the concrete way of speaking, which occasions a bad grammati-
 cal mistake ; also by the impertinent separation of the argument
 from the thesis.

⁴ See note, p. 279.

ζ. The hope of foryevenes of synne, the yifte of grace
wel for to do, and the glorie of heven.

b. In what maner schal be his contricioun?

c. Wherof availith contricioun? (Fruyt of penitence.)

My reasons for believing this to be the original *Parsons Tale* are the following :

1. Every part of it is excellent as to contents and form.
2. It corresponds perfectly with the Wicliffite character of the Parson.

3. The scheme is plain, yet complete.

4. The execution of the parts contains nothing that is not foreshadowed in the scheme, and only one void (the answer to "Whence it is cleped penitence?"), which is easily accounted for.

5. It completely exhausts the subject—according to Wicliffe's ideas.

6. Notwithstanding this fact, it is short, agreeably to the host's wish and admonition.

7. It alone, of all the parts of the *Parson's Tale*, contains reminiscences of other works of Chaucer¹ and evident peculiarities of his.

In the parts designated as spurious the very reverse is the case, as I hope to have shown. I only regret that the limited space at my command prevents my pointing out more copiously than I have done the difference in language and phraseology between the genuine and spurious parts; for the interpolations, with the exception of the Tract on Sin (which, from its language, seems to be the oldest) all appear to be of later date. I mention only one thing more in this respect: In the genuine parts 'clepen,' so frequently used by Chaucer, occurs eight times (p. 264, l. 9; 273, 13, 19, 21; 282, 17, 22, 32; 283, 14), in the spurious ones not at all².

¹ There is one exception: the beginning of II. (p. 265, l. 19—21) strongly resembles *Melibe*, p. 155, l. 23—25.

² In the Tract on Sin 'clepen' occurs several times, but I think that does not weaken my argument; for I don't deny that Chaucer may possibly have translated the Tract, with all its confusions, at some earlier period; I only dispute the possibility of his having intended it to form part of the *Parson's Tale*.

TIME AND PLACE OF THE FALSIFICATION.

I venture to think I have made it probable that Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* has been interpolated on a large scale, and that the opinion of Professor Ten-Brink (Chaucerstudien, 153), "that Chaucer left no works betraying a diminution of his powers" will now hold good with respect to the *Parson's Tale* also, which it could scarcely be said to do, if we suppose the Tale to have been written as the MSS. give it.

The question is now, when and where was the falsification perpetrated?

Since Wat Tyler's revolt (1381), a change of public opinion had taken place with regard to Wicliffe. His enemies charged him with being the intellectual author of the movement,¹ and though the people attached little credit to this accusation, the great lords had become hesitating on account of the danger, and would no longer support him so decidedly as they had done. The Church immediately took advantage of this circumstance to annihilate the heretic. His doctrine was condemned by the synod in 1382, and he was deprived of his professorship. The protest of the queen and the London citizens protected him against a worse fate, and his death soon after put an end to all further persecution. To break up his party was now considered easy. The change of government in 1386, in consequence of which John of Gaunt lost his influence, and Chaucer his lucrative office, may chiefly be attributed to political motives, but partly, at least, it was caused by the enmity of the hierarchical party against the Wicliffites; for already in the following year parliament demanded proceedings against the Lollards, and in 1388, the young king, being then under the guidance of the Duke of Gloucester, sent an ordinance to the authorities of the town

¹ *Walsingham*, Hist. angl., ed. Riley, III. 32; *Fasciculi Ziz.*, ed. Shirley, 275 f.

and county of Nottingham, in which he expressed his intention to defend orthodoxy and to eradicate Wicliffe's errors.¹ The authorities of Nottingham were ordered to track and seize the Reformer's writings, to deliver them to the Privy Council, and to arrest all persons concerned in buying or selling such writings or in *preaching such doctrines*.² The strength of the Wicliffite party, and the king's dislike of violent measures, prevented for some time the strict execution of this ordinance, but when, in 1396, the relentless Archbishop Arundel had taken the place of the late Courtney, the persecution of the Lollards again became more violent. In the provincial synod in 1397, Arundel caused 18 of Wicliffe's articles to be again condemned; and when, in 1399, he brought about the revolution that cost Richard his throne and life, he did so not only to revenge the injuries he had suffered from the king, but also to have a more manageable instrument against the Wicliffites. He made the usurper Henry IV. pay for his assistance with bloody measures against the Lollards.³ A few days after his accession to the throne, Henry declared his resolution to destroy heretics and heresies.⁴

It is very likely that Chaucer, who in those days was getting old and infirm, and, after the loss of his office, had to look to the Court for his subsistence, was induced by this antilollardite current to keep his Wicliffite Sermon on Penitence to himself, till death would shield him from the bad consequences the publication would have had for him. It is very probable, too, that he died in the little house in the garden of St Mary's, Westminster, and that the monks of that convent were about him in his last hours; and nothing is more natural than that they should have been

¹ *Wilkins*, Conc. III. 204: . . . "nos zelo fidei catholicae, ejus sumus et esse volumus defensores, moti . . ."

² *Lechler*, I. von W., II. 55.

³ *Ibid.* II. 56 ff. *Ranke*, Englische Geschichte, I. 106 ff.

⁴ *Wilkins*, Conc. III. 238 and 254. Convocatio 6 die Oct. 1399 . . . "modus procedendi contra haereticos."

curious to know whether he had not left a continuation of his famous but incomplete *Canterbury Tales*, and should have looked for it among his papers. On the other hand, they, and the clergy in general, were deeply interested that a Wicliffite sermon on penitence by Chaucer should not be published in its original shape;—and how great a triumph must it have been for the Church to be able to prove, by producing an orthodox *De Penitentia* said to be written by him, that the great poet, whatever might have been his leaning towards the heretic Wicliffe and his doctrine, at least died an orthodox Catholic, nay, a zealous defender of auricular confession and the penance inflicted by the priests! Are we not justified in believing that the fanaticism which erected the stakes in Smithfield and elsewhere, would also be capable of stealing and interpolating, *in majorem Dei gloriam*, an heretical MS.?

We can hardly be mistaken, then, in assuming that the *Persones Tale* was interpolated (there are too many reasons for this assumption to believe that it has *not* been meddled with), at St Mary's, Westminster, in the first decennium of the fifteenth century, that is to say, at the time of the most furious persecution of the Wicliffites. It was probably not published till about 1410-20, the date of our earliest MSS., when little Lewis, his son, was no doubt dead, and there was perhaps no one who cared to inquire for Chaucer's handwriting, or had perhaps read the genuine *Parson's Tale*. The interpolator, who was obviously a cleric, would thus have had plenty of time to leisurely execute his work which, in spite of its want of art, evidently caused him immense trouble.

It is well known that none of the numerous MSS. can be proved to have existed in Chaucer's life-time; they can, therefore, not disprove the hypothesis put forward by me. If it is accepted, we are no longer at a loss to explain, how it was possible that Lydgate, strange to say, after mentioning in his *Fall of Princes* the *Tale of Melibe* as a

prose part of the *Canterbury Tales*, does not say a word about the *Parson's Tale*, which to him—the monk—would naturally have appeared so much more important, if he had known of it: his translation of Boccaccio's poem was written before the publication of the *Persones Tale*. I am well aware that some Chaucerians, Mr Bradshaw for instance, attribute little value to Lydgate's list; but there are others—I only mention Professor Ten-Brink—who are of a different opinion.

CONCLUSION.

With the orthodox *Parson's Tale* falls the last and principal argument that can be adduced in favour of Chaucer's orthodoxy at his death. For the probability of his having been a Wicliffite I have given many reasons, but not all. I have yet to mention the great number and influence of the Wicliffites, according to the certainly unexceptionable testimony of *Walsingham* and *Knighton*¹; further, the estrangement between Chaucer and his once intimate friend Gower, which has not as yet been sufficiently accounted for, but appears very natural, if we suppose Chaucer to have adopted Wicliffe's doctrines. For Gower, though a zealous advocate for the reformation of the clergy, was no friend to Wicliffe's tenets; we may see this in the second book of his *Vox Clamantis*, and in the Prologue to his *Confessio Amantis*, where he speaks contemptuously of "this new secte of Lollardie²." Finally, there is the beautiful poem "Fle fro the pres, and duelle with sothfastnesse," with the burden "And trouthe the schal de-

¹ *Walsingham*, Hist. angl., II. 188 (ed. Riley), "1389: . . . Lollardi—in errorem suum plurimos seduxerunt."

Knighton, V. col. 2644: "Mediam partem populi, aut majorem partem, sectae suae adquisiverunt." Ibid., col. 2666: "Secta illa in maximo honore illis diebus habebatur, et in tantum multiplicata fuit, quod vix duos videres in via, quin alter eorum discipulus Wicliffe fuerit."

² Pauli's Introd. Essay to his edition of Gower's works. He also touches the altered relation between the two poets, but says that it was the consequence of political differences.

lyver, hit ys no drede." This poem, apparently containing the gist of Chaucer's philosophy, agrees perfectly with Wicliffe's way of thinking, and does not show a trace of orthodox catholicism. That Henry IV., the persecutor of the Lollards, let fall a ray of his favour on the poet who was then on the brink of the grave, does not contradict my assumption ; for Henry was the son of the Duchess Blanche, whose death-song Chaucer sang ; he was, too, the son of Chaucer's protector, John of Gaunt ; and, besides, it is not necessary to suppose that the poet openly displayed his religious persuasion.

I'm perfectly aware that my solution of the problem : *What was Chaucer's relation to the Church ?* is neither exhaustive nor undoubtedly correct. I did not intend it to be so ; for in the present state of our knowledge of Chaucer, a thorough investigation of the question is not yet possible, since a great many other questions must first be answered, before we can be positively sure on this point. But so long as they are not answered in a sense contrary to my expectation, I think I may, without presumption, maintain, that in his heart at least

Chaucer was a Wicliffite.

My best thanks are due to Mr Furnivall and Professor Ten-Brink, who, though their opinions on the subject differ from mine in many points, have kindly encouraged and assisted me in my investigation. Mr Furnivall has had the kindness, besides, to revise and correct the English version of this Essay for me.—S.

X.

THE SOURCES OF THE WIFE OF
BATH'S PROLOGUE:

CHAUCER NOT A BORROWER FROM JOHN
OF SALISBURY.

BY THE

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X. a. CHAUCER NOT A BORROWER FROM
JOHN OF SALISBURY.

I HAVE read thro' John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus* three times with Chaucer, and the following is all I have noted. I do not know what is the evidence connecting Chaucer's work with the *Polycraticus*, but there seems nothing particular in what I have found.

The Frere's Tale, lines 212-13 :

“As to the Phitonesse did Samuel : 212
And yet wol som men say it was not he.”

John of Salisbury, 468 C, D : Et quidem provide & fideliter non dicit Scriptura Samuelem Pythonis imperio suscitatum, sed cæcitatem impii sensus prudenter expressit. Ait enim : audita forma viri & habitu, ‘intellexit Saul quod Samuel esset.’ Deceptus utique intellexit ; quod & ex eo probatur quod subjungit : “Et inclinavit se, & adoravit.” Si enim fuisset Samuel, nequaquam se permisisset ab homine adorari, qui secundum legem crediderat, & docuerat unum Deum & Dominum adorandum. Præterea sanctæ animæ a potestate malignorum spirituum exemptæ sunt.

[*Englisht* : And yet wisely and faithfully the Scripture does not say that Samuel was raised at the command of the Pythoness, but prudently expresses the blindness of the Godless sense. It says when he heard of the appearance and dress of the man, Saul understood that it was Samuel. That he believed so erroneously is proved by what follows, “and he bowed himself and worshipped.” If it had been Samuel he would not have allowed himself to be worshipped by man ; since in obedience to the law, he had believed and taught that the one God and Lord alone is to be worshipped. Besides, holy spirits are exempted from the power of evil spirits.]

As the same view is taught by Tertullian (*de Anim.* 57), Justin Martyr (*ad Gentes*, 52), Augustine (*Quæst. Simpliæ*).

l. 2, and two other places), Basil (*Is.* § 8, p. 543), Hieron (*on Matt.* 6), Isidore (l. 8), Origen, Rupert, and of course all who have copied from them, the borrowing from John of Salisbury is not proven.

Pardoneres Tale, line 76 :

“These cokes how they stamp, and strein, and grind.”

Polytraticus, 725, C: Multiplicantur fercula, cibi alii aliis farciuntur, condiuntur hæc illis, & in injuriam naturæ, innatum relinquere, & alienum coguntur afferre saporem . . . Coquorum sollicitudo fervet arte multiplici, eliciuntur jura; quid quo die geri oporteat, & quotidianis ministrari convivii domesticus dictator nocti dieque deliberat. Undecunque conquerit irritamenta gulæ, & unde palati vires excitet hebetati, nihil arbitrans expeditum, nisi cum intemperantiæ fuerit satisfactum.

[*Englisht*: Dishes are multiplied, meats are stuffed and flavoured with others, and to the injury of nature are compelled to give up their natural flavour and to bear a foreign one. The cook's anxiety is burning with various arts; juices are squeezed out. Day and night the household dictator deliberates what on each day is to be served up to the banquet guests. From every quarter he collects materials to tickle the throat, and excite the powers of the jaded palate, thinking nothing accomplished until he shall have satiated even excess itself.]

Pardoneres Tale, l. 141-2; Group C, § 4, l. 603-4 :

“Stilbon that was a wise embassadour
Was sent to Corinth with ful gret honour.”

John of Salisbury, 400 B: Chilon the Lacedemonian sent to Corinth; same account given, followed by Demetrius receiving golden dice from Parthians.

Chaucer says Stilbon; John of Salisbury, Chilon, who was one of the seven wise men. I cannot find the name Stilbon in any book that I can consult. The story about Chilon was perhaps very often copied. The only connection with John of Salisbury is the juxtaposition of the two stories, and even this may be accidental.

Nuns Preestes Tale, line 414; Group B, § 14, l. 4424 :

“But what that God forewrote, must nedes be,” &c.

John of Salis., 444, chap. 20 and 21, on this subject, and of course numbers of other authors.

These are all the passages which I have been able to find, except those in *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*. When comparing this with John of Salisbury, I could not fail to notice that all the correspondences were with that part of John of Salisbury which he states to be a quotation from Theophrastus, *de Nuptiis*, as copied and translated by Jerome against Jovinian, bk. I. As in the same Prologue Chaucer writes; Group D, § 1, l. 669—676 :

“He had a book that gladly night and day
For her disport he would it rede alway
He cleped it Valerie and Theophrast
And with that book he lough alway ful fast
And eke there was a clerk sometime at home
A Cardinal that highte Seint Jerome
That made a book against Jovinian
In which book was ther eek Tertullian.”

I turned to Jerome's book, and the evidence accumulated upon me, that Chaucer in this prologue had used extensively St Jerome's book, and not merely the extract given by John of Salisbury. How wicked old Chaucer must have looked while constructing such a prologue from materials taken out of Jerome's very strong, not to say violent, treatise in favour of perpetual virginity and almost against marriage among Christians. And how vehemently, and justly, Jerome would have raged, if he could have seen the materials built in among his bricks.

But I think that the extracts I have here given will show that in some parts, the Prologue is a Cento from Jerome, done into English verse. I could have quoted more texts of Scripture from Jerome, but I have only mentioned those where the context shows pretty plainly that Chaucer copied them from Jerome and not from Proverbs.

I would refer my reader to Chaucer, instead of printing his verses, as thus I think the borrowing will be more evident.

X. *b.* THE SOURCES OF THE WIFE OF BATH'S PROLOGUE.

Canterbury Tales, Group D, § 1.

l. 10—13. He who but once went to a wedding teaches us that we must marry but once.¹

l. 14—22. And the Samaritan woman in John's Gospel, who said that she had a sixth husband, was corrected by the Lord, who said that he was not her husband. For where there has been a number of partners, there ceases to be a husband, who is properly only *one*. At the beginning, *one* rib only was made into one wife. And they two shall be one flesh, said God, not three or four, since they cannot be two, if there are more than two.²

l. 23-6. In the case where *one* is exceeded, it makes no difference whether there be two or three, since it has ceased to be one. 'All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.' I do not pronounce damnation on the digamist, nor even the trigamist, nor, if the word can be used, on the octogamist. I will say even more, I receive the fornicator when he is penitent. What is equally lawful ought to be weighed with an even balance.³

¹ Hieron., vol. ii., *adversus Jovinianum*, lib. i.

Qui enim semel venit ad nuptias, semel docuit esse nubendum.—p. 305.

² Siquidem et illa in Evangelio Joannis Samaritana, sextum se maritum habere dicens, arguitur a Domino, quod non sit vir ejus. Ubi enim numerus maritorum est, ibi vir, qui proprie unus est, esse desiit. Una costa a principio in unam uxorem versa est. Erunt inquit duo in carne una: Non tres, neque quatuor, alioquin jam non duo, si plures.—p. 263. (Tertull. *Monog.* 8.)

³ Ubi enim unus exceditur, nihil refert secundus an tertius sit, quia desinit esse monogamus. Omnia licent, sed omnia non expediunt. Non damno digamos, immo nec trigamos, et si dici potest octogamos: plus aliquid inferam, etiam scortatorem recipio pœnitentem. Quidquid æqualiter licet, æquali lance pensandum est.—p. 265.

l. 54. First Lamech, a man of blood and a manslayer, divided one flesh into two wives. The one punishment of the deluge carried away the sin of fratricide and digamy. The one should be avenged seven fold, the other seventy times seven. As much as one number exceeds the other, so does also the guilt.¹

l. 59—70. See (Jovinian says) the Apostle declares that he had no commandment from the Lord concerning virgins, and he who gave orders with authority respecting husbands and wives dared not command what the Lord did not teach as a duty : and rightly so. What is taught as a duty is commanded ; and what is commanded must be done ; and what must be done involves a penalty if it be not done. For there is no use in ordering that which at the same time is left to the free choice of the person who receives the order. If the Lord had commanded virginity, he would have seemed to condemn marriage, and taken away the seed bed of mankind, from which virginity itself springs. If he had previously cut away the root, how could he seek for fruit ?²

“ And certes, if there were no seed ysowe.”

l. 71—76. In reply to this argument, Jerome says, ‘ that there will always be plenty of persons who will not persevere, to keep up the numbers of the human race.’

The Institutor of the race proposes the prize, he invites men to run, he holds in his hand the reward of

¹ Primus Lamech sanguinarius et homicida, unam carnem in duas divisit uxores : fratricidium et digamiam, eadem cataclysmi pœna delevit. De altero septies, de altero septuagies septies vindicandum est. Quantum distant in numero, tantum et in crimine.—p. 263.

² Ecce, inquit, Apostolus profitetur de virginibus, Domini se non habere præceptum : et qui cum auctoritate de maritis et uxoribus jusserat, non audet imperare quod Dominus non præcepit. Et recte quod enim præcipitur, imperatur : quod imperatur, necesse est fieri : quod necesse est fieri, nisi fiat, pœnam habet. Frustra enim jubetur, quod in arbitrio ejus ponitur cui jussum est. Si virginitatem Dominus imperasset, videbatur nuptias condemnare, et hominum auferre seminarium, unde et ipsa virginitas nascitur. Si præcidisset radicem, quomodo fruges quæreret.—p. 255.

virginity. . . . He does not say, You shall drink, whether you like it or not ; you shall run, whether you will or not : but, Whosoever will, whosoever can run and drink, he shall conquer, he shall be satisfied.¹

l. 77—81. Do you wish to know what the Apostle desired? consider what follows: 'I would that all men were even as I am. This is my wish, this is my earnest desire, that ye should be followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.' He was a virgin, born of a Virgin. Pure man from a pure maid. . . . Whosoever believeth in Christ ought himself to walk even as He walked.²

l. 82—86. This he said of indulgence, not of command. And yet we have been always saying to ourselves that marriage is not an indulgence but a commandment, as if in this way second and third marriages were not quite as much permitted.³

l. 87—89. He did not say, it is good not to have a wife ; but, it is good not to touch a woman, as if there were danger in the very touch. As if he who touched her may not escape [that lust] which carries away men's precious souls, which causes young men's hearts to go astray (?). Will any one bind fire in his bosom and not be burnt, &c.?⁴

l. 90—114. We do not make marriage of little account, as the followers of Marcion and the Manichæans ; nor,

¹ Proponit *αγωνοθετης* præmium, invitat ad cursum, tenet in manu virginitatis bravium : . . . Non dicit velitis, nolitis bibendum vobis est, atque currendum : sed qui voluerit, qui potuerit, currere atque potare, ille vincet, ille satiabitur.—p. 257.

² Vis scire quod velit Apostolus? Junge quod sequitur. Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut me ipsum Hoc enim volo, hoc desidero ut imitatores mei sitis, sicut et ego Christi. Ille virgo de virgine, de incorrupta incorruptus . . . in Christo credit, debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare.—p. 249.

³ Hoc autem, inquit, dico juxta indulgentiam non juxta imperium. Et mussitamus adhuc nuptias non vocare indulgentiam sed præceptum, quasi non eodem modo et secunda et tertia matrimonia concedantur.—p. 249.

⁴ Non dixit, bonum est uxorem non habere, sed bonum est mulierem non tangere : quasi et in tactu periculum sit : quasi qui illam tetigerit non evadat, quæ virorum preciosas animas rapit, quæ facit adolescentium evolare corda ; alligabit quis in sinu ignem, &c.—p. 246.

joining in the error of Tatian, the leader of the Encratites, do we think all sexual intercourse disgraceful. We know that in a great house not only are there vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earthenware.¹

He who believes in Christ ought himself to walk even as He walked. But every man hath his proper gift of God. One after this manner, and another after that. What I desire, he says, is plain, but since in the Church there are differences of gifts, I concede marriage also—lest he should seem to condemn nature. Remember too that the gift of virginity is one and the gift of marriage is another.²

l. 115—128. And why, you will ask, were '*Genitalia*' created? . . . I could say . . . they were formed by God to carry off the liquids and the drink, by which the veins of the body are watered . . . and to declare the difference of sex. . . . Must we continue in lust in order to avoid possessing these parts uselessly?³

l. 129—168. What hast thou brought me from the forum?⁴

¹ Neque vero nos Marcionis et Manichæi dogmata sectantes, nuptias detrahimus: nec Tatiani principis Encratorum errore decepti omnem coitum spurcum putamus . . . scimus in domo magnâ non solum vasa esse aurea et argentea, sed et lignea et fictilia.—p. 239.

² Qui enim in Christo credit, debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare. Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet ex Deo, alius quidem, sic, alius autem sic. Quid, inquit, velim perspicuum est. Sed quoniam in Ecclesia diversa sunt dona, concedo et nuptias, ne videar damnare naturam. Simulque considera, quod aliud donum virginitatis sit, aliud nuptiarum.—p. 249.

³ Et cur, inquires, creata sunt genitalia? . . . Poteram quidem dicere . . . ita et hîc qui sub ventre est, ad digerendos humores et potus, quibus venæ corporis irrigantur, a Deo conditus est sexus differentiam prædicant. . . . Numque ergo cessemus a libidine, ne frustra hujusmodi membrad portemus?—p. 294.

⁴ (Here begins the extract from Theophrastus). Deinde per noctes totas garrulæ conquestiones. Illa ornatior procedit in publicum: hæc honoratur ab omnibus, ego in conventu feminarum misella despicio. Cur aspicias vicinam? quid cum ancillula loquebaris? De foro veniens quid attulisti? Non amicum habere possumus, non sodalem? . . . Pauperem alere difficile est, divitem ferre tormentum.

l. 235—273.

“Why is my neighebores wyf so gay,” &c.

Then all night through there are prolonged complaints and inquiries. ‘She goes out more handsomely dressed than I do. So and So is honoured by every one, while I, poor wretch, am treated with contempt at the women’s parties. Why did you look at our female neighbour? What were you saying to that girl? What did you bring me from the forum? I cannot have a gentleman friend or intimate acquaintance. . . . To maintain a poor wife is a difficulty; to endure a rich one, a torment.

A fair woman is quickly sought by lovers; a foul one is easily inflamed with desire. It is difficult to guard what many men love; it is a hard thing to possess what no one else thinks worth having . . . the foul wife. It causes less sorrow to keep the foul wife than to guard the fair one, for nothing is safe which every one is longing for. One entices her by his personal appearance, another by his talents, a third by his wit, a fourth by his liberality. And in some way, or at some time, that will be captured which is attacked on every side.¹

l. 274.

“And þat no wys man / nedeth for to wedde.”

A wise man ought not to wed.²

l. 282—315. Add to this that there is no choice of a wife, but she must be kept whatever she may turn out. If she be passionate, if foolish, if unshapely, if proud, if foul, whatever defects there may be in her, we only come to know them after marriage. l. 285, &c. A horse, an ass, an

¹ Pulchra cito adamat, fœda facile concupiscit, difficile custoditur quod plures amant. Molestum est possidere quod nemo habere dignetur. Minore tamen miseria deformis habetur, quam formosa servatur. Nihil tutum est, in quod totius populi vota suspiriant. Alius forma, alius ingenio, alius facietis, alius liberalitate sollicitat; aliquo modo, vel aliquando expugnatur, quod undequè incessitur.—p. 314.

² Non est ergo uxor ducenda sapienti.—p. 313.

ox, a dog, and the commonest property, clothes also, basins, wooden stools, cups, and earthen jugs, are tried first, and then bought. A wife alone is not offered to view, lest she should displease before she be married. l. 293, &c. Her face is always to be watched, and her beauty to be praised, lest if you look at another, she may think herself to be displeasing. l. 296. She must be called Lady (or Mistress). Her birthday must be kept. You must swear by her health. You must wish her long life. l. 299. You must honour her nurse, the servant that carried her; (l. 301) her father's servants, and domestics, her handsome lackey, and (l. 304) curled steward, and eunuch . . . (l. 306) in which officers adulterers are concealed. All the men she loves must be loved, however unwillingly. If you entrust her with the rule of the whole house, you must yourself obey. If you keep anything under your own control, she will not think that you have confidence in her, but she will be turned to hatred and strife, and if you do not quickly look to it, will prepare poison.¹

l. 362.

"Thou seydest eek / that ther been thynges thre," &c.

The horseleech hath three well-beloved daughters,

¹ Adde quod nulla est uxoris electio, sed qualiscunque obvenit habenda. Si iracunda, si fatua, si deformis, si superba, si foetida, quodcumque vitii est, post nuptias discimus. Equus, asinus, bos, canis, et vilissima mancipia, vestes quoque, et lebetes, sedile ligneum, calix, et urceolus fictilis probantur prius, et sic emuntur: sola uxor non ostenditur ne ante displiceat quam ducatur. Attendanda semper ejus est facies, et pulchritudo laudanda, ne si alteram aspexeris se existimat displicere, vocanda Domina, celebrandus natalis ejus: jurandum per salutem ejus, ut sit superstes optandum: honoranda nutrix ejus et gerula, servus patrinus et alumnus, et formosus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longum securumque libidinem exsectus spado; sub quibus nominibus adulteri delitescunt. Quoscumque illa dilexerit ingratis amandi. Si totam domum regendam ei commiseris, serviendum est. Si aliquid tuo arbitrio reservaveris, fidem sibi haberi non putabit: sed in odium vertitur et jurgia, et si non cito consuleris parabit venena.— p. 314. (Theoph. ends.)

but they do not satisfy her, and to the fourth it will not do to say, It is enough. l. 371. Hell and the love of a woman, and earth that is not satisfied with water, and fire says not It is enough. This is not said of an harlot, or of an adulteress, but woman's love generally is found fault with. It is ever insatiable; when extinguished it is again kindled, and after abundance again is in want. And again in another place, 'As a worm in a tree, so does a wicked wife disgrace her husband . . . how seldom a wife can be found free from these vices, he knows who is married.'¹

The story about Socrates, l. 728; Pasiphaë, l. 733; Clitemnestra, l. 737; Eriphile, l. 743.

l. 780-1. A wife thinks herself mistress when she does something against her husband's will, that is to say, what she herself pleases, not what he commands.²

l. 782-3. Herodotus writes (l. 8) that a woman puts off her modesty with her garments.³

As Chaucer mentions, Group D, § 1, l. 676-8:

"and eke Tertullian
Crisippus, Tortula, and Helowis
That was abbesse not fer fro Paris,"

I turned to Tertullian, *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione Castitatis*, *de Monogamia*, and *de Pudicia*. I have not found

¹ Sanguisugæ tres erant filiæ dilectione dilectæ, sed istæ non eam saturaverunt, et quartæ non sufficit dicere, satis est. Infernus et amor muliebris et terra quæ non satiatur aqua, et ignis non dicit satis est (Prov. xxx. 16). Non hic de meretrice, non de adultera dicitur, sed amor muliebris generaliter accusatur, qui semper insatiabilis est, qui extinctus accenditur et post copiam rursus inops est.

Et rursus in alio loco: Sicut in ligno vermis, ita pudet virum suum uxor malifica . . . Quam rarum sit uxorem sine his vitiis invenire novit ille qui duxit uxorem.—p. 282.

² Uxor; quæ in eo se existimat dominam, si adversum viri faciat voluntatem, id est quod placet, non quod jubetur.—p. 314, from Theophrastus.

³ Scribit Herodotus, quod mulier cum veste deponit verecundiam.—p. 317.

much to mention; several points of his views have been repeated by Jerome.

With respect to the wife of Bath's statement,

l. 28, "God bad vs for to wexe and multiplye,"

Tertullian says: "If even now there is room for that command 'Grow and multiply,' that is, if no other command has yet supervened. The time is already wound up; it remains that both "they who have wives act as if they had not." For, of course, by enjoining continence and restraining concubinance, the seminary of our race has abolished that 'Grow and multiply' (*Ex Cast.*). . . The fashion of this world is passing away, this world no longer, to wit, requiring the command, 'Grow and multiply' (*de Pudicia*).

Lamech, l. 54, p. 299 above. But when the first crime is found,—homicide, inaugurated in fratricide—no crime is so worthy of the second place as a double marriage. For it makes no difference whether a man have had two wives singly, or whether individuals taken at the same time have made two. . . . Other iniquities provoked the deluge, iniquities once for all avenged, whatever was their nature, not however seventy-seven times, which is the vengeance which double marriages have deserved (*de Monog.*). Clark's transl.

l. 59—70, p. 299 above. There is no place at all where we read that nuptials are prohibited. *Ad Uxorem*.

I have looked through the Epistles of Abelard and Heloïsa (French transl.: Paris, Didier, 1856). There are two places I have noted. Heloïsa, 2nd Epistle, speaking of the evils women have caused men, mentions Adam, Sampson, Solomon, Job, taken, most probably, from Abelard's 'Complaint' on Sampson. And Abelard in his Letter to a friend repeats Heloïsa's objections to

their marriage. Curiously enough, they are avowedly taken from Hieron. *adv. Jovin.*

Abelard's letter to Heloïsa on the privileges and glories of women from Eve (who was *created* in Paradise, while Adam was created outside and brought in) downward, was most probably *not* in Jankin's volume.

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ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

His Words and Works.

PART IV.

XI. ON "HERE" AND "THERE" IN CHAUCER. By R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D. LIT.

XII. Dr JOHN KOCH on 1. An original version of the "*Knight's Tale*." 2. The date and personages of the "*Parlament of Foules*." 3. "*Quene Anelida and the False Arcyte*." 4. *a. Lollius. b. Chaucer, and Boccaccio's Decamerone.*

Appendix. Prof. Scherk's Date of the Canterbury Journey, englisht from Herr Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*," 1866; with a note, showing why it's wrong, by Mr Skeat.

Palamon and Ersyte, a fragment from the Dublin University MS, D. 4. 18, No. 7.

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XI.

ON "HERE" AND "THERE"
IN CHAUCER.

BY

R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ., D. LIT.

*For an outline of the argument, see the recapitulation on
the last two pages of the paper.*

ON *HERE* AND *THERE* IN CHAUCER,

BY R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ., D. LIT.

KEY TO PALÆOTYPE.

The double vowel indicates the same sound as the single, but longer.	<i>i</i> , as in <i>pin</i> , <i>river</i>
aa, as in <i>father</i>	oi, as in <i>boy</i> , <i>noise</i>
ai, as in <i>Italian</i>	o, as in <i>omit</i> , <i>hotel</i>
A, as in <i>wall</i> , <i>raw</i>	oo, as in <i>note</i> , <i>home</i>
æ, as in <i>mention</i> , <i>rea</i>	dh, as in <i>they</i> , <i>then</i>
æ, as in <i>hat</i> , <i>pan</i>	H, the common aspirate
e, as in <i>met</i> , <i>pen</i>	J, the semivowel <i>y</i> , as in <i>yet</i> , <i>young</i>
ee, as in <i>there</i> , <i>dare</i>	zh, as in <i>pleasure</i> , <i>azure</i>
ei, as in <i>Italian</i>	ʒ, as in <i>father</i> , <i>murmur</i>
ee, as in <i>they</i> , <i>day</i> , <i>weigh</i> , <i>tame</i>	A dot in the middle or at the end of a word indicates that the accent rests on the syl- lable immediately preceding, as (<i>Hotel'</i>), (<i>Hoidral'iks</i>), (<i>patroneiz</i>)
e, as in <i>but</i> , <i>run</i>	
ei, as in <i>mine</i> , <i>drive</i>	
eu, as in <i>house</i> , <i>town</i>	
ii, as in <i>see</i> , <i>sea</i> , <i>machine</i>	

I WISH in the following pages to reconstruct and somewhat expand a part of the argument which I presented to the Philological Society in a paper read in June 1870, and subsequently enlarged into a thin octavo published independently of the Society.¹

The first point to be established is that it is a grave mistake to suppose all words written with *-ere* in Chaucer to have sounded that termination alike. Such words are in fact divisible into two classes. The rhymes of Chaucer and all our other early poets leave no doubt as to this;

¹ In the frequent instances where this book is referred to in the course of the present paper, it is cited briefly as *E. E. P.* The full title is "On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Chaucer, in opposition to the views maintained by Mr A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., in his work 'On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer.' By Richard Francis Weymouth, D. Lit., &c. London: Asher and Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, 1874."

but I propose to give the facts in detail, and somewhat more fully than is already done in my book. There I gave the results obtained from 659 rhymes in the *Canterbury Tales*: here I give those obtained from the whole of Chaucer, having used the Six-Text edition, supplemented by Bell's Chaucer. I confine my attention in this paper to the termination *-ere*, because the evidence is more abundant than for *-ete*, *-ede*, *-eme*, *-eke*, &c., though words with these endings also clearly divide themselves into two classes, as I have shown in my book, §§ 95—99.

Having now gone through the whole of Chaucer's Poems, I find a total of 1246 rhymes of words ending in *-ere* or *-er* or *-eere* or *-eer*. (The final *e*, I may say once for all, I have not taken into account. I have had quite work enough on hand without it.¹) These 1246 rhymes are formed by words which we shall find falling into two classes, these classes with but few exceptions rhyming only among themselves.

In the first class the following are the words that recur most frequently, and therefore afford the most abundant evidence. With each one I give the number of times it occurs rhyming, and the number of exceptional cases in which it rhymes with the other class. *Here* adv. (179—5²), *here* vb. (196—8), *dere* adj. (251—3), *deer* subst. (8—0), *manere*, *matere*, and other nouns³ from French feminines now spelt with *-ière* (492—12), *bachelor*, *bokeler*, and other nouns⁴ from French masculines in *-ier* (243—6),

¹ In like manner my reckoning has included words having the same verbal ending, as *crepeth*, *slepeth*, or the same plural form, as *ceeres*, *heeres*.

² That is to say, there are in all 179 of Chaucer's rhymes in which the adverb *here* rhymes with some other word: in 174 of these it rhymes with some other word of what I have provisionally called the first class, while in only 5 does it rhyme with a word of the other class.

³ *Banere*, *chambreere*, *ryvere*, &c.

⁴ *Archer*, *bracer*, *botiller*, &c. A complete list of these French words in *-ere* and *-er* is given below. See also Table of Rhymes. They should all according to my view be pronounced like *career*, *engineer* &c., in modern English.

neer (37—0), *fere* = companion and *ifere* (72—4), *appeere* (21—0), *peer* and *compeer* (21—0), *frère* (39—1), *sperre* = sphere and *emisperre* (13—0), *lere* = learn (47—2), &c.

The second class consists of *there* (125—17), *were* from *be* (143—33), *bear* vb. and *forbear* (22—0), *here* = her (17—0), *sperre* = hasta (18—0), *swere* vb. (14—0), *fere* = timor (60—6), *ere* subst. = ear (42—4), *where* (41—4), &c.

The total number of apparent exceptions is about 89 out of the 1246. It is not possible to affirm this number as absolutely exact, for when a word occurs but once, as *Omere*, *Richere*, there seems to be no means of deciding how Chaucer sounded it, otherwise than by the particular rhyme in which it occurs. But for no fewer than 19 of these 89 doubtful rhymes the one word *yere*¹ is responsible, and this coincides with the result of observation of the rhymes in other writers, suggesting that this particular word was sounded at pleasure in either of two ways, just as Lyndesay in the northern dialect uses sometimes *more* rhyming with *glore*, *score*, *affore*, *Diodore*, and sometimes the peculiarly northern form *mair* or *mare* rhyming with the adj. *fair*, *repair*, *declair*, *bair*, *sair*, *cair*, &c. ; and just as also a modern poet will say (*wind*) or (*wæind*), (*agen*) or (*ageen*) as best suits the exigencies of the moment.

I will not however claim for my argument the benefit of this doubt. Let us assume the number of exceptions to be 89, this is only 7·1 per cent on the whole. Now what is the practice of our modern poets as to faulty rhymes? In Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, Part I., *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, there are about 988 rhymes, of which 69 are defective (*word*, *ador'd*; *wreath*, *breath*; *own*, *down*; *love*, *rove*; &c.), being close upon 7 per cent. In Cowper's *Table Talk*, of 387 rhymes 34 are faulty; 8·8 per cent. In Byron's *Giaour*, 58 out of about 651; 8·9 per cent. In Keats's *Endymion*, Book I., 48 out of about 480; 10 per cent. In 50 pages of *The Man born to be*

¹ See my *E. E. P.*, p. 67.

King, in Morris's *Earthly Paradise*, 79 out of 725 rhymes are bad (among which are specially notable *wear* rhyming with *fear*, and *fair* with *year*), ratio 10·9 per cent. In Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, to the end of Canto II., 149 out of about 464 are faulty; 14·9 per cent. And then it must be borne in mind that many of Chaucer's poems are in metres in which three, four, or even more words are made to rhyme, and in these more numerous exceptions occur, about 10 or 11 per cent (allowing for which we should of course have a lower per centage than 7·1 in the simpler metres). Now how is it with the moderns? In 74 stanzas of *Childe Harold*, each yielding 10 rhymes, 85 are defective; 11·2 per cent. In Southey's *Tale of Paraguay*, Canto I., of 460 rhymes 67 are bad; 14·5 per cent. In Shelley's *Revolt of Islam*, *Dedication* and Canto I., of 740 rhymes 153 are bad (*pierce, immerse; lend, fiend*; and several which are precisely similar to the few cases in Chaucer where a *here* word rhymes with a word like *there*, as *hemisphere, rare; years, wears; tears* subst., *wears; hears, cares; fears, cares; atmosphere, wear; &c.*); 20·7 per cent. The conclusion is obvious that an aggregate of 7·1 per cent of faulty rhymes in *-ere* in all Chaucer is altogether insufficient to disturb the conclusion to which the overwhelming majority of the rhymes point. And a closer scrutiny will greatly reduce the 89 exceptions, as we shall see presently.

Let us now glance briefly at some of the other early poets. We shall find they all lead to the same general conclusion, and therefore also I have not been at the pains to distinguish the spurious from the genuine among the poems that bear Chaucer's name. In Robert of Gloucester these *-ere* words divide themselves into two well marked classes, with only four (or perhaps five) exceptions throughout the whole *Chronicle*, three of which are furnished by the *yere* to which I have already called attention. In several minor poems which I have examined (the *Moral*

Ode, Land of Cockayne, Life of St Dunstan, St Swithin, the Oxford Student, &c.), *yere* rhymes three times with the first class, ten times with the second; omitting this word, we find the two classes distinct without a single exception. But two or three words are here in the second class which in Chaucer are in the first—*chere*, *bere* = bier, *lere* and *mislere*, showing differences of pronunciation in the mouths of different speakers in those times, just as some people now say (nii·dhɹ) and (lii·zhɹ), while others say (nəi·dhɹ) and (lez·ɹ). In Robert of Brunne's Chronicle the classes are distinct with only five exceptions, of which *yere* furnishes none, rhyming everywhere with Class I. In the same poet's Handlyng Synne there are in all 244 of these rhymes, including 13 exceptions: they are that *here* adv. once rhymes with *debonair*, *manere* once with *swere* vb., *okerer* once with *bere* vb., *here* vb. twice with *tollere* (which as an Anglo-Saxon derivative should come in the second class, like *bakbyter*, *ledere*, *shappere*, in the same poem, and as always in Chaucer); *sperre* = sphere once with *eyre* = heir, *dere* adj. once with *fyre*, *here* adv. and *scere* = ploughshare each once with *fyre*, *were* from *be* once with *bare* = tulit, and *there* once each with *share* = sheared, *Lazare*, and *ar* = are. I do not include the apparent exceptions that arise from the contraction of *prayere* in seven places into one syllable as in the modern *prayer*, nor the cases in which *thore* and *whore* are substituted for the commoner *there* and *where*.

It may be observed in passing that as to this change which I suppose to have taken place of *prayere* (pree·iir·) into (pree·ɹ) and then (preeɹ), and the similar change of (skwəi·iir·), (maniir·), (matiir·), (mariniir·), (batsheliir·), (popeliir·), (koliir·), &c.—all of them formerly, I believe, sounded with the last syllable as in *cashier*, *arrear*, *gazetteer*, &c.—into the now familiar sounds which we write as *squire*, *manner*, *matter*, *mariner*, *bachelor*, *poplar*, *collar*, &c., the accented (iir·) becoming now a simple (ɹ), the

reader will hardly need to be reminded of the universal tendency of our language to throw back the accent to the beginning of the word; and this change of accent having taken place, the degradation of the vowel from the full clear (ii) into the indistinct and slipshod (v), as in the modern *manner*, or its total disappearance after another vowel, and the consequent running of two syllables into one, as in *prayer* and *squire*, follows as a matter of course.

If now we examine the same classes of words in the Northern Dialect, we find still the same distinction of words, though the spelling differs. Going through the whole of Lyndesay's poems, we find in all 396 of these rhymes, of which only 15 are exceptional. These are *familiair*—which indeed in Chaucer is not an (e) but an (i) word—rhyming once with *bar* and once with *Mar*, *repair* once with *Synear* = *Shinar*, *presoneir* with *Dunbar*, *peir* = *peer* once each with *lair* = *lore* and *fair* = *go*, *circuleir*—which according to analogy should be *circulair* or *circulare*—once each with *hemispeir* and *weir* = *doubt*, *mateir* once each with *declair* and *fair* = *go*, *beir* = *bear* vb. once with *cair*, and the verbs *inquyre* or *requyre* (also spelt with *-eir*) rhyming once with *heir* vb., *heir* adv., *freir*, and *yeir*; but on these compounds of *-quire* see below, p. 11, where it will be shown that these four are probably not exceptions. But here again I have not included the 10 instances in which *mair* appears in the southern form *more*, and rhymes accordingly.

Now in all the poems which I have systematically searched through, as well as all that I have more cursorily examined, I find the two classes consist almost entirely of the same sets of words, the Northern Dialect partially excepted. Thus in the one class we have *here* adv., *here* vb., *dear*,¹ *deer*, *near*, *appear*, *clear* and *Chaunticlere*, *cheer*, *beer*, *bier*, *bere* = *tulit*, *lere* = *learn*, *lere* = *counten-*

¹ The reader will excuse the modern spelling, which serves to indicate more readily what *dere* is intended.

ance, *peer* and *compeer*, *swere* = neck, *spere* = sphere, *emispere* = hemisphere, *were* = doubt, *year* most commonly, *fere* = companion and *ifere* = in company, *steer* vb., *steer* = steersman, *steer* = ox, as well as the two classes of words of French derivation represented by *manere* and *bachiler* respectively. In the other class are words of A.S. derivation such as *helper*, *miller*, *leader* (where *-er* = A.S. *-ere*), and the corresponding feminines in *-ster* (A.S. *-stre*), as *tapster*, *hoppestere*, the adverbs *there* and *where*, *were* from *be*, *were* = protect, *wear* = gero, *dere* = vexo, *bear* vb. and *forbear*, *bear* n., *tear* vb., *here* = her, *here* = hair, *ere* = before, *swear* vb., as well as numerous words which, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ rhymed with these as late as the close of the 16th century, though they are now pronounced with (ii)—*ear* vb., *ear* s., *fear*, *gear*, *spear*, *weir*, *tear* s. It is these words that in the Northern Dialect are found, as in modern English, rhyming with *here*, *dear*, *deer*, &c. Possibly it was direct Scottish influence that under the Stuarts made (iir), (spiir), (fiir), &c. fashionable, as it seems to have completed the change of *a* from (aa) to (ee) or (*ee*): see my E. E. P., §§ 69—71.

One early poem, the Story of Genesis and Exodus, claims special mention. At first it puzzled me sorely. It seemed to abound in exceptions to the rule of Chaucer's pronunciation. It was only when I had very nearly finished my examination of the poem that I recollected one peculiarity of the Suffolk dialect (in which according to Dr Morris it is written), namely that in Suffolk *there* and *where* are sounded (dhiir) and (whiir). At once I saw that a line could be drawn on my paper so as to separate *here*, *there*, *where*, *nere*, &c. from *bere*, *were*, *huntere*, &c. without a single exception.²

¹ E. E. P., § 3.

² It may be desirable to describe my *modus operandi* in collecting rhymes. On finding a distich with *-ere*—*chere manere*, for instance—I place these words near one another on one page of an open sheet of paper and connect them with a line, across which I

But to return for a while to Chaucer. It may reasonably be asked what light is thrown upon this question by Mr Cromie's carefully compiled Ryme-Index to the Ellesmere MS. of the Canterbury Tales. I will answer that question and give exact figures. Two or three observations however must be premised.

It has been remarked above that *yere* (= annus) seems to have a double pronounciation in Chaucer and some other early poets, like *wind* and *wīnd*, *more* and *mair*. We will therefore set that word aside. The use of the preterite *bere* (= carried) also wavers considerably, rhyming in all Chaucer 8 times with one class, 7 times with the other.¹

make a short stroke every time that rhyme recurs. The next line is probably of two quite different words, and if analogy or etymology or previous observation has given reason to suppose that these would rhyme with the former—*here* (adv.) *river*, for example—I put these on the same page with a similar connecting line; and with them I connect all subsequent rhymes in which any one of these words is found, as *chere dere*, *here matere*, &c. When a rhyme occurs such as *there ere*, *tere millere*, which I suspect to belong to a different class, I place these on the opposite page, and connect with them other similar words when rhymes containing them occur. If an exceptional rhyme appears, as *here were*, *appeere where*, the connecting line will cross from one page to the other, and thus the exception be clearly marked to the eye. Now in Genesis and Exodus these lines crossing the page, and marked with little strokes showing the repetition of the rhymes, were unexpectedly numerous: *ner* was connected with *there* and the line crossed, but a line connected it also with *here* (adv.) on the opposite page, and was also crossed; *ger* (= annus) was connected by a crossed line with *there*, but by a line nine times crossed, and thus showing ten instances of that rhyme, with *her* (adv.); and *there* on the right-hand page, where I had set it down as supposing that it would rhyme with *bere* vb., &c., had lines connecting it with *butuler*, *prisoner*, *auter*—all derived from French words in *-ier*—which were on the left-hand page. I had expected scarcely any connexion between words on the opposite pages, as they were arranged according to the results of my previous study of Chaucer's rhymes, but the expectation was disappointed. At last, however, I discovered that among the words on the right-hand page a tortuously meandering line might be drawn completely separating *auter*, *butuler*, *ger* = annus, *here* adv., *there*, *ner*, &c., from *bere* vb., *answere*, *huntere*, *dere* = annoy, *were* = defend, *to-tere*, *ger* = gear, *shere*, &c., and not crossed anywhere by a line indicative of exception.

¹ The two A.S. forms are *bær* and *bear*, = , as I believe, (beer) and (biiar). See E. E. P., § 108 and §§ 116—118.

Enquere and *requere* furnish in all Chaucer 21 rhymes, 13 with one class, 8 with the other; and Lyndesay makes these rhyme twice with words in *-ire* or *-yre*, 4 times with those that he spells with *-eir*, while the only rhyme of *enquere* in Handl. Synne is with a word of the second class (*per*): these two words therefore are doubtful, and we will set them aside. The two pronunciations of these words can be accounted for if we remember that they were irregular verbs even in Early French; that the infinitives (see Littré) were *enquerre* and *requerre*, while there were numerous forms with *i*, such as *requiert*. In like manner we may set aside *bere* = a litter for a dead body. Mr Cromie takes this from the A.S. *bær*, but it may equally come from the French *bière*.¹ Usage is divided, though in the Early English poets generally this *bere* is clearly taken from the French, not the English, original.

If then we leave out all the rhymes formed with *yere*, *bere* = *tulit*, *requere* and *enquere*, and *bere* = *bier*, what remains? A total of 330 rhymes is given by Mr Cromie, of which, according to my division of classes, only 5 are faulty.² They are the following. In p. 44 of the 6-Text edition *breres* rhymes with *geres*, though elsewhere it rhymes once with *deer* subst., and, the Old Norman form being *briere*, this is more in accordance with analogy. Second, in p. 184 *grammeere* = Mod. Fr. *grammaire*, rhymes with *mateere*, but as *grammeere* occurs nowhere else, I am not sure that this is an exception, yet will not claim for my argument the benefit of the doubt. Third, in p. 197 *dextrer* rhymes with *wonger*, the former word (= *destrier*) taking its ending from the French *-ier*, the latter from the A.S. *-ere*. This is an undoubted exception to the rule: there is not a second rhyme of the sort in all Chaucer. Fourth, in p. 383 we find *frere* = *friar*, which

¹ A fact overlooked in my E. E. P., p. 67.

² Every rhyme in the Ryme-Index being counted twice, the apparent number is 660, including 10 exceptions.

in 38 other places in Chaucer belongs to the same class as *here*, rhyming for once with *were* the plural of *was*: a most certain exception. The fifth is at p. 431, where the adj. *deere* rhymes with *were*, the subj. of *be*. There are in all Chaucer only two other such rhymes formed by this adj. out of a total formed by it of not less than 251. These five (or four or perhaps only three) are the only exceptions out of 330. I have not reckoned however the rhyme of *ever* with *never*, the last syllable being unaccented; and the apparent additional exception of the verb *bere* rhyming with the adverb *here* in p. 41, l. 1421, is only apparent, the *here* in this place not being necessarily an adverb (as Mr Cromie takes it), but making perfectly good sense if taken as a pronoun = *her*. This is one passage out of many where the rhyme helps the reader to see at a glance the true sense of an otherwise ambiguous passage. That it may help to determine the genuineness or the contrary of doubtful lines, I have shown in my book in the case of *fruitesteres* rhyming with *wafereres*.¹

Briefly to restate this part of my argument, it may be put thus. The word *here* has four distinct meanings: it may be (a) the verb *hear*, or (b) the adverb *here*, or (c) the noun *hair*, or (d) the personal pronoun *her*. If it bears either of the first two meanings, it rhymes in all our Early English² poets with *dere* adj., *dere* s., *clere*, *chere*, *appeere*, &c., and only very rarely and exceptionally with *were* from *be*, *where*, *there*, *swere* vb., *forbere*, &c. But it is with these latter words that it rhymes in either the third or fourth sense, and rarely or never with the former. So *were* has seven different meanings: it may be (a) the plural of *was*, it may be (b) the past subjunctive of the same verb, it may be (c) the modern verb to *wear*, or (d) the now obsolete *were* = protect, it may mean (e) *war*,

¹ E. E. P., p. 69, footnote.

² Once for all, under this term here and commonly I include *Middle* English, in accordance with the practice of the *Early* English Text Society.

or (f) *husband*, or (g) *doubt* or *perplexity*. In the first six of these senses it rhymes with *there* and its class, in the last sense only does it rhyme with *deere*, *cleere*, &c., and it rhymes with these—with only two exceptions that I have discovered anywhere—not only in Chaucer, but in Lyndesay's Poems, where it occurs in no fewer than 27 rhymes, in *Handlyng Synne*, in Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*, and in short in the whole of our Early English poetry. And a similar distinction is clearly marked in the use of all words with this termination—three or four only excepted,—provided only they form a sufficient number of rhymes to yield any evidence that can be relied on.

Not many minds that are not quite impervious to reasoning will resist the proofs here adduced that we have two distinct classes of words in *-ere* in Early, as in Modern, English, of which the two adverbs now pronounced (hiia) and (dheea) may be taken as types respectively; and inasmuch as the same can be proved by similar evidence to be true of words in *-eke*, *-ene*, *-ete*, &c.,¹ and neither of these classes (except very rarely words of the second class) will rhyme with *sette*, *bedde*, *henne*, and other such words with the short *e*; we thus see that there were in the 14th century three different sounds represented by one and the same written symbol, just as at present. The next question therefore is, what were these sounds? As to the short *e*, and as to the second or *there* class, Mr Ellis believes, as I do, that the vowel was sounded as at present—(set), (hen); (dheea), (wheea).

More fully given, Mr Ellis's view is that certain "rhymes lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the one general sound of *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *eo*, *oe*, *ie* in Chaucer was (ee) long or (e) short, and they leave no room to conclude that *e* was ever pronounced as (i) except in the prefix *be* which we find written indifferently *be bi*. . . . Perhaps the *e* was generally broad, as (E)² rather than (e). . . .

¹ See E. E. P., §§ 95—99.

² "Like a bleat," Ellis's E. E. P., p. 4.

We must be content with one form (e) for the, possibly, three forms (e, e, E). It is indeed very probable that all three coexisted, and were not discriminated by the speakers themselves."¹ The evidence above given shows that the sounds written with *e* were discriminated, at least into two main classes, and that the distinction was very broad, very clearly marked, and universally recognized.

Our inquiry then is now how were *here* adv. and vb., *dere* adj., *chere*, *bachiler*, &c., pronounced? Did they differ only as the German *Herr* (heer) and *Heer* (Heer), or the Devonshire *there* (dheer) and *their* (dheer)? Or was the difference wider and more marked than this? In answering this question I shall maintain the following propositions:—

1. There is direct and positive evidence from several different quarters that the sound was (ii);

2. There is direct and positive evidence that the symbol, namely *i*, to which Mr Ellis attaches the sound of long (ii), did not in Chaucer's English represent that sound, but the widely different one of (æi), or some approximation to that diphthong; and

3. There is direct and positive evidence that the *e* in these words was not the close (*ee*), inasmuch as that sound is already provided for by another symbol, *ai* or *ei*.

Each of these propositions I shall endeavour to maintain by several separate and independent arguments; and I wish earnestly to call attention to the fact that all these score or so of independent arguments support one another, and constitute a great mass of *cumulative* evidence. This is not a train of deductive reasoning in which a single fallacy or false premiss vitiates the whole. It is not a chain which drops asunder if a single link gives way. It is not a product of engineering skill the strength of which is to be measured by the strength of its weakest part. The unsoundness of these views can only be demonstrated by my being dislodged, point after point, from every one of

¹ Ellis's *E. E. P.*, p. 263.

the positions I have taken up. Nothing can be more absurd than the course adopted by a German reviewer, R. W., in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, who pulls out of the entire fabric one single brick which he imagines to be defective, and which he holds up to the amusement and amazement of mankind, while it never occurs to him to consider whether the building as a whole has any architectural merit or any adaptation to the purpose for which it was designed. As to that particular brick, we will have a look at it again by and by.

I.

1. The first argument which I shall advance in support of my first proposition is based on our traditional English pronunciation. In most—so far as I am aware, in all—of our dialects the vowel is (ii) in the words of English origin in the class we are discussing; in *here* adv., *hear* vb., *dear* adj., *deer* s., *near*, &c.

It is not necessary to repeat here the reasons I have elsewhere¹ given for believing in the normal stability of our dialects, which, as I contend, have remained in a great degree unchanged for centuries, till the ponderous roller of national education comes in our time to level all distinctions in modes of speech. As to the notion that the Wars of the Roses would occasion a vast change in the mode of speech of the whole nation, never did Queen Mab spin a flimsier cobweb in the brain of any man. Let us hear what Mr Elworthy says of the stability of the West Somersetshire dialect.

“We in our benighted regions have now (raai'l'rooædz), (təl'igraamz), and (traak'shən iin'dzhinz), bringing with them new ideas and enlarged knowledge; but we do not find that the (Ap kən'tri meen) who come with them are in sufficient number to make any impression upon local pronunciation; and we find too that the words which they

¹ E. E. P., §§ 6—10 and p. 118.

import into the district are adopted as words, but with more or less different sounds attached to them, and I have no doubt but that similar results attend the importation of words into all other districts." With this opinion I heartily agree. And this testimony has reference to this 19th century, in which the "commyxstion and mellynge" of the people is immeasurably greater than at any earlier period of our history.

Yet this assertion of the stability of our dialects needs to be supplemented. It cannot for a moment be questioned that dialects have been and are exceedingly unstable in some other countries and in widely different circumstances. The authorities quoted by Professor Max Müller (Lect. II.) are quite sufficient to establish this conclusion. The question remains, though this is not a fitting time for its discussion, what causes tend to promote or hinder change; but it may be confidently asserted that the periodical scír-gemót, the hundred-court holden monthly, and the frequent meetings of the tithing and of the gild, must have had a powerfully conservative influence on spoken language.

Besides, why should our language be so strangely exceptional? There is abundant reason to believe that the ancient pronunciation in the main, and as to the accented stems and root-syllables of words, has survived throughout Spain, Portugal, Italy for Latin, and that of Greek in the main in modern Greece. German scholars pronounce medieval German as much as possible like modern German, and the probability is that they are right (except on certain points in Mœso-Gothic). In Icelandic there has probably been very little change during eight centuries. And as to Early French, Génin's dictum is commonly, and (I venture to think) rightly, accepted: "Les mots anciens se prononçaient comme se prononcent aujourd'hui les mots modernes qui les ont remplacés."¹ It is precisely this

¹ I quote from Pellissier, *La Langue française*, p. 113, not

principle, of course with numerous implied exceptions, for which I contend as applicable for the most part to English also. The analogy of other languages certainly does not favour Mr Ellis's belief that every long vowel and diphthong in the English tongue, a few favoured words excepted, changed its sound—(aa) to (ee) or (eē), (ee) to (ii), (ii) or (iī) to (ēi), (oo)¹ to (oo), (uu) to (əu),² (yy)³ to (iu), (au)¹ to (AA), (eu)¹ to (iu), (ai)¹ to (ee)—all in about two hundred years, or not much more.

2. Secondly, of Chaucer's *e* words many at a later time are written with *ee*, as *bee*, *queen*, *sheep*; or in a few cases with the single *e* still, and a final *e* mute as sign of a long preceding vowel, as *here* adv., and *sphere*; while a large number have changed Chaucer's *e* into *ea*. Now the traditional pronunciation of many of this last class is with (ee) or (eē); of the former all have (ii). Thus we have *break*,⁴ *great*, *breath*, *death*, *bread*, *dead*, *tear* vb., *swear*, *bear* vb., and noun, and this list might be largely increased, especially by the aid of the dialects;⁵ while we have also *meeke*,⁶ *seek*, *feet*, *geese*, *heel* of the body, *steer* vb. and noun, *speed*, *heed*, *need*, *feed*, *bleed*, *succeed*, *creed*, *breed*, *steed*, *seem*, *deem*, *seen*, *keen*, *green*, *fifteen* and other numerals, and so on. Now words like *break*, *great*, *bear*, *swear*, belong with few exceptions (such as *appear*) to Chaucer's second class; those spelt later with *ee* to the first, I think without a single exception. Thus orthography comes to the aid of tradition in fixing by analogy (ii) as the vowel of *here*, &c. Because it must be further observed that these words never have been customarily spelt with *ea*.

having succeeded in finding the words in Génin's *Variations du Langage français*.

¹ As in the Italian *parlò*, *aurora*, *Europa*, *hai*, the vowels distinct.

² As in *how*, *house*.

³ As in French, *flûte*.

⁴ In Chaucer *breke*, *grete*, *brethe*, &c.

⁵ In the West of England *sea* is (*see*), *peat* (*peet*), *read* (*reed*); but *see* and *reed* are (*sii*), (*riid*).

⁶ In Chaucer *meke*, *sche*, *feet*, *gees*, &c.

At least I do not remember to have seen in MSS. or books of any age of English, even when our orthography was as yet but imperfectly settled, a sentence such as might tell of "fifteen green geese seen feeding at the meek queen's heels," with even one of these words written with *ea*. In later times when *ween* and *wean*, *week* and *weak*, *heel* and *heal*, &c., are sounded alike, mere ignorance will confound one mode of spelling with another; but my argument has reference to the orthography that was commonly recognized among learned or at least educated men during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries.

3. Thirdly, I would present an *argumentum ad auctoritatem* analogically applied. In the Elizabethan age, when it is admitted by Mr Ellis that *sheep* was pronounced as at present, we find Sir Thomas Smith (1568) describing this \bar{e} (ii) as the *e Anglicum*.¹ What is implied in this designation? This, at least; that Smith, a man of considerable learning, a true lover of antiquity, a careful student of language, and one whose chief study seems to have been pronunciation, recognizes this as the true English sound. Is it in any degree probable that a sound which almost within living memory had forced its way as a newcomer into the language would be acknowledged by such a man as Smith as *κατ' ἑξοχὴν* "the English *e*"? Nothing is more improbable. And if (ii) is the sound which the symbol *e* represented in *sheep*, to which the rhymes of three centuries or more show *keep* and *sleep* to have been similarly pronounced, while *heap* and *leap* had some different sound²—most probably (ee), as Mr Ellis also believes—we find here two small classes of words apparently analogous to the much larger classes in which *here* and *there*

¹ Elsewhere he prefers the feminine—"e Anglica," obviously scil. *litera*.

² Chaucer's evidence, however, does not prove this: it is of uncertain tone and insufficient in quantity. But in other poets some proof is found. Thus Sir Philip Sidney makes *heap*, *reap*, *leap* rhyme together, and separately, *deep*, *weep*, *keep*, *sheep*, *creep*, *sleep*. In Ben Jonson *cheap*, *heap*, *reap*, *leap* rhyme together, and separately, *keep*, *steep*, *deep*, *sleep*, *weep*, *peep*, *sheep*, *creep*.

are typical individuals, and thus we have at least a strong presumption that as

sheep : heap :: here : there

This *e*, moreover, Smith expressly opposes to the Italian *e* when he says that perhaps we rightly now say, "*Domine ne in furore* per *e* Italicum, non quemadmodum olim per illud .e. Anglicum quod in *bee* cùm apis dicimus, aut me cùm $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ nostro more loquamur, obseruatur."¹ This "quemadmodum olim" clearly points to a more ancient pronunciation of the *e* in Latin words in this island than the (e) which he approved.

4. But again, two words of the class we are discussing are among the oldest in the language, and might reasonably be expected to be found in some similar form in the nearest allied languages. Accordingly these words—*here* adv., and *deer*—are found in High German, Dutch, Platt-Deutsch, and Friesic, and in all of these the traditional pronunciation of the vowel is the same. No doubt there may have been a time, far, far remote, when the ancestors of the Teutonic and of the Classical races occupied the same village or slept under the same roof, and when a wild animal was called by some such name as (deer): the Latin *ferus* and the Greek $\phi\acute{\eta}\rho$ or $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho$ point to a name with no (i) sound in it. If we suppose this, the thought very naturally suggests itself that this (ee) by some trick of the Teutonic mouth (using the word Teutonic in its widest sense) became (jee), that this adscititious element next developed itself into a full vowel (iee), which in time become the more important part of the diphthong (iie), and finally the new colonist drove out the original settler altogether and only (ii) remained. But the pure (ee) stage of (neer) and (deer) must have been many centuries—millennia possibly—before the *Canterbury Tales* were written, and all the earliest forms both of the noun and of the adverb which are given by Graff, Lexel, Kilian, &c., contain an *i*: *dius*, *dier*, *diar*, *djier*, *tier*, *tior*, and *hier*, *hiar*, *hir*, *hie*, *hi*. That there

¹ De Ling. Gr. Pron., p. 14 v°.

was an (i) sound in these cannot be doubted: perhaps indeed some of these forms may have been intended to represent sounds nearly if not quite identical with our English (diir), (hiir). Thus Holland and Germany, with their traditional pronunciation and orthography of these two words, confirm the results already arrived at.

5. A fifth argument is furnished by French traditional pronunciation and spelling in such words as those from which Chaucer's *manere* and *bachiler* were derived.¹ In their early forms almost all of these contained an *i*. But some of them, it has been objected, had no *i* in their earliest forms. What of that, if they had it in or before Chaucer's time? It is sufficient for us to know what French was in his day. Now I have turned up in Littré all Chaucer's words of these two classes, and with the following results:—

In the 10th century we find *menestier*, which in the 11th became *mestier*. In the 12th we find *archier*, *aumosniere*, *carpentier*, *corsier*, *costumier*, *dangier*, *despencier*, *entier*, *erbier*, *messagier*, *olivier*, *panier*, *preiere*, *psaltier*, *riviere*, and *solier*. In the 13th *bordelier*, *celerier*, *clostrier*, *dossiere*, *forestier*, *hostelier*, *liemier*, *marinier*, *poplier*, *tapicier*, and *tavernier*. In the 14th *corniere*, *familier*, *gauffrier*, *jartiere*, *papier*, and *officier*. Other words in Chaucer, but which do not appear in French literature till the 15th or 16th century, are *brassiere*, *clappier* (of which however there is an earlier form, *clapoire*), *enfermier*, *jaulier*, *pantiere*, and *prisonnier*. None of these words are found ending simply in *-er* or *-ere*, all have the *i*.²

In the following nine the forms in *er*, and *ier*, are con-

¹ I pronounce all these words like the modern English *engineer*, *cashier*, *arrearer*, &c., whatever the spelling is now or was in the 14th century.

² Chaucer's forms, with minor variations, are—*myster*, *archeer*, *awmere*, *carpenter*, *corser*, *custommer*, *daunger*, *spenser*, *entere*, *erbere*, *messenger*, *olyver*, *panyer*, *preyere*, *sawter*, *ryvere*, *soler*; *celerer*, *cloystreer*, *dosser*, *forester*, *hostileer*, *limer*, *maryneer*, *popeler*, *tapyceer*, *taverner*; *corner*, *familer*, *waferer*, *garter*, *papeer*, *officer*; *bracer*, *claper*, *fermerer*, *gayler*, *panter*, *prisoner*.

temporary: *premier* and *premer*, in the 11th century; *bouteillier* and *buteiller*, *chamberiere* and *chamberere*, *cordelier* and *cordeler*, *colier* and *coler*, *hospitalier* and *hospitauler*, in the 13th; *particulier* and *particuler*, in the 15th. In five the form in *-er*, is later than that in *-ier*: *consellier* (10th century) becomes *cunseiller* (12th); *esquier* (11th) also *escuier* (12th); *biere* = *bier* (11th) is also *berre* (12th); *pilier* (12th) also *piler* (13th); *eschekier* (12th), *escheker* (13th). And in thirteen the later form, so far as Littré's quotations afford evidence, has the *i*, which the older one wants: *chiere* (12th century), *chere* (11th); *chier* (12th), *cler* (11th); *derrier* (12th), *derere* (11th); *destrier* (12th), *destrer* (11th); *plenier* (12th), *plener* (11th); *tresorier* (12th), *tresorer* (11th); *vergier* (12th), *verger* (11th); *laurier* (13th), *lorer* (11th); *seculier* (13th), *seculer* (12th); *escolier* (14th), *escoler* (12th); *regulier* (14th), *riuler* (13th); *bachelier* (15th), *baceler* (11th); *bouclier* (16th), *bucler* (11th).¹ Now in half of the words which have the double form—that is 14 out of 27—the form with *i* is contemporary with or even earlier than the other. But if the modern French pronunciation may be accepted as a guide, the *i* in all such words as *pre-mier*, *fa-mi-lier*, *manie-re*, &c. not forming a separate syllable, this seems to suggest the possibility that *boucler* and *bouclier* were only different modes of representing the same sound. Icelandic scholars tell us that in old MSS. *her* and *ser* stand for *hèr* and *sèr* (hjeer) (sjeer), and that we may not infer the pronunciation to have been simply (heer) and (seer) because the accent was not written. This is, to say the least, not improbable. An early and immature orthography is very likely to meet with sounds in actual speech which it knows not how to deal with. And it was probably the same in French, and—as I venture to conjecture—this semi-vowel

¹ Chaucer's forms, with minor variations, are—primer, boteler, chamberere, matere, banere, cordiler, coler, hospitaler, particuler, counseler, squyer, beere, piler, chekker, cheere, cleere, derere (as in *warderere* = *gare derriere* = look out behind), dextrer, plener, tresorer, verger, laurer, seculeer, scoler, reguler, bachelor, bokeler.

which preceded the (ee) was confounded by the English and Teutonic *ear* with the distinct vowel (ii), and then became (ii) in the English and Teutonic *mouth*, even to the extrusion of the original (ee). This has certainly been the case in the Dutch and German forms such as *offizier*, &c. So far as the *l* is concerned—for half of these words end in *-ler*—I take it to have had in such cases the power of the *gl* (nearly) in Italian, the *ll* in Spanish, and the *lh* in Portuguese. Although therefore *bachelor* and *bocler* do not appear in forms with *i* in French literature earlier than the 15th and 16th centuries respectively, yet it is easily conceivable and highly probable that these words—as well as many, or indeed all, of the others—may have had the sound of (jee) quite as much when written without the *i* as when written with it.

There yet remain a few of these words of which I cannot give a good account. The modern French *pardonneur* is not equivalent to Chaucer's *pardoner*, and French literature—at least so far as I can learn from Cotgrave, Kelham, Mätzner, or Littré—has no forms corresponding to his *annueleer*, *corniculer*, *herbegeer*, *laborer*. I suppose all these words, as well as *gospeler* and *scryveneer*, to have been used by Chaucer as analogous forms to *counseler* and *archeer*. Seven words he makes continually to rhyme with the class now under consideration, notwithstanding that the French forms appear to have had only (eer): they are, *antiphoner*, *peer* and *compeer*, *frere*, *sopeer*, *dyner*, *homager*, and *sperre* = sphere. But *antiphoner* occurs only once (forming two rhymes) in all Chaucer, *homager* only once, and the argument will suffer very little if even we were to add three faulty rhymes to the very moderate number already reckoned.

On the other hand, in Early French *matiere* has also the form *matire* (13th century), and some words appear in what I have called the first class of *-ere* words in Chaucer and his contemporaries, which are anglicized from French words that knew no other form than those in (iir),

as *saphere*, *pleasir* (Lynd.), *leysere* (Handl. Synne), Fr. *safir*, *plaisir*, *leisir*. And is not Chaucer's *poweer* similarly to be accounted for? True, in modern French the form is *pouvoir*; but in the very earliest specimen of French that exists, the famous oath of Lewis the Germanic (842), it is *podir*. Mätzner has the word only in the form *pooir*. Littré's examples give the same with only two exceptions to the end of the 14th century. How then was this pronounced? The Burgundian *oi*, so common as (wa) in modern French, we know to have been (wee) 300 years ago; but in many of these words there is a radical (i),¹ which makes it probable that the (wee) is itself changed from an earlier (wii). If so, the 9th century (pod'iir) dropping the middle consonant becomes (po'iir), which with the necessary euphonic insertion of the semi-vowel becomes (po'wiir). This I believe to be just the sound that *pooir* was intended to represent, and that Chaucer meant the very same when he wrote *powere* or *poweer*. Only the first vowel may have stood for (uu). One of Littré's 12th-century forms is *pouvoir* = (puu'wiir), while in the 14th century *power* = (puu'weer) comes in, whence (puu'vweer) and (puu'vwar).

II.

I proceed now to my second proposition: that there is evidence that the symbol—namely *i*—to which Mr Ellis attaches the sound of long (ii) did not represent that sound, but the widely different one of (æi), as in modern English, or at least some sound closely approaching (æi).

1. My first argument is again based on the traditional pronunciation of *mine*, *thine*, *wife*, *knife*, &c., in the great majority of our English dialects throughout the island,

¹ Thus *royne* from *regina*, *froid* from *frigidus*, *poivre* from *piper*, (*g*)*loir* from *glir*-, *moins* from *minus*, &c.; besides the large class of words in which the *i* is supposed to have assumed precedence of the consonant which it used to follow, as *gloire* from *gloria*, *témoïn* from *testimonium*, *dortoir* from *dormitorium*, &c.

north, south, east, and west. In the western counties the sound is perhaps more commonly (ai) or (aai)¹ than (æi), as it is also in parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire and elsewhere; in the vale of Gloucester it is (œi)²; in South Lancashire (Ai); in each of the three Scottish dialects of which Dr J. A. H. Murray gives so full an account it approximates to (œi); and sometimes one hears (æi). This widely prevailing tradition establishes a strong presumption that (œi) is the true ancient sound, or rather, one of the ancient sounds. For there is reason to believe that there was as great a variety of pronunciation in different parts of the island 500 or perhaps 1000 years ago as at the present day, perhaps even greater; and it may be readily admitted that in some words in some districts the sound of (ii) is also a true ancient sound, as in the Kentish (diik) for *dike*, and the Devonshire (liit) for *little*, which existed within living memory.

2. We have next the traditional pronunciation of numerous Hollandish words akin to, or rather identical with, their English equivalents: *mijn*, *fijn*, *wijn*, *schijn*, *lijn*, *zwijsn*, *bijten*, *smijten*, &c., &c. These again afford a strong presumption that at that remote epoch when our Saxon and Angle sires dwelt side by side with the forefathers of the Hollanders, they all alike would speak of (mæin fæin wæin); and the existence in High German of the same words, pronounced in the same manner, points to the same conclusion.

Let me not be misunderstood. It is quite possible that the prevailing pronunciation of the *ii* in the Low Countries was (ii), as Erasmus seems to show;³ nevertheless the earliest known pronunciation in the province of

¹ For West Somerset see Mr Elworthy's lists.

² As in *boy*, *noise*.

³ When he gives *wijt* and *wijn* as containing the same sound as *wit* and *win*, only lengthened; and in asserting, "Quum dico is" [i. e. the Latin *is* = thou goest] "ab eo, sic enuntio quemadmodum Batavi glaciem (ijs): quum lis unde litis, sic effero quemadmodum Gallus sonat lilia." De Lat. Gr. que Sermonis Pron., p. 143: edit. Froben, 1530.

Holland was (oi) or some sound close akin to this. Siegenbeek, quoted by Mr Ellis (p. 295), *affirms* that this had been changed from an earlier (ii), but *proof* of this change, so far as I am aware, is wholly wanting. The sound of *ii* or *ij* with the Hollanders, which through political and literary influences spread throughout the Netherlands, was (oi) : other provinces adopted this as a *new* pronunciation, but there is no evidence that Holland had ever done the same.

3. If we appeal to the grammarians of the 17th century, we find Miege (1688), Wilkins (1668), and Wallis (1653), all recognizing the diphthongal character of our long *i*, which earlier writers seem not to have noticed ; Gil, Cheke, Smith, and others could not discern the diphthongal sound when written with a single symbol. But we find Gil (1621) comparing the three words *win* = conquer, *ween* = think, and *wine*. The last of these is supposed by Mr Ellis to have been sounded then in England with the Scotch long *i*, in which we learn from Dr Murray (p. 113) "the second element is very distinctly *ee* [that is (ii)], and is less overshadowed by the preponderance of the first element than in English." But not only do we seem to be treading on very unsafe ground when we endeavour to establish such minute distinctions at so great a distance of time, but if the difference that existed in Gil's time between *win*, *ween*, and *wine* was not broad and clear, it is hard to see how he could boast of this last vowel as "antiquum illum et masculinum sonum," and triumphantly quote the authority of Lipsius, who commends the Britons as almost alone of all Europeans preserving the true sound of words like *regina*, *amica*, *vita*, &c. And be it observed Gil calls this "that ancient sound." Surely if it had intruded into the language within the two centuries preceding, during which time so many books had been written on Pronunciation both in England and on the Continent, a man of learning like Gil, Head Master of St Paul's School, must have been aware of the fact.

Half a century earlier than Gil we find Hart endeavouring to induce "English Latinistes" to adopt, instead of what he calls "our errors," "the Italian and High Dutch and Welshe pronounciation of their letters." Among these "errors" is this, that the English pronounced the *i* with the sound of ϵ . And what sound was that? Hart does not clearly show, but Mekerch exemplifies it by the Fl. *loosheit, scheiden, &c.*, and Erasmus by the Dutch for ovum (i. e. *ei*), for paratus (i. e. *bereit*), &c. "At diphthongum euidenter audire licet in lingua Germanorum, quum nominant Cæsarem. . . . Neque non sentitur apud nos diphthongus ϵ , si Hollandice dicas ovum, paratus, uersutiæ, Maius, facinus, seductus, caro. Apud Gallos hæc rarius auditur." (De Lat. Gr. que Sermonis Pro., p. 108: Froben's edit., 1530.) But among Erasmus's examples he gives *caro*, by which he must mean, not the Low German *vleesch* surely, but the High German *Fleisch*. And what sound is this, a diphthong, rarely heard in French, and therefore differing considerably from the pure (ii), and represented in Flemish, Dutch, (and High German?) by *ei*? It must be at least very like our (øi), if not quite identical with it.

4. Fourthly, a Welsh writer, nearly a century before Gil's time, Salesbury (1547), gives very distinct evidence as to our long *i*, writing various English words—*I, vine, wine, diches, thine, signes*—in a manner which, as Mr Ellis admits, and as educated Welshmen have confirmed to me, indicates to a modern Welshman no other sound than (øi). And it must be remembered that if Salesbury wanted to express the sound of (øi), he had apparently no other or no better way of doing it than by writing *ei*, as he did. And just as Salesbury, mindful of his Welsh alphabet, regarded *i* as the proper representative of (ii), so both Hart and Gil, men acquainted with foreign languages, to which they repeatedly appeal, looked at our mode of writing from a foreign point of view, and sought to conform it, if possible, to the continental pattern. They therefore of set purpose

reserved *i* or *ï* for the sound of (ii), and supposing they required to represent (œi), how could they have done it better than Hart did with (ei), in his *steil, weiz, weizdum, prezentlie, enterpreiz, &c.*, or than Gil did with his *j*, in *wjf, chjld, wjz, eksidingly, &c.*? Whether this was an ancient sound or one newly invented in the 16th century, having been utterly unknown in all the languages of mankind till that age, if it needed to be expressed by a distinct written symbol, it is hard to say how that could have been better done by men who assigned to the symbol *i* a different function.

Of these Grammarians Salesbury seems to me to furnish evidence so clear and cogent that apart from the necessities of theory no doubt whatever would be entertained that he heard the English *I, vine, thine, wine*, as (œi), (vœin), (dhœin), (wœin).

5. Still earlier than Salesbury we have Palsgrave (1530) expressly affirming that *i* had two distinct sounds in French ("ii. dyuerse maners of soundynges"), one of them like the Italian *i*, and like our sound of *e* in *bee, bier, peer, fee*; the other, found only at the beginning or end of a French word, being like the English *y* in *by and by, spy, fly, awry*. I have given proof elsewhere¹ that this *y* expressed the same sound as was also written with *i*: indeed this is not disputed. What then was that sound? Mr Ellis believes it to have been (*ii*)—the prolonged sound of the English *i* in *pit*. But in what language does the sound exist? In none that I know of: certainly not in English or German, except when in singing the short vowel of *pit, pin, will*, is unnaturally and with difficulty spun out; certainly not in French, where the sound, long or short, is unknown. The French sounds are (i), (ii), and commonly a shade thinner than in the English *peat, peel, seen*; indeed I doubt whether you can find a Frenchman, even one who has lived thirty years in England, whom a keen ear could not detect in a moment

¹ E. E. P., § 14.

by his inability to pronounce *pit*, *pin*, *will* in our English mode: he makes them (pit), (pin), (wil).

Moreover that (*ii*) suits the English organs of speech as little as the French or German may be judged by the manner in which a boy will shout out *Teddy* or *Hurry*, prolonging the sound for the sake of emphasis: he says (tedee'), (hæree'); not (tedii'), (hærii'); for the simple reason that these words are unpronounceable.

It will be objected that the sound of (æi) is equally unknown in French. But—for I am not contending for the exact classical English (æi), even if any two persons utter this with absolute identity of sound—(ai) does exist in French; and this (ai) is just as near to our (æi) as the (ii) of *peat*, *steel*, to that of *riche*, *ville*: it only "exiguum distat" as Gil said of *aye* as compared with the *i* of *thine*. But where is (ai) in French? We get it precisely in the ordinary French pronunciation of *trahison* and *hair*, and in the vulgar Parisian *aïder* for *aider*.¹ But here, it will be objected, we have the written *a*; nevertheless it proves my point that the sound exists, while that of (*ii*) does not. And in provincial French even words written with the simple vowel, as *joli*, "at Montebourg, only 15 miles S.S.E. of Cherbourg,"² are even now sounded with (ai) as *jolai*. Of this fact Mr Ellis furnishes very explicit evidence, though he himself is not satisfied with it. And combining this evidence with that of Palsgrave, we may assert this (ai), or perhaps some sound even nearer to (æi), or perhaps (æi) itself, to have existed early in the 16th century in *by* and *by*, *spy*, *fly*, *awry*, and the whole class of words represented by these.

But suppose it so, may not the sound even then have been (ii) in Chaucer's time, and have changed during the more than two centuries that elapsed between Chaucer and Palsgrave? Let us examine the elaborate argument by

¹ It may be said that in *trahir*, *hair*, &c., the *a* and the *i* are sounded separately: but they are not at all more separate to my ear than in the English *aye*.

² Ellis's E. E. P., p. 297 and 458, note: see also p. 460.

which Mr Ellis undertakes to prove that Chaucer's long *i* was (*ii*).

The objection that this (*ii*) is not a true English sound, nor a sound known to any language of my acquaintance, is one that I will not further dwell on; but must observe the remarkable result at which Mr Ellis has arrived in supposing that our language in the 14th century had, as to its vowels, such a curiously defective alphabet. In his *Key to Palæotype* Mr Ellis recognizes in ordinary modern English 27 vowels and diphthongs; but in Chaucer—though he has no scruple about refining, or (shall I say) phonetic hair-splitting—he allows only 16 altogether, of which 7 are still in use, 9 are unknown in modern English. Has the whole genius of our spoken language altered during these 500 years, while all the other languages have undergone changes both slight and slow? It is hard to obtain exact information about our modern dialects of English, but I find Dr Murray recognizes 22 vowels in the Southern dialect of Scotland, while Mr Elworthy, assisted by Mr Ellis, Dr Murray, and Mr Sweet, discovers no fewer than 41 in the dialect of West Somerset. Yet Chaucer has only 16, of which only (*aa*), (*ee*), (*e*), (*i*), (*uu*), (*u*), and (*ai*) survive—the last in one word only, *aye* = yes. Of the 20 omissions, if we compare Mr Ellis's theoretical Chaucer with modern English, the most notable, not to mention the diphthongs (*æi*), (*æi*), (*æu*) and (*iu*), are (*ee*), (*oo*), (*aa*), and, strangest of all, (*ii*), with the short vowels corresponding to these. But as in one or two places (pp. 280 and 284) Mr Ellis seems to slur over the distinction between (*ii*) and (*ii*) as hardly essential to his argument, let his case have the benefit of the doubt, and let us see why we must believe *i* to have an (*i*) sound in the 14th century.

The evidence which Mr Ellis derives from exceptional rhymes, simply on the principle that Chaucer and Gower had no imperfect rhymes, must be unceremoniously set aside: the principle, as I showed in the early part of this paper, is false, and the evidence falls to the ground. Such

rhymes as *list best*, *abridge allege*, *yet wit*, occur in our poets of every age—inexact in every case, and proving precisely nothing.

Then again, in words of French derivation terminations that contained *i* were in French sounded with (i) or (ii), and “it would be difficult to suppose that Chaucer, who was familiar with French, and in the spirit of the times as shewn by the contemporary practice of Gower, was introducing it into English, could have changed the French sound.” I will not repeat here what I have said elsewhere¹ as to the tendency of all nations, ourselves by no means excepted, to assimilate foreign words to more familiar forms, as is still done in West Somersetshire and doubtless in every part of England. We constantly anglicize: always have done so: if Chaucer did otherwise with French words, he acted contrary to the national custom, as well as to his own practice in regard to other proper names, witness *Alisaundre*, *Pruce*, *Ruce*, *Lettow*, *Gernade*, *Algezir*, *Galice*,² which are neither the native names of places nor the French forms of those names, but anglicized pronunciations, as much as (*madii·rè*), (*sher·i*), (*dəndzhuu·ən*), (*mek·sico*), are now.

When Mr Ellis says he “cannot force himself to suppose”³ the *i* in these words ever to have been sounded as

¹ E. E. P., p. 64.

² i. e. probably (*alisAn·dɪ*), (*pruus*), (*ruus*), (*let·ouu*), (*dzher·naad*), (*al·dzhezəir*), (*galəis*). The final *e* not to be sounded. It is impossible to believe with Mr Ellis that Chaucer’s poetry contained 70 per cent of weak rhymes.

³ As to this form of argument I may with equal justice urge that “I cannot force myself to suppose” the *e* in *here* to have been anything else than (ii), or the *i* in *wine* and *ey* in *they* anything else than the (əi) and (eei) which they are at this day. Such an argument is of course an appeal to the general impression produced by long continued study of a subject. But I too, as well as Mr Ellis, have been engaged for many years in these investigations, having given “Readings from Chaucer” before the Plymouth Institution as early as October 21st, 1858, and having exchanged letters on the subject a year or two earlier still with my old friend and schoolfellow the present Prof. of A.S. to the University of Oxford; and the general impression which I have received is *exceedingly strong* in favour of the very slow changes of spoken language. See my E. E. P., pp. 117, 118, footnote.

(æi), not only is he, in regard to some of these words, speaking in plain defiance of Salesbury's (not to say Palsgrave's) authority, but with equally little ceremony he sets aside that of Butler, Gil, and Hart. Mr Ellis objects to the long *i* in the termination of *superlatif, motif, inquisitif*; but even as late as 1633 Butler gives *indicative* as the correct sound, and Gil (1621) gives *kaitjv* the *j* = (æi), as Mr Ellis admits,—and Hart speaks of *miseiv* letters. Mr Ellis objects to *riche*, but Gil writes *rjch*, as the vowel is long also in Dutch and German. In like manner Gil, in perfect agreement with Palsgrave, gives *enemj, maladj, adulterj, mizerj, konstansj* (notwithstanding the accent on the first syllable in ordinary conversation, he takes pains to tell us¹), and pure English words in like manner, as *everj, opnlj*, and *-lj* always where we now have the short (-li); and in this he is supported by Hart (1569). Gil, however, tells us the usage as to some of these words varied in his time: the vowel was long or short.

Another argument is based on the shortening of (æi) into (*i*): how can we explain that (*sivilæiz*) gives (*sivilizee'shen*) "except on the theory that (*i*) was the original normal sound?" I fail to see the difficulty. The (æi) is shortened into (*i*) quite irrespective of such a theory, simply by dropping the first element in the diphthong and shortening the remaining one. Precisely so when, throwing back the accent, we change *Newfound'land* into *New-foundland*, the *found* becomes (fund) or (fend), the first part of the diphthong disappearing altogether.

Again, an appeal is made to the naturally short vowel in *India*. But our poets, true to the instincts of the nation, anglicized the word, and (æind) resulted. Mr Ellis quotes from Chaucer rhymes of this word with *find* and *kind*, and in Allit. Poems, p. 3, we have it rhyming with *blind*; and we have the evidence of the Ormulum for

¹ "Numerus poeticus paroxytonis [proparoxytonis?] in *i* sæpe ultimam productam acuit; ut *mizerj, konstansj, destinj*; unde etiam in prosa fere obtinuit ut ultimâ vel longâ vel brevi æqualiter scribantur & pronuncientur, non acuuntur tamen."

the long vowel in all of these words. Moreover in Allit. Poems, *ibid.*, *ynde* rhymes with *schynde*, preterit of *scynen* = (sh^hein'en) as I still believe, but which no one can imagine to have been (sh^hin'en).

Then there are rhymes with Latin words ending in *i*, and it is argued that "it is difficult to suppose that Latin was at that time so mispronounced as to have *i* called (ai). The Roman Catholic tradition must have saved this heresy." I have shown in my book (§ 89) that this Roman Catholic tradition had no existence; and it is precisely this vowel in reference to which Lipsius declared that the Britons stood almost alone.

6. And this leads me to observe, dismissing Mr Ellis's work for the time, that it is too commonly taken for granted that the Latin and Greek long *i* was universally (ii). I will not again quote the authority of Lipsius, nor that of Mekerch,¹ nor repeat (see my E. E. P., p. 18, note) what Sir Thomas Smith wrote about the Englishman's being able to converse with the Lombards in Latin, though he could not with a Frenchman. Just as in modern Germany there are different pronunciations existing side by side—(m^hein w^hein) and (miin win),—so it may well have been the case in ancient Italy; and as inscriptions have been found in various parts of Italy, in which the long *i* is represented by *ei*, this mode of writing affords at least a presumption that the mode, or at any rate one mode, of sounding the letter was as a diphthong. Two letters were exhibited to the eye, and those who first thus wrote *ameicus*, *preimus*, &c., did so most probably because they had two closely combined sounds to express by the two letters; and it can be no matter of surprise if this particular combination was deemed suitable 2000 years ago to indicate that very sound which it indicates in modern Dutch and German and (in a few instances) in English.

¹ *I longum antiquis Romanis proferebatur ut hæc diphthongus ei, hoc est ei, et e inclusum habebat.*

And now for that "ray of light from ancient Greece" which has afforded so much amusement to my German critic and others. I will endeavour to state my argument more perspicuously.

Two of our English *i* words are found in almost all the modern Teutonic languages, pronounced in some with (ii), in others with (əi), and are also found both in Latin with its derivative languages and in ancient and modern Greek. Some suppose that one of these words is not indigenous to the Teutonic languages, but borrowed from the Latin, which however does not affect the argument, as the word is found in the earliest literature of, I believe, all the Teutonic races. The words are *wine* & *wike*,¹ which have a diphthongal sound in English, Dutch, and High German, but have the pure (ii) in Platt-Deutsch and Icelandic, as well as in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.² But what was the sound in Greek? I answer, a diphthong: not the pure vowel. Nothing is more improbable than that the *oi* of *οἶνος* was a pure vowel, though it is (ii) in Modern Greek. But it may be said that in *οἶνος* and *οἶκος* the *o* is only a modification of the original digamma. I might reply by falling back on the authority of Immanuel Bekker, in whose edition of Homer these words are always given with both the digamma and the

¹ Still found in the names of *Wyke* and *Heckmondwyke* near Bradford, *Wyke Regis* near Weymouth, *Wyken* near Coventry, *Wykeham* near Scarborough, and *East Wykeham* near Louth in Lincolnshire, in all of which the *wyke* is sounded with the long vowel, as in *like*, *dike*, *Mike*. (I am indebted to the courtesy of the clergy of these parishes for this information.)

² In Mæso-Gothic the words are written *wein* and *weihs*, the spelling of which might seem to indicate a diphthong, the (i) sounds being represented by *i*, or occasionally *ī*. But Ulphilas borrowed his alphabet mainly from the Greeks, and the frequent interchange of *ι* and *ει* in Early Greek MSS. shows that before the age of Ulphilas *ει* had already approached, if it had not even fully adopted, the sound of *ι* (ii) which it still has in modern Greek. Yet it is important to remember that the Western Germans received their religion and civilization from the West (not from Constantia, as the Goths of Mæsia did), and therefore also the Latin alphabet, not that which Ulphilas had formed on a Greek basis. Hence, even if the M.G. *ei* was (ii), this furnishes no ground whatever for supposing that the High German *ei* was ever (ii).

ο—*Φοῖνος, Φοῖκος*. I have preferred looking for older authority, and have found it, at least reference to the latter word—*οἶμος, Φοῖκος*.¹ In one of the most ancient inscriptions given by Bœckh we have TAN FOIKIAN, and this evidence is confirmed by that of other inscriptions, seeming to leave no doubt that the *F* in such words was not followed by a pure (ii). Thus we have several centuries before Christ in Italy (wiik) and (wiin)—perhaps other forms also—and in Greece some approximation to (wëik) and, judging from analogy, (wëin), just as we have when we compare the Platt-Deutsch and the Hoch-Deutsch at the present day; and thus is shown the doubtfulness of that premiss from which such far-reaching conclusions have been drawn, that words commonly written with *i* in Southern Europe *must* have been in their earliest form sounded with nothing but (ii).

Those at any rate who contend that the class of words we are at this moment dealing with had (ii) for their vowel, have this fact to account for, that at least one important and probably typical word of this class had a diphthong in the earliest Greek we know.

To myself it seems probable that at that distant period when the ancestors of Teutons, Latins, and Hellenes all dwelt side by side, they had words in common which even then varied in pronunciation, some saying (wiin) and (wiik) with the pure (ii), while others sounded the words with (ëi) or some similar diphthong; but I frankly admit that the reasons assigned fall far short of demonstration. But if we limit our view to these recent centuries, in which we find Salesbury writing *wine*, &c., with the Welsh *ei*, and Palsgrave expressly asserting that *spy*, *fly*, &c., were *not* sounded with the Italian *i*, and if we further reflect that the little more than a century that elapsed between Chaucer and those two writers was wholly insufficient to

¹ I am not at all satisfied with Cleasby and Vigfusson's opinion that the Latin *vicus* and the O.N. *víc* were entirely different words. The only difficulty is to show the connexion of meaning; but Bosworth does this, helped by the Du. *vijk*.

admit of so great a revolution in our language as the universal change of (ii) into (ei); we certainly have here weighty reasons for believing that Chaucer's *mine* and *thine* were also sounded with the Welsh *ei*, that is to say with the (ei) which is their recognized sound now.

III.

I pass on from the arguments by which I seek to show that words written with *i* were not necessarily, and were not in fact, sounded with (ii), to come to my third proposition. More fully expounded it is this. Supposing it proved that in Chaucer *here* was not sounded like *there*, and that the latter of these was sounded with (ee), it is at least plausible to assert that the former was sounded with (ee). That is what I shall endeavour to disprove.

But first of all, inasmuch as most people are not conscious, as Mr Melville Bell has justly remarked, that when they sound the word *fate*¹ they are sounding a diphthong, and inasmuch also as the pure (ee) is scarcely known to our language, and inasmuch as I utterly despair of our being able with the best phonologic telescopes to discern such minute distinctions through the haze and mist of five long centuries, I shall assume the right to speak under this head of the vowel in *aerial*, *ailing*, *fate*, *day*, *why*, *weigh*, &c., however spelt, and with no attempt to distinguish these. This sound, I contend, did not belong to *here* and the whole class of words rhyming therewith, inasmuch as it was habitually represented by *ai* or *ei*. And as it is an admitted fact that in Chaucer these digraphs represented one and the same sound, I undertake to prove that that sound was the (ee) or (eei) or (eii) of *aerial*, *ailing*, &c.

1 and 2. This is not a case in which English and French tradition are opposed, as they are about *i*. The French *aimer*,² *retraite*, *Seine*, the English *day*, *why*,

¹ Mr Ellis writes (*feet*) on p. 4, (*feeit*) on p. 272. Surely the latter is more correct. Sophocles gives the very word as *φῆιτ*.

² I am aware that *aimer*, &c., sound the *ai* or *ei* as *è* rather than

remain, and many words common to both languages, as (*veen*), (*pleen*), all contain this sound, and afford at once a strong presumption that this was the ancient sound of the words thus spelt with *ai* or *ei*, as most of them have been for more than five centuries, in these languages, unless distinct proof of change can be adduced.

3. The words *swain*, *dey*, to die (not uncommon in Chaucer, rhyming with *say*, *pray*, *obey*), and *may*, a maid, are simply Old Norse words, or belong to the North Angle dialect which was close akin to Old Norse; and Icelandic tradition, coinciding with English and French tradition just quoted, gives us (*swæidn*), (*deei·ja*), (*meei*).

4. It is very common in Early French to find a simple *e* written for *ei* or *ai*, thus indicating the sound of these digraphs. Mr Payne has collected numerous examples of *e* for *ai* in Norman French,¹ but it is not confined to that dialect. In Joinville, for example, whose early education was with the count of Champagne, we find *jamez*, *feré*, *fet*, *fesoient*, *mes*, *lesser*, *mestre*, *mauwese*, *megre*, &c. And as to *e* where *ei* is the common form, a few examples are—*rene* (12th century), *vaine* and *voine* (13th), *veine* and *vaine* (14th), now *veine*; *treze* (12th), *treize* (13th); *seigle* (13th), *segle* (16th), now *seigle*; *seigneur* (11th), *segneur* (13th); *veant* and *veiant* (11th), now *voyant*; *neif* (11th), *nege* (14th), *neige* and *noige* (15th), now *neige*.

5. At least one example of the converse of this change of orthography is furnished by Rob. Glouc.'s form *Longespei* for *longue espée*.

6. Mr Payne has collected ample evidence that *e* and *ei* or *ai* stood for the same sound, in the rhymes of Early French poetry; *apres* rhyming with *relais*, *retraire* with *manere*, and so on.² And, though I would never lay stress on exceptional rhymes, we *haire* (= hair shirt) rhyming with *faire*; this *haire*, which is also written *here* in the

é, but in any case it is not *é* like the *e* of our *there*. And see below, p. 44.

¹ Phil. Soc. Trans., 1868-9, p. 361.

² Ibid., p. 387.

Miracles St Loys as it is in Chaucer, being the same word as our *hair*, and the O.N. *hæra* (Haa'ra), which was formerly pronounced (Heer'a).¹

7. The grammarians, who however were all later than Chaucer, confirm the above results. Thus Meigret in his *Phonetic Grammar* writes *fes, james, lesser, plere, trere, teson* (= *taisons*), *reson*, &c., though with a differently shaped *e* from that which he uses in *sucçeder, amez, ajouté, preterit, escriuez*, the former being elsewhere called the "e ouvert," the latter the "e clos;" and Palsgrave describes the sound of *ei* (which, as I shall show immediately, is often the same thing as *ai* with him) in language unmistakeably plain; "the *e* shall have his distinct sound, and the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely." How after this can there be any difficulty? A difficulty arises thus, (a.) from the fact that there existed also both in French and in English the sound of (ai), a far less common sound, and Mr Ellis has mistaken, as frequently, the exception for the rule; and (b.) from the second fact that our English long (*ee*) has a power of generating the sound of (ai), which has added to the confusion. On these points it will be necessary to dwell a little.

8. To deal with the first objection. I admit—indeed I have made use of the fact above—that the sound of (ai) existed in French. But to what extent did it prevail? Meigret gives only three examples—*hair*, still so pronounced, and written with the puncta diæresis; *aydant*, which we are told is still trisyllabic in the mouth of an uneducated Parisian, and indeed the separate syllable of *aïder* can be accounted for by the early forms of the verb, such as the *ajudha* in the famous oath of Louis le Germanique; and *aymant*, a loadstone, derived, through the Prov. *aziman*, from *adamas*. Meigret, it is true, also writes *aye* as the subj. of *avoir*, but elsewhere he writes it with *ey*; and *aymer*, to love, he expressly says, though the spelling would point to the sound of (a), is sounded *eymer*.

¹ See Cleasby and Vigfusson's Dictionary, *Introd.*, p. xxxv.

And what says Palsgrave? He evidently, like Meigret, thinks that (ai) is theoretically the true sound, and accordingly he describes the diphthong *ai* as sounded “*a* distinctly, and the *i* shortly and confusely.” But unfortunately he gives no examples with the rule. He recognizes *païjs*, *ajde*, and *haïr*, as having an *i* which “hath his distinct sounde by hym selfe;” and he tells us that futures in *-ray*, though written with *ay*, are sounded with *ey*. But his transliterations contain 27 words written with *ai* or *ay*, and a very unsatisfactory list it is. It contains eleven of the very words which Joinville’s orthography and Meigret’s Grammar and Mr Payne’s lists show to have been sounded with (ee) or (eē); yet Palsgrave leaves the same *ai* or *ay* as exhibiting the pronunciation. The eleven are *faict*, *laissé*, *aymer*, *j’ay*, *maulvais*, *paix*, *naistre*, *faisant*, *villayne*, *mais*, *vray*, and it seems probable that four others would follow the analogy of these, namely, *mondayne*, *vayne*, *souuerayne*, and *secretaire*. Eight others we may assert that Meigret would spell with *ei*,¹ *craindre*, *crainte*, *loingtain*, *ainsi*, *maintenir*, *depainctz*, *maint*, and *vainqueurs*: it seems not unlikely that these were sounded nearly as at present. There remain four others, *naufraige*, *eaige*, *plaigne*, *oultraige*, in which there can be no doubt (ai) was the sound, from the explicitness with which he elsewhere describes this termination.² This short (i) is lost in modern French. The list contains no word such as *faillir*, *assaillir*, *bailler*, but in this class also it is clear³ that the sound was (ai), as it still is. But Palsgrave’s inexactness in transliteration is shown in his having given on the same pages two other words in *-age*, *aage* another form of *eaige*, and *courage*, in neither of which has he inserted the *i* in the French to be explained, and in only one has he given it in the form which is to explain the sound—*covrdige*.⁴ But what does this inexactness shew? This, I think:—that even in those words in which the (a) was radical, as

¹ See Ellis’s E. E. P., p. 118.

² Lesclarcissement, p. 8.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 56—64.

naistre from *nascor*, *paix* from *pax*, the habit of modifying this (a), when combined with (i) following it, into (ee) or (ee) was so thoroughly established in national usage and so familiar to the writer that it was the most natural oversight possible for him to leave these words unaltered, where a more painstaking and accurate writer, like Meigret, would have altered the symbol. Thus *mais* already expressed to the eye the true sound: therefore, though inadvertently, Palsgrave left it unaltered.

9. But again, having undertaken to disprove that *ai* and *ei* stood for (ai), I am obliged to indict Mr Ellis on the serious charge of utterly setting at defiance the authority of etymology. For let us look at some of the words given by Mr Ellis in Pt. II. of his work in the specimens of Chaucer's and Gower's pronunciation. We get here, first, of Latin origin—

<i>veyne</i>	from <i>vena</i>	now <i>veine</i>
<i>peine</i>	„ <i>poena</i>	„ <i>peine</i>
<i>Mawdeleyne</i>	„ <i>Magdalena</i>	„ <i>Madelaine</i>
<i>counseyl</i>	„ <i>consilium</i>	„ <i>conseil</i>
<i>disdeyn</i>	„ <i>dedignor</i>	„ <i>dédaigner</i>
<i>moneye</i>	„ <i>moneta</i>	„ <i>monnaie</i>
<i>veyl</i>	„ <i>velum</i>	later <i>voèle</i>
<i>Beneyt</i>	„ <i>Benedictus</i>	„ <i>Benoèt</i>
<i>streyt</i>	„ <i>strictus</i>	„ <i>estroèt</i>

besides *pleyn* from *plenus*, *deceive* from *decipio*, *receyve* from *recipio*, *preye* from *precor*, *ceynt* from *cingo*, *obeysant* from *obedire*, *feyne* from *finco*, and several others, all of which Mr Ellis would sound with (ai), though they have no (a) in the Latin.

In like manner, of Teutonic origin—

reyn, A.S. *regn*
seyl, A.S. *segel*
seyn, to say, A.S. *secgan*
seyde, A.S. *sæde*
way = *via*, A.S. *weg*

ley, A.S. *lecgan*

ay = ever, O.N. *æ* = (ee)¹

and others, in all of which the pronunciation that I am objecting to gives the vowel as (ai), though there is no (a) in the earlier form, as also there is no (a) at the present day, and has been none for at least three centuries.

Now I am not going to affirm that the (ee) in these words could not become (ai): I shall prove lower down that it could. But there is another remark to be made. The words with a radical (a) have undoubtedly undergone a change at some period—our *plain* from *planus*, *maistre* from *magister*, &c.—a change² from (ai) to (ee), or (*ee*), or (*eei*), probably by passing through some intermediate stage or stages, as (aai), (ææi), (eei), (*eei*), (*ee*). If, then, this change took place, as I contend, *before* Chaucer's time, there is no necessity for supposing any great change at any time in the other class of words, namely, those with a radical (e)—*veyne*, *peyne*, *streit*, *obey*, &c., as indeed our Grammarians know nothing of any such change. If, on the other hand, we imagine with Mr Ellis that the (a) words retained their (ai) till *after* Chaucer—it being admitted and indisputable that these two classes were sounded exactly alike in his day—we cannot escape the conclusion that the (e) words underwent with marvellous rapidity a double change: they changed their (ee), or (*ee*), or (*eei*) into (ai) only to resume their original form in a hundred years or so. For instance; to take two words as representatives of two large classes:—*pleyne* from *plenus* was pronounced exactly like *pleyne* from *planus* in Chaucer's age: if the latter had already become (pleein), no further change need be imagined; if not, the former had to become (plain) only to go back to (pleein) by Palsgrave's time at latest; how much more rapidly still one cannot conjecture.

¹ See above, p. 37 and note.

² Illustrative of this change are the forms *caeine* (11th century), *chaaine* (12th), *chaene*, *chaane*, *caenne*, *caïne* (13th), *chayenne* (15th), *chaisne* (16th), now *chaïne*; yet the diminutive *chenette* appears as early as the 13th century.

Surely no sane man can believe this. Spoken language does not, never did, and never will "play such fantastic tricks before high heaven."

But I shall be told that Palsgrave and Sir Thomas Smith more than three centuries ago, and our provincial dialects now, attest the sound of (ai) in *ai* words. True to a certain extent; but this (ai) or (æi), whether heard in London or in West Somersetshire, is merely a corruption of (e*ei*) or (e*ei*), quite irrespective both of derivation and of spelling. The change has no regard to spelling. The Londoner who sounds (æi) will give it alike to *rein* and *rain*, to *lain* and *lane*, to *veil*, *vail*, and *vale*.¹ And derivation is equally a matter of indifference. It is so in the examples just quoted, and in Mr Elworthy's lists. In these there are three words in which (ai) may, it is barely possible, be the original sound handed down in unbroken tradition—*aa'yð* (aaid), *taayldur* (taail'di), and *baa'y* (baai), from *aider*, *tailleur*, and Span. *bahia*; and some others have, according to my view, simply broadened out (ei) into (aa), as *bumbaay* (bombaai) for *by and by*, *maay* (maai) for *my*, *smaayt* (smaait) for *smite*, and three or four more; but among the rest may be found side by side the two different classes of words to which attention has just been called, those, namely, with (a) in the root and those with (e). With a radical (a) we have *klaa'ym* from *clamo*, *hraa'y* from *radius*, *plaa'yg* from *plaga*, *Maa'y* from *Maia*, *paaylæn* from *palus*, *vaa'yn* from *vanus*; but these show no symptom of a stronger attachment to the (aa) than *vaa'yul* from *velum*, *saa'yul* from *segel*, *fraa'y* from *frigido*, *aa'ym* from *æstimo*, *hraa'yn* from *regn* or from *regno*, *vaa'yn* from *vena*. The reasonable conclusion seems to be that all these words, having the same sound now, reached it from a common starting-point in (e*e*) or (e*ei*). The change is then very simple, the different stages being (e*ei*), (e*ei*), (ææi), (aa*i*),

¹ I remember being puzzled several years ago by a London boy who gave me his name as (læin). I asked him whether he spelt it with *i* or *y*. Neither, he said, but (æi). After a while, but not without difficulty, I found out that the name was *Lane*.

merely reversing the order of the process just now supposed in the case of *planus* and *magister*.

10. Now this corruption had begun more than three hundred years ago. Out of Palsgrave's four examples of (ai)—*rayne, fayne, payne, disdayne*—the third¹ and fourth are from words which have no radical (a), so that the (ai) is an unquestionable corruption. And if we listen to Sir Thomas Smith we find—first indeed, which I may mention parenthetically, that he would mark only a "minima differentia" between *ai* and *ei* (see quotation, Ellis, p. 120), which seems to mean that one was (ææi) and the other (eei), so that the corruption was not so strongly marked as among the "rustici" against whom he inveighs,—and secondly that there was by no means a general agreement as to what words should be sounded with (ææi) and what with (eei). The very words which he would sound with (eei)—*fein, fingere, deinti, delicatus, peint, pingere, feint, languidus*—"others," he says, "sound and pronounce with (ææi): so indiscriminating are we English at any rate in the case of these two diphthongs."² Just so there were others who pronounced all the *ai* words with *ei*. Like difference of usage is clearly evidenced by Hart and Gil's want of agreement as to common words. Now will not differences of dialect throw some light on this difficulty? Gil was a Lincolnshire man, Sir Thomas Smith a native of the extreme north of Essex; what more natural than they should condemn as mincing affectation the *ισχυόρην*—Gil meant *ισχυόρηρα*—of the London pronunciation. It was no doubt as Head Master of St Paul's School that he was liable to be pestered by the fine ladies who—"aliquoties ad me pippiunt, *I pre ya gi yar skalarz tiv ta plë, pro I prai you giv your skolarz lëv tu plai*;" that is, (ei preei jə gi jə skəl'erz liiv tɛ pleei) for (ei prææi ju giv ju skol.arz leev tu plææi). But in the matter of

¹ Palsgrave, however, elsewhere writes *peyne*.

² Alii sonant et pronuntiant per *ai*, tam ἀδιάφοροι sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli.

pronunciation London has beaten both Lincolnshire and north Essex through the powerful influence of court and parliament, of law-courts and schools, and the incessant locomotion of the population. We do not now say (kææmbrɪk) which Gil approved but (*keeimbrɪk*), not (kææpn) but (*keepən*), not (butsherz meet) but (butshɪz miit), not (mææɪdz) but (*meeɪdz*), not (prææi) and (plææi) but (*preei*) and (*pleei*), not (leev) or (*leev*) but (*liiv*). And, so far as can be ascertained, Chaucer was a Londoner, and I believe therefore that the very pronunciation which Smith and Gil condemned was that which Chaucer used, and which had been preserved in the tradition of London speech in good society to the 16th century, as it has been to the 19th. But Gil's specimen of London pronunciation just quoted contains one peculiarity, not sanctioned by good usage, and yet surviving and very common in metropolitan speech—(tɛ pleei) for (tu pleei). It shows incidentally what I have again and again insisted on—the tenacity of life of all forms of spoken language.

11. It may be objected, however, that some of these arguments on the digraph *ai* or *ei*, if they prove that the sound thus represented was an (e) sound, yet do not decide between the open (ee) and the close (ee). True, but it will be observed that if the *e* in *there* and *where* was the open (ee), the *ai* or *ei* must have represented a different sound, or we should find such rhymes as *bere feyre*, *clene veyne*, &c., which we have (I think) nowhere. Then again, Icelandic tradition with its (*swæidn*), &c., affords unmistakeable evidence of the close vowel. So does English tradition except where an *r* following has opened (ee) into (ee). In the West of England you may still hear (*dheer*) and (*veer*), but elsewhere these words have assumed the open (ee), (*dheer*) and (*feer*). French usage is divided, *ai* and *ei* usually being (ee), as in *veine*, *aimer*, sometimes (ee), as in *saisir*; but Palsgrave's description of *ei*, "the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely," and the spelling itself, can leave no doubt. For why should the written *e*

assume a following *i* unless to indicate, as in Icelandic and in modern English, either the thinning off of the end of the sound into (*i*), or that the whole sound was a vowel akin both to (*e*) and to (*i*), which imperfection of the alphabet afforded no better means of representing?

Briefly now to recapitulate.

I. It has been endeavoured in this paper to show that *here* and the words that rhyme with it were probably sounded in Chaucer's time with the same vowel as in the present day; 1st, from prevalent English traditional pronunciation; 2nd, by a perfectly independent argument from spelling, based on the analogy of *sheep*, *meeke*, *teeth*, as compared with *heap*, *break*, *death*; 3rd, by an argument partly dependent on this last, the gist of which lies in an appeal to Sir Thomas Smith's assertion that the *e* in *sheep* was the *e Anglicum*, which also he expressly opposes to the *e Italicum*; 4th, from the traditional pronunciation and orthography of *hier* and *dier* in all the Teutonic languages; and 5th, by a like appeal to the traditional pronunciation and orthography of French words in *-ier* and *-iere*. And what is there to set against this mass of evidence from independent and widely different sources but the *assumption* that Sir Thomas Smith only betrayed his ignorance in his use of the term *e Anglicum*, and the wholly unproved surmise that a vast revolution had taken place in English spoken language during the two centuries that preceded him?

II. In order to show that *i* in Chaucer's time was diphthongal, possessing, or approaching, the sound that symbol still represents, 1st, the various English dialects have been cited as witnesses; and 2nd, the Dutch and High German pronunciation of many of the same words, as in English, have the long *i*; 3rd, the evidence has been adduced of grammarians and orthoepists both English and foreign, several of whom declare positively that our *i* in the 16th century was not the Italian *i*, while others expressly call it a diphthong; and 4th, it has been shown

that of the words now sounded with (oi) at least one of the most prominent was sounded with a diphthong in a kindred language some 2000 years ago or more.

III. To show that *ai* and *ei* = (*ee*), appeal has been made to the evidence, 1st, of English tradition; 2nd, of French tradition; 3rd, of Icelandic tradition; 4th, of French spelling in words like *jamez* for *jamaiz*; 5th, of one similar example from the English of Rob. Glouc.; 6th, of French rhymes such as *retraire* with *manere*; 7th, of the grammarians; while 8th, various objections have been dealt with; 9th, etymology has been shown to be utterly opposed to the idea that *ai* = (*ai*); 10th, certain discrepancies in the statements of grammarians have been shown to arise in all probability from dialectic variety of pronunciation; and 11th, reasons have been assigned for believing not only that *ai* and *ei* represented an (e) sound, but that it was not the open (*ee*) but the close (*ee*) for which they stood.

By the various arguments here adduced I hope to have proved, at least to some candid readers, that Chaucer did not sound the adverb *here* as (*heer*), but nearly or quite as we or our Dutch and German neighbours sound it at the present day. On this point, as on almost all his main conclusions, I still as firmly as ever believe Mr Ellis to be in error; yet I am very far from idly dreaming that I have escaped from error myself. This, at any rate, I may very confidently affirm, that this paper is an honest contribution to the study of Early English Pronunciation, and if the view here maintained can indeed be demonstrated to be erroneous, at least this good result will be arrived at, that *the truth*—for which alone honest men will contend—will be all the more satisfactorily settled on a secure and solid basis.

XII.

DR JOHN KOCH

ON

1. AN ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE "*KNIGHT'S TALE*."
2. THE DATE AND PERSONAGES OF THE "*PARLAMENT OF FOULES*."
3. "*QUENE ANELIDA AND THE FALSE ARCYTE*."
4. *a.* LOLLIUS.
b. CHAUCER, AND BOCCACCIO'S *DECAMERONE*.

Appendix. Prof. Scherk's Date of the Canterbury Journey, english from Herrn Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*," 1866 ; with a note, showing why it's wrong, by Mr Skeat.*

* Prof. Adams, the great Cambridge astronomer, has kindly promist to give us his opinion on the point.

PREFATORY NOTES.

THE following essay originally appeared in "*Englische Studien*," a periodical edited by Dr Eugen Kölbing of the University of Breslau, 1 bd. 2 heft, p. 249-93, Heilbronn, 1877. At Mr Furnivall's request I have englished it, and his kind advice and assistance—for which I return him my best thanks—have enabled me to give the reader an intelligible translation. The present version of the essay is, however, rather a free adaptation from the former one, than a literal reproduction, several additions having been made to give the English student a peep into the investigations of my countrymen concerning his great poet Chaucer. In other places I have altered my own words in order to strengthen the arguments, or I have omitted a sentence which I thought superfluous. I have also introduced a new title for the last two sections of the essay, which in the original are not separated from the preceding one. But the tenor of the whole paper has remained quite unchanged.

My greatest reward for englishing this little work will be, to find that it has helped in some degree to strengthen the good relations between the English and the German Chaucerian, by which alone our common work can thrive.

London, October, 1877.

DR JOHN KOCH.

ARGUMENT.

I. ON AN ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE "KNIGHT'S TALE."

Prof. Ten-Brink shows some fragments extant from an original *Palamon and Arcite*.—His researches continued by me: The description of the temple of Venus in the *Assembly of Foules* appears to be an almost unmodified piece of the *Palamon and Arcite*. The descriptive parts of the *Knight's Tale*, especially those of the temples of Mars and Diana, the Prayers and Speeches, are only modified from the *Palamon and Arcite*, which was in stanzas, for the sake of the new couplet verse. Chaucer himself inserted certain stanzas from the *Teseida* into his *Troilus and Cressida*.

II. ON THE DATE AND PERSONAGES OF THE "PARLAMENT OF FOULES."

From internal evidence the *Parlament of Foules* cannot be reckoned among Chaucer's earliest productions. It must have been composed after *Troilus and Cressida*, about the year 1381. In this same year King Richard II.'s embassy is sent to Germany to woo Anne of Bohemia. The personages alluded to in the poem are Princess Anne, King Richard, and two German princes.

III. ON "QUEEN ANELIDA AND THE FALSE ARCITE."

Queen Anelida and the False Arcite seems to have been composed before the *Canterbury Tales*.

IV. a. ON CHAUCER'S USE OF "LOLLIUS," AND NON-USE OF BOCCACCIO'S NAME. b. ON CHAUCER AND BOCCACCIO'S DECAMERONE.

A new suggestion for Chaucer's having introduced the name of Lollius instead of Boccaccio's.—The influence of the *Decamerone* on Chaucer denied.

APPENDIX.

Prof. Scherk's Date of the *Canterbury Journey* englished from Herr Hertzberg's "*Canterbury-Geschichten*."

I.

ON AN ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE KNIGHT'S TALE.

ONE of the most interesting questions about Chaucer's poetical works is undoubtedly, how far he is indebted to Boccaccio, in his use of that Italian poet's *Teseida*, for his own *Knight's Tale*. As the results of Prof. Ten-Brink's researches on this point are scarcely known to the English Chaucerian, and as this present essay starts where the learned author of the *Chaucer-Studien* left off, I think it absolutely necessary to begin by giving a summary of the most striking passages of Prof. Ten-Brink's important work relating to this subject.

After some polemical remarks against his predecessors in this investigation,—Messrs. Tyrwhitt, Sandras, Ebert, Hertzberg, and Kissner,—Prof. Ten-Brink, instead of entering into the general question, whether Chaucer, before writing the *Knight's Tale*, had written another and closer translation of the *Teseida*, proposes this query (*Studien*, p. 47): “Had the original *Palamon and Arcite* (supposing such a poem ever really existed) the same metrical form as the *Knight's Tale*?” “If we can prove,” he continues, “that parts of a closer imitation of Boccaccio are extant than that in the *Canterbury Tales*, it will easily follow that the whole poem to which those parts belonged was originally written in the same style. The favourite metre of Chaucer, the 7-line stanza, would be the most near to the Italian stanza, and therefore in it Chaucer would be most likely to write a more literal translation of the *Teseida*, if he wrote one at all.”

The fragment of *Quene Anelida and the False Arcite*, says Prof. Ten-Brink, bears, as every Chaucer student knows, a striking resemblance to the *Knight's Tale*, and chiefly in its opening lines. Here we find the same personages, Theseus, Hippolyta, Emilia, Creon, and Arcite, as in the *Knight's Tale*, although in the latter, Arcite has quite opposite characteristics to those ascribed to his namesake in *Quene Anelida and the False Arcite*; but after having introduced these folk to the reader, the poet leaves him in entire darkness about their fate, and their relations to the other story. So we must content ourselves with the small remainder, and try to make the best we can of it.

Now, comparing the beginning of *Quene Anelida*¹ and the *Teseida*, we shall see that the first three stanzas of each correspond surprisingly with each other, if we only alter the succession a little, and put the 1st stanza of *Quene Anelida* to the 3rd stanza of the *Teseida*, and the 3rd stanza of *Quene Anelida* to the 1st of the *Teseida*.

Quene Anelida, st. 1 :

O thou *fers* God of *armes*, Mars
the rede,
That in thy frosty contré called
Trace,
Within thy grisly temples ful of
drede,
Honoured art as patroun of that
place !
With thee, Bellona, Pallas, full
of grace !
Be present, and my songe con-
tyner and guye ;
At my *begynnyng* thus I to the
crye.

Quene Anelida, st. 2 :

For hit ful depe is sonken in my
mynde,
With *pitous* hert, in Englyssh
to endyte
This *olde storie*, in *Latyn* which
I fynde,

Teseide I, st. 3 :

Siate presenti, o *Marte rubi-*
condo,
Nelle tue *arme* rigido e *feroce*,
E tu Madra d'Amor, &c.
E sostenete la mano e la voce
Di me, che *intendo* i vostri effetti
dire, &c.

Teseide I, st. 2 :

Chè m'è venuta voglia con
pietosa
Rima di scriver una *storia*
antica,
Tanto negli anni riposta e nas-
cosa,

¹ I leave out here and henceforth "the False Arcyte."

Of quene Analida and fals Arcite,
That elde, which (that) al can
frete and bite,
(As it hath freten mony a noble
storie)
Hath nygh devoured out of our
memorie.

Quene Anelida, st. 3 :

Be favorable eke thou Polymnya
On Parnaso that with thy *sustres*
glade,
By *Elycon*, not fer from Cirrea,
Syngest with vois memorial in
the *shade*,
Under the laurer, which that
may not fade,
And do that I my shippe to
haven wynne :
First folow I Stace, and after
him Corynne.

Che *latino* autor non par ne dica,
Per quel ch'io senta, in libro
alcuna cosa, &c.

Teseide I, st. 1 :

O *Sorelle* Castalie, che nel monte
Elicona contente dimorate
D'intorna al sacro gorgoneo
fonte,
Sotesso *l'ombra delle frondi*
amate
Da *Febo*, delle quali ancor la
fronte
I' spero ornarmi sol che'l con-
cediate,
Gli santi orecchi a' miei prieghi
porgete,
E quegli udite come voi volete.

From the fourth stanza, Chaucer follows Statius in his *Thebais*, XII, 519-22, but deviates from him in the description of Theseus's returning home after the victorious war against the Amazons. So he omits altogether the remainder of the first book of the *Teseida*, but then, in his 8th stanza, after having extended the short "Fra tanto" of the 10th stanza in the II. book of the *Teseida* into a whole stanza, the 7th,¹ Chaucer again takes up the Italian original with an almost literal reproduction :

Quene Anelida, st. 8 :

Mars, whiche that thro his
furious[e] course of ire
The olde wrethe of Juno to ful-
fille
Hath [had] set the peples hertis
bothe on fire

Teseide II, st. 10 :

Fra tanto Marte i popoli lernei
Con furioso corso avea commossi
Sopra i Tebani, e miseri trofei

¹ With his tryumphe / and laurer corovned thus,
In al the floure / of fortunes yevyng,
let I this noble prince / Theseus,
towarde Athenes / in his wey ryding,
and founde I wol / in shortly for to bringe,
the sley way / of that I gan to write,
of quene Anelida / and fals Arcite

Of Thebes and Grece, [and]	Donati avea de' Principi percossi
everiche other to kille	
With bloody speres, restede never	Più volte già, e de' greci plebei
stille,	
But throng now her, now ther,	Ritenuti tal volta, e tal riscossi
amonge them bothe,	
That everyche other slough, so	Con asta sanguinosa fieramente
were they wrothe.	
	Trista avea fatta l'una e l'altra
	gente.

(9)

Teseide II, st. 11 :

<i>for when Amphiorax / and</i>	<i>Perciò che dopo Anfiarao, Tideo</i>
<i>Tydeus,</i>	
<i>Ippomedon / Partinope also</i>	<i>Stato era ucciso, e'l buon</i>
	<i>Ippomedone,</i>
<i>Wer ded, and slayn / proude</i>	<i>E similmente il bel Partenopeo,</i>
<i>Campaneus,</i>	
<i>and when the wrecches / thebans</i>	<i>E più Teban, de' qua' non fo</i>
<i>bretheren two</i>	<i>menzione,</i>
<i>Were slayn / and kyng Adrastus</i>	<i>Dinanzi e dopo al fiero Capaneo,</i>
<i>home ago,</i>	
<i>so desolat stode thebes and so</i>	<i>E dietro a tutti in doloroso</i>
<i>bare,</i>	<i>agone</i>
<i>that no wight coude / remedie</i>	<i>Eteocle e Polinice, ed ispedito</i>
<i>of his care.</i>	
	<i>Il solo Adrasto ad Argo era</i>
	<i>fuggito.</i>

After this there can be no doubt that Chaucer not only knew, but even translated, Boccaccio's poem when he composed his *Quene Anelida*. Now, supposing this poem to be one of Chaucer's early productions, it would be very strange if he had abruptly given up a work begun in such a pompous style. (That he never finished this poem, we know from the well known list of Lydgate (cf. Aldine edition I, 80), in which he mentions *Anelida and Arcite* only under the title of a "Complaynte," a name that he would never have applied to a finished epic poem.) And still stranger must it appear to us that a mere fragment should have survived more finisht productions, like the *Origines upon the Maudelayne*,¹ a first edition of *Palamon and Arcite*, and the *Boke of the Lyon*, which are entirely lost to us. Finally Lydgate, who has apparently much less knowledge of Chaucer's first-period works than

¹ One of Chaucer's very earliest bits of work, I believe.—F. J. F.

his later ones, does not quote *Palamon and Arcite* and *The Lyfe of seynt Cecile* as independent works, a fact which can only be explained by admitting that he never knew them in their original shape. It would be still more remarkable had Lydgate mentioned a fragment of still earlier date. The most natural way of reconciling all these contradictions with each other, therefore, is, to admit that Chaucer did not write *Quene Anelida* before his later age.

But while adopting this explanation, we must avow that a comparison between the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida* and the first lines of the *Knight's Tale* gives rise to the impression that the former is the closer imitation of the original. This chiefly appears in those lines of the *Knight's Tale* (167—170, ed. Morris) which correspond with the 7th stanza of *Quene Anelida*. In the former poem those lines only say in a careless way that the author does not intend to give any details of Theseus's triumphal march; in the latter, they are indispensable as a transition from the introduction to the story itself. Hence follows that the seventh stanza, and consequently all the introductory part of *Quene Anelida*, are an older production than the beginning of the *Knight's Tale*. "But if the poem of *Quene Anelida* is of a more recent date than *Palamon and Arcite*—the opening of the fragment, however, having been written before the opening of the *Knight's Tale*,—it follows that the beginning of the original *Palamon and Arcite* must have been quite different from the present version, and surely must have been like the beginning of *Quene Anelida*. In a word, in the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida* we possess a slightly modified fragment of the first edition of *Palamon and Arcite*."

These latter sentences, being the most important part of Prof. Ten-Brink's clever researches, I have reproduced them in a closer translation. For the present, I omit his next passage, because my own opinion on the subject differs in some points from his; but of this I shall speak directly.

To continue my account of his dissertation, I remark that in the pages following (57, etc.) he tries to restore the original reading in those lines of the above-mentioned introductory stanzas which have undergone some change in order to fit them for the new cast of the story. So he proposes, instead of reading :

Of quene Anelida and fals Arcite

to insert the following line :

Of Palamon and his felawe Arcite, etc.

Whether his conjectures always hit the mark, he doubts himself; but no matter: at least we learn that the alterations required are too insignificant to throw doubt on the result of his researches.

Besides the passage in *Quene Anelida*, continues Prof. Ten-Brink on p. 58, we have another remnant of the original *Palamon and Arcite*; there is another piece extant which must have formerly belonged to this poem. It is the passage in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, b. V, sts. 260—262, already pointed out by Tyrwhitt, in which Chaucer has inserted the first three stanzas of the xith canto of the *Teseide*, originally containing the famous description of Arcite's soul going to heaven. It is very easily shown, says the author of the "*Studien*," that these stanzas were not at first meant for the place in which they are now; and that consequently they must have once formed a part of the former edition of *Palamon and Arcite*. But as I have some words myself to say on this point below, I leave an exacter investigation into it for the present.

The result which we get from Prof. Ten-Brink's "*Chaucer-Studien*" is, in plain words, this: Chaucer, before composing the *Knigh't's Tale*, *Quene Anelida*, and *Troilus and Cryseyde*, had written a closer imitation of Boccaccio's *Teseida* production, in seven-line stanzas. The remains of this (his *Palamon and Arcite*) are the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida*, and those on the hero's soul rising to heaven, in the *Troilus* (V. 150-2; ed. Morris, vol. v, p. 75-6).

Now my first question is: Are no more parts of the old *Palamon and Arcite* existing? I think I can point out some passages of the *Knight's Tale* and the *Parlament of Foules*, which are partly modified, partly original fragments of that poem.

Mr Henry Ward, in his marginal notes to the *Knight's Tale* in the Six-Text Print of the Tales for this Society, marks a number of lines as being a closer translation from the *Teseida*. Now, following these ticks, we shall find that the passages thus markt, in almost every case, contain descriptions, speeches, or prayers. Passing over some smaller likenesses, we come to the first extensive borrowing from Boccaccio, in lines 1028—1035 (according to Mr Morris's edition) of the *Knight's Tale*, corresponding with VII, 108—110 in the *Teseida*. They contain a description of the theatre in which the tournament between Palamon and Arcite is to take place; and although they cannot be called a translation, we find in them all the chief characteristics of the original. Compare

Chaucer, 1028.

The circuite ther was a myle
 aboute,
 Walled of stoon. — — — —
 Round was the schap, in maner
 of compass,
 Ful of degré, — — — —
 That whan a man was set in o
 degré
 He lettede nought his felaw for
 to se.
 Estward ther stood a gate of
 marbul whit,
 Westward such another in op-
 posit etc. etc.

Teseide VII, 108.

Poco era fuor della terra nel lito
 Il teatro ritondo, che girava
 Un miglio, — — — —
 Di marmo un muro ritondo si
 levava
 — — — — — — — —
 — — — ed aveva due entrate
 Conforti porte assai ben lavorate.

109.

Della quali una verso il sol
 nascente
 Sopra colonne grandi era voltata,
 L'altra mirava verso l'occidente
 — — — — — — — —
 col mezzo aveva quasi un tondo
 a sesta
 — — — — — — — —

110.

Nel quale scalee in cerchio si
 movieno,
 — — — — — — — —
 Con gradi larghi di petrina mire.

Sopra de'quali le genti sedieno
 A rimirare gli arenanti siri ;
 Ed altri che faccessono alcun
 gioco
*Sanza impedir l'un l'altro in
 nessun loco.*

The next passage of importance is the description of the temples built by Theseus on the tournament-field. But before entering into particulars, I think it necessary to remind the reader of Chaucer's deviations from the *Teseida* which Tyrwhitt has already pointed out in his "Introductory Discourse." Boccaccio begins his 7th book with a speech of Theseus, in which he declares the laws of the combat. "The day before the combat," Tyrwhitt continues, "Arcita, after having visited the temples of all the gods, makes a formal prayer to Mars. The Prayer, *being personified*, is said to go and find Mars in his temple in Thrace, which is described; and Mars, upon understanding the message, causes favourable signs to be given to Arcita. In the same manner Palemone closes his religious observances with a prayer to Venus. His Prayer, *being also personified*, sets out for the temple of Venus on Mount Citherone, which is also described, and the petition is granted. Then the sacrifice of Emilia to Diana is described; her prayer" . . . In the words following, Tyrwhitt does not give an exact account of the poem, for it is not, as he says, the "appearance of the goddess," but that of the attendants of Diana (*il coro di Diana*) that is spoken of by Boccaccio.

But now for Chaucer. He describes how the tilt-yard is arranged: three temples are built there, the one with certain pictures and ornaments is devoted to Venus; the other is consecrated to Mars (it is an imitation of the famous temple in Thrace, the god's favourite dwelling); the third, destined for the worship of Diana, is Chaucer's own invention. Then follows the solemn entrance of the heroes into Thebes (in which our poet, however, shortens considerably the pompous description of Boccaccio, written

to display his mythological knowledge, *Tes.*, b. VI.). Then, in the succession of the prayers, Chaucer makes an alteration in the different hours devoted to the different gods: First, Palamon goes to the temple to perform his religious rites; after him Emilia; and finally Arcite. But *these prayers are not personified*, because Chaucer has already described in another form the decorations of the temples, on which he seems to lay chief stress.

After this introduction I ought to compare the description of the temple of Venus in the *Knight's Tale* with that in the *Teseida*. But, as every Chaucer student knows, our poet has here only very loosely imitated the Italian poem, whilst we meet with a much closer translation of the same passage in *The Parliament of Foules*. When and why he may have made this insertion I shall discuss below. For the present, however, as I am chiefly interested in investigating how far Chaucer has closely followed Boccaccio, it does not matter to which poem the above passage belongs; and so I quite pass over these lines in the *Knight's Tale*, and call the reader's attention to the description of Venus's temple in the *Parlament of Foules*, l. 183, etc. Although an exact examination of this passage would be highly interesting, I think it will suffice to remind the reader that Mr Rossetti, in Mr Furnivall's *Trial-Forewords*, p. 60, etc., has settled this point by setting side by side Chaucer's and Boccaccio's stanzas, the latter in an English version. But Mr Rossetti omits a very important circumstance, viz. the wonderful coincidence of several words of Romance origin in Chaucer's lines with words of the same sort in the corresponding places of the *Teseida*. Thus we find

P. of F. l. 193: The lytel *conyes*
to her pley gunnen hye.

P. of F. 197: On *instrumentes*
for strynges in acorde.

P. of F. 214: And welle hys
doghtre *tempred*, al the while,

Tes. VII, st. 52: Vide *conigli* in
qua e in là andare.

Tes. ib. st. 53: Similimente qui vi
ogni *stromento*.

Tes. ib. st. 54: Le qua' sua figlia
Voluttade elette

The heddes in the welle.
P. of F. 219 : *Curtesye*.

Nell' onde *temperava*.
Tes. *ib.* st. 55 : *Cortesia*.

Parl. of F. 221, etc. :

Tes. st. 55 :

— — — hath the myght
To doo *be force* a wyght to do
folye ;
Dysfigured was she, I shal not
lye :
And by hym selfe, under an oke
I gesse
Sawgh I *Delyte*, that stooode with
gentilnesse.
P. of F. 227 : *Fool-hardynesse*.
P. of F. 231 : I sawgh a *temple*.

— — — hanno potestate
Di fare altrui a *forza* far *folia*
Nel loro aspetto molto *isfigurate*
Della immagine nostra ; il van
Diletto
Con *gentilezza* vide star soletto
Tes. *ib.* st. 56 : il *folle Ardire*.
Tes. *ib.* 57 : Di rame vide un
tempio.

Parl. of F. 239, etc.

Tes. *ib.* 58 :

Before the *temple* dore, ful
soberly
Dame *Pes* sate, a *curtyne* in hir
hande ;
And hir beside, wonder *discretly*,
Dame *Pacience* sittynge ther I
fonde,
With face *pale*, upon an hille of
sonde ;
And alder next, within and eke
withoute
Behest and *Arte*, etc.

E all' entrata del *tempio* vicina
Vide che si sedeva pianamente
Monna *Pace*, la quale una *cor-*
tina
Movea innanzi alla porta lieve-
mente :
Appresso a lei, in vista assai
tapina
Pacienza sedea *discretamente*
Pallida nell' aspetto, e d'ogni
part[i]¹
Intorno a lei vide Promesse [et
Arti]

Parl. of F. 249 :

Tes. *ib.* 59 :

— — engendered with *desire*
That maden every *auter* for to
brenne
Of *newe flamme*.
P. of F. 259 : *Garlondes* fulle of
fresshe *floures* newe.
P. of F. 261 : *porter Rychesse*.
P. of F. 238 : *untressed*.

Focosso tutto di caldi *desiri* :
Questi gli *altari* tutti allumi-
nava
Di *nuove flamme*, etc.
Tes. *ib.* 60 : Di *fior* diversi assai
vide *grillandi*.
Tes. *ib.* 67 : Trovò *Ricchezza* la
porta guardare.
Tes. *ib.* 66 : senza *treccia* alcuna.

The exact imitation of Chaucer closes with the 66th stanza of the *Teseida*, for in his 277th line he says :

And, as I seide, amyddes lay Cupide

which quite contradicts line 211, etc. :

Under a tree, besyde a welle, I say
Cupide our lorde hys arwes forge and fylle ;

¹ For the readings in brackets see the note in my essay in "*Englische Studien*," p. 253, etc.

this being a translation of Boccaccio's st. 54 :

Tra gli albuscelli ad una fonte allato
Vide Cupido a fabbricar saette, etc.

Besides this instance, it may be observed that our poet in the following lines only reproduces the names that are found in the 61st and 62nd stanzas of the *Teseida*, omitting, however, all the details of his model. (*Trial-Forewords*, p. 65-6.)

We now go back to the description of the temple of Mars in the *Knight's Tale* (l. 1112, etc.), corresponding with *Teseida* VII, 30, etc. The beginning agrees very well with the original; and here also we find the same Romance roots in both the versions, as for instance :

Kn. T. l. 1124 : Marz <i>army-potente</i> .	Tes. VII, 32 : Dio <i>Armipotente</i> .
Kn. T. 1124-25 : Of which <i>th'entre</i> Was long and <i>streyt</i> .	Tes. <i>ib.</i> Tutto di ferro era la <i>stretta entrata</i> .
Kn. T. 1132 : The dores wer alle <i>ademauntz eterne</i> .	Tes. <i>ib.</i> : E le porte eran <i>d'eterno diamante</i> .
Kn. T. 1135 : Every piler the <i>tempul to susteene</i> .	Tes. 33 : E le colonne di ferro <i>costei</i> Vide, che quel dificio <i>sostenieno</i> .
Kn. T. 1139 : The cruel <i>ire</i> , as <i>rede</i> as any <i>gleede</i> — — and eek the <i>pale drede</i> .	Tes. <i>ib.</i> : Videvi l' <i>Ire</i> rosse, come <i>fuoco</i> E le Paure <i>pallide</i> in quel loco.

With l. 1147 Chaucer sets out for a walk by himself, no longer accompanied by Boccaccio, though now and then casting back a glance at him. So our comparison as to Venus's temple must here cease.

The description of the temple of Diana having, as I have already said, no parallel in the *Teseida*, we need not dwell upon it. But before proceeding with our comparison as to the other temples, let us stop a moment and see what conclusions we may draw from the above quotations and remarks.

The description of the temple of Mars bears so much the character of a passage remodelled from some other work, that the idea of its being a part of the old *Palamon and*

Arcite, modified for the sake of a new metre, naturally occurs to us.

For, firstly, the beginning undoubtedly shows a certain want of perspicuity. Chaucer says: "Now I will tell you what decorations were in the temple of Mars, that was erected in the lists. Everything there, was an imitation of the frightful temple of the god which rises in the icy fields of Thrace. First there was painted on the wall a gloomy forest; and in this forest was that Thracian temple made of polisht steel and furnisht with gates made of diamond. First there appeared Treason, then cruel Ire, etc." But of which temple is he now speaking? Of the original, or of Theseus's imitation? There is no certain conclusion to be drawn from the words of the poet; undoubtedly a transition is wanting, perhaps in this sense: "There were in the building of Theseus the following paintings: Treason, cruel Ire, etc." Or did Chaucer invest his readers with the faculty of seeing a building from the inside and the outside at the same time? It is quite another thing with Boccaccio, who only speaks of the original temples, and does not introduce imitated ones at all. Further, there is some confusion in the words of this passage, which most likely is less the fault of the scribes than that of Chaucer's own manuscript. I allude to line 1159, with its famous "shippis hoppesteres," which still remain a riddle to etymologists. The same may be said of line 1167, to which none of the printed manuscripts seems to assign its proper meaning. Tyrwhitt's conjecture seems most probable: "Th'armourer and the bowier and the smyth," which reading Hertzberg has also adopted. Finally, there is a strange absurdity in line 1147, which, so far as I know, has till now escaped the research of other critics. Chaucer says, l. 1 :

"The sleer of himself yet saugh I there,
His herte-blood hath bathed al his here,
The nayl y-dryve in the schode a nyght."

But how is it possible that any one could commit suicide

by hammering a nail through his own brain? Morris, who seems to have felt this nonsense, puts a semicolon after line 1148; but by doing so the next line becomes untenable; for a nail driven into a skull can scarcely be supposed to be the object of an independent picture.¹ A few lines from the Prologue of the Wife of Bath here occur to me. She says, line 765, etc. :

“Of latter date, of wyves hath he (sc. clerk Jenkyn) red,¹
That some han slayn her husbondes in her bed,
And som han dryven nayles in her brayn,
Whiles thay sleepe, and thus they han them slayn.”

Now I suppose that Chaucer intended to produce in the *Knight's Tale* a similar picture, which indeed would have very well suited the whole of this description.² So we may admit here some other expression instead of the offensive “sleer of himself,” as for instance :

“The sleer of her husbonde³ saugh I there!
His herte blood,” etc.

like l. 1148 in the *Knight's Tale*. The suicide may have been described in some other verse, now lost to us.

But there is another circumstance which strengthens me in the opinion that we here have before us a passage only superficially modified from the old *Palamon and Arcite*. For it is most strange that the Knight, in describing the above-mentioned buildings, speaks in the first person, as if he had himself seen these buildings. So l. 1137: “Ther saugh I first;” 1147: “Yet saugh I there;” 1153: “Yet I saugh;” 1159: “Yet saugh I;” 1170: “Saw I.” This would not surprise us if the poet had represented himself as telling us the story; but, as a matter of fact, the Knight is supposed to relate the whole to his fellow-pilgrims. To explain this mode of expression by

¹ It can hardly be justified by Metonymy, the deed, or instrument, for the doing and doers.

² I do not forget the earlier line referring to the Danaidæ :

“The treasoun of the murtheryng in the bed.”

³ Mr Furnivall's correction of my conjecture in the “*Engl. Studien*,” p. 259.

assuming that the narrator is carried away by some higher impulse—so that he speaks in a kind of frenzy, as if he himself had seen all that glorious scenery—is scarcely allowable.¹ For in other passages—which give more scope for the display of a warrior's enthusiasm—as, for instance, that describing the tournament, our poet never drops the ordinary tone of story telling. In the description of Diana's temple we find the same peculiarity, the same "Ther saw I," etc., employed several times; so ll. 1198, 1204, 1207, 1215, etc., but not once in the description of the temple of Venus, where Chaucer stands in a different relation to his original. As we have seen before, he has here inserted a fiction of his own, only now and then reverting to his model. A closer imitation of this passage was no longer at his free disposal, since he had already made use of a more literal translation in his *Parlament of Foules*.

Looking again at this latter description, we again find (*Parl.* ll. 183, 224, 225, 231, 253, etc.) the same queer "I saw." Here, indeed, the narration in the first person is justified by the fact that the poet is describing a dream of his own; but overlooking this fact for a moment, we shall see the three descriptions, viz., those of the temples of Mars and of Diana in the *Knight's Tale*, and that of the temple of Venus in the *Parlament*, brought into a certain connection by the above-mentioned use of the first person. Now comparing the lines of the latter, in which this expression occurs, with the corresponding lines of the *Teseida*, we shall notice that "I saw," etc., nearly always seems balanced by a corresponding "vide," etc.; thus l. 183: "A gardyn sawh I" = VII. 51, "vide quello;" l. 190: "the briddes herde I synge" = *ib.*, 52; "senti . . . ucce' cantare;" 197: "Herde I so pley" = *ib.* 53: "le parve udire;" 211: "I say Cupide" = *ib.* 54:

¹ This difficulty is lessened by shifting the "I see" to the old *Palamon and Arcite*, because Chaucer was not, in that, making a Knight speak.

"Vide Cupido; Thoo was I war" = *ib.* 55: "E poi *vide*," etc., etc.

Chaucer, therefore, seems to translate very exactly his original's 3rd pers. sing. praet. by the 1st person of the same tense. The question remains whether he made this alteration when he had resolved to insert this piece into the *Parlament of Foules*, or whether it was in the old *Palamon and Arcite*. Comparing this passage with the other descriptions, it seems very likely that he had already made this change in his early version of the story.

But it may be objected that the Temple of Diana is an invention of Chaucer's own, and has no relation whatever to Boccaccio. Quite so: yet it is not improbable that he had already inserted this invention in his first edition, in order to make a better and more symmetrical arrangement of his tale. I believe, therefore, that this objection is too weak to overthrow my conclusions. And as this "I saw," so inconsistent with the present character of the Tale, is still to be met with in the recast of the poem, we may suppose that it was before, originally, in its first version. But there still remains an important question: is there any visible reason why Chaucer might have changed the Italian 3rd person, "*vide, senti*," etc., into the first person? To answer this, I can only propose some hypotheses. The most likely one, methinks, is as follows:—Boccaccio, as we have seen before, personifies the prayers, and then narrates how they visited the dwellings of the Gods, and what they saw there. This far-fetched mode of representation did not agree with the more realistic taste of Chaucer, and he had already altered it in his original *Palamon and Arcite* to something like that of the present version, *i. e.* he had described the temples as if he had seen them himself, and had thus the right to assume the first person. It may be observed at the same time that Chaucer often employs this mode of speaking in all his poems where he relates a dream or vision.

But if we admit—as I think we are obliged to do after the above researches—that the opening lines of the description of the temple of Mars in the *Knight's Tale* is a modification, in the new metre, of Chaucer's original version, we must also admit that the descriptions of the temples of Venus and Diana bear the same character. The former is retained in its old shape, the latter re-moulded into the heroic verse.

This assertion brings me into opposition with Prof. Ten-Brink's opinion, which he thus expresses on p. 128 of his '*Studien.*' "The stanzas imitated from the *Teseida* suit so closely and harmoniously the whole of the composition of the *Parlament of Foules*, that a later insertion is not to be thought of." It is not unlikely that the learned author of the above-mentioned work was partly led to this opinion by Chaucer's speaking here in the first person. But, as we have before seen, it is not at all impossible that this mode of expression was already to be found in the first *Palamon and Arcite*; and there is no need to suppose this passage underwent any special changes in order to fit it for insertion in the *Parlament of Foules*. For, without altering the metre, the literal translation of *vide, senti* = "She saw, she heard," might be turned into "I saw, I heard," etc. And except this expression, there is not one word, not one line, which would not be in its right place in the original *Palamon and Arcite*, as well as in the *Parlament of Foules*. I admit, very willingly, that the whole of this Temple-description fits so wonderfully into the *Parlament* that it would be hard to find out the joins. But what is the reason? The nature of this passage is just such as to fit it, without any change, for any poem treating of dreams and visions. Moreover, Chaucer's real deviations in it from his original, are quite of the same style as those in all his other poems,—a few additions, a few diminutions, some refinements, some coarsenesses; just as he likes, or as his metre requires.

But there is another bit of evidence for my assertion ; another fact which has till now escaped discovery ; and this is, that the 26th stanza of the *Parlament*, ll. 176—182, is taken from the *Teseida*. In the eleventh book, where the preparations for the funeral are described, Boccaccio enumerates the trees which are used for the pyre. He has translated this passage almost literally from Statius (*Thebais*, VI. 98, etc.). But Chaucer only follows the Italian poet in general features, though distinctly enough to shew whence he took his idea. Let the reader judge for himself :

Parlament of Foules, 176—182.

The bylder *oke*, and eke the
hardy *asshe*,

The piler elme, the cofre unto
careyne,

The book *pipe tree*, *holme* to
whippes lasshe,

The saylynge *firre*, the cipresse
deth to pleyne,

The sheter ewe, the aspe for
shafte pleyne,

The olyve of pes, and eke the
drunken *vyne*,

The victor palme, the lauere, to,
devyne.

Teseide XI. 22.

— — — ed il *cerro* con esso.

Ib. 23.

E gli *orni* pien di pece, nutri-
menti

D'ogni gran fiamma, e gli *lecci*
soprani

E'l *tasso* — — — — —

Ib. 24.

Tagliato fuvvi ancor l'audace
abete

E'l *pin* similmente — — —

— — — e d'ogni *vincitore*

Premio la palma fu tagliato
ancora,

E l'olmo che di *viti* s'innamora.

The attributes Chaucer gives to the Trees, have indeed very little in common with those of the *Teseida*, but from it he evidently took his idea ; besides, the succession of the tree-names is quite the same ; and notably in the last line, "victor palme" agrees very well with "d'ogni *vincitore premio la palma*." No expression like this occurs in Statius, nor any in the beginning for '*cerro* = oke,' so that there is no probability in the assumption that Chaucer borrowed this passage directly from the *Thebais*. Further, we must not leave unnoticed that Chaucer was here compelled to make some alterations : first, because the circumstance that the trees were felled had to be omitted ; secondly, because a reproduction of three stanzas

containing a description of inferior importance would have been rather too much for a poem of the size of the *Parlament of Foules*. At the corresponding place in the *Knight's Tale*, l. 2061, etc., Chaucer passes over this description very quickly :

"How they (*i. e.* the trees) weren felde, shal nought be told for me," which words perhaps hint at his having translated this passage more exactly in some earlier poem, viz., in the *Parlament*.

The above stanza, then, is not to be considered as part of the original *Palamon and Arcite*, but, since it belongs to the last section of the *Teseida*, it shows that Chaucer had already finished the reproduction of the Italian poem when he lifted this piece and the description of the temple of Venus into the *Parlament of Foules*. And he must have done this after he had resolved to reject the original *Palamon and Arcite*. But for all particulars about this question, I must refer to my researches below. My present result is, that I claim the same right for the passage from ll. 183—276 (about) of the *Parlament of Foules* (from *Tes.* VII. 51—66) to be a remainder of the first cast of *Palamon and Arcite*, as Prof. Ten-Brink will only allow to the above-mentioned stanzas at the beginning of *Quene Anelida*, and near the close of *Troilus and Cryseyde* (p. 360-4, above).

After this digression, I return to my comparison between the *Teseida* and the *Knight's Tale*. The next section in which Chaucer exactly follows his original is the Prayer of Palamon. I shall here insert its most striking passages, in order to illustrate how our poet makes use of his model.

Knight's Tale, l. 1363, &c.
 Fairest of faire, o lady myn
 Venus,
 Doughter of Iove, and spouse to
Vulcanus,
 Thou glader of the mount of
Citheroun,

Teseide VII. 43 :
 — — — — —
 O bella Iddea, del gran *Vul-*
cano sposa
 Per cui s'allegra il monte *Citer-*
one,

For thilke love, thou haddest to
Adeoun
 Have pite on my bitter teeres
 smerte,
 And tak myn *humble* prayer to
 thin herte.

1369 :

Allas ! I ne have no langage for
 to telle
Theffectes ne the tormentz of
 myn helle

— — — — —

1373 :

But mercy, lady bright, thou
 knowest wel
 My thought, and felest what
 harm that I fel,
 Consider al this, and rew upon
 my sore.

— — — — —

1380 :

I kepe not of *armes* for to yelpe,
 Ne nat I aske to morn to have
victorie,
 Ne renoun in this caas, ne veyne
glorie
 Of pris of armes, blowyng up
 and doun,
 But I wolde have ful possessioun
 Of Emelye — — — — —

1386 :

Fynd thou the maner how, and
 in what wyse.
 I recche nat, but it may better be,
 To have victorie of him, or he
 of me,
 So that I have my lady in myn
 armes

— — — — —

1323 :

Thy *temple* wol I worshipe
 evermo,
 And on thin *auter*, wher I ryde
 or go,
 I wol do *sacrifice*, and fyres beete.

[*Humil*] ti prego che [a me]
 sia piatosa
 Per quell' amor che portasti ad
Adone
 E la mia voglia ch'è per te
 amorosa,
 Contenta etc. — — — —

45 :

Io non poria con parole *l'effetto*
 Del mio dolor mostrar quant' io
 lo sento,
 Tu sola lo conosci, ed al difetto
 Tu poi lieto donar contentamento

— — — — —

46 :

Io non ti chieggio in *arme* aver
vettoria,
 Par li tempj di Marte d'armi
 ornare,
 In non ti chieggio di portarne
gloria
 Di que' doman, contra gli qua'
 provare
 Mi converrà, nè cerco che
 memoria
 Lontana duri del mio adoperare,
 Io cerco Emilia sola, etc.

— — — — —

47 :

Il modo trova tu, ch'io non mi
 curo,
 O che sia vinto, o che sia vinci-
 tore :
 Mi è poco caro, se non son sicuro
 Di possedere il disio del mio core.

— — — — —

48 :

Gli *tempj* tuoi saranno sempre
 orati
 Da me — — — — —

— — — — —

Ed ogni tuo *altar* farò lucente
 Di fuoco, e *sacrifitj* fien donati

— — — — —

1396 :	49 :
And if ye wol nat so, my lady sweete, Than pray I the, to morwe with a spere That Arcita me thurgh the herte bere. Than rekke I nat, whan I have lost my lyf, Though that Arcite have hir to his wyf.	E se t'è grave cio ch'io ti di- mando, Deh, fa che nel teatro qualche spada Tosto mi fenda, o pur il cor forando, Costringa che lo spirito fuor sen vada — — — — — Che non farebbe senza lei la vita, Veggendola, non mia, esser d'Arcita

In the lines following (1417—1500), Chaucer has decidedly shortened his original in the description of Emilia's prayer (*Teseida*, VII., 71—92). Thus he omits the incident that Emilia suddenly sees both the fires lighted (*Tes.*, st. 77). Further, he omits her request to the goddess to send her a token from which she might judge whether her prayer is granted, and represents this sign as happening unexpectedly. All these deviations are, in my opinion, based on Chaucer's intention to condense the profuse descriptions of the *Teseida*. It is also to be noticed that Chaucer transfers Emilia's apostrophe to the goddess (*Tes.* st. 80) to the end of the prayer, which I think a more skilful arrangement. Then he speaks of the sign; and after this, makes Diana appear to the praying virgin, whilst Boccaccio relates these facts in a different order, and introduces the "coro infaretrato" instead of the apparition of the goddess herself. But notwithstanding all these variations, our poet here follows his original more briefly than he generally does; and I again call the attention of the reader to the fact that words of Romance origin in both authors often correspond with one another:—

Knight's Tale, l. 1417 :	Teseide XX, &c. 71 :
Hir maydens, that sche with hir thider ladde, Ful redily with hem the fyr they hadde, Thencens, the clothes and the remenant al That to the sacrifice longen schal;	E le servente sue tutte chiamate Con corni pien d'offerte ragunare Le fe' davanti a sè, e disse : Andate, Fate i tempj di Diana mondare E li degni licori apparecchiate,

The hornes ful of meth, as is the
gyse ;
Ther lakketh nought to do here
sacrifise.

E l'altre cose da *sagrificare.*

— — — — —

72 :

Smokyng the *temple*, ful of
clothes faire,
This Emelye with herte de-
bonaire

Fu mondo il *tempio*, e di be'
drappi ornato

— — — — —

Hir body wessch with watir of a
welle ;

E poi, in loco a poche manifesto,

But how sche dide I ne dar nat
telle

Di nobili licori il dilicato

— — — — —
— — — — —

Corpo lavossi ; — — — —

— — — — —

1431 :

Hir brighte her was kempt, un-
tressed al ;

E i biondi crini da' veli isco-
prissi.

74 :

A corone of a grene ok *cerial*
Upon hir heed was set ful fair
and meete.

E coronò di quercia *cereale*,

— — — — —

— — — e'l suo capo altrettale

Two fyres on the *auter* gan she
beete.

Sopra *l'altare* molto riverente

Due roghe fece di simil gross-
ezza . . .

— — — — —
— — — — —¹

— — — — —

1437 :

Whan kynled was the fyre, with
pitous cheere
Unto Dyan sche spak, as ye may
heere.

76 :

— — — — —
— — — — —

Sopra gli accesi fuochi nell'as-
petto

A dire come appresso qui fie
detto :

77 :

O *chaste* goddess of the woodes
greene,
To whom bothe heven and erth
and see is seene,
Queen of the *regne of Pluto* derk
and lowe,
Goddess of maydenes, — —

O Dea, a cui la terra [il cielo, il
mare]

E i *regni di Pluton* son mani-
festi,

— — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

79 :

As keep me fro the *vengans* of
thilk *gre*,
That Atheon boughte trewely :

O *casta* Dea, de' boschi lustra-
trice,

La qual ti fei a vergini servire,
E se' delle tue *ire vengiatrice* ;
Così come Atteon potè sentire

— — — — —

¹ The following Italian lines Chaucer doubles up into :
And did hir thinges, as men may biholde
In Stace of Thebes *and the bokes olde.*

1449 :

I am yit, thou wost, of thi
company,
A mayden, and love huntyng
and venery,
And for to walken in the woodes
wylde,
And nought to ben a wyf, and
be with chylde.

— — — — —
— — — — —

1456 :

And Palamon, that hath such
love to me,
And eek Arcite, that loveth me
so sore,
This grace I praye the withouten
more,
And sende love and pees betwix
hem two ;

And fro me torne away here
hertes so,
That al here hoothe love and here
desire,
Al here besy torment, and al
here fyre,
Be queymt, or turned in another
place.

And if so be thou wolt do me no
grace,
Or if my destyné be schapid so,
That I schal needes have on of
hem two,
So send me him that most
desireth me.

Knight's Tale, l. 1473, &c.

The fyres brenne upon the auter
cleer,
Whil Emelye was thus in hire
preyer.

1475 :

But sodeinly sche saugh a sighte
queynte,
For right anon on of the fyres
queynte,

81 :

Io sono ancora pur delle tue
schiere
Vergine, assai più atta alla
faretra,
Ed a boschi cercare, che a
piacere
Per amor a marito

— — — — —
— — — — —

82 :

— — — — —
— — — — — sì me affetta
L'uno e l'atro de' giovani ama-
dori
Di cui gioja d'amor ciascuno
aspetta
E di lor guerra tra lormetti pace ;

— — — — —

84 :

— — — — —
— — — faccia il loro affanno
Volgere in dolce pace, o in altra
cosa
— — — — —

85 :

E se gl'Iddii avesson pur dis-
posto
Con eterna parola che già sia
Da lor seguito ciò ch'hanno pro-
posto,
Fa che ne venga nelle braccia
mia
Colui al qual col vero più mi
accosto,
E che con più fermezza mi disia.

— — — — —

Teseide 88 :

Ardieno i fuochi mentre che
pregava

— — — — —

91 :

— — — — —
Più verso il fuoco le luci sospinse,

And quyked agayn, and after that anon	Nè stette guari che l'una fu spenta,
That other fyr was queynt, and al agon ;	Poi per sè si raccese, e l'alta tinse,
And as it queynt, it made a whistelyng,	E tal divenne qual talor diventa
As doth a wete brond in his brennyng.	Quella del zolfo, le punte men- ando
	In qua e'n là già forte mormo- rando.

92 :

And at the brondes end out ran anoon	E parean gli accesi tizzoni
As it were bloody dropes many oon ;	Da' capi spenti, tutti gian ge- mendo
For which so sore agast was Emelye,	Lagrima ta', che spegneano i carboni :
That she wel neih mad was, and gan to crie,	Le quali cose Emilia pur veg- gendo
For sche ne wiste what it signi- fyede	Gli atti non prese nè le con- dizioni
	Debitamente del fuoco — —

1491 :

Among the goddes hye it is
affermed,
And by eterne word write and
confermed,
Thou schalt be wedded unto oon
of tho,
That have for the so moche care
and wo ;
But unto which of hem may I
nat telle.
Farewel, for I may her no lenger
dwelle.
The fyres which that on myn
auter brenne
Schuln the declare, or that thou
go henne,

Thyw adventure of love, and in
this caas'.
And with that word, the arwes
in the caas
Of the goddesse clatren faste
and ryng etc. etc.

89 :

Già è nel cielo tra gli Dii *fermato*
Che tu sia sposa dell'un di costoro,
E Diana ne è lieta : ma celato
Poco ti fia qual debba esser di
loro,
Se ben da te il tempio fie mirato.
Ciò che avverrà, non fuor di
questo Coro
Osserva attenta, e in vèr *l'altar*
rimira
E vedrai che'l tuo core disira.

90 :

E questo detto, sonâr le saette
Della faretra di Diana bella
etc. etc.

After this we come to the prayer of Arcite, *Kn. Tale*, 1515—1560 = *Tes.* VII. 24—28, of which very little is to be said ; yet we may remark that it is a closer imitation than the preceding part, and that at some places the words coincide wonderfully.

Knight's Tale, l. 1515, &c.

O stronge God, that in the
reynes colde
Of Trace honoured and lord art
thou y-holde
— — — — —

1520 :

If so be that my youthe may
deserve
And that my might be worthi
for to serve
Thy godhed, that I may be on
of thine,
— — — — —
For thilke peyne and that hote
fuyre,
In which whilom thou brendest
for *desyre*,
Whan that thou *usedest* the gret
bevre
Of faire freissche Venus — —

1530 :

When *Vulcanus* hadde caught
the in his laas,
— — — — —

1533 :

Have reuthe as wel upon my
peynes smerte.
I am yong and unkonnyng, as
thou wost,
And, as I trowe, with love
offendid most,
— — — — —
— — — — —

1540 :

And wel I woot, or sche me
mercy heete,
I moot with strengthe wyn hir
in the place ;
And wel I wot, withouten help
or grace
Of the, ne may my strengthe
nought awayle.

Then help me, lord, to morn in
my batayle,
For thilke fyr that whilom brende
the,
As wel as this fire now brenneth
me ;
And do to morn that I have the
victorie.

Teseide VII. 24 :

[Forte Dio, che ne' regni nevosi
Bistonii servi le tue sacre case]
— — — — —

25 :

Se pur alcun valor nella mia
etade
E le mie forze meritan ched io
De' tuoi sia detto, per quella
pietade
Ch'ebbe Nettuno, allor che con
disio
Di Citea *usavi la beltade*,
Rinchiuso da Vulcano — —
— —, umilmente ti prego
Che agli miei prieghi tu non
faccia niego.

26 :

Jo son, come tu vedi, giovinetto,
E per nuova bellezza, tanto
Amore
Sotto sua signoria mi tien dis-
tretto
Che le mie forze e tutto 'l mio
valore
Convien ch'io mostri, se pur vo'
diletto
Sentir di ciò che più disia il mio
core
E senza te io son poco possente,
Anzi piuttosto io non posso
niente.

27 :

Dunque m'ajuta, per quel sommo
foco
Che te arse già, siccome me arde
ora,
— — — — —
— — — — —
S'io son di questa pugna vincitore

Myn be the travail, al thin be Io il diletto, e tu n'abbia l'onore.
the glorie.

1552 :	28 :
And in thy <i>tempul</i> I wol my baner honge	I <i>tempj</i> tuoi eterni s'orneranno
And alle the <i>armes</i> of my <i>com-</i> <i>panye</i> ,	Dell' <i>armi</i> del mio vinto <i>com-</i> <i>pagnone</i>
And ever more, unto that day I dye,	Ed ancora le mie vi penderanno
<i>Eterne</i> fyr I wol bifore the fynde.	<i>Eterni</i> fuochi sempre vi arde- ranno
And eek to this avow I wol me bynde :	E la barba e i miei crin, che <i>offensione</i>
My berd, myn heer that hangeth longe adoun,	Di ferro non sentirno, ti prometto
That never yit ne felt <i>offensioun</i>	Se mi fai vincitor, com'io t'ho detto. etc.
Of rasour ne of schere, I wol thee give. etc.	

In the following section of the *Knights Tale*, Chaucer's description of the tournament is quite independent of that of Boccaccio. On such occasions our poet needs not the guiding hand of a predecessor; he is himself well skilled in all chivalrous matters, and likes now and then to go his own way.

The next passage of any length, literally borrowed from the *Teseida*, is the account of Arcite's death. *Kn. T.*, 1941-48 = *Tes.*, X. 111 :—

Knight's Tale, l. 1941, &c.	X. 111 :
For fro his herte up to his brest was come	La quale ¹ in ciascun membra era venuta
The cold of deth, that him hadde overcome.	Da' piedi in su venendo verso il petto,
And yet moreover in his armes two	Ed ancor nelle braccia era perduta
The <i>vital</i> strength is lost, and al agoo.	La <i>vital</i> forza; sol nello <i>intel-</i> <i>letto</i>
Only the <i>intellect</i> , withouten more,	E nel cuore era ancora sostenuta
That dwelled in his herte sik and sore	La poca vita, ma già s'è ristretto
Gan fayle, when the herte felte death,	Eragli'l tristo cor del mortal gelo Che agli occhi fe' subitamente velo.
Duskyng his eyghen two, and faylede breth.	

¹ sc. la morte.

The following stanza of his original he condenses into two lines—and then comes the famous description of Arcite's soul going to heaven.

Troilus V. 260 :

And when that he was slayn in
this manere,
His lighte gost ful blisfully is
wente
Up to the holughness of the
seventhe spere
In convers letyngge everych
elemente ;
And ther he saugh, with ful
avysement, e,
The *erratyk sterres*, herkenyngge
armonye,
With *sonnes* ful of hevenysh
melodie.

261 :

And down from thennes he gan
avyse
This litel spot of erth, that with
these
Embraced is, and fully gan
despice
This wreched world, and helde
al vanyté,
To *respect* of the pleyne felicité
That is in hevene above ; and al
the laste,
Ther he was slayn his lokyngge
down he caste.

262 :

And in hymself he lough right
at the wo
Of hem that wepten for his deth
so faste,
And *dampned* al our work that
folweth so
The blynde luste, the which that
may not laste,
And sholden al our herte on
hevene caste ;
And forth he wente, shortly for
to telle,
Ther as *Mercurie sorted* hym to
dwelle.

Teseide XI. 1 :

Finito Arcita colei nominando
La qual nel mondo più che altro
amava,
L'anima lieve se ne gî volando
Ver la concavità del cielo ottava
Degli *elementi* i connessi lasci-
ando
Quivi le *stelle erratiche* ammi-
rava
— — — — —
Suoni ascoltando pieni di dol-
cezza.

2 :

Quindi si volse in giù a rimirare
Le cose abbandonate, e vide il
poco
Globo terreno, a cui d'intorno il
mare
Girava — — — — —
Ed ogni cosa da nulla stinare
A *rispetto* del ciel ; e in fine al
loco
Là dove aveva il corpo suo
lasciato
Gli occhi fermò alquanto rivol-
tato.

3 :

E fece risa de' pianti dolenti
Della turba lerneia ; la vanitate
Forte *dannando* delle umane
genti,
Le qua' da tenebrosa cechitate
Mattamente oscurate nelle menti
Seguon del Mondo la falsa bel-
tate :
Lasciando il cielo, quindi se
ne gio
Nel loco a cui *Mercurio la sortio*.

If Chaucer had not used these stanzas in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, he would perhaps have here inserted a closer imitation : this seems to me the chief reason why he omits

them in the *Knight's Tale*, and only gives a hint of such an omission by a humorous allusion.¹

¹ [Mr Furnivall transfers to a note the following parts of my text on which I have laid some stress, p. 393. I here mean not only to refute Ten-Brink's supposition, but to show that Chaucer purposely lifted his stanzas into *Troilus and Cryseyde*; from which follows that he himself rejected the first cast of *Palamon and Arcite*.]

The strange supposition by which Prof. Ten-Brink, at p. 61 of his *Studien*, tries to explain the fact that these stanzas have got into *Troilus and Cryseyde*, appears to me to be quite without foundation.

The Professor has just shown that the aforesaid description was evidently not originally destined for the *Troilus*; but he has shown it with such emphasis that he runs a good deal beyond the mark. Thus, he says, speaking of stanza 262:

“And in hymself he lough right at the wo

Of them that wepten for hir deeth so fast”

“Who are those people who wept? Where did he speak of them? Methinks, those lines require a statement of the fact, that somebody *did* weep for the death of Troilus, etc.”

Now I ask, most humbly, if I am not quite intelligible and correct, when I say, for instance: “I speak to all those that have read the poems of Chaucer,” although I have not previously stated the fact that the poems have been read, and who the readers were? And is not the *Troilus* case quite an analogous one? Is it not quite natural that the death of a hero is wept for, even though the fact is not specially mentioned, and the names of the weepers are not given? Who will find fault with the poet's saying: “The hero's soul above in heaven laught at the complaint of those who lamented his death?” “*So fast*” is the only suspicious expression; but it is not at all necessary to refer this “so” to some previous passage; it may be understood as a mere emphasising expression, such as “very, most,” etc. Generally speaking, I admit that it is not a very judicious arrangement, when a poet, after having related his hero's ascension to the higher spheres, turns back again to a complaint of his death; but surely, such a mistake does not deserve the reproach with which Prof. Ten-Brink charges Chaucer. It is negligent, but not absurd; and I am convinced that everybody who reads this passage without knowing that its three stanzas originally belonged to another poem, will pass over them without stumbling or hesitation.

The reader will perhaps be astonished at my so much urging this rather trifling incident; but I lay some stress upon it because I want to prove that Chaucer himself transferred this passage from his first *Palamon and Arcite* into *Troilus and Cryseyde*. Prof. Ten-Brink is at a loss, as he avows (p. 61), to explain how these lines found their way into the latter poem. He suggests either that Chaucer himself put them on a leaf in this part of his manuscript, with the vague intention of inserting them some day, after a proper revision, into the *Troilus*; or that old Adam Scrivener is responsible for the deed. In my opinion, however, Chaucer never intended to change anything in these stanzas, but added them on purpose to *Troilus*

After the last quotation (*Knight's Tale*, 1941, etc.), the passages closely imitated by Chaucer from the *Teseida* become scarcer and scarcer. There are no longer coherent descriptions or speeches like those instanced above; but although remarkable sections are scattered through all the rest of the poem, we shall find some stanzas of the *Teseida* nearly literally reproduced in the *Canterbury Tales*:—

Knight's Tale, l. 1995, &c.	Teseide XI. 13 :
Duk Theseus with al his busy <i>cure</i> ,	Quinci Teseo con sollecita <i>cura</i>
Cast busyly wher that the <i>sepulture</i>	Cose ricerca per solenne onore
Of good Arcyte may best y- maked be	Fare ad Arcita nella <i>sepoltura</i> . Nè da ciò il trasse angoscia nè dolore,
— — — — —	Ma pensò, che nel bosco u' la rancura

and *Cryseyde*, just as they were. For the conclusion of the *Filostrato* is too hasty. In two lines, X. 49. 7, 8, Boccaccio relates the death of Troilus, and then immediately ends with the stanza which Chaucer has translated in his stanza, ll. 1872-78. Our poet felt this want; and remembering that passage in his *Palamon and Arcite* as just the thing to enlarge the abrupt conclusion of his original with, he inserted it here without deeming it necessary to make any alteration in it. If our modern taste requires some modification in the stanzas, we must not forget that Chaucer is really sometimes a little careless about such things. Prof. Ten-Brink, indeed, refutes those examples which Herr Hertzberg, in Ebert's *Jahrbuch*, VIII. 162, brings forward to show our poet's looseness in this respect, by reminding us that the *Canterbury Tales* were left unfinished, and that the poet had most likely intended to revise them, when death brought his work to an unexpected end. But besides these apparent negligences, Herr Hertzberg calls our attention to line 891 (according to Tyrwhitt's edition) of the *Knight's Tale*, ll. 15530 and 15546 of the *Second Nun's Tale*; l. 12942 of the *Shipman's Tale*, etc., there are some other instances which can not so easily be put aside. I mean those contradictions in the *Knight's Tale*, ll. 1137, 1153, etc., and in the *Parlament of Foules*, l. 277, of which I have just spoken on p. 370, etc. above. The former poem did undergo a thorough revision before it was inserted among the *Canterbury Tales*; the latter does not belong to this collection at all, so that Prof. Ten-Brink's explanation cannot be applied to either. If Chaucer has overlooked some contradictions in the above quoted places, it would be no crime to accuse him of some other carelessnesses. This is not intended as a severe reproach; it is only one proof more that slight slips are made, even by great men. After this discussion, I think we may conclude that no other man than Chaucer himself lifted those three stanzas from his *Palamon and Arcite* into his *Troilus and Cryseyde*, and that we have not the least right to charge poor Adam Scrivener with a new sin against his patron.

2002 :
 That in the selve grove, soote
 and greene,
 Ther as he hadde his amorous
 desires,
 His compleynt, and for love his
 hoothe fyres,
 He wolde make a fyr, in which
thoffice
Funeral he might hem al accom-
plice.

Spiegò sovente, che gli dava
 amore,
 Faria comporre il rogo, dentro
 al quale
L'ufizio si compiesse funerale.

Other passages borrowed from the Italian poem are :
Kn. T. 1970-71 = *Tes.* XI. 7 ; *Kn. T.* 1979, etc. = *Tes.*
 XI. 9 (first line) and XI. 10 (The Complaint for Arcite) ;
Kn. T. 1985 = XII. 6. (Chaucer has attributed these
 words to Egeus, whilst in the *Teseida* they are ascribed to
 Theseus.) Further, *Kn. T.* 2012-22 = *Tes.* XI, 15, 16
 (Preparations for the funeral) ; *Kn. T.* 2047, etc. = *Tes.*
 XI. 40, 2094, etc. = XI. 53 (The funeral), 2118, etc. =
 XII. 4, 2123 = XII. 5, 2159, etc. = XII. 7 (Speech of
 Theseus).

Knight's Tale, l. 1970, &c.

So gret a wepyng was ther noon
 certayn,
 Whan Ector was i-brought, al
 freissh i-slayn.

Teseide XI. 7 :

Non di Priamo tal pianto fér le
 nuore,
 La moglie e le figliuole, allor
 che morto
 Fulor recato il comperato Ettore.

1979 :

No man mighte glade Theseus
 Egeus

XI. 9 :

Nun potea racconsolar Teseo.

XI. 10 :

That knew this worldes trans-
 mutacioun
 As he hadde seen it torne up and
 doun,
 Ioye after woo, and woe aftir
 gladnesse :
 And schewed him *ensample* —

Ma come savio ed uom che
 conoscea
 I mondan casi e le cose avvenute,
 Siccome quel che assai veduto
 avea
 Il dolor dentro istrinse con virtute
 Per dare *esempio* — — —

1985 :

"Right as ther deyde never man,
 quod he,
 That he ne lyved in erthe in som
 degree,
 Yit ther ne lyvede never man,"
 he seyde,

XII. 6 :

Siccome alcuno che giammai
 non visse,
 Non morì mai, così si può vedere
 Che alcun non visse mai che
 non morisse

In al this world, that som tyme
he ne deyde.

— — — — —

2012 :

And after this, Theseus hath i-
sent
After a beer, and it al over-
spradde
With cloth of golde, the richest
that the hadde.
And of the same sute he clad
Arcyte ;

— — — — —

Eke on his heed a coroune of
laurer grene ;

— — — — —

2021. 2022 :

And for the poeple schulde see
him alle,
Whan it was day he brought
hem to the halle.

— — — — —

— — — — —

Knight's Tale, l. 2047, &c.

Upon the right hond wente olde
Egeus,
And on that other syde duk
Theseus,
With vessels in here hand of
gold wel fyn,¹
As ful of hony, mylk and blood,
and wyn ;
Eke Palamon, with a gret com-
panye ;
And after that com woful Emelye,
With fyr in hond, as was that
time the gyse.

2094 :

Thre tymes ryden al the fyr
aboute
Upon the lefte hond, with an
heih schoutyng,
And thries with here speres
clateryng . . .

XI. 15 :

E fece poi un feretro venire
Reale a sè davanti ; e tosto fello
D'un drappo a oro bellissimo
fornire,
E similimente ancor fece di
quello
Il morto Arcita tutto rivestire,
E poi il fece a giacer porre in
ello
Incoronato di frondo d'alloro . . .

— — — — —

XI. 16 :

E poichè fu d'ogni parte lucente
Il nuovo giorno, egli 'l fece
portare
Nella gran corte, ove tutta la
gente,
Come volea, il poteva riguar-
dare . . .

Teseide XL. 40 :

Là venne Palemone, al quale
Egeo
Dolente andava dal suo destro
lato.
E dal sinistro gli venne Teseo
Dagli altri Regi poi tutta fasci-
ato :
Fmilia poi appresso si vedeo
Col più debole sesso sconsolato
A compagnia : ed essa in mano
il foco
Feral recava al doloroso loco.

XI. 53 :

Ed a sinistra man correndo in giro
Tre volte il rogo tutto intorniaro
— — — — —
— — — — — e risonaro
Le lance — — — — —

¹ These two lines are imitated from the beginning of the 37th stanza :

Gli più nobili Achivi i vasi cari
Di mel, di sangue e di latte novello
Pieni portavan — — — — —

Knight's Tale, l. 2118, &c.

For which this noble Theseus anon
 Let senden after gentil Palamon,
 Unwist of him what was the
 cause and why;
 But in his blake clothes sorw-
 fully
 He cam — — — — —

2123 :

Whan they were sette, and
 hussht was al the place
 And Theseus abyden hadde a
space
 Or eny word cam fro his wyse
 brest
 — — — — —
 And with a sad visage he sykede
 stille,
 And after that right thus he
 seide his wille.

2159 :

Lo the ook, that hath so *longe*
norisschyng
 Fro tyme that it gynneth first to
 springe,
 And hath so long a lyf, as we
 may see,
 Yet atte laste wasted is the tree.
 Considereth eek, how that the
 harde stoon
 Under oure foot, on which we
 trede and goon,
 Yit avasteth it, as it lyth by the
 weye.
 The brode ryver some tyme
 wexeth dreye.

Teseide XII. 4 :

Perchè tosto chiamato Palemone
 Con molti di que' Re accom-
 pagnato,
 Non sappiend 'esso però la
 cagione
 Di ner vestito — — — —

XII. 5 :

E quivi poi com ogni uomo
 tacente
 Si fu posto a sedere, Teseo istette
 Per lungo *spazio* senza dir niente:
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 Dentro tenendo le lagrime strette
 Ch'agli occhi per pietà volean
 venire,
 Così parlando incominciò egli a
 dire :

XII. 7 :

Le quercie ch'han si *lungo nutri-*
mento
 E tanta vita quanta noi vedemo,
 Hanno pure alcun tempo fini-
 mento :
 Le dure pietre ancor che noi
 calchemo,
 Per accidenti varii, mancamento
 Ancora avere, aperto lo sapemo ;
 E fiumi pieni esser talor seccati
 Veggiamo — — — —

In this enumeration I have passed over several places which Mr H. Ward points out as being translations from Boccaccio. For the resemblances between them and the original are often so slight or so commonplace, that it is not at all necessary to look upon them as borrowed from the Italian. As for instance :

Knight's Tale, l. 977 :

Ye woot yourself, sche may not
 wedde two

Teseide V. 95. 7 :

Ma non la più di voi aver
 ciascuno : etc.

Other resemblances are accidental, as when Chaucer is obliged to choose nearly the same words as his original in order to narrate the same circumstances; as for instance:

<p>Knight's Tale, l. 356, &c. And he were caught, it was acorded thus, That with a swerd he scholde lese his heed.</p>	<p>Teseide III. 54 : S'i'ce lo prendo gli farò tagliare La testa senza fallo immante- nente.</p>
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In other places the apparent similarities are only reproductions in a general sense, as for instance: ll. 2173-74 = *Tes.* XII. 10, where Chaucer gives in two lines a kind of summary of a whole stanza of his model. A few passages, however, seem indeed from the originality of thought, directly taken from the *Teseida*, or rather from our poet's first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. Such are:

<p>Knight's Tale, l. 810, &c. Yet some tyme it schal falle upon a day That falleth nought eft in a thousand yeere . . .</p>	<p>Teseide V. 77 : Ma come noi veggiam venire in ora Cosa che in mill'anni non avviene . . .</p>
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<p>Knight's Tale, l. 1648, &c. Ther fomen steedes, on the golden bridel Gnawyng — — — — —</p>	<p>Teseide VII. 97 : Quivi destrier grandissimi vediansi Co selle ricche di argento e di oro E gli spumanti lor freni rodi- ensi . . .</p>
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<p>l. 1656 : Heer thre, ther ten, haldyng her questioun Dyvynyng of this Thebans knightes two.</p>	<p><i>Ib.</i> 98 : — — — — — Tra gli quattro e gli sei quivi adunati Tra lor mostrando diverse ragioni Di qual credevan degli inna- morati . . .</p>
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<p>l. 1703 : The voice of the <i>poepul touchith</i> heven, So lowde criede they with mery steven : God save such a lord that is so good, He wilneth no destruccioun of blood ! — — — — —</p>	<p><i>Ib.</i> 14 : De' nobili e del <i>popolo</i> il romore <i>Tocò</i> le stelle, si fu alto e forte ; Gl' Iddii dicendo salvi tal signore Che tra gli amanti fugge la ria morte — — — — —</p>
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l. 2183 :

Ib. XII, 11 :

Than is it wisdom, as thenketh
me,E però far della *necessitate*To maken *vertu of necessite.**Virtù* quando bisogna, è sapienza.

Now casting a look back on the whole of those passages which I have pointed out as bearing the character of translations from the *Teseida*, we shall see that they are not gratuitously chosen by Chaucer for insertion into his own production. On the contrary, it seems evident to me that the Tale itself is an entirely free adaptation from the Italian poem. Chaucer omits and adds, *ad libitum*, just as he himself thinks fittest to his own taste, and consequently to that of his countrymen; he also shortens where he holds it necessary so to do, in order to make his poem suitable for forming a part of his *Canterbury Tales*. For these reasons the tenor of the whole and many of the minor circumstances have been altered,¹—but where the quick course of the narrative is checked, i. e. where our poet has to write a description, or make a reflection, he often has recourse to his original, and borrows from it such passages as relate to antiquity, or contain well-set speeches, &c.

Now, as I endeavoured to show before, there are two of those descriptions which were not directly taken from the *Teseida*, nor do they agree with the present tenor of the *Knight's Tale*: I mean, the passages on the temple of Mars and on that of Diana, both of which have the striking peculiarity of being told in the first person of the verb, which never occurs again in our poem, except where the Knight really speaks in his own person. A few lines more are pointed out by Prof. Ten-Brink as not belonging to the *Teseida*, but which have parallels in the opening stanzas of *Quene Anelida*. These are ll. 14—16 (according to Dr Morris's edition) = st. 7 of the latter poem. All

¹ Whether the *Knight's Tale* has gained or lost by this treatment, I shall not discuss here. An æsthetical judgment has nothing to do with the present enquiries.

these passages most likely once formed part of the early *Palamon and Arcite*, as we have seen above. And assuming that Chaucer in a few instances re-wrote his *Knights Tale*, after its first English version, is it not the most natural conclusion that he in the other cases made use of his own book, instead of here and there translating a few words from the *Teseida*? This supposition gains more and more ground when we try to form an idea as to how Chaucer treated his old version. Surely, it was not always before him, but he must rather have written his *Knights Tale* from memory. When, however, he remembered some fine description or some other striking passage, he fetched his *Palamon and Arcite* manuscript from the shelf, and inserted such portions more literally, modifying them according to the heroic verse, of course, which could easily be transferred into the later form of his poem.

But there is another proof to support this supposition. Comparing all those passages marked by Mr H. Ward, and compared by me with the corresponding sections in the *Teseida*, we shall see that almost every time Chaucer has imitated the beginning of a stanza, he has left out the middle, and reproduced the end. The proportion of the stanzas, the beginnings of which are adapted, to those where they are neglected, is 5 to 1. This mode of treating his original quite agrees with the poem of *Troilus and Cryseyde*, which Mr Rossetti has closely compared, in the Society's publications, with Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. The seven-line stanza of Chaucer does not allow him to follow his model step by step, and so he is obliged, from regard to rhythm and metre, to omit a line or two, and he generally does this in the middle of his stanzas. This fact we learn from *Troilus and Cryseyde*; and considering that, as Prof. Ten-Brink has shown, *Palamon and Arcite* was originally written in that metre, it becomes more and more likely that in all those cases where closer imitations of the Italian occur, we have to deal with modified remnants of

the first version of the *Palamon*. For, if Chaucer had translated directly from the *Teseida*, he would perhaps have much more frequently neglected the beginning of the single stanzas. But looking into his old version, he reproduced his former translation as far as the rhyme and the new style of his tale allowed.

I repeat as the results of my investigations. 1. That the description of the temple of Venus in the *Parlament of Foules* is (except the last lines) an *unmodified* fragment of the first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. 2. That Chaucer himself most likely inserted the stanzas about Arcite's going to heaven into his *Troilus and Cryseyde* (see note i, p. 385, etc.). 3. That those passages in the *Knight's Tale*, which prove to be close imitations of the *Teseida*, are not taken directly from the *Teseida*, but most probably from Chaucer's first version, his *Palamon and Arcite*, and may be considered as modified fragments of it.

One objection might be made against the above conclusions, which I must refute before going on with my researches. "Is it not possible," somebody may ask, "that Chaucer did not translate the whole of the *Teseida* before he resolved to adapt this poem for his *Canterbury Tales*, but that he selected single passages in order to insert them into his later poetical productions?" First of all, the great number of passages, modified or in their original shape, from the beginning, the middle, and the end of the *Teseida*, allow little doubt of his having finished his first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. Further, some expressions occurring in these passages,—as for instance, in the often-mentioned description of the temple of Mars inserted into *Troilus and Cryseyde*,—show that they were originally not destined for the places now assigned to them. And, finally, Chaucer himself, enumerating his works in the Prologue of his *Legende of Good Women*, says, l. 720:

“And al the love of Palamon and Arcite,”—which line leaves no doubt that he is speaking of a poem that he had really brought to an end. Having thus stated that he did actually finish a first version of *Palamon and Arcite*, the assumption that he took parts from it, and these the most successful ones, in order to transfer them to other poems, is, to say the least of it, highly improbable. I don't think a poet would rob one of his compositions of some of its beauties, in order to adorn another with them, so long as he hoped for success with the first poem. In my opinion, therefore, Chaucer did not do so before he rejected his first version of *Palamon and Arcite*. Prof. Ten-Brink and others ascribe the fact that this poem is entirely lost to us, to its having been distasteful to the English public; and they think that our poet was therefore compelled to withdraw it. But considering the want of judgment of the general public, and even of the court, in those times, when no critical paper led the public taste, when the most preposterous chivalrous romances, the most drily written Lives of Saints, were very much admired, it would be astonishing, nay impossible, that a poem like the *Teseida*, enlight by Chaucer, should be rejected in that way. For this poetical work does not differ so much from those then in vogue as to account for such neglect. Its intrinsic value alone places it on a higher level than the average romances of the day, and its scenery, its costumes and habits, half-ancient, half-modern, its romantic love and fierce combat,—all these things are quite the same in the *Teseida* as in many of the favourite poetical works of that period. It differs from them chiefly in its more elaborate style, its more skilful arrangement, and more refined sentiments. But these deviations from the general tenor of the romances are scarcely sufficient to account for general unpopularity. I believe rather that the cause of the withdrawal of the first version, was Chaucer's growing intellect, and ripening taste for more realistic representation.

Let us cast a glance on the course of his life and mental development. As we know, he spent his youth at the court of the Countess of Ulster, wife of King Edw. III's son Lionel, took part in campaigns against France, and was appointed valet to the King in, or before, 1367. Thus he received the education of a young nobleman, and was surely among those Esquires who were obliged to sing before the court, and to "talk of Chronicles of kings," etc. (Cf. *Edward II.'s Household book*, p. xiii.) About this time he undertook the translation of the *Roman de la Rose*, the fashionable work of the day, and after this he published the *Dethe of Blaunche*, or *Boke of the Duchesse*, in which two poems he appears as an imitator of the French taste, which then reigned over all the civilised world: here satirical, there amorous, but both without any depth of sentiment. After this he is the bearer of an official message to Italy; and from this time a new Period of his writings is to be dated. Influenced by the new direction taken by Italian poets, who began to introduce rules and laws, according to the ancients, into the shapeless mass of mediæval poetry, Chaucer saw the emptiness and flatness of his French models, and he adopted a more pathetic and serious style of composition. In this style he writes the *Life of Saint Cecily*, and translates the *Teseida*, the first epic poem of Boccaccio, in which he for the first time¹ employs a metre imitated from the Italians. But his innate humour and fun did not allow him long to follow this new ideal. The contrast between those pathetic love-stories and his own material stand-point, shows itself for the first time in *Troilus and Cryseyde*; but notwithstanding some success in comical description, he cannot yet rise to free humour: his hesitancy between irony and pathos destroys every harmony. But the *House of Fame* overcomes this difficulty; it shows our poet's wonderful genius in its new splendour; fun and earnest

¹ I hold that he did it first in the *Pity*.—F. J. F.

alternate most skilfully : his true humour is born. This success, however, might have been evanescent, had not the *Canterbury Tales* secured Chaucer's immortality.

In this short sketch, in which I have, for reasons which I shall explain later, passed over some works of our poet, I follow Prof. Ten-Brink, in placing the first version of *Palamon and Arcite* between the *Life of St Cecily* and *Troilus*. Taking this for granted, it naturally follows that the poem should show the character of this period, i. e. it must have borne the stamp of the fresh influence of the Italians, still unchecked by the new humour emanating from *Troilus and Cryseyde*. Consulting the fragments of the *Palamon and Arcite* still extant, we shall find that they are all reproductions of the original, in a pathetic style, with no trace of satire and joke in them. But supposing, that in other parts of the older *Palamon and Arcite* some humour existed, and that the whole of it consequently resembled our present version, the *Knight's Tale*, for what reason did Chaucer reject the former ; or why did the public—if we really must regard it—refuse its favour to a poem, which was afterwards, so far as we can judge, highly appreciated ? I should think it very superfluous labour to change the metre or the rhyme of a poetical work for the sake of the metre or the rhyme alone. For if Chaucer had liked to shorten it here and there, he might have done so by omitting a certain number of stanzas, and altering a few lines before and after, without taking the trouble of changing the rhyme throughout the whole of the poem. Further, there is no trace whatever, of a first version in any of the manuscripts preserved to us. This circumstance shows that the original *Palamon and Arcite* was but little circulated, or not circulated at all. And why ? Most likely, because Chaucer himself did not think his poem fit for publicity. It never could have been so bad that a general dislike was able to suppress it entirely. Even weaker productions of favourite poets,—

and Chaucer undoubtedly was a pet at court—would never have met with such disdain as to be silenced for ever.

Chaucer seems to corroborate this conclusion by his own words in the above-mentioned passage of the Prologue of the *Legende of Good Women*: he alleges himself to be the author of

—“al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebes, *though the storye ys knowen lyte.*”

The whole passage runs briefly, as follows: “Cupid accuses Chaucer of having refused the respect due to him, but he is defended by the companion of the god, the lady to whom the poet has devoted his love. She says: ‘Thou art too severe, O Lord; for often he has glorified thy name in his songs, and shown by them the right way to many a miscreant. To do this most praiseworthy work, he wrote *The House of Fame*, etc. etc., and *Palamon and Arcite*:—*but this story, alas, is known too little!*”

Prof. Ten-Brink wishes to refer these words (p. 64, l. c.) to a passage in a letter of Boccaccio to Fiammetta, where he says, speaking of the *Teseida*, “that the source of this poem is not generally known.” This reference may indeed be admitted, but in my opinion it was not intended by Chaucer. For, there is no testimony to confirm the supposition that our poet ever saw this letter, or a copy of it. Further, if the source of the original was little known to the public, its imitation could scarcely have been in the same predicament. Finally, the context proves that those words (“the story is knowen lite”) are only meant to be an excuse for the poet standing before Cupid’s severe tribunal. His fair advocate says by them,—as I understand:—“This poor mortal has endeavoured to show thy omnipotence in his book of *Palamon and Arcite*, yet thou dost not know it, and so thou chargest him with unjust reproach,” etc. Another poem, no longer extant, receives a similar comment in the aforesaid list: l. 428,

“He made also, *goon is a grete while,*
Origenes upon the Maudeleyne.”

This "it is long ago" seems to express a kind of disregard or contempt, which a man sometimes shows towards his first attempts in poetry; and inasmuch as this book, so similar to *Palamon and Arcite*, has entirely disappeared, we may find a certain hint in this "goon a greate whyle," that its author did not care much for the work, and had, perhaps, as in the case of the above translation, destroyed the *Origenes* himself in his riper age. Well, this is a mere hypothesis; but it is not improbable that the words "goon is a grete while," are meant to be an excuse similar to "though the storie is knowen lyte."

From all these considerations, it appears that the first version, the *Palamon and Arcite*, must have been very different from the present one, the *Knight's Tale*; and it is very likely that it was built more entirely on the *Teseida*. So Tyrwhitt's ingenious conjecture seems to be newly corroborated by my researches; he says, l. c. p. 213: "It is not impossible that at first it was a mere translation of the *Teseida* of Boccace, and that its present form was given it, when Chaucer determined to assign it the first place among his *Canterbury Tales*."

One objection against this judgment seems to lie in Prof. Ten-Brink's proof (ll. 1—62), that Chaucer had already in his first version,—except in the first stanzas,—omitted the first book of the *Teseida*. And another objection may perhaps be founded on what I have said before about the temple of Diana. But, as every student knows, Chaucer, although in the beginning of his literary career not much better than a skilful translator, never thought of submitting himself slavishly to his original. These deviations from Boccaccio, therefore, do not at all preclude the idea that the former edition of our poem was a much closer imitation than the present one; the chief point is: that the tenor and representation of the whole showed the same pathos as the *Teseida*. And therefore it is not probable that fun and humour had already appeared

in this work. This character of the poet would correspond very well with the general character of the period in which it must have been written: it belongs to that epoch when Chaucer's humour had not yet manifested itself: it was a fine composition in the modern sense of French classicism, pathetic, but never interrupted in its regular current, by jocose incident or witty remark. So Chaucer—we may conclude—was little pleased with his work; he put it aside, feeling that he could do something higher, but without any distinct sense of the future effectiveness of his comic talent. Old Pandarus in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, gave him the first opportunity for developing this side of his genius; and after this successful budding, his humour unfolds itself into the most splendid bloom of the Middle Ages.

Palamon and Arcite, although set aside for a time, was certainly never quite forgotten. Most likely, Chaucer always intended to do something with the poem, and adapt it, by some alteration or another, to his riper taste. But before he determined what to do with it, he made use of some of its passages, which could be easily separated from the story, and inserted them into other poems composed after this translation. So he put into *Troilus and Cryseyde* the stanzas on Arcite's soul going to heaven; and into the *Parlament of Foules*, the description of the garden and temple of Venus.

By this assertion, which I have already several times made, I oppose Prof. Ten-Brink's opinion on page 128 of his book: "If Chaucer had finished his first version of the *Teseida* before the *Parlament of Foules*, what would have prevented him from more closely imitating (in the latter) that passage (on Venus's temple, etc.) of which he seems to have been very fond? The termination of *Palamon and Arcite* must consequently be of a later date than the *Parlament of Foules*." Well, I have shown that Chaucer did imitate it as closely as he possibly could; and so the

conclusion contained in the above quotation is to be rejected. If then the *Parlament of Foules* is to be taken as a later production than the first edition of *Palamon and Arcite*, a question naturally rises as to the date of the composition of that poem.

II.

THE DATE AND PERSONAGES OF THE *PARLAMENT OF FOULES*.

Considering first its intrinsic qualities, we find in the *Parlament* a wealth of genius and humour, harmonious representation, fine and noble language, evidence of wide reading, a riper idea of love, than in any of Chaucer's earlier works. The last quality shows itself in the point of the piece: Not idle protestations of love, but the inclination and free choice of the lady courted, must decide the contest for her. These premisses are acknowledged more or less by all the critics; thus Mr Furnivall in his *Trial Forewords*, says, p. 56: "The *Parlament* is Chaucer's first real poem; in it his humour and fun first¹ appear, and his love of Nature is much developept." And yet it is spoken of as a juvenile production by Prof. Kissner in his Dissertation, p. 72; and Prof. Ten-Brink, by dating it 1373, classes it in like manner. For although Chaucer was then past 30, the development of his genius must then be considered as still imperfect, still striving after some higher end.

When we compare the characteristics of the *Parlament of Foules* with those of *Troilus and Creseyde*, the former poem manifests an author of far greater skill than that of the latter work, which, in spite of many successful passages of tenderness, of imagery, of the depths of lovers' woes, does display want of aptitude, a disharmony between

¹ Mr Furnivall then dated the *Parlament* after the *Troilus*. He now gladly accepts my later date, as removing the contradiction he had always felt between the power, closeness, and humour of the poem, and the weaker, looser, and less humorous *Mars* and *Troilus*, beautiful though the latter is.

pathos and humour, a looseness of structure, a want of grasp and self-restraint,¹ a feeling that the poet is often run away with by his materials, a conviction that he has not attained complete mastery of his work. Is it likely that Chaucer, after having overcome the contrast between realism and sentimentality in the *Parlament of Foules*, should have again fallen back into a vain struggle between the two in his next production? That would contradict all experience of development of character.

But my doubt of the accuracy of the date generally accepted for this poem is still more confirmed by the words of the author himself. Among those personages who are represented in the temple of Venus as types of amorous passion, we find (l. 291) *Troilus*. As the line in which this name occurs does not belong to the original fragment of *Palamon and Arcite*, as I have before tried to show, p. 369, it must have been added when Chaucer inserted this passage into the *Parlament*, and so it would prove that the latter poem was composed after the translation of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. But there is a serious objection to this assumption. "Is it not possible," some one might suggest, "that Chaucer made the acquaintance of Troilus in Benoit de St More's Book of Troy?" Indeed, it is possible, if the proofs that Chaucer knew this poem sufficiently were strong enough. But, admitting this, is it not as possible that he had only been introduced to Benoit when he was translating the *Filostrato*? And we must further consider that Troilus is too much in the background of Benoit's *Trojan War* to suggest the idea of a prominent sufferer for love's sake. As Mr Rossetti (p. vi, in his publication for the Chaucer Society) remarks, Diomed, not Troilus, appears as the chief hero of this affair. Benoit does not mention Troilus's affection towards Briseis, before the scene in which this young lady, being sent to the camp of the Greeks, takes leave of him.

¹ Compare the digressions on free-will, etc., etc.

Dr Koch
 forgets that
 the Troilus
 is a sustained
 creative effort
 - probably Cha
 first; & hence c
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 with this slight
 flight into fa

From these considerations it follows that Chaucer could scarcely have taken the name of Troilus from any other source than Boccaccio's *Filostrato*; and that he had at least read this poem when he wrote the *Parlament of Foules*. But if we look at the last stanza of this latter work:

"And with the showtyng whan hir song was do,
That the foules made at her flyght away,
I woke and other bookes toke me to
To rede upon: and yet I rede alway.
I hope ywyse to rede so somme day
That I shal mete sommethyng for to fare
The bet, and thus to rede I wol not spare . . ."

we see that Chaucer was searching for a new subject to work on. If, however, he knew the *Filostrato* well enough to borrow from it the character of Troilus for his *Parlament*, and if he is, at the close of that poem, uncertain what to begin next, the most natural conclusion is, that he had not only read Boccaccio's poem, but had even finished the translation of it when he was writing the *Parlament of Foules*.

But there are further reasons. In the stanza above-quoted, Chaucer speaks of his love for study; and he does the same in the *House of Fame* (II, 144, etc.); which poem, according to Prof. Ten-Brink's most ingenious investigation, must have appeared soon after the *Troilus and Cryseyde*. The chief points of the Professor's arguments (p. 114, etc.) are: "In the Vth. book, st. 257, of the *Troilus*, Chaucer calls the work he is just going to conclude a 'little tragedy,' and he expresses a wish to write a comedy too (both these terms, tragedy and comedy, being based on Dante's well known theory). Now the *House of Fame*, when compared with *Troilus and Cryseyde* as a tragedy, has quite the character of a comedy. Hence it follows that,—if the 2 poems lie close together, as the best critics admit they do—the *Fame* must have been written after the *Troilus*; otherwise Chaucer would here have expressed, at the end of the latter poem, a wish which was

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already fulfilled! Further, in *Troilus and Cressida* Chaucer announces his intention of composing a poem to praise and do homage to good women. This intention appears again much more clearly in the first book of the *House of Fame*, in which he dwells upon the virtue of Dido as a contrast to that of Cryseyde, and enumerates several men who have betrayed their faithful mistresses. Thus he gives a kind of programme of the *Legende of Good Women*, and refers his reader to the sources he used for this poem. The Prologue, to judge from the dedication of its second cast to Queen Anne of Bohemia,¹ cannot have been written before 1382, the *House of Fame* not later than 1384, because Chaucer complains in it of the burden of his Controller's office, of which he was not relieved till Feb. 17, 1385, when he was allowed to appoint a permanent deputy to perform the duties of his chief office. Therefore the Prologue to the *Legende of Good Women* must have originated between 1382 and -85; the *House of Fame* between 1381 and -84." HF

So far Prof. Ten-Brink. Now, confronting the *Parlament of Foules* with the *House of Fame*, we shall see that in both poems Chaucer shows quite evidently that he has not only read the authors he quotes, but that he has studied them carefully,² (I call the reader's attention to "Galoxye," *Parl. of F.* l. 56), whilst in his earlier productions he gives his originals' names, in order, as it seems, to cite some authority for his story or proverbial sentence. Also Prof. Ten-Brink finds, p. 129, a remarkable resemblance between the *Parlament* and the *House of Fame*; and their intrinsic qualities place them in the same period of Chaucer's poetical productiveness. Supposing the *House of Fame* to be the "comedy" our poet wished to

¹ The first cast in MS. Gg 4. 27, Camb. Univ. Lib., does not mention her: see Mr Furnivall's *Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, Pt. I, 1871, p. 56-7.

² A reference like this to Scipio Africanus implies thorough knowledge of his *Somnium*.

write, the *Parlament of Foules* would be a prelude of it, a kind of preparation for it. "I hope," he says, "I shal mete somethyng for to fare the bet." Though he has finished this little *Parlament*, and has enriched it with fine descriptions and lively humour, he is not fully satisfied; he is longing to prove his abilities in some greater work, one more worthy of his pains. He reads in order to find new thoughts, new motives, but he will no longer rest content with the praise of being a skilful translator or adapter; he feels within himself a poet's power.

Does it seem likely that he would have expressed in those general terms his wish to write a better work, when he was just translating the *Teseida*, as Prof. Ten-Brink assumes, or when he had already begun his *Troilus* and his *Boethius*? I should rather think that the *Parlament of Foules* was composed after all these works. It is either the last production of a former, or the first production of a new period; it forms a kind of transition from *Troilus and Cryseyde* to the *House of Fame*. In it we again meet all the fictions which occupied Chaucer's thoughts in his foregoing writings. The whole is in the form of a vision, which idea was chiefly suggested to him in his originals by the *Somnium Scipionis*. He parodies some passages of Dante's immortal *Commedia*; but he does not ridicule them; he smiles at this new vagary of his jolly humour. He brings in again his old friends, Boccaccio, Alain, Jehan de Meung, and Machault, from whom he learnt a good deal of his art. And over the whole he sheds the genial light of his wonderful humour, newly risen and yet in full glow: the poem is a poetical miniature, in which—notwithstanding the mixture of all those different elements—a genius grown up to independency manifests itself.

Hitherto I have neglected a feature of the *Parlament of Foules* which all commentators on our poet have seen in it. Ten-Brink says on this point (p. 129): "Undoubtedly the *Parlament of Foules* represents the wooing of a person of

high rank, crossed, as it seems, by rivals and by impediments of other kinds." He therefore calls it an "occasional poem." But in this case we must separate from the above name the meaning of a "dedication," which is generally connected with it. For, considering that the answer of the lady courted is still wanting, and consulting the last stanza mentioned above, the concluding words of which would have been no compliment to the dedicatee, we must deny any relation of this sort. Still, it remains highly probable that the poem had a certain reference to a marriage in the circle of the English court.

Several suggestions¹ have been made to explain this matter, but all without success. Tyrwhitt thought of John of Gaunt; but, as Prof. Ten-Brink shows, the *Parlament of Foules* must, from its many connections with Italian poets and poetry, have been written after the year 1372, when Chaucer first went to Italy and had become acquainted with its language² and literature; and as the marriage of John took place as early as 1359, this hypothesis is no longer admissible.

Mr Furnivall, after a long refutation, in his *Trial Forewords*, of the claims of Ingelram de Coucy to be the poem's hero, avows: "Heroine and hero of the *Parlament of Foules* are still to seek." But in what direction have we to look for light in this darkness? Certainly our poem alludes to a marriage in the royal family: but what marriage can be meant?

Well, if the date I have adopted for this poem (A.D. 1381) is acknowledged as the right one, there will be little difficulty in discovering a certain courtship as its centre. But we must first take a chronological retrospect. Except

¹ The latest is Mr Fleay's, of the corpse of the infant princess Mary of France! Mr Fleay dates the *Parlament* 1378, and makes its heroine the Princess Mary (*Guide to Chaucer and Spenser*, p. 38), not having taken the trouble to ascertain that she died, aged 7, in 1377.—F. J. F.

² Was he not sent there for the very reason that he knew the language before he was sent?—F. J. F.

as to the *Parlament*, I follow strictly Prof. Ten-Brink, and fix the dates for the works of the so-called Second Period thus: 1373, *Lyfe of seynt Cecile*; about 1374-76, *Palamon and Arcite*; 1376-80, Chaucer's numerous travels to the continent, each interrupt his poetical productiveness, so that he is unable to write more than his translation of *Boethius*, and perhaps the first four books of *Troilus and Cryseyde*. In 1380, he devotes himself entirely to study, so far as the duties of his office allow, and writes the last book of *Troilus*, which towards its end indicates that a new epoch in Chaucer's development is attained. 1381. Immediately after it, he writes the *Parlament of Foules*; and not much later, perhaps even before 1382, the *House of Fame*.

So I have reached—and methinks quite naturally—the year 1381 as the date for the *Parlament*. And in this year King Richard of England¹ sent his ambassadors to Germany to woo Anne of Bohemia for him.

¹ In 1381 he was the only marriageable member of the royal family of England, which alone Chaucer was likely to write a poem about. Prince LIONEL, Duke of Clarence, having been twice marrid (1352 and 1368), died in 1368. In 1372 (Anderson's 1371 (? Old Style), Barnes, *Hist. of Edw. III*, p. 824), JOHN of Gaunt marrid his 2nd wife, the elder daughter, Constance, and his younger brother, EDMUND of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, (Duke of York in 1383), marrid the younger daughter, Isabella, of Pedro the Cruel, late King of Castille and Leon. (Edmund's first treaty of marriage with Margaret of Flanders in 1364, was thrown up in 1369.) THOMAS of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham (and Duke of Gloucester in 1385) marrid in or about 1374 (48 Edw. III, see Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i (1676), p. 169), a minor, and ward of the King's (whose son she would not have been allowd to refuse), Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, who attaind her full age in 3 Rich. II.—June 1379 to June 1380.—(EDWARD the Black Prince, who marrid Joan of Kent, died in 1376. WILLIAM of Hatfield, Edw. III's 2nd son, died in 1336. WILLIAM of Windsor died young.) The Princess ISABELLA, Edw. III's eldest daughter, marrid the young Lord Ingelram de Guisnes (or Courcy, afterwards Earl of Bedford) in 1365. Edward's 2nd daughter, JOANNA (Blanch died young), was contracted to Pedro the Cruel, afterwards King of Castille, but died of the plague at Bourdeaux in 1349, before being marrid. The 3rd daughter, MARY, marrid John de Mountfort, Duke of Britany, in 1361. And the 4th, MARGARET, marrid John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, in 1359. Philippa, the daughter of Prince Lionel, was born on Aug. 16, 1355, and was thus 13 at her father's death in 1368, "about which time"

Froissart,¹ in his Chronicle, tells us that Sir Simon Burley was sent by King Richard to the Emperour Wenceslas of Bohemia for this purpose, because all his subjects wished that their lord should soon conclude a marriage worthy of an English king. Pelzel in his Life of Wenceslas² I, 101, writes as follows: "About this time (January, 1381) had arrived plenipotentiaries from King Richard of England, who were dispatched the year before, on the 26th of December, from London. These ambassadors were commissioned to ask Princess Anna, the sister of King Wetzel, to be the spouse of their lord, the king (Rich. II.). The proposal was accepted so much more willingly, as the *match with the house of Misnia, that Anna was engaged to, had been broken off on account of Mayence, and as Princess Anna had already reached the age to choose herself a husband* Princess Anna, therefore, appointed three plenipotentiaries, to whom she gave full power to conclude a marriage between her and King Richard, etc. . . ."

In the same book, p. 108, Pelzel says that: "In August, 1381, these ambassadors had arrived in England." And at p. 110, he relates that *Anna was engaged as early as 1371 to a Prince of Bavaria; and in 1373, when she was seven years of age, to a margrave of Misnia*—as already mentioned in the above quotation.

the king gave her in marriage to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (Sandford's *Royal Genealogies*). Of Princess Isabella's children, Mary, born in April 1366, married Henry de Barr in 1383 (? : Mrs Green misprints 1303), and died in 1404. Philippa, born in 1367, was betrothed in 1371 to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and the "marriage was effected in 2 Ric. II.," June 1379 to June 1380 (Collins's *House of De Vere*). Their 5 children were, 1. *Roger*, Earl of March, born 1374 (married Eleonora, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, in (?), and died 1398); 2. *Sir Edmond* married a natural daughter of Owen Glendower in (?); 3. *Sir John* (died 1424); 4. *Elizabeth*, born at Usk in 1371, married Henry Hotspur, Lord Percy; 5. *Philippa*, who had 3 husbands, John, Earl of Arundel; Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and John, Lord St John.—Anderson, p. 743, 744; Betham, Table, 606, 607.—F. J. F.

¹ Sir John Froissart's Chronicles translated by Thomas Johnes, 1804, II, 542.

² Lebensgeschichte des römischen und böhmischen Königs Wenzeslaus . . . von Franz Martin Pelzel.

Now the italic passages above correspond wonderfully with the leading circumstances of Chaucer's *Parlament*: in King Richard and the two German princes we may recognise three Eagles wooing the formel; and the advice of Dame Nature:

v. 620: "... this ys my conclusyoun—
That she hir selfe shal have hir eleccioun
Of whom hir lyste . . ."

and the wish of the formel:

v. 648: "I aske
. to have my choys al fre . . ."

seem to allude to the fact that Anne had now become of age.¹ Considering at the same time that Chaucer was in such close relation to the royal family; that he, in his *Legende of Good Women*, praises this same Anne of Bohemia as the noblest and most virtuous of her sex;² and that he dedicates his *Legende* to her; the more likely it will appear to us that he expresses in the *Parlament* his wish for the happy success of his king's courtship, and his sympathy for the future wife of his lord. We may well suppose that he wrote the *Parlament of Foules* on St Valentine's day, 1381, on which day the session of the birds is said to have taken place. For about this time the result of the embassy to King Wenceslas must have been still unknown in England, and people most likely had not a very clear notion as to the state of affairs in Germany. By accepting this opinion, Chaucer's deviations from the real situation of matters will easily be explained. For, in fact, the Prince of Bavaria was no longer a competitor with King Richard, since his match had already been broken off for years. Further, Chaucer speaks of a year's delay wished for by the courted lady. This seems a mere fiction³—for if he wrote the *Parlament of Foules* on or

¹ That is, I suppose, 14. She was 15.

² I assume that she, and not Chaucer's own mistress, is the Lady praised in the Prologue.

³ Yet Froissart's words give it some countenance. He says in Johnes's translation, II, 681: "Chapter LXXXVI. The Emperor

about St Valentine's day (which, I think, is the most likely assumption), he could scarcely have learnt the answer of the Bohemian princess so early, considering that the ambassadors arrived at her court only at the end of January. Finally it is to be noticed that a poetical work does not pretend to be a chronicle. The situation and general circumstances of this courtship gave Chaucer the idea for this poem: he wrote it as a kind of prophecy, not as a historical song. He who is not contented to look at the beauties of a poetical work from a distance, but intrudes sacrilegiously into its interior, will always be disappointed.

Thus, in spite of these digressions from reality, I believe that King Richard's courtship alone can be alluded to in the *Parlament of Foules*.

III.

"QUENE ANELIDA AND THE FALSE ARCITE."

I hope I shall not exhaust the reader's patience by adding a few observations on other doubtful points concerning our poet.

First about the presumptive date of *Quene Anelida and the False Arcite*. This poem has also received some stanzas of the first version of *Palamon and Arcite*, as we, following the arguments of Prof. Ten-Brink, have already seen. This writer then states—and I think so that no doubt can remain—that this work is to be reckoned among the latest productions of Chaucer; but I cannot agree with him in his determination of its exact date.

Wincelaus sends his sister Anne to King Richard of England, who makes her his Queen.—You have heard how king Richard of England had for upwards of a year been in treaty with Wincelaus king of Bohemia, who at this period had taken the title of emperor of Rome, to obtain his sister the lady Anne in marriage; and how one of his knights, sir Simon Burley, had much laboured in this business; and also that the duke of Saxony had been in England to confirm the marriage." "She was married to the king in the chapel of the palace of Westminster, the twentieth day after Christmas," Jan. 14, 1382.—F. J. F.

He says in his "*Studien*," p. 56: "When Chaucer had turned his first version of *Palamon and Arcite* into another metre, and thereby into another form, for the *Canterbury Tales*, the thought rose in him to versify the story of *Anelida and Arcite*, to put it into relation to some elements of the story of *Palamon and Arcite*, and to make use of the opening stanzas of the previous version, which he withdrew from further circulation, for this new work The continuation of the new work, however, soon came to a standstill, and was not published before Chaucer's death as a fragment." But as I have tried to show before, that Chaucer had rejected the first version of *Palamon and Arcite* on his own account, because it no longer agreed with his riper taste, and that he afterwards from time to time inserted some of its pieces into other poems, my judgment on the date of *Queene Anelida* must take a different turn.

Queene Anelida and the False Arcite is a fragment, in fact, and it is hardly possible to draw any certain conclusions from it. But Chaucer, it seems to me, had intended to remould his *Palamon and Arcite* in this poem, perhaps by reversing its motive. Instead of depicting, as in the original, the passion of *two* men for *one* lady, he meant to represent *two* ladies in love with *one* knight. This new story would then have been conceived in the same sense and with the same view as the *Legende of Good Women*: he intended in it to represent, how ill, true love is often requited by men. Therefore both poems would belong to the same period, 1382-5. And for accessories of his new subject he had intended to use the descriptive pieces of *Palamon and Arcite* which were still at his disposal. I come to this conclusion from the beginning of the poem, and from its last stanza now extant, to the bearing of which I believe I am the first to call the reader's attention. Chaucer, after having related the complaint of the unlucky queen, says:

“ sythe she gan to ryse
 And unto Mars avoweth sacrifysse
 Within the temple, with a sorouful chere,
 That schapen was, as ye may plainly here.”

Here, I think, he at first meant to add the description of Mars's temple from *Palamon and Arcite*; and if he had done so, we should have received another unmodified fragment of the first version. He broke off here, probably because his sad fate towards the end of the eighth decennary—after 1386—about which time this fragment might have been written, deprived him of every delight in poetical productiveness. But he did not continue his work when his situation improved, because meanwhile the plan for the *Canterbury Tales* had occupied his mind, and he now found a better use for the *Teseida*. Taking into consideration the concluding stanza, quoted above, I believe my suggestion is better founded than that of Prof. Ten-Brink. [The *Anelida* is surely before 1385; and before 1382, I think.]—F. J. F.

IV.

a. ON CHAUCER'S USE OF "LOLLIUS," AND NON-USE OF BOCCACCIO'S NAME.

b. CHAUCER AND BOCCACCIO'S *DECAMERONE*.

Another much discussed question is: "Why does Chaucer always quote other names instead of Boccaccio's?" The explanations Prof. Ten-Brink and others give, are scarcely sufficient to account for the so-called caprice of Chaucer, according to which he constantly conceals the true name of the poet to whom he is most indebted for the subjects of his own poems. He, indeed, in a few instances quotes wrong sources, as Herr Hertzberg (p. 42, note 67, of his *Canterbury Geschichten*) shows: Lucan (*C. T.* 4820, 14, 637), Livius (*ib.* 11935), Suetonius (14, 383), Livius again in the *Legende of Good Women*, l. 1629, instead of Ovid, *Fast.* III, 75, etc.; (*Gesta Rom.* in *C. T.* 5546

and 6225 are uncertain), and several times Ptolemais' *Almagest*. But he quotes rightly: Statius, *Thebais* XII, 519, etc., in *Q. Anelida*, l. 21. Juvenalis X, 22 in *C. T.* 6773; Cicero *Divin.* II, 27 in *C. T.* 14990. Macrobius, *Somn. Scip. ib.* 15130, Seneca *de Ira* I, 14 and 16, *ib.* 7625, 7600; Claudian *Rapt. Pros.* II, *ib.* 10106; Virgil's *Aeneis*, *ib.* 15,365; Ovidii *Metam. ib.* 4513; Cato *Dist.* II, 32, *ib.* 14946; the *Maccabees*, *ib.* 14574; Dante, *ib.* 14771, Petrarch in several other places; further quotations from the Fathers are pointed out by Tyrwhitt, etc. From this list we see at once that the right quotations overbalance the erroneous ones; and though Chaucer, by chance or by mistake, now and then appears to show indifference on this point, we have no right to impute capricious intention to him. The more striking, therefore, is the circumstance that he always avoids naming Boccaccio. We have, however, no foundation for supposing that he wished to set himself up as the inventor of the stories he borrowed from the Italian poet. On the contrary, Chaucer, like every other author in the Middle Ages, holds it necessary to quote, as much as possible, authorities for his tales, in order to show that they are not idle inventions or forgeries.

To think of a personal animosity of Chaucer against Boccaccio, is still less admissible, because nowhere does the least hint of such a feeling occur. The only explanation, therefore, is, to assume that Chaucer, though he knew that Boccaccio wrote poems, did not know his name, or that of the author of the MSS. he, Chaucer, had bought.

Every one who has worked at Middle-Age MSS. must have noticed that the pieces in them are often anonymous; sometimes they usurp a wrong name, sometimes the indications are so indefinite and incorrect that we are at a loss to decide who is meant by them. Many MSS. contain different writings by different authors, of different periods and in different languages, copied by different

hands. Instances are abundant. Thus we can imagine that when Chaucer bought in Italy the *Divina Commedia*, or the Sonnets of Petrarch, he found in the same MS. pieces by an author unknown to him, or rather pieces without a title and without the name of their author: the *Teseida*, the *Filostrato*, and *De claris Mulieribus*. Now it would be absurd to assert that Chaucer had never heard Boccaccio praised; but it is not impossible that he only heard his name mentioned in Italy, without having the opportunity of seeing his works with his name and under their right title. About the time our poet was staying there, Boccaccio had retired to Certaldo, where he lived in seclusion, occupied with his Latin writings, until he was again called to Florence in 1373, when Chaucer may have left this town. So the Italian friends of our poet did not speak so much of Boccaccio, as of Dante and Petrarch; and Chaucer had so much to do with reading and studying the works of these two men, that he was unable to make, besides, acquaintance with the former one. At Chaucer's second visit to Italy in 1378, Boccaccio was dead.

All that I have said on this point may seem little more than guess-work; but if we consider the insignificant and uncertain knowledge of literature, in Chaucer's time, and the entire want of criticism, my suggestion will not appear too hazardous. Similarly Chaucer's adoption of "Lollius" can be explained; for, as I remarked above, the MSS. often give wrong names of authors; and so our poet might have found, somewhere among his specimens, the notice: "Hic incipit Lollius¹," or something of the kind; and thinking it to be the genuine name, employed it afterwards in his quotations. To introduce Horace here, as Dr Latham and Prof. Ten-Brink have done, seems rather a doubtful thing to do, because, so far as I know, there is no further sign that Chaucer had really read Horace.

¹ A suggestion of Mr H. Ward, if I remember rightly.

That he in other places also cites Statius, Petrarch, and Corinne, instead of Boccaccio, is not difficult to account for. For, as to the former, we know that he really did make use of him in the beginning of *Queene Anelida*; and since Chaucer is not very careful as to his quotations, he cited Statius too where he in fact borrowed from another source, particularly as Statius has a certain relation to the subject treated. The same is to be said about his having employed Petrarch's name in the *Monk's Tale*. As to Corinne, in *Queene Anelida*, st. 3, he may have chosen this name merely for the sake of the ryme.

At any rate, there is no necessity for explaining Chaucer's having passed over Boccaccio's name in silence, by supposing a strange, unaccountable caprice on his part.

b. Finally, a word about the question: "Did Chaucer take his plan for the *Canterbury Tales* from Boccaccio's *Decamerone*? The common opinion is that he did so; for it is alleged that Chaucer knew and made use of several other works of Boccaccio; and the arrangement and style of the *Decamerone* bear some resemblance to the English pilgrim's tales. But here I wish to make a grave objection: If Chaucer had derived his plot from this source, would he not most likely have translated some of its racy *novelle* instead of inserting former tales of his own into his book? Some of the tales, indeed, do resemble certain stories in the *Decamerone*. They are not, however, borrowed directly from it, but have a common source in old French *Fabliaux*. Names and localities, therefore, differ. Yet if Chaucer had taken the stories, or any one of them, from Boccaccio's book, he would most likely have imitated his original much more closely, as he did in all the other cases where his sources have been clearly made out. If he had known the *Decamerone*, would he not have inserted at least *one* of its stories, more exactly translated, into his *Canterbury Tales*?

In all his numerous productions, however, there is no

distinct trace whatever that he was really acquainted with the *Decamerone*; there is only a slight resemblance in the general plan. M. Sandras, in his *Etude sur Chaucer*, p. 135, suggests the *Disciplina Clericalis* or *The Seven Sages* as sources from which our poet might have taken his idea of connecting a series of stories. But I do not know of a single instance which proves that Chaucer made use of either of these works. My opinion therefore is, that the plot of the *Canterbury Tales* emanated from our poet himself. Why are we to believe that Chaucer was incapable of originating such an idea?—he, the founder of the new English metrical and rhythmical art, the creator of a standard English language, the father of humour, the greatest genius of his country in the Middle Ages?¹

APPENDIX.

THE DATE OF THE CANTERBURY JOURNEY DETERMINED FROM THE MAN OF LAW'S AND PARSON'S PROLOGUES.

As I learn that the investigations made by Herr Hertzberg and Professor Scherk to discover the presumptive date of the Canterbury Journey are little known to the English Chaucer student, I feel sure he will be glad to see a translation of this highly interesting argument, which we in Germany accept as establishing the date of the journey in the year 1393, five years later than the 1388 in which Englishmen believe. Herr Hertzberg, at p. 666 of his *Canterbury-Geschichten*, when commenting on the

¹ See too how, as a friend says, Chaucer's early poems, with their Proem and Story, work naturally up, through the *Legende* with its Prologue and collection of Stories, to the *Canterbury Tales*, with their famous Prologue and collection of Tales, so many of the latter, too, like the *Legende's*, of the woes of women, loving and betrayd. The hint also of the gathering of representatives of all English classes into one company may, if needed, have come to him from English ground, as Prof. Seeley suggests (Chaucer Society's Report, 1873, p. 7), for it is in the opening of his great contemporary, William's, Vision of the Ploughman, Christ.—F. J. F.

Parson's Prologue, or Blank-Parson Link, states first, that Chaucer is always to be relied upon when fixing the time of events by astronomical constellations, and that we have not, therefore, the least reason to doubt the exactness of his observation. Prof. Scherk, he continues, says as follows: "The 28th of April of the old style (the date given in the Man of Law's Prologue, ll. 5, 6) corresponds, at the end of the 14th century, with the 6th of May of the new style. Suppose the vernal equinox to have taken place on the 21st of March, 46 days will have elapsed by May the 6th, in which interval the sun has accomplished a journey of 46. ($0^{\circ}, 98565$) = $45^{\circ}, 34$, and is in $15^{\circ}, 34$ of the sign of the Bull. Suppose the moon to be in the middle of the sign of the Balance,¹ consequently 150° distant from the sun. Let the sun have travelled, since the last new moon, over the arc x ; then the moon has passed through $150^{\circ} + x$; and as the mean daily motion of the moon is $13^{\circ}, 1764$, the ratio is $150^{\circ} + x : x = 13.17640 : 0.98565$; whence it follows that $x = 12^{\circ}, 1$. Thus the moon, since the new moon has accomplished $162^{\circ}, 1$, for which distance it uses 12, 3 days; consequently the new moon set in on the $28-12=16$ th of April of the old style = 24th of April of the new style. The uncertainty of this result is about ± 1 day, of which the chief cause is, that the moon may stand either at the point of entering or leaving the sign of the Balance, which it passes through in $2\frac{1}{4}$ days.

In the year 1864 the new moon fell on the 6th of April, consequently 18 days earlier. Trying now at first, if the year of the event in question be 1400, we do not find, for the period from the 24th of April, 1400, till the 6th of April, 1864, a full number of synodical months, but there is a difference of about 11 days. This induces us to go back 7 years, because in them there is a yearly

¹ Therwith the mones exaltation,
In mene Libra, alway gan ascende.

Persones Prologue, ll. 10, 11, ed. Tyrwhitt.

rest of 11 days. Thus, with those surplus 11 days, we have in the whole 88 days, which is about equal to 3 synodical months. Indeed, we shall find now that the 471 years from 1393 to 1864,—the length of the tropical year being according to Bessel (Schumacher's *Astronom. Nachrichten*, 1828, N. 133), 365 d. 5 h. 48' 47,"9 = 365 d. 24221,—contain 172029.08 days. From these, counting from the new moon on the 6th of April, 1864, the above-mentioned 18 days are to be deducted. The remainder is 172011.08 days, which,—as the length of the synodical month is 29 days, 12 hours, 44', 2", 87 = 29 d. 53,—are equal to 5828 synodical months, the surplus of $\frac{117}{2933}$ month = $1\frac{1}{8}$ day, lying between the limits of uncertainty of the moon's place. Consequently the event in question took place on the 28th of April, 1393."

[The above argument depends upon the false assumption that Chaucer, in his *Man of Law's Tale*, mentions the 28th of April. But this date is a mere miswriting of the scribe of the Ellesmere MS.¹, who has expanded the xvij of the five other MSS. in the *Six-Text* into "eight and twentithe" instead of "eighttene." Mr Brae has shewn that the latter day is right; and, indeed, any one can see, after a very hasty consideration, that, in choosing between 18 and 28, we need not hesitate a moment. Chaucer tells us that the sun had just run a half-course in the Ram. This half-course was completed on the 11th of April. The sun next began a half-course in the Bull, lasting from the 12th to the 27th. On the 27th, this half-course was done, and a second half-course in the Bull begun; so that the reading "ramme" becomes meaningless. As the assumed date (28th) is plainly wrong, the arguments founded upon it crumble to pieces. See Mr Brae's edition of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, to which add my own notes.

WALTER W. SKEAT.]

¹ Some few other MSS. have the same mistake.

PALAMON AND ERSYTE.

A fragment from MS. D. 4. 18, No. 7, Trin. Coll., Dublin (? of Hen. VI's time). (Printed before by Dr David Laing, in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* (1843), ii. 11, and now recollated with the MS. by Prof. Atkinson of Trin. Coll., Dublin.)

Palamon.

This Palamon in his bed lay,
 And herd Emlyn syng so dowcetly,
 þat unto his brother he gan say,
 "þere¹ is my love and my lady?"

Emlyn'.

Goyng merely in a garden grene,
 Singyng herself, this lady bright,
 She ravished bothe the hertes, I wene,
 Of Palamon and his brother Ersyte.

Palamon.

"Syr Palamon, it is my name;
 And for this lady I bere gret blame,
 In preson stronge, Emlyn I chese,
 Unto my love and my maystres."

Emlyne.

O thou Emlyne, thi fayrenes
 Brought Palamon and Ersyte in gret distresse,
 In a garden) whan thou didist syng
 So fresshely in a May mornyng.

Ersyte.

"I, Ersyte, *with* my brother lay,
 Palamon, whan he chese this may:
 I had, or he, of her a sighte;
 þerfore I chalenge hir be² righte." (ends.)

Were, *Reliq. Ant.* ² wrongly 'to', in *Reliq. Ant.*

ESSAYS ON CHAUCER,

His Words and Works.

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XIII.

CHAUCER'S PARDONER
AND THE POPE'S PARDONERS.

BY

DR. J. J. JUSSERAND.



THE name of the Pardoner is familiar enough ; the vivid pictures of Chaucer and Langland are well known, and have made for us old acquaintances of the strange beings who sold centuries of indulgences to our forefathers. But it may be remarked that the picture being indeed too familiar, its very strangeness has partly come to be overlooked, and few think to inquire whether so extraordinary a part as the one played by the man of Rouncivale can well have been ever played in the real life of any age. In that way a kind of unconscious belief creeps into most minds, viz., that half the description does not after all give the idea of anything very extraordinary, and that the other half may be mere fancy.

(Perhaps it will be found useful to record here a few indisputable facts, showing that there is not the slightest exaggeration in Chaucer, that he knew well the Pardoners of his time, and described them exactly as they were, and that he did not add a word, not justified by what he saw, in order to win our laughter or to enliven his description.) It seems that when his minute accuracy is proved so far as the most monstrous and, so to speak, unlikely of his heroes is concerned, it will be very difficult to challenge, on the mere ground of unlikeliness, any of his less strange portraits. When Mandeville spoke of trees he had seen which grew *wool*, the people of his time wondered, and the men of a following and more enlightened age laughed at the fabricator of such fabulous stories : fortunately, however, the cotton-tree outlived the laughers. The same may be borne

in mind as regards Chaucer, and it will be found that his Pardoners, though not less strange, are not less real than Mandeville's marvellous trees.

First, it is to be remembered that there were authorised pardoners or *quæstores*, otherwise *quæstarii*, as the mediæval Latin has it, whose business was minutely regulated by popes and bishops, and who, having real bulls with real seals to show, were entrusted by the head of the Church with the care of remitting, for money, not the sins themselves, but part or the whole of the penance imposed for sins. The man must be repentant, and have duly confessed his faults; the money he paid to the pardoner was only a kind of commutation of his penance. That money was to be sent over to the papal or episcopal treasury, and was very often applied to the best imaginable purposes, such as the repair of roads and bridges, the building of hospitals, etc. The authorised pardoners were provided with *patents* on which the *visa* of the bishop of the place was to be added. Such was the rule. Exceptions soon became exceedingly numerous, and the rule was accordingly almost forgotten. Hence we have, amongst others, a papal letter, coæval with the *Canterbury Tales*, in which all the same abuses as are mentioned in Chaucer's poem are strongly denounced.

Those pardoners were, as Boniface IX.¹ declares in 1390, sometimes friars, and sometimes clerks belonging to the regular clergy, always men of excessive impudence. They dispensed with the ecclesiastical licence, and wandered like pedlars from one district to another, trafficking in pardons. Their calling was profitable, and there was much competition in it; the success of authorised pardoners attracted a crowd of others, who were really vagabonds and highwaymen, with no character to lose, and who boldly carried on their trade of imposture. Chaucer's Pardoner earned a hundred marks a year; and this is easily understood, since

¹ *Annales Ecclesiastici*; tom. vii. p. 525 of Raynaldus' continuation.

he had asked for no licence, and had no account to render, but kept all his gains to himself. } The Pope, in more measured language, says as much as the poet. His letter tells us, in the first place, that these pardoners swore that they were sent by the court of Rome :

“ quidam religiosi diversorum etiam mendicantium ordinum, et nonnulli clerici sæculares etiam in dignitatibus constituti, asserentes se a nobis aut a diversis legatis seu nuntiis sedis apostolicæ missos et ad plura peragenda negotia diversas facultates habere, per partes in quibus es pro nobis et Ecclesia Romana Thesaurarius deputatus, discurrunt.”

The personage described by Chaucer, who is constantly inveighing against avarice, does in fact come from Rome¹ :

. . . . a gentle Pardoner
That streyt was comen from the court of Rome

I preche no thing but for coveitise
What? trowe ye, whiles that I may preche
and wyne gold and silver for I teche,
That I wil lyve in povert wilfully?
Nay, nay.²

The Pope goes on to say that it is thus that they proclaim in the presence of believing people, who are not on their guard, their actual or supposed authorisation :

“ veras vel prætasas quas se habere dicunt facultates fidei et simplici populo nunciant, et irreverenter veris hujusmodi facultatibus abutentes, suas fimbrias, ut vel sic turpem et infamem quæstum faciant, impudenter dilatant, et non veras et prætasas facultates hujusmodi mendaciter simulant.”

What has the poet to say? He tells us that the charlatan has always fine things to show; that he knows how to deceive the simple; that his wallet is full of parchments with fair seeming signatures, which are doubtless forged; that the common people look on and wonder, while the parish priest is furious, although silent :

¹ Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales*.

² The Pardoner's Prologue.

First I pronounce whennes that I come,
 and thanne my bulles schewe I alle and some ;
 Oure liege lordes seal upon my patent
 That schewe I first my body to warent,
 That no man be so hardy, prest ne clerk
 Me to destourbe of cristes holy werk.
 and after that than tel I forth my tales.
 Bulles of popes and of cardynales,
 Of patriarkes and of bisshops I schewe,
 and in Latyn speke I wordes fewe
 To savore with my predicacioun
 And for to stere men to devocioun.¹

Nor is the "turpem et infamem quæstum" of which the Pontiff speaks, forgotten :

Now, good men, God foryeve yow your trespas,
 And ware yow fro the synne of avarice.
 Myn holy pardoun may you alle warice,
 So that ye offren noblis or starlinges,
 Or elles silver spones broches or rynges,
 Bowith your hedes under this holy bulle.²

The apostolic letter goes on :

" . . . cum etiam pro qualibet parva pecuniarum sum-
 mula, non pœnitentes, sed mala conscientia satagentes
 iniquitati suæ, quoddam mentitæ absolutionis velamen præ-
 tendere, ab atrocibus delictis, nulla vera contritione, nulla-
 que debita præcedenti forma (ut verbis illorum utamur)
 absolvant."

So again Chaucer :

They wol come up and offre in Goddes name,
 And I assoile hem by the auctorité
 Which that by bulle was i-graunted me.³

I yow assoile by myn heyh power,
 If ye woln offre, as clene and eek als cler
 As ye were born.⁴

It is evident that these self-appointed pardoners were troubled with few scruples, and knew how to profit by those of others. They released their clients from all sort of vows, and so their affairs prospered in proportion to the number of interdicts, prohibitions, and penances which were imposed. They passed their time in undoing what was done

¹ Prologue of the Pardoner.

² The Pardoner's Tale.

³ Prologue of the Pardoner.

⁴ The Pardoner's Tale.

by the clergy, and that without doing good to any but themselves. Thus, says the Pope :

“ cum etiam castitatis, abstinentiæ, peregrinationis ultramarinæ, seu beatorum Petri et Pauli de Urbe aut Jacobi in Compostella apostolorum, et alia quævis vota levi compensatione commutent ; de hæresi vel schismate nominatim aut incidenter condemnatos, absque eo quod in debita forma abjurent, et quantum possunt debite satisfaciant, non tantum absolvant, sed in integrum restituant ; cum illegitime genitis, ut ad ordines et beneficia promoveri possint, et intra gradus prohibitos copulatis aut copulandis dispensent, et eis qui ad partes infidelium absque sedis prædictæ licentia transfretarunt, vel merces prohibitas detulerunt et etiam qui Romanæ aut aliarum ecclesiarum possessiones jura et bona occuparunt, excommunicationis et alias sententias et pœnas et quævis interdicta relaxent, et indulgentiam quam felicis recordationis Urbanus Papa VI. prædecessor noster christifidelibus certas basilicas et ecclesias dictæ urbis instanti anno visitantibus concessit, et quæ in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ accedentibus conceduntur, quibusvis elargiri pro nihilo ducant.”

It may be remarked that, according to the Pontiff himself, they left very little to be done, and his list of their doings is fuller even than Chaucer's. Finally, they asserted that they received all this money in the name of the apostolic see :

“ cum etiam quæstum quem exinde percipiunt, nomine cameræ apostolicæ se percipere asserant et nullam de illo nihilominus rationem velle reddere videantur. Horret et merito indignatur animus talia reminisci.”

They went still further than this, and Pope Boniface IX. mentions a curious fact not to be found in Chaucer ; they united together and formed private associations to abuse the public confidence. The Pope therefore ordered the Bishops to institute an inquiry into all that concerned those men, their followers, accomplices, and associations, and they were empowered to imprison them without any form of trial :

“ Fraternitati tuæ mandamus quatenus, religiosis et clericis sæcularibus hujusmodi, ac eorum familiaribus, complicibus et collegiis, et aliis, vocatis qui fuerint evo-

candi, summarie simpliciter et de plano ac sine strepitu et figura iudicii, etiam ex officio, super præmissis, auctoritate nostra, inquiras diligentius veritatem, et eos ad reddendum tibi computum de receptis et reliqua consignandum, remota appellatione, compellas, et quos per inquisitionem hujusmodi excessisse vel non verum aut non sufficiens, seu ad id non habuisse mandatum inveneris, capias, et tandius sub fida custodia teneas carceribus mancipatos, donec id nobis intimaveris."

All those facts are further confirmed, as far as England is concerned, by statements from the learned Richard d'Angerville, or de Bury, bishop of Durham, who speaks, in a circular of December 8, 1340, of the same abuses, the same greed of the pardoners, and the same associations.¹

"Ricardus permissione divina, etc . . . dilectis filiis archidiaconis nostris Dunolmi et Northumbriæ eorumve officialibus, salutem, etc. Cum sit statutum in canone, ne qui elemosynarum quæstores ad prædicandum aut indulgentias clero aut populo insinuandum sine literis diocesanis aut apostolicis admittantur, literæque apostolicæ quæstoribus hujusmodi concessæ ante admissionem eorum per diocesanos examinari debeant diligenter; ex gravi tamen multorum querela ad nostrum pervenit auditum, quod nonnulli ex hujusmodi quæstoribus, non sine multa temeritatis audacia, motu suo proprio, in animarum subditorum nostrorum periculum et jurisdictionis nostræ elusionem manifestam, indulgentias populo concedunt, super votis dispensant, et perjuriis, homicidiis, usuris et peccatis aliis, sibi confitentes, absolvunt, et male ablata, data sibi aliqua pecuniæ quantitate, remittunt, ac alias abusiones quamplurimas faciunt et exponunt; vobis in virtute obedientiæ, firmiter inhibemus, et, per vos, omnibus rectoribus, vicariis et capellanis parochialibus, vestri archidiaconatus, inhiberi volumus et mandamus, ne aliqui quæstores hujusmodi, cujuscunque extiterint conditionis, ad prædicandum aut indulgentias aliquas insinuandum clero et populo in ecclesiis parochialibus ac locis aliis vestri archidiaconatus memorati, absque literis nostris et licentia speciali, de cætero admittantur; pecuniam etiam et res alias quascunque, per hujusmodi quæstores, aut ad eorum instantiam collectas, et infra districtum vestrum existentes, indilate faciatis sequestrari, et sub arto custodiri sequestro, donec a nobis aliud habueritis in mandatis; certificantes nos de eo quod feceritis in præ-

¹ Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense, t. iii. p. 325. Rolls Series.

missis, et de quantitate bonorum sic, ut præmittitur sequesteratorum, tempore opportuno. Datum in manerio nostro de la Welehall, octavo die mensis Decembris, A° Dⁱ M° CCC° XL et consecrationis nostræ viii°."

In this again many of the features of Chaucer's Pardoner are easily recognisable; and Langland's pardoner, as well as Chaucer's, are obviously of the same family as those of the Bishop of Durham. Thus reads the *Vision of Piers Plowman*:

Ther preched a pardoner · as he a prest were,
 And brouȝte forþ a bulle · with bisshopis seles,
 And seide þat hym-selue · myȝte asoillie hem alle
 Of falsnesse of fastinges · of vowes to-broke.
 Lewede men lyued hym wel · and likeden hus wordes,
 Comen and kneleden · to kyssen his bulles;
 He blessed hem with hus breuet · and blerede hure eyen.

A letter of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 1378,¹ is at hand to testify that such practices were universal in this country, and that the bishop of Durham's prohibitions were no mere accident. Sudbury, though very averse to those men, would no more than Richard de Bury pronounce their entire suppression. He simply orders their patents to be searched, and the only bearers of regular licences to be allowed to go on with their business; the others are to be sent before him for trial:

"Ad nostram audientiam est perlatum, quod, licet eleemosynarum quæstores, nisi apostolicas vel dioecesani episcopi literas exhibuerint, admitti non debeant, vel permitti indulgentias sibi concessas insinuare, & populo prædicare; nonnulli tamen quæstores, qui non sine multa temeritatis audacia et deceptione multiplici animarum ac elusione populi christiani, indulgentias remissionesque falsas et frivolas, et alia erronea in nostris civitate, dioecesi et jurisdictionibus nobis immediate subditis, prædicant abusive, tam per vos, quam per official. archidiaconi nostri cantuar. de diebus in dies indifferenter illicite admittuntur, nos abusus hujusmodi omnimode aboleri volentes" (the usual prohibitions follow).

And the archbishop's decree is to be proclaimed in every church all over the diocese:

¹ Wilkins, iii. p. 131.

“ Et præsens mandatum nostrum in singulis ecclesiis nostrarum civitatis, dioec. et jurisdictionum hujusmodi faciatis solenniter publicari.”

Like things happened in Ireland. The Provincial Synod of Dublin, in 1348, alludes to the letters of which Pardoners were to be bearers ; and there again no mention is made of pontifical or foreign licences as being sufficient, obviously for fear of forgery ; but only of letters of the archbishop or the diocesan :

“ Item quia eleemosynarum quæstores nonnullas abusiones in suis prædicationibus proponunt, ut decipiant simplices tantum, et nonnulla alia bona subtili vel fallaci potius ingenio extorqueant, nonnulla etiam mala in deceptionem animarum multiplicem perpetrentur ; statuimus et ordinamus, quod nullus amodo quæstor sine literis achiæpiscopi vel dioecesani admittatur quovis modo.”¹

If priests show slackness in zeal, and allow those men to preach, without asking for the official licence, they will be suspended for a year, and the pardoner will suffer excommunication first, and prison if he perseveres :

“ Sacerdotes vero, qui alio modo quam supradicto, quæstores ad prædicandum voluntarie et scienter admittunt, per annum a celebratione divinarum ipso facto sint suspensi, et ipsi quæstores, si contra præmissa aliquid attentaverint, ipso facto sint excommunicati. Et si per quadraginta dies perseveraverint, ad significationem episcoporum capiantur et incarcerentur, quousque de talibus aliud fuerit per loci dioecesanum dispositum.”

As to the forging of seals, to which we have just alluded, there cannot be any doubt that it was easily and frequently done. Seals were very common, and the art of engraving them was known to many. Richard II., in his statute of 1388, takes special notice of the possibility that new seals he had ordered to be made, might be forged ; and still those seals were intended for no greater object than for letters allowing workmen to go from one place to another. As regards the imitation of the very seal that was of greatest use

¹ Concilia Magnæ Britannix, ii. p. 747.

to pardoners, viz. the Pope's, I find in the year 51 Ed. III., a certain Thomas Pardoner, and his accomplice Reginald Clerc, brought for this offence from Gloucester to London. The following is, in Devon's translation, the item in the Issue of the Exchequer concerning the expense incurred on account of their journey :

“To John Compton, one of the king's archers of his crown. In money paid to him for the expenses of himself and other archers in his retinue, coming from Gloucester to London, to conduct and deliver up Thomas Pardoner and Reginald Clerc, forgers of the seal of the Lord the Pope, then taken in those parts, in the office of the king's marshalship ; also for hire of horses for the same Thomas and Reginald and for divers other costs occurred for their safe conduct.—£6.”

Thus it was that Chaucer's and Langland's false pardoners could show so easily “bisshopis seles,” or “our liege lordes seal” upon their patents and their bulls.

Several other decrees of popes or bishops are worth quoting, as they are not less strong in their denunciations, and curious on account of the abuses they describe. The frequent repetition of such letters shows what passive strength there was in those hated associations of pardoners, and how they could survive the poet's ridicule as well as the pope's censure. Thus it is, for instance, that shortly before the time when Boniface IX. found it necessary to expose openly the long list of enormities daily committed everywhere by pardoners, one of his predecessors, Urban V., had had to write a long letter to W. Wittlesey, Archbishop of Canterbury, with special reference to the way of life of the *quæstores* employed by the Hospitallers in England. It was the custom, as stated in this document, for certain Orders to have attached to them a number of Pardoners, going here and there, selling indulgences and even absolution *a pœna et a culpa*, for the benefit of their employers and for their own as well. The objection raised against

the practices of the Hospitallers comes from their belief that they were especially privileged on that point, and that their pardoners were exempted from all ecclesiastical interference but their own, which was of course of the least troublesome character. Their men were, on that account, practically free; they openly opposed the parish priests, and committed, without repression, the grossest possible religious abuses :

“. . . Percepimus quod quæstores priorum, præceptorum et confratrum domorum nospitalis S. Johannis Jerusalem-
itani in Anglia, de voluntate, conniventia, ratihabitione seu mandato dictorum priorum etc. in pluribus contra juris et rationis metas impudenter excedunt. (The obligation of showing official licences is here recorded.) Nonnulli tamen quæstores priorum et confratrum prædictorum, gratia quæstus hujusmodi, et præcipue propter quæstum confratriæ seu confraternitatis eorum confratriæ dicti hospitalis vulgariter nuncupatæ, ad rectorum et vicariorum hujusmodi ecclesias accedentes, et se ad prædicandum seu exponendum populo hujusmodi negotia quæstuarialia offerentes, licet congrue et legitime requisiti, literas sedis apostolicæ vel diocesanæ loci eisdem rectoribus seu vicariis sic requirentibus, ostendere seu exhibere penitus non curarunt, neque curant; quin verius de voluntate, conniventia seu mandato, de quibus prædicatur, denegarunt expresse contra constitutiones canonicas et, ut timetur, denegare satagent in futurum: prætendentes priores et fratres pro se et eorum quæstoribus in ea parte fore notorie privilegiatos, licet hoc neque notorium fuerit neque verum; et ut quadam astutia colorata ipsos rectores et vicarios exhibitionem literarum hujusmodi sic petentes, acrius fatigent laboribus et expensis, ipsos, eo quod exhibitionem literarum hujusmodi deposcebant et deposcunt, tanquam injuriatores contra eorum privilegia manifestos, et quæstum suorum impeditores proclamarunt et proclamant, eosque coram eorum conservatoribus seu subconservatoribus ad loca diversa et quandoque valde remota fecerunt et faciunt ad iudicium evocari et per conservatores sive subconservatores hujusmodi, contra eosdem, processus indebitos fieri, eosque nonnunquam excommunicari, aggravari et denunciari licet de facto, ac alia eis gravamina quamplura inferri procurarunt et procurant. . . .

Et insuper quæstores prædicti frequenter et potissime quando satagent alicui rectori seu vicario nocere, ad ipsius rectoris seu vicarii ecclesiam in aliquo die festo, præcipue quando populus solitus est offerre, accedunt et ibidem

quæstulare, seu nomina fratriæ seu fraternitatis suæ legere incipiunt et continuant usque ad talem illius diei festi horam, qua missa ibidem pro illo die convenienter non potest celebrari ; sicque rectores et vicarios hujusmodi suis faciunt oblationibus, quæ eis in missis hujusmodi obveniunt, nequiter defraudari.

Insuper in ecclesiis et locis ad eos seu dictum hospitale nullatenus pertinentibus, licet publice interdictis seu pollutis divina faciunt etiam publice celebrari et in eis pro eorum libito per se et alios sepeliunt corpora defunctorum, officium quoque seu negotium quæstuandi personis simplicibus et quasi illiteratis committunt etc."¹

An inquiry is instituted, and the privileges referred to are to remain suspended until the results of the inquiry are known. Nothing, I believe, in Chaucer can give a better idea of the wickedness of the pardoners than the above statements, and nothing more ludicrous can well be imagined than their procuring the excommunication of the very parish priest who was to have had them imprisoned through his diocesan. Their trick of making their speeches and sales, in church, on feast days, at the time when mass should have been celebrated, and of pocketing the money which a numerous congregation had brought, intending it for their parson, is equally remarkable. To take up all the time available for mass, much eloquence and volubility was of course necessary ; and Chaucer, it is well known, was not ignorant of this. His illiterate pardoner was very eloquent, if we believe him :

. . . in chirches whan I preche,
I peyne me to have an hauteyn speche,
And ryng it out, as lowd as doth a belle,
For I can al by rote which that I telle.²

I stonde lik a clerk in my pulpit,
And whan the lewed poeple is doun i-set,
I preche so as ye have herd before
And telle hem an hondred japes more.
Than peyne I me to strecche forth my necke,
And est and west upon the poeple I bekke,
As doth a dowfe, syttyng on a berne ;
Myn hondes and my tonge goon so yerne,
That it is joye to se my busynesse.³

¹ *Concilia*, &c., t. iii. p. 84.

² Prologue of the Pardoner, v. 43.

³ *Ibid.* v. 105.

At the beginning of the following century we find the pardoners still flourishing in England. A special chapter is set apart for them in the "articuli concernentes reformationem universalis ecclesie editi per universitatem Oxon. A.D. 1414": in this chapter it is recorded—1. that the pardoners often farmed the right of selling indulgences, and therefore had no other idea than that of getting from the public as much as possible, no matter in what way; 2. That they spent their money in the worst possible fashion; 3. That they assumed ecclesiastical functions though they were not priests, but mere untaught laymen; 4. that they fully absolved the dead as well as the living, which was no little encouragement to sin. In fact the situation was in no way altered. Thus runs the article:

"Quia inverecundi quæstores turpissimos suos quæstus ad firmam emunt cum Simone, indulgentias vendunt cum Gyesi et adquisita consumunt cum filio prodigo inhoneste, sed quod magis est detestabile, cum non sint in sacris ordinibus constituti, publice prædicant ac false prætendunt quod absolvendi a pœna et a culpa tam superstites quam defunctos plenam habeant potestatem, cum aliis blasphemiiis, quibus populum spoliant et seducunt et verisimiliter ad tartara trahunt, præstantes spem frivolam et audaciam ad peccandum. Abusus igitur sectæ pestiferæ ab ecclesie limitibus penitus deleantur."¹

It is well known that at the time of Henry VIII. the pardoner was put on the stage and publicly derided by the independent wit of the catholic Heywood,² and that the same thing was done in Scotland by Sir David Lyndsay. Perhaps French pardoners are not so well known, but a few lines from one of the popular farces of the old stage will show that their usefulness as comic personages was equally well understood on the other side of the Channel:

Pardonneur

Je vous vueil monstren la creste
Du coq qui chanta chez Pylate;

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*, &c., iii. p. 365.

² *The Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte*. 1533, fol.; *The foure P.* 1545.

Et la moytie d'une late
 De la grande arche de Noé. . .
 Regardez, seigneurs, vécy l'elle
 D'un des séraphins d'auprès Dieu ;
 Ne cuydez pas que ce soit jeu :
 Véla la, affin qu'on la voye.

Triacleur

Sangbieu, c'est la plume d'une oye .
 Qu'il a mangée à son disner . . .
 Voicy du bois du tabourin
 De quoy David joue devant Dieu.

Pardonneur

Il a menty, par le sangbieu,
 Car David jouait de la harpe.

Triacleur

Par la mort bieu, si je te happe,
 Je t'envoyray prescher ailleurs." ¹

Rabelais also does not fail to include these men in the vast collection of curious specimens his broad genius has so powerfully set up in his *Vie de Gargantua* for our instruction or amusement. Panurge is at his best when he has to deal with the *pardonaires* or *pardonnières*, and he is never more amusing than when he is seen to enter in succession, for no good purpose, all the "eccleses où estoit banque de pardons." ²

At last, in its 21st session, on the 16th July, 1562, Pius IV. being Pope, the Œcumenical Council of Trent pronounced the complete and entire suppression of pardoners. These are the words of the 9th chapter of the *Decretum Reformationis* published in that session. ³

"Cum multa a diversis antea conciliis, tam Lateranensi ac Lugdunensi, quam Viennensi adversus pravos eleemosynarum quæstorum abusus remedia tunc adhibita, posterioribus temporibus reddita fuerint inutilia, potiusque eorum malitia ita quotidie magno fidelium omnium scandalo et querela excrescere deprehendatur, ut de eorum emendatione nulla spes amplius relicta videatur, statuit sancta synodus ut

¹ Le Théâtre en Angleterre depuis la Conquête jusqu'aux prédécesseurs immédiats de Shakespeare, 1878, 8°, p. 151.

² Liv. II. ch. xvii.

³ Conciliorum generalium Ecclesiæ catholicæ Pauli V. Pont. Max. auctoritate editus, tomus IV. (p. 261), Rome 1628, 4 vol. fol.

posthac in quibuscumque christianæ religionis locis eorum nomen atque usus penitus aboleatur, nec ad officium hujusmodi exercendum ullatenus admittantur; nonobstantibus privilegiis, ecclesiis, monasteriis, hospitalibus, piis locis et quibusvis cujuscumque gradus, status et dignitatis personis, concessis, aut consuetudinibus etiam immemorialibus. Indulgentias vero aut alias spirituales gratias, quibus non ideo christifideles decet privari, deinceps per ordinarios locorum, adhibitis duobus de capitulo, debitis temporibus populo publicandas esse decernit. Quibus etiam elemosynas, atque oblata sibi charitatis subsidia, nulla prorsus mercede accepta, fideliter colligendi facultas datur, ut tandem cœlestes hos Ecclesiæ thesauros, non ad quæstum sed ad pietatem exerceri, omnes vere intelligant."

And so it happened that pardoners disappeared. Whether the reform above indicated could not have been of a more sweeping character, we need not inquire; and though it would be very easy to add several other authorities to those already quoted, I suppose they will prove sufficient. Their collection here is merely an attempt to show, after many critics, the great historical value and the minute accuracy of Chaucer's descriptions, a value which being generally considered as a matter of course, is often practically left aside, doubtless because we are very apt to distrust our own confidence when it has grown up of itself, out of feelings and not out of reasons.

Queen's Road, 12 June, 1880.

XIV.

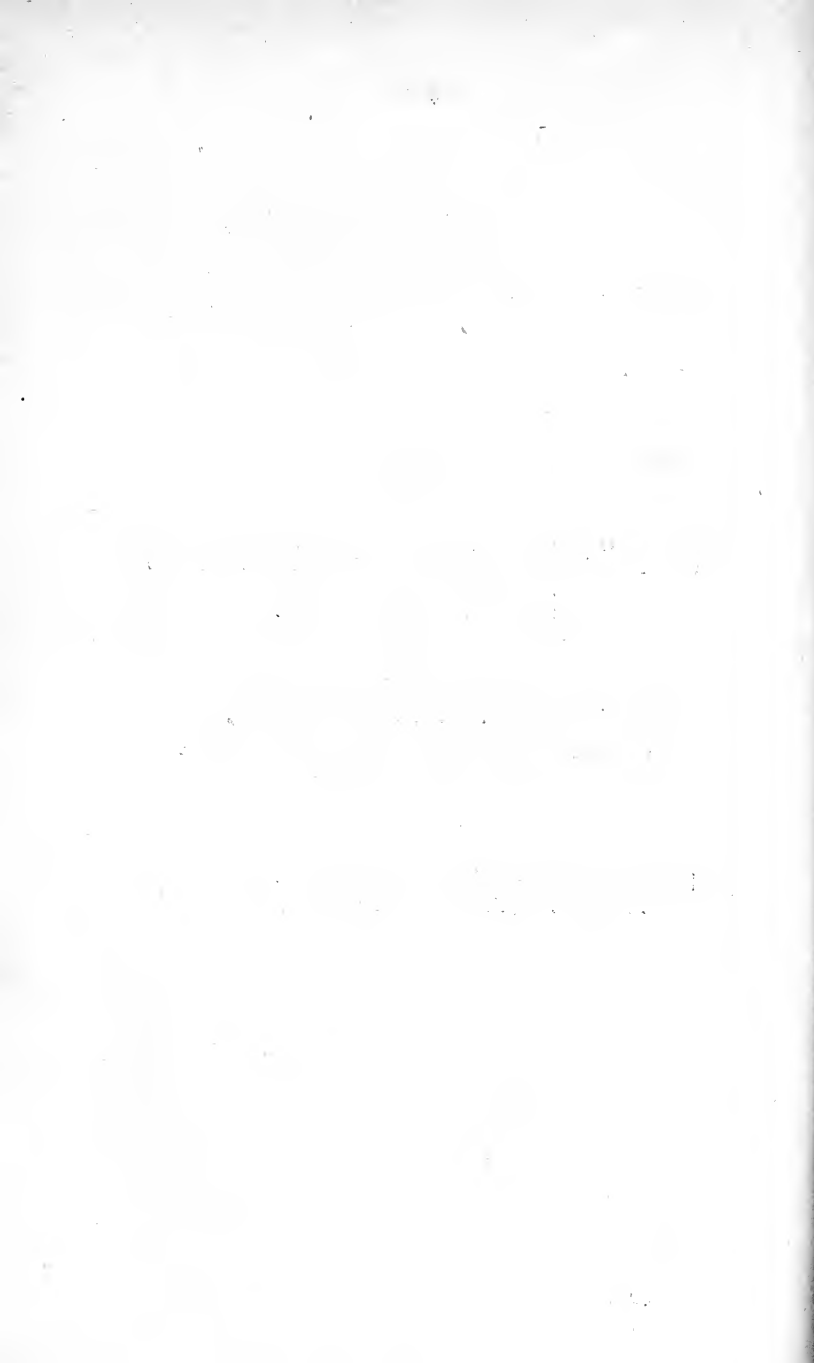
WHY "THE ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE"
IS NOT CHAUCER'S.

BY

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Prioresse's Tale, &c., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1880.*]



WE know that Chaucer made a translation of the *Romaunt of the Rose*; but the only translation of that poem now extant is not his. This point has been obscured by the fact that all the editions contain this anonymous translation, and it has always been associated with his name. But the internal evidence against this hasty conclusion is overwhelming and irrefragable, though the poem will long continue to be considered as genuine by readers unacquainted with Chaucer's metre and grammar. But as the *careful* perusal of even so small a portion of Chaucer as is contained in either of my volumes of *Selections from Chaucer* will enable a student to exercise his own judgment on this point, a few of the arguments are here appended.

It must be observed at the outset that there may have been for all we know, five or six translations of the *Romaunt of the Rose* by different authors. Of other similar works there still exist several translations, and they are almost all anonymous. Thus, of the *Troy-book*, we not only have a version by Lydgate, and another (unpublished and imperfect) by Barbour, but a third (also unpublished) in the Bodleian Library, and a fourth, in alliterative verse, published by the Early English Text Society. 'These versions are *independent* translations from Guido de Colonna, belong to the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, and must have been made within a period of fifty years. Probably the earliest was that by Barbour, then the Alliterative, then Lydgate's, and last of

all the Bodleian ;' Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 129, footnote. So again, of the *Story of Alexander*, we have the version in Weber's *Metrical Romances*, the alliterative Romance printed by Stevenson, the *Alexander* fragment printed by myself as an appendix to *William of Palerne, Alexander and Dindimus* (E.E.T.S.), and so on. We find, in fact, that numerous translations, mostly anonymous, were made at the end of the fourteenth century ; and it is extremely unlikely that Chaucer's translation of the *Romaunt* should have been the only one. Moreover, Chaucer either intentionally suppressed some of his translations, or took no care to preserve them ; so that we have now only his own word for his translations of the *Book of the Lion*, of *Origenes upon the Maudeleyne*, and of *Pope Innocent's treatise De Miseria*. Hence there is actually, at the very outset of the enquiry, a presumption in favour of the fact that the existing translation is anonymous, and not his. Its presence in the editions proves nothing ; it was inserted merely on the strength of the title, just as the early editions contain *The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene*, inserted to supply the place of Chaucer's *Maudeleyne*. We have to bear in mind (for it is an important point), that we first meet with the *Romaunt* in the edition of 1532, a collection of Chaucer's (supposed) works made *a hundred and thirty* years after his death. Most critics calmly ignore this, and speak as if it had been associated with Chaucer from the first. A very little reflection will shew that the external evidence is simply worthless, and we are driven to examine the poem itself. We then stand on firm ground, and the results are interesting and decisive.

To save trouble, I shall call the anonymous author 'the translator,' and his work 'the translation,' and proceed to give a brief sketch of the nature of the arguments. Want of space prevents my saying much, but I think the tests suggested will suffice to enable any one who really under-

stands philology to work out the whole matter for himself, if he should wish to do so¹.

TEST I. *The Riming of -y with -yë.* This is explained in the note to B. 2092, p. 169. Chaucer never rimes such a word as *trewely*, ending in *-y*, with French substantives ending in *-yë*, such as *folyë*, *Jelousyë*. In the translation, examples abound, e.g. *generaly*, *vilanyë*, 2179²; *worthy*, *curtesyë*, 2209; *folyë*, *by*, 2493, 2521; *curtesyë*, *gladly*, 2985; *flatelyë*, *utterly*, 3387; *Ielousyë*, *I*, 3909; *multiplyë*, *by*, 5600. There are plenty more, which the curious may discover for themselves. The MS. of the translation often has the absurd spellings *bye* for *by*, and the like, to keep up a rime to the eye; but the truth lies the other way, that the final *-ë* was dropped by the translator, just as it always was by Barbour, who rimes *foly* with *wykkytly*, Bruce, i. 221; &c., &c. To meet the argument drawn from this test, the puerile plea has been set up, that Chaucer's practice of riming differed at different periods of his life! This is purely gratuitous, and contrary to all the evidence. See, e. g. his Book of the Duchesse.

TEST II. *The use of assonant rimes.* In the poem of Havelok the Dane, we find rimes that are not true rimes, but mere assonances, such as *yeme*, *quene*, 182; *maked*, *shaped*, 1646; &c., &c.³ I need hardly say that no such rimes occur in Chaucer⁴. But, in the translation, there are numerous examples, which are quite decisive. Some are: *kepe*, *eke*, 2126; *shape*, *make*, 2260; *escape*, *make*, 2753; *take*, *scape*, 3165; *laste*, *to barste*, 3185. In

¹ Several of the points mentioned below will be found in my letter to The Academy on this subject, Aug. 10, 1878, p. 143.

² I give the Chaucerian spelling to shew the impossibility of the rimes being due to Chaucer. The numbers refer to the lines of the poem, as printed in Morris's Aldine edition of Chaucer, vol. vi.

³ A list is given in my preface to Havelok, p. xlv.

⁴ Mr. Bradshaw kindly points out the riming of *terme*, *yerne*, Book of the Duchesse, ll. 79, 80. This is a most instructive instance; for *yerne* is a mistake of the scribes for *erme*, the true Chaucerian form, as I shew in the note to Group C, l. 312; see Man of Law's tale, 2nd ed., p. 142.

the last case, we might read *to braste*. This secures a rime indeed, but it brings us no nearer to Chaucer; he rimes *laste* (to last) with words such as *faste, caste, &c.*; whereas 'to burst' is, with him, *to breste*, riming with *leste*, it pleased, *reste*; &c. He has, indeed, *brast* as a *past tense*, but that is quite a different matter.

TEST III. *The riming of here and there.* It has been maintained by Dr. Weymouth, in the Transactions of the Philological Society, that Chaucer rimes a certain set of words with the word *here*, and another set of words with the word *there*; and no word in one set ever rimes with a word in the other set. Whether this be true or not, it can be maintained and defended, and cannot be easily and formally disproved. But when we turn to the translation, we have a short and simple way of shewing that the translator cared nothing whatever about any such distinction. In l. 663, he rimes *there* with *were* (verb); in l. 2977, he rimes *were* with *fere* (fear); and in l. 3843, he rimes *fere* with *here*. And there is an end of this test.

TEST IV. *Strange rimes.* We find in the translation all sorts of rimes such as Chaucer, judging by the evidence, would never have dreamt of. Examples: *joynt, queynt*, 2037; *aboute, swote*, 1705; *desire, nere*, 1785; *fresh, sarsynish* (*sarsnet*, misprinted *sarlynysh*), 1188; *more, ar*, 2215; *annoy, away*, 2675; *ioye, conveye*, 2915; *crowne, persone*, 3201; *down, tourne*, 5472. In this case, I leave the spelling as in the MS. Plenty more such rimes may be found.

TEST V. *The grammatical use of final -e.* In the translation, we find *to tel*, a gerund, riming with *bifel*, 3083: *set*, pp., riming with the gerund *to et* (to eat), 2755. I have written the preface to my Selections in vain if even the beginner cannot see that Chaucer would have written *tellē* in one place, and *etē* in the other, and would not have tolerated such rimes as these. I adduce no more such instances, but there are, in the translation, *hundreds* of them.

TEST VI. *The test of dialect.* This test alone is decisive, and deserves great attention. Many have noticed that the translation bears obvious marks of a *more Northern* dialect than that of Chaucer. Mr. Arnold, in a letter to the Academy, July 20, 1878, p. 67, says — ‘that the language of the only existing MS. of the *Romaunt* is of a somewhat more Northern cast than that of Chaucer’s works generally, is indisputable. It seems to me tinged by the dialect of Norfolk and Lincolnshire. . . *Lepand* (leaping) occurs—a distinctly Northern form. But the divergence from the language of London is not greater than can be reasonably set down to the account of an East-Anglian transcriber, as distinguished from the original author. In connection with this point, it may be noted that a memorandum inside the Hunterian volume¹ states that the MS. was given in 1720 by Mr. Sturgeon, surgeon, of Bury St. Edmunds, to one Thomas Martin².’ My answer is, that this is a misleading statement; it implies that the Northern participles in *-and* are due to the transcriber. But they are due to the *author*, and cannot be explained away. As this is an important point, I cite four lines, in full, properly spelt, omitting *be* in l. 2263.

‘Poyntis and slevis wel *sittand*,
 Righte and streighte on the *hand*;³’ 2263.
 ‘They shal hir tel how they thee *fand*,
 Curteys and wys, and wel *doand*;³’ 2707.

Change these into Chaucerian spelling, and we have *sittinge* riming with *hand*; and *fond* (not *fand*, see *fond* in Glossary) riming with *doing*; which is absurd³. The word *fand* is just as clear an indication of Northern dialect (to those who can see) as the use of the present participle

¹ The MS. of the translation is in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow.

² Meaning Thomas Martin of Palgrave.

³ Several years ago, I happened to remark to a friend that the suffix *-and* is a sure mark of Northern influence. He observed, that he had just found some instances of the use of this suffix in Chaucer. I replied—‘then it was in the *Romaunt of the Rose*.’ Answer—‘*Yes, it was.*’

in *-and*. I will indicate one more Northern form, too important to be passed over, viz. the use of the Scandinavian preposition *til* in place of the Southern English *to*. *Til* occurs as a rime to *wil* and *fil* thrice; see lines 4593, 4854, 5816. Now, although *til* is found in the MSS. of Chaucer, A. 1478, it is of doubtful authenticity; if correct, it seems to have been used instead of *to* before a vowel, to avoid the hiatus. But in Northern works it is very common; and the use of it, as in the translation, *after its case*, is notable.

But the transcript really is often at fault; being more southern in character than the translator's real language. The scribe has set down rimes that are no rimes, but which become so when turned into the Northern dialect. Thus, he rimes *thore* (there) with *more*, 1853, Chaucer's form being *there*; and also *more* with *are*, l. 2215, which is no rime at all. Barbour would have written, *thar*, *mar*, and *ar*; which makes the rimes perfect¹. So also *hate* (hot) riming with *state*, 2398, is Northern; Chaucer's form is *hoot*. Cf. also *avenaunt* or *avenand* (as in Barbour's Bruce), riming with *plesaunt* or *plesand*, 4621; *paramouris* (Bruce), riming with *shouris*, 4657; *ado* (for *at do* = to do, a well-known Northern idiom), riming with *go*, 5082; *certis* (a Northern form for Chaucer's *certes*), riming with *is*, 5544; *fawe* (fain, a Northern form), riming with *sawe*, a saying, 6477. Chaucer has *taughte*, taught; but the translator has *teched*, riming with *preched*, 6681. The continual dropping of the final *-e*, so common in the translation, is a well-known mark of Northern idiom; see p. lviii, above. For examples, take *flitte*, *it*, 5362; *gete*, *set*, 4828; *lye*, *erly*, 2645; *feet*, *lete*, 1981. They may be found in large numbers.

TEST VII. *The test of vocabulary.* This is a test I

¹ Again, *I note* rimes with *estate*, 5402; read *I wat*, *estat*, the Northumbrian forms. To give many such examples is surely needless; and it becomes tedious.

have never yet seen mentioned, except in the most haphazard way; thus Mr. Arnold observes that *smale foules* occurs in the translation, l. 106, and also in Chaucer's prologue, l. 9.¹ But *smale foules* is merely Middle-English for 'little birds,' and might have been used by any one. I attach very small importance to this test of vocabulary, as I believe it to be frequently misleading, and it is often misapplied. Its value as a proof is very slight, as compared with the tests furnished by metre and grammar. Still, as it carries weight with some readers, I will not omit to consider it.

Whoever will really *read* the translation, must be struck with the extraordinary number of unusual words in it, especially of words which never occur in Chaucer. Many of these words have been *attributed* to Chaucer over and over again, but solely on the strength of the translation, and quite erroneously. By way of illustration, I will mention that Chaucer calls a *lark* a *lark*, C. T. 1493; but the translator calls it a *laverock*, 662.

We may particularly notice three facts.

A. The translator and Chaucer use different forms of the same word.

B. The translator and Chaucer use similar forms in different senses.

C. Words occur in the translation which do not occur in Chaucer.

A. The mod. E. *abroad* is, in Chaucer, *abrood*²; but, in the translation, *abrede* (miswritten *abrode*), riming with *forwered* (written *forweried*), 2563.

¹ And even here we may remark that, if we find *smale foules* in l. 106, the phrase is *smale briddes* (not *foules*) just above, l. 88; cf. l. 101.

² I must refer the reader to the Glossaries in Moxon's reprint of *The Poetical Works of Chaucer*, 1855; and in Morris's Aldine edition; also to the glossaries appended to the three volumes of *Chaucer Selections* in the Clarendon Press series. Most words can thus be traced. I give the references to the 'translation' as edited by Morris, remarking that in Moxon's edition the numbering of the lines *slightly* differs, but never by more than *seven* lines.

For *found*, we find *fand*, 2707. Chaucer, *fond*.

For *cowardice*, we find *cowardise* (2490), riming with *dispise*. Chaucer has *cowardyë*, C. T. 2732 (Tyrwhitt), riming with *vilanyë*.

For *fain*, we find *fawe*, r. w.¹ *sawe*, 6477. Ch. has *fayn*.

For *fairness*, we find *fairehede*, 2484. Ch. has *fairnesse*, E. 334. So also *youthede*, 4934; *semlyhede*, 777.

For *fared*, i. e. gone, we find *fore*, r. w. *more*, 2709. Ch. has *fare*, E. 896.

For *to go one's way*, we find *wente her gate* (common in the North), 3332. Ch. would have said *wente her way*; see *to take our wey*, Prol. 33.

For *obedience*, we find *obeysshynng*, 3380. Ch. says *obeysance*, E. 24.

For *piercing*, we find *persaunt*, 2809; as in the Court of Love, 849. Surely Ch. would have said *percing*.

Chaucer has *enclosed* as the pp.; E. 1783. The form in the translation is very remarkable, viz. *enclos*, a purely French word. The scribe, indeed, is so stupid as to write *enclosid is*, 1652; but, seeing that *enclos is* rimes with *rosis*, the correction is easy.

The carelessness of the translator appears in his using *fier* (fire), to rime with *desire*, 2467; whilst, only four lines below, the form is *fere*, to rime with *nere* (nigher). Ch. has *fyr* (*y* = long *i*).

For *sojourn*, we find *sojour*, r. w. *tour*, 4281; but Ch. has *soiorne* or *soiourne*, r. w. *tourne*, D. 988.

For *I wot*, we find *I vote*, 2402; but, as it rimes to *estate* (read *estat*), it is meant for the Northern *I wat*. Ch. has *I wot* or *I woot* only.

For *hedge*, we find *haie*, 54, 3007. Ch. has *hegge* or *hawe*.

For 'masterly workmanship,' we find *maistrise*, r. w. *purprise*, 4171. Ch. has *maistrie*. A very remarkable example occurs in the following. For a *female scold*, we

¹ I. e. riming with.

find *chideresse*, 4266; but Chaucer has *chidester* (C. T. 9409, Tyrwhitt)¹. Note also *honden*, hands, 6667.

B. Different senses of one form. *Auaunt* means *forward*, 3958; 4793. In Ch., it means *a boast*.

Baillie means *custody, government*, 4302, 7574. In Ch., it means *a bailiff*.

Baude means *joyous*, 5677. In Ch., it means *a bawd*.²

Bourdon means *a staff*, 3401, 4092. In Ch., it is *the burden of a song*; Prol. 675.

Coine means *a quince*, 1374. In Ch., it is *a coin*.

Aleys means *lote-trees*, 1377. In Ch., it means *alleys*, i. e. garden-walks.

To congecte means *to plan*, 6930. In Ch., it means *to conjecture or suppose*; Troil. iv. 998 (Morris).

To elde is a verb, *to make old*, 391, 396. But in Ch., it is only a sb., signifying *old age*.

Quene in Chaucer means *a queen*; in the translation, it is used in the worst sense, 7034.

Solein means *sullen*, 3896. In Ch., it is merely *sole* or *single*.

C. The translation abounds with remarkable words; the translator was a great master of language, with a vocabulary of his own; but many of his words are to be found in Barbour, Wyclif, the Promptorium Parvulorum, Havelok, and Piers Plowman, rather than in Chaucer³. I note a few of these.

Accusith, reveals, 1591; *acoie*, to quiet (as in Will. of Palerne), 3564; *agree*, adv. in good part, 4349; *aguiler*, needle-case, 98; *alege*, alleviate (as in the Prick of Conscience), 6628; *aleys* (French *alise*), lote-trees, 1377⁴;

¹ We may also note different words for the same thing; thus *swire* for neck, 325; Chaucer's word is *hals*.

² Morris gives *only* the sense *joyous*; but this sense will not suit his reference to the Freres Tale, l. 56.

³ In saying that these words do not occur in Chaucer, I may make a few mistakes. I only say that I have overlooked them. The list must be taken as tentative only, for what it is worth.

⁴ Dr. Morris gives only the sense of *lote-trees*, but his reference to March. Tale, 1080, demands the sense of *garden-walks*.

almandres, almond-trees, 1363; *alpes*, bulfinches (Prompt. Parv.), 658; *among* (in the sense *now and then*, as in Barbour), 3771; *anker*, anchorite (P. Plowman), 6351; *anoie*, sb. (Barbour), 4404; *aqueintable*, 2213; *arblasters*, crossbow-men (*awblasteris* in Barbour), 4196; *archangel*, not a dead nettle (Prompt. Parv.), but a bird, 915; *assise*, situation, 1237; *attour*, head-dress, 3718; *awaunt*, forward, 3958, 4793; *avenant*, becoming (Barbour), 1263; *aumener*, purse, 2087.

Baggingly, squinting, 292; *baillie*, custody, 4302, 7574; *to her bandon* (Bruce), 1163; *basting*, sewing slightly, 104; *batailed*, embattled, 4162; *baude*, joyous, 5677; *beau sire*, sir, 6056; *behoie*, behoof (Havelok), 1092; *benomen*, taken away, 1509; *bigine*, beguine, 6863, 7368; *bimene*, bemoan (Hav.), 2667; *bleine*, blain (Wyc.), 553; *bolas*, bullace, 1377; *bordellers* (*bordel* in Wyc.), 7036; *boserd*, buzzard, 4033; *bothum*, bud, 1721; *bourdon*, staff (P. Pl.), 3401; *burnette*, brown cloth, 226.

Culeweis, sweet pears (P. Pl.), 7045; *cameline*, camlet, 7367; *canelle*, cinnamon, 1370; *chelaundre*, goldfinch, 81; *cherisaunce*, comfort, 3337; *chevisaille*, necklace, 1082; *chideresse*, 4266; *cierges*, wax-tapers (Hav.), 6251; *clapers*, rabbitburrows, 1405; *clipsy*, eclipsed, 5352; *closer*, inclosure, 4069; *coine*, quince, 1374; *condise*, conduits, 1414; *congect*, to plan, 6930; *conisaunce*, understanding, 5468; *constablerie*, ward of a castle, 4218; *cotidien*, daily, 2401; *coure*, to squat, 465¹; *cowardise*, 2490; *customer*, accustomed, 4939.

Decoped, cut down, 843; *disrulily*, irregularly, 4903; *dissoned*, dissonant, 4248; *distinct*, to distinguish, 6202; *dole*, deal, part², 2364; *dole*, grief (Wyc.), 2956; *dwined*, wasted (Wyc.), 360.

Eisel, vinegar (Wyc.), 217; *elde*, to make old (Wyc.), 391; *endoute*, to fear, 1664; *engreve*, to hurt, 3444;

¹ Chaucer's word is *couche*; see C. T., E. 1206.

² So in *Court of Love*, 1098; but Chaucer has *del*.

entailed, carved, 140, 162; *equipolences*, equivalents, 7078; *erke*, weary, 4870; *espirituel*, spiritual, 650; *expleite*, to perform, 6177.

Fairhede, beauty, 2484; *farce*, to paint, 2285; *fardel*, burden (Wyc.), 5686; *felden*, fell, 911; *fiaunce*, trust, 5484; *flourette*, floweret, 891; *fordwined*, wasted away, 366; *forfare*, to fare ill (Barbour), 5391; *forsongen*, 664; *forwandred* (P. Pl.), 3336; *forwelked*, 360; *forwered*, 235; *fozerie*, 6797; *freshe*, to refresh, 1513.

Gadling (Hav., P. Pl.), 938; *gate*, way, 3332; *girdle-stede*, waist, 826; *gisarme*, 5981; *glombe*, to be gloomy, 4356; *gonfanon*, 1201, 2018; *gospellere*¹, evangelist, 6889; *grete*, to weep (Barbour), 4116; *groine*, to pout, 7051.²

Habite, to dwell, 660; *haie*, 54; *havoir*, wealth, 4723; *horriblete*, 7189; *hulstred*, hidden, 6149.

Joyne, to enjoin, 2355.

Kernels, battlements (*kyrnail*, Barbour), 4195; *knoppe*, a button (P. Pl.), also a bud, 1080, 1702; *knopped*, 7260.

Lakke, to blame, 284; *laverock*, 662; *lettred*, learned (P. Pl.), 7691.

Maisondewe (P. Pl.), 5622; *maistrise*, 4172; *maltalent*, ill will (cf. *talent*, Barbour), 274, 330; *mavis*³, thrush, 619; *merke*, dark (Barbour), 5342; *metely*, proportionable (Ormulum), 822; *micher*, thief, 6543; *minoresse*, 149; *mitche*, loaf, 5588; *moison*, growth, 1677; *monest*⁴, to admonish, 3579; *mordaunt*, buckle-tongue, 1094; *musard*, dreamer, 3256, 4034.

Nokked, notched, 942.

Obeysing, 3380; *onde*, malice, 148; *orfrays*, embroidery, 562, 869.

Paire, to impair (P. Pl.), 6106; *papelard*, hypocrite,

¹ Chaucer has *euangelist*, B. 2133.

² We find *groynyng*, *Knights Tale*, 1602, which Morris explains by 'stabbing.' But it would be better to explain it by 'pouting'; in which cause *groine* is a Chaucerian word.

³ And in *Court of Love*, 1388.

⁴ Observe that Chaucer has only the comp. *amoneste*; the form *monest*, without initial *a*, is Northern, and occurs in Barbour.

7283; *popcholy*, 415; *persaunt*, 2809; *pesible* (Barb.), 7413; *portecolise*, 4168; *posté*, power (*pousté*, Barb.), 6486, 6535; *preterit*, 5011; *primetemps*, 4750; *pullaille* (Barb.), 7045; *purprise*, 4171.

Quarel, crossbow-bolt, 1823; *quene* (in bad sense, as in P. Pl.), 7034; *querrou*, quarry-man, 4149.

Racine, root, 4884; *ramage*¹, wild, 5387; *ravisable*, 7018; *refte*, rift, 2661; *ribaninges*, 1077; *rimpled*, 4495; *rive*, 5396; *riveling*, 7262; *roigne*, *roignous*, 553, 988, 6193; *roket*, 1240, 4757; *roking*, 1906.

Saile, to assail, 7338; *sailours*, dancers (cf. *saille* in P. Pl.), 770; *sarsinische*, 1188; *savourous*, 84; *scantilone*, a pattern (Prompt. Parv., Cursor Mundi), 7066; *seignorie* (*senzory*, Barb.), 3213; *semlyhede*, comeliness, 777, 1130; *sere*, dry (Prompt. Parv.), 4752; *slowe*, moth (?), 4754; *soigne*, care, 3882; *solein*, sullen (Rom. of Partenay), 3896; *sojour*, stay; *spannishing*, blooming, 3633; *springold*, 4191; *suckiny*, loose frock, 1232; *swire*, neck, 325.

Tapinage, sculking, 7363; *tatarwagges*, rags, 7259; *timbre*, timbrel, *timbestere*, timbrel-player, 772, 769; *tourette*, turret, 4164; *trashed*, betrayed (*betreyss*, Barb.), 3231; *trechour*, cheat, 197; *trepeget*, 6282; *truandise*, *truanding*, 6666, 6723.

Vngodely, uncivil (*ungod*, Ormulum), 3741; *unhide*, 2168; *urchon*, hedgehog, 3135; *vecke*, old woman, 4286, 4495; *vendable*, 5807; *verger*, garden, 3618, 3831; *vermeile*, 3645; *voluntee*, 5279.

Welmeth, wells up, 1561; *wirry*, to worry, 6267; *wodewale*, 658; *wyndre*, 1020.

Youthede, youth, 4934.

The above list is certainly a remarkable one; and if any critic should succeed in discovering more than five per cent of the above words in Chaucer, I shall be much surprised.

¹ Morris refers us also to Ch. C. T., Group G, 887; the word there is *rammish*, ram-like; quite a different word, and of E. origin.

When regard is had to all the tests above, when we find that, each and all, they establish a difference between the language of the translation and that of Chaucer, it is surely time to consider the question as settled. Henceforward, to attribute the translation to Chaucer, may be left to those who have no sense of the force and significance of such arguments as philology readily supplies. I have no doubt whatever that the discovery of still greater discrepancies would reward more careful search.

It remains to state what the translation really is. It certainly belongs to the fourteenth century, and is perhaps as early as 1350 A.D., though the MS. (perhaps an East-Englian one) is considerably later, and is not always correct. The original dialect was not Northumbrian, but a Midland dialect exhibiting Northumbrian tendencies; I hesitate to make a more explicit statement. The author, like so many other authors of the fourteenth century, is anonymous, and we do not know where to find more of his work.

1773 - 1774
1775 - 1776
1777 - 1778
1779 - 1780
1781 - 1782
1783 - 1784
1785 - 1786
1787 - 1788
1789 - 1790
1791 - 1792
1793 - 1794
1795 - 1796
1797 - 1798
1799 - 1800



XV.

CHAUCER'S SCHIPMAN

AND HIS BARGE "THE MAUDELAYNE"

WITH

Notes on Chaucer's Horses

BY

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The Shipman.



ELLESMERE MS.

Leaf 147, Back.

CHAUCER'S SCHIPMAN.

" A Schipman was ther, wonyng fer by weste :
 For ought I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
 He rood upon a rouncey, as he couthe,
 In a gowne of faldyng to the kne.
 A daggere hangyng on a laas hadde he
 About his nekke under his arm adoun.
 The hootte somer hadde maad his hew al broun ;
 And certainly he was a good felawe.
 Ful many a draughte of wyn hadde he ydrawe
 From Burdeux-ward, while that the chapman sleep.
 Of nyce conscience took he no keep.
 If that he faughte, and hadde the heigher hand,
 By water he sente hem hoom to every land.
 But of his craft to rekne wel his tydes,
 His stremes and his daungers him bisides,
 His herbergh and his mone, his lode menage,
 Ther was non such from Hull [vn]to Cartage.
 Hardy he was, and wys to undertake ;
 With many a tempest hadde his berd ben schake.
 He knew wel alle the havenes, as thei were,
 From Gootland to the Cape of Fynystere,
 And every cryke in Bretayne and in Spayne ;
 His barge y-cleped was the Maudelayne."

CHAUCER had ample opportunity for studying the manners and customs of the sailors of his day: he made several voyages to France and elsewhere, and doubtless took mental notes of all he saw; and in fulfilling the duties of his office as Comptroller of the Customs of the Port of London, he had the best possible chances of seeing Jack ashore. Beside the finished portrait given us in the Prologue, there are other passages in his various tales which seem to indicate that the poet somewhat affected nautical matters: in fact, it would appear as though he had seen a good deal of ships and sailors, and as if mariners were a class of men for whom he had a great liking.

To those unacquainted with the history of the trade of England, it may appear very strange that the personage chosen to represent the seafaring class, should have hailed from the insignificant port of Dartmouth: but the poet here bears testimony to the importance of the now almost forgotten little place. In the days of the Plantagenet kings, Dartmouth occupied a very high position, though it has long since fallen therefrom. The natural advantages of the port, as a harbour of refuge, and as a place for ship-building, remain just as they were when 'Ye Maudelayne' went to and fro on her various voyages; and these would be of just as much value to-day, if it were not that the commercial relations of England have been entirely rearranged. Other ports of great importance in by-gone days have shared a like fate, and are now but rarely sought except for local requirements. This is evident from the Roll of Calais, which gives the number of ships and men gathered together for the purposes of the siege of that city in 1347. In this, every ship that could be reached by royal warrant was compelled to take part, and the number collected was 738, with 14,956 men on board.¹ The quota sent by Dartmouth was 31 ships with 757 men, and this was exceeded by two ports only, viz. Yarmouth, and the little Cornish town of Fowey; the former sent 43 ships and 1905 men, and the latter 47 ships with 770 men. Now where are these three towns among the ports of to-day? The discovery of America, and the use of steam in nautical affairs have revolutionized the mercantile marine; and other towns not even mentioned in the Roll of Calais, now have larger populations than all three of the chief contributors to the siege put together.

Chaucer was not the first, nor has he been the last, to make fun of a sailor's horsemanship: that has long been a well worn joke. The Italians of the middle ages were

¹ "Roll of Calais," in Charnock's *Marine Architecture*, vol. i. p. 38.

went to tell comical stories about Venetians on horseback, and this probably as much on account of the nautical lives of the inhabitants, as because of the uselessness of horses in their city. But there is more in Chaucer's edition of the joke than is seen by the majority of readers :

“ He rood upon a rouncy, as he couthe.”

The word ‘rouncy,’ from the Mediæval Latin *Runcinus*, implies a heavy, powerful animal, either a pack-horse, or such as is used for rough agricultural purposes ; in neither case was it suited for the saddle nor intended for such work. In the days when the pilgrimage to Canterbury was a pleasant little holiday, it was the custom for stable-keepers to let out horses for the journey at certain regulated charges ; and very high these charges were. The hire of a hackney¹ from Southwark to Rochester was twelve pence, or about fifteen to twenty shillings of to-day ; and from Rochester to Canterbury the same. Add thereto the hire for the return journey, and it will be evident that excursion trains, though somewhat dangerous, are very much cheaper. The wealthier classes would not require this convenience, as they had their own horses ; those accustomed to much inland travelling would naturally keep horses ; and it was more often the custom for persons about to take a long journey to buy a horse, and sell it again on the conclusion of the journey, than to hire ; even if hackney-men could be found who would let animals for long journeys. Probably the road to Rochester, Canterbury, and Dover was at this time the best in England ; and from the fact that the charges for hiring horses were subject to regulations, it would seem to imply that an organized system was in existence along this route. Now, pilgrims coming from beyond London would most likely take their horses through to Canterbury and back again ; but those who started from London, and did not own horses, would find it cheaper for

¹ See Regulations for Hackney Men, p. 499.

so short a journey to hire. Among these would be our Schipman, who may perhaps have left his barge loading or unloading in the Thames, to the care of his crew, while he joined a merry party to go to the shrine of St. Thomas. If Harry Bailly acted on the principle embodied in Hobson's choice, "that or none," his customers had to mount whatever animal he choose to provide; and consequently the sailor, being unaware of the respective merits of pack-horse or hackney, would simply take whatever the stable-man put before him, in utter ignorance of its unsuitability for the saddle, and doubtless concluded that the misery he endured was the natural consequence of his bad horsemanship, and not to be ascribed to the beast he rode. It is easy then to picture, first, the trouble he would have to keep up with the steeds of the Knight and the Squire, or the palfreys of the Ladies and the Monks; and next the utterly uncomfortable pace and seat of the animal; in addition to the rider's unskilfulness:—in fact, but for the name of the thing, walking would have been far preferable.

Our Schipman was dressed

"In a gown of faldyng to the knee."

Faldyng was a coarse serge cloth, very rough and very durable, and made, probably in this instance, in one of the many Devonshire looms, where serges are well known to-day. Large quantities of this cloth were made in England and exported: it was admirably suited for sailors exposed to wind and weather, as being calculated to keep the wearer warm and dry. The long blue or rusty brown gown or frock, tightened at the waist by a cord or belt, or worn loose, according to taste, is no longer the costume of English sailors generally, but it can frequently be seen among the fishermen and sailors at the little seaside villages in Devon and Cornwall, and perhaps elsewhere. These frocks are made of coarse though strong serge called "Fear naught," but are gradually disappearing before machine-woven fabrics. Occasionally the crews of French

fishing cutters will put into our ports on account of stress of weather, and these men are clothed in this way, but the material varies: some have the "Fear naught" blue serge, but others wear a rusty claret-coloured garment made of a blanket-like material; and certainly the garb of these men bears a great resemblance to that of the figure of the Schipman in the Ellesmere MSS.

"A daggere hangyng on a laas hadde he
Aboute his nekke under his arm adoun."

Probably there was more reason then for wearing a dagger than there would be now; but sailors of all nations even to-day (the Royal Navy not excepted) carry knives of large size: it is a requisite part of their outfit. Foreigners, for the most part, wear their knives in a leather sheath behind the back; but sailors in the Royal Navy carry theirs by means of a cord hung round the neck.

Chaucer evidently was well acquainted with the weakness sailors have for sampling the wines, &c., in the cargo: hence we have the lines—

"Full many a draughte of wyn hadde he ydrawe
From Burdeux-ward, whil that the chapman sleep."

This system of petty theft is not, however, confined to the seafaring portion of our population, as we know by a similar weakness among railway porters. In the fourteenth century there was less excuse for plundering the property of the merchant for the sake of a draught of wine than would be in the case of our sailors to-day. It was the custom on the annual voyage to Bordeaux for wine, to allow the sailors to bring home a certain quantity of wine as their own venture; and special regulations were in vogue to protect this right. Hence if they wanted to drink wine, it was just as easy to sample their own portion of the cargo, as that of the merchant. This voyage to Bordeaux to fetch wine was of very great importance. The vessels went in numbers, and formed

the wine fleet; the reasons for which will be treated of later. There is ample evidence to show that a large amount of capital was employed in the importation of French wines (almost the only drink in the country), and the freight for them must have formed a large part of the annual revenue of the shipowner.

The next item in Chaucer's description of the shipman is one quite in keeping with the manners and customs of the period.

“Of nyce conscience took he no keep.
If that he faughte, and hadde the heigher hand,
By water he sente hem hoom to every land.”

The state of the highway at sea must have been truly awful; none but the strongest had the remotest chance of safety. It would seem as if the profession of a sailor consisted of two parts: first, such qualities and duties as would be defined to-day as good seamanship; and secondly, the development and practice of all that is cruel and bad in our natures as evinced by murder and rapine. Doubtless the wars of Edward III. had a good deal to do in bringing out the fighting element in British sailors, but those of other nations were just as bad. The State records of the period teem with complaints made by our kings to other potentates, or *vice versâ*, in respect of acts of piracy committed by their respective subjects; and the replies sent were but too often couched in the *tu quoque* line of argument. It was not necessary for this country to be at war in order that English sailors should be entitled to prey on the marine of another country. Even when their respective rulers were on the most fraternal of terms, subjects lost no opportunity of slaughtering and plundering one another. Matthew of Westminster says: “That in those days (Henry III.) there was neither king nor laws for sailors, but every one called his own whatever he could plunder and carry off.” It can easily be imagined that in such a state of public opinion as this, piracy would

be very prevalent;¹ but the term then did not bear exactly the same shameful significance as it does now. There was a very numerous class of seamen,² at all events common to all the northern nations in Europe, whom we should call pirates or sea-robbers: they plundered friend and foe alike, and their fighting powers were but too often made use of by any ruler rich enough to pay them, and who would send them back to their own pursuits when he was able to dispense with their services. The pirate of one day might, by way of a change, be (the one degree milder) peaceful sailor of the morrow, or *vice versa*. There is every reason to believe that when freights were scarce, a filibustering expedition on the opposite side of the Channel served to find the crews healthy and remunerative employment, and kept them together until better times. Every foreigner was fair game, and he, in his turn, acted in the same way without scruple. In fact, the distinction between piracy and legitimate trading was so ill-defined at times as to be lost sight of altogether.

Some ports rather prided themselves on what we should call the evil reputation of their sailors. The men of the Cinque Ports were great adepts at this pursuit; "they slew and plundered like pirates."³ The people of Lynn earned for themselves quite an enviable notoriety by their piratical exploits about 1311. The men of Fowey were distinguished by their prowess, and were called the Fowey gallants.⁴

The town of Calais, for the same reason, must have

¹ English nobles did not scruple to turn pirates if it answered their purpose. "After a time he (the younger Despenser, 1321,) went to sea, and 'turned pyrate, robbing whatever English merchants he could meet with.'" See Longman's *Lectures on Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 404. There are several other instances of this practice.

² Nicolas, *Hist. of Royal Navy*, vol. i. p. 241 and 357.

³ Matthew Paris. Bohn Ed. vol. i. p. 419.

⁴ Daniell's *Hist. of Cornwall*, 2nd ed. p. 228, and Robert's *Social History*, p. 76.

been a terrible thorn in the flesh of English commerce,¹ long before Edward III. determined to make it a part of his territory. In 1316 a corn vessel belonging to the King of England was seized by a Calais vessel, and carried into that port.² In 1315 four vessels laden with wool from London to Antwerp were captured and taken to Calais.³ The same year an English ship, lying at low water on the beach at Margate, was boarded by Calais pirates, and eventually carried into that port, with the owner as prisoner.

Sometimes the Government would order restitution to be made; but it was one thing to order, and another to compel. On more than one occasion, notably in 1409, in the case of the Hanse Towns, commissioners on both sides met, balanced the accounts of damage done, and settled the amount of compensation to be paid; this reached the sum of over 32,000 nobles, which our king undertook to pay.⁴ Another instance of these claims being settled, took place in 1333, between the English and Flemings.⁵ One mode of granting redress when complaints loud enough to reach the royal ear had been made, was to give the aggrieved individual Letters of Marque,⁶ and then allow him to help himself and take the law into his own hand. In the reign of Richard II. this practice was largely followed, not only for purposes of revenge, but also to allow English creditors to recover debts. There is a passage in the *Libel of English Policy*, which alludes to this. After describing the efforts made by Edward III. to induce the Duke of Brittany to curb the marauding habits of the men of St. Malo, the *Libel* proceeds :

¹ Macpherson's *Commerce*, vol. i. p. 481.

² *Ibid.* p. 482.

³ *Ibid.* p. 481.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 623.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 509.

⁶ Lyndsay, *Hist. of English Merchant Shipping*, vol. i. p. 431; and Nicolas, vol. i. p. 357.

“ He did dewise
Of English Towns three, that is to say,
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey :
And gave them help and notable puisance
Upon pety Bretayne for to werre.”¹

And truly the Dartmouth men seemed to have utilized the occasion. In 1385 they brought away some rich vessels² from the mouth of the Seine, one of which, called ‘Clisson’s barge,’ is supposed not to have had its equal at the time in England or France ; and in 1386 a merchant of Dartmouth³ attacked and captured 32 vessels laden with wine.

Another mode of obtaining satisfaction was the curious custom of seizing the goods and persons of the fellow-countryman of the offender, and keeping them until the damage done had been paid for : and this practice held good nearly everywhere, in spite of treaties and mutual agreements to the contrary.

If the English sailors confined their plundering habits to the detriment of foreigners only, it would have been bad enough ; but the following instances show how very impartial they were in their confiscations, and that they did not spare their own countrymen.

In 1314, William de Huntingdon⁴ complained to the king, that he had gone to the port of Dublin with his ship and cargo, and that while there, John de Lung, of Bristol, “*et quidem alii malefactores et piratæ*,”⁵ had captured his ship and its contents and afterwards burnt it.

William de Forbernard, a Gascon, was stopped off the Foreland by Peter Bert of Sandwich, Gervays Alard of Winchelsea, and Robert Cleves of Greenwich, and robbed by them of over eighteen tuns of wine.⁶

In 1322, two merchants of Sherborne, in Dorset, complained that when their ship, laden with cloth and canvas,⁷

¹ *Libel of English Policy* in Hackluyt’s *Voyages*, vol. i.

² *Nicolas*, vol. ii. p. 298.

³ *Ibid.* p. 329.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 358.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 359.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

was off Portsmouth, she was boarded by Robert de Battayle, and others of the Cinque Ports, and eighty pounds' worth of her cargo carried away.

In 1324, the 'Annot' of Ditton, laden with fish for the king, was boarded near Lynne,¹ by John Russell and others of Spalding, who killed her crew, and took the vessel to Seaford, where the ship and cargo were sold.

During the year 1321-2 the merchants of Chester complained to the Earl of Chester (asking him to forward their petition to the king) "qe cum il envoient leur servautes en diverses parties outre meer, c'est asaver en Gascoigne, Normandi, Irlaund, pur acheter vynes, blez, e autres marchaundises pur la sustenaunce de la dite cité e du poeple de meymes les parties, e frettint neefs de mener les dites vitailles e marchaundises jesques à la Havene de Cestre, queux neefs si tost come les aryvint en les parties de North Gales, sunt arreztez e attachez par Sire Adam de Wottenhall, chaumberleyn notre Seigneur le Roi en ces parties, par malevoillaunce q'il ad divers les gentez de Cestre. E aucuns des mariners e marchaunz, par les servaunz le dit Adam, par commaundement de li, battiez, mauffrez e en plusours autres maners malement demenez."—Rolls of P^t; t. i. p. 413.

The city of Chester would not have tamely submitted to Sir Adam de Wottenhall's outrages, but for the fact that he stood high in the king's favour; and consequently enlisted their earl's interest as a set-off against Sir Adam. There must have been a special reason for their not taking the law in their own hands.

Now it must not be supposed that the men thus accused of what we should to-day call piracy, were simply seamen and nothing more. Some of them, at least, were men of importance in their calling. Peter Bert, or Bard, in 1314, commanded a fleet for the king;² Gervase Alard had command of a fleet in a Scottish expedition in 1300;³ and

¹ Nicolas, vol. i. p. 361.

² *Ibid.* p. 395.

³ *Ibid.* p. 410.

Robert Battayle was an eminent seaman,¹ Mayor of Winchester in 1335, but often complained of on account of his marauding habits. Later on, things were pretty much the same in this respect. We find notices of men like the Hauleys of Dartmouth² being summoned to appear before the Privy Council for nothing more nor less than piracy;³ and the celebrated Harry Pay, offensive to Spanish merchants, Prendergast, Wilford, and Rust⁴ (who died trying to save Sir John Arundel), were all, at times, simply freebooters, and at others holding office under, or fighting for, the Government.

In addition to fighting the national foes, either for the king, or on his own behalf, not to mention occasional piracy, the English sailor found frequent reasons for coming to blows in the animosities which existed between the natives of different English sea-ports. The Admiral of a large flotilla must have found it very difficult to prevent his various contingents from fighting their own private battles, instead of the king's. In 1297, while at Sluys⁵ in the presence of the enemy, the men of the Cinque Ports and of Yarmouth fell out, and twenty-five Yarmouth ships were burnt and their crews killed. Camden, writing of Yarmouth,⁶ says, that (1340) the citizens walled the town around, "and became so rich and powerful, that they often engaged the men of Lowestoft in sea-fights, with great slaughter on both sides."

In 1321 the king tried to make peace between the mariners of the Cinque Ports,⁷ Poole, Weymouth, Lyme, and Southampton, which led to murders, robbery, and burning of ships.

In 1336 a Scotch fleet⁸ captured a number of English vessels lying at anchor off the Isle of Wight, and plundered

¹ Nicolas, vol. i. p. 420.

² Michel, *Histoire de Commerce*, vol. i. p. 82-92.

³ Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 351. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 462. ⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 280.

⁶ Camden's *Britannia* (1722), vol. i. p. 466.

⁷ Nicolas, vol. i. p. 336. ⁸ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 515.

Jersey and Guernsey, while the seamen of the king's ships were quarrelling among themselves, and robbing vessels belonging to English subjects, or to foreigners in friendship with their king.

In the same year, it was necessary to take great precautions to prevent the Yarmouth and Cinque Ports' contingents¹ from coming in contact while forming part of a fleet on a Scottish expedition. Very shortly afterwards the king had to take measures to prevent the seamen of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston from fighting with those of Great Yarmouth while on similar service.

In 1342 the principal inhabitants of Yarmouth were fined a thousand marks for committing trespasses,² and other unwarrantable acts on the sea-coast.

In 1385 the English Admiral dared not attack the French fleet³ on account of the dissensions existing among the various contingents of his own fleet. Cowardice was out of the question; for on this very occasion the Portsmouth and Dartmouth men, "hired by none, bought by none, but spurred on by their own valour and innate courage," as Walsingham says, with a very small force, made great havoc among the French ships in the Seine, sinking four and capturing four, one of which was worth 20,000 florins.

There were certain expeditions on which it was quite impossible to venture except in such numbers as would defy attack. It was the custom to go to Bordeaux once a year to fetch wine; and Froissart describes a fleet of "Deux cents nefes d'une voile,⁴ marchans d'Angleterre et de Galles et d'Ecosse," who had come together for the sake of the safety which is supposed to lie in numbers. And the numbers seemed to be enormous. In 1350⁵ no less than 1350 vessels laden with 13,429 tuns of wine sailed from

¹ Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 17.

² Roberts, *Social Hist. of Southern Counties*, p. 76.

³ Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 297.

⁴ See Michel, vol. i. p. 52.

⁵ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 541.

Bordeaux. Sometimes an officer of the king was appointed to accompany this fleet, and arrange for its safety. A charge was made to pay the necessary expenses of the convoy, and this was fixed by Parliament (1347 and 1350) at a shilling per sack of wool taken there, and forty pennies sterling for every tun of wine shipped on board an English, Welsh, or Irish vessel,¹ or on board any foreign vessel bound for England, Wales, or Scotland. This tax was the origin of what became so obnoxious in later times—tonnage and poundage.

Pirates in large numbers were frequently on the lookout to waylay the yearly wine fleet, and made great plunder. The members of the fleet were obliged to support each other in case of attack; and when a loss happened from the cowardice of such as took to their heels instead of fighting, the fugitives were compelled to compensate the owners of the lost vessels.²

Occasionally the fleet would do a little wholesale fighting with the wine fleet of some other nation, which they met and fell out with at Bordeaux. In 1390 there had been a quarrel between the English and Norman sailors;³ and the Governor of Bordeaux thought it requisite to call the captains of both sides together, and make them swear to, what we now call, keep the peace towards one another, not only at Bordeaux, but, what he thought of as much importance, after they had left the port. When the English received their cargoes, they set sail, and went their way in the most peaceful manner in detachments of fours, fives, sixes, &c. The Normans, however, suspected that the English would meet outside the Gironde, and lie in wait; so before leaving the port, they prepared their ships, eighty in number, for the anticipated fight, by erecting castles fore and aft, and on the mast, and then started in company. There are many records of these wine fleets

¹ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 537 and 540.

² Michel, vol. i. p. 56.

³ *Ibid.* p. 99.

coming in collision on the way to, as well as coming from, Bordeaux; and this happy state does not seem to have been influenced by the fact of peace or war existing between their respective nations.

A royal navy, in the modern sense of the term, did not exist. Of the 738 ships at the siege of Calais, only 25 belonged to the king, and these did not carry on the average 17 men apiece. The Cinque Ports were obliged by the feudal tenure,¹ upon forty days' notice, to supply 57 ships, with 21 men and a boy in each, for fifteen days once a year: this, however, could have been of but little service except in time of war. There were other towns, which in return for their municipal privileges, were bound by their charters to keep a ship or ships always ready for the king's service; and as this must have been a great expense, other ports in the vicinity were obliged to pay their share. The south coast of Devon seems to have been divided into three districts: Exeter was the centre of one, and had as contributory towns, Topsham, Kenton, Lympstone, Powderham, and Exmouth.² Dartmouth came next, with Totnes, Brixham, Portlemouth, and Kingsbridge: while to the west was Plymouth (or Sutton as it was then called), with Plympton, Modbury, Newton Ferrers, and Yalmouth, A.D. 1310. This mode of making towns provide or help to provide ships was the origin of the ship money question in the days of Charles I.

In order to ascertain the maritime resources of the nation, what may be called Naval Parliaments were sometimes held in London; when the king's ministers met representatives from the various seaports, and so learned the number of ships and men it was possible to obtain from each.³

Impressment, however, was what the Government

¹ Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 480. See also Nicolas, vol. i. p. 299.

² Nicolas, vol. i. p. 382.

³ *Rot. Parl.* vol. ii. p. 457.

relied on, to supply its naval requirements.¹ It was assumed that every ship and sailor was at the disposal of the king whenever he demanded their services; and there are numerous notices in the Records, of orders being sent to produce so many ships and men, at a certain spot, within so many days, for the king's service. If the town showed any reluctance to obey, an order would be issued "to arm, equip, and send to sea, all the ships in the port,"² as happened in the case of the city of London in 1336.

A striking instance of the king's claim of right to the service of the merchant ships, appears in a letter of Edward II. to the King of Norway, upon the detention of three English ships.³ This letter he concludes by saying, "That he cannot quietly put up with the vessels belonging to his kingdom, *which ought at all times to be ready for his services*, being detained in foreign countries." In fact, the ships and sailors of the kingdom constituted a sort of naval militia, to be drawn on according to the requirements of the moment; and when finished with, dismissed at once to their respective ports. The men were just as much at the disposal of the king, as the ships; for the king's admirals had authority to choose as many men as they might want, and to imprison, or otherwise punish, those who were disobedient or deserted.⁴

Of systematic guard of the coast, there was none. Occasionally the king sent small fleets into particular districts to meet some want of the season; as, for instance, in 1379 two ships, two barges, and two ballingers, properly fitted for war, were sent to guard the east coast, because the French had, in two years, extracted over a thousand pounds from the port of Scarborough. To meet the cost of this fleet, a duty of sixpence per ton was levied on

¹ Nicolas, vol. i. p. 391—403.

² Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 15; see also *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 301.

³ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 477.

⁴ Nicolas, vol. i. p. 403.

every ship leaving or entering the ports on this coast; fishing vessels and Newcastle colliers to pay in the same proportion.¹

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the reins of government having fallen into very feeble hands, the police of the sea was shamefully neglected; and instances are recorded of foreigners insulting and plundering our coasts. In September 1380 four French galleys went up the Thames as far as Gravesend, burnt part of the town, plundered and destroyed on both sides of the river; and finally carried off their prey and prisoners with impunity.² On another occasion, a combined fleet of French and Spanish galleys, after gathering a harvest of plunder on our coasts,³ were making their way home laden with booty, when a fleet of west country merchants was quickly organized, sent out in pursuit, and, coming up with the enemy, effectually put a stop to their marauding expedition. Another well-known instance of a subject doing the king's duty, occurred in 1378. A Scotchman named John Mercer,⁴ had gathered together a number of Scotch, French, and Spaniards, and for a time did pretty much as he pleased on the eastern coast; among other exploits capturing certain Scarborough ships, and killing the captains and crews. The weak rule of Richard II. could afford no redress; and John Philpott, a citizen and once Lord Mayor of London, hired ships and 1000 armed men, and set out to meet Mercer, whom he defeated, and thus recovered the Scarborough ships; while at the same time he captured fifteen Spanish wine ships which had gone to the assistance of the Scotchman. This gallant action was not appreciated at court, and Philpott was called before the Council, when he was severely rebuked by the Earl of Stafford. Philpott's reply was as creditable as his exploit. He said: "I did

¹ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 589.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 590.

³ Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 288.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 270.

not expose myself, my money, and my men to the dangers of the sea, that I might deprive you or your colleagues of your knightly fame, nor acquire it for myself; but from pity for the misery of the people and the country, which from having been a noble realm, with dominion over other nations, has, through your supineness, become exposed to the ravages of the vilest race; and since you would not lift a hand for its defence, I exposed myself and my property for the safety and deliverance of our country." To this taunting speech the Earl had not a word to answer.

This state of affairs explains why the Merchant of the Prologue—

“—wolde the see were kept for eny thinge
Betwixē Middleburgh and Orewelle.”¹

When Henry IV. usurped the crown, the state of the seas around our coast was so bad as to cause grave anxiety to all those who had any interest in foreign trade; and in order to meet the pressing need of the time (1406) the entire guardianship of the sea was entrusted to the merchants.² They were empowered to choose two fit persons, whom the king would commission as admirals; and to recompense the owners of the necessary vessels employed, they were entitled to levy a duty of three shillings per tun on all wines imported that year, and twelve pence per pound on the value of all merchandise exported or imported; together with the fourth part of the then existing subsidies on wool and leather.

One would suppose that with this ever-recurring opportunity for fighting, the mutual relations of masters, men, and owners, were conducted on the same principle; but such was not the case. System and law were well defined in all matters concerning ship and crew, crew and master, and both with the owners. A code of laws called

¹ Prologue, 276. See also “The See wel kept it must be for drede.”—Hackluyt, i. 204.

² For details of this contract, see Macpherson, vol. i. p. 616, and Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 384.

"Roles d'Oleron" (by some credited to Richard I.) was in common use; and was evidently founded on custom and justice. This code was afterwards modified and altered to suit the requirements of different times and different lands; but there was the code, and it seems to have been recognized. Space will not allow anything more than a mere notice here, but the whole code is well worth perusal,¹ as it throws much light on the manners and customs of the time. Some of the articles are curious; the following, for example:

The master might sell the tackle, &c., of his ship to procure food for his seamen, provided a majority of the crew consented. When a vessel lay in port waiting for wind to depart, the master was bound to consult the crew, and be guided by the majority as to whether the wind was suited for sailing. If he acted contrary to their views, he became responsible to the owners of the vessel and cargo for any loss which might follow from his action. Crews were bound to do their utmost to save the vessel and cargo, and were liable to loss of wages if they refused. Sailors were not allowed to leave the vessel without the master's consent; and if damages accrued by reason of their absence, they were liable to a year's imprisonment on bread and water. For desertion they might be branded on the face with a hot iron. A sailor could only break his contract for certain specified reasons,² namely, on being appointed captain or mate of another vessel, his having made a vow to make a pilgrimage to St. James's, Jerusalem, or Rome, and strange to say, getting married. The master could dismiss a sailor for incompetency, or when suffering from an infectious distemper, or if he was a quarrelsome or fractious fellow. Drunkenness, quarrelling, and fighting were

¹ See *Black Book of Admiralty*, by Sir Francis Twiss, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 89, *et seq.* Also Lyndsay's *Merchant Shipping*, vol. i. p. 392.

² *Black Book*, vol. iv. p. 531, *et seq.*

severely punished. Mariners wounded in the service of the ship were provided for, and if it was necessary in case of sickness to land a sailor, provision for his care and nursing were to be made. Very strict regulations were in force for keeping the peace on board ship; and the master's right to strike a sailor was fully recognized. If a pilot contrived to injure a ship while taking her into port, he was compelled to pay for the damage or lose his head.

There is a somewhat Draconian code of laws,¹ said to have been compiled for the benefit of pilgrims while on board ship:

- I. If a man kills another in the ship, he shall be fastened to the corpse and thrown into the sea.
- II. If he commits murder on the land, he shall be bound to the dead man and buried with him.
- III. If any one shall have been convicted by lawful witnesses of having drawn his knife to strike another, or shall have actually done so, to the effusion of blood, he shall lose his hand; but he who shall strike another with the palm of his hand, without shedding blood, shall be three times ducked in the sea.
- IV. If any one shall abuse, insult, or privately slander his fellow, he shall pay an ounce of silver for every offence.
- V. A robber convicted of theft shall be shaved in the manner of a champion, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and the feathers of a pillow shaken over his head to distinguish him, and be landed at the first port where the ship shall stop.

The wages paid to seamen depended very much on the nature of the voyage for which they were engaged, and it seems that part payment was made by allowing the seaman to have a share in the venture. This, of course, gave him a more lively interest in the safety of the ship and cargo, as well as the duration of the voyage.

From the port of London to Lisbon² the payment

¹ Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, p. 331.

² See Inquisition taken at Queenborow, 1375, in Twiss, *Black Book of Admiralty*, vol. i. p. 133, *et seq.*

made was 20*s.* per ton; from London to Bayonne, 10*s.* per ton; from London to Bordeaux and Rochelle, in vintage time, 8*s.* wages, and the carriage of one tun of wine; and at other times 7*s.* wages, and the carriage of a pipe of wine.

The annual voyage to fetch wine evidently caused a great demand for seamen, and a higher price was expected, just as in the case of harvest labourers to-day. This voyage, too, was a dangerous expedition, on account of the pirates who were always on the look-out to capture stray vessels.

From London to Bourgneuf Bay, south of the Loire, to fetch salt, 5*s.* wages and three-quarters of salt carried free.

Between London and Ireland, 10*s.* wages and the carriage of three dickers of hides (dicker = half a score).

Between London and Calais, 5*s.* wages and no carriage.
 „ „ Flanders, 6*s.* wages „ „
 „ „ Sluys, 20*s.* wages, and to each three mariners the carriage of a last of herrings (a last of herrings in Edward III.'s time was 10,000 fish).

Between London and Skone, 8*s.* 4*l.* wages, and to each three mariners the carriage of a last of herrings.

Between London and Newcastle-on-Tyne, 4*s.* wages, and the carriage of two quarters of coal.

Between London and Berwick, 8*s.* wages, which were to be paid him at Berwick, so that he might "buy such merchandise as he shall think good;" and this was to be brought home free of carriage.

When the ship was hired to carry troops,¹ the wages paid were, sixpence per day to the master, and threepence to the mariner: and considering the relative value of money, this seems very high. In seasons when food was unusually dear, this pay was increased by another penny a day, and these wages were paid to the master and sailors

¹ Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, 44 Edward III.

on board the flotilla sent by the Cinque Ports in compliance with their feudal tenure.

One of the earliest allusions to national colours,¹ and ship's papers, found in the English Records, is in 1297, when the King of England and the Earl of Flanders agreed in a treaty that all the vessels belonging to their dominions, should carry colours on which were the arms of their respective sovereigns; and that all vessels should have letters patent, sealed with the common seal of the town to which they belonged, to testify that they really belonged to such towns. Soon after this we find notices of pirates carrying false colours to delude their victims.

Cargoes were stowed by persons specially qualified, just as in the case of the stevedore to-day.

When horses were taken on board, the stern of the vessel was brought round to the quay, and a bridge laid, over which they could walk. On board, temporary stalls were made by means of clays (a kind of hurdle made of brushwood).²

In order to carry passengers, especially pilgrims, a license was requisite; and for their convenience small cabins were temporarily erected, which, apparently, from the following verse of an old English (fourteenth century)³ ballad, were weak in structure:

¹ Macpherson, vol. i. p. 461.

² Sometimes the horses were placed below decks, as described by Joinville: "The day we embarked, the door of the vessel was opened, and the horses were led inside that we were to take with us; then they fastened the door, and closed it up tightly, as when one sinks a cask, because when the ship is at sea the whole of the door is under water. When the horses were in, our sailing-master called out to his mariners, who were at the prow, 'Are you all ready?' and they replied, 'Sir, let the clerks and priests come forward!' As soon as they had come nigh, we shouted to them, 'Chant, in God's name!' And they, with one voice, chanted, 'Veni, Creator Spiritus.' Then the master cried to his men, 'Set sail, in God's name!' and they did so." — Masson's *French Chronicles*, p. 140.

³ Early English Text Society Pub. 1867, *The Pilgrim's Sea Voyage*.

“ And he calleth a carpentere,
 And biddyth hym bryng with hym hys gere,
 To make the cabans¹ here and there,
 With many a febyll cell.”

Evidently on the voyage to St. Jago, the passengers were well looked after, for in the same ballad we have the following line :

“ Steward, felow, a pot of bere !
 Ye shall have, ser, with good cheer
 Anone, all of the best.”

The steward, then, is not a modern institution. Then again, the following :

“ Steward, cover the boorde, anone,
 And set bred and salt thereon.”

And as if to indicate that they were accustomed to sea-sick passengers, we find :

“ Thys mene whyle, the pilgrims ly,
 And thyr bowlys fast theym by,
 And cry after hote malvesy,
 Them help for to restore.”²

A supply of bowls, then, must have been on board, and means of firing, or else how could hot malvesy have been procured to assuage the pangs of sea-sickness ?

Instances have already been given of the speed with which a merchant ship could be got ready for fighting. This process was not a very difficult matter. There was a special class of artisan called “castlewrights,” whose business it was to erect castles on bow and stern, and on the top of the mast. The last-named was called the topcastle, that on the bow the forecastle, and that on the stern the aftcastle or oftcastle. The part occupied by the forecastle was called the forestage.

“ He danced for joy on the forestage.”²

The mode of fighting at sea varied with each period.

¹ Cabins. See also Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Day 2, No. vii.

² Merchant's Second Tale, v. 2199.



Ships from French Chroniques d'Angleterre, Vol.III. leaf 49 back
Royal MS, 14, E4, ab 1470.



The following account (1217) relates how the English and French fought: "The English, who are noted for their expertness in maritime warfare,¹ began the attack by a dreadful discharge of arrows from cross-bowmen and archers; and having got the wind of their enemy, they rushed upon them with the iron beaks of their galleys, whereby many of the French ships were sunk. They also availed themselves of their situation to windward, by throwing pulverized quicklime into the French ships, whereby the men were blinded."

In 1340, Edward III. fought a French fleet in which were several Spanish and Genoese vessels; this battle took place at Swyn, on the coast of Flanders.² "Early in the morning the French fleet got up their anchors, and advanced a mile to meet the English; who, having the wind of them, bore down to the attack, which they commenced with a shower of arrows, and afterwards closed in with them and fought with stones thrown from the tops, and with pikes, poll-axes, and swords. The English made but little impression upon the lofty ships of Spain, but caused great carnage in the French vessels."

In 1372, in a battle off Rochelle, the English were defeated by these same large Spanish ships.³ Froissart says: "The English formed their line of battle, and placed their archers in front. When they came to close quarters, the Spaniards flung out grappling-hooks with chains of iron, which fastened the English ships to theirs, so that they could not separate. The English defended themselves with spears, swords, and other weapons, fighting desperately, but the Spaniards had too much the advantage, as their vessels were larger and higher above the water than the English, and from which they flung down stones, bars of iron, and lead."

¹ Authorities quoted, Macpherson, vol. i. p. 383.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 527.

³ Froissart, by Johnes, vol. i. p. 471, *et seq.*

The memoirs of Du Guesclin say that fire-ships were first used in this engagement by the Spaniards, and by their means thirteen English ships were destroyed.¹

In all these accounts, archery is the principal means relied on; and at close quarters stones, &c. were thrown from the topcastle on to the deck of the enemy, and then the ordinary fight of a *mêlée* took place. Here (1372) is no notice of cannon or powder, and yet we know that these things were in use at sea. Among the stores supplied to the barge 'Mary of the Tower' in 1338,² were an iron cannon with two chambers, and another of brass with one chamber, as well as powder, iron spoons to make bullets, and other requisites for artillery practice.

Chaucer was acquainted with cannons and their use, for in the *House of Fame*, 552, Book iii., he says :

"As swift as pellit out of gonne
When fire is in the powder ronne."

In the *Pardoner and Tapster* the following lines occur, 241 :

"For shot of arbalast and of bowe,
And eke for shot of gonne."

There is another allusion to artillery in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, 4191. But in the legend of Cleopatra, with a tremendous abuse of poetic license, Chaucer describes the sea fight between Augustus and Antony, and among other instruments of warfare mentions cannon, 257 :

"And painin hem to set on with the sunne,
With grisly sounne out goith the grete gonne,
And hertily thei hurtlin al at ones,
And fro the top doune comith the grete stones,
In goth the grapinel so ful of crokes,
Among the ropis ran the shering hokes,
In with the polaxe presith he and he
Behinde the maste beginnith he to fle,
And out againe, and drivith him or borde,
He stickith him upon his speris orde,

¹ Foot note at p. 472. Froissart's *Chron.*

² Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 186.

He rent the saile with hokis like a sithe,
 He bringeth the cuppe, and biddith hem be blith,
 He pourith pesen upon the hatchis slider,
 With pottis ful of lime, thei gon together,
 And thus the longe daie in fight thei spende.”

In spite of the “grisly sounne” of the “grete gonne” so naïvely described by Chaucer, it is very doubtful if cannons were much in use in naval warfare in the fourteenth century. Generally speaking, the English had it all their own way on sea, provided their ships were of the same dimensions as those of the enemy; but the Spanish and Genoese were very much larger, and prowess was not an equivalent for height, hence occasional defeat.

Although there is no evidence in Chaucer's works that the compass was in use on board ship, there is enough to show that he knew of the properties of the magnet. In the *Assembly of Foules*, 148, are the following lines:

“Right as betwixte adamentis two,
 Of evin wight, a pece of yron set,
 He hath no might, to movin to ne fro,
 For what that one maie hale, that other let.”

And the division of the compass is surely indicated in the following. *Knight's Tale*, l. 1031:

“Round was the shape in manere of a compass,
 Ful of degrees the hight of sixty pas.”

And in his *Astrolobie*,¹ allusion is made to the Schipman reckoning thirty-two points of the horizon, which seems to indicate the modern divisions of the compass.

In the *Merchant's Second Tale*, description is given of the helpless condition of some sailors because, on account of the weather, the pole star was invisible, l. 836:

“For they were cleen in dispeyr, because they myghte not se
 The loder where by these schipmen their course take eche one.”

Chaucer alludes to the ‘Iodestan’ in the *Knight's Tale*, 1201, and in *Troilus & Creside*, Book v. 232, 1391, but only in

¹ Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 448. “For to know the signet,” *et seq.*

a poetical sense. Although the compass is not exactly described by him, the lode-stone was in common use in his time, and had been for many years. In 1306, Robert, King of Scotland, while crossing from Arran to the coast of Carrick in the night-time, steered by a fire on the shore.

“For thay nà nedil had nore Stàne.”¹

This very description is used in the ‘Balade in dispraise of Women,’ formerly, but wrongly, attributed to Chaucer :

“So happy is ther lodemenage
With nedle and stone ther cours to dresse.”

Sir John Maundeville, who began his wonderful voyages in 1322, alludes to the lode-stone as “the Schipmanes Ston that drawethe the nedle to him.”² There are many interesting notices of the use of some simple form of the compass : or rather of the employment of the magnetised needle, when the polar star was invisible. Guiot de Provence, writing in the early part of the thirteenth century, distinctly mentions this in the following lines from his Bible :³

“Quand le mer est obscure et brune
C'on ne voit estoile ne lune
Dont font à l'aquille alumer
Puis n'ont il garde d'esgarer :
Contre l'estoile va la pointe
Por ce sont le marinier cointe
De la droite voie tenir.”

And in a fragment of a song in the thirteenth century, mention is made of steering by the polar star (*tres montaigne*),⁴ and also the mode of using a needle touched by the magnet (*aimant*).

“Qui une aguille de fer bout
Si qu'ele pert presque toute
En-j-poi de leige et l'atise
A la pierre d'aimant bise,

¹ See quotation in Macpherson, vol. i. p. 365.

² *Voyages of Sir John Maundeville*, ed. Halliwell, p. 161.

³ See quotation in Jal., *Archæologie Navale*, vol. i. p. 206.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 209.

S'en-j-vaissel plain d'yaue est mise,
 Si que nus hors ne la deboute,
 Si tost comme l'yaue s'aerise
 Car dous quel part la pointe vise
 La tres montaigne est là sans doute."

From these quotations, and other evidence in plenty, it would appear that when the pole star was invisible, a primitive compass was made by fixing in a cork a needle which had been touched by the magnet, and floating it in a vessel of water. Hugh de Berry (thirteenth century) says the sailors, in the dark night, to avoid losing their route, lighted a candle to observe the needle every now and then. Among the stores supplied to the barge 'Mary of the Tower'¹ in 1338, were two sailing needles and a dial.

The rudder was commonly in use by the end of the thirteenth century, though the old-fashioned plan of steering by a long oar,² took a considerable time to die out.

Seldom, but one sail was used, though greater speed was obtained by an additional sail called a 'bonnet.' In the *Merchant's Second Tale*, these bonnets are mentioned, 886 :

"Lodisman

Stere onys into the costis as well as thou can ;
 When our schippis be ycom, that we now pass in fere,
 Lace on a bonnet or tweyn, that we may mowe sail nere."

This term 'bonnet' is still in use, and is applied to a small short sail, fastened below a larger one by a method called 'lacing.'

It was customary to paint the sails more or less splendidly ; at all events, those of the wealthy were so treated. The ship in which Richard II. came from Ireland had a sail, on which was represented a flaming sun. In fact, a large amount of money was spent in adorning the ships in which great personages embarked. Froissart, speaking of the French fleet in 1386, prepared for the invasion of England, says : " Each Lord³ strove to have his vessel the

¹ Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 180. ² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 370.

³ Froissart, Johnes, vol. ii. p. 177.

best supplied, and more ornamented with painting and gilding, and with their arms emblazoned on them and on the flags. The masts were painted from top to bottom, and some were covered with sheets of fine gold. Sir Guy de la Tremouille expended two thousand francs in ornamenting and painting his ship." In *The Golden Targe*, by Dunbar, a ship is seen approaching in a vision, whose sail is like the "blossoms upon the spray,"¹ and whose masts are of pure gold, bright as the "star of day." This mode of decoration was of course only employed for the war-ships of wealthy nobles: such ornamentation would be sadly out of place under the ordinary wear and tear of the mercantile marine.

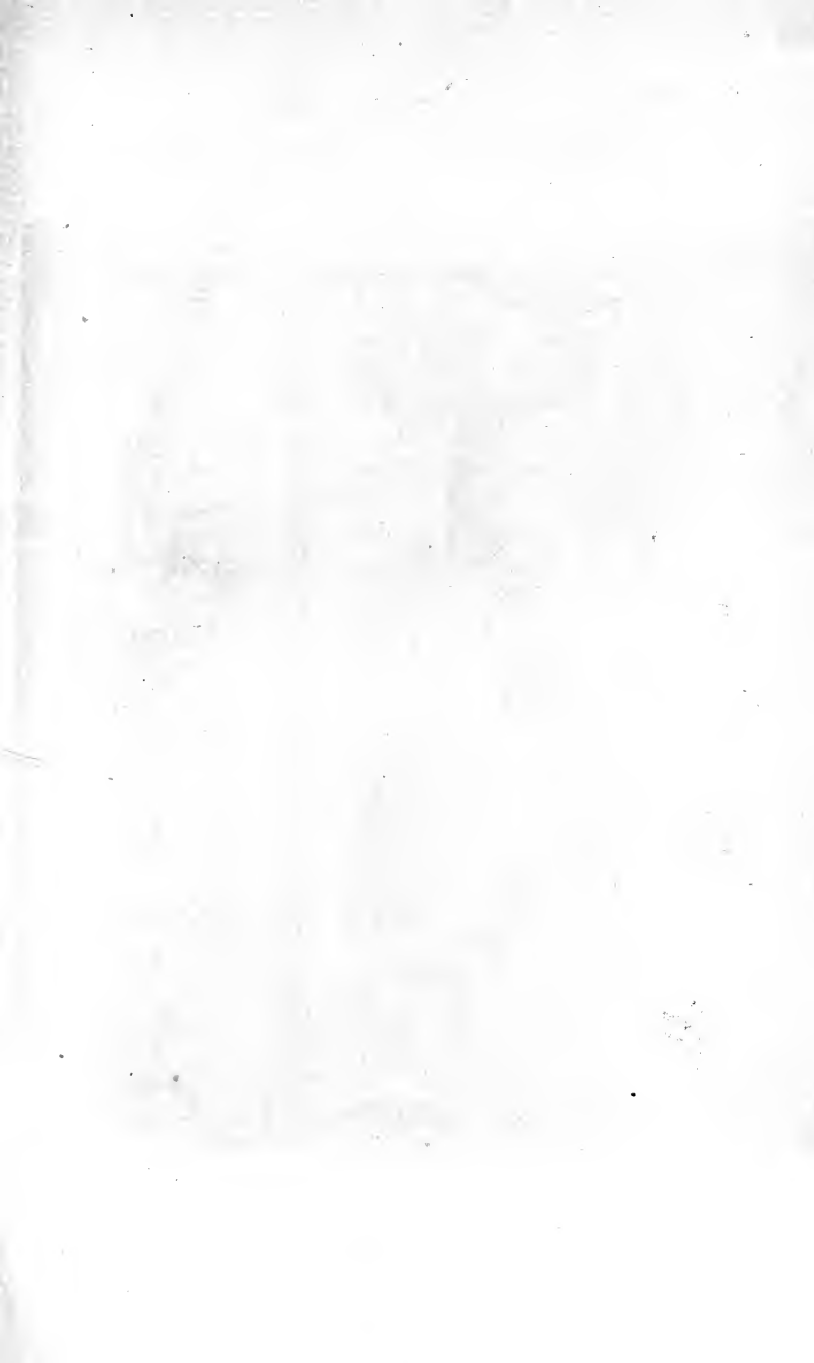
The variety of ships in use in the fourteenth century was very great, though it is impossible now to recognize exactly what they all were. Those built in Northern Europe were much smaller than those from the Mediterranean and the ports of Spain; an instance of this has been already given, p. 477. It was only in the reign of Henry V. that attempts were made to build ships fit to cope with the Spaniards. The Cog is the species most often mentioned,² and it was probably the largest in English waters: a large Cog, the 'Christopher,' was about 300 tons. The crew of the Cog 'Thomas,' consisted of the master, two constables, two carpenters, 124 sailors, and eight boys. The number of men on board, when destined for war, was supposed by one authority to be 65 men to every 100 tons of burthen, besides soldiers and sailors who were generally equal in number;³ thus a ship with 50 mariners would carry 50 combatants, 25 archers, and 25 soldiers. The vessel mentioned by Chaucer was a barge:

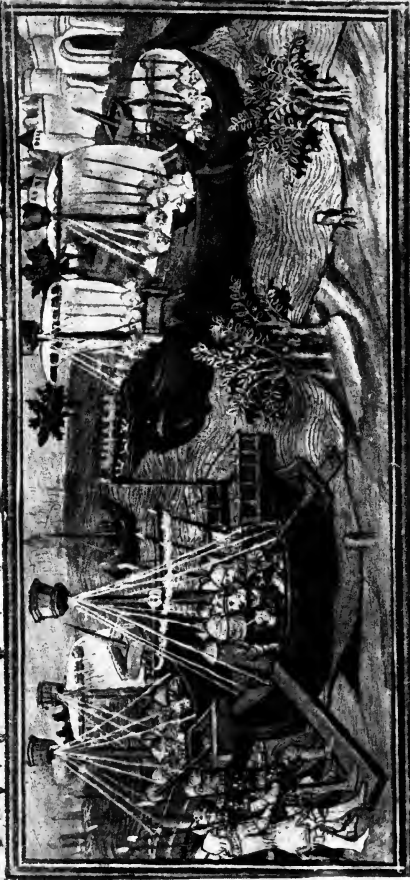
"His barge y-cleped was the Maudelayne."

The Barge resembled the Cog very much; generally speaking, it was a smaller edition of the same, though it

¹ Quoted in Warton's *English Poetry*: Hazlitt, vol. iii. p. 211.

² Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 158. ³ *Ibid.*





appareilla et amés navée
 t tout ce qui besoms lui
 ftoit pour passer lamer
 t quant tout fu appareillé
 et se parti d'aller et entra



uant les contes
 Et come virent
 et entendirent
 La venue d'Alexandre
 Et se doubterent moult et

Ships from the French romance of Alexander (about 1425.) leaf 20

Royal M.S. 20. B. XX.

is very difficult to come to any conclusion as to the sizes of vessels by judging of their class only. There is a mention in 1374 of a barge called the 'Paul,' which had 80 sailors; and another the 'George,' with 60 sailors; a third as having 20 to 30 archers, as many soldiers, and 70 to 80 sailors.¹ Now a vessel which would take 140 to 150 men would be of very respectable dimensions. It is just probable that rowing² was as much relied on as sailing; and consequently much larger crews would be necessary than with vessels of a corresponding size to-day.

From illuminations, Cogs and Barges appear very nearly round, indeed, the word Cog is supposed to be derived from cockle, because of the resemblance of the Cog to the cockle-shell. They had very broad bows and sterns, which were raised out of the water, leaving the mid-ships very low; in fact, not much above the water's-edge.³ They had but one mast, and that in one piece; strong enough indeed to support a wooden castle on the top.⁴

Chaucer bears high testimony to the sailor-like qualities of his schipman:—

“But of his craft to reckne well his tydes.”

He knew how many feet of water his vessel would draw according to the quantity of cargo on board, and consequently how near ashore she might with safety be taken. And his 'herbergh,' or the berth in which he placed his ship, was also a matter to which he paid particular attention. The allusion to the 'mone' or moon is somewhat obscure: it is very doubtful if sailors of the fourteenth century knew how to measure the distance between a fixed star and the moon, even by the cross-staff: perhaps this passage relates to the moon's influence on tides.

¹ Nicolas, vol. ii. p. 158.

² See number of oars supplied to the barge 'Paul' in Appendix.

³ Jal. vol. ii. p. 243.

⁴ See Appendix for outfit of a Barge.

“Lodemenage” may be read pilotage. This term has only recently become obsolete: in the reign of George I. an Act of Parliament was passed,¹ regulating the courts of lodemenage for the appointment of the Cinque Ports’ pilots.

“There was none such from Hulle to Cartage.”

He had been everywhere—in the northern seas. To Gothland and its capital Wisby, the Venice of the north, he would go with wool and coarse cloths, and bring back corn, wood and tar.² To Spain he would carry wool,³ and return with wine, fine cloths, and merceries.⁴ To Bordeaux he would take wool, and load with wine and leather.⁵

Of course one would like to know if there ever was a barge ycleped ye ‘Maudelayne,’ and if so, who was her captain; so that we may, if possible, identify this portrait of a Devonshire sailor. Fortunately the returns of the various Custom-houses are all preserved, and consequently it was only necessary to go to that great treasure-house, the Record Office, and look through those of the port of Dartmouth.⁶ There we find that a vessel called the ‘Maudelayne’ is entered three times, once in 1379 and twice in 1386. On the first occasion the

¹ 3 Geor. I. c. xiii.

² For northern trade see Pauli’s *Pictures of Old England*, 184, 186, 192, 442.

³ See *Libel of English Policy* for English commerce generally; Hackluyt, *Voyages*, vol. i.

⁴ Michel’s *Hist. de Commerce*.

⁵ The Venetian and Genoese merchant came with his precious stock of eastern produce, his Italian silk and velvets, his store of delicate glass. The Flemish weaver was present with his linens of Liège and Ghent. The Spaniard came with his stock of iron, the Norwegian with his tar and pitch. The Gascon vine-grower was ready to trade in the produce of his vineyard; and, more rarely, the richer growths of Spain; and, still more rarely, the vintages of Greece were also supplied. The Hanse towns sent furs and amber, and probably were the channel by which the precious stones of the East were supplied through the markets of Moscow and Novgorod.—*Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, Rogers, vol. i. p. 142.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Walford D. Selby for this discovery. See Appendix.

name of the master was George Coventre, and on the second Peter Risshenden. Either the 'Maudelayne' had changed masters, or perhaps George Coventre had been sent home by water to the land of the ever-increasing majority. Chaucer went his pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1388, so if the master of the 'Maudelayne' really did go to the shrine of St. Thomas in that year, he is more likely to have been Peter Risshenden than George Coventre. This, however, is a matter of but small moment, and one never likely to be solved. The unknown seaman is described as being as nearly perfect as a sailor of those times could be, with certain little failings just sufficient to link him with his contemporaries; and we must rest assured that Chaucer felt what he wrote in the line:

"And certainly he was a good felawe."



APPENDIX.

THE following inventory of the fittings of a barge will be found interesting. It is taken from Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 368, and relates to a barge 'The Paul of London,' provided by the city to serve under the King, Edward III. 1373.

"This indenture, made on the 29th day of July, in the 47th year, &c., witnesseth that Iohn Piel, Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Commonalty, of the City of London, have handed over and delivered, on the day of the making hereof, their barge, called 'The Paul of London,' fully rigged, together with the rigging and tackle thereof, unto William Martlesham, mariner, of the said city, and Master of the said barge that is to say:—one mast with three *top castelles* (Platforms round the mast, from which to throw darts or missiles at the enemy); 8 couples of new *hedropes* (Headropes, forestays, and backstays), 3 *forstiez*, and 2 couples of *backstiez*, 2 *girdinez* (Qy. as to this term; possibly it may mean the main gear or jear), 3 *cranelynz* (Crane-lines), 2 *upties* (Some kind of rope, probably), 2 *pollanges* (Probably, pulleys or blocks), one *seylyerde* (Sail-yard), for the barge; one sail with 2 bonettes (a 'bonnet' is an additional slip laced to the foot of the sail), 2 *shetes* (Sheets, or sail-ropes), 2 *thurghwals* (Qy. as to *thurghwals* and *stechynges*), 2 *bowelynes* (Bowlines), 2 *stechynges*, 2 *trusses* (Ropes for keeping the centre of a yard to the mast), 2 *yerde ropes* (Yard ropes), one *rakke* (Rack: various sorts are used on board ship), and the rigging pertaining to the mast; 6 new cables, 5 anchors for the barge; one *wyndyng-rope* (Winding-rope, halsers, buoy-ropes), 2 *haucers* for *boy-ropes*, 2 *touropes* (Probably, 'to-ropes,' used like 'warp-ropes,' the next), 3 *werp ropes*, 2 *ketels* (Kettles), for the barge; 60 *teeldes* (Qy. as to this and the two following terms: *roostree* may perhaps mean 'crosstree'), 16 *skaltrowes*, 2 *roostrees*, one *grapnel* (Grapnel, chain), one *cheyne* of 16 fathom (*fras*), 2 *waterfyles* (Qy. as to this item), 80 *ores* (Oars), for the barge; 2 *wyndyng bailles* (Winding-bails; perhaps some portions of the windlass), 4 tables, with the trestles, 4 *napes* (Tablecloths), for

the same; 5 dozen *aguls* (Probably sail-needles), for the barge; 40 pounds of *filace* (String or thread), 2 dozen shovels, one dozen *skopes* (Scoops), 2 great tankards (a large pail or tub for carrying water) bound with iron, six *pottz* tankards (Tankards for drinking from), two boring-bits (*bedeux*), 4 *sketfates* (Vats for necessary purposes), 20 *poleynes* (Pulleys, winding-pulleys), 2 *wyndyng poleys*, 2 *skeynes* of *poletwyne* (Skeins of pull-twyne; probably, thin string), 50 new *palettes* (Pallets), stuffed; one pair of plates (Armour-plates), 50 cloves of *taleghwode* (Tall-wood; long faggots); 20 chains of iron; 60 bows, with a *huche* (Hutch, a box, or case), 500 cords for them; 400 sheaves of arrows (or garbs; they were generally packed in casks, for conveyance), with a tun; one *beyl* (or bail, probably for bearing up the tilt over the boat); 2 *buttes* (Butts, iron supports for either side of a kettle on the hearth) of iron for one *ketél*; one *trevyt* (Trivet), 2 *bukettes* (Buckets with bails or circular handles), with 2 *beiles*; one *stremer* (Streamer, an ensign or pennon), 3 standards, 16 *baners* (Banners), 2 *boyes* of *corkille* (Buoy of cork), one *coler* for the *steyes* (Colour for the stays), 2 brass pots, 2 hatchets, 2 hammers, one *eschele* (Scaling-ladder), and 100 *bords* called *waynskott* (Boards called "wainscot," employed in 'boarding' the enemy's ship), and 80 *pavyz* (or 'pavises,' large shields); 30 yards of large *bever* (Long beaver; perhaps used for stanching the blood from wounds); also, 200 *dartes*; also, 30 *launces*; also, 4000 *quarels* for *arblast* (Square-headed arrows for cross-bows); also, one boat for the same barge, with one mast, 4 couples of *hedrope* (Head-rope, forestay, backstay), one *foresteye*, one couple of *backsteye*, one *uptye* with (Uptie, haulyards, yardropes, sailyards) 2 *haliers*, 2 *yerderopes*, one *zeylyerde*, for the boat, one sail, 2 *shettes* (Sheets; *thurghwalis*, as stated before, cannot perhaps be identified), 2 *thurghwalis*, one *bowelyne* (Bow-line, anchor, oars, davit), one *anky* for the boat; one cable for the boat; 30 *ores*, one *davist*, for the same boat:—the same to serve under our Lord the King in this present expedition upon the sea; he safely to keep and conduct the same, and, after the said expedition, to bring back and redeliver such barge and boat, and all the things aforesaid, unto the Mayor and Commonalty of the said City, for the time being, by reasonable account made thereof; and to answer and make satisfaction for all that has been lost therefrom by his default, within 40 days next after such his return. The which thing well and loyally to do in form aforesaid, he, the same William Martlesham, Master of the said barge, binds himself, his heirs, and his executors, and all his goods, moveable and immoveable, wheresoever they

may be found, on this side of the sea or beyond, to the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid, and to their successors, hereby. And for the greater certainty of so doing, Iohn Maykyn, *shipman*, and Robert Hulle, *shipman*, have become sureties for the said William, Master of the barge aforesaid; and the said John Maykyn and Robert, the sureties aforesaid, bind themselves, and each of them severally, and all their goods, moveable and immoveable, wheresoever they may be found, on this side of the sea or beyond, to the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid, and to their successors, in the same manner as the said William, Master of the barge aforesaid, is bound. In witness whereof, to the one part of this indenture the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid have set the Seal of the Mayoralty of the said city; and the aforesaid William, Iohn Maykyn, and Robert, to the other part have set their seals. Given at London, the day and year before-mentioned."

THE 'MAUDELAYNE' OF DERTEMOUTHE.

THE discovery of the fact that there really had been a vessel called 'Ye Maudelayne,' sailing from Dertemouthe, is due to Mr. Walford Selby, to whom I here beg to express my obligation for many acts of kindness.

Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Customs, No. $\frac{21}{10}^a$ Ann. 2-3 [Richard II.]. Account of the Kings Customs in Co. Devon, 26 Dec. to 13 June, 2 Rich. II.

The mention of the 'Maudelayne' is as follows:—

Trans.

13 June, Navis. "Maydeleine de Dertemuth. Geo. Cowntre."

				Pro 42 pannis.
				— 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
21 June	"	"	"	— 23 "
	"	"	"	— 12 "
	"	"	"	— 61 "
	"	"	"	— 4 "
	"	"	"	— 25 "
	"	"	"	— 29 "
	"	"	"	— 43 "
27 June	"	"	"	— 1 "
	"	"	"	— 11 "
	"	"	"	— 4 "

Pannus = a piece of cloth ; so that on this voyage the 'Maudelayne' was freighted with 258½ pieces of cloth on which duty was paid to the King. There may have been other goods besides cloth in the cargo, but the Custom House returns would mention only such portion as were liable to pay duty. The King was entitled to a duty on wool, and his officers claimed the same from cloth made in the kingdom and exported, as if it was wool in the raw state. This tax was eventually fixed by Parliament at sixpence per pound on the value of the wool exported (Stat. 2, 5, Richard II. c. 3).

In the same series of rolls, No. 21½, An. 15 Richard II. there is another mention of the 'Maudelayne,' but this time with another Master : viz. Peter Risshendeñ.

Navis. 'Magdaleyne.' Peter Risshendeñ sailed 21 Sept.
 Pro fabis value 13s. 4d.
 „ panno „ 20s.
 „ panno „ 10s.

On this occasion duty is paid on beans (*faba*) as well as a small quantity of cloth.

There is one other mention of this vessel ; viz. in No. 21½ the same year, and this time the quantity of beans is given.

Pro 1 dol' fab' value 13s. 4d.
 — panno „ 20s.
 — „ „ 10s.

If we consider the value of 13s. 4d. we must conclude that the quantity of beans may have been very inadequately expressed by *dol'* = *dolium*, a tub or barrel, or else that broad beans must have been luxuries in those days. It is possible that these beans were packed in barrels, or *dol'* : and that would account for what seems at first sight a prohibitive duty.

NOTES ON THE HORSES MENTIONED
BY CHAUCER.

- Varieties of Horses mentioned, p. 491.*
Description of the Dextrier, p. 493.
 " *the Courser, p. 494.*
 " *the Rouncey, p. 494.*
 " *the Sommier, p. 494.*
 " *the Stot, p. 495.*
 " *the Ambler and the mode of training, p. 496.*
 " *the Courser of Naples, p. 497.*
 " *the Dextrier of Lombardy, p. 498.*
Regulations for Hackney Men, p. 499.

IN the various tales and poems of Chaucer several varieties of horses are alluded to. For instance :

The Palfrey of the Monk :

" His palfrey was as brown as is a berye."—*Prol.* 207.

The Rouncey of the Schipman :

" He rood upon a rouncey, as he couthe."—*Prol.* 390.

The Ambler of the Wife of Bath :

" Uppon an ambler esily sche sat."—*Prol.* 469.

The Stot of the Reeve :

" This reeve sat upon a ful good stot."—*Prol.* 615.

The Courser of Theseus :

" This duk his courser with his spores smote."—*Knight*, 846.

The Dextrier of Sir Thopas :

" And by him baiteth his dextrier."—*Sir Thopas*, 2102.

The Sommier of Troilus :

" Came riding with his tenthe somme ifere."
—*Troilus and Cresseide*, ii. 1249.

The Foreign Breeds mentioned by the Squire :

" Right as it were a stede of Lumbardy."—*Squire*, 214.

" As it a gentle Poileys courser were."—*Squire*, 216.

Besides these varieties other terms are used to describe horses, viz. :

“ Had in his stable an hackenie.”

—*Romaunt of the Rose*, 1137.¹

“ And high on horse he sat.”—*Prol.* 271.

“ And lene was his hors as is a rak.”—*Prol.* 287.

“ In a tabard he rood upon a mere.”—*Prol.* 541.

“ Upon a steede bay, trapped in steel.”—*Knight*, 1299.

Some of these terms are simply generic ; as in the following instances :

In the description of the Monk, *Prol.* 203, is :

“ His hors in gret estate.”

And at 207 this animal is further specified as a palfrey. Again :

“ And on a courser for to schewe his face.”—*Knight*, 1819.

While at 1828 the term ‘ his hors ’ is used. This also occurs in the *Squire's Tale*, for at 310, ‘ courser ’ ; at 312, ‘ hors ’ ; and at 81, ‘ stede ’, are used to describe the same animal.

A very confusing example, however, will be found in *Sir Thopas* :

“ His good stede al he bistrood.”—2093.

“ And by him baiteth his dextrier.”—2103

“ His steede was al dappel-gray,
It goeth an ambel in the way.”—2074.

Now steed and horse will apply equally well to Dextrier, Courser, and Palfrey ; but a dextrier was not a courser, and neither was a palfrey ; and with all due respect to Chaucer, it may be doubted if ever a dextrier went at an amble : this is simply poetic license, or rather a joke. Sir Thopas is a burlesque on Chivalry, and hence the host interrupts with “ No more of this, for goddes dignitee.”

Taking these terms in their order of popular estimation, the first will be the DEXTRIER. This was the horse

¹ The *Romaunt* must be taken as spurious.—F.

par excellence. The dextrier, or war-horse, was of powerful build, and great strength: in fact the largest and strongest horse of the period; and well he might be, for when fully equipped he was covered with iron, and carried a knight also covered with iron from head to foot. This burden he was only able to bear for a short time, if his services were to be utilized at the best.

Some idea of what the horse had to carry may be gathered from the following extract from Sir W. Scott's *Essay on Chivalry*, p. 198. Ed. Warne.

"The underdress of the knight was a close jacket of chamois leather, over which was put the mail shirt, composed of rings of steel artificially fitted into each other. A suit of plate armour was put on over the mail shirt, and the legs and arms were defended in the same manner. Even this accumulation of defensive armour was by some thought insufficient. An instance of this will be found in Southey's translation of *The Cid*.

'Onward into Ferrand's breast, the lance's point is driven
Full upon his breastplate, nothing would avail;
Two breastplates Ferrand wore, and a coat of mail,
The two are riven in sunder, the third stood him in stead,
The mail sunk in his breast, the mail and the spear head;
The blood burst from his mouth, and all men thought him dead.'

In the tournament the knights charged one another at the greatest possible speed; so that it really was a question of weight *plus* velocity *plus* skill. The skill lay in directing this weight and velocity in such a manner as to upset the opponent: consequently it was done in short spurts. Now imagine a huge dray-horse in a gallop, and one easily understands that it would not last long. In order to use him for these short, furious gallops, it was necessary to nurse his strength, and to this end it was not usual for the knight to mount until the instant of battle; and while on the march the knight rode a hackney or palfrey, and his dextrier was taken care of by a squire or groom, who led him by holding the bridle in the right hand; hence the origin of the word, from *dextre*, the right,

"et deux Escuyers dont l'ung menoit son destrier en destre,"

quoted in *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, par Sainte-Palaye, vol. i. p. 48.

The knight was not supposed to be ready for the combat until he had his armour screwed on, and mounted on his charger; and it was considered unknighly to attack an opponent until he was thus prepared.

"Were he but horsed on steed like mine,
To give him fair and knightly chance."

Lord of the Isles, Canto vi. 14.

What with buckling and screwing on of armour, and getting into the saddle, the proceeding was a great event; and sometimes, if the rider was heavy, the assistance of two or three squires was requisite; hence one is not surprised to find that the formalities of the occasion gave rise to the saying, "Mounting the high horse." (See *Sainte-Palaye*, vol. i. p. 21.)

The dextrier was quite unsuited for racing, and such like rapid movements, and it was this fact that Prince Edward utilized when he escaped from his guards after the battle of Lewes:

"The eldest son of the king went out in the fields about Hereford with his comrades and guards to take exercise, and thus when they had mounted their destrier horses, and fatigued them with galloping, he, after that, mounted a horse of his own which was not tired, and went with all speed to the lord Roger de Mortimer."

Matthew of Westminster, Bohn, vol. ii. p. 437.

The COURSER was a lighter and more agile animal than the dextrier, but was also used in tournament and battle; and in hunting, if Chaucer may be taken as an authority. (See *Knight*, 846 and 1849.) Eustache Deschamps quoted by *Sainte-Palaye*, vol. i. p. 47, says:

"DESTRIERS *et grands chevaux étoient destinés aux joutes; que les COURSIERS ou MOYENS sont ceux qui vont plus légèrement en guerre.*" Froissart often alludes to coursers in describing warlike encounters.

From this it would appear that the dextrier held the place of the modern dragoon or heavy cavalry, and the courser that of the hussar and lancer, or light cavalry.

The PALFREY was the "*Cheval de Parade*" (see Littré), and was especially affected by ladies. It was a palfrey the knight rode, while his dextrier was led by an esquier. Palfreys were commonly used for journeys, and also for hunting.

The ROUNCY was a load horse, but more particularly used for agricultural purposes :

"*Et les derniers appelés roussins sont les chevaux communs servant aux vilains pour leur labour.*" Quoted by *Sainte-Palaye*, vol. i. p. 47. Spelman, under *Runcinus*, says: "*Equus operarius colonicus*," and gives extracts from Domesday. Du Cange gives: *Rouncinus vel Runcinus: Equus minor, gregarius*. (See the Schipman's Riding, p. 457.)

Yet *runcini* frequently occur in the lists of horses used in Ed. I.'s wars in France, and in other rolls; and there is little doubt that they served as mounts for grooms and other attendants of the knights; or perhaps as baggage animals.

The SOMMIER or SUMPTER-HORSE was also a beast of burden, but a higher class than the rouncy. While the rouncy was used for carting, agricultural, and other rough work, the sumpter was employed to carry the baggage of travellers, and according to the rank and wealth of the owner would show signs of breeding, or otherwise. Spelman has: *Somarius: Equus clitellarius, vel qui fercinam vehit*. Blount gives: *Summarius*—sumpter horse.

Littré says: "*On distinguait anciennement les chevaux en destriers, qui étaient les chevaux de bataille; en palfrois, qui étaient les chevaux de marche ordinaire pour les voyages; et en roussins, qui étaient les chevaux de somme et de travail.*" And then gives an extract to show that the sommier and the roncin were certainly not the same.

"*L'aumosnier, trois chevaux, palefroy, sommier, et roncin; pour palefroy 24 livres, sommier 16 livres, et roncin 10 livres parisis.*"

And under *Roussin* is another extract to the same purport: "*Il n'en perdrat ne runcin ne sommier.*"

But although it may be supposed that these terms had their real value, there is no doubt that the poets sometimes mixed them up sadly.

"*Il resultera de tant d'autorités différentes, que nos anciens Ecrivains ont souvent confondes tous ces mots, et qui la plupart du temps ils transportoient tantot l'acception du genre à l'espèce, et tantot l'espèce à l'acception générique.*"—*Sainte Palaye*, vol. i. p. 47.

The *Stot* was what we should now call a cob—an undersized horse. Spelman has: *Stot, equus admissarius*. Ducange: the same. But Mr. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. i. p. 36, is of opinion that stots were low-bred undersized stallions.

The term *Ambler* signifies that the animal had been trained to amble, an unnatural pace much affected in the middle ages; but only horses suited for the road or park would be thus trained.

"Like the trot, this pace is performed by two legs alternately moving in exact correspondence with each other. Instead of their being on opposite sides, they were on the same side; and one lateral half of the body is moved forward while the weight of the whole is supported on the other. The pace is altogether unnatural to the wild horse, but in some domestic breeds it has become naturalized, and the foal will in them display the amble long before it is taught anything by the hand of man. In the cameleopard the amble is the only kind of progression, whether the animal goes fast or slow. Formerly an ambling palfrey was in great request for ladies' use but in the present day the pace is not regarded with favour."—*The Horse in the Stable and the Field*, J. H. Walsh, p. 134.

The mode of training a horse to amble is given in G. Markham's *Way to Wealth*, p. 48. Strong pieces of girth web with proper straps and buckles are fastened,

“One to his neer fore-leg, and his neer hinder-leg, the other to his farre for-leg and his farre hinder-leg, which is call'd among hoarsmen *trameling*: with these you shall let him walk in some enclosed piece of ground, till he can so perfectly go in the same, that when at any time you offer to chace him, you may see him amble swiftly and truly; then you shall take him backe and ride him with the same *trammels*, at least three or four times a day, till you find that he is so perfect, that no way can be so rough and uneven as to compel him to alter his stroke or to go unnimibly.”

This, he says, is the only certain and true way to make a horse amble, though many others are pretended.

Chaucer mounts the ploughman on a mare; as became his social position. No person pretending to belong to the 'quality' would have mounted a mare, except under circumstances of the direst necessity. “*Car les jumens estoient une monture dérogeante, affectée aux Roturiers et aux Chevaliers dégradés, et peutetre par un usage prudent, on les avoit réservées pour la culture des terres et pour multiplier les espèce.*” *Sainte Palaye*, vol. i. p. 20; and a note at page 48 is an interesting extract to the same purport.

In a Latin poem on the Execution of Archbishop Scrope (1405), allusion is made to the additional indignity of being led to the scene of punishment riding on a mare:

“*Jumento vehitur hinc ad supplicium.*”

T. Wright. *Political Poems*, vol. ii. 115.
Rolls Series.

In Urry's edition, in the *Squire's Tale*, 215, allusion is made to a Polish courser; but this should read Poileys, which is old French and Middle English for Apulia. The horses bred in the south of Italy were long celebrated, even as late as the seventeenth century, when they were called Naples coursers. Tyrwhitt quotes the following extract from a fourteenth century MS. in the Bodleian. James vi. 142: “*nec mulus Hispaniæ, nec dextrarius Apuliæ, nec repedo Æthiopiæ, nec elephantus Asiæ, nec camelus Syriæ.*”

T. Blundeville, writing in 1609, gives the following description of the courser of Naples. [*The four chiefest offices belonging to Horsemanship*, leaf 4, back.]

OF THE COURSER OF NAPLES.

The *Napolitan*, which we commonly cal a courser of Naples, is a trim horse, being comely and strongly made, and of so much goodnesse, of as gentle a nature, and of so high a courage as any Horse is, of what cuntries so ever he be. He is easily knowne from all other Horses, by his no lesse cleane, than strong making, his limmes are so well proportioned in everie point: and partly by his portliness in his gate, but chiefly by his long slender head, the nether part whereof, that is to say, from ye eyes downward, for the most part is also somewhat bending like a Hawkes beake, which maketh him to reine with the better grace. And yet the *Italians* doe both write and say that these coursers be nothing so strong now, as they have beene in times past: partly perhaps for that like industrie of late daies hath not been used in breeding them, as in times past, and partly for that nature doth decaie everie day more and more, as wel in man as in beast. But howsoever they be, in mine opinion, their gentle nature and docilitie, their comely shape, their strength, their courage, their sure footmanship, their well reining, their lofty pase, their cleane trotting, their strong gallopping, and their swift running well considered (all which things they have in manner by nature) the excell numbers of other races, even so farre as the faire greihoundes the fowle Mastiffecurres."

Lombardy horses were also great favourites in England, and some of our kings spent large sums in their purchase. In the Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, Edward III., p. 463, is an entry of the payments to be made "for the receipt of the charges and expenses incurred by him in going a voyage, by precept of the king, on a message of the said king to Lumbardy to bring the gallies of the Lord de Melun with him to the port of Calais, 13 palfreys, 1 sumpter horse, and 7 greyhounds." There is a curious mention of Lombardy horses in *Monstrelet*, vol. i. p. 168 (Johnes): "a number of Lombards and Gascons had formed part of the army of the Duke of Orleans, who

were mounted on terrible horses, that were taught to wheel round when on full gallop, which seemed very astonishing to the French, Flemmings, etc., who had not been accustomed to such movements."

The Hackney then as now was a roadster. It might have been a well-bred animal, or otherwise. In London it was the custom to let out hackneys for hire, and special regulations were in vogue to protect this industry. See Appendix.

There were other varieties of horses common in England, but not alluded to by Chaucer.

"Affri" were coarse, ill-shaped animals used in agriculture.—*Rogers*, vol. i. p. 35.

The "Spanish Jennet" was a special kind of palfrey.

The "Hobelar" or "Hobbie" was a small but convenient-sized horse, used for light cavalry work, and hawking.—Flemming, *Horseshoes*, p. 400. The Hobbie was supposed to be of Irish origin.

REGULATION FOR HACKNEY MEN.

*Patent Roll. 19 Richard II. part 2. membr. 8.*FOR THE MEN CALLED HAKENEYMEN, &c.¹

[TRANSLATION.]—The King to all and singular Sheriffs Mayors Bailiffs Constables Reeves Provosts and other his faithful people to whom etc. Greeting. Reginald Shrowesbury and Thomas Athekot have entreated us that—whereas they and all others called Hakeneymen of Suthwerk Derteford Roucestre and other towns between London and Dovorre in the times of our progenitors had for the hire of one Hakenei between Suthwerk and Roucestre sixteen pence and from Roucestre as far as Canterbury sixteen pence and now some men passing hence from day to day through the said places take the horses of the said Reginald and Thomas and other their fellows aforesaid against their will and pleasure and ride upon the horses aforesaid whither they will paying little or nothing for labour and hire of the same so that very often the horses aforesaid are by the hirers of the same lost and destroyed and sometimes sold and wholly eligned to the no mean damage of those our lieges and manifest depression of their estate and the probable scarcity of the said horses at the places aforesaid within a short time unless they are quickly succoured by us—we will apply a fit remedy for reformation of the premises. We wishing, as is meet, to provide as well for avoiding henceforward damages and losses of those our lieges as for the advantage and quiet of others denizens as well as strangers passing hence thitherwards Will and ordain that for the hire of one Hakenei from Southwerk to Roucestre twelve pence only be taken, and from Roucestre to Canterbury twelve pence, and from Canterbury to Dovorre sixpence; and so from town to town within the places aforesaid more or less according to the rate of the said twelve pence and the number of miles And that the aforesaid Reginald and Thomas or other their fellows aforesaid shall be in no wise compelled to let out

¹ After getting this copied and englisht, I found it on p. 334 of vol. i. of Longman's *Lectures on the History of England*; but as it is part of the Chaucer Society's material, and ought to be in its books, I do not cancel the document.

their horses aforesaid to any persons unless the sum in form aforesaid be promptly paid to them for the same And moreover for making the safety of the horses aforesaid of our lieges greater and more than ordinary we will and ordain that a certain cautery or instrument of iron be ordered in every of the aforesaid towns which we will to be kept by some honest man of every of the said towns for marking such horses as are for hire without taking anything for such marking And that no one of what state or condition soever he be shall buy or sell horses marked with a cautery or such-like instrument of iron or otherwise unduly eloign them or also cut the ears or tails of the horses aforesaid or also kill those horses under grave forfeiture to us and incurring of peril and also that it shall be truly lawful for the said Reginald and Thomas and other their fellows aforesaid to take their horses so hired and marked with such mark and by the hirers thereof sold or eloigned where-sover they shall happen to be found by the survey of the bailiffs or constables of the place, and thence to take them with themselves as is just So always that if the horses so to be hired by reason of insufficiency and too great weakness of the same and not by default of the horses fail on the way so that they cannot perform their journey then from the sum given for the hiring of the horses so failing by the hirers of the same so much shall be returned as those hirers for the hire of other horses to perform their journey shall be able to show that they have reasonably paid And therefore we command and firmly enjoin you the aforesaid sheriffs mayors and bailiffs and every one of you that you cause all and singular the premises in your bailiwicks where it shall seem to you the more expedient to be publicly proclaimed and as much as appertains to you to be firmly observed and held not molesting or in any wise aggrieving the said Reginald and Thomas or other their fellows aforesaid contrary to this our grant and ordinance. In witness whereof etc. Witness the King at the Kings manor of Chilternelangele the fifth day of January.

By writ of Privy Seal and
by the Council.

XVI.

DISSERTATION ON

“THE PARSON’S TALE,”

AND THE

“SOMME DE VICES ET DE VERTUS”

OF FRÈRE LORENS.

BY WILHELM EILERS, PH.D.

1882.

ENGLISH, 1884.



IN the "Introductory Discourse" to his edition of Chaucer (London, 1864, p. 69, *et seq.*), Tyrwhitt remarks as follows upon the *Parson's Tale*: "It is entitled in some MSS. 'Tractatus de Poenitentia pro fabula, ut dicitur, Rectoris,' and I much suspect that it is a translation of some such treatise." Sandras (*Etude sur Chaucer*, p. 251) agrees with him: "Le sermon du curé de campagne . . . est une version de quelque doctrinal de conscience."—Hertzberg (*Canterbury Tales*, p. 670) goes so far as to say: "we must of course assume a Latin original."

Morris, in the course of his work upon Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, for the published edition of 1866, became acquainted with the French prose work of Frère Lorens, *La Somme des Vices et des Vertus*, of which *Ayenbite* is known to be a literal translation, and it could not fail to strike him, being at the same time engaged upon a new edition of Chaucer, that a family likeness existed between the *Parson's Tale* and that French work. In the new edition of Tyrwhitt's *Introductory Discourse*, with which Morris prefaced his own edition, he replaced the second half of the above-quoted passage of Tyrwhitt, "and I much suspect that it is a translation of some such treatise," by the following words, I. 251, "and is a translation or rather adaptation of some chapters of a work, entitled *Li libres roiaux de vices et de vertus*, by Frère Lorens."

In his preface to the edition of *Ayenbite* he makes the following observation: "It was probably suggested by Chaucer's *Persones Tale*, which is an adaptation of some chapters of the French treatise, to which it is of course much superior. The poet has introduced much original matter, as in the chapter on Pride, where he speaks of inordinate scantiness and superfluity of clothing, and his treatment of the subject differs considerably from his author: thus Chaucer makes the remedium in each case follow the description of any particular sin. Frère Lorens treats the remedia separately, as so many gifts of the Holy Ghost."

One of the additions in Hazlitt's edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry* (II. 373) makes reference to this. "The *Persones Tale*, as Dr. Morris has pointed out, was partly borrowed by Chaucer, with large variations, from the French treatise, *La Somme de Vices et de Vertus*, by Frère Lorens." Maetzner, too, points here and there in his commentary on the extracts from *Ayenbite*, printed by him in *Sprachproben*, II. 56, *et seq.*, to correspondences with the *Parson's Tale*.

A closer examination of the relation of the *Parson's Tale* to the French work has not hitherto been attempted, partly, no doubt, because the latter is difficult of access. And yet such an examination must have an important bearing on the question, first raised by H. Simon in his essay, *Chaucer ein Wicliffit*,¹ and then ventilated by others,² as to the genuineness of certain passages in the *Parson's Tale*.

A treatise of Simon's, announced several years ago by the Chaucer Society, has not yet appeared.

The French work is still unpublished. It is preserved

¹ Schmalkald, 1876: programme of the upper Bürgerschule. English translation in the publications of the Chaucer Society, 1876.

² See Koch, *Anglia*, II. 542, *et seq.*, and A. W. Ward, *Chaucer*, p. 134, *et seq.*

in several MSS.; see on this subject "*Histoire littéraire de la France*," tome XIX. 400.—Paulin Paris, *les manuscrits français*.—Varnhagen, *Engl. Studien*, I. 380, Anm., 382, 422. There are other MSS. at Cheltenham, Cambridge, and doubtless other places. An impression by Vérard is also in existence.

Whilst pursuing the following investigation, I have had before me a copy of the three first sections of the French work made by Prof. Varnhagen from the Cotton MS. [Cleop. A. V.] (on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Seven Deadly Sins, *Ayenbite*, p. 5—70). A copy of the remaining sections required by me for my work, I owe to the kindness of Miss Toulmin Smith.

As a reference to the page of the MS. will hardly be of use, unless to the scholar in London, I have preferred always to give references according to Morris's edition of *Ayenbite of Inwyt*.

I quote the text of the *Parson's Tale* from R. Morris's edition of *Chaucer*, London 1875, III. 263, *et seq.* I have besides this made use of the Six-Text-Print, and also of Skeat's edition. I mark the text of the *Parson's Tale* in the form in which it has come down to us, with E: the French text, according to the above-mentioned MS. with F.

I will begin with a concise review of the contents of F and E:

F.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| I. Li X commandemenz. | (5—11). |
| II. Les articles de la foi. | (11—14). |
| III. Li VII chevetain pecchié. | (14—70). |

Introduction: Classified under the 7 heads of the Beast in the Apocalypse.¹

- | | |
|----------------------|----------|
| 1. orguel. | (16—26). |
| 2. envie. | (26—29). |
| 3. ire. | (29—31). |
| 4. accide (peresce). | (31—34). |
| 5. avarice. | (34—46). |
| 6. luxure. | (46—50). |

¹ Hence the title of the whole section, *Des revelacions saint Jehan*.

7. pechié de la bouche. (50—70).
 a. glotonie. (50—57).
 b. pechié de la male langue. (57—70).
- IV. La mort. (70—76).
- V. Li bien que li hons a de Dieu. (76—98).
 1. Les biens de fortune. (76—78).
 2. Les biens de nature. (78—79).
 3. Les biens de grace.
 C'est la vertue generalment. (79—94).
 4. La vertu especiaument ou les
 vertues (94—98).
- VI. La pater-nostre. (98—118).
- VII. Les VII dons de saint-esperit.
 estrepent les racines des VII pechiez du cuer e i
 plantent e norissent VII vertus contraires.
 First are treated :
 VII autres vertus. (123—127).
 1. III divines vertus. (123).
 a. foi.
 b. charité.
 c. esperance.
 2. les IV vertus cardinales. (124—127).
 d. prudence.
 e. atemperance.
 f. force.
 g. justice.
 Les VII dons de saint-esperit (127—262). In 7
 Sections, each of which after an introduction
 treats of vii degrés and then of vii branches de
 la vertu.
1. Li dons de paour — c/a — la vertue d'umilité. (127—
 orguel 144).
 2. Li dons de pité — c/a — la vertu d'amour (mansue-
 envie tude). (144—150).
 3. Li dons de science — c/a — la vertu de justice. (150—
 ire 161).
 4. Li dons de force — c/a — la vertu de proesce. (161—
 accide 183).
- In the 1 branche, to "le 1 combat que le chrestien
 a encontre le pechie mortel," is added a dis-
 sertation on penitence : "a ceo k'il soit bien
 armez, il covient, k'il eit III choses qui sont en
 vraie penitence :
- a. repentance de cuer. (171).
 b. confession de bouche, with an
 Appendix : (172—180).
 queles choses especiaument empeschent vraie
 confession (= E V).
 c. satisfaction par oeuvre. (180).
5. Li dons de conseil — c/a — la vertu de misericorde (183
 avarice —199).
 with a section : ausmosnes. (191—199).
6. Li dons d'entendement — c/a — la vertu de chasteté (199—
 luxure 245).
 as VII degré : oreisons (207—219).

7. Li dons de sapience — c/a — la vertu de sobreté (atemp-
 pecchié de la bouche rance)
 met partout mesure es biens
 espritueux comme en (245—262).
 a. jeunes
 b. veilles
 c. disciplines
 d. autres oeuvres de vertu } only enumerated (250).

E. (Morris III, 263—368).

[Prima pars (263—285).]

A. *Introduction*: with sketch of the arrangement of the theme
Penitence. (263—264).B. *Treatise*:

- I. what is penitence, and whens it is cleped
 penitence¹ (264—265).
 II. And in what maner, and in how many maneres been the
 acciones of penaunce.
 III. And how many spieces ben of penitences. (266).
 IV. And whiche thinges apperteynen and
 byhoven to penitence. (266—366).
 1. contricioun of herte. (266—285).
 [Secunda pars (286—362).]
 2. confessioun of mouth. (286—362).
 a) what is confessioun.

(New subject). In addition to this a *Treatise on the sin.*
(286—354).

- 1' whens that synnes springe. (286—289).
 2' and how thay encreesen. (289—290).
 3' and whiche thay ben.
 a' venial synnes (290—293).
 b' dedly (chiveteynes of) synnes. (293—354).
 a. De Superbia — Remedium c/a Superbiam — humilité.
 (294—303).
 β. De Invidia — „ „ Invidiam — love.
 (303—308).
 γ. De Ira — „ „ Iram — deboneirté (man-
 suetudo) and pacience. (308—323).
 δ. De Accidia — Remedium c/a Accidiam — strengthe.
 (323—330).
 ε. De Avaritia — „ „ Avaritiam — misericorde
 Also largesse. (330—338).
 ζ. De Gula — „ c/a Gulam — abstinence.
 (338—340).
 η. De Luxuria — „ „ Luxuriam — chastité.
 (341—354).

- b. whethir it oughte needes be doon or noon.²
 c. whiche thinges ben convenable to verray
 confessioun. (357—362).
 [Tertia pars (362—368).]

¹ The exposition of "whens it is cleped penitence" is wanting.

² The exposition is wanting: instead of this is a guide to confession.

3. satisfaccioun. (362—366).
 a. almesdede. (363).
 b. bodily peyne. (363—366).
 α . orisouns. (364).
 β . wakyng (only mentioned).
 γ . fastyng. (365).
 δ . discipline or teching.
 V. whiche thinges destourben penaunce. (366—368).
 C. *Conclusion*: the fruyt of penaunce. (368).

From this review of the contents of both texts it will appear that in their main features the two great sections, viz. that on the 7 deadly sins, and that on the 7 contrary virtues (7 gifts of the Holy Ghost), are the same in both, but with the difference that in F the two sections are separated, and stand in no near relation to one another (F iii. and the principal part of F vii.), whilst in E a single section corresponds to these, viz. 3' b', α — η in the treatise on the sin, where to each one of the 7 deadly sins is appended as Remedium one of the 7 contrary virtues (7 gifts of the Holy Ghost). The section on penitence, which in F is inserted after vii. 4, and continues throughout vii. 5, 6, 7, has nothing corresponding to it in the treatise on the sin in E, but elsewhere in E iv. 1—3 and v.

The section on the 7 other virtues, which in F vii. precedes the 7 gifts of the Holy Ghost, has nothing at all corresponding to it in E.

The examination and closer comparison of sections F iii. and F vii. (with the exception of the part just mentioned) on the one hand, and sections E 3' b', α — η in the treatise on the sin, and E iv. 1—3, v., on the other hand, will be the object of our present investigation.

I propose in the following investigation to hold to the arrangement of F, not of E, that is, to treat first of the 7 deadly sins, and then in a separate part of the 7 remedies, viz., the 7 virtues called forth by the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

FIRST PART.

THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS.

In E and F this section begins with a short introduction.¹ In F the 7 deadly sins are identified with the 7 heads of the Beast in the Apocalypse, which is not the case in E. In F this is followed by 'Li premiers chies de la beste est orguex ; li secons, envie ; li tiers, ire ; li quars, peresce, que l'on apele en clergie accide ; li quins, avarice ; li sisimes, glotonie ; li setiemes, luxure. De ces VII chies descendent toutes manieres de pecchies, e por ce sont il apele chevetain vice. Car il sont chief de tous vices et de touz pecchiez, soient mortex soient venians. (Ay. 16), and then it proceeds to the first deadly sin, orgueil, with the words Et premierement dirons du pecchie d'orgueil, car ce fu li premiers pecchiez e li commencemens de tous maus.' In E the preface to the 7 deadly sins runs as follows :

'Now it is bihovely thing to telle whiche ben dedly synnes, that is to sayn, chiveteyns of synnes ; for as moche as alle thay renne in oon loos, but in divers maners. Now ben thay cleped chiveteyns, for als moche as thay ben chief and springers of alle othere synnes. The roote of these seven synnes thanne is pride, the general synne and roote of alle harmes. For of this roote springen general braunches ; as ire, envye, accidie or sleuthe, avarice or covetise (to commune understondynge), glotonye, and leccherie : and everich of these synnes hath his braunches and his twigges, as schal be declarid in here chapitres folwinge.' (M. 293—294).

It will be seen that E and F are throughout in substantial agreement. 'Por ce sont il apele chevetain vice. Car il sont chief de tous vices et de touz pecchiez,' coincides

¹ Three MSS. of the S. T. Pr. have this introduction under the heading *De Superbia*, exactly as in F.

almost verbally with 'Now ben thay cleped chiveteyns,¹ for als moche as thay ben chief and springers of alle othere synnes.' In E the designation of "ire, envye, accidie, avarice, glotonye, leccherie" as "branches of pride" is incorrect: for in the sequel they, as well as pride, are given a separate treatment. In F all is in order.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST DEADLY SIN.

In the following comparison of the chapters on the 7 deadly sins, I have generally observed this order. I give a survey of the contents of both texts in the form of a tolerably complete outline. Within this framework I insert all the matter that coincides in both texts. Everything not corresponding I omit, except where it is necessary to the outline: but I notify the omission by strokes (— — —), whilst the numbers of the lines, enclosed in brackets, show the space that it occupies. At the same time, by altering the arrangement in F, I have as far as possible placed the corresponding parts of the outline or of the matter, opposite to each other. I then draw special attention to these correspondences, touch shortly upon the relation of the two sections to one another, and lastly state the result of the comparison.

De Superbia.

E (294—302).

And though so be, that no man can telle utterly the nombre of the twigges, and of the harm that cometh of pride, yet wol I schewe a party of hem, as ye schul understonde.—Enumeration of 16 twigges. Short explanation of them, in which the 11th twig is wanting, and instead of it "jangeling" is brought in at the end after "vaynglorie."

Le premier chief de la beste.

F (16—26).

Cist pecchiez se devise et s'espant en tant de parties, qu'a paines le porroit on nombrer.

Mais VII principaus parties i a, qui sont ausi comme VII branches qui issent et naissent d'une mauvaise racine.

Branches: (fully treated).

¹ Three MSS. of the S. T. Pr. read "caytifnesse," doubtless a later emendation. The true reading "cheveteyns" (chieftaynes) is confirmed by F.

- I. Inobediencie.
- II. Avauntynge.
- III. Ypocrisyse.
- IV. Despit.
- V. Arragaunce.
- VI. Impudence.
- VII. Swellyng of hert.
- VIII. Insolence.
- IX. Elacioun.
- X. Inpacience.
- XI. (Strif) Contumacie.
- XII. Presumpcioun (Surquidrie).
- XIII. Irreverence.
- XIV. Pertinacie.
- XV. Veinglorie.
- XVI. Jangelyng.

Here is added : A privé spice of pride, that wayteth first to be saluet er he saliewe, al be he lasse worth than that other is, paradventure; and eek wayteth or desireth to sitte above him, or to go above him in the way, or kisse the pax, or ben encensed, or gon to the offeringe biforn his neighebores, and suche semblable thinges,
 — — — — — (3).

Now ben ther tuo maners of pride;

- I. Heighnes withinne the hert of a man (i. e. all the twigs named in the foregoing section, inobediencie &c.)
- II. Heighnes withoute the hert of a man.
 — — — — — (3).
 - 1. In speche and contienauce.
 (only mentioned, without explanation.)
 - 2. In outrageous array of clothing
 — — — — — (10).
 - a) superfluité of clothing — — — (22).
 - b) disordinat scantnes of clothing — (33).

- I. Desloiautes.
 - 1. Vilenie (Ingratitude).
 - 2. Forsenerie.
 - 3. Renoierie.
- II. Despis.
 - 1. On ne prise pas autrui a droit.
 - 2. On ne porte pas honour e reverence la ou l'en doit.
 - 3. On n'obeist pas a droit a ceus a cui l'en obeir devoit.
- III. Arrogance (Sorquidance, Presumpcion).
 - 1. Singularité.
 - 2. Prodigalité.
 - 3. Faus Contenz.
 - 4. Vantance.
 - 5. Derision.
 - 6. Rebellions.¹
- IV. Ambicion.
 - A.
 - 1. Losengerie.
 - 2. Simulacions.
 - 3. Folement doner.
 - 4. Folement despendre.
 - B.
 - 1. Mesdire.
 - 2. Desirrer la mort de celui qui tient ce a quoi il bee.
 - 3. Traisons.
 - 4. Mauvais consaus.
 - 5. Conspiracions.
 - 6. Contenz e mout d'autres pecchiez.

¹ Cotton MS. rebellions, but 2 of the other British Museum MSS. have the above form.

3. In thinges that aper-
teynen to rydyng, as
curious harnoys (18).
4. In holdyng of gret
meyné— — — (24).
5. In table — — (14).

The espices that sourdren of
pride, sothely whan thay sour-
dren of malice ymaged and
avised, aforncast, or elles of
usage, ben dedly synnes, it is no
doute. And whan thay sourden
by frelté unavysed sodeinly, —
— — I gesse thay ben not
dedly.

Whereof pride sourdeth and
springeth. (p. 300).

I. Of the goodes of nature.

1. goodes of body.
 - a. Hele.
 - b. Strengthe.
 - c. Delivernesse.
 - d. Beauté.
 - e. Gentrye.
 - f. Fraunchise.

These are here only men-
tioned : in the explanation there
are a few words upon the follow-
ing :

- a. Hele— — — (6).
- b. Strengthe — — (5).
- c. Gentrye — — (25).
2. goodes of soule.
 - a. Goode wit.
 - b. Scharp understand-
yng.
 - c. Subtil engyn.
 - d. Vertu naturel.
 - e. Good memorie.

These are only mentioned.

II. Of the goodes of fortune.

- a. Richesses.
- b. Hight degrees of
lordschipes.
- c. Preisyng of the
peuple.

These are only mentioned.

V. Vaine gloire
is divided into ranciaus accord-
ing to the 3 kinds of divine
gifts :

1. Li bien de nature (only
mentioned).
 - a. devers le cors.
 - α. Sainteté.
 - β. Biauté.
 - γ. Force.
 - δ. Proesce.
 - ε. Noblesce.
 - ζ. Bone langue.
 - η. Bone voiz.

- b. devers l'ame.
 - α. Cler sens.
 - β. Soutil engin.
 - γ. Bone memoire.
 - δ. Les vertuz natureles.

2. Li bien de fortune (only mentioned).

- α. Hautescs.
- β. Honors.
- γ. Richescs.
- δ. Delices.
- ε. Prosperitez.

These produce XII manieres
de temptacions. In one's heart
to think of :

- a. dignité.
- β. prosperité.
- γ. richesses.
- δ. delices.
- ε. grant compaignie.
- ζ. bele maisnie.
- η. biaux manoirs.
- θ. beles chevauchures.
- ι. plente des beles robes.
- κ. l'appareil de son ostel et autre maniere de hernois.
- λ. granz presenz e granz festes.
- μ. bone renomee e loenges.

III. Of the goodes of grace.

- a. Science.
- b. Power to suffre spirituel travaile.
- c. Benignité.
- d. Vertuous contem-
placioun.
- e. Withstandyng of
temptacioun, and
semblable thinges.

These are only mentioned.

----- (15).

3. Li bien de grace.

- α. Vertuz.
- β. Bones oevres.

VI. Ypocrisie.

- 1. ypocrisie orde.
- 2. " sote.
- 3. " soutive.

VII. Fole paour e fole vergoigne.

From the above it will appear that a well-ordered scheme underlies the section in F: orguel is divided into 7 branches, and each of these again into a number of reinselez (branchettes). Let us examine E more closely. After first pointing out (substantially in agreement with F) the impossibility of naming all the parts (twigges = reinselez) into which pride may be divided, 16 twigges are enumerated, but without that logical coherence apparent in F. Next follow short definitions of the twigs, in which, however, as already remarked in the outline, the 11th twig is omitted from the list, and instead is added at the end, under jangelyng, which had never been mentioned before. These 16 twigges correspond partly to the branches, partly to the reinselez of F, whilst some of them are not found in F at all, or at least not under the same heading.

The definitions only correspond in their general sense with F. For instance :

Inobedient is he that disobeieth for despyt to the commaundementz of God, and to his sovereigns, and to his gostly fader. (M. 294).

Avauntour is he that bosteth of the harm or of the bounté that he hath don.

Ypocrisy is he that hydeth to schewe him such as he is, and scheweth him such as he is not.

Despitous is he that hath dayn of his neighebour, that is to say, of his evencristen, or hath despit to doon that him oughte to doon.

Irreverence is whan men doon not honour ther as hem oughte to doon, — — — — (M. 295).

Pertinacie is whan man defendith his folye, and trusteth to moche to his owne witte.

Three other definitions correspond substantially and in part verbally with passages in F :

Swellyng of hert is whan a man rejoysth him of harm that he hath don.

Impacient is he that — — — by stryf werreth trouthe wityngly and defendeth his folie.

Jangelyng is whan a man — clappith as a mille, — (M. 295).

— — — — —
por ce que on n'obeist pas a droit a ceus a cui l'en obeir devroit. (Ay. 20).

Cist pechiez (vantances) est lies en celui qui par sa propre bouche se vante, ou de son sens, ou de son parage, ou de ses oeuvres, ou de ses proescs.

(Ay. 22).
C'est uns pechiez qui fait monstrier le bien par defors qui n'est mie par dedens. Dont cil sont ypocrite qui se font le prodome et ne l'sont pas. (Ay. 25).

— — — — —
por ce que on ne prise pas autrui a droit en son cuer, sicom l'en devroit. (Ay. 20).

— — — — —
por ce que on ne porte pas honour et reverence la ou l'en doit. (Ay. 20).

— — — — —
li orgueilleous sorquidiars, se on le repret, il se defent ; — — se on le conseille, il ne croit nuli fors son sens. (Ay. 22).

— — — — — quant il voit ou oit autrui mal s'esjoist il en son cuer. (Ay. 27).

— — — — —
guerrier verite a son escient. (Ay. 29).

vaines paroles, qui sont come li batels du moulin. (Ay. 58).

The expression "jangler" too occurs in F in this chapter.

Throughout this part there is in E much confusion in particulars. The definition of "swellyng of herte" is incorrect : it cannot mean "whan a man rejoyseth him of harm that he hath don." "Arragaunce" and "presump-

cioun," which in F are identical ("la tierce branche d'orguel est arrogance que l'en apele sorquidance ou presumpcion"), appear in E as distinct conceptions. On the other hand, the definitions of some of the words resemble each other closely. Compare, for example, the definitions of "despitous" and "insolent," "inobedient" and "contimax." Lastly, the mistake must be mentioned of "ypocrisie" (instead of "ypocrite"¹) "is he that hydith," &c.

The next section on "privé spice of pride" has nothing corresponding to it in F. Upon this follows an exposition of a general nature, viz. of the two principal kinds of pride, of which the one comprehends the 16 twiggis, already treated: this whole exposition is therefore out of place here. The points treated under the second kind of pride are also found in F: 1. "Highnes of herte in speche and contienauce" are frequently brought forward in F. 2. "outrageous array of clothing" corresponds to "plente des beles robes" in F. V, temptacion u. 3. "Thingis that aperteynen to rydyng" to "beles chevauchures," *ibid.* δ. 4. "gret meyné" to "bele maisnie," *ibid.* ζ. 5. "apparaile of the table" to "appareil de son ostel," *ibid.* κ. "harnois" in 3 = "hernois," *ibid.* κ. But in F all these points are enumerated together with others, whilst in E they are, with the exception of the first, "speche and contienauce," independently and very fully treated.

The following passage "the spices that sourdren," &c., which may be considered to conclude this section, has nothing corresponding to it in this chapter, but the same idea is often to be found in other parts of F.

In the section "whereof pride sourdeth and springeth," E is in tolerably exact accordance with F, as the outline shows.

F vi, "ypocrisie" is in E treated at the beginning, whilst the very short F vii is quite wanting in E.

¹ 2 MSS., including Ellesmere; the most perfect of the 6 MSS. of the S. T. Pr. have this correct reading.

The correspondence in this first Deadly Sin is confined to isolated expressions, points of an arrangement common to both, to which I will once more refer: Of the 16 twigges E i; ii; iii; iv; v; xii; xiii; xv; correspond to F ii. 3; iii. 4; vi; ii; iii; iii; ii. 2; v. Of the remaining points in the outline, "outrageous array of clothing = plente des beles robes; thinges that apperteynen to rydyng = beles chevauchures; harnoys = hernois; gret meyné = bele maisnie; apparaile = appareil. Most striking is the correspondence of the whole list of causes "whereof pride sourdeth and springeth," with those of F v, which in the outline are placed parallel with them, and which I for this reason will not again enumerate separately. In conclusion, I would draw attention to the many cases in which the definitions of the several twigs correspond in substance, as well as to correspondences, both in substance and form, with other passages in F.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND DEADLY SIN.

De Invidia.

(E 303—306).

Le second chief de la beste.

F (27—29).

A. Introduction :

After pride now wol I speke of the foule synne of envye, which that is, as by the word of the philosophre, sorwe of other mennes prosperité; and after the word of saint Austyn, is it sorwe of other mennes wele, and joye of other mennes harm.

This foule synne is platly agayns the Holy Gost. Al be it so, that every synne is agayn the Holy Gost, yit natheles, for as moche as bounté aperteyneth proprely to the Holy Gost, and envye cometh proprely of malice, therefore is it proprely agayns the bounté of the Holy Gost.

A. Introduction :

Li secons chief de la beste d'infer est envie, c'est li serpens qui tout envenime.

¹Cist pecchiez est si perillous qu'a paines puet on venir a droite repentance, car il est contraires au saint esperit qui est fontaine de touz biens. Et Diex dist en l'euvangile que qui pecche encontre le saint esperit ja merci n'aura, — — — car il pecche de sa propre malice — — — (6).

¹ This entire section as far as "Tuit cist pecchié," &c., is placed at the end of the chapter.

Now hath malice II¹ spices,

1. hardnes of hert in wickednes, — — — — (3).
2. ²when a man warieth trouthe, and wot that it is trouthe,
3. whan he warieth the grace that God hath yeve to his neighebor ;

and al this is by envye. Certes than is envye the worste synne that is, for sothely — — — (8).

Compare below

Et dois savoir qu'il sont VI pechiez, qui sont especiaument contre le saint esperit,

1. presumpcion (esperance) — — — — — (3).
2. desesperance — — — — —
3. obstinacions, c'est durtes de cuer, quant hons est endurcis en sa malice — — — (3).
4. despis de penitance — — (2).
6. guerroier verite a son escient — — — — —
5. guerroier la grace du saint esperit en autrui.

Tuit cist pechiez sont contre la bonté du saint esperit — — (2).

C'est li pechiez qui plus adroit fait home ressembler au diable, son pere. Car li diables ne het fors autrui bien et n'aime fors autrui mal ; — — — — (2).

B. Classification.

The spices of envye ben these :

- I. sorwe of other mennes goodnes and of her prosperité — — — — (2).
- II. joye of other mennes harm ;

and that is proprely lik to the devyl, that ever rejoyeth him of mennes harm.

B. Classification.

Cist pechiez se devise en III branches principaus, car cist pechiez envenime.

I. le cuer de l'envieus.

— — — — — (8).

Après quant li envieus oit ou voit autrui mal, — — — (4) s'esjoit il en son cuer. Après quant il voit ou oit le bien d'autrui, — — — (2) lors li vient une dolour, une tristece au cuer — (4).

} compare above.

II. la bouche de l'envieus.

— — — — — (12).

III. les oeuvres de l'envieus.

— — — — — (20).

¹ Clearly *three* follow.

² Prefaced by "that other spice of envy." This should evidently be "malice," as two other MSS., including Ellesmere, correctly read.

Of these II¹ spices cometh :

Compare with the two other sins of the tongue following in E, the two corresponding sections from the "pecchiez de male langue," which are placed together at the end of the 7th deadly sin.

1. backbiting or detraccioun.

detractioun.

(F 61—62).

— — — — — (25).

hath certain spices, as thus :

Et ceste branche a V fuelles :

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. som man praisith his neighebor by a wickid entent, for he makith alway a wickid knotte atte last ende; alway he makith a but — — (2).</p> <p>b. if a man be good, and doth or saith a thing to good entent, the backbiter wol torne al thilke goodnes up-so-down to his schrewed entent.</p> <p>c. to amenuse the bounté of his neighebor.</p> <p>d. — — — — — (3).
in dispraysynge of him that men praise.</p> <p>e. for to consente gladly and herken gladly to the harm that men speke of other folk.
— — — — — (2).</p> | <p>a. quant on contrueve menconges e le mal por autrui alever blasme.</p> <p>b. quant le mal qu'il ot d'autrui il raconte avant e il i ajouste du sien.</p> <p>d. — — — — — (4).
quant on dist bien d'autrui devant lui, toz jors il i trueve e i met un mes — — — (4).</p> <p>e. quant il pervertist e torne tout a la pior partie quantes il voit e oit que on puet torner a bien e en mal — —</p> <p>c. quant il estaint e met a nient touz les biens que li hons fait — — — — —</p> |
|---|---|

2. grucching or murmura-
cioun.

grondiller e murmurer.

F (67—68).

— — — — — (16).

som tyme it springeth of inpa-
cience

I. agayns God

Cist pecchies si a II branches,
I. li uns murmure contre Dieu.²
Murmure contre Dieu a en-
core assez plus d'achoisons.
Car home — — — — —
(2) s'il nel fait selom sa vo-
lente, tantost murmure con-

¹ 2 MSS. seconde.

² According to the outline. In reality II. is elucidated first, but I retain the arrangement of the outline for the sake of more convenient comparison.

Compare below. {

Agayns God is it when a man grucchith agayn the pyne of helle, or agayns poverté, or of losse of catel, or agayns reyn or tempest, or elles grucchith that schrewes han prosperité, or ellis that goode men han adversité; — — — — (2).

tre Dieu et chante la pater nostre au singe, certes mais la chancon au diable.

— — — — — (6).

Certes mout est tieus hons fous e forsenez qui vuelt qu'il li rende raison de quantes il a fait; s'il li envoie adversitez, povretez, chier tens, pluie, secheresce, s'il done a l'un e toulte a l'autre, — — — — — (4).

II. somtyme agains man; cometh

- a. of avarice } — — (6).
- b. of pride } with exam-
ples from
the Bible.
- c. of envye } — — (3).
- } — — (2).

Murmuring eek is ofte among servauntz, — — — — — (5).

which wordes men clepe the develes Pater noster, — — — — — (2).

d. of ire of privé hate
— — — — —

- Thanne cometh eek
- a. bitternes of herte — — — — — (2).
 - β. discord — — — — — (2).
 - γ. scornynge of his neighebor.
 - δ. accusynge. — — — — — (4).
 - ε. malignité. — — — — — (5).

II. e li autres contre home raigne.

Cist pecchies est en mout de manieres comme en serians encontre lor seignors, — — — — — (5).

compare above.

Et naist cist murmures toutes tiex persones

- a. ou de inobedience — — — — —
- b. ou de accide — — — — —
- c. ou de inpacience — — — — —
- d. ou d'envie
- e. ou de felonie — — — — —
- ou d'autres racines mauvaises.

Of the chapter *De Invidia*, which occupies three pages, only the first page shows points of resemblance to the corresponding second chief de la beste, namely, A, B, I.—II. of the outline. The two sections corresponding with the two sins of the tongue, which follow, I have found under

the "pecchiez de male langue," placed at the end of the seventh deadly sin.

Envy, after a short definition, is proved to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. This proof, which in F stands at the end of the chapter, and links on to it the six sins against the Holy Ghost, I have taken out of its place, and put opposite to the similar passage in E. In each case "malice" is the link, which draws on the conclusion. Hence, I have discovered the "three spices of malice" (the text only announces two) amongst the six sins against the Holy Ghost. They correspond to F 3, 5, 6. We shall meet with the remaining three in E, in another connexion.

The analysis of envy given in F, is not the same as in E.

Envy in the heart, F 1, since it manifests itself in two directions, may well have given occasion to the twofold division of envy in E.

In the first sin of the tongue, 1. the same division into five spices = fuelles is apparent at once. On a nearer comparison of these five parts, we find a correspondence between E a, b, c, and F d, e, c.—I will only call attention to the similar expressions "to make a but," and "mettre un mes."—Between E e, and F b, a parallel might also be drawn.

In the second sin of the tongue, 2. the train of thought, of which the main points are expressed in the twofold murmuring against God and man, is the same; except in the slight difference of the motives to II., murmuring against man, and the different application of the "Devil's Pater Noster" (in F to murmuring against God (1); in E to the murmuring of servants against their master).

The five branches of "ire that cometh of envye," E II., α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , do not properly come under the head of envy, but rather under that of anger; and, in fact, we shall find them there more fully elucidated. Here they are scarcely more than mentioned.

The result of the comparison of the second Deadly Sin is to show that the first part of this chapter in E (p. 303—304, line 19) is in form and contents to a certain extent a condensation of the parallel chapter in F. Not only is every point of the outline to be found in the fuller one of F, but their elucidation bears in part a close resemblance to F (though it is true that it is also interwoven with ideas that find no place in F at all). Thus the reason why envy is a deadly sin, occupies eight lines. A similar relation exists between the second part of this chapter in E (p. 304, l. 19—306) and the passages already mentioned on “*pechiez de male langue*” in F, but with the difference that the outline here cannot be fitted into that in F, but has certain deviations. Still what does correspond, corresponds, as in the first part, almost verbally.—To sum up: we have, in the first part, the same conclusion, that envy is a sin against the Holy Ghost, worked out through the same connecting link, malice: the verbal agreement of the three “*spices of malice*” with the three sins against the Holy Ghost, F 3, 5, 6: *rejoyeth him of other mennes harm = s’esjoist il — — — de autrui mal.*—In the second part: to make a but = *met un mes*; *torne = torne*; the same designation of murmuring as the *develes Pater noster = la pater nostre — — au diable*; the same plan of arrangement.

CHAPTER III.

THE THIRD DEADLY SIN.

De Ira.

F (308—321).

A. Introduction:

Definition according to Augustine and to philosophy.

— — — — — (14)

B. Analysis:

But ye schal understonde, that ire is in tuo maneres:

Le III chief de la beste.

F (29—31).

A. Introduction:

Li tiers chies de la beste est ire.

B. Analysis:

Mais tu dois savoir qu’il est.

I. that oon of hem is good.

The good ire is by jealousy of goodnesse, thurgh which a man is wroth with wikkidnes and ayeines wykkidnesse.

— — — — — (5).

II. that other is wikke.

Now understonde that wikked ire is in tuo maneres, that is to sayn,

1. sodeyn ire or hastif ire

— — — — — (3).

and thanne is it venial.

2. another ire is ful wicked,

that cometh of felony¹ of herte, — — — (2),

this is deedly synne.

This ire is so displesaunt to God, that it troublith his hous,

— — — — — (5).

and a ful greet plesaunce to the devel, for it is the develes fornays

— — — — — (30).

Certes this cursed synne annoyeth bothe²

a. to his neighebor.

for sothely almost al the harm that eny man doth to his neighebour cometh thurgh wraththe.

b. — — — — —

for he ne spareth neyther for our Lord Jhesu Crist, ne his swete modir; and in his outrageous anger and ire, alas! ful many oon at that tyme felith in his herte ful wikkedly, bothe of Crist, and eek of alle his halwes.

c. to the man himsilf.

it bynymeth fro man his witte and his resoun, and al his deboneire lyf spirituel, that scholde kepen his soule. Certes it bynymeth eek Goddis dewe lordschipe (and that is mannes soule) and the love of his neighebor; hit stryveth eek al-

I. une ire qui est vertu, que li prodome ont encontre le mal.

II. une autre qui est vices mout graus, c'est felonie de cuer.

dont issent mout de branches et principaument IV selom IV guerriers que li felons a :

d. a ses voisins e a ses proismes qui sont environ lui.

b. a Dieu.

car ire et felonie seurporte et esprent si aucune fois le cuer du felon par aucun adversité temporel — — — — —, que il murmure contre nostre seignor et maigre Dieu et ses seins et jure et blaspheme contre Dieu et contre ses seins.

a. a ly meismes.

car quant ire seurporte l'ome au torment et l'ame et le cors si que li hons ne puet dormir ne reposer, — — — — — (3).

¹ 3 MSS. read vilony; again a later alteration.

² Here again, however, *three* points follow.

day agayns trouthe ; it
 reveth him eek the quiete
 of his hert, and subvertith
 his herte and his soule.

Of ire cometh these stynkyng
 engendures :

- a. hate, that is old wraththe ;
- β. discord, — — — — (2).
- γ. werre and every maner of
 wronge that man doth to
 his neighebor in body or
 in catel.
- δ. homicidie (manslaughter).

is in divers wise :

- a'. spirituel
 is in VI¹ thinges.
- α'. by hate, — — —
- β'. by backbytyng —
 — — — — (4).
- γ'. in yeving of wik-
 kid counseil by
 fraude. — — (10).
- b'. bodily. — — — —
 — — — — (36).

Yit cometh ther of ire many
 mo synnes as wel in word, as in
 werk and thought ;

c. a ceus qui sont desouz lui,
 c'est a sa femme et a sa
 maisnee. — — — — (4).

Et de ceste branche naissent

VII raincelez :

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. contens. β. rancune qui de-
moere ou cuer. γ. haine. δ. melle. ε. desirries de ven-
ance. ζ. homicide. η. guerre mortelen-
tre les amis. | } simply
enumerated.
} |
| — — — — — (14). | |

In E a number of sins of the tongue are added here,
 for the parallel to which in F we must again refer to the
 section on the “pecchiez de male langue.” The only corre-
 spondences with the “tiers chies de la beste” (308—312)
 may be summed up as follows :

Both texts, after a definition of the sin, analogous to
 that of *Invidia*, prefixed in E, distinguish a righteous
 anger, i. e. anger against all that is evil, and with almost
 verbal agreement. Of sinful anger, E distinguishes be-
 tween “venial and deedly synne,” whilst in F the “venial
 synne” is not treated.

¹ Only three, however, are named.

In E this sinful anger is next throughout more than a page represented as deadly sin. "It is so displeasunt to God, that it troubleth his hous — — and is a ful greet plesaunce to the deuel, for it is the develes fornays." The simile of the devil's furnace is then enlarged upon. Anger is the eternal all-devouring fire, continually kindled by pride and fed by rancour, "for rancour is norice and keper of ire: whan oones conceyved in herte, certein it wol lasten from oon Estren day until another Ester day." There can be no question that the basis of these ideas is to be found in two passages in F II. a. and II. β , one of which says, "car quant ire seurporte l'ome — — — c'est uns feus, qui gaste tous le biens de la maison;" and the other has "rancune qui demoere ou cuer."

The analysis which follows hereupon is in principle the same. F \bar{a} , b, c, d, which I have arranged in the outline to correspond with E, are compressed into E a, b, c. The Person of Christ being given for God, is a characteristic of E, as other passages will show.

Further than this, these points of the outline require no comment, as they correspond with tolerable exactness.

Upon the concluding passage it must be remarked, that four out of the "VII rainsalez," which F enumerates as gradual developments of anger against our fellow-men, and except the last, "guerre mortel," *only* enumerates, are in E generally named as fruits of this sin, but also in part expounded; thus homicide on $1\frac{3}{4}$ pages (50 lines).

Upon the words "yit cometh ther of ire many mo synnes as wel in word, as in werk and thought," follow as already mentioned, sixteen more twigs of anger, for the consideration of which we are referred to the section on the "pecchiez de male langue."

I will discuss them in the order in which they are found in E, placing those in F over against them.

E (313—321).

- I. blaming God and tretreng unreverently the sacrament.
- II. attry anger.
- III. swerynge.
- IV. lesyng.
- V. flaterie.
- VI. cursyng.
- VII. chydyng and reproche.
- VIII. scornynge.
- IX. wikked counseil.
- X. sowen and maken discord.
- XI. double tonge.
- XII. wreyng of counseil.
- XIII. manace.
- XIV. idele wordes.
- XV. jangeling.
- XVI. japerie.

F (57—70).

In ten main divisions are treated :

- I. oiseuses.
- II. vantances.
- III. losenges.
- IV. detraction.
- V. menconges.
- VI. parjuremens.
- VII. contenz (with VII rain-seles).
 - 1. estrivers.
 - 2. tenciers.
 - 3. ledengier.
 - 4. maudire.
 - 5. reproche ou reproviars.
 - 6. manacer.
 - 7. descord susciter.
- VIII. murmure.
- IX. rebellious.
- X. blasphemie.

In spite of various forms of *Ira* being expressly announced at the beginning of this second part, from some cause or other the author has lighted upon matters very far removed from anger, for example, “flaterie, double tonge, idele wordes,” the occurrence of which in this place have excited reasonable astonishment.¹ The cause of this is probably to be found in the French text, for the above comparison shows a close relation between F and E, which gives great probability to the supposition that the English author, once having had recourse to the “pecchiez de male langue,” exhausted its whole contents, perhaps intentionally, perhaps unintentionally, but certainly with no regard to the subject of anger. Hence sins like flattery (losenges), foolish talking (oiseuses) naturally find their way in here amongst the rest. He would certainly have been guilty of great stupidity, had he, as in Morris’s text (p. 321, l. 4—5), repeated at the end of this chapter : “These ben the synnes that cometh of ire.” Happily, however, for the English author, Morris’s version here is incorrect. The conclusion should be as follows : “These ben the synnes that comen

¹ Simon, *ibid.* p. 32.

of the tonge, that comen of ire and of othere synnes mo.”
(This is the reading given by all the MSS. of the Six-Text
Print.¹)

I. Blasphemy. = F. X. blaspheme.
E (313; 10 lines). F (69—70; 20 lines).

<p>As he that arretith upon God, and blamith God of thing of which he is himself gulty, or despisith God and alle his halwes, as doon these cursed hasardours in diveris cuntrees. These cursed synne don thay, whan thay felen</p>	<p>— — — — — (3). Mais especiaument nous apelons ci blaspheme, quant on mesdit de Dieu e de ses sainz, ou des sacramenz de saint eglise. Cist pecchies est fais en mout de manieres, ou quant on le dit apensement — — — — — ou on le dit par covoitise — — — — — — — ou quant on le dit par ire e par despit — — — — — (5). Cist pecchies est si grans que Dieus le punist aucune foiz aper- tement, come nous avons dit de- vant, quant nous parlames de mauvais geus. De cest pecchie dist Dieus en l'evangile, qu'il n'i ert ja pardones, n'en cest siecle, n'en l'autre.</p>
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F treats of blasphemy under its three motives, unbelief, greed, anger or contempt. E only under the last, especially in the mouth of the gambler. That the gambler is peculiarly addicted to this sin of all sins, for which there is no absolution, is also pointed out in F. We shall again come upon blasphemy as well as sacrilege under “Covetousness and Avarice,” where we will refer back to this passage in F.

<p>II. Anger at Repentance (attry anger). E (313; 16 lines). — — — — —</p>	}	<p>Has nothing corresponding to it in F.</p>
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¹ Simon, *ibid.* p. 32, has here on the strength of Morris's text done the author an injustice; out of the whole tractate of sixty pages he has fixed upon just this one example, the grossest of all, as a fresh evidence of interpolation: “At the conclusion of the chapter *De Ira* (!) seven more sins of the tongue are discussed, among which are ‘idele wordes, jangling and japery’! And that nobody may fancy the author had made a bad joke, he says in conclusion, ‘These are the sinnes *that cometh of ire*, and of othere sinnes many mo.’”—*Essays on Chaucer*, p. 266. (Chaucer Soc.)

III. Swearing (swerynge).

E (313—316 ; 82 lines).

After this thanne commeth swereinge, that is expres agayns the comaundementz of God ; and this bifallith often of angir and of ire.

I. God saith, thou schalt not take the name of thy Lord God in vayn or in ydil.

Also, oure Lord Jhesu Crist saith by the word of seint Matthew, —————

Bible quotation : Matt. v. 34-37.

Thus saith Jhesu Christ. For Cristes sake, swereth note so synfully,

in dismembring of Crist, by soule, herte, boones, and body ; for certes it semeth, that ye

F VI. parjuremens.

F (63—65 ; 72 lines).

— — — Perillouse chose est jurer, e por ce le deffent tant nostres sires, non mie por ce que on ne puist en nul point jurer sans pecchie, si come dient li bougre, mais por ce que sovent jurer fait sovent parjurer e sovent pecchier.

Car en VII manieres pecche l'en en sairemens :

IV. quant on jure folement ; e ce avient en mout de manieres :

1. quant on jure par ire e soudainement ce dont on se repente apres.
2. quant on jure chose que on ne puet tenir sans pecchie — — — — —
3. quant on jure certainement de la chose, dont on n'est mie certains, encore soit ele vraie.
4. quant on promet certainement ce k'on ne set se on le puet accomplir.
5. quant on jure par les creatures — — — — — (8).
6. quant on jure par l'evangile — — — — —
7. quant on jure par les seintes reliques e par les sainz de paradis — — — — —

V. apres quant on jure vileinement de Dieu e de ses sainz.

En ce pecchie sont Crestien pior que Sarrazin qui ne jure-roient en nule maniere, ne en soufferoient k'on jurast devant eus vilainement de Jesu Crist, comme font li Crestien.

Il resont plus cruel que ll juyz qui le crucifierent. Il ne brise-rent nul des os, mais cist le de-

thenke that cursed Jewes ne disembrit nought ynough the precious persone of Crist, but ye dismembre him more.

Bible quotation : Jerem. iv. 2.

II. Thou schalt kepe III con-
diciouns, thou schalt swere

1. in trouthe — — — (5).

2. in doom — — — (2).

3. in rightwisnes — — (9).

Bible quotations : Acts iv. 12,
and Phil. ii. 10.

Thanne semeth it, that men sweren so horribly by his blessed name, that thay despise it more boldly than dede the cursed Jewes, or elles the devel, that tremblith whan he heerith his name.

III. Now certis, sith that swer-
ing is so heihly defendid,
moche wors is forswering
falsely, and yit needeles.

IV. What say we eek of hem
that deliten hem in swering
— — — — —

V. And what of hem that of
verray usage ne cessen
nought to swere grete othis,
al be the cause not worth
a strawe ?

VI. Sweryng sodeynly without
avysement is eek a gret
synne.

VII. Sweryng of adjuracioun
and conjuraciouns, as doon
these false enchantours or
nigromanciens in bacines
ful of water, — — — —
I can not sayn, but that
they doon cursedly and
dampnably agains Christ,
and the faith of holy
chirche.

VIII. What saye we of hem that
bilieven on divinailes —
— — — — — (11).

piecent plus menu c'on ne fait
pourcel en la boucherie.

— — — — — (3).

VI. Quant on jure fausement
— — — — — (16).

VII. Quant on trespasse sa foi
— — — — — (3).

I. Quant on jure ardaument,
c'est par despit e volentiers,
si qu'il semble, q'on si
delite — — — — — (2).

II. Quant on jure legierement,
c'est per nient e sans raison
— — — — — (2).

III. Quant on jure acoustume-
ment, ausi com a chascun
mot — — — — — (6).

F (p. 19 ; orguel I. 3).

— — — renoiez, por ce qu'il
trespasse la foi, — — qu'il croit
plus qu'il ne doit, comme font
les devines et les sorcieres et les
charmeresses. Et touz ceus qui
en tiex choses croient — — —
pecchent morteument ; car toutes
teles choses sont contre la foi, et
por ce les deffent sainte eglise.

Both texts begin with the observation, that swearing is directly contrary to the second commandment. E then

gives an exposition of the latter ; F, which has already given this at the beginning of the entire work (in F I of the general outline), only refers to it here.

E I and E II are to be included in the exposition of the second commandment. There is nothing in F on lawful swearing. E I and II are original. E III, IV, V, VI, on unlawful swearing, compress the contents of F I, II, III, IV, VI into a few lines. F V, blasphemy, has been already treated in E before swearing. Lastly, there are hints of F VII, trespasser la foi, in E VII and VIII. The simile of the rending of the body of Christ, which appears without meaning in the exposition of the second commandment between two passages of Scripture, is explained by F.

It will be seen that the section in F is entirely exhausted by that in E, the former was not even productive enough, F VII not having sufficed for E VII and VIII. I have, moreover, found something corresponding in a passage on "renoierie" (orguel I, 3) which I have added to the outline.

IV. Lying (lesynge).

E (316; 13 lines).

Now wol I speke of lesynge, whiche generally is fals significatione of word, in entent to deceyven his evencristen.

1. Som lesyng is, of whiche ther cometh noon avauntage to noon wight ;
2. Som lesyng torneth to the ease or profit of som man,

and to damage of another man.

3. lesyng, for to save his lif or his catel.
4. lesyng that cometh of delit for to lye — — — — (2).

F V. menconges.

F (62—63; 30 lines).

Menconge fause l'ome — — — — — (14).

En ceste branche a III rainsels :

1. unes menconges aidans, — — — — — (3).
2. unes plaisans — — — — — (5).
3. unes nuisans, — — — — — quant on les dist a escient e apenseement, por faire damage a autrui.

5. lesyng cometh, for he¹ wolde
susteyne his word.

6. lesyng cometh of reche-
lesnes withoute avisement,
and semblable thinges. — — — — — (4).

E 2 has combined F 1 and 3. There is a verbal agree-
ment between "damage" and "domage."

V. Flattery (flaterie).

E (316—317; 19 lines).

— — — — — (3).

Flaterers ben the develes no-
rices, that norisshen his children
with mylk of losingerie.

— — — — — (4).

flaterie makith a man to en-
haunsen his hert and his coun-
tenaunce.

Flaterers ben the develes en-
chauntours, for thay make man
to wene of himself that he is like
to that he is nought like.

Thay ben like Judas, that bi-
traised God; and thise flaterers
bitrayen a man to selle him to
his enemy, that is the devel.
Flaterers ben the develes chape-
leyns, that singen ay Placebo.

F III. losenges.

F (60—61; 36 lines).

Li losengier sont les norrices
au diable qui ses enfanz alaitent
e endorment en leur pecchies par
lor biau chanter — — — — —
— — — — — (2).

Cist pechies se devise en V fu-
elles:

1. de ces flateors que quant il
voient que cil ou cele qu'il
voelent chuer a bien dit ou
que il ait bien fait, tantost
le dient a lui meismes, —
— — — — —

2. quant les petiz biens que
lor enfant qu'il alaitent fait
ou dit, il croissent e doublent
e ajoustent — — — — — (2).

3. quant il font entendant a
l'ome ou a la femme que il
a en lui mout de biens et
de graces, dont il n'a nules,
e por ce les apele l'escrip-
ture enchanteors, car il en-
chantent tant l'ome que il
les croit plus que soi meis-
mes — — — — — (2).

4. quant il chantent touz jors
'Placebo', c'est a dire, —
— — — — — (6).

5. quant li flateor defendent
e escusent e cuevrent les
vices — — — — — (5).

¹ Grammatical error.

I rekene flaterie in the vices
of ire; for ofte tyme if oon man
be wroth with another, thanne
wol he flatere som man to mayn-
tene him in his querel.

The main contents of the nineteen lines in E is the singular comparison of flatterers with "the develes norices, enchauntours and chapeleyns that singen ay 'Placebo'." We find this also in F, where the argument is always the same.

The naïve attempt, at the end of E, to bring flattery under the head of anger, and to establish an explanation of this, is peculiar to the English author.

VI. Cursing (cursyng). = F VII, 4. maudire.

E (317; 10 lines).

F (66; 7 lines).

————— (1).	Après vient les maudicons,
Malisoun generally may be said	c'est quant li uns maudist l'autre.
every maner power of harm;	————— (2).
such cursyng bireveth man fro	E saint Pol dist que tieus genz
the regne of God, as saith seint	ne poent le regne Dieu avoir.
Poule. ————— (6).	————— (3).

The testimony of St. Paul is here the only thing common to both texts.

VII. Reproaching (chydyng = F VII, 5. reproche ou
and reproche).

E (317—319; 49 lines).

F (66; 4 lines).

————— (6).	Après vient les reproches
And takith keep now, that he	qui sont encore plus granz pec-
that reproveth his neighebor,	chiez, quant on reproche a l'ome
outher he reproveth him by som	ou ses pecchiez, ou ses folies,
harm of peyne, that he hath on	ou sa povrete, ou ses povres
his body, as mesel, croked har-	parenz, ou aucune defaute qu'il
lotte; or by somme sinne that	a en lui.
he doth. ————— (39).	

Of the 49 lines (1½ pages) which E has on this subject, four contain the little which F gives upon it. (The word "mesel" repeatedly occurs in F.) The remainder contain warnings against reviling and reproach, since this is odious and unfeeling in the mouth of a Christian, and particularly in a woman.

VIII. Scorn (scornyng).

E (319 ; 10 lines).

IX. Giving evil counsel (wikked counseil).

E (319 ; 12 lines).

} Have nothing
corresponding
in F.

X. Sowing discord (sowen = F VII, 7. descord susciter
discord). and F VII, contenz.

E (319—320 ; 9 lines).

F (66 ; 5 lines).

Now cometh the synne of hem
that sowen and maken discord
amonges folk, which is a synne
that Crist hateth outrely ; and
no wonder is, for God diede for
to make concord. — — — —

Li pecchiez de ceus qui par
lor male langue suscitent e moe-
vent les descordes, e les mautalen-
s entre ceus qui sont ami
ensemble, e qui destornent les
pes e les concordes. Dieu het
trop ciex genz, ce dist l'escriture.

F (65 ; 2 lines).

For God loveth better, that
frenschipe be amonges folk,
thanne he dide his owne body,
which that he yaf for unité.
Therefore ben thay likned to the
develes,¹ that ever ben aboute to
make discord.

Tencer plaist mout au diable
et desplaist a Dieu, qui n'aime
fors pais e concorde.

We can here establish a correspondence of the whole passage.

XI. Deceit (double tonge).

E (320 ; 5 lines).

XII. Withholding good counsel (wreying
of counseil).

E (320 ; 2 lines).

} Have nothing
corresponding
in F.

XIII. Threatening (manace). = F VII, 6. manaces.

E (320 ; 3 lines).

Only mentioned.

XIV. Profitless gossip (idele = F 1. oiseuses.
wordes).

E (320 ; 7 lines).

F (57—58 ; 38 lines).

————— (2).
ydele wordes ben tho that ben
needeles, or withouten entent of
naturel profyt. And al be it
that ydile wordes ben som tyme
venial synne, yit schulde men
doute hem for we schuln yive
rekenynge of hem bifore God.

————— (6).
Il les apelent paroles oiseuses,
mais non sont, ainz sont mout
coustouses e domaiouses, e peril-
louses, — — — — —
commes celes dont il covendra
rendre raison de chascune devant
Dieu au jor du jugement — (27).

¹ 6 MSS. devel, that is.

The two texts coincide in proving that idle words too are sin.

XV. Disputing (jangelyng).

E (320 ; 6 lines.)

XVI. Jestng (japerie).

E (320—321 ; 8 lines.)

} Have nothing
corresponding
in F.

The result of the comparison of the third Deadly Sin is much the same as that of the second. The first part of the chapter in E (p. 308—313, l. 2) is in arrangement as in substance a condensation of the corresponding chapter in F. The working out of the subject is to the same extent interwoven with ideas, which are nowhere to be found in F. We will here recall once more the larger sections : 1. The conception explained (p. 308), 14 lines. 2. The comparison with the devil's furnace (p. 309—310), 30 lines. 3. Manslaughter (p. 311—313), 50 lines.—The second part of the chapter in E (p. 313, lines 2—321), containing the sixteen sins of the tongue, stands in a like relation to the remaining sections not yet treated of, the "pecchiez de male langue." The verbal coincidences here, too, are very numerous. I would briefly refer to ; in the first part : felony of herte = felonie de cuer ; Crist and his halwes = Dieu et ses seins ; rancour = rancune in the same connexion ; ire . . . troublith his house = ire . . . gaste . . . la maison ; lastly the twigs of anger, E α , β , γ , δ = F α , γ , δ , ζ , η of the outline.—In the second part : III. in dismembering of Crist, — — by boones = des os — — depiecent Jesu Crist ; deliten hem in sweryng = on si delite (en jurer) ; enchauntours doon agayns — — the faith of holy chirche = sorcieres pecchent — — contre la foi — — sainte eglise ; IV. lesynges to damage of another man = menconges — — por faire damage a autrui ; V. flaterers ben the develes norices, that norisshen his children with mylk of losingerie = li losengier sont les norrices au diable qui ses enfanz alaitent — — en leur pecchies ; flaterers ben enchauntours = li losengier sont — — en-

chanteors; flaterers singen ay "Placebo" = li losengier chantent touz jors "Placebo"; VI. The saying of St. Paul on cursing; VII. reproche = reproche; mesel = mesel; X. sowen and maken discord = suscitent e moevent des cordes; XIII. manace = manaces; XIV. of ydele wordes — — we schuln yive rekenynge bifore God = de paroles oiseuses — — il covendra rendre raison devant Dieu.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOURTH DEADLY SIN.

De Accidia.

E (323—328).

A. Introduction :

After the synne of envye and ire, now wol I speke of accidie ;
— — — — — (6).

And seint Augustyn saith, it is anoye, it is anoye of goodenesse and anoye of harme.

Certes this is a dampnable synne, for it doth wrong to Jhesu Crist, in as mocht as it bynymeth the service that we oughte to do to Crist with alle diligence, as saith Salomon; but accidie doth noon such diligence. He doth alle thing with anoy — — (3).

B. Analysis :

Than is accidie enemy to every astaat of man. For certes thestate of man is in III maners;

I. the state of innocence
— — — — — (3).

II. thestate of sinful man;
in which estate men ben holden to labore in praying to God for amendement of her synnes, — — — — —

III. thestate of grace,
in which he is holde to werkis of penitence;

Le IV chief de la beste.

F (31—34).

A. Introduction :

Li IV chief de la male beste est accide,

c'est peresce e anui de bien faire.

} cf. below I, 1.—

B. Analysis :

Cist vices est une trop male racine qui jete mout de males branches; car accide fait que hons a

I. mal commencement.
a li pereceus par VI vices (follow below).

II. plus mal amendement.

a li accideus par VI vices (follow below).

III. trop mal definement.

Encore i a VI poinz mauvais, ou accide met l'ome vers
la fin. (follow below).

and certes, to alle these things is accidie enemye and contrarie, for it loveth no busynes at al.

Now certis, this foule synne accidie is eek a ful gret enemy to the lifode of the body; — — — — (3).

IV. ¹accidie is like hem that ben in the peyne of helle, — — — — — (3).

Of accidie cometh,

1. that a man is anoyed and encombrid for to do eny goodnes.
2. slouthe.
3. drede to bygynne to erke eny goode deedes.
4. wanhope.
5. sompnolence.
6. negligence.
7. ydelnes.
8. tarditas.
9. laches.
10. coldenesse.
11. undevocioun (langour).
12. tristitia.

In I, II, III the following eighteen vices are to be inserted, six in each.

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. 1. tenuites. 2. tenretes. 3. oyseuse. 4. pesantume. 5. mauvaistiez. 6. pusillanimites. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> II. 1. desloiautes. 2. negligence. 3. oubliance. 4. peresce, qui } defaute
vient de } de cuer.
 } fole fervor. 5. laschetes. 6. defaillance. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> III. 1. inobediencie. 2. inpaciencie. 3. murmure. 4. tristesse. 5. langour. 6. desesperance. |
|---|

Both texts give by way of introduction a definition of this deadly sin; and whilst that in F is a precise one, that in E is verbose, but the central idea of F, anoy = anui is contained in the fourteen lines of this definition in E. Here, however, it is not only "anoy" against what is good, but also against evil.

The usual explanation of why it is a deadly sin, then follows in E. This explanation shows affinities with the definition of F I, 1; to this we will return.

The division is in principle the same. The sin is, according to E, a foe to the three degrees of penitence. In F this is not so distinctly expressed. The sin robs a man

¹ Introduced with "the ferthe thing is that."

of the good beginning, middle and end. Of *what* we are not told, but "amendement" being the middle link, clearly would lead to the conclusion that here, too, the three degrees of penitence are meant. In any case the same relation of this sin to the three states of man is remarkable.

This holds good as an argument for the relation of F to E in this division, notwithstanding the fact that in E after a disconnected passage on "accidie" as prejudicial to gaining a livelihood, there follows an awkward addition of a fourth part to the division, quite out of harmony with what precedes.

Whilst F now goes on skilfully to build upon the prepared threefold scaffolding, and to form a stately edifice, weaving into the system in three groups, and expounding in due proportion, the eighteen twigs of this sin as so many points of attack for the devil on penitent and indolent man, E adds twelve such twigs in varied succession, introducing them with the stereotyped words "of accidie cometh."

In the outline I have only enumerated them, and will now compare them with those in F, following the arrangement of E.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Anoy to do eny goodnes. = | F I, 1. tenuites. |
| E (324 ; 4 lines). | F (31 ; 4 lines). |
| cf. above. } | Quant li hons aime petit et |
| Of accidie cometh, that a man | tenurement nostre seignor que |
| is anoyed and encombrid for to | il doit amer ardaument, |
| do eny goodnes — — — (2). | et de ce avient qu'il est febles e |
| | tenures a touz biens faire. |

F I, 1, gives not only the subordinate conception (1), but also the explanation why "accidie" is a deadly sin. (Introduction.) It neglects God—therefore also, to do good.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 2. Slouthe. = | F I, 2. tenretes. |
| E (324 ; 14 lines). | F (31 ; 7 lines). |
| Now cometh slouthe, that wol | Tenretes, c'est moleste de cuer, |
| suffre noon hardnes ne no pen- | qui est la coute au diable ou il |

auce; for sothely, slouthe is so
tendre and so delicat, as saith
Salomon, that he wol suffre noon
hardnes ne penaunce, and there-
fore he schendeth al that he
doth. — — — — — (10).

se repose et dist a l'omme et a
la femme "tu as este trop soef
norris, tu es trop de feble com-
plexion, tu ne porroies faire ces
granz penitances, tu es trop
tenres, tu seroies tantost mors,"
— — — — —

That the conception of "slouthe" is here identical with
"tenretes," (*teneritatem* = softness, delicacy), is evident
from a comparison of the two sections. It is needless
to point out in addition, that "slouthe" is actually more
closely defined as "tendre" (*tenerum*).

As "remedy" for this weakness E recommends "usage
of labour." Ten lines original.

3. Drede to bygynne to = F I, 6. Pusillanimites.
werke eny goode deedes.¹

E (325; 7 lines).

F (32; 8 lines).

— — — — — En cest vice sont ceus qui ont
paour de nient, qui n'osent com-
mencier bien a faire — — (6).

In the course of seven lines E does not advance beyond
the conception of "anoy" (1).

What individualizes this passage, and justifies us in
placing it parallel with that on "pusillanimites" is the
particular motive, fear (*drede* = *paour*).

4. Wanhope (despair). = F III, 6. desesperance.

We have met with this already in F amongst the sins
against the Holy Ghost, but as it occurs in E here for the
first time, we give F in both passages.

E (325—326; 40 lines).

F (29).

Now cometh wanhope, that is,
despair of the mercy of God,
that cometh som tyme of to
moche outrageous sorwe, and
som tyme of to moche drede,
— — — — — (3).

Li secons pecchie encontre le
saint esperit est desesperance qui
toit a Dieu sa misericorde.

thurgh which despeir or drede,
he abandounith al his herte to
alle maner synne, as saith seint
Augustin.

F (34; 6 lines).

Après touz ces dolerous poinz
de accide li done le diable le
coup mortel e le met en deses-

¹ 6 MSS. werkes.

Whiche dampnable synne, if that it continue unto his lyves ende, it is clepped the synnyng of the holy gost.

This horrible synne is so perilous, that he that is despaired, ther is no felonye, ne no synne that, he doutith for to do, as schewede wel by Judas. — (27).

perance; por ce il porchace sa mort e s'ocist comme desesperez et s'abandone a toutes mauvaises faire et ne doute a faire pecchie quelqu'il soit. A tele fin maine accide l'ome.

What F has given in both passages on "desesperance" is contained in the first 40 lines of this section in E. The three essential points of coincidence are:—1. It is a sin against the Holy Ghost. 2. It gives itself up (abandonith = abandone) to every sin. 3. It shrinks (doutith = doute) from no sin.

E lingers for 27 lines more over this subject.

5. Sompnolence. = F I, 4. Pesantume.

E (326—27; 12 lines).

F (31; 4 lines).

Thanne cometh sompnolence, that is, sluggy slumbring, which makith a man ben hevy and dul in body and in soule, and this synne cometh of slouthe ————— (9).

Quant li hons est si pesans qu'il n'aime fors gesir e reposer et dormir, ————— (3).

The identity of the two conceptions is only evident from the use of *hevy* = *pesans* to bring out the meaning of sompnolence. A praise of the morning hours closes this section in E. Nine lines original.

6. Negligence and ignorance. = F II, 2—3. negligence et oubliance.

E (327; 10 lines).

F (32—33; 19 lines).

Than cometh negligence that rekkith of nothing, And how that ignoraunce be moder of alle harm, certis, negligence is the norice. Negligence doth no force, whan he schal doon a thing, whethir he doo it wel or baddely ————— (5).

Après vient negligence — (5).
Après negligence est oubliance, car qui est nonchalans sovent oublie. Por ces II pecchiez de negligence et de oubliance avient sovent que ne se set mie confesser ————— (9).
Mais negligence e oubliance avoeglent les peccheors que il ne voient goute ou livre de lor conscience

There is here only a certain affinity observable between the two conceptions in the two texts. A parallel can hardly be drawn between the respective contents. The verbal similarity between "no force" and "ne goute" (nothing at all) seems to me accidental.

In E follows "the remedy of these II synnes." Five lines original.

7. Ydelnes. = F I, 3. Oyseuse.

E (327; 13 lines). F (31; 6 lines).

Thanne cometh ydelnes, that is the yate of alle harmes. An ydil man is like an hous that hath noone walles; the develes may entre on every syde or schete at him at discovert by temptaciouns on every syde. This ydelnes is the thurrok of alle wickid vileyns thoughtes, and of alle jangles, tryffles, and of alle ordure. — — — — (6).

Ce est uns pecchies qui fait mout de maus, si comme dit l'escripture. Car quant li diables troeve l'omme oiseus, il le met en oevre et li fait primes penser mal et puis desirrer vilaines, ribaudies, lechereries.

— — — — — (2).

In E the idea of temptation by the devil is further freely expanded.

8. Tarditas. = F I, 5. Mauvaistiez and F II, I. desloiautes.

E (327; 7 lines). F (31—32; 7 lines).

Thanne comith the synne that men clepe tarditas, as whan a man is so latrede or taryng er he wil torne to God; and certis, that is a gret foly.

He is like him that fallith into the diche, and wol not arise.

And this vice cometh of a fals hope, that he thinkith he schal lyve longe; but that hope fayleth ful ofte.

Quant li hors — — — — — par fine mauvaistie ne vuelt lever le chief a dieu par contricion — — — — — Cil resemble le mauvais qui vult miex porrir en une prison e orde e puant, qu'avoir la poine de degres monter por s'en aler.

F (32; 5 lines).

desloiautes, car quant dieu met ou cuer de l'ome bone volente de bien faire, lors vient li diables et li dist "tu recoverras, tu es joenes et fors, tu vivras longuement." — — — — —

A man delays to turn his face in penitence to God because he hopes for long life. He resembles one who prefers remaining in filth to taking the trouble to get free from it. This is the point common to both passages.

9. Laches. = F II, 5. Laschetes.
E (327—328; 10 lines). F (33; 2 lines).

Here the parallel is only a nominal one; "laches" is in its subject-matter simply a reproduction of "slouthe."

10. Coldenese. Has nothing corresponding
E (328; 1 line). to it in F.
11. Undevocioun. = F II, 4. peresce.
E (328; 9 lines). F (33; 10 lines).

Thurgh which a man is so blunt, and as saith saint Bernard, he hath such a langour in soule, that he may neyther rede ne syng in holy chirche, ne heere ne thinke on devocioun in holy chirche, ne travayle with his hondes in no good werk, that nys to him unsavory and al apalled. Than waxith he slowe and slombry, and soone wol he be wroth, and soone is enclined to hate and to envye.

Après vient peresce qui vient de defaute de cuer — — — —
Aucune fois vient de indiscrecion et de fole fervor, par quoi li hons sormaine si son cuer et son cors par jeunes e par veilles e par autres oevres qu'il chiet en langour ou en tele maladie que il ne puet travaillier ou servise dieu; e de ce chiet en tel peresce qu'il n'a savoir ne devocion a bien faire.

The cause of "langour in soule" appears in E less plainly than in F. The exposition in E is somewhat confused. It seems at first to be "undevocioun," but this afterwards, as in F, appears as effect. May not this contradiction here be ascribed to a mechanical translation?

12. Tristitia. = F III, 4—5, Tristesce and
langour.
E (328; 7 lines). F (34; 6 lines).

Thanne comith the synne of worldly sorwe such as is clepid tristitia, that sleth man, as saith saint Poule. For certis such sorwe werkith to the deth of the soule and of the body also, for therof cometh, that a man is anoyed of his oughne lif, which sorwe schorteth ful ofte the lif of a man, er that his tyme is come by way of kynde.

Et de ce (murmure, III, 3) chiet en tristesse, (III, 4). Et tant le sormonte cest tristesse que quanques on li dist, quanques on li fait, quanques il oit, quanques il voit, tout li annuye; et ensi chiet il en langour et en anui de vivre, si qu'il meismes se haste et desirre sa mort, (III, 5).

Thus closes this chapter, quite after the model of F. The graphic picture of the unhappy man who on the way

to amendment being seized by this deadly sin, through the stages of positive disgust, fear, shame of repentance, is driven to despair, weariness of life, and finally to suicide, recurs, more coarsely drawn, in E. I would draw attention to the linking of these last stages—by “thane cometh” = “de ce vient” or “de ce chiet.”

The result of the comparison of the fourth Deadly Sin is that the contents of the two texts show a tolerably complete agreement. The structure is also the same. The 12 twigs in E contain the 18 in F: and corresponding with this they are further elucidated in E; despair the most fully (p. 325—326), 27 lines.—Verbal coincidences: In A: “accidie is anoye of goodenesse” = “accide, c’est — — anui de bien faire.” In B: 2. The same characterizing of the conception by “tendre — — to suffre — — penaunce” = “tenres — — faire — — penitances.” 3. drede to bygynne to werke eny goode deedes = paour — commencier bien a faire. 4. Despair — — the synnyng of the holy gost — — abandounith — — to alle maner synne — — ther is no synne that he doutith for to do = Desesperance — — li pecchie encontre le saint esperit — — s’abandone a toutes mauvaistez — — ne doute a faire pecchie quel qu’il soit. 5. The same characterizing of the conception by “hevny” = “pesans.” 9. “Laches” = “laschetes.” 11. The same characterizing of the conception by “langour, that he may neyther — — thinke on devocioun in holy chirche, ne travayle — — in no good werk = langour que il ne puet travaillier au servise dieu, — — qu’il n’a devocion a bien faire.” 12. Thanne comith — — tristitia — — therof cometh, that a man is anoyed of his oughne lif — — = De ce chiet en tristesse — — ensi chiet il — — en anui de vivre.—

CHAPTER V.

THE FIFTH DEADLY SIN.

De Avaritia.

(E 330—337).

A. Introduction :

After accidie I wil speke of avarice and of covetise ; of which synne saith seinte Poule, that the roote of alle eveles and harmes is covetise. ————
 ———— (Definitions) —
 ———— (11).

And the difference bytwixe avarice and covetise is this :

- I. covetise is for to coveyte suche thinges as thou hast not ;
- II. avarice is to withholde and kepe suche thinges as thou hast, withouten rihtful nede.

Sothely, this avarice is a synne that is ful dampnable, for ————
 ———— (7).

And therfore saith seint Poule, ad Ephes. that an averous man is in the thraldom of ydolatrie. What difference is ther bitwen an ydolaster and an avarous man, ————
 ———— (10).

B. Analysis :

Thurgh this cursed synne of avarice and covetise comen :

- 1. harde lordschipes,
- 2. extorcious to¹ holy chirche,
- 3. deceipt bitwixe marchaunt and marchaunt,
 - a. bodily marchaundise,

Ie V chief de la beste.

F (34—46).

A. Introduction :

Li V chiefs de la beste devant dite est li pecchiees d'avarice e de covoitise qui est racine de tous maus, si come dit saint Pol, ————
 ———— (4).

Avarice est amor desordenee. Cil desordenemens se moustre en III manieres, generaument en

- I. aquestier ardaument,
- II. retenir restreignament,
- III. despendre escharsement ;

ces sont les III branches principaus qui de ceste racine naissent.

B. Analysis :

Mais especiaument et proprement de la racine d'avarice issent mout de rainsiaus qui sont mout grant pecchie mortel.

- 1. usure,
- 2. larrecin,
- 3. rapine.

¹ The Ellesmere MS. reads "in," which the context shows to be more correct.

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (4). b. gostly marchaundise
= symonie. | 4. chalenge, |
| 5. hazardrie, | 5. sacrilege, |
| 6. lesynges, | 6. symonie, |
| 7. false othes. | 7. malignites, |
| 8. fals witnesse, | 8. en marchandise, |
| 9. thefte, | 9. malvais mestiers, |
| a. corporel, | 10. en mauvais geus. |
| (10). b. spirituel = sacrilege. | |

The arrangement of E is as usual. It begins, like F, with stating that avarice (according to 1 Tim. vi. 10) is the root of all evil. To this there could have been no objection, had not the same thing been already said of pride, in the introduction to the Seven Deadly Sins,—an oversight, which is again to be charged to F. Hereupon follow two definitions of this deadly sin, of which two kinds are specified, “avarice” and “coveytise”: “coveyte” and “withholde” are the distinctive marks, which correspond with “acquestier” and “retenir”, and therefore with F I and II. F I, II, III ought properly to distinguish between three forms of the sin, but in point of fact they only treat of the two, avarice and covetousness, which F has already nominally distinguished in the introduction.

After E has further shown that avarice is a deadly sin and idolatry, because a service of mammon, it proceeds to the analysis of it, and gives ten kinds, which I will again compare one by one with ten “rainsiaus”, which F too gives as species, in the order of the text. The latter are treated, with disproportionate fulness, in ten separate sections.

1. Harde lordschipes.

E (331—332; 48 lines).

From F 3. Rapine.

F (38—39; 28 lines).

Rapine a mout de rainsesles :

a. es mauvais executors de testamens.

b. en mauvais seignors, soient chevalierz ou autre, qui escorchent les povres homes, qu'il deussent garder, par tailles, par corvees, par emprunz, par

Thurgh whiche men ben destryed by tallages, custumes,

and cariages, more than here
dueté of resoun is, — — — — —
— — — — — (11).

Thus may ye seen, that the
gilt deserved thraldom, but not
nature — — — — — (32).

2. Extorcious in holy
chirche.

E (332—334; 40 lines).

What say we thanne of hem
that pylen and doon extorcious
in holy chirche? — — — (4).

And as seith seint Austin, thay
ben the develes wolves, that
stranglen the scheep of Jhesu
Crist, and doon wors than wolves;
for sothely, — — — — — (4).

Now as I have sayd, sith so
is, that synne was first cause of
thraldom, — — — — — (2).
sith the tyme of grace com,
God ordeynede that somme folk
schulde be more heigh in estaate
and in degre, and somme folkes
more lowe, — — — — — (12).
therefore was soveraignté or-
deyned to kepe, and to mayn-
tene, and defende her under-
lynges or her subjectis in resoun,
— —, and not to destroye ne
confounde hem — — — — — (6).

mauvaises coustumes, par
amendes, par manaces, ou
par autres manieres, que
il quierent ou porpensent
a ce que il puissent avoir
du leur. — — — — — (6).

c. es robeours qui desrobent
les pelerins — — — — —
d. en ceus qui ne voelent
paier ce que il doivent, e
qui retienent a tort le loier
a lor serianz — — — — —

e. en ces granz prelaz qui
acrochent e raimbent lor
sougiez par trop granz
procuracions ou par autres
exactions que il font en
trop de manieres; ce sont
li lou qui manguent les
berbiz.

f. en ces baillis, provoz, be-
diaus, autres officiaus,
quiels qu'il soient, qui font
les granz rapines e extor-
sions sor les povres et en
achatenent les granz heri-
tages. — — — — — (3).

We have extortions given as the first kind. (In E called "extorcious", in F "rapines", but in F f "extorsions" also appears.)

Whilst F describes it in six concrete cases, F, a, b, c, d, e, f, we have in E an abstract definition of the idea. Extortions are oppressions of the poor and lowly by the rich and mighty in the State, E I, and the Church, E II. Only from this point of view are "harde lordschipes" and "extorcious in holy chirche" distinguished. The two are closely connected, and should in strictness be considered as only one kind. Outwardly too they are bound together by their common relation to the one species F 3 (rapine), both in the verbal agreement of the forms of oppression ("talliages, custumes, cariages" = "tailles, coustumes, corvees") and in the figure of the wolf and the sheep. Moreover, the reflection begun in E I on the necessity of "soveraignté" and "thraldom," of the ruling and the serving class, is continued ex abrupto in E II. The train of thought thereby becomes confused: the exposition of E II is incoherent throughout. It begins with the words: "Certis, the swerdes that men yeven first to a knight . . . signifieth faith, and that he schulde defende holy chirche, and not robbe hit ne pyle hit; and who so doth ys traitour to Crist." Here the point is oppression or pillaging of the Church, not within the Church. But then follows the figure of the wolf and the sheep, which could not possibly be applied to the oppression of the Church, but only to the oppression of the lower clergy, or the lay people by the higher clergy. It is therefore more appropriate at the end of this section, where it is repeated. In the above place it is superfluous, and by the omission of the entire preceding passage the connexion between the two parts of the above mentioned disquisition on thraldom would be at once restored. This makes the suspicion of interpolation or confusion through the French text, very obvious.

2. Decept bitwix marchaut
and marchaut.

F (334; 15 lines).

From F 8.

En marchandise.

F (44—45; 29 lines).

The relation here is analogous to the preceding one. Whilst F enumerates seven possible *cases*, in which merchants might cheat one another, E after recognizing trade in the abstract as the means whereby "the abundaunce of this contre helpe another cuntre that is more needy," characterizes in a general manner "dishonest and uneful marchaundise." The points of coincidence with F are confined to a few characteristic signs, like "lesynges," &c. "Lesynges, fals othes" = "mentir, parjurer," "treccherie" = "tricheries."

4. Symonie.

E (334—335; 45 lines).

Espirituel marchaundize is proprely symonie, that is ententyf desire to beye thing esprituel, that is, thing that apperteyneth to the seintuarie of God, and to the cure of the soule.

This desire — — — — —
— is a dedly synne; Certis, symonye is clepid of Symon Magus, that wolde han bought for temporel catel the yifte that God had yiven by the holy gost to seint Petir and to thapostlis; and therfor understonde, that bothe he that sellith and he that bieth thinges espritueles ben cleped symonials,

Cf. below

be it by catel, be it by procurement, or by fleishshly prayere of his frendes, either of fleishshly frendes or spirituel frendes:

- a. Sothely, if thay praye for him that is not worthy and able, if he take the benefice it is symonie;

From F 6. Symonie.

F (41—42; 43 lines).

qui est einsi apelee por un enchanteor, qui ot a non Symons, qui vout achater de saint Pierre l'apostre la grace de faire miracles, e en offri grant avoir.

E por ce sont apele Symoniaus tuit cil qui vuelent vendre ou achater les choses espritex,

qui est entre touz les pecchies mortex uns des plus granz.

E a ceste branche mout de rainciax :

a. en ceus qui vendent ou achatent les ordres benoiz,

b. en ceus qui vendent la parole dieu, et preschent principalement por deniers,

c. en ceus qui par dons, ou par prameses, ou par prieres armees ou charnieus font tant que il ou autres soient esleu as dignetez de sainte eglise — — — — —

if he be worthy and able, it is non.

b. That other maner is, whan man or woman, prayen for folk to avaunce hem oonly for wikkid fleishshly affeccioun that they have unto the persone, and that is foul symonye.

But certis, in services, for whiche men yeven thinges espi-rituels unto her servauntes, it mote ben understonde, that the service moot be honest,

and ellis not, and eek that it be withoute bargaynynge, and that the persone be able.

For it is the grettteste synne that may be ————— (15).

d. en ceus qui par dons ou par pramesses, ou par prieres, arnees, ou par

servise deshoneste donent les provendes e les paroisses, ou les autres benefices de sainte eglise.

e. en ceus qui par marchie fesant laissent lor benefices ou eschangent.

f. en ceus qui par marche fesant entrent en religion,

————— (3).

Mais toutes voies est il mestiers as laies persones, qu'il se gardent de cestui pecchie en III cas ————— (12).

Cf. above.

The introduction, giving a practical and verbal definition of this sin, is almost word for word the same in both. Then whilst F, as in the two preceding sections, enumerates six forms of the sin, E gives a general explanation, which is incorrect both in point of logic and of style. Upon this follows an especially "foul" form of "symonie", E, b, introduced by "that other maner": but we seek in vain for "the first maner." Lastly comes another special form of "symonie," containing details, which are here superfluous, and ought to belong to the general explanation. These are "service honest and withoute bargaynynge," which, with the above given condition, "that the persone be able," involve no symony. Now in F "servise deshoneste" and "marchie fesant" are likewise named as the means and

price of simony. If we add to this "dons" and "prieres arnees ou charnieus," corresponding with "catel" and "fleisschly prayere" in the definition of E, everything which corresponds in the two texts will have been given.

The fifteen lines at the end of the section in E warn against unworthy priests.

5. Hazardrie.

E (336 ; 7 lines).

Now cometh hazardrie with his appertenance, as tables and rafles, of whiche cometh deceit, fals othis, chidynges, and alle raveynes, blasphemynge, and reneyng of God and hate of his neighebers, wast of goodes, mys-pendinge of tyme, and som tyme manslaughter — — — — —

From F 10. Mauvais geus.

F (45—46 ; 36 lines).

Mauvais geus, comme sont geu de dez e de tables e d'autres — — — — — (2).

Tiex mauvais jeus, especiaument de des e de tables, sont devee selonc les droiz, por mout de pecchiez qui se suient de tieus jeus : — — — — — (2).

- a. covoitise — — — — —
- b. usure trop grans — — —
- c. multiplier menconges — —
e granz blasphemés de Dieu
— — — — — (8).
- d. li mal essample — — — —
- e. en perdre le tens — — (13).

Games of dice and of tables are named in both texts as the most pernicious. The consequences of gaming enumerated in E, have, with the exception of waste of time (myspending of tyme = perdre le tens ; blasphemynge = granz blasphemés), nothing corresponding to them in F.

- 6. Lesynges. } only named.
 - 7. Fals othes. }
- (3).

8. Fals witnesse.

E (336 ; 10 lines).

From F 4. Challenge.

F (39—40 ; 43 lines).

Challenge, c'est courre sor autrui a tort. A cestui pecchie appartient tout le barat, toutes les tricheries e les fausetez qui avienent en plait.

————— VII manieres —
————— (2).

- a. li faus plaintif — — — (5).
- b. li faus fuitif — — — — (3).
- c. li faus tesmoing.

Fals witnesse is in word and

eek in dede ; in word as for to
bireve thin neighebor his good
name by thy false witnessinge,
or bireve him his catel or his
heritage — — — — — (3).

Ware yow, questemongers and
notaries !

— — — — — (2).

The relation of F to E is similar to that in the former sections. The idea of "challenge" (false accusation) is more general than that of "false witness"; here, however, the two correspond, as is proved by the allusion to litigants and notaries ("questemongers" and "notaries" = "avocat e notaire"). We have another coincidence in the robbing of inheritances ("heritage" = "heritages").

9. Thefte.

E (336 ; 6 lines).

corporel, as for to take thy
neigheboours catel agayns his
wille, be it by force or by sleight ;
by it by mette or by mesure ;

by stolyng eek of fals endite-
ments upon him ; and in borwyng
— — — in entent never to pay,
and semblable thinges.

The definitions agree, but E dwells more on cheating in trade. Thus in F we do not find cheating by false weights and measures, false exchange and borrowing without paying again, in this place : these three cases are, however, considered in F 8 (en merchandise) ; "en pais e en mesure, mauvaise lettre," and in F 3 (rapine) : "en ceus qui ne voelent paier ce que il doivent."

Cil font les faus mariages,
cil tolent les heritages, cil
font tant de maus et de
domaiges que nuls ne les
porroit amender, e tout ce
font il par lor grant covoi-
tise.

- d. li faus avocat, — — — (8).
- e. li faus notaire, — — — (2).
- f. li faus juge — — — (9).
- g. li mauvais assesseur — (5).

From F 2. Larrecin.

F (37—38 ; 49 lines).

larrecin, ce est prendre ou retenir
autrui chose a tort et sanz seue
e sanz volente du seignor.

Et ce puet on faire en IV ma-
nieres selom manieres de larrons,
car il sont

- a. un larron apert — — (3).
- b. un larron covert — — (3).
- c. un larron prive — — (28).
- d. un larron compaignon —
— — — — — (10).

10. Sacrilege.

E (336—337; 12 lines).

Esprituel thefte is sacrilege,
that is to sayn. hurtyng of holy
things, or of thing sacred to
Crist.

Sacrilege is in II maneres :

Cf. in chapter *De Ira*, a
first version of this passage on
sacrilege. }

- a. that oon is by resoun of
holy place, as chirches or
chirchewhes; for whiche
every vileins¹ synne that
men doon in suche places
may be clepid sacrilege, or
every violence in semblable
place;

- b. that other maner is as tho
that
withdrawen falsly therentes²
and rightes that longen to
holy chirche;

and generally sacrilege is to
reve holy thing fro holy
place, or unholy thing out
of holy place, or holy thing
out of unholy place. }

F 5. Sacrilege.

F (40—41; 35 lines).

Sacrileges est, quant on brise
ou blesce ou traite vileinement
les choses saintes, ou les per-
sones de sainte eglise, ou les lieux
benoiz e qui sont appropriiez au
servise dieu.

E ce fait faire covoitise sovent
en maintes manieres :

- a. quant on traite vileinement
le cors nostre seignor — —
————— (2).
b. quant on brise ou emble
ou traite vileinement les
saintuaires — — — (2).
c. quant on art ou brise mos-
tiers, ou sainz leus, cyme-
tieres — — — (2).
d. quant on fait mellee ou
moustier, ou quant on i fait
pecchie de luxure.

- e. quant on met main par mal
a clercc — — — — —
f. quant on emble ou enporte
par mauvaise reson hors du
lieu saint chose beneoite ou
non beneoite quele k'ele soit.

De ce pecchie ne sont pas
quite cil qui — — — (2).
tolent ou retienent a tort — —
les rentes — — — e les autres
droitures de sainte eglise. — —
————— (4).

Cf. F f.

What E gives as a second discussion of "sacrilege" is
to be found in the same form in F.

E is contented with characterizing this sin generally by
its three principal manifestations: 1. Desecration of sacred
places. 2. Encroachment on the rights of the Church.
3. Robbery of Church property. Profanation of the Sacra-

¹ 2 MSS. violent.

² Is wanting in the six MSS. Here it may be emended by F.

ments had been already touched upon in the first discussion of "sacrilege" in the chapter *De Ira*.

To conclude this chapter we will turn to the last section of the chapter "De Invidia", which I passed over formerly in order to consider it in this more suitable place. It has points of contact with F 7, "malignites."

E (306; lines 4—18).

Than cometh eek

1. bitternes of herte,

5. malignité,

thurgh which a man annoyeth his neighber prively if he may, and if he may not, algate his wikkid wille schal nought wante, as for to brenne his hous prively, or empoysone him¹ or sleen his bestis etc.

2. discord — — — — —

3. scornynge — — — — —

4. accusyng — — — — —

F (43—44; 42 lines).

Je apele malignite, quant li hons est si malignes, qu'il ne redoute pas a faire un grant pecchie mortel — — — — — (2).

Ceste branche a plusors rainceles.

a. quant aucuns — — — renoie Dieu — — — — (12).

b. li pecchies de traison, quant li hons por gaaigner ou por loier face chose, par quoi autres trait a mort, ou par espee, ou par venim ou autre maniere quele k'ele soit.

c. de ceus qui por gaaigner ardent les maisons — — (2).

d. de ceus qui sement les discordes — — — — — (3).

e. — — qui accusent e chalengent les povres genz — (9).

F b, and c show maliciousness, by synecdoche, in the same light in which it is depicted in E 5 (malignité). That the one from the motive of envy poisons a neighbour or burns his house down over his head, whilst the other does so from avarice, presents this neighbourly treatment in an equally unfavourable light. Contention and accusation are introduced in the same place (E 2, 4 = F d, e).

The comparison of the 5th Deadly Sin shows an agreement of the two texts as to arrangement. E is, roughly speaking, entirely included in the far more comprehensive F, with the exceptions of two longer sections, the one being on "thraldom", its reason and necessity (p. 332—333), 50 lines, and the other on unworthy priests (p. 335), 15

¹ Is wanting in the six MSS.

lines. In the introduction, however, E is fuller than F. We have the following verbal coincidences:—In A the quotation of 1 Tim. vi. 10.—In B:—1. Talliages = tailles; custumes = coustumes; cariages = corvees. 2. The figure of the wolf and the sheep. 3. Marchaundise = marchandise; treccherie = tricheries. 4. Verbal and practical definition of “symonie”: fleissshly prayere = prieres charnieus; service honest = servise honeste. 5. Tables and raffles = geu de dez e de tables. 8. The fals witnesses bireve . . . heritage = li faus tesmoing tolent les heritages. 10. The definition of sacrilege; synne in chirchehawes = pecchie . . . en cymetieres; withdrawen falsly the rentes and rightes . . . to holy chirche = retient a tort les rentes et les . . . droitures de sainte eglise; malignites = malignité.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SIXTH DEADLY SIN.

De Gula.

E (338—340).

A. Introduction:

After avarice cometh gloteny, which is expresse eke agayns the comaundement of God.

Gloteny is unresonable and desordeyned covetise to ete and to drynke — — — — — (2).

Le VII chief de la beste.

F (50—57).

A. Introduction:

Li setimes chief de la beste male si est li pecchies de la bouche. E por ce que la bouche a II offices, dont l'un apartient au goust come a boivre e menger, l'autre si est en parler, por ce se devise cel pecchie en II parties principaus, c'est a savoir en pecchie de glotonie qui est en boivre e en menger, e en pecchie de male langue qui est en folement parler.

Et premierement dirons du pecchie de glotonie qui est uns vices qui plaist mout au diable e mout desplaist a dieu.

Par tel pecchie a li diables mout grant pooir en home — — — — — (10).

This synne corruptid al this world, as is wel schewed in the synne of Adam and of Eva. Loke eek what saith seint Poul of glotouns. — — — — (3).

and of whiche here wombe is here God and here glorie ; — — — — (4).

B. Analysis :

This synne hath many spices.

- I. dronkenes, that is thorrrible sepulture of mannes resoun ; — — — — (7).
- II. whan the spirit of a man wexith al trouble for drunkenesse, and bireveth him his witte and his dis-cressioun.
- III. when a man devoureth his mete, and hath no rightful maner of etyng.
- IV. whan thurgh the grete abundance of his mete, the humours of his body been distemprid.
- V. forgetelnesse by to moche drinking — — — — (2).

In other maner ben distinct the spices of glotonye, after seint Gregory :

1. for to ete or drynke byfore tyme to ete.
2. whan man yiveth him to delicate mete or drinke.
3. whanne man takith to moche therof over mesure.
4. curiosité,

with gret entent to make and apparayle his mete.

5. for to ete to gredely.

e por ce volentiers li court a la goule come li lous a la berbiz por li estrangler, come il fist a Eve e a Adam en paradis terrestre. —

Car li glotons si fait trop grant honte, quant il fait son dieu d'un sac plain de fiens, c'est de son ventre qu'il aime plus que dieu, — — — —

B. Analysis :

— — — — — (18).

Cist pecchie se devise selom saint Gregoire en V branches ; Car en V manieres pecche l'en par mangier e par boire :

1. manger devant hore. — — — — — (47).
4. li pecchies de ceus qui trop noblement voelent vivre — — — — — (10).
2. de boivre e de mangier a outrage e sans mesure — (72).
5. la curieusete des glotons qui ne quierent fors a lor palais deliter. — — — — —
- a. en la grant cure qu'il ont en porchacier e appareillier.
- b. en grant delit, qu'il ont en user.
- c. en la gloire qu'il ont en recorder. — — — — — (48).
3. trop ardaument corre a la viande. — — — — (16).

These ben the fyve fyn-
gres of the develes hand,
by whiche he drawith folk
to synne.

— — — — — (33).

Contrary to its custom E has not described this sin in its repulsive details. It contains only forty-five lines, about one-sixth of F. Of these the first thirty-five have nothing corresponding to them in F, with the exception of four thoughts: 1. That it displeases God. 2. Pleases the Devil. 3. That it was the first sin of Adam and Eve. 4. That it makes a god of the belly. These four thoughts occupy only a few lines. The first division is quite original. The author seems, after having given this, to have himself observed, that it does not elucidate the subject much further; and therefore he adds a second, exactly the same as that which underlies the long explanation in F. E is in a greater degree than elsewhere independent of F.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SEVENTH DEADLY SIN.

De Luxuria.

Le VI chief de la Beste.

E (341—349).

F (46—50).

A. Introduction :

A. Introduction :

After glotonye thanne cometh
leccherie, for these two synnes
ben so neih cosyns, that ofte
tyme thay wol not departe — —

— — — — — (2).

God wot this synne is ful dis-
pleasaut thing to God, for he
sayde himself, Do no leccherie.
And therefore he putte gret peyne
agayn this synne. — — — (5).

¹ Cist pecchies desplaist tant
a dieu,

Fortherover, for the synne of
leccherie God dreinte al the
world at the diluvie,
and after that he brente V citees
with thonder layt, and souk hem
into helle.

qu'il fist plovoir feu ardant e
soufre puant sor la cite de Sodome
e de Gomorre, e enfondi V citez
en abyeme.

¹ This passage as far as *abyeme* stands at the close of the chapter.

Now let us thanne speke of thilke stynkyng synne of lecherie, that men clepen advoutry, that is of weddid folk, that is to sayn, if that oon of hem be weddid, or ellis bothe.

Seint Johan saith, that advouteris schuln be in helle in watir,¹ brennyng of fuyr and of brimston ; — — — — —

Certis the brekyng of this sacrament is an horrible thing ; hit was makid of God himself in Paradis, and confermed of Jhesu Crist, as witnesseth seint Mathew ; — — — — — (2).

This sacrament bitokeneth the knyttyng togider of Crist and of holy chirche.

And nat oonly that God forbad advotrie in dede, but eek he commaundede, that thou scholdest not coveyte thy neyheboris wif. — — — — — (7).

This cursed synne annoyeth grevously hem that it haunten :

1. to here soule, — — — —
2. unto the body, — — — (3).
3. it wastith eek his catel and his substaunce — — (10).

This is the other hond of the devel, with V fyngres, to cacche the poeple to his vilonye.

1. the foule lokyng — — (3).
2. the vileynes touchinge (5).
3. foule wordes — — —
4. the kissinge — — — (19).
5. the stynkyng dede of lecherie.

Certes the V fyngres of glotonye the devel put in the wombe of a man ; and his V fyngres of lechery bygripeth him by the reynes, for to throwe him into the fourneys of helle, there as — — — — — (4).

B. Analysis :

} cf. corresponding language in the case of Adultery as a sub-class of Luxuria.

De cel pecchie tempte li dyables en V manieres, si come dist saint Gregoire.

1. en fol regart,
3. en fous atouchemenz,
2. en foles paroles,
4. en fous baisiers,
5. apres vient on au fait.

————— (3).

B. Analysis :

Cist pecchies se devise premierement en II manieres,

¹ 6 MSS. stynkyng (a stank).

Of lecherie, as I sayde, sourdren divers spices :

I. fornicacioun, that is bitwene man and womman that ben nought married.

II. for to bireve a mayden of hir maydenhode.

III. And al be it so that I have spoke somewhat of advoutre, yit is it good to speke of mo perils that longen to advoutre.

Of this breking cometh eek

harlotrie and putrie.

Yit ben ther mo spices of this cursed synne (advoutre).

1. whan that oon of hem is religious, or ellis bothe.

2. for folk that ben entred into ordre.

3. ¹ bitwix a man and his wif.

4. the assemblynge of hem that ben of here kynrede, or of hem that ben of oon affinité, parenteal is in II maneres.

a. fleisshly.

b. gostly,

as for to dele with her gossib.

5. thilke abhominable synne.

I. luxure de cuer
si a IV degrez — — (30).

II. luxure de cors

1. luxure des oelz, des oreilles, de bouche, de mains, de touz les sens du cors

————— (9).

2. luxure de l'oeuvre vilaine
se devise en mout de branches, selom l'estat des persones qui le font, e va en montant de mal en pis.

a. d'ome ou de femme qui n'ont nul lien.

c. d'ome deslie a femme vesue, ou la reverse.

d. a pucele.

e. avoutiere.

b. a femme commune.

l. de home du siecle a femme de religion, ou la reverse.

m. d'ome de religion et de femme de religion.

k. de femmes a clers ordenes.

n. des prelaz.

f. a sa propre femme.

h. a sa parente.

i. a la parente de sa femme.

g. a sa commere, fillole etc.

o. le pecchie contre nature.

¹ Introduced by "the thridde spice of advoutry." Here the text itself suggested the arrangement.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>IV. ¹ pollucioun,
cometh in IV maners.
1. of languisschyng of the
body — — — — —
2. of infirmité; — — — —
3. for surfete of mete and
drynke.
4. of vileins thoughtes —
— — — — — (3).</p> | } | <p>cf. corresponding language
in I and II, 1.</p> |
|---|---|---|

In E the introduction, occupying one-third of the entire chapter, falls into three sections.

The *first* connects this sin with that of glotonye. It is one peculiarly displeasing to God, who accordingly, as the O. T. testifies, attached a severe penalty to it, and on its account also sent the Flood and laid five towns in ashes. Similar thoughts occur also in F. The affinity between "glotonye" and "lecherie" is repeatedly insisted on. It is said at the end of the chapter that God detests lechery so much that he destroyed five towns because of it; I have accordingly included this passage in the present place. Instead of the Flood, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrhya by fire and brimstone is introduced. "Fuyr and brimston" are named in E, a few lines lower down, as the future punishment of Adulterers.

The *second* introduces "advoutrie." The occurrence of this sin in the Introduction can be excused only as a synecdoche; adultery being considered as the essence of all offences against the sixth commandment. It is also treated later with justice as a variety of luxuria. The whole section, with the exception of one passage, to which I shall return, has nothing corresponding in F. It could stand more appropriately, as I have hinted, at the opening of E. III; (before the last line but one of p. 344).

The *third* introduces the simile of the devil's other hand. Its five fingers symbolise the five temptations of the devil according to the Gregorian classification with which F opens the chapter. We have in E a passage

¹ Introduced by "another synne appertieneth to lechery."

analogous to the close of the previous chapter *de Gula*, where the Gregorian classification was likewise symbolised by the five fingers of the devil's *one* hand. To this E refers at the close of this third division, after carrying on the simile for more than a page. The remarkable form for the basilisk (*basilikoc*) should here be noticed: it occurs repeatedly also in F (*basilicoc*).

The analysis I have been forced to construct laboriously from the text. The subdivisions of this sin are here as confused and indistinct as they are clear in F. I have enumerated four "spices of *leccherie*," necessarily reckoning "*advoutrie*," when it occurred the second time as a "spice," although it cannot be certainly inferred from the text that the author so reckoned it, especially as we have seen that in the introduction he identified "*advoutrie*" and "*leccherie*." I was thus compelled to make "*harlotrie*" a subordinate class of "*advoutrie*," though it is better regarded as a new "spice of *leccherie*": and similarly the sins which follow with the words "*yit ben there mo spices of this cursed synne*." With these I began a fresh enumeration, and found it confirmed by the fact that the third of them is in the text expressly defined as "*the thridde spice of advoutrie*." Here, and in the following two sins alone was the arrangement foreshadowed. It would have been more just to make these also, and in general all "*spices of advoutrie*" "*spices of leccherie*." It is the fundamental flaw in the chapter that the author did not carry through the distinction between *leccherie* and *advoutrie*, which he originally laid down. The classification is based on a confusion of them. As proof of this assertion I adduce E IV, which after the "*spices of advoutrie*" is suddenly added as "*another synne of leccherie*."

In arranging the analysis I have chiefly aimed at emphasising the similar passages in the two texts by

placing them together. I have ventured accordingly in part to invert their order; where this was not practicable, I have placed a reference to the corresponding passage. The actual order of the passages in F is indicated by letters of the alphabet.

The following comparison of the contents of the analysis is based, as usual, upon that in E :

I. fornicacioun. = F. a.
 E (344; 8 lines). F (48; 4 lines).

That is bitwene man and wom- D'ome ou de femme qui n'out
 man that ben nought married, nul lien, ne de veu, ne de mari-
 and this is dedly synne, and age, ne d'ordre, ne de religion ne
 against nature. — — — — (5). d'autre.
 C'est li premiers pecchiez mor-
 tiels en oeuvre de luxure.

“Fornicioun” as a sin before marriage, coincides in part with F a. At need it might include F c. Both texts insist that it is a deadly sin; E grounds the statement further, first on the evidence of reason, secondly on that of S. Paul, Gal. v. 19, 21. The expression “fornicioun” occurs also in F I.

II. for to bireve a mayden = F d. a pucele
 of hir maydenhode. and from virginite, a branch
 of the vertu de chastete.
 E (344; 18 lines). F (234; 6 lines).

For he that so doth, certes he casteth a mayden out of the heighest degre that is in the present lif, and birevith hir thilke precious fruyt that the book clepith the hundrid fruyt,—I can yeve it noon other name in Englisch, but in Latin it is i-clepid centesimus fructus (secundum Hieronimum contra Jovinianum).

Certes he that so doth, is cause of many harmes — — — right as he som tyme is cause of alle the damages that bestis doon in the feeld, that brekith the hegge of the closure, thurgh which he destroyeth that may not be restored; for certes no

Car virginite sor les autres estaz porte le plus grant fruit
 — — — — —
 Ceus qui gardent virginite ont le centiesme fruit. Car ensi dist nostre sire en l'evangile, — —

more may maydenhode be restored, than an arm, that is smyten fro the body, — — (3).

F d is individualised only by the one word "a pucele." The description of virginity as the hundredth fruit occurred in the praise of virginity (6 pp. long) in the French chapter on the corresponding virtue. There, too, occurs the simile of the treasure protected by a fence from the wild beasts.

III. advoutrie.

E (344—346; 44 lines).

Advoutrie, in Latyn, is for to sayn, approching of other mannes bed, — — — — (2).

Of this synne, as saith the wise man, many harmes cometh thereof;

(1.) brekyng of faith, — — (3).

(2.) this synne is eek a theef, — Certis, this is the foulest theft that may be, whan a womman stelith hir body from hire housbonde, and yiveth it to hire holour, to defoule hire, and stelith hir soule fro Crist, and yevith it to the devel — — — — (5). Sothely of this theft doutyde gretly Joseph, — — — (8).

(3.) the thridde harm is the filthe, thurgh which thay breken the comaundement of God, and defoule the auctour of here matrimonye, that is Crist. For certis, in so moche as the sacrament of mariage is so noble and so digne, so moche is it the gretter synne for to breke it;

= F e. avoutiere
and from mariage, a branch
of the vertu de chastete.

F (48; 8 lines).

A femme mariee; c'est pechiez d'avoutiere

qui est mout grief, car il i a :

(1.) trespasement de foy
que li uns doit porter a
l'autre;

(2.) sacrilege,
quant on brise le sacrement
de mariage.

F (221—222; 16 lines.)¹

Mariage est un estat qu'on
doit mout nettement e mout
saintement garder pour mout de
resons :

¹ Interpolated as far as "e l'ame."

for God makide mariage in
Paradis in thestat of inno-
cence,
to multiplie mankynde to
the service of God, — — —

¹ This sacrament bitokeneth
the knyttyng togider of Crist
and of holy chirche.
Of which brekyng cometh
fals heires ofte tymes, that
wrongfully occupien mennes
heritage; — — — — —

1. c'est un estat de grant auc-
torite,
car dieu l'establi en paradis
terrestre en l'estat de inno-
cence, — — — — — (3).

2. c'est un estat de grant dig-
nete,
car dieu volt nestre de femme
marice. — — — — — (5).

3. c'est un estat de grant sain-
tete,
car c'est un des sacremenz
de sainte eglise, e signifie le
mariage qui est entre sainte
eglise e Jesu Crist, e entre
Dieu e l'ame.
Si en avient aucune foiz de-
sheritemens des heirs e faus
mariages.

Adultery is in both texts described as a breach of faith [E (1) = F (1)], and as a breach of sacrament [E (3) = F (2)]. And as its consequence is introduced at the close of both divisions the dissipation of the inheritance by illegitimate children. F supplied in this section merely a concise description of the sin by these three marks. On the other hand I was able in the case of E, by adding the passage from the "advoutrje" in the introduction to which I said I should return, to prove a correspondence with a passage from the "mariage," a branch of the "vertu de chastete," in which marriage receives a three-fold praise: 1. For its originality, as initiated by God. 2. For its dignity, as a source from which God himself proceeded. 3. For its sanctity, God and the Church being a symbol of marriage. Its originality and sanctity are similarly described in E, as is its dignity, though only further on, in the *Remedium contra Luxuriam*.

That adultery is a theft (E 2) is not indeed stated in F; but the example of Joseph and Potiphar's wife,

¹ This passage as far as *chirche* is that which requires to be removed from the second section of the introduction (p. 341).

which E inserts at this point, occurs there in a parallel passage.

harlotrie and putrie.

E (346—347 ; 25 lines).

Of this breking cometh eek ofte tyme that folk unwar wedden or synnen with her kynrede ; and namely these harlottis, that haunten bordels of these foule wommen, that mowe be likened to a comune gonge, where as men purgen her entrayles of her ordure.

What saye we eke of putours,
————— (4).

Understondeth eek that avoutrie is set gladly in the ten comaundements bitwixe manslaughter and thefte, ———— (13).

F b. a femme commune.

F (48 ; 4 lines).

Cil pecchiez est plus grief, car il est plus viex, e por ce que teles femmes sont a la fois mariees, ou de religion, e ne refusent nuli, ne frere ne cosin, ne fil ne pere.

In both texts the aggravating quality of this sin is that it facilitates incest. Of bawdry (*putrie*) F says nothing. The next 13 lines are also unrepresented there.

F (49 ; 7 lines).

F l. de home du siecle a femme de religion,

III, 1. whan that oon of hem is religious, or ellis bothe, = ou la reverse, de femme du siecle a home de religion.

F m. d'ome de religion et de femme de religion.

E (347—348 ; 50 lines).

III, 2. or for folk that ben entred into ordre, = F k. de femmes a clers ordenes.

as sub-dekin, or dekin, or prest, or hospitalers ;

and ever the higher that he be in ordre, the gretter is the synne.

The thinges that gretly ag-greggith her synne, is

a. the brekyng of here avow of chastité, whan thay reseceyved the ordre ; ———— (4).

b. and eek these ordred folk ben specially tytled to God, and of the special meyné of God ; ———— (3).

c. and whil thay ben suche traytours here prayer avayleth not to the people.

Cist pecchiez monte e abesse selom les ordres e les dignitez.

Prestis ben aungels, as by the dignité of here misterie; but

Sothely, the prest that haunt-ith dedly synne, he may be likened to the aungel of derknes,
 -----(2).

Suche prestes ben the sones of Helie ----- (19).

And certes, these wommen that consenten to here harlotrie, don gret wrong ----- (7).

The first two branches of advoutrie (in a fresh enumeration) embrace the vices of the clergy, E III. 1, dealing particularly with those who have taken the vow of chastity (i. e. "if that oon is religious"), E III. 2, with ordained and consecrated priests. A detailed discussion, fifty lines long, appended to E III. 2, is probably meant to apply to both divisions.—F likewise draws the distinction between "hommes ou femmes de religion" and "clers ordenes." F l and F m are combined in E III. 1; F k corresponds to E III. 2. A similar distinction is drawn by F in the vertu de chastete, where 7 branches of this virtue are enumerated corresponding to the 7 orders of the world. I mention this because the same division of ordained priests into four grades,—"*soudiakres, diacres, prestres e prelaz,*"—occurs there also, and because in the same context occur detached thoughts drawn from the 50-line discussion in E which otherwise has nothing analogous in F. These are (1) that the unchaste clergy break the vow taken at consecration; (2) that they are bound to preserve their chastity if only because, as consecrated servants of the Lord, they belong to his special meyné (= *maisne* in F).

Finally, I would refer to the agreement of both versions in the view that this sin becomes more damnable in proportion to the spiritual rank of the offender. This thought is expressed both at F k and at F m.

III, 3. bitwix a man and his wif.

F f. a sa propre femme. and from the mariage, a branch of the vertu de chastete.

E (348 ; 10 lines).

The thridde spice of advoutry is som tyme bitwix a man and his wif, and that is, whan thay take noon reward in her assembling but oonly to the fleischly delit, as saith seint Jerom, and ne rekke of no thing but that thay be assemblid bycause that thay ben maried ; — — — —

¹ And for that many man weneth he may not synne for no licorousnes that he doth with his wif, certis that oppinioun is fals ; God wot a man may sle himself with his owne knyf, and make himself dronk of his oughne tonne.

But in suche folk hath the devel power, as saith the aungel Raphael to Thoby, for in here assemblyng, thay putten Jhesu Crist out of her herte, and yiven hemself to alle ordure.

F (48 ; 10 lines).

Quant li hors a sa propre femme fet chose defendue et desordenee ; contre nature d'ome e d'ordre de mariage.

E de sa propre puet on soi oscirre ; ausi puet il avoec sa propre femme pecchier mortelment. — — — — — (6).

E (223 ; 6 lines).

Dont l'angle dist a Tobie —

— — — — —
Je te dirai, dist il, en quels genz diable a pooir, en ceus qui mettent dieu si hors de leur cuers e de leur pensees, que il n'entendent fors a leur lecherie acomplir
— — — — — (2).

Both E III. 3 and F f interpret the sin as one which, without transgressing the marriage bond, transgresses the natural and lawful limits of wedded intercourse. The metaphor of "cutting into one's own flesh" reminded me that this sin had already been touched in the introduction apropos of "kyssing"; I have accordingly added the corresponding passage to E in this place. The example from Tob. iv. 17 occurs in the same words in the *Vertu de Chastete*.

III, 4. with kynrede. = F h. a sa parente and F i.
a la parente sa femme.

E (348—349 ; 12 lines).

a. The ferthe spice is the assemblynge of hem that ben of here kynrede, or of hem that ben of oon affinité,

F (49 ; 12 lines).

D'ome a sa parente, — — — —
De l'home avoec la parente sa femme, ou la reverse, de la femme avoec les parens de son seignor — — — — — (8).

¹ This passage as far as "tonne" occurs in the third section of the introduction under 4, "the kysying"; it may be added to that place.

or elles with hem with whiche here fadres or here kynrede han deled in the synne of leccherie ; — — — — —

F g. a sa commere.
F (48 ; 4 lines).

b. Gostly, as for to dele with her gossib ;
for right so as he that engendrith a child, is his fleissshly fader, right so is his godfather his fader espirituel ; — — (2).

D'ome a sa commere, ou a sa fillole, ou du filloil as enfanz son parrein, ou a sa marraine ; — —

The three possible cases of incest F h, i, g, are compressed into E III. 4, a and b, that is, *into two* cases only, which are distinguished according to a two-fold relationship, bodily and spiritual.

III, V. thilke abhominable = F o. le pecchie contre synne. nature.

E (349 ; 6 lines).

F (49 ; 14 lines).

The fite spice is thilke abhominable synne, of which that no man unnethe oughte to speke ne write,
natheles it is openly rehersed in holy wryt — — — — — (3).

Cel pecchie est contre nature, e en mout de manieres qui ne font a nomer por la matire qui est trop abhominable — — — — — (10).

E fortunately shrinks, as does F, from closer explanation of this last sin, as being too horrible (E abhominable = F abhominable).

IV. pollucioun. = F I. luxure de cuer and F

E (349 ; 14 lines).

II, I. luxure de cors.

F (46—48 ; 42 lines).

Another synne appertieneth to lecchery, that cometh in sleding,
— — — — — (2).
and this synne men clepen pollucioun, that cometh in foure maners ;

II. I. — — — — — (6).

A ce pecchie appartient toutes les choses par quoi la char se muet e desirre tel oevre,

1. of languisschynge of the body, — — — — —
2. of infirmité, — — — — —
3. for surfete of mete and drynke.

- b. li soef lit.
- c. robes delicieuses.
- a. li outrages de boire et de menger e toutes manieres de aise de cors outre necessite.

I.

Car li esperit de fornicacion
qui sert du feu de luxure em-
braser es cuers fait premierement
venir les pensees e les figures e
les ymaginacions de pecchie —

4. of vileins thoughtes — (3). — — — — — (27).

It is satisfactory to be able to state that this last sin, the IV. spice of lecherie, corresponds at least in particular points with the passages hitherto untouched.—F I. (luxure de cuer) and F II. 1 (luxure de cors). I have contented myself with adducing these points.

The result of the comparison of this last of the Deadly Sins is as follows. F is, speaking generally, pretty well absorbed in E. The fourteen branches of the analysis, i. e. F II. 2, are in E compressed under more universal categories; F I. and F II. 1 are touched in at least the most essential points. The two passages are therefore formally equivalent, and for the most part materially also. Matter which in F is extraneous to the analysis occurs in E in the sub-divisions of the introduction. The latter, as well as the analysis, showed an affinity further to four passages of the *Vertu de Chastete*, which deals in more detail with this subject. Hence it results that this chapter of E, though twice as comprehensive as the French, contains more in quantity that corresponds with F than that diverges from it, and exceeds all the previous chapters in the degree of correspondence. Of verbal correspondences we have: in A. the sentence, that God destroyed five towns in displeasure at this sin; stynkyng brennyng of fuyr and of brimston = feu ardant e soufre puant; basilicoc = basilicoc; the five-fold temptation of the devil. In B. I, fornicacioun = fornicacion; II. virginité — — centesimus fructus = virginite — — centiesme fruit; III. (1); and (3), three entire sentences; III. 2, the 4 grades of ordained priests; III. 3, the image of "cutting into one's own flesh," and the biblical example from Tobias; III. 5,

abhorrible; IV. the points of coincidence already mentioned.

SECOND PART.

THE SEVEN REMEDIA.

In the second part of my essay I will compare the Seven Remedia, which in E are added to the Seven Deadly Sins, with F VII, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Corresponding to the sections on the seven deadly sins, there are given in the second half of F seven on the virtues. We recognize these by means of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are granted us. Each of these sections begins with a longer or shorter explanation of how each gift of the Holy Ghost in the heart of man destroys the deadly sin, and implants in its stead the virtue under consideration. The seven virtues, which are expounded here, are therefore the antidote, the remedia, against the seven deadly sins. After the introduction, a number of steps (degrees), generally seven, are treated, by which man attains to virtue, lastly follow seven forms (branches) of the virtue.

It will be seen that the register of virtues is here given quite as systematically as that of sins, and that it is nearly three times as long.

In E, on the other hand, where the sections on the sins are the fullest, the Remedia, with the exception of the last, are only short Appendices, which in form and contents allow of no comparison either with the sections on the sins, or with the French sections on the virtues.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST REMEDIUM.

1. Remedium contra Superbiam.

E (302—303).

A. Introduction :

Now sith so is, that ye han herd and understonde what is pride, — — — — —

1. Le don de paour.

F (127—144).

A. Introduction :

Li dons de paour est li premiers des dons — — — — —

now schul ye understonde which is the remedy agayns pride; and that is humilité or meekenes, that is a vertu thurgh which a man hath verray knowleche of himself, and holdith of himself no pride, ne pris, ne deynté, as in regard of his desertes, considering evermore his frelté.

B. Analysis :

Now ben ther III maners of humilité;

I. humilité in hert,
is in IV maners;

1. whan a man holdith himself not worth biforn God of heven;
2. whan he despiseth no man;
3. whan he ne rekkith nought though a man holde him nought worth;
4. whan he holdeth him nought sory of his humiliacioun;

II. humilité in mouth,
is in IV thinges;

1. in attempre speche;
2. in humbles of speche;
3. whan he bynowith with his owne mouth, that he is such as him thenkith that he is in herte;
4. whan he praisith the bounté of another man and nothing thereof amenusith.

III. humilité in werk,
is in IV maners,

1. whan he puttith other men tofore him;
2. to chese the lowest place over al;
3. gladly to assente to good counsel;
4. gladly to stonde to thaward of his sovereyns, —

Il estrepe la racine d'orgueil, e plante en son lieu la vertu d'umilite, — — (p. 127—131).

B. Les VII degres d'umilite.
— — — (p. 132—133).

C. Les VII branches d'umilite. (p. 134—144).

Car ceste vertu se moustre en VII manieres :

1. par dieu honorer.

2. par autre prisier.

3. par soi despriser.

4. par povrete amer.

5. par volentiers servir.

6. par loenge fuir.

7. par soi du tout en dieu fier.

It will be seen at once, that here again there are resemblances between F and E. They are, however, as in the case of the first chapter on the sins, only external, and do not extend to the subject-matter. In the first place, in the introduction, the same name is given to the virtue "humilité" = "umilite". In the short description of the virtue given by E, there are two expressions which I would point out, viz. "knowleche of himself" and "frelté", because they occur in a similar connexion in F. The analysis has here and there points of contact in the "twigs" of this virtue, as is only natural; in the main, however, E is independent, and gives twelve twigs, whilst F gives only seven. The "degres" have nothing corresponding to them in F.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEXT FIVE REMEDIA.

In the following five remedia the relation of F to E is a similar one. The contents of the very copious sections in F are here compressed into the smallest possible compass. It will therefore be unnecessary for me to give a complete outline of the five sections, and I confine myself to showing the few points of contact.

2. Remedium contra Invidiam.

E (306—308).

Certes thanne is *love* the medicine that castith out the venym of envye fro mannes hert.

2. Le don de pite.

F (144—150).

Le don de pite est proprement une rousee e un triacles contre toute felonie.

e nomeement contre le venim de pecchie d'envie — — — car cis dons estrepe la racine d'envie du cuer e l'en garit parfitement. Dont li cuers qui recoit cest don conceit une douce rousee qui le fait germer une racine soeve e tres estempree, c'est bone *amour*, dont naist uns arbres biaux e haus e tres bien portant fruit,

3. Remedium contra Iram.

E (321—323).

Remedye agayns ire, is a vertue that men clepe *mansuetude*, that is deboneirte ;

c'est une vertu bone e bele k'on apele en latin *mansuetude*.

Li secons dons fait le cuer douz e debonaires e piteus e por ce a il a non le don de pite.

3. Le don de science.

F (150—161).

Le don de science fet l'ome escienteus e sage e a mesure en toutes choses. Cil dons quant il descent ou cuer estrepe e giete hors la racine e le pecchie d'ire e de felonie — — — — —
— — — e i plante la vertu de justice.

and eek another vertue that men clepe pacience or sufferaunce. Of pacience cometh obedience.

The virtues of love (amour) and gentleness (*mansuetude*) in F coupled together as remedies against envy, are separated in E. Love is given as the remedy for envy, gentleness for anger. Other remedies for anger follow in E. The correspondence of "deboneirte" with "debonaires" in F is also to be observed.

4. Remedium contra Accidium.

E (325—330).

Agayns this horrible synne of accidie, and the braunches of the same, ther is a vertu that is cleped fortitudo or strengthe.

This vertu hath many spices ;

- I. magnanimité.
- II. faith, and hope in God.
- III. seurté or sikernes.
(for "pacience" see Remedium 3.)
- IV. magnificence.
- V. constaunce.

4. Le don de force.

F (161—183).

La vertu de proesce c'est la quarte vertu que li sains esperis done a l'ome por estreper du tout en tout le quart vice, c'est li pecchiez de accide de peresce.

Li philosophe — — devisent ceste vertu en VI parties qui sont ausi come VI degrez

- I. magnanimité.
- II. fiance.
- III. seurte.
- IV. pacience.
- VI. magnificence.
- V. constance.

These five branches of this virtue precisely coincide. The sixth had been already named in the third Remedium.

5. Remedium contra Avariciam.

F (337—338).

Now schul ye understonde that the relevyng of avarice is misericorde and pité largely taken.

Another maner of remedye agayns avarice, is resonable largesse.

Here the two remedies in E correspond with the main virtue and one of its off-shoots in F, viz. "misericorde" and "largesse." In the elucidation a third is added, viz. "compassioun" = "compassion."

6. Remedium contra Gulam.

E (340).

Agayns glotonye the remedie is abstinence.

The felawes of abstinence ben

attemperance,
schame,
suffisaunce,
mesure,
sobernes,

Here three Remedia correspond in E and F.

5. Le don de conseil.

F (183—199).

Cest don de conseil estrepe le pecchie d'avarice e plante un mout bel arbre c'est la vertu de misericorde.

Le IV degre est largesse.

7. Le don de sapience.

F (245—262).

Cest don oste toute ordure du cuer — — — — — La vertu de sobrete c'est la vertu que li dons plante ou cuer encontre li outrages de glotonie — — La vertu d'atempance

et la mesure encontre li pecchiez de male langue.

CHAPTER III.

THE SEVENTH REMEDIUM.

7. Remedium contra

Luxuriam.

E (350—354).

A. Introduction :

Now cometh the remeaye ayens lechery.

and that is generally chastité of wikkedhede,

and continence that restreyneth alle the disordeigne moevynges that comen of fleischly talentes; and ever the gretter meryt schal he han that most restreyneth eschaufynges of ordure of this synne :

6. Le don d'entendement.

F (199—245).

A. Introduction :

Cil don oste toute ordure de cuer, e le nettoie parfitement de toutes taches, e especiaument de la tache de pecchie de luxure,

— — — — — dont naist un mout bel arbre c'est la vertu de chastete,

— — — — — (p. 199—201).

B. Analysis :

and this is in tuo¹ maneres :

- I. chastité of mariage.
- II. chastité of widewhede.
- III. virginité.
- cf. in the chap. De Luxuria.

Another remedy agayns lecherie is specially to withdrawe such thinges as yiven occasioun to thilke vilonye; as is ease, and etyng, and drynkyng.

Another remedye agayns lecherie is, that a man or a woman eschiewe the compaigne of hem by whiche he doutith to be tempted.

It is obvious even from this cursory comparison that the seventh and last Remedium merits an exceptional prominence in comparison with the other six. The introduction, indeed, is still based upon the same considerations as in the others; but in the classification appear divergences, inasmuch as F contributes here "degrez" as well as "branches," while the branches are related in subject matter

¹ Three are, however, expressly enumerated. The text is here entirely above suspicion. It is clear that the author was not very precise on the point.

C. Les VII branches

— — — — — (p. 219—245).
selom les VII degrez d'hommes
qui sont en monde :

- I. de ceus qui sont entiers de cors e ont bien garde leur pucelage.
- II. de ceus qui sont corrupuz de cors e ont la chasteteperduee leur pucelage sanz ce qu'il fussent on que mariees.
- III. de ceus qui sont liez par mariage.
- IV. de ceus qui ont este en mariage.
- V. virginite.
- VI. de clers ordenes.
- VII. de ceus qui sont en estat de religion.

B. Les VII degrez

— — — — — (p. 202—219).

Les VII degrez par ont ceste vertu monte e profite :

- 1. pure conscience.
- 2. pures paroles.
- 3. pur sens.
- 4. aspresce de vie.
- 5. foir mauvaise compaignie e les achesons de pecchie.
- 6. bones oevres.
- 7. bones oreisons.

to E. The latter fact I have already substantiated in the chapter De Luxuria as regards F III, V, VI, VII; I proceed to show that it holds for the present chapter.

In comparing the three modes of chastité in E with the VII branches in F, no detailed statement of the latter is possible such as I gave in the chapters on the Sins; F being here ten times as comprehensive as E.

I. chastité of mariage.

F III. de ceus qui sont liez
par mariage.
F (221—225).

E (350—353; 104 lines).

(I). Now schalt thou understonde, that matrimoigne is leful assemblynge of man and womman, that resceyven by vertu of this sacrament the bond thurgh which thay maye not be departid in al here lif, that is to saye, while thay lyven bothe.

(I). ————— (6).

————— (4).¹
ne ja ne se doivent deviser
de cuer ne de cors tant
com il vivent — — —

(III). Mariage est un estat qu'on
doit mout nettement e
mout saintement garder
pour mout de resons :

cf. in the chap. De Luxuria.

{ (1). c'est un estat de grant
auctorite
————— (4).

This, as saith the boke, is a ful gret sacrament: God makid it (as I have said) in Paradis,

and wolde himself be born in mariage;

(2). un estat de grant dignete.
Car dieu volt nestre de
femme mariee
————— (5).

cf. in the chap. De Luxuria.

{ (3). un estat de grant
saintete — — — (2).

and for to halwen mariage he was at the weddyng wher as he turnede watir into wyn, which was the firste miracle that he wrought in erthe biforn his disciples.

(II). The trewe effect of mariage clensth fornicacioun, and replenischith holy chirche of good lynage, for that is the ende of mariage,

¹ These four lines occur below, likewise indicated by (I).

and it chaungith dedly synne into venyal synne bituixe hem that ben weddid,

and maketh the hertes al one, as wel as the bodyes. This is verray mariage that was first blessed by God, er that the synne bigan, whan naturel lawe was in his righte poynt in Paradis :

(III). and it was ordeyned, that oon man schulde have but oon womman, and oon womman but oon man, as saith seint Augustyn, by many resouns.

(1). for mariage is figured bitwixe Crist and holy chirche,

(2). for a man is heed of a womman ;— — (6).

(3). no man schulde knowe his oughne engendrure,

(4). the womman scholde be the lasse loved —

(IV). Now cometh how that a man schulde bere him with his wif, and namely in tuo thinges, that is to sayn, in sufferaunce and in reverence — — — — (16).

(V). Now how that a womman schulde be subject to hir housbonde, that tellith seint Peter, III^e c^o ; first in obedience — — (12). Seint Gregori saith— (4). A wyf schulde eek be mesurable in loking, and in beryng, and in laughyng, and discrete in alle hir wordes and hir dedes, and above alle worldly thinges sche schulde love hir housebonde with al

Dont li estat de mariage est si saint e si honeste, que le fet qui fu pecchie mortel sanz mariage, est sanz pecchie en mariage

¹(1). un estat de grant auctorite

Car dieu l'establi en paradis terrestre en l'estat de innocence avant que home eust onques pecchie

(3). un estat de grant saintete

car il signifie le mariage qui est entre sainte eglise e Jesu Crist.

(II). Et por ce dist saint Pol,

que les femmes doivent amer leur seignor e honorer e devotement estre chastes

¹ Repeated.

hire herte, and to him to
be trewe of hir body ;

so scholde an housebonde
eeke ben trewe to his wif ;

for sith al the body is the
housebondes, so schulde
here herte ben, or elles
ther is bitwixe hem tuo,
as in that, no parfyt mari-
age.

- (VI). Thanne schal men under-
stonde, that for III thinges
a man and his wyf mowe
fleischly assemble.

cf. below.

- (1). in entent of engendrure
of children, to the ser-
vice of God,
for certis that is the
cause fynal of matri-
moine.
(2). to yelden everych of
hem unto other the
dette of his body ;
for neyther of hem
hath power of his
oughne body.
(3). for to eschiewe lec-
cherie and vilenye.

As to the firste, it is
meritory ;
the secounde also
— — — — — (4).

The thridde maner is
venial synne ;
and trewly, scarsly may

e sobres. Chastes de garder
lor cors d'autres que de lor
seignors.

Sobres en boivre e en men-
gier — — — — — (2).
Ausi doivent l'homme gar-
der leur cors nettement
qu'il ne s'abandonent a
autres femmes fors as leur.

- (I). ¹ Car puis qu'il sont joint
par mariage, il sont un
cors. Car ausi com il
sont un cors doivent il
estre un cuer par loial
amour

- (IV). Et dois savoir que en III
cas puet on fere l'oeuvre de
mariage sanz pecchie

{ et puet avoir grant merite
quant a l'ame.

- (1). en entencion, d'avoir
lignee a dieu servir.

Car en tele entencion
fu premierement mari-
age establi.

- (2). quant li uns rent a
l'autre sa dette, quant
il li requiert — — (5).
car l'un a droit el cors
de l'autre — — — (3).

- (3). quant on requiert sa
femme de cel oeuvre
pour garder la de pec-
chie, — — — — (7).

{ cf. above.

En ces III cas n'a
point de pecchie en
l'oeuvre de mariage,

- (V). mais en autres cas i puet
on pecchier
ou veniaument ou morteu-
ment, en III cas :

a) quant on ne quiert en
tele oeuvre fors sa lec-
cherie e son delit,

¹ This passage as far as *amour* belongs to (I), as already
observed.

eny of these be with-
oute venial synne, for
the corrupcioun and
for the delit.

- (4). The ferthe maner is
dedly synne,
it is for to under-
sonde, as if thay as-
semble oonly for amor-
ous love, and for noon
of the forsayde causes,
but for to accomplyse
thilke brennyng de-
lyt, thay rekke never
how ofte,
sothely it is dedly
synne; — — — (2).

(1). veniaument quant le
delit
ne passe point les
bondes ne les truies de
mariage — — — (2).

(2). mais quant la lecherie
e le delit est si grant
en sa femme que reson
i est avoeglee e que
autant en feroit il se
ele n'estoit sa femme,
en tel cas est ce pec-
chie mortel — (20).

b) — — — — — (39).
c) — — — — — (9).

As the subject matter did not admit in either text of being classified in subordinate divisions, I have simply broken up E into 5, F into 6, co-ordinate divisions, each containing a distinct thought.

Only about half the text of F comes into consideration, viz. (I), (II), (III), (IV), and the first part of (V). I have accordingly confined the analysis to these portions. To facilitate comparison I have again permitted myself an inversion. The numerals show the correct order.

E (I). On the moral and ecclesiastical conception of Marriage; 10 lines.

He repeats substantially what was already advanced in the chapter on the sins under the head of Adultery. It will be remembered that F (III), the three-fold praise of Marriage, was already used in that context. The hiatus which was there caused by the omission of (2), E here fills up by solemnly investing Marriage with her dignity, as appears from the classification. The "originality" and "sanctity" of Marriage, (1) and (3) of F III, likewise receive renewed recognition at E's hands in II and III. I have here repeated the corresponding passages of F, as the classification again shows.

E (II). The effect (i. e. virtue) of marriage : 8 lines.

1. It is to enlarge the Church. This thought appears likewise in F in another place.

2. To sanctify carnal intercourse.

3. To make husband and wife one in
body and soul.

} in precise
correspondence
with F.

E (III). The moral and natural grounds of monogamy :
16 lines.

With the exception of the passage already mentioned,
F has nothing to correspond.

E (IV). The duties of the husband as such : 19 lines.
Long-suffering, and reverence for the wife. Nothing
similar in F.

E (V). The duties of the wife as such : 28 lines.

Obedience, self-command, fidelity,—mostly supported by
quotations from the Bible and the Fathers. Many similar
utterances however, dispersed through other sections of F.
In the last 6 lines I have been able to show an almost
literal correspondence with F (II).

E (VI). The natural laws of Marriage : 23 lines.

F (IV) gives three cases in which l'oeuvre de mariage is
permitted, nay, even meritorious. F (V) then gives three
other cases in which it is sinful. Of these we are only
concerned with the first, where the distinction between
“venial” and “mortel” occurs.—E also lays down three
cases in which “man and wyf *mowe* fleischly assemble.”
These three agree perfectly in substance, and even in
expression, with the three permitted cases in F. Here also
(exactly as in F) the first two cases are not merely per-
mitted, but even meritorious. The third on the other
hand is “venial synne.” This is inconsistent with the
foregoing “*mowe*.” How is this inconsistency to be
explained? Quite simply, as it seems to me, by means of
the French text.

The English author had fallen involuntarily into the
toils. He had translated F's three cases literally. He

then perceived that F had still much to say on the matter, that three illicit cases followed the permitted ones, the first of which further contained a distinction between "venial" and "mortel" sin. It was necessary to compress. He therefore abstracted simply the sinful quality "delit" from the first of the illicit cases, and thus labelled his own "third case" as a "venial synne." Then he appended as "the ferthe thing" that "dedly synne" which we already know from the chapter on the sins. The whole passage would thus have been transferred; and taken in itself the result is unexceptionable; but the author did not see that he was contradicting his former assertion: "for III thinges man and wyf *mowe* assemble." Many discrepancies and errors may be similarly explained.

II. chastité of widewhede. = F VI and F II.

E (353—354; 16 lines).

The secunde maner of chastité is to ben a clene widewe,
 — — — — — (2).
 These ben tho that han ben wyves, and han forgon here housebondes,

F (225—227).

F IV de ceus qui ont este en mariage, mes mort a dessevre l'un de l'autre. Et cil qui est demore en vie se doit garder chastement tant com il est en estat de vevete.

and eek wommen that han doon lecherie,

and be relieved by penitence.

And certis — — — — (10).

F (220—221).

F II, de ceus qui sont corrupuz de cors e ont la chastete perdue e leur pucelage sanz ce qu'il fussent onques mariees

e toutes voies sont confes e repentanz de leur pecchiez.

E compresses F IV and II into the introductory lines. —In the 10-line amplification he preaches morality by word and deed for widows, as he had done before for wives. There is here, therefore, nothing new.

III. virginité. = F V and F I.

E (354; 8 lines).

The thridde maner of chastité is virginité, — — — — —

F (227—235).

F V, virginité, — — — — —
 Cest estat fet mout a loer
 1. por sa dignete.

Car cel estat fet celui qui bien le garde

thanne is she spouse of Jhesu
Crist,
the lif of aungels ;

the preysyng of this world,
as these martires in egalité ;

she hath in hir that tougue may
nought telle.

Virginité bar oure Lord Jhesu
Crist, and virgine was himselve.

semblant as angels du ciel
— — — — —

2. por sa biaute.
Car c'est le plus bel estat
que soit en terre — — —

3. por sa bonte.
Car virginite ne puet estre
par nului prisez. Dont
l'escripture dist que nule
chose n'est digne d'estre
comparee a cuer chaste.

F (220).

F I, de ceus qui ont bien
garde leur pucelage.

F I and V are tautologous. We have therefore to consider only F V. The eight pages celebrating "virginite" offered few points for comparison. In the chapter on Sins I had already taken out of this section the image of the hundredth fruit ; here are added three further attributes of "virginite,"—its likeness to the angels, its glory among men, and its ineffableness.

In E follow yet further Remedia against Luxuria, which I have to compare with F 4 and 5, two "degrez of chastete."

Abstinence. = F 4.

E (354 ; 6 lines). F (204—205).

Another remedy agayns lecherie is specially to withdrawe such thinges as yiven occasioun to thilke vilonye ; as is ease,

Aspresce de vie de mettre sa char souz pie qui est rebelle a l'esperit.

Car qui velt esteindre le feu de luxure, il doit oster les alumailles qui norrissent tel feu, ce sont les delices e les eses du cuer
— — — — —

and etyng, and drynkyng ; for certes, whan the pot boylith strongely, the beste remedye is to withdrawe the fuyr.

Et por ce qui se velt garder de ardoir, il doit oster ces alumailles par abstinence.

Sleping eek longe in gret quiete is also a greet norice unto lecherie.

Avoidance of bad company.= F 5 and part of F 3.
E (345 ; 10 lines). F (205—206).

Another remedye agains lecherie is, that a man or a woman eschiewe the companye of hem by whiche he doutith to be tempted ; for al be it so — (3).
F 5, foir mauvaise compaignie e les achesons de pecchie.

Ful ofte tyme I rede, that no man truste in his oughne perfeccioun, but he be strengre than Sampson, or holiere than Davyd, or wiser than Salamon.

F (204).
Et se tu veuls essamples, pense que nul ne fu plus fort que Samson fortin, ne plus sage¹ de David, ne plus sage que Salomon, e toutes voies chairent il par femmes.

Both of the two Remedia appended to E agree completely in substance with F 4 and 5. Verbal agreement occurs repeatedly ; as “withdrawe the fuyr” = “oster les alumailles,” “ease” = “eses,” “eschiewe the companye” = “foir compaignie” : finally is the example of Samson, David and Solomon.

The Remedium of Luxuria stands thus in as close connexion with F as the Luxuria itself,—differing herein from the six preceding Remedia. Here, too, the seven divisions of chastité agree in form, and for the most part in substance, with the seven branches in F, and the Remedia adduced in addition to chastité with particular “degrez” : the whole of the classification is therefore represented in E, and the introduction is very brief. It may even be maintained, if we include all the cases of intellectual agreement,—i. e. where similar thoughts are developed in an essentially similar way,—that substantially the whole E chapter, with the exception of the one page 351, is absorbed in F.—Moreover, the number of verbal correspondences is yet greater than in the chapter on the sin. We again meet with whole sentences in entire agreement. I will quote or refer to the following : In A : the same “ordure” of sin.—In B : I, (I, II, III), the three-fold praise of Marriage ; (VI) the three cases of permitted

¹ So the MS. Cott. Cleop. A. V., probably for “saint.”

intercourse; in the opposite cases the same sinful quality "delit" and "accomplise this delit" which agrees with "accomplis ce delit" in a former passage of F: III, the three-fold praise of virginité.—In the other Remedia: with drawe the fuyr = oster les alumailles; ease = eses; eschiewe the companye by which — — = "foir mauvaise compaignie"; finally, the same example of Samson, David, Solomon.

Remarkable, finally, is the sentence at the end of this last Remedium: "Now after that I have declared yow the seven dōdly synnes as I can, and some of here braunches, and here remedyes, sothely, if I couthe, I wolde telle yow the X comaundements, but so heigh a doctrine I leve to divines."—The English writer thus intended originally to treat the ten commandments as well. The French work has actually treated them: they occur at F I in the general classification. The allusion to F I is therefore a further argument for the close connexion of the English writer and this French book.

THIRD PART.

PENITENCE.

THE section on penitence in the third part of this treatise, inserted in the second part of the French work after F VII, 4, and which treats of the three requisites of penitence, viz. contrition, confession, and amendment, should be compared with E IV—V of the general outline, where the same division of penitence is given, and where each of the three requisites of penitence is explained in IV. 1—3 (outside the limits of the tractate on the sins).

IV. 1. Contrition (prima pars, p. 268—285).

IV. 2. Confession (secunda pars, p. 286, with the tractate on the sin, p. 355—362).

IV. 3. Amendment (tertia pars, p. 362—366).

V. What hinders penitence (p. 366—368).

As, however, in F contrition is hardly more than mentioned in a short section, and amendment with its mark of good works invades the following section, F VII, 5, 6, 7, whilst only confession is treated separately, I will next compare the corresponding passages on confession.

CHAPTER I.

CONFESSION.

E IV, 2 (p. 286—362.) F VII, 4, b. (p. 172—180).

IN F there is no introduction. The section begins at once with the prescription, how one should confess. In E on the other hand confession is thus introduced with the *secunda pars* of the entire *Parson's Tale*. The seconde partye of penitence is confessioun, that is signe of contricioun. Now schul ye understonde what is confessioun (IV, 2, a); and whethir it oughte needes be doon or noon (IV, 2, b); and whiche thinges ben convenable to verray confessioun (IV, 2, c). Thus three questions are to be discussed under the head of confession, IV, 2, a, b, c.

IV, 2, a, the definition of confession follows immediately: "First, schalt thou understonde, that confessioun is verrey schewyng of synnes to the prest; this is to sayn verray, for he moot schewe him of alle the condiciouns that ben longynge to his synne, as ferforth as he can; al mot be sayd, and nought excused, ne hyd, ne forwrappid; and nought avaunte him of his goode werkis."

Here prefaced by the words, "And forthermore it is necessary to understonde whens that synnes springe, and how they encresen, and whiche thay ben," follows the tractate on the sins, with the dissertation on the seven deadly sins and their remedia already discussed in the two first parts.

In a fresh section (p. 355) it proceeds: "Now for as moche as the secunde part of penitence stant in con-

fessioun of mouth, as I bigan in the firste¹ chapitre, I say, seint Austyn saith, synne is every word and every dede, and al that men coveyten agayn the lawe of Jhesu Crist; and this is for to synne, in herte, in mouthe, and in dede, by thy fyve wittis, that ben — — — — — Now it is good to understonden the circumstaunces that aggreggen moche to every synne.”

In spite of the tractate on the sins being formally concluded, E returns once more to the subject of sin. In order to confession, not only must one know and name all the sins, but also their aggravating circumstances. Against this nothing can be urged. A guide to the confession of sin is to be given. Hence the transition and the introduction to this section: “now it is good to understonden the circumstances that aggreggen moche to *every* synne” (“every” is certified by the S. T. P.). Here, however, follows, as will be seen, not a guide to confession of sins in general, but of sins against the seventh commandment in particular, and this too in the place of the answer to the question IV, 2, b, which is nowhere to be found. Again, confusion!²

§ 1.

(Instead of IV, 2, b.)
Guide to Confession.

From F VII, 4, b. Con-
fession.

I give, when comparing this passage with E IV, 2, c, a complete review of the contents of F VII, 4, b: so give here only the corresponding passages.

E (355—357; 85 lines).

Synne is — — by thy fyve
wittis, that ben sight,
heeryng,
smellyng,
tastyng, or savoryng,
or felyng.

F (177: 10 lines).

Après doit on courre as V
sens du cors ou l'en pecche mout
sovent, ou par les iex en fole-
ment regarder ou par les oreilles
en folement escouter — — — —
— — — — ou par la bouche en

¹ Simon, *ibid.* p. 261, has drawn attention to this mistake. Of course it should be “secoude.” One MS. has this correct reading, whilst in three the “firste” is wanting, so this is an unsafe argument for Simon.

² For an attempted explanation, *see* Simon, *ibid.* p. 261-5.

folement parler, en trop boivre
 en trop mangier, ou par les nar-
 dles en trop soi deliter en bons
 odours, ou par folement touchier
 ————— (2).

F (175—176, 26 Zl.).

Now it is good to understanden
 the circumstaunces that aggreg-
 gen moche to every synne.

Après l'en doit dire non pas
 seulement les pecchiez mes les
 circonstances toutes qui engre-
 gent le pecchie.

1. Thou shalt considre what
 thou art that dost the synne,
 whithir that thou be mal
 or femal, old other yong,
 gentil or thral, fre or serv-
 aunt,
 hool or seek, weddid or
 sengle,
 ordrid or unordred, wys or
 fool, clerk or seculer ;

1. Car li pecchiez est plus grans
 en une persone k'en une
 autre,

en un grant seignor k'en un
 simple homme.

if sche be of thy kyn, bodily
 or gostly, or noon ; if eny
 of thy kynrede have synned
 with hire or noon, and many
 mo thinges.

en homme de religion k'en
 un seculier, e en prelat k'en
 un plus bas,

2. whether it be don in forni-
 cacioun or in advoutry, or
 incest or noon, or mayden
 or noon, in maner of homi-
 cide or noon, horrible grete
 synne or smale, and how
 long thou hast continued
 in synne.
3. the place wher thou hast
 don synne, whether in other
 mennes houses, or in thin
 owne, in feld, or in chirche,
 or in chirchehave, in chirche
 dedicate, or noon.

5. c'est plus grant pecchie en
 femme mariee ou en pucele
 ou en femme de religion, en
 persone ordene,

Cf. below.

For if the chirche were
 halewed, and — — — —
 it is enterdited till it be
 reconciled by the bischop ;
 ————— (4).

2. c'est plus grant pecchie en
 un lieu k'en un autre com
 ou moustier ou en autre
 saint lieu.

4. by which mediatours, as by
 messagers, or for entyse-
 ment, or for consentement,
 to bere companye with fe-
 lawschipe ; — — — — (4).
5. how many tymes that he
 hath synned, if it be in his

4. quant l'en pecche a escient
 l'en pecche plus assez que
 par ignorance.

7. quantes foiz l'en est cheus
 en pecchie

mynde, and how ofte that
he hath falle.

————— (11).

Cf. above. }

6. why that a man synneth,
as by which temptacioun ;

————— (7).

7. in what maner he hath don
his synne, or
how that sche hath suffred
that folk han doon to hire.
The same schal the man
telle pleyuly, with alle the
circumstances, and whether
he haue synned with com-
mune bordeal womman or
noon,

or doon his synne in holy
tyme or noon, in fastyng
tyme or noon, or biforn his
schrifte, ———— (3).

All these thinges, after
they be grete or smale, en-
grogen the consciens of a
man ; and eek the prest
that is the jugge, may the
better ben avysed of his
jugement in yivyng of thy
penaunce, ———— (8).

It will appear from E, that all seven aggravating cir-
cumstances apply exclusively to the seventh deadly sin.
It is only the conclusion which links them on to the sub-
ject of confession, and gives thus tardily an independent
character to the whole section. This character F maintains
from the first : the entire section F VII, 4, b, enumerates
six "condicions" of confession. The passages quoted
come under the fourth condicion, "que la confession soit
fete interinement," and are therefore taken as general. In
spite of this, there is much agreement in the contents.

Both texts next proceed in the same manner to the
consideration of sin by means of the five senses ; and then,
with the same method of classifying the aggravating cir-
cumstances (*the circumstaunces that aggreggen*, further
below even *engrogen synne* = *les circumstancies qui en-*

e combien l'en i a demore.

9. la cause e la temptacion qui
avient a pecche fere :

8. se l'en s'est point combatu
contre la temptacion — —
se l'en a combatu en la
temptacion. ————

3. en un tens k'en un autre.
com en careme ou en jor de
feste.

6. se li pecchiez est contre na-
ture ou selom nature.
doit on dire e toutes les
autres enchesons e les cir-
cumstances qui poent en-
greger le pecche.

grent le pecchie) to treat of the *by whom? how? when? where? how long? how often? wherefore? in what manner?* of the sin. E is the fullest, has everywhere painted the sin of unchastity in very dark colours, and doubly so, where F has done the same.

On the question of *By whom?* (E 1 = F 1) E has brought forward much concerning the offender, such as social circumstances, spiritual and worldly rank, relations of marriage and blood, physical and mental conditions, whilst F confines itself to separate examples, all of which, however, occur in E. I will only note the striking verbal correspondence *seculer* = *seculier*.

The *how?* is in E joined with the *how long?* (E 2 = F 5 and 7). Under *where?* (E 3 = F 2) the correspondence between *chirhehawe* and *moustier* is remarkable. The *whereby?* of E 4 does not occur in F. F 4 is wanting in E. Under *how often?* the correspondence of *falle* = *cheus* must be noticed. Under *wherefore?* (E 6 = F 9) the same temptation. Can *in what manner?* be identical with *how?* In both texts *in what manner?* applies to the resistance of the temptation (E 7 = F 8). F 6 is contained in E 2.

It is probably out of affection for the number seven, that in E all the circumstances not hitherto mentioned, are placed under the last head, for example, the *when?* (E 7 = F 3), where the correspondence between *fastyng tyme* and *careme* must be observed. Of the nine points, therefore, enumerated by F, eight appear in E.

§ 2.

IV, 2, c. Whiche thinges ben = F VII, 4, b. Confession.
convenable to verray confession.

E (357—362).

F (172—180).

A.

Thanne schal men loke it and conside, that if he wol make a trewe and a profitable confession, ther moste be foure condicions.

Ore enten bien ci coment l'en se doit confessier a ceo que la confession vaille au salut de l'alme, il i covient VI condicions.

I. it moste ben in sorweful bitternesse of herte, as sayde the king Ezechiel to God, I wol remembre me alle the yeres of my lif in bitternes of myn hert.

This condicioun hath V signes ;

1. that confessioun moste be shamefast, not for to covere ne hyde his synne, but for he hath agultid his God and defouled his soule. And hereof saith seint Augustyn, ———— (3).

Such was the confessioun of the publican, that ———— (5).

2. humilité of confessioun ; of which saithe seint Petre, — — — — (3).

This humilité schal ben in herte, and in signe outward ; for right as he hath humilité to God in his herte, right so schulde he humble his body outward to the prest, that sittith in Goddes place. ———— (13).

3. that thy schrifte schulde be ful of teeris, — — (4).

4. that he lette nought for schame to schryve him, — — — — (4).

5. that a man or a womman be obeisaunt to resceyve the penaunce that him is enjoyned — — — —

II. that it hastily be doon ;

for certes, if a man had a dedly wounde, ever the lenger that he tariede to warisch himself, the more wolde it corrupte and haste him to his deth, and eek the wounde wolde be the worse to hele.

And right so fareth synne,

From I :

—————
come fesoit li bons Roys Ezechias qui disoit ensi : Jeo recorde touz mes anz a grant amertume de cuer.

V. qu'ele soit fete humblement
————— (16).

on doit se repentir de ses pecchiez a ————
grant honte devant dieu.

} Cf. above : qu'ele soit fete humblement.

II. qu'ele soit fete tost e hastivement.

————— (3).

} Cf. below.

that long time is in a man
unschewed.

Certesa man oughte soone
schewe his synne for many
causes ;

Cf. above.

- (1.) for drede of deth, that
cometh sodeinly,

and he ne is not certeyn
what tyme it schal come,
or ben in what place ;

- (2.) the drecchyng of oon
synne draweth another ;

- (3.) the lenger he tarieth, the
ferther is he from Crist.

- (4.) if he abyde unto his laste
day,
skarsly may he scribe
him or

remembre nim of his
synnes, or repente hym
for the grevous malady of
his deth.

And for as moche as he
hath not in his lif herken-
ed Jhesu Crist, whan he
has spoken, he schal crien
to Jhesu Crist at his laste
day, and scarsly wol he
herken him.

Ne tarde mie e toy convertir
a diex — — — e ne delaie
de jour en jour car la demore
est trop perilleuse por moult de
resons :

2. pechez est moult grant ma-
ladie et la confession est la
medicine.

E certes moult prise poy sa
sante qui seroit malade ju-
ques a la mort e ne desire
tost estre gariz.

3. la mort qui est prest e par
tot espie le pecheour le
doit mouvoir a tost soi con-
fesser,

car il ne siet ne le point ne
le jour ne l'heure quant la
mort vendra que sovent sos-
prenent le pecheour la ou il ne
se prent garde. — — — (2).

4. si li pecheres veoit bien le
peril ou il est, — — — (2).
il crierait a diex par con-
fession, — — — — —

1. peche est un feu ardent qui
ne puet estre esteint for par
lermeuse confession, — —

5. s'il veoit les granz biens
k'il ad perdu par son peche
— — — (2), mout serroit
fous se il ne se hastoit du
recoverer par confession,

6. la misericorde diex qui
l'atent e bonte a son us —
— le doit haster de con-
fesser — — — — — (6).

7. cil qui se tardent a con-
fesser oblie sovent ses pe-
chiez si ke a peine avient
ke il soit bien confes car il
oblie moult des pecchiez
dont james ne li sovendra
et enfin james ne s'en re-
pentira, ne james ne serra
confes ; — — — — —

And understonde that
this condicioun moste have
IV thinges.

1.¹

Thy schrifte moste ben
purveyed byforn, and
avyssed,

for wikkid haste doth no
profyt; and that a man
can schryve him of his
synnes, be it of pride or
of envye, and so forth alle
the spices and the cir-
cumstaunces;

2. that he have compre-
hendid in his mynde the
nombre and the gretnes
of his synne; and how
longe that he hath leyn
in synne;

3. that he be contrit of his
sinnes,

and in stedefast purpos
never eft to falle in synne;

4. that he drede and coun-
trewayte himself, and that
he flee the occasiouns of
synne, to whiche he is
enclnyed.

III.² Also that thou schalt schrive
the of alle thin synnes to
oon man, and nat a parcel
to oon man, and a parcel to

I. k'ele soit fete sagement.

Cist sens est en deus choses.

1. ke hon regarde a cuy l'en
se doit confesser.

— — — — — (13).

2. de quoy.

Cil qui sagement se veut
confessor il doit diligeau-
ment penser a ses pechies
avant k'il veigne a con-
fession.

Quant l'en a diligea-
ment pense a ses pechez
et regarde coment e en
quantes manieres l'en a
diex courouce et quante
foiz e com griefment l'en
a peche et com longement
el peche demore, lors doit
hon confesser tost e has-
tivement. E ceo est la
seconde condicion (II).

From F V:

Il doit se repentir de ses
pechiez a grant paour, a
grant dolour de cuer — —
— e grant honte devant dieu
e ferme propos que jamais
au pecche ne retournera.

IV. k'ele soit fete enterinement.

— — — — — (21).

Après la confession doit
estre entiere ne pas devisee
a duis confessours, car l'en
doit dire tout a un, non pas

¹ The outline in the text is only sketched up to this point.

² This is clearly the place for III. Simon (ibid., *Essays on Chaucer*, p. 270) reckons this passage under "condicioun II." But, as the six MSS. show, a fresh section begins here.

another man; — — — (21).

une partie a l'un e autre a l'autre,
car dieu n'a cure de tel metoirie.

To this place belong the passages anticipated in § 1.

B.

Also thy verrey schrifte askith certyn condiciouns :

1. ¹that thou schrive the by thy fre wille, nought con-
streyned, ne for schame of folk, ne for maladye, or such thing; for — — — (5).
2. ²that thy schrifte be lawe-
ful, that is to sayn, that thou that schrivest the, and eek the prest — — — ben verrayly in the feith of holy chirche, and that a man be nought despaired of the mercy of Jhesu Crist, as Caym or Judas.
3. A man moot accuse himself of his owne trespas and not another; but — — — (9).
4. Thow schalt nought eke make no lesyng in thy confessioun for humilité, par-
aventure to sayn that thou hast don synnes of whiche thou were never gulty;
— — — — — (3).
5. Thou most also schewe thy synne by thyn oughne proper mouth, — — —, and not by no lettre;
— — — — — (2).
6. Thou schalt noughte peynte thy confessioun by faire subtil wordes, — — thou most telle it platly — — (3).
7. Thou schalt eek schrive the to a prest that is discrete to counsaile the;
8. Thou schalt nought schryve the for veinneglorie, ne for ypocrisie, ne for no cause but only for the doute of

enterinement li pechieres se doit confesser — — — sanz soi defendre sanz autrui accuser.

Ensi se doit jugier li pechieres devant dieu non pas aleger son peche mes engreger e peser sanz mentir.

III. qu'ele soit fete apertement. qu'il doit ses pechiez clierement et nuement.

From F I, 1 :

Il doit querre tiex confessour qui sache lier e deslier — — — et le pecheour consiller et qui eit power — — de li penitence joindre.

¹ Introduced with "First."

² Introduced with "The secounde condicioun."

Jhesu Crist and the hele of
thy soule.

9. Thou schalt not eek renne
to the prest sodeinly, to
telle him lightly thy synne,
—————

10. and generally schrive the
ofte; — — — — (8). VI. qu'ele soit fete sovent.

We see that E IV. 2, c consists of two parts, A and B. A announces four, but gives only three "condiciouns of a trewe and a profitable confessioun," B gives ten further "condiciouns of verray schrifte." F VII. 4, b gives only six "condiciouns," which I have rearranged to facilitate comparison. The numbers show their real order.

I consider the division of the subject in E quite unjustifiable. The author could not possibly have meant to draw a distinction between "trewe" and "verray confessioun," and to have made this the basis of the division. He announces four conditions in the first part, but only gives three. Instead of the fourth he suddenly begins the second part with a fresh enumeration, dropping as early as the second "condicioun" the orderly arrangement of "condiciouns" with their dependent "signes," and giving instead a miscellaneous collection of instructions in confession, the greater part of which have already appeared. This is only another instance of the confusion and thoughtlessness of the author, and quite in keeping with the many defects and absurdities which we have already had occasion to notice in the two first parts of this treatise. In any case, however, the author's mistake is here made evident by the French text. He gives up the arrangement under four conditions, apparently because he cannot bring all his matter under the four heads. Accordingly he begins a new section and a new enumeration. Even so, however, he only gets as far as two points, and he adds everything else that he considers necessary without any classification.¹

¹ Simon (*ibid.* p. 271-273) here pursues his quarrel with the author too far, as Koch has rightly pointed out (*ibid.* p. 542). As

I will now give the result of the comparison of the two parts, A and B, with the VI "condiciouns" of F.

A: E I. "Confessioun in sorweful bitternesse of herte, with five signes: Shame, humility, tears, openness, obedience in performing the appointed penance. These correspond in substance with the "humble confession" of F V. Here, too, shame, humility, and contrition of heart are required for confession. Schame = honte; humilité = humblement; sorweful bitternesse of herte = grant dolour de cuer, even "amertume de cuer" is found in the saying of King Hezekiah, which is quoted in F I (here in the wrong place), but agrees verbally with that in E. Even the F sheds on another occasion the "tears of confession" (confessioun ful of teeris = lermouse confession). F has also expressed the imposing of penance in the same manner as E (enjoyne the penaunce = joindre li penitence in F I, 1).— In F there is nothing said about openness, nor on the outward expression of humility in kneeling before the Father Confessor. The latter point occupies fourteen lines. The Confessor stands in the place of God! Certainly this idea is also found in F (le provost diex), as well as that the sinner ought to manifest shame, because he has angered God and stained his conscience. Neither is the obvious example of the Pharisee and the Publican wanting in F: but there are no verbal coincidences in any of these last cases.

E II, confessioun in haste, with an introduction on the dangers of delaying confession, and four signs (for which I had laboriously to seek) answers to F II, "hastive confession," and in part to F I, "sage confession." In both texts the following dangers, visions of terror which should drive the sinner to speedy confession, are given:

he reckons III under "condicioun" II, the text having announced IV "condiciouns," he seeks for III and IV in the second part. Meeting, however, again with "the firste condicioun" there, he gives vent to his vexation, and charges the author with confusing "signes" and "condiciouns," &c.

1. The curse of the bad action, the further spread of the sin, given here under the image of fire, and of destroying sickness, there under that of a deadly wound (E II. and (2) = F I. and 2); only confession can here heal (*warisch* = *garir*). 2. Death, which may surprise the sinner at any hour, in any place (E (1) = F 3). 3. The loss of grace (E (3) = F 6). 4. Forgetfulness of past sins, which will thus never be repented of (E (4) = F 7). F 4 and 5 have nothing to correspond to them in E. The "crien to Ihesu Crist" = "crieroit a diex" appears to be an accidental coincidence. The four signs (*thinges*) are here in the wrong place. Careful consideration and examination of the sins committed as sign of a *speedy* confession is a *contradictio in adjectis*. The fault seems to be again on the part of F. In F the careful consideration and examination of sins committed, with all their aggravating circumstances, is in harmony with the "how much? how often? how long?" of E (E 1—2 = F 1, 2), given quite correctly as the sign of a *wise* confession. The passage, which here corresponds with E, stands however at the close of F I, and forms the transition to F II, "hastive confession": "when one has become thoroughly conscious of one's sins, one should go and confess them in all haste." It is very possible that the English author may have confused cause and effect, or that with the intention of giving up the arrangement of F and shortening the matter as much as possible, he assigned the essentials of a careful confession to "condicioun II." The latter case would bear out the view I have expressed on the singular division of the matter: whilst the result of the comparison of the entire chapter would confirm what I have here given as conjecture.—Thus of the four "thinges" of "condicioun II," E 1—2 were found in F I, 2; E 3 has points of contact with a passage in F V; E 4 has nothing corresponding to it in F.

E III, "confessioun to oon man," corresponds with a passage in F IV, "confession entiere," which contains

everything that could not be classed under the other condicions. In the explanation, occupying twenty lines, which is given by E, the expression "divisioun of schrifte" or "departed schrifte" = "confession devisee," frequently occurs.

B: In the second part E 1 and 2 have nothing corresponding to them in F. In E 3 "accuse" = "accuser" is to be observed. In E 4 lying out of hypocritical humility. E 5 has nothing corresponding in E. In E 6 "platly" = "clierement e nuement" in F III. In E 7 "counsaile" = "consiller." E 8 has, with the exception of the expression "the hele of thy soule" = "le salut de l'alme," nothing corresponding in F. Neither is there anything corresponding to E 9. E 10 corresponds with F VI, if only verbally.

Thus we have found all the six "condicions" of F in E, four of them agreeing in substance.

The result of the examination of this chapter then is, that both sections of E, the guide to confession (instead of IV, 2, b), and IV, 2, c (§ 1—2), correspond, as well in arrangement as in working out, with the section Confession, F VII, 4, b. Verbal correspondences were also evident.

CHAPTER II.

AMENDMENT.

E IV, 3. (p. 362—366). = F VII, 4, c and parts of F VII, 5, 6, 7.

The short section F VII, 4, c runs as follows: "Après la confession vient satisfaction, ce est l'amende que l'en doit fere selom l'arbitre e le conseil du confessour qui doit jugier l'amende selom le mesfet ou en jeunes, ou en aumosnes ou en oreisons, ou en autres choses selom ce que le pecchie requiert. Et li malades doit volentiers obeir au fisicien por avoir sante. Et li bon fiz fet volentiers le commandement son pere espirituel por le preu de s'alme."

It is to a certain extent only an introduction, ushering in amendment (satisfaction) and its practices, almsgiving (aumosnes), prayers (oreisons), and fasts (jeunes). These, as we have said, are continued in the following section F VII, 5, 6, 7, where each is fully treated.

In E, amendment is thus introduced, with the *tertia pars* of the entire P. T: "Now have I told of verray confessioun, that is the secounde partye of penitence. The thridde partye of penitence is satisfaccioun, and that stonddith generally in almesdede and bodily peyne (prayer, wakinges, fastynges, vertuous techinges), IV, 3, a, and IV, 3, b."

Here, too, almsgiving, prayer and fasting, are treated. To these are added watching and virtuous teaching, called, however, discipline in the elucidation. In VII, 7 both watching and discipline are given with fasting. That in E, prayer and virtuous teaching should be counted as "bodily peyne," is inexplicable.

I will compare, then, the two parts of this chapter E IV, 3, a and IV, 3, b with the sections in F VII, 5, 6, 7.

§ 1.

IV, 3, a. Almesdede.
F (362—363).

From F VII, 5. Aumosnes.
F (191—199).

Now ben ther thre maner of almesdede ;

1. contricioun of herte,
where a man offereth him-
self to God ;
2. to have pité of the defaute
of his neighebor ;
3. in yeving of good counseil
and comfort, gostly and
bodily, where men han
neede, — — — — (11).

This almes schalt thou doon
1. of thin oughne propur
thinges,

2. hastily,

Quant l'en fet aumosnes l'en
doit garder III choses :

1. de quoy ; car l'en doit fere
de son propre non d'autrui.
— — — — — (14).
2. a cuy ; — — — — — (33).
3. coment ; — — — — —
a) a bon cuer — — — — (23).
b) tost e hastivement
— — — — — (40).
c) largement — — — — (15).

3. prively,
if thou maist; but natheles,
if thou maist not do it
prively, thou schalt nought
forbere to do almes, though
men se it, — — — (9). — — — — (p. 196—199).
- d) cele les aumosnes
— — — — — (25).

E IV, 3, a, gives three kinds (maner) of alms. 1. Penitence, whereby a man gives himself to God. 2. Pity for the misery of his neighbour. 3. Good counsel and comfort, bodily and spiritual, to all who need it. In the course of eleven lines it is explained in what this may consist. This division certainly has nothing corresponding in F but "repentance de cuer" is frequently asserted to be necessary to true liberality, and comfort in time of need is also found in another connexion ("comfort where men han neede = "confort as besoignes"). That repentance and pity for the sorrows of others are alms, is a strange statement!¹

"Give of thy goods, quickly and secretly. But if thou canst not give secretly, do not on that account neglect to give alms, for thou doest it not for the world's praise, but for God's, according to the teaching of Matt. v. 14—16." This is the exhortation of both texts alike: only the Bible quotation is wanting in F.

§ 2.

IV, 3, b. Bodily peyne. From F VII, 6, 7.
E (363—366).

Now as to speke of bodily peyne, it is in prayere, in wakinges, in fastynges, in vertuous techinges.

a. Prayer. = From F VII, 6. Oreisons.
E (363—364). F (207—219).

Of orisouns ye schul understonde, that orisouns or prayeres, is for to seyn, a pitous wil of herte, that redressith it in God, and expressith it by word outward, to remowe harmes, and to have thinges esprituel and durable, and som tyme temporel thinges.

¹ Simon, *ibid.* p. 274.

Of which orisouns, certes in the orisoun of the Paternoster hath oure Lord Jhesu Crist enclosed most thinges.

Certis it is privileged of III thinges :

1. in his dignité,
for whiche it is more digne than any other prayer ; for Jhesu Crist himself maketh it ;
2. and it is schort,
for it schulde be cond the more lightly, and for to withholde it the more esily in herte, and helpe himselfe the oftere with this orisoun, and for a man schulde be the lasse wery to say it, and for a man may not excuse him to lerne it, it is so schort and so easy ;
3. for it comprehendith in itself alle goode prayeres.

The exposicioun of this holy praier, that is so excellent and so digne, I bitake to these maystres of theology, save thus moche wol I sayn, whan thou prayest that God schulde foryive the thy gultes as thou foryivest hem that they gulden to the, be ful wel war that thou be not out of charité.

This holy orisoun amensith eek venial synne, and therefore it appendith specially to penitence.

- This praier moste be sayd
- a. trewely,
 - b. in verry faith,
 - c. ordinatly,
 - d. discretly,

From the preface to

E VI. La pater-nostre.¹
F (99).

Ceste oroisoun passe toutes autres en III choses :

1. en dignete.
La dignete est en ce que li fiz dieu la fist — —
2. en briefte.
Il vult que ele fust brief por ce que nuls ne s'avoiaist de dire la volentiers, e por ce que nuls ne s'escusast de l'aprendre.
3. en profitablete.
La valour ee li profis de ceste oroisoun est si tres grans qu'ele enclost a bries paroles quanques on puet desirrer de cuer.

Oreisons

- a. en vraie foi,
- b. en bone esperance,
a. sagement,
β. diligeament,

¹ Interpolated as far as "desirrer de cuer."

- e. devoutly ;
 f. alway a man schulde
 putte his wille to be sub-
 ject to the wille of God.
 g. with greet humblesse,
 h. ful pure,
 i. honestly,
 k. nought to the annoy-
 aunce of eny man or
 womman.
 l. It most eek be continued
 with the werkis of cha-
 rité.

Hit avaylith agayns the
 vices of the soule ; for as
 seith seint Jerom, by fast-
 yng ben saved the vices of
 flesh, and by prayere the
 vices of the soule.

β. Wakinges.

E (365 ; 2 lines).

For Jhesu Crist saith, wakith
 and prayeth, that ye ne entre
 not into temptacioun.

γ. Fastynges.

E (365).

stont in III thinges,

in forbering of

1. bodily mete and drink,
2. worldly jolité,
3. worldly synne ;

this is to sayn, that a man
 schal kepe him fro dedly
 synne in al that he may.

- γ. humblement,
 c. en devocion de cuer.

honestement,

- d. avoec bones oevres come
 aumosnes e jeunes.

From F VII, 7.

F (250 ; 4 lines).

Sobrete e atrempance met par
 tout mesure ausi es biens espi-
 rituex come en

veilles,

jeunes,

From F III, 7. Glotonie.¹

II. boire e mangier a outrage
 e sans mesure.

Mais qui ceste mesure vult
 aprendre il doit savoir e
 entendre qu'il sont mout
 de manieres de vivre au
 monde :

1. li un vivent selom la
 char,
2. li autre selom lor jolivete,
3. li autre selom lor fisike,
4. li autre selom lor hones-
 tete,
5. li autre selom ce que lor
 pecchiez requierent,

¹ Interpolated as far as "devant hore."

And thou schalt under-
stonde eek, that God ordey-
nede fastyng, and to fastyng
appurteynen foure thinges:

- a. largesce to pover folk,
- b. gladnes of hert espirituel,
- c. not to ben angry ne an-
noyed ne grucche for he
fastiith,
- d. resonable hour for to ete
by mesure, that is to
sayn, a man schulde not
ete in untyme, — — —

δ. Discipline.

E (365—366).

or teching, by word, or by writ-
yng, or by ensample (vertuous
techinges)

Also in

- α' weryng of heires or of
hauberkis — — — (11).
- β' knokkyng on the brest,
- γ' scourgyng with yerdes,
- δ' knelynges,
- ε' tribulaciouns,
- ζ' suffring paciently
wronges, — — — — —
- η' lesyng of worldly catel,
or of wif, or of othir
frendes.

I. manger devant hore.

disciplines.

en en autres oevres de vertu qui
sont fetes por dieu e por le profit
de l'ame.

E IV, 3, b announces four kinds of “bodily peyne” (trouble or punishment), viz. “prayer, wakinges, fastynges, vertuous techinges.” In the explanation “discipline” is suddenly introduced before “teching,” and connected with it by the word “or.” Bodily discipline, and discipline of the soul, are evidently confounded together.¹ Here again, F seems to me to throw light upon the matter.

In F VII, 6 “oreisons” are treated. F VII, 7 brings forward together “veilles, jeunes, disciplines ou autres oevres de vertu por le profit de l'ame.” The conjecture is obvious, that this passage must be the cause of the insertion of “discipline” in E, and that in consequence of the confusion between “vertuous teching” and “oevres de

¹ Simon, *ibid.* p. 275: “‘Discipline’ is understood here to mean penance. Though in this signification it has nothing whatever to do with teaching, it is thrown together with it (l. 19), owing to its lingual affinity with *discere*, *discipulus*, etc.”

vertu," the former has in E been identified with "discipline." This would also explain why "vertuous teching" comes under the head of "bodily peyne."

E IV, 3, b, α : "prayere or orisouns" corresponds with the "oreisons" of F VII. 6. Both texts alike exhort to pray "in verray faith" = "vraie foi," "discretly" = "sagement," "devoutly" = "en devocion," "honestly" = "honestement," "with humilité" = "humblement," and to let prayer be accompanied by "werkis of charité" = "bones oevres." "Pray also regularly, and with submission, and entreat not for harm to thy fellow-men," is the further exhortation of E. For the rest, E does not treat of prayer in general, but after a short definition of it, passes on to the sacred Pater noster, the chief of all prayers, being (1) the most honourable, (2) the shortest, (3) the most comprehensive. It is these three qualities that raise it so high above all other prayers. I have found an exactly similar passage in the preface to F VI, the interpretation of the Pater noster, and have placed the corresponding points opposite to E. The verbal agreements are in 1. "dignité" = "dignite" with the elucidation; in 2. "schort" = "brief," and in the elucidation "be very to say it" = "s'avoiaist de dire la," and "excuse him to learn it" = "s'excusast de l'apprendre"; lastly in 3. "comprehendith" = "enclost," indeed a little earlier E has the very expression "enclosed." E does not enter upon an exposition of the Pater noster, but cannot omit to remark, on the fifth petition, that "charité" is necessary to prayer. This is also strongly insisted upon in the exposition of the fifth petition in F. The allusion to F VI, La Pater-nostre, confirms the argument for the obligations of the English author to this French work.

E IV, 3, b, β ; "wakinges," only mentioned = "veilles" in F VII, 7; likewise only mentioned.

E IV, 3, b, γ ; "fastinges" = "jeunes" in F VII, 7; there only mentioned. I have found something corresponding to the three kinds (things) of fasting in the chapter on

"Glotonie" F III, 7, where in the second "branche" five kinds of moderation, and thus to a certain extent of fasting, are recommended, of which three coincide with E, "jolit " agreeing verbally with "jolivite." Of the four requisites of fasting next given by E, the last may be compared with "branche 1" of "glotonie."

E IV, 3, b, δ ; "discipline or vertuous techinge" = disciplines e autres oeuvres de vertu in F VII, 7; there only named. The list of penitential practices which follows, has, with the exception of "weryng of heires and hauberkis," nothing corresponding to it in F. This list plainly shows the confusion between "discipline" and "vertuous techinge."¹

The result of our examination in the case of this chapter also, is that the two parts of Amendment, IV, 3, a, and IV, 3, b [§ 1—2] coincide with F.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT HINDERS PENITENCE.

E V. (p. 366—368).

Thanne schalt thou understonde which thinges destourben penaunce, and this in foure thinges:²

1. drede,

for which he weneth that he may suffre no penaunce, ther agayns is remedye for to thinke that bodily penaunce is but schort and litel

at the regard of the peyne of helle, — — — — —

2. schame,

that a man hath to schryve him, and namely these yporcrites, — — — — —; agayns that schame schulde a man thinke, that by way of resoun he that hath not ben aschamed to do foule

Appendix to Confession
F VII, 4, b. (p. 179—180).

Ore dois savoir que V choses especialement empeschent vraie confession.

2. mauvaise paour

de fere grant penitance,

— — — — — (2).

e certes ce n'est que ombres quanque l'en puet fere de penitance en cest siecle

au regart de la peine d'enfer — — — — —

1. honte

que l'en n'ose dire son peche por honte,

— — — — — (5).

Mais li peccierres doit penser que la honte que l'en a a dire son peche est grant partie de l'amende.

¹ Simon, *ibid.* p. 275: "The result is a succession of ideas quite incompatible with logical thinking." ² Five MSS. manners.

thinges, certis him oughthe
not be aschamed to doon
faire thinges and goode
thinges, and that is con-
fessioun.

A man scholde eek thinke,
that God seeth and knoweth
alle thy thoughtes. — — —
Men schulde eek remembre
hem of the schame

that is to come at the day
of doom, — — — — —
for alle the creatures in
heven and in erthe,
and in helle, schuln seen
apertly al that — — — — —

3. hope.

Now for to speke of hem¹
that ben — — ; it stant in
II maneres :

a. that he hopith for to lyve
longe, and for to pur-
chace moche riches for
his delyt, and thanne he
wol schrive him ;
and, as he saith, he may,
as him semith, tymely y-
nough come to schrifte ;
Agains the firste vice, he
schal thinke that oure lif
is in no sikernesse,
and eek that al the riches
in this world ben in ad-
venture, — — — — (5).

b. of the surquidrie that he
hath in Cristes mercy.

4. wanhope (desperacioun),
is in tuo maneres

a. ²in the mercy of Crist,
b. ³that thay thinke thay
mighte nought longe per-
sever in goodnesse.

The first wanhope cometh
of that he demyth that he
hath synned so highly and
so ofte, and so longe layn
in synne, that he schal not
be saved.

Après li doit volentiers
boivre un petit de honte,
por eschiver la grant honte
que li
peccheor attendent au jor
de jugement
quant chascun del monde
verra son pecchie.

3. mauvaise amour — — (4).
4. esperance

de longue vie,

dont li diables dist, — —
tu recoverras bien a toi
confesser,

mes si ne regarde pas la
mort que l'agueite,
— — — — — (6).

5. desesperance. — — — —

¹ Five MSS. "of the hope of them."

² Introduced with "the first wanhope is."

³ Introduced with "that other is."

Certis ayens that cursed
wanhope schulde he thenke,

————— (2).

Agains the secounde wan-
hope he schal thinke, — (2).

the mercy of Crist is alway
redy to reseeyve him to
mercy.

Agains the wanhope that
he demeth or he thinketh
he schulde not longe perse-
vere — — — — — (5).

Mais il doit penser que dieu

—————
plus est volentis de doner
pardon que nous du de-
mander.

According to the arrangement of the outline, the analysis of penitence is followed by the last part of it, E V, "whiche thinges destourben penitence," or, as it is here called, "penaunce."

The two words are here used in the same sense, as is proved by the S. T. Pr. : and no distinction is drawn between repentance of the heart and ecclesiastical penance. In French also the words are identical in meaning ; thus F always uses "penitance" for ecclesiastical penance. No importance can therefore be attached to the circumstance that "penaunce" is used here.¹ But without this, the present section has plenty of faults. At the very beginning several inaccuracies of style and grammar occur, as "whiche thinges destourben penaunce, and this is in IV thinges ;"² "for to speke first of drede, for which he weneth." Similar confusions of the grammatical and logical subject occur throughout the entire section. That shame at *confession* should be given as the second hindrance to *penance*³ is a contradiction. The glaring error at the beginning of 3 (hope), "Now for to speke of hem that ben so negligent and slowe to schryve hem" (here again we have "schryve" instead

¹ Simon, *ibid.* pp. 253, 254, and 275, uses the form "penaunce" as a proof of the spuriousness of the passages where it occurs.

² This Simon, *ibid.* p. 275, has already pointed out. It is true that the six MSS. read "maneres" instead of the second "thinges", but this does not undo the mistake.

³ Simon, *ibid.* p. 275: "Having just witnessed (in v. 1. *Drede*) that the author took 'penaunce' in the sense of punishment, we are at a loss to conceive how he can mention shame here as a hindrance to shrift only ; since it most certainly also deters men from suffering punishment."

of "to doon penaunce"), "*it stant in II maneres,*" is due to a corruption of Morris's text. Five MSS., Ellesmere being of the number, read correctly, "Now for to speke of the hope of hem."

There is, however, a serious blunder in 4 (wanhope). E gives two kinds of despair, and then an explanation of the first. Next follows "remedye ayens wanhope," evidently against "the firste wanhope:" but "agains the secounde wanhope" follows another remedye for the first, and lastly, a third remedye for the second kind. The text of Morris is here perfectly trustworthy; and to give two kinds, but three remedies, the remedy for the first being prefaced by "agains the secounde wanhope," are more than mere errors of haste.

As already indicated by the general outline, this section E V finds its counterpart in F VII, 4, b, where at the end of confession the same hindrances are brought forward as "choses qui empeeschent confession:" namely, E 1, drede = F 2 paour; E 2 schame = F 1 honte; E 3 hope = F 4 esperance; E 4 wanhope or desperacioun = F 5 desesperance. Since what hinders confession also hinders penance (for without confession there will be no penance), correspondences are quite possible between the two texts, and as a matter of fact they occur: whole passages are in agreement. I will confine myself to pointing out the verbal coincidences. E 1, "drede . . . penaunce" = "paour . . . penitance" (notwithstanding that F only gives five hindrances to *confession*, fear of *penance* already occurs here); "at the regard of the peyne of helle" = "au regart de la peine d'enfer"; E 2 "schame . . . to schryve him" = "honte . . . de dire son pecche" (that E gives shame at *confession* as the second hindrance to *penance* is thus accounted for by F); "a man schulde thinke" = "il doit penser"; "the schame . . . at the day of doom" = "la honte . . . au jor de jugement"; "for all the creatures . . . in erthe . . . schuln seen" . . . = "chascun del monde verra";

E 3, "hope for to lyve longe" = "esperance de longue vie";
 E 4, "dieu est volentis" = "mercy is redy."

Thus in this last chapter E is still in harmony with F, and indeed more so than ever. I have now come to the end of my investigation, for the concluding section, which follows in E on "the fruyt of penaunce," has no parallel in F.

The general result of the foregoing comparison of the *Parson's Tale*, with the "Somme de Vices et de Vertus" of Frère Lorens, is, that the treatise on the seven Deadly Sins and their remedies, the expositions of confession and amendment which immediately follow thereupon, together with the appendix, "What hinders penitence," E IV, 2, 3, and V of the general outline [Morris III, 293, l. 3, from below—368, l. 5, from above] correspond substantially with the section on the seven Deadly Sins, F III, and with parts of the section on the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, F VII of the general outline.

The arrangement of the corresponding chapter is in the main the same. The working out, too, of the corresponding points generally covers the same ground as that in F. There is, however, much in F which is wanting in E, whilst on the other hand many points are more fully treated in E, owing to the introduction of ideas, for the most part not indeed very original, but which are not given by F. But on the whole the matter is much the most condensed in E. Verbal coincidences between the two texts in phrases and turns of expression are most frequent, and the more or less exact agreement of short sentences is not uncommon.

Now how is this close similarity to be explained?

That Frère Lorens has drawn upon the P. T. is out of the question, since the French work was already in existence in 1279, and is therefore older than the P. T. The two following possibilities remain to be considered. 1. The same original text may have been in the hands of both

the author of the sections in E and of Lorens, the latter having translated it literally into French, whilst the former made free use of it. 2. The English author may have made use of the work of Lorens, either in the original, or translated into English.

As to the first possibility, the common original text could only have been a Latin one. And in fact it is asserted by Warton (ed. Hazlitt III. 103) that F is a translation from the Latin: "Among the royal MSS. is a sort of devotional manual, compiled in Latin by Brother Laurence (Frère Lorens or Laurentius Gallus) the confessor of Philip III. in 1279, and translated into French, which translation, usually known under the title of *La Somme de Vices et de Vertus, etc.* — —"

But of the existence of such an original Latin text nothing is known. Another difficulty in the way of this supposition is that in the French text the beginning of the section on death (Ayenb. p. 70) is in verse. It runs:

"Envis muert qui apris ne l'a,
Aprens a morir si sauras vivre,
Car nul bien vivre ne saura
Qui a morir apris n'aura."

These lines, it may be remarked, are the beginning of a French poem, entitled "Enseignement profitable a toutes gens pour bien vivre et bien mourir." In the edition of 1486 (reprinted in "La grande danse Macabre des hommes et des femmes," &c. Paris, Baillieu, *sine anno*, p. 64), the verse runs:

"Qu' a bien vivre veult entendre,
A mourir lui convient apprendre;
Car nul bien vivre ne saura
Qui a mourir apris n'aura."

I attach less importance to the fact that the following six verses are to be found at the conclusion (I give the reading of the Cotton MS. Cleop. A. V.).

"Dont je ne voil ore plus dire,
Mes ci finirai ma matiere

A la gloire nostre seignor,
 A qui en soit toute l'onor
 Qui nous maint en sa compaignie
 La ou est purdurable vie."

The assertion that F is a translation being thus disproved, our first suggested explanation falls to the ground at the same time, and only one possibility remains, viz. that the author of the sections in E may have drawn upon F.

Upon the question, whether he did so directly or by means of an English translation, I cannot enter, as the various English translations (cf. on this point Engl. Studien I. 383¹) are, with the single exception of Ayenbite, still unprinted and inaccessible to me. Besides, this question is of little importance to the subject in hand.

I would, however, say a word upon the possibility of Ayenbite having been used by the author of those sections of the P. T. Can the author have copied from the Ayenbite? No! or, at least, not from this alone, as may be easily shown. At p. 304 we read, "alway he makith a but." For this passage the English writer cannot have made use of the Ayenbite, since the latter has "alnevay he vint and zet ames." The word "ames" makes no sense here, and is to be explained by the fact, that Dan Michel, who did not understand the sentence, took down the French word (*et i met un mes*). In a succession of passages, in which E agrees more or less exactly with F, the two have the same words, of Latin origin, whilst Ayenbite has words of Germanic origin. I will give a few of these passages side by side.

F.	Ayenbite.	E.
— — — et <i>s'abandonne</i> a toutes mauvaistez faire et ne <i>doute</i> a faire pecchie quelqu'il soit.	— — — and him <i>yefþ</i> alle kueadnesses to done and him ne <i>dret</i> nazt to do zenne huet þet hit by. (p. 34.)	— — — he <i>abandounith</i> al his herte to alle maner synne — — — ther is no felonye, ne no synne, that he <i>doutith</i> for to do. (p. 325.)

¹ We learn from Varnhagen, that the MS. Roy, 18. A. X. contains a fragment of another.

F.	Ayenbite.	E.
— — — pour ce que nuls ne <i>s'excusast</i> de l'aprendre. (Cf. Engl. Studien I. 410.)	— — — vor þat non ne ssolde him <i>werye</i> hit vor to lyerny. (p. 99.)	— — — and for a man may not <i>excuse</i> him to lerne it. (p. 364.)
Après vient <i>laschetes</i> . (Cf. Engl. Studien, ibid.)	Afterward comþ <i>were-</i> <i>rihede</i> . (p. 33.)	Thanne comith <i>laches</i> . (p. 327.)
Li tiers maus qui naist de <i>sorquidance</i> est fole <i>emprise</i> de — —	þe þridde kuead, þet comþ of <i>overveninge</i> ys fole <i>opnimminge</i> of ————— (p. 22.)	Presumpcioun is whan a man undertakith and <i>emprisith</i> — — — and that is clepid <i>surquidrye</i> . (p. 295.)
E certes ce n'est que ombres quanque l'en puet fere de penitance en cest siecle au <i>regart</i> de la peine d'enfer.	Hit ne is bote ssed al þet me may do of pe- nounce in þise wordle to þe <i>ziþe</i> of þe pine of helle. (p. 179.)	Bodily penaunce is but schort and litel at the <i>regard</i> of the peyne of helle. (p. 366.)

Many more such passages might be deduced. I would also add one of a somewhat different character. The French words "ire" (the third deadly sin), "rancune", and "haine" (two of its twigs) are at p. 30 of the Ayenbite all alike translated by "wreþe", whilst E, in the chapter *De Ira*, distinguishes between "ire, rancour, and hate."

Even these few passages will be sufficient to prove that the author cannot have drawn upon the Ayenbite only. On the other hand, it is extremely improbable that he should have made use of both the French text and the Ayenbite, as Morris in the preface to his edition of the Ayenbite supposes ("I am inclined to think that Chaucer was not altogether ignorant of Dan Michel's version"). What end would be served by the double trouble? That the word *ssepe* (reward, recompense) occurring several times in Ayenbite, is, from the period of middle English, only authenticated by the P. T. (p. 311, *schipe*), is not conclusive evidence, especially as the verb *schipien* (to reward) has been authenticated by Stratmann.

In the Glossary Morris points out another word, which occurs in the same remarkable form in the P. T., *basilicoc* (basilisk). But F, too, has *basilicoc*. Further proofs Morris has not offered. Who then is the English adapter

of the sections borrowed from the *Somme de Vices et de Vertus*? Chaucer, or an unknown interpolator? The sections are, as Simon first showed, and my investigation has corroborated, full of the most glaring offences against logic, grammar, and style; inconsistencies and absurdities abound. The adaptation is the work of a bungler of the lowest order. Can any one seriously persist in regarding these portions of the P. T. as Chaucer's? Koch, who cannot evade Simon's complete exposure of the defects noticed above, endeavours, nevertheless, to claim for Chaucer the entire P. T. as it has come down to us, and believes that these defects may be explained by supposing that Chaucer either translated some Latin or French sermon, or else simply copied one already translated (*Anglia* II. 543). But this leaves those defects just as they were. How could "a man of recognized intellect like Chaucer," to borrow Koch's own words, have failed to observe that he was translating or copying a dissertation of the poorest type, and simply teeming with the most palpable errors of every kind? And would he faithfully copy it all, though this could not escape him? No! the sections of the P. T., which are taken from the *Somme*, never passed through the pen of Chaucer: they are interpolated.

A further question is, whether we are in a position to eliminate the genuine P. T. from the received text. In the main, certainly: but hardly in all details. It is quite conceivable, not to say probable, that the interpolator made many alterations in the other portions of the P. T. written by Chaucer, which it is now quite impossible to restore to their original form; that he interpolated much, where no interpolation can now be proved, and on the other hand took a sentence here and there, with or without alteration, from the genuine P. T. and wove it into his composition; although such genuine fragments are at present undistinguishable.

Thoroughly, therefore, as I assent to Simon's main

argument against the authorship of Chaucer for the sections in question, cordially as I recognize the penetration with which he, though without access to the *Somme*, demonstrated on the whole almost exactly on internal evidence, just those sections to be spurious, which, as my investigation has shown, are taken from the *Somme* (so that our works complement one another)—I nevertheless consider the attempt which Simon has made to restore the original text of the P. T. as a failure, because an attempt at impossibility.

The utmost that can be said is, that Simon's text stands many degrees nearer to the original conception than the received one.

XVII.

ON CHAUCER'S REPUTED WORKS.

BY

T. L. KINGTON-OLIPHANT, M.A.

[Professor Skeat some years since assignd *The Flower and the Leaf* and *Chaucer's Dream* to the end of the 15th century, and *The Court of Love* to the time of Henry VIII. See his Introduction to his separation of Chaucer's genuine and spurious works in Robert Bell's Series of English Poets (G. Bell and Sons).

Mr. Kington-Oliphant, not knowing Prof. Skeat's opinion, read thro' Chaucer's so-cal'd "Minor Poems", and came to the results stated on the next leaf.—F. J. F.]

I THINK that none of three works attributed to Chaucer, *The Court of Love*, *The Flower and the Leaf*, and *The Dream*, can well be dated before 1520 or thereabouts. I have used Pickering's Aldine Edition of the Poet, vol. vi.

The Court of Love is due to a Northern imitator; there are the phrases *I would be wo* (mœstus), p. 131; *yon same*, p. 169; *thril*, as well as *thirl*, p. 175.

Aged, not found before Occleve.

An Estate (person of quality), not found before Wyntoun.

Pretty (*formosus*) and *mock*, not found before the *Townley Mysteries*.

Primrose, *desk*, *redbreast*, not found before the *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

Hawthorn wise, p. 173; this kind of adverb is not found before 1420.

The fair (i. e. lady), p. 141, 135; *take up a song*; *a world of honour* (much honour), not found before James I. of Scotland.

Bay window, *courtly*, *hourly*, *timerous*, not found before 1470.

Pang, *robin redbreast*, *a pretty man*, not found before Skelton.

Lean to love, not found before Roye.

Cleanliness, not found before Coverdale.

The *at* prefixed to Numerals, referring to time, as, *at eighteen years of age*, not found before the latest *Coventry Mystery*, about 1520.

May day, not found before 1523.

Key, connected with music, not found before 1530.

Heil to thee! p. 152; not found before 1500. There are such late words as *ornate*, *actual*, *religiosity*. Cp.

Hail be 3e feris (? ab. 1320). *E. E. Poems* (Philol. Soc. 1862), p. 153. *Hail be þou, Marie*, 'Hymns to the Virgin' (E. E. T. Soc. 1867), p. 4, &c.

The most modern phrase is, *a figge for all her chastity*! p. 152; I doubt if another instance of this can be found before 1560.

There is one passage, which is the Renaissance all over; where the monks look with wistful eyes "unto these women, courtly, fresh, and shene."

The Flower and the Leaf is also due to a Northern hand; see *ill array*, p. 256; *as I would wene*, p. 252. There is the rime *ware* (wered) in p. 252; this change of the Perfect is not found before 1450:—there is *henchman*, p. 252; the *ch* did not come into this word until 1511.

Ferre off, p. 250, is not found before Fisher.

Such like, not found before 1520.

Light grene, not found before Palsgrave.

As it would seme, p. 251; not found before Joye.

In p. 257, clothes are *wringing wet*; I doubt if there be another instance of this curious idiom before 1570.

There is a blundering imitation of the Old in *to avise hem* (spectare), p. 250; ladies are *to-brent*, p. 255; the Northern writer did not know the force of *to* in composition, which Tyndale did.

There is the new *agnus castus*, a Latin botanical name.

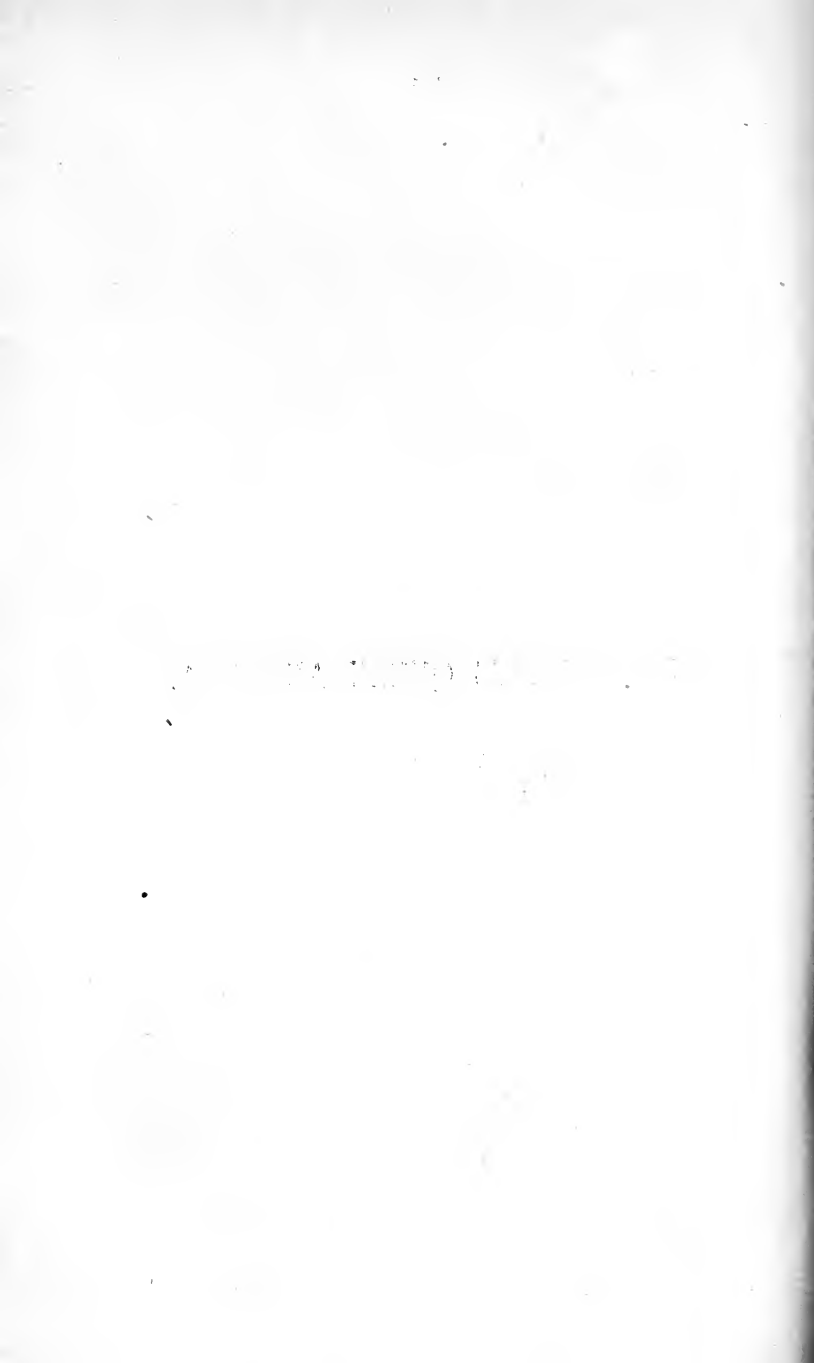
Chaucer's Dream is also due to a Northern poet, as we see by the words *kirke* and *fortravailed* (altered into *fare travailed*), p. 216. There are many phrases which date from after 1500.

Part VI

XVIII.

ON CHAUCER'S QUEEN ANELYDA.

By PROF. COWELL, LL.D.



¹I WAS reading last winter the hymn (Yasht V.) in the Zend-Avesta, addressed to the goddess Anáhita;² and in Darmesteter's translation (lately published in 'the Sacred Books of the East') I came upon a reference to Windischmann's Essay, *die Persische Anahita oder Anaëtis*, 1856, where the principal quotations from the classical writers which bore on the worship of this goddess were to be found collected. I could not find this book mentioned in the Catalogue of the University Library, and in my perplexity I applied for help to our late Librarian, Mr. Henry Bradshaw. He at once suggested what had not occurred to me, that it was no doubt hidden in the publications of some German Academy or Society; and after a little search we discovered it in the *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie*, vol. viii. pp. 86—128. He glanced at the book as he handed it to me, and said, "That is exactly the kind of summary which I have long been wanting, but I had never heard of it: bring it to me when you have done with it. I have for years suspected that Chaucer got the name of the Queen Anelyda in his 'Compleynte' from a misreading of the name of this goddess in some Latin Manuscript; this may enable me to identify the book." He then showed me how easily in the writing of a Manuscript any oblique case of the word, as Anaetidem or Anaetidos, might be read with *l* for *t*, and so suggest Chaucer's name Anelyda. He went

¹ Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, May 13, 1886.

² Anáhita is preserved in modern Persian as *náhid*, "the planet Venus"; in Zend it means intaminata, virgin.

on to mention that there was a special reason for Chaucer's interest in Armenia; but I was so much occupied with the connection of the name with the goddess of my Zend hymn, that I did not pay any attention to this latter point, and I cannot remember what it was. When I returned the book to the Library I gave it to him, and I said, "You must be sure to make this into a paper for our Philological Society; I shall remind you of writing it every time I see you." I did remind him every time we met in the Library, but of course he died before the paper was ever written. My object to-night is to fill up that blank, and to preserve his suggestion from being lost.

Chaucer may have got his knowledge of Anelyda from Pliny, xxxiii. 24, where we find an anecdote about a golden statue taken in Antony's Parthian campaign, "aurea statua in templo Anaetidos posita . . . numine gentibus illis sacratissimo"; but he may have found the name in a mediæval Latin legend about some Armenian saint, as the extracts from Armenian books, which Windischmann gives as an appendix to those from Greek authors, are full of accounts of the persecutions of the early Christians, because they refused to sacrifice to this goddess. Her worship, which had originally been somewhat like that of Diana, had degenerated into that of Venus, and her temples were connected with a great deal of licentiousness. Strabo¹ mentions her especial connection with Armenia; and at the revival of the Zoroastrian religion in Persia under the Sassanian dynasty, in the third century of our era, she became a still more important national deity.

When I came to consult Thomas Walsingham, I soon found what Bradshaw must have had in his mind, when he said that Armenia had a special interest to English people in Chaucer's time.

¹ "Ἀπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἱερὰ καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι τετιμῆκασι, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀναίτιδος διαφερόντως Ἀρμένιοι.—Strabo, xi. 14 (533).

In the beginning of the 14th century a report spread in Europe that Cassianus, the King of the Tartars, had become a Christian. A strange story was current that he had forced the King of Armenia to give him his daughter in marriage; and when the eldest boy was born, "inventus est hispidus et pilosus velut ursus." The father gave orders that the child should be burned, but the queen begged that he might first be baptized, when he instantly became like other children. The chronicler adds, "hoc viso, credidit pater et domus tota."¹

This Cassianus of the Chronicles is no doubt Gházán Khán, the son of Arghún Khán, who succeeded to the throne in 1295. I do not find in D'Ohsson's history of the Mongols any reference to his favouring Christianity,—in fact he became a convert from Buddhism to Muhammadanism; but it is well known that his father had communications with the Pope Nicholas IV., who sent an embassy to him in 1289 under the Franciscan, John de Monte-Corvino; and D'Ohsson² expressly says, "Argoun aimait et protégeait les Chrétiens." A similar rumour had caused St. Louis in 1253 to send the friar William de Rubruquis on a mission to the Tartar Court.

I find several facts in the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which show that Armenia was not entirely an unknown country in England. Thus Matthew Paris mentions that an Armenian Bishop visited England in 1228, and in 1252 some Armenian monks came for a short time to St. Alban's; and Thomas Walsingham describes how in 1362 there was a tournament before the

¹ The story of the monstrous birth is introduced as an incident in the Man of Law's tale; but Professor Skeat informs me that this is also found in the French chronicle by Nicholas Trivet, from whom Chaucer derived the outline of that tale. Trivet wrote his chronicle about A.D. 1300. See *Originals and Analogues*, Part I. (Chaucer Soc.). The incident seems to have been a favourite one in old stories; and indeed its reappearance in connection with the Tartar king is only due to popular rumour.

² Cf. D'Ohsson, iv. 66—81.

King and Queen in Smithfield, and some Knights of Spain, Cyprus, and also Armenia were present; these last seeking help against the Pagans, who had invaded their country. He also gives a curious account under the year 1386, how the King of Armenia, "qui dudum expertus fuerat Regis liberalitatem et procerum,"¹ sent for a safe-conduct, that he might come over and mediate between the kings of England and France, and so stop the threatened renewal of hostilities. The chronicler, however, adds sarcastically, "revera plus desideravit dona quam pacem, plus pecuniam adamavit quam plebem, plus aurum regni quam regem;" and so the Royal council refused to give him the desired permission.

The poem of 'Queen Anelyda and the false Arcyte' with her 'Compleynte,' which is commenced in it, is evidently an early attempt of Chaucer's, which was laid aside; and the plan of the poem was ultimately changed for the story of Palamon and Arcite. Lydgate expressly tells us that it is Chaucer's, for he says:

"Of Anelyda and of fals Arcyte
He made a compleynte, dolful and pitous."

I suppose that the story of the miracle, wrought for the child of the Queen of Armenia, had become familiar to the reading public of that time; and so they would not be struck with any incongruity in the idea of an Armenian queen taking up her abode in Thebes under the reign of Creon;

"Among all these Anelyda the queene
Of Ermony was in that towne dwellynge."

¹ In Fabyan's *Chronicle* it is said that the King of Armenia actually came over to England; for under the date 1384-5, we find: "This yere, kyng Rycharde holdyng his Christemasse at Eltham, thyder cam vnto him the kyng of Ermony, which was chasyd out of his lande by the infydels and Turkys, and requyred ayde of the kyng to be restoryd vnto hys domynyon. The kyng festyd and comfortyd hym accordyng to his honour, and . . . gaue vnto hym great sumes of money and other ryche guyftys, with the whiche, after he had taryed in Englonde vpon ii. monethes, he departyd with glade countenance."—Fabyan, ed. Ellis, p. 532.

Chaucer was probably at a loss for a native name to give her; and so he had recourse to the name of the goddess whom he found connected with Armenia; exactly as Dr. Aikin, in his 'Evenings at Home,' when he was at a loss for an Indian name for the hero of his tale to illustrate the doctrine of transmigration, fell back upon the name of a well-known Indian deity, and called his tale 'The Transmigrations of Indra.'

E. B. COWELL.

XIX.

ON THE HISTORICAL PERSONAGES OF
CHAUCER'S "SQUYERES TALE"
AND OF THE SPURIOUS "CHAUCERS DREME."

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the Editor of the *Studien*, Prof. E. Kölbing, Ph.D.]

RESULTS.

I.

The *Squyeres Tale* was written early A.D. 1390, p. 634.

Cambyskan is King EDWARD III, p. 636-7.

The deserted *Falcon* is ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE,* second daughter of John of Gaunt and his first wife Blanche, p. 633.

The faithless *Tercelet* is JOHN, EARL OF PEMBROKE, p. 633.

The temptress *Kite* is PHILIPPA, COUNTESS OF MARCH, who married the Earl of Pembroke after his divorce from his wife Elizabeth, p. 633-4.

Canacee is CONSTANCE, DUCHESS OF LANCASTER, John of Gaunt's second wife, p. 635.

The Mediator *Camballus* is JOHN OF GAUNT, p. 635.

The *bretheren tuo* are PEDRO THE CRUEL and his bastard brother, ENRIQUE DE TRASTAMARA, p. 635.

Algarsyf is the BLACK PRINCE, p. 637.

II.

Chaucers Dreme (or *The Isle of Ladies*) celebrates the Meeting (at Meulan in 1419, Dream I, p. 650-4) and Marriage (at Troyes in 1420, Dream II, p. 645, 648-9) of HENRY V and CATHERINE of France, p. 645-654.

The *Dreme* was written by an English court-poet in France (p. 645-6, 654), late A.D. 1420 (p. 654).

The aged *Lady* present at the assembly in 1419 was MARGARET, DUCHESS OF CLARENCE, the sister-in-law of Henry V, p. 647-8, 651-2.

* She married in 1397, her second husband, John Holand, Earl of Huntingdon, created Duke of Exeter, 29 Sept. 1397, whose adultery in 1379, with her aunt-in-law, Isabel (de Padilla) of Castille, Duchess of York, Chaucer celebrated in *The Complaint of Mars*.

I. REMARKS ON THE *SQUYERES TALE*.

THE Tale is divided into two Parts, with a sketch of an intended third Part. The first Part treats of the Tartar king *Cambyuskan* (this, and not *Cambynskan*, as Morris, Aldine Ed. II. 355, has it, is the spelling of the MSS.), who has two sons, *Algarsyf* and *Camballo*, and a beautiful daughter, *Canacee*. On his birthday, the chief holiday of the country, he happens to be sitting on his throne in great pomp and splendour, when suddenly a knight appears, with wonderful gifts from the King of Arabia. *Canacee* is presented with a *mirror* that reflects all the hostility and treason in the country, and a *ring*, by the help of which she can understand the language of birds. *Cambyuskan* receives a *sword* that is as powerful in healing as in wounding, and a *horse* of magic strength and agility.—In the second Part *Canacee* makes use of her presents. By the aid of the mirror she sees, in a dream, a (female) *falcon* perching on a dead bough in the park of the palace, in great distress, beating herself with her wings until the blood comes, and gradually falling from the branch in unconsciousness. By virtue of the ring, the Princess learns from the falcon that she has been shamefully forsaken by her *tercelet*. After he had won her by apparent “gentillesse,” and possessed her but a year or two, an affair of honour called him from her side, and all of a sudden he flew faithfully after a miserable *kite*. *Canacee*, full of pity for the

poor falcon, takes her in her lap, in order to cure her. But she can only contribute towards her cure by means of wholesome herbs and ointments. The lover cannot be recalled, except through the mediation of Camballo.—The third Part of the Tale was to treat of the heroic deeds which Camballo, his father Cambyuskan, and his brother Algarsyf performed with the assistance of the horse of brass. Chaucer has clearly sketched the contents of this third Part in its chief features (Part II. 312—324): Cambyuskan, in his time, won many a city; Algarsyf, with the help of the horse, overcame many dangers for his wife Theodora; Camballo fought with two brothers, ere he might win Canacee. Chaucer evidently intended to supply the preliminary history of the heroes mentioned in the first Part. Only the first two lines, however, were written (II. 325 f.). In the further course of the poem, he hoped to show how the falcon got back her lover through the mediation of Camballo. Nothing of all this is in existence.

What does this odd fiction of Tartars and animals mean?

Tyrwhitt believed that it was simply a fairy-tale which Chaucer had englished, and regretted not being able to find its source. Sandras, in his *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 232, followed Tyrwhitt. Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, tried to trace the magic presents which Canacee and Cambyuskan receive, back to Arabian lore. Taking this hint, Skeat (Clarendon Press Ed., p. xlii ff.) proved that nearly all of these gifts occur in *The Arabian Nights*, and he at the same time called attention to some intermediate links. Thus, in the thirteenth century a magic horse appears in the French Romance of Cleomades and Claremond. Knowledge of the language of birds, as Canacee acquires it through the magic ring, is found, more than once, in the *Sevyn Sages*, as well as a magic mirror which forebodes threatening dangers (Virgil's story). But Chaucer has added an allegorical element. The steed,

with its resemblance to Pegasus and the Trojan horse, has become a symbol of royal military power. It is made of metal, and obeys a pin- or needle-prick in the ear, that is, a word of command. Even when asleep it can carry its rider anywhere. When so ordered, it stands still as though rooted to the ground. When no longer wanted, it is made to "vanish," and the bridle is hung up in a tower. With its aid, the son of a king overcomes great dangers in battle (I. 107 ff., 173 ff., 320 ff.; II. 320). The second present that Cambyuskan gets, the naked sword, stands in a still simpler manner for the judicial power of the king; it cuts with the edge through any coat of mail, healing, however, any wound as soon as the owner touches it with the flat part of the blade (I. 148 ff.).

We get beyond the realm of the fabulous, and on somewhat real ground, when we inquire into the origin of the Tartar names and customs. Hertzberg, *Canterbury-Geschichten*, p. 631 ff., traced them back to Maundeville's Travels. In a more complete way, Chaucer's account coincides with that of Marco Polo, who died 1324, three years before Sir John Maundeville went abroad. Skeat has proved this (Clarendon Press Ed., p. xlii ff. and p. 207 ff.); and the parallels he found may still be increased. To Marco Polo may be traced back, with trifling changes, the names of Cambyuskan (= Chingis Khan, in Friar Ricold "Camiuscan"), of Camballus or Camballo (Marco Polo's Cambaluc), and of the capital Sarai (I. 1, 4, 23; II. 310, 321); the description of the Khan himself, of the festival on his birthday, and of the magnificence of his court; further, the remark that the Tartars eat many things "that in this lond men recche of it but smal," I. 63 (according to Marco Polo, horses and dogs); the appearance of an ambassador from another king bringing presents (I. 73 ff.); finally, the park with various sorts of falcons in the neighbourhood of the palace (II. 46 ff.). It may be that the visit of Leo, king of Armenia, who was in London in 1385 and

1386, had contributed to call Chaucer's attention to such remote regions of the East.

But still the poem has neither coherence nor purpose. The second Part, the story of the falcons, is entirely obscure, and yet it is apparently full of allusions to real historic persons, who must have been prominent enough to be recognized by any reader, in spite of their masks. Obscure also are many details, especially the relation of *Camballo* to *Canacee*: in I. 23, 25 they both appear as children of *Cambyuskan*, while in II. 321-23 *Camballo* is said to have won *Canacee* in fight "with the bretheren tuo." Was she, therefore, his sister or his wife? *Tyrwhitt* conjectured a corruption of the text in the name *Camballo* (II. 321): the conqueror of *Canacee*, he argued, must have been another person than her brother; a new knight must have been introduced there, and "the two brothers" whom he fought with were the above-mentioned *Camballo* and *Algarsyf*. *Hertzberg* arrived at essentially the same conclusion. The objections, however, to such a proposed alteration are—

1. The reading of all the MSS. that have come to light since the days of *Tyrwhitt*; they write uniformly *Camballo*.

2. The connection; for this man is not only introduced as a well-known person, but enumerated in an uninterrupted series with his father and brother. *Chaucer* wishes first to describe the warlike deeds of *Cambyuskan* (II. 315), next those of *Algarsyf* (II. 317), and then, naturally, those of the Khan's second son, *Camballo* (II. 321). An omission of the latter in favour of a person not mentioned before would be striking in the highest degree, and would have demanded some sort of justification.—*Skeat* (p. 223) hit on another way out of the difficulty: he is inclined to see in *Camballo* the lover (II. 321), and in *Camballus* the brother (II. 310), assuming thus two altogether different persons with almost identical names. But that is impossible according to *Chaucer's* own words; for the *Camballus* of II. 310 is explicitly called "the kinges sone, of which I

yow tolde," that is, with an evident allusion to the Camballo of I. 23. Nor would Skeat's supposition be of any value to restore the connection.—Of just as little use to us are the guesses of two poets of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth century, who attempted to continue the story left as a fragment by Chaucer. Spenser, *Faery Queen*, Book IV. cantos 2 and 3, sees in Camballo simply Canacee's brother, and makes him maintain her cause against three (instead of two) strange brothers; at the end "wise Cambina" appears (a mere invention of Spenser), brings about a reconciliation, and marries Camballo, while Canacee becomes the wife of one of her warlike suitors. An ingenious fiction, but certainly not realizing Chaucer's intention. Completely worthless is the continuation of *Lane*, who considers Canacee merely as the sister of Camballo and Algarsyf, and, in the struggle of these two brothers with each other, gives her the part of a mediator. The poem, which has lately been printed for the Chaucer Society, makes a very poor impression on account of its entire want of poetic merit, its lengthy descriptions, and its bombastic Philistinism. Thus we are obliged to fall back upon the internal evidence given by Chaucer himself.

The point from which a rational attempt at an explanation must start, has been plainly indicated by the poet himself: "I schulde to the knotte condescende . . . the knotte, why that every tale is tolde" (II. 61, 54). It is the story of the loving, forsaken falcon that is consoled by Canacee. This is also shown by a comparison of our tale with *The Frankeleynes Tale* which immediately follows, and is evidently meant for a counterpart. The Frankeleyne tells of a faithful wife who runs the risk of being separated from her beloved husband, until general magnanimity re-establishes her former happiness. In a similar strain Chaucer hoped to be able to sing of the falcon's fate. Both stories treat prominently of a wife's trials in love. "Say us a tale of love," says the "Hoste"

in the Prologue of the *Squyeres Tale*, and the Squyere answers: "Nay; but I will say as I can with herty wil." The Squyere having scarcely finished his tale, the Frankeleyne praises his gentle sympathy, and continues in the same vein. We have, therefore, to search in the contemporary Chronicles for an unhappy marriage in which Chaucer would take so profound an interest. Two hints of a general nature will facilitate this inquiry. First, the metre—heroic couplets—points to Chaucer's third period (1385—1400). Second, in the cryptology of the political poets, as it was especially developed by the Court prophets, and under the influence of the growing delight in coats of arms, a falcon always signified a member of the royal family; cp. Chaucer's *Assembly of Foules*, Langland's *Richard the Redeles*, *Thomas of Erceldoune*, Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*, II. 221-3, and Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, I. 152.

I thought at first that I had found such a case of adultery in the royal family, at the end of the fourteenth century, in the marriage of Richard II.'s favourite brother-in-law, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, with Philippa, the granddaughter of Edward III., to which my attention had been called by C. Höfler's learned dissertation on Queen Anne of Bohemia (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1871, p. 100 ff.). I consider this hypothesis here, although I have since then abandoned it, partly in order to show how dangerous it is to interpret such allusions rashly, partly to anticipate a captivating objection. Robert de Vere had married Philippa, when she was still a delicate girl, probably in 1384; for her mother, the Princess Isabella, did not wed the French nobleman de Coucy (created Earl of Bedford), Philippa's father, until July 1365 (cp. the Genealogical Table, p. 641). But as early as 1386 he left her, and threw himself into the arms of a Bohemian lady, whom the chroniclers call Lancerone or Lancegrove, and who, according to some reports, was not even of noble extraction (*Höfler*, p. 101). Robert de Vere would thus be the

tercelet, Philippa the falcon, and the Bohemian lady the kite. The falcon belonged, according to Chaucer, to the species of the Peregryns, and seemed to be "of fremde lond" (II. 83), just as Philippa was also the daughter of a foreigner, who soon after the marriage had removed to the Court of Paris. The poet ascribes a pleasing, gentle, flattering disposition to the tercelet (II. 159 ff.), which would very well correspond with that of the royal favourite. The marriage had lasted scarcely "a yeer or two," when the tercelet left on some pretext, and flew after the kite (II. 228 ff.): an act which made the falcon very unhappy, so that she "bigon to crye, that al the woode resounded of hire cry" (II. 67). And so was, in reality, the sympathy of all England with Philippa, with the exception of the King and of the Queen (who was a Bohemian herself). Chaucer goes on to tell us, that Camballo, "the kynges sone," undertook to be a mediator (II. 310). This would have to be interpreted as referring to the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III., who, indeed, greatly prided himself upon his direct royal descent in opposition to Richard II., the son of the Black Prince, and who had just then (1387) instigated a rebellion which brought the King under his guardianship.

There are, however, weighty arguments against this theory. Above all, de Vere has no right to be represented as a falcon, as he was not of royal descent. Further, who is to be Canacee, the comforting daughter of the king? Philippa's mother had previously died, and had no connection whatever with the mother of the faithless husband, who, according to the account of the chroniclers, took care of Philippa. And yet Chaucer must have had a special feeling of reverence for the pretended Canacee, for he does her homage in most elaborate terms: "to telle yow al hir beaute, it lith not on my tonge, ne my connynge; I dar nought undertake so heigh a thing" (I. 26—28). Then, if Camballo is the Duke of Gloucester, who is

his brother Algarsyf? Gloucester had at that time only two more brothers, John of Lancaster and Edmund of York; and nobody can tell which of them should have been ignored. Both fought, moreover, not in connection with Gloucester, but in Spain, and for quite different purposes. On Gloucester's side stood at that time, as his nearest relative in England, only Henry (afterwards King Henry IV.), son of John of Lancaster, and consequently not Gloucester's brother, but his nephew. Nor does history tell us that Gloucester ever fought with two brothers for a lady ("Camballo fought in listes with the bretheren tuo for Canacee," II. 321). Finally, *The Squyeres Tale* is written with a decided tendency in favour of Canacee and Camballo, and with a prejudice against the terecelet and the kite. Had Chaucer in this way sided with Richard II.'s antagonist Gloucester, against Richard's favourite and the Bohemian friend of the Queen, we should find his conduct not only ungrateful and unwise, but also perfectly inconsistent with the liberality which Richard afterwards manifested towards Chaucer. Gloucester had no sooner come into power, in the autumn of 1386, than Chaucer was dismissed from his office of Comptroller of the Wool-customs; and would Chaucer be likely to abandon, in favour of him, the friendship of the King and Queen?

Impossible! I therefore gave up this long-pursued track, and began rummaging chronicles again, until I found in Henricus de Knighton (ed. Twysden, *X. Scriptores*, p. 2677; cp. Pauli, IV. 727) a passage which removed all difficulties. Knighton has the following remarks with regard to the departure of Duke John of Lancaster for the Spanish campaign (1386-89): "Habuit autem idem pius dux in comitatu suo uxorem suam Constanciam, filiam regis Petri Hispaniarum, et Katerinam, filiam ejus, quam genuerat de eadem Constancia; duas etiam alias filias quas genuerat de domina Blanchia, priori uxore sua, filia et hærede Henrici ducis Lancastriæ, scilicet dominam Philip-

pam non conjugatam, et dominam *Elizabet, Comitissam de Penbrok, dimisso viro suo juvene in Anglia. Qui comes, post recessum uxoris suae, fecit divorcium, et desponsavit sororem comitis de Marchia.* Dominus vero Johannes de Holande primo dictam Elizabet desponsavit sibi in uxorem." Consequently the parts of the birds are distributed as follows: ELIZABETH, the daughter of Duke John of Lancaster (the son of Edward III.), and of his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster, is the falcon. She is of royal descent on both sides, and just returned "of fremde lond" (Chaucer, II. 83); and at that time most likely married only "a yeer or two" (Chaucer, II. 228) to the Earl of Pembroke (1372-90), as he was so very young (cp. Genealogical Table, p. 641). The tercelet is represented by this JOHN, EARL OF PEMBROKE junior, son of John, Earl of Pembroke senior (1347-75) and a great-granddaughter of Edward I. (married in 1359: cp. Sandford, *Historical Genealogy*, 1707, p. 209). In this case, therefore, the faithless husband is also a Prince of the blood. John of Pembroke junior is, furthermore, described by Thomas of Walsingham (*Historia Anglicana*, R. B. S., 1864, II. 195) as "liberalis, affabilis cunctis, humilis et benignus." To this correspond the qualities which Chaucer ascribes to his adulterer in spite of his falseness: "gentillesse, observaunce, subtil colour and acqueyntaunce; fressche, and gay, and goodly for to seen, and humble, and free" (II. 159—170, 276 f.). Of this Pembroke, finally, history verifies, what is nowhere said of Robert de Vere before his divorce, but what is explicitly emphasized by Chaucer with regard to the tercelet, that he took leave of his wife Elizabeth for a while, in order to arrange certain matters at home—"on a day, of me he took his leve . . . for his honour . . . I made vertu of necessite and took it wel" (II. 240 ff.). Cp. Knighton's "dimisso viro suo juvene in Anglia." The temptress, the "kite," is of course the Countess PHILIPPA OF MARCH (cp. the pedigree, p. 641). The poet's

vigorous partisanship of Elizabeth against the antagonists of her house (cp. especially II. 301—304) agrees remarkably with Chaucer's strong and well-known attachment to the Lancasters.

Before I proceed to the explanation of the figures of Canacee and the pretended Tartars, I have to make a chronological remark. Pembroke's adultery was committed "post recessum uxoris suae;" *i. e.* after the month of November 1389, when Duke John of Lancaster returned to England from a three years' Spanish campaign with his wife Constance and his daughter Elizabeth, the young Countess of Pembroke (Pauli, IV. 562). It is quite in the nature of occasional pieces to follow immediately the event they treat of. This might be sufficient to place *The Squyeres Tale* at the beginning of the year 1390.—But more evidence can be added. Pembroke was killed about Christmas 1390, in a tournament (Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II. 195), while in the poem he is mentioned as being still alive. "Thus hathe the kite," the falcon complains in II. 282, "my love in hir service." Chaucer must, consequently, have written the story before Christmas 1390, and even some time before Christmas, for Pembroke seems to have been engaged only, and not yet married, to the Countess of March at the time of the composition of the poem. If not, how could Chaucer have expressed a hope that the faithless husband might be called back through the mediation of Camballus? (II. 308-10).—Perhaps we may even see the reason that caused Chaucer not to finish the poem, in the conclusion of Pembroke's second marriage and in his sudden death. For now every hope of reconciliation was gone; and the remembrance of the event would only be painful to the Lancasters, his old patrons. Moreover, the forsaken Countess in course of time grew used to thinking of a second marriage,¹ in decided

¹ Elizabeth seven years after married John of Holand, who had been the Constable of her father in Spain; and after his death she

contradiction to the entire character of a touching love story. *The Squyeres Tale* is not a fairy-tale, but an occasional poem that had to be broken off as soon as its plan and idea was crossed by the actual course of things.

Now, if we glance at the state of affairs at the beginning of 1390, we cannot but see who is meant by the Mediator, and who by the consoling Canacee whom Camballo had won by fighting with two brothers: the Mediator and Canacee were evidently the father and step-mother of Elizabeth, John Duke of Lancaster and his second wife Constance de Padilla. The Duke had just returned victorious from Spain (in November 1389); he was most graciously received by Richard II. (Pauli, IV. 562 and 589), and had, therefore, the power as well as the right to reproach his daughter's faithless husband. He had won his Constance in a former campaign in Spain, by assisting her father, Pedro the Cruel, against his bastard-brother Enrique de Trastamara (Pauli, IV. 460 ff. and 475), that is, by fighting "with the bretheren tuo." The various difficulties of this passage, as above mentioned, thus find quite a satisfactory explanation. First, the "tuo bretheren" with whom Canacee's husband had to fight, are not Camballo-Lancaster and Algarsyf, but those two Spaniards. The fact that he fights with one brother against the other, must be assumed to satisfy Chaucer's words. That Chaucer does not immediately after describe the two brothers, must not be wondered at: it frequently occurs in Middle-English epic poetry that the persons are not described at their first appearance, but only when they become important for the story (*Anzeiger f. d. Altertum*, X. 340). The other difficulty concerning the relationship of Camballo and Canacee, took a third husband. If Pauli (IV. 560) dates her second marriage before the beginning of the Spanish campaign (1386), he has merely misread; for Pauli, too, quotes in his genealogical table the above-mentioned passage in Knighton as his only source; and according to that passage, Elizabeth evidently returned from Spain before her second marriage.—Elizabeth died in 1425/6. Her portrait, drawn from an old church-window, is to be seen in Sandford, p. 259.

who at first seem to be brother and sister, but afterwards husband and wife, is also removed as soon as we point to the fact, that the poet never calls Camballo directly the brother of Canacee. They are simply called children of Cambyuskan, *i. e.* of King Edward III. Camballo was his real son, Canacee his *daughter-in-law*, and she had lived for years at Court as his daughter-in-law (1371-77). Such a mysterious confounding of daughter and daughter-in-law, as we must suppose it to have been in this case, corresponds strikingly with the fondness indulged in by many political and allegorical poets of that time for transparent riddles. That Constance took care of her step-daughter Elizabeth is so natural, that we need no confirmation of it by chronicles. She was sure to feel all the more sympathy for the forsaken lady, since her own daughter and her second step-daughter were already married to the Kings of Portugal and of Castille (Pauli, IV. 561). Besides, she is described by Walsingham (*Historia Anglicana*, II. 214) as “mulier super fœminas innocens et devota.” And further, what a harmonious coincidence it is, that Chaucer, who, twenty years before, had sung the praises of Lancaster’s first wife in the *Boke of the Duchesse*, should now pay homage to his second consort too! He had just (on the 12th July, 1389) received another token of favour from the house of Lancaster—the lucrative office of a Clerk of the King’s Works. He therefore very likely welcomed the brilliant return of the ducal family a few months afterwards as a good opportunity to express his gratitude, and at the same time to praise in a significant manner the compassionate disposition of his mistress. He would also be sure to find the public interested, just at this time, as well in the family history, which the second Part of the poem treats of, as in the adventures of the Spanish war, which the third Part was to describe; for in 1390 it was only in this direction that foreign politics could furnish the English people with a topic for discussion. Nor is it, lastly, with-

out importance to notice in this connection, that Chaucer also alludes to Spanish events in the *Monkes Tale*, and in a way that is remarkably friendly to Pedro the Cruel, the father of Constance: "O noble, o worthi Pedro, glori of Spayne!"

Cambyuskan, Camballo's father, has already been identified with Edward III. Not only the relationship, but everything the poet enumerates of the qualities and deeds of the Khan applies to the King. He was in "his tyme (I. 5; II. 316; Edward III. died in 1377) of so great renoun, that ther was nowher in no regioun so excellent a lord" (I. 5—7). He was "hardy, wys, riche, pitous (at least towards his own people), just, benigne and honourable" (I. 11—14). He ruled a long time; if Chaucer introduces the Khan in the twentieth year of his reign (I. 35), this round number surely does not claim historical exactness, but simply pictures him at the summit of his greatness. He mastered the sword as a judge, and the brazen steed as a leader of his army, and "wan many a cite" (II. 316). It is a beautiful feature of Chaucer's gratitude, that he erected in this way an honourable monument to his first king, who had been gracious to him in times of peace and war, who had ransomed him from captivity, and bestowed upon him a life-long pension. Again, it is a fine touch that Chaucer, who himself had belonged to the King's Esquires, used the very tale of the Squyere for this purpose, or rather, that in the composition of the *Canterbury Tales* he makes the Squyere relate the Tartar fragment.—In the third Part he meant to recount still more of the King's warlike deeds. The memory of his bravery and good luck could only help to recommend his son Lancaster to the reader. Loyalty agreed well with the tendency of the tale.

Algarsyf may have been introduced with the same intention. He is the King's eldest son (I. 22), viz. the Black Prince. Of him the third canto was to tell, "how that he

wan Theodora to hys wyf, for whan (or whom) ful ofte in greate peril he was, ne hadde he ben holpen by the horse of brass" (II. 318-20). The Black Prince had indeed married for love, and then likewise performed warlike deeds in Spain (1367), which evidently were to be represented as gallant and glorious achievements in honour of his wife, who, surrounded by a brilliant court, was an interested spectator of the events in the neighbouring city of Bordeaux (Pauli, IV. 458 ff.). Nothing more than military glory resulted from this campaign, the importance of which consisted, however, in the fact, that for the first time English troops marched into Spain; it was the prelude to the more successful campaign from which John of Lancaster was returning.¹ How fit for Chaucer just then to hint that it was the most popular hero of England who had begun the policy of interference in Spain! How flattering for Lancaster to be praised as the fortunate accomplisher of what his eldest brother had only aspired to!

The objection which might be made to Chaucer's mentioning but two of the King's sons, while Edward III. had half a dozen, is not a valid one. A glance at the accompanying Genealogical Table shows that the poet had to make a choice in order not to give a mere annalistic enumeration; and he has not chosen without discrimination.

Nor can the objection be well supported, that the dead—the Black Prince and Edward III.—and the living are brought together in too great confusion. The first Part of the Tale treats only of Edward III. and such members of his house as were alive in his time and played a part in Spanish affairs; the second Part deals only with the actors in the then tragedy in the family of Lancaster (1390). It is characteristic, too, that the mediation is not expected from the powerful Khan, Edward III. (1377), but from Camballo-Lancaster. The two Parts of the poem deal with different periods. There is a corresponding difference in the poetic

¹ See Macaulay, *Hist.* 1.

dress: the first Part is a Tartar fairy-tale, the second a visionary allegory of birds. There is also a difference of aim: in the first Part the poet lays great stress upon the hearty agreement between the people's king, Edward III., and his Spanish daughter (in-law) who brought the claims to the Spanish throne with her to the house of Lancaster, and upon the magic means that both possessed of working and seeing at a distance. In the second Part we are particularly called upon to show our sympathy with the youngest child of the Lancastrians, and to bestow our human interest on the whole Lancastrian family.

Finally, we must not stumble at the decorative appellation of "yong" that is given to Cambyuskan (I. 15), although Edward III. was almost sixty when Lancaster married Constance. For hardly a few lines later on (I. 35) the poet himself asserts that the King had already ruled for twenty years, and that he was the father of several adult sons. Court poets are generally very liberal in compliments. It is also perfectly plain, if Canacee-Constance is called "yongest" (I. 25) in the first canto, while in the second she is to be imagined as the mother of a married daughter. In this circumstance lies only a further confirmation of the difference in time between the first and the second Parts of the Tale. In the former, *i. e.* before 1377, Canacee-Constance was indeed very young; but in the latter, at the time of the family discord of 1390, the poet no longer lays any stress upon her youthfulness, but upon her wisdom and foresight.

Summary.—Chaucer wrote the *Squyere's Tale* early in 1390, in honour of the family of Lancaster, who had just then returned from Spain, in order to show his gratitude to them, to excite public sentiment in their favour, and to recommend himself once more to their patronage. He first called attention to Lancaster's popular father, Edward III., and the origin of the English campaigns in Spain (first Part). The poet then proceeds to describe the distress

which Elizabeth, Lancaster's daughter, suffered soon after her return from Spain, through the adultery of her former husband, John of Pembroke, and the gentleness of her step-mother, Duchess Constance (second Part). Then was to follow the story of the military exploits in Spain of Lancaster and his renowned brother, the Black Prince, with some details about his father, Edward III., who had favoured these adventures. After the fashion of the time, however, Chaucer did not treat this subject with bold directness, but clothed it in a dress of fable. The motivos he borrowed partly from the remotest empire known at that time, Tartary, as described by Marco Polo; and partly he adopted the bird disguises of the English Court poets. He evidently intended to make the conclusion of the poem a reconciliation, which, however, became impossible on account of faithless Pembroke's marrying another lady in the year 1390. The poem remained fragmentary, was in this state inserted in the *Canterbury Tales*, and, with a delicate autobiographical allusion, was ascribed to the Squyere. In 1397, seven years after Pembroke's death, John of Lancaster married his deserted Falcon-daughter Elizabeth to the John of Holand, Earl of Huntingdon (made Duke of Exeter, 29 Sept. 1397), whose adultery with John of Lancaster's sister-in-law, Isabel of Castille, Chaucer had previously celebrated in *The Complaint of Mars*, 1379 (see Shirley's MS. in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 20, Furnivall's *Trial-Forewords*, p. 80, and Ten Brink, *Geschichte der Engl. Literatur*, II. 76). To this poem, and further back to *The Boke of the Duchesse*, written on the death of Blanche, Elizabeth's mother (1369), *The Squyeres Tule* is then a kind of sequel, affording thus one more proof of the realistic character of Chaucer's poetry, and of his intimate relations with the house of Lancaster, whose usurper, King Henry IV., he afterwards easily enough acknowledged (1399), and from whom he at once received a pension. Every tenth year a Lancaster-hymn!

II. ON THE SPURIOUS "CHAUCERS DREME."

THAT this poem does not belong to the genuine works of Chaucer, was conjectured by Hertzberg in 1867 (in Lemcke's *Jahrbuch*, VIII., 133 f.), on account of the numerous faulty rhymes it contains. This presumption was confirmed by Ten Brink in 1870 (*Chaucer-Studien*, I. 165—170), and is based upon peculiarities of language and style. Rhymes are found in the poem that never occur in the well-authenticated works of Chaucer; viz. the inaccurate rhymes, French *-ie* : *y* or *e* (*e. g.* *companie* : *joyously* or *be*), *nine* : *greene* (Aldine Ed., V. 1861), *u* : *open o* before *n* consonant (205, 1401, 1660), *ou* : French *u* (*vertuous* : *use* 809, 1889), *appele* : *counsele* 1669; and the Northern rhymes, O.E. *êage* or *seah* : *ee*, *knowe* : *lowe* (read *lawe*, O.E. *lagu*) 323, *overthrawe* : *wawe* 1630, *paines* : *whyeh to the death full oft me straines* 909 (the inflexion *-es*, however, in the singular of the verb to go, viz. *she gose* 1288, and *he gose* 1524, has its counterparts in the *Boke of the Duchesse*, 73, 257, and in the *House of Fame*, 426, 818). Besides, the story is uncommonly involved and full of strange events, while Chaucer is fond of simple motivos. The learned and philosophical apparatus, which he keeps continually at hand, is almost totally wanting. The construction is often so prolix as to appear bombastic. If I, in spite of all this, retain, with Ten Brink, the old title of "Chaucer's Dream," I do not mean a dream that Chaucer himself had, or wrote, but one that was formerly ascribed to him, and that on the whole is written in his manner.

Something more definite about the author and the origin of the poem may be discovered, if we search out the meaning of the story, which is rather obscure. So far as I see, it is still very uncertain ground. Tyrwhitt undertook to trace to its source only one of the many strange motivos—the revival of a dead person with the help of an herb

brought by a bird, and applied at first, before the eyes of the bystanders, for the resuscitation of another bird that was dead. The idea of such a magic plant occurs long before, in Marie de France's *Lai d'Eliduc*, and, further back, in the legendary history of Greece (Hyginus, fab. 136, de Polydo). Sandras, in his *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 81 ff., following up Tyrwhitt, pointed out that several features in the description of the "Yle of Pleasaunce," which often occurs in our poem, have French and Celtic prototypes. The high walls and splendid gates which surround the island may be traced back to Marie de France's *Legend of St. Patrick*, where they appear as the enclosure of Paradise. The magic ship, by means of which intercourse with the island is kept up, without a steersman and without delay, occurs in Marie de France's *Lai de Gugemar*, and in Machault's *Dit du Lyon*.¹ The tree on the distant cliff by the sea, regularly resorted to by the women of the island, because its fruits secure them lasting health and beauty, has its counterpart in the legend of St. Brandan, and (further back) in the Merlin Saga. I may add, that the poetical apparatus which, since the *Romaunt of the Rose*, was constantly employed by the French lyric poets, and by their English imitators, the Chaucer School, is no less liberally made use of here. There is the month of May, with its wealth of flowers and singing birds; there are glass walls, rooms painted with old stories, hyper-pathetic love-talk, Cupid with his arrow, an allegorical parliament, visions, and at the end a modest "envoy." All these fictions, however, are not the end, but only the means to the end. They only clothe the real subject, which, as I believe, is historical. If we consider the whole as a fairy-tale, we must judge as Sandras does: "le merveilleux n'y excite aucun intérêt;" there is a lack of connection, of logical order and psychological consistency, and strange fables are wildly mixed up with matter-of-fact details. If, however,

¹ Spenser uses it in his *Fuerie Queen*, Bk. II. Canto XII. st. 2 ff.

we take it as a poem bearing upon public events of the time, it has throughout point and meaning. The same idea occurred to E. Bond and to Hertzberg; the former guessed at Lancaster's first marriage (in 1359), the latter at his third (1396); but Hertzberg himself (*l. c.*) has rightly called both these suppositions subjective. The more care, therefore, must be taken to proceed systematically.

Without entering into details, I must beg to call to mind that the poem is divided into two different dreams. The first (dreamt on a night in May, which the poet spends in a forest-lodge) treats of the "Yle of Pleasaunce"; of the ever-beautiful ladies on this island, together with their mistress, the poet's "lady"; of a "queen" and an enraptured "knight," who, through the mediation of the "lady" and Cupid, happily arrive at the resolution to get married; and finally, of a similar success the poet has with his "lady" (ll. 1—1298). All the more disagreeable is the poet's surprise, when he awakes, to find himself weak and fatigued in a smoky room, his body wet with tears. Quite giddy, he rouses himself, climbs up a winding staircase into a room "paint full of stories old and divers," and where he falls asleep again (l. 1344). This second dream is a direct continuation of the first (cp. l. 1435 f.). The poet is once more on the "Yle of Pleasaunce," in the presence of the lovers, who are now to be married and crowned; but before the ceremony takes place, the knight has to collect a band of companions, who are to serve as his escort to the festival. He applies to the estates of the kingdom, which, together with the hand of the queen, he has lately won; but though he is loyally received as the legitimate king, and heir to the throne, he cannot obtain the desired 60,000 knights until some time has elapsed. In consequence of this delay, the loving princess dies of longing. The knight finds her dead on his arrival, and stabs himself. It is only by means of a magic herb, brought by a bird, that the loving couple are restored to

life. After that, the wedding is celebrated, to which the "lady" is summoned at the special wish of the king. Again the poet dreams, in conclusion, that he has also received his lady's hand, through the king's example and intercession, and again awakes to the miserable reality, this time doubly painful (l. 2168). In a postscript he directly asks the lady to take him into her service :

"That of my dreame the substance
Mighte once more turne to cognisaunce" (l. 2191 f.).

I will begin by interpreting the second dream, as there the political allusions are most explicit. That passage is especially striking in which the poet, just before the knight's coronation, speaks of the knight's father and of his former life: the "old wise father" had died seven years before, after having heartily recommended his young son to the barons as their legitimate ruler, "if he returne to that contree mighte, by adventure or grace." This prince, though "tender in age," undertook a mighty task; he went out "to seeke a princesse that he desirede more than richesse for her greate name," viz. the "queen," and with her he won back his heritage (ll. 1409—1436). Such a situation there was but once in the royal house of England—and this family is naturally first to be thought of—namely, in the year 1420, when Henry V. married Catherine of France. Exactly seven years before, his father, Henry IV., had died, at the age of forty-seven, blessing his son, who was then twenty-six. Some exaggeration of the father's old age and the son's youth must be placed to the credit of poetical imagination. Henry V. undertook his French campaign with the pretence of being the rightful heir of France, the greater part of which had really belonged to his ancestors; hence the word "returne." It may seem strange that seven years after his father's death the hereditary prince should still be called a "knight." But, on French soil, Henry V. was in fact only a pretender, until Catherine brought him the crown.

Not without good reason does the poet call her "queen" from the very beginning, and emphasizes her "great name." If, therefore, the poem was composed in the part of France belonging to England—a topic on which more will be said later—and if it pretended to express the sentiments of the new subjects, these denominations are perfectly correct. In addition, it may be remarked that the contemporary chronicler, Thomas de Elmham, speaks of the conquest of France as of Henry V.'s return "in patriam ipsam" (*Vita Henrici Quinti*, chap. 89), and that the English were even afraid of being treated as a French province (Pauli, V. 166).

Between the passage just dealt with and the beginning of the second dream, several political allusions occur, which also correspond exactly to the events of 1420. The "knight," the "queen," and the poet's "lady" meet "on a greene," and resolve "that the knight there shoulde be king, and they would all for sure wisse wedded be" (l. 1354). The treaty is "concluded, written, and sealed" (l. 1365), and "the feast and coronation" are to take place within a certain time; not immediately, for the knight wants first to fetch "an hoste" of companions (l. 1363). He returns "into his countree, to the court where he went was to dwelle" (ll. 1387—1392); the estates appear at the first calling "with glade spirits," and receive him obediently as "her king, that forgotten was nothing" (l. 1403 f.).—All this evidently refers to the conclusion of the **treaty of Troyes** (March 21st to April 9th, 1420), in which it was settled that Henry V. was to become the husband of Catherine, as well as the successor of the French king, and at once the regent of France. The French estates consented, and did homage. Even the surprising circumstance, that they are said to have received the conqueror gladly, is confirmed by the English chronicler Walsingham: "populo civitatis (Parisiorum) ut apparuit, valde gaudente" (*Hist. Angl.*, II. 334).

Only two doubtful points remain to be considered:—

1. According to history, Henry V. was not personally present at the negotiations of Troyes, but had remained in camp, sending ambassadors to represent him. The poet, nevertheless, speaks expressly of the prince's presence, and of his journey back; he makes him return over "the wavy see" (l. 1388). Is that not a contradiction? No; it is merely a metaphorical expression. For between Troyes and the estates of France, to whom the new regent "returned," there was no sea. The bark on which Henry is said to have sailed cannot have been a real one. It is also, by the poet himself, described as "a mannes thought" in ll. 1375—1384; "it needeth neithir mast ne rother—I have not heard of such another—no maister for the governaunce; hie sayled by thought and pleasaunce." He could not have explained himself more distinctly.

2. Who was the "lady" that was present at the assembly? Historians mention only Queen Isabeau of France, Catherine's mother; who, however, according to everything else the poet says of this lady, cannot possibly be meant. She must have been an Englishwoman, even to have understood the praises of her suitor. And she must have been a relation of the bridegroom's, if the line "they (knights and lady with the queen) would all wedded be" (l. 1355 f.) is to have a meaning. Such a lady is, in fact, spoken of by one of the old chroniclers, the courtier Walsingham, as being at that time in attendance at the Court of Henry V.: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, wife of Henry's second brother Thomas. As Henry had no more sisters about him (cp. the Genealogical Table, p. 641), and was on very bad terms with his mother-in-law (Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, II. 331), his only sister-in-law Margaret was his nearest relative. Her husband was not only his brother, but also his most confidential helper—his right hand. Of her Walsingham relates, that she went to France about All Saints' day in 1419, and at the

wedding, in 1420, the King led her into the church hand in hand (*Hist. Angl.*, II. 331, 334). The prominent part she thus took at this marriage makes us suppose that she had favoured the previous negotiations, especially as it was not a mere political affair. Love had its share in the treaty; and on the French side the activity of a calculating match-maker, Isabeau, is directly stated by the chroniclers. Further reasons for the identification of the "lady" with the Duchess of Clarence will be added.

The poet proceeds to describe how the new Regent requires from his states 60,000 men as his escort to the wedding (il. 1517 ff.); an army so great that it cannot be assembled soon enough to keep the day fixed for the nuptials (l. 1581). An account of such a "præpotens exercitus" gathered by Henry V. after the treaty of Troyes for a wedding escort, is given by the chronicler Elmham (cap. 89).

An historical source for the fantastic incidents that follow in the poem—the death of the queen, who can no longer wait for the return of her lover delayed so long; the suicide of the lover, who despairs as he finds the queen dead; the application of the magic herb, by which first a dead bird, and then the loving couple, are restored to life—is not to be expected. All that is but a polite fiction, with the aim of reproaching the estates for their parsimony, of praising Henry's irresistibility and good-heartedness, and of offering the "lady" an example of loving sympathy.

We step, however, again on historical soil as soon as the poet begins to describe the wedding ceremonials. A whole "parliament" was assembled, "kinges, queenes, and duchesses, divers princes and princesses" (ll. 1972—1984); cp. Walsingham's (II. 335) description of the *wedding at Troyes*, at which three kings and five dukes are said to have been present.—The festival began "after Aprile within May" (l. 1992). This agrees with Elmham, chap.

91: "in ecclesia cathedrali beati Petri Trecensis XXI^a dies dicti mensis Maii conventionem principum solemnizat" (1420). The "lady" is sent for, the queen embraces her, and both she and the prince admit her to their most intimate confidence. On the next morning they go to church together (l. 2000 ff.). With this Walsingham's account agrees well (*Hist. Angl.*, II. 334): "Ducissa quoque Clarentiae intravit, cum Domino nostro rege."—The feast took place "in tentis, in a large plaine under a wood in a champaine," where there had never been a church, nor a house, nor a village (ll. 2061—2068). That means, no doubt, the royal camp, which was situated not far from Troyes ("non magna mediante distancia," Elmham, chap. 89).—If anything is left in doubt, it is the poet's remark, that the feast "durede three monthes in one estate and never ceaste . . . in justing, dauncing and lustinesse, and all that sownede to gentilnesse" (ll. 2069—2074). For Henry got married on the 2nd of June, and went to war again two days after. Is it an embellishing fiction in the style of romances which, if happy, are often wound up with a most merry and solemn wedding? There is a passage in Elmham too (cap. 92), defending Henry V. against rumours of unroyal want of splendour: "De ornamentis regiis, praesencia principum, magnatum et innumerabilis populi, solennitate tanti nupcialis convivii, ceterisque nupciarum gaudiis et gloriosis solenniis, interserere veritatem, stilum prolixioris narrationis exigeret, ymmo fortassis inexpertus calamus a veritatis tramite deviare. Hoc tamen animadvertat lectoris discrecio, quod, temporis qualitate ac ceteris circumstanciis pensatis, omnia circa ipsas nuptias honorifice, gloriose et solenniter sunt peracta."—That the poet finally exclaims with joy, "ended was all olde sorrow" (l. 2076), is likewise very easy to understand in the second half of the year 1420.

Now to the beginning of the poem, and of the first dream.

The "lady" being throughout the chief object of the homage and the petitions of the poet, she makes her appearance first, and is described at great length. She lives as a sovereign on an island, which is furnished with so many fictitious attributes, that it is only to be understood as an allegory. The poet himself calls it at the end "the Yle of Pleasaunce" (l. 2199). It contains glass walls, golden gates, towers in the form of flowers, a number of singing and dancing ladies in everlasting youth and beauty. Every seventh year they visit another solitary, rocky island, where there is a tree with three apples that rejuvenate, nourish, and supply everything necessary for "pleasaunce" (l. 360). Can this be a real island, perhaps England? No; for the voyage there and back is several times described in a decidedly metaphorical way: once "withoute bote or saile" (l. 230); another time with "ten thousand shippes" that have "sailes full of floures," and carry birds singing "ballades and layes" (ll. 696—722); again, with a ship that gets the larger the more the number of its passengers increases (l. 1560 ff.); again, with a barge that is called in plain words "a mannes thought" (ll. 1375—1382). Nor are we to think of the "Isle of France," for on one occasion (l. 1392) the knight has to make a journey in order to get from the "Yle of Pleasaunce" into his camp near Paris. The "Yle" is simply the resort of those who have all the comforts and enjoyments of life, and, as such, above all the court of the "lady" (who is also called "princesse," l. 210). Not without reason it is once explicitly called "th'astate" (l. 1119). The maidens on the "Yle" are her ladies-in-waiting, of noble blood, well versed in elegant conversation according to the fashion of the times, in short, well-bred (l. 441 ff.). The entrance is regulated by "ordinance, which is of long continuance" (l. 243 f.). If one wishes to enter, a council must first be held, in order that the secluded island may not become "an open way to every wight" (l. 1672 f.). If

the poet wishes to be admitted, "under my ladies obeisaunce, in her service" (l. 2200 f.), it means a supplication for a pension, just as Chaucer used to clothe his petitions in verse and allegory. If he wants to express his hope that his lady will grant his wishes, he uses in one case (at the end of the poem) a courtly figure: he dreams of marriage with her. But in another case he makes her speak more openly: "I graunte you inheretage, peaceably withoute strive, during the daies of your live," and at the same time she gives him one of her three apples (ll. 1192-98), probably the one that "nourrisheth in pleasaunce" (l. 353). No wonder that the said "Yle" plays so important a part in the poor poet's thoughts.

This explanation of the "Yle," consistent as it is in itself, is also supported by historical accounts. Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.*, II. 331), under the year 1419, says of the Duchess of Clarence, our "lady": "Circa festum omnium sanctorum ducissa Clarenceie cum *multis aliis dominabus Angliae* in Neustriam transfretavit." Those are probably the maidens that in the poem surround the "lady," and it is worthy of notice that the chronicle and the poem agree in emphasizing the exclusively female character of her court (l. 206). Further, it agrees with Walsingham's "Neustria," *i. e.* Normandy, that the "lady" makes her appearance in a country which, from her own country (she speaks "plain English"), she arrives at, after "sailing two dayes or three" (l. 1265). It agrees with the time given by Walsingham (All Saints' Day, 1419), that the poet has the negotiations for the treaty (of Troyes) begin just after the appearance of the "lady" (l. 268 ff.).—At last, we must not omit to notice the words of the poet about the advanced age of the "lady":

"of one age everichone
They seemed all, save only one,
Which had of yeeres suffisaunce,
For she mighte neither sing ne daunce,
But yet her countenance was so glad,
As she so fewe yeeres had had
As any lady that was there" (ll. 95—101).

Later on she is even once called "the aged lady" (l. 727), and it is apparently but a polite phrase, when in another passage, where she and the young "queen" are together, the poet says of both ladies: "*here* young and tender ages" (l. 2030). Does this hint tally with the Duchess of Clarence? Sandford (*Genealogical Hist.*, IV. chap. v.) gives sufficient facts to justify an affirmative answer. Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, the third daughter of Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent (+ 1392), had previously married John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, the eldest son of John Duke of Lancaster and Catherine Swynford, and had by him four sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom, Henry Beaufort, was born on the 16th of October, 1401. Her husband died 1410, and she afterwards married a man much younger than herself, Thomas of Clarence, whose progeny, however, consisted only of a bastard. At the time of the poem the Duchess of Clarence was therefore forty years old or more. Sufficient to command respect.

The description of the "lady" and her "Yle" is followed by the appearance of the "queen" (l. 249 ff.). At first she is mentioned as being "out of the *realme*" (l. 250). Then she arrives, wishes to enter, and says, to our surprise, that she has been for a long time the queen of the "Yle," "within this yle bidding as queene" (*i. e.*), "living at ease that never wighte more perfect joy ne mighte" (ll. 317-20). Is that a contradiction? Not in the least, if we properly distinguish between "Yle of Pleasaunce" as an essentially allegorical notion, and the "realme" as a political one. She has been enjoying the same high life as the lady, and to a still greater extent, but outside the English boundary. That is quite possible in itself, and tallies with the situation of young Catherine of France before she married. —The poet's further allusions fit in well. The "queen" wears the same costume as the "lady," and she addresses her as her sister (ll. 306, 375): thus it may really have been held between the bride and the King's sister-in-law. The "queen" has been won in combat by her enemy, the

knight, who had loved her long; he had had to injure her; now she wants to make peace with him, and demands "in his owne country that he were, and I in peace and he at ease" (l. 476): riddles which become perfectly clear as soon as we think of Henry V.'s victories and wooing. When the lady appears, the knight is already at her side (l. 307 f.); a numerous train follows him (l. 696 ff.); difficult negotiations arise, and combats "with faire wordes" (l. 378 ff.), until the god of love interferes and joins the "knight" and the "queen." This refers plainly to the **meeting of Henry V. and Catherine at Meulan**¹ (29th May, 1419), the first and only one before their wedding, at which keen diplomatic disputes took place, but where love, too, played a considerable part. "Ex hac convencione," says Elmham, cap. 78, "praeter gloriosa spectacula, non video quis sequatur effectus, nisi fortassis amoris scintilla, si quae fuerit, inter regem et ipsam nobilissimam Katerinam praecaccensa, ex hiis visibus mutuis sit uberius inflammata." The action of the first dream is therefore to be put in May 1419, at Pontoise; that of the second in May 1420, at Troyes.

History, it is true, does not bear out the notion of the poet, who describes the "lady" as the confidante of the lovers, and makes her gladly assist the love-longing of the queen (especially l. 727 ff.). But why, in such a matter, should not the prosaic accounts of the chroniclers be for once supplemented by the verses of a poet who was connected with the Court, and wrote for the Court? Thomas of Clarence, the husband of the Duchess, was present at Meulan (Pauli, V. 158). It was not a simple state council that took place, but a diplomatic feast, at which one court vied with the other in pomp and splendour, at which the

¹ Not at Pontoise. Charles VI, Isabel of Bavaria, and their daughter Katherine, went to Meulan from Pontoise, and Henry V came to Meulan from Nantes. See *Monstrelet*, chap. cexiii (ed. Buchon), tome iv, p. 154.

ladies of the English Court had to be present, if only as a token of respect to the French queen. No lady had a better right on such an occasion to do the honours for Henry V. than his sister-in-law. If we assume she did, it involves, of course, that she had in the meantime returned to England, and then gone back to France on All Saints', 1419. But that offers no difficulty. For the poet speaks at the end of the first dream with the greatest possible plainness of her return to England: "My lady spake of her voyage, and saide she made smalle journies . . . and tooke her leave with cheare weeping" (ll. 1106-11), and sailed "two daies or three towards her countree" (l. 1265 f.). And towards the end of the second dream, when the nuptials are to be celebrated, he mentions again her journey back to France (ll. 2000-16). The seeming difficulty turns confirmative evidence. Walsingham had no reason to take notice of her first stay in France, but good reason to speak of her second, as she, certainly in view of the impending nuptials, took a remarkable number of ladies with her.

Some more facts about the after-life of the Duchess of Clarence are to be added, because they reflect light on the time of our poem. Her husband was killed in an engagement near Baugé on the 23rd of March, 1421. After that event a brilliant epithalamium would scarcely have been an appropriate homage to pay to the Duchess. The poem must therefore have been composed between September 1420, that is, three months after the wedding (l. 2069), and March 1421. This agrees with the fact that the states "fast desired an heire" (l. 1446)—Henry VI. was born on the 6th of December, 1421—and that occasional pieces, according to their nature, are generally composed soon after the event they treat of. The erroneous statement of the duration of the wedding festival—three months—may incline us to date the origin of the poem somewhat later than September 1420, and rather to refer it to the entrance of the royal couple into Paris (1st December, 1420).—Wals-

ingham further relates (II. 339), that the body of the slain Duke was sent "ad suam conjugem, Ducissam, in Normanniam" and "in ecclesia Christi Cantuarie postea tumultatum." The Duchess must therefore have stayed on in France, as well as her husband who had acted there as a viceroy when the King was in England: one more reason for supposing the poem to have originated in France.—Two years afterwards, in 1423, her elder daughter by her first marriage, Joan Beaufort, became the wife of the Scotch King James I., the disciple of Chaucer: an interesting coincidence.—The dowager-duchess then lived in seclusion till the last day of December 1440, when she died, highly respected. She seems to have had sufficient appreciation of the beautiful to figure as a feminine Mæcenas, for she had, while still alive, a fine marble monument erected to herself in Canterbury Cathedral (a drawing of which is given by Sandford). There she may still be seen lying between her two husbands, the elderly Beaufort on her left, young Clarence on her right; her hands piously clasped. The cushion on which the three heads are resting is held by two angels. "Their souls are with the saints, I trust."

Summary.—Glorious events like those of 1420 must not remain unsung at the Court of Henry V., the patron of Lydgate and Hocceve. How gratifying a theme, the hero-king's first love-scene and subsequent marriage, both in the joyous month of May! It was undertaken by a poet who belonged to the school of master Chaucer who had died twenty years before, and not to the worst representatives of that school. He wrote in the English provinces of France, *i. e.* in the very country where the events had taken place, and surrounded by eye-witnesses of them, therefore with pretty close adherence to truth. He was well versed in the phraseology of the Court poetry then in fashion; he knew how to suggest and disguise in allegory, how to clothe commonplaces in the dress of fairy-tales and enigmas, and

especially how to further his own personal interest without relinquishing the mask of poetry. He nowhere aspires to the psychological profundity which a love-affair between king and fair enemy would well have allowed, nor to the thoughtfulness with which Chaucer ennobled many a subject less fruitful. On the other hand, he misses no opportunity of paying the King compliments. He praises the Queen, she being a Frenchwoman, in such a way as to make the King appear only the more glorious through her overwhelming longing for him. But especially does he bow before the highest of the English ladies, the King's sister-in-law, to allure her gentle womanly heart to liberality. More egotism than poetry. We cannot ascertain whether he reached his pecuniary aim. But if the last lines of the poem are genuine, and may be interpreted in this connection, the largesse is questionable, for they run rather hopelessly :

“Ye that this ballade reade shalle
I pray you keepe you from the falle.”

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XX.

**ON CHAUCER'S USE OF THE KENTISH
DIALECT.**

BY THE REV. PROF. SKEAT, LITT.D.

WE find that Chaucer uses varying forms of the same word, in order to provide himself with a larger variety of rimes. In some instances he makes use of Kentish forms, as I shall proceed to shew.

I confine my remarks to the words which are spelt, in A.S., with a short or long *y*; and consider the short *y* first.

In Sweet's *History of Eng. Sounds*, at p. 159, we read that the short *y* was "completely superseded by *u* in the South; in Old Transition Midland (and probably in the North) it was unrounded into *i*. . . In late Mid. Eng., *y* was revived as a variant of *i* in proximity with *n*, *m*, *u*, *w*, in order to avoid confusions of form." For clearness' sake, I write *i* in all cases, whenever the sound of *i* is really meant.

It is best to take an easy example. The A.S. fem. sb. *synn*, gen. and dat. *synne*, is represented by *sunne* in the *Ancren Riwele*, as edited by Morton from a Southern MS. But the usual Midland form is *sinne*, whence the mod. E. *sin*.

Now it was a peculiarity of the Kentish dialect that, in it, the A.S. *y* was commonly represented neither by the Southern *u* nor by the Midland *i*, but by *e*. At the same time, an initial voiceless *s* was voiced to *z*. Hence, on turning to the *Ayenbyte of Inwit*, we find, in the Glossary, that the normal form of the word *sin* is represented by *zenne*. In Shoreham's poems, also in the Kentish dialect, the form is *senne*. As another illustration, I may notice that the name *Petman* occurs over a shop-door in Margate;

it is clear that this is merely the Kentish form of the more familiar name of *Pitman*.

Further illustrations can easily be given; I adduce a few more, in a tabular form.

A.S. *byegan*, to buy; Southern *buggen*; Midl. *biggen*, also *byen*; Kent. *beggen*.

A.S. *cyssan*, to kiss; Southern *kussen*; Midl. *kissen*; Kent. *kessen*.

A.S. *fyllan*, to fill; Southern *fullen*; Midl. *fillen*; Kent. *vellen*, *fellen*.

A.S. *cyn*, kin; South. *cun*; Midl. *kin*; Kent. *ken*.

A.S. *þynne*, thin; South. *thunne*; Midl. *thinne*; Kent. *thenne* (Shoreham).

These examples are easily verified by reference to the *Ancren Riwele*, the *Ayenbyte*, *Shoreham*, and *Stratmann*.

When we turn to Chaucer, we find that he usually employs, as we should expect, the Midland forms in *i*; but there are several cases, more numerous than we should probably be inclined to guess, in which he deliberately adopts the Kentish forms in order to secure a rime.

I have endeavoured to ascertain whether he ever uses the Southern forms with *u*. As far as I can see, he has two examples of it, and no more. One of these is the verb *tullen*, to entice, allure. The A.S. form is *for-tyllan*. *Havelok* and the *Prick of Conscience* have *tillen*; and the same form occurs in the *Cursor Mundi*. No example of a Kentish *tellen* is given by *Stratmann*. The Southern *tullen* occurs in the *Ancren Riwele*. Hence, setting the Kentish form aside, we have only the variants *tullen*, which is Southern, and *tillen*, which is Midland and Northern. Chaucer had the choice of these forms, and unluckily chose the wrong one; for he employs *tulle* in one of the Northern speeches in the *Reves Tale*. The line is: "With empty hand men may na haukes *tulle*"; *Cant. Tales*, A. 4134. It rimes with the pl. adj. *fulle*, full, so that no doubt as to the vowel is possible.

The other example of his use of *u* is extremely interesting, as it occurs in the case of the only word, which, as far as I know, presents all three forms. I refer to the mod. E. *merry*; A.S. *myrige* (entered in Toller under *mirige*); Southern *murie* (*Ancren Riwle*); Midl. *mirie*. The Kentish form should, by the rule, be *merie*, as in *Shoreham*, p. 148, l. 9; but we find that, in this case, the form *merie* was more widely spread, and became, at last, the standard form. Chaucer usually has *merie*, and only departs from it when he cannot otherwise easily secure a rime. For examples, see his Prologue, l. 207 :—

“ His palfray was as broun as is a berye.
A Frere ther was, a wantown and a merye.”

Again, in the *Knights Tale*, A. 3067 :—

“ What may I conclude of this longe serie
But, after we, I rede us to be merie ? ”

And in the *Clerkes Tale*, E. 615 :—

“ Nat only he, but al his contree, merie
Was for this child, and god they thanke and herie.”

He departs from this form only, as I said, when he is hardly put to it.

Thus, when he wants a rime to *Mercurie*, i. e. Mercury, he could find none but *murie*, which he employs twice in the *Cant. Tales* :—

“ Him thoughte how that the winged god Mercurie
Biforn him stood, and bad him to be murie ; A. 1385.
That wrytest us that ilke wedding murie
Of hir, Philologye, and him, Mercurie ; ” E. 1733.

And lastly, when he has to find a rime to *pirie*, a pear-tree (A.S. *pirige*), he has to employ the form *mirie*. This rime, *pirie*, *mirie*, occurs twice in the *Merch. Tale*, E. 2217, 2325.

As the form *merie* seems to have been known beyond Kent, this is no clear example, but I discuss it first, as shewing *three* varieties. But many of the examples which I shall presently adduce are decidedly curious and striking.

I here pause to note that there are some words of this class which occur, in Chaucer, in the Midland form *only*. Examples are: *clifte*, a cleft or clift (see Stratmann and New Eng. Dict.); *sinne*, sin; *mirthe*, mirth, riming with *birthe*, birth, words which will rime in any dialect (see *Cant. Tales*, D. 399, and *Troil.* iii. 715). To these add the verb *wirchen*, A.S. *wyrcean*, to work, which Chaucer carefully distinguishes from the sb. *werk*, A.S. *weorc*, always reserving *i* for the mutated verb, and *e* for the substantive. We also find the riming words *wirdes*, *hirdes*, in *Troil.* iii. 617, which would rime in any dialect; and I draw special attention to this passage, because the latter word is wrongly explained in Morris, and omitted in Stratmann, though it was solved by Tyrwhitt in the last century. The passage is:—

“ But O, Fortune, executrice of wirdes,
O influences of thise hevenes hye!
Soth is that, under god, ye ben our hirdes,
Though to us bestes been the causes wyre.”

The Campsall MS. writes *wyerd*, *hyerde*; but all that we are concerned with are the A.S. forms. *Wirdes* is the pl. of *wyrd*, fate; but *hirdes* is not a plural at all. It is the feminine of *hirde*, A.S. *hyrde*, a shepherd. The word *ye* is merely the polite substitute for *thou*; and the person addressed is the goddess Fortune, who is here said to be our shepherdess. Morris's explanation of “guardians” is clearly to be rejected. It may seem strange that Chaucer should adopt *-es* as a feminine suffix instead of the more usual *-esse*, but the context clearly demands it; and we thus have a bright light thrown upon l. 15 of the *Envoy to Scogan*, where the form *goddes* is rimed with *forbode is*. The comparison of these two passages clears up both of them.

Another word which appears in the Midland form only is *kinde*, nature, from A.S. *gecynd*; it is very common.

On the other hand, there are actually several words which shew the Kentish *e*, and no other vowel; but I

reserve the list of these for the present, for the sake of clearness.

I now come to the very interesting cases in which Chaucer employs both the Midland and the Kentish forms. These are striking, because, without exception, the Midland forms are still in use. I refer to the words *bridge*, *buy*, *fulfil*, *kin*, *kiss*, *knit*, *list* (verb), *stint*, *thin*; and I take them in alphabetical order.

Bridge, M.E. *brigge*, rimes with *Cantebrigge* in the first two lines of the *Reves Tale*; but only a little further, in A. 3990, the form is *bregge*.

“And namelich ther was a greet college,
Men clepen the Soler-halle at Cantebregge.”

Buy answers to Midland *byen*; this occurs in the compound *abye*, C. 756, where it rimes with *asppe*, a spy. But we also find the Kentish *abegge*, riming with *legge*, to lay, A. 3938. We even find a third form, viz. *beye*, riming with *tweye*, C. 845; *abeve*, riming with *seye*, say, C. 100.

Fulfil. The infin. *fulfille* rimes with *wille* in *Cant. Tales*, A. 1317, 2477, B. 283, C. 833; *i. e.* four times. But in *Troil.* iii. 510, we have the Kentish *fulfelle*, corresponding to *volvelle* in the *Ayenbyte*, and to *folfelle* in *Shoreham*, p. 39. It was this remarkable form which first drew my attention to the facts which I am here discussing.

“Ne layser have hir speches to fulfelle,
That it befel right as I shal yow telle.”

Kin, A.S. *cyn*. I have already explained the Kentish form *ken* in my note to the *Death of Blaunche*, 438; remarking that it occurs at least five times in the *Ayenbyte*. But I did not know, at the time, that Chaucer's use of Kentish is so frequent as it is.

Kiss, verb, A.S. *cyssan*; the *e* never appears in the sb., which is from A.S. *cos*. The infin. is *kisse*, D. 1254; the pt. t. is *kiste*, B. 3746; and the pp. is *kist*, B. 1074, as

shewn by rimes. But besides these, we have the Kentish infin. *kessen*, and the pt. t. *keste*. See the Clerkes Tale, E. 1057 :—

“Now knowe I, dere wyf, thy stedfastnesse,
And hir in armes took, and gan hir kesse.”

Also the Squieres Tale, F. 350 :—

“That mochel drink and labour wolde han reste,
And with a galping mouth hem alle he keste.”

Keste again rimes with *reste* in *Troil.* iii. 1129, 1519.

Knit, A.S. *cnyttan*. The pp. *knit* rimes with *wit*, *C. T.*, F. 986; and with *it*, F. 1230. But we also find the Kentish *knetten*, with the pp. *knet*, *y-knet*. In the *Complaint of Mars*, 182, the stanza begins :—

“What wonder is then, though that I besette
My servise on suche oon, that may me knette
To wele or wo, sith hit lyth in hir might?
Therefor my herte for ever I to hir hette;
Ne trewly, for my deeth, I shal not lette
To ben hir trewest servaunt and hir knight.”

The pp. *knet* rimes with *tercelet* and *set* in the *Parl. Foules*, 628; and the pp. *y-knet* rimes with *y-set* and *net* in *Troil.* iii. 1734.

List, A.S. *lystan*, is usually an impersonal verb. Thus, in the *Knights Tale*, A. 1051 :—

“And in the gardin, at the sonne upriste,
She walketh up and down, and, as hir liste,” &c.;

i. e. as it pleased her. We should expect the Kentish form to be *leste*, but I do not find direct proof that this was a Kentish form. However, the form *leste* is very common in Chaucer, and rimes with *areste*, *beste*, *breste*, *cheste*, *requeste*, *reste*, *threste*, *unreste* in the *Cant. Tales* alone. What is still more remarkable is that this substitution of *e* is actually extended to the sb. *lust*, from A.S. *lust*, by mere confusion; and this form *lest* is likewise not uncommon.

For example, see *Kn. Tale*, A. 2983 :—

“Er any word cam from his wyse brest,
His eyen sette he ther as was his lest.”

I cannot find that the true form *lust* occurs at all; the only rime like it is that of *ruste* and *truste* in the *Cant. Tales*, Prol. 501.

Stint, A.S. *styntan*. The pp. *y-stint* rimes with *grint*, i. e. *grindeth*, in *C. T.*, D. 390. But the usual form is that with *e*, viz. *stente*, riming with *entente*, and with *sente*; and the pp. is *stent*, as in *Kn. Tale*, A. 1367:—

“And if he herde song or instrument,
Than wolde he wepe, he mighte nat be stent.”

The pt. t. *stente* rimes with *wente* in *Ho. Fame*, 1683, and in *Leg. G. Women*, 1240. It occurs repeatedly in *Troilus*; see i. 60, 273, 736; ii. 598, 876; iii. 1238, &c. The Southern *stunt* occurs in the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 202.

Thin, A.S. *thynne*. This is a clear case; the Southern *thunne* is in the *Anc. Riwle*, p. 144, and the Kentish *thenne* in *Shoreham*, p. 99; while the Midland *thinne* is preserved, as to its vowel, in mod. English. Chaucer has both *thinne* and *thenne*.

“And that ye kepe yow eek from other sinne.
My tale is doon:—for my wit is thinne; E. 1681.
So helpe me god, ther-by he shal nat winne,
But empte his purs, and make his wittes thinne; G. 740.
Toward the fen, ther wilde mares renne,
Forth with wehee, thurgh thikke and thurgh thenne;” A. 4065.

If there is some doubt as to the forms being Kentish in some cases, I think there is none as to the forms *abegge*, *fulfelle*, *kesse*, *keste*, *knette*, *knet*, and *thenne*.

Besides the above, we find (as already noted) certain words which contain the Kentish *e* and occur in no other form. These are: *berien*, to bury, A.S. *byrigan*; *dent*, a dint, blow, mod. E. *dint*, A.S. *dynt*; *melle*, a mill, A.S. *myln*; *selle*, a floor, mod. E. *sill*, A.S. *syll*; *sherte*, a shirt, Icel. *skyrta*; *shetten*, to shut, A.S. *scyttan*; *steren*, to stir, A.S. *styrian*. Cf. Kent. *beriels* (sepulchre), *melle*, *sserte*, *ssette*, *sterie*, in the *Ayenbyte of Inwit*. The references are as follows: *beried*, riming with *blake-beried*, C. 405; *dent*, riming with *y-blent*, A. 3807; *melle*, riming

with *telle*, A. 3923, 4242, and with *welle*, Former Age, 6 ; *selle*, A. 3822 (as to which I have more to say) ; *sherte*, of common occurrence, riming with *herte*, heart, A. 1565, and elsewhere ; *shette*, of frequent occurrence, riming with *lette*, B. 1276, 1440, as well as with *sette*, A. 3499, and *dette*, E. 2047 ; we find also the pp. pl. *unshette*, *Ho. Fame*, 1953, and the pp. pl. *y-shette*, B. 560, and the pt. t. pl. *shetten*, G. 517. As to the verb *steren*, to stir, it is distinguished by its open and half-long *e* from the verb *stēren*, to steer or control, as the rimes shew. Thus, in *Ho. Fame*, 817, *stereth*, stirs, rimes with *bereth*, bears ; in *Troil.* iv. 1451, *stere* means "stir" because it rimes with *bere*, a bear ; and in *Troil.* i. 228, it also means "stir," because it rimes with *were*, were. In all these instances this sense best suits the context. But *stēre*, I steer, rimes with *clēre*, clear ; *Troil.* ii. 4.

As to the word *selle*, I have somewhat to say. The passage is difficult. It occurs in A. 3822, where the carpenter, who has crept into a tub which he has fastened by ropes to the balks inside the roof of his house, suddenly cuts the ropes with his ax.

"And doun goth al ; he fond neither to selle,
Ne breed ne ale, til he cam to the selle
Upon the floor ; and ther aswowne he lay."

That is, he came down suddenly ; he had no time to transact business by the way, such as the sale of bread or ale ; but he came down suddenly to the *selle* upon the floor. The Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS. have the spelling *celle*, as if meaning a cell, a chamber, shewing that they did not catch the right sense. But the other MSS. have *selle*, which Tyrwhitt and Morris explain by "door-sill, threshold," which is, to my mind, quite unsatisfactory. There is no reason why a tumbling man should necessarily roll to the threshold. Stratmann rightly cites the passage, s. v. *sulle*, as being a Kentish variant, and explains it by "sill, base, platform, basis." Even this does not clear it

up. There is a lurking difficulty in the word *floor*, which does not here mean the boarding, but the flat earth beneath it. In the *Morte Arthure*, 3249, we read that "alle drye were the flores," i. e. the plains, where the scene is entirely out of doors; so, in the present passage, it is *selle* that represents the boarding, or what we *now* call the *floor*, and the *floor* that represents the earth beneath it.

In Widegren's Swedish Dictionary, we find the useful note: '*Syll*, the Timber next the ground,' which illuminates the whole. The carpenter fell till he came to the flooring laid above the bare earth; hence the explanations "door-sill" and "threshold" are quite misleading.

There is an excellent example of the use of *sille* for "floor" in *Gawain and the Grene Knight*, l. 55. The Glossary explains *sille* by "seat," on the strength of the gloss "*sella, sylla*" in Wright's *Vocab.* 283. 3. I would explain it as "floor," on the strength of the gloss "*basis, syl*," in the same, 8. 27, &c. It occurs in a description of Arthur's great feast, where lords and ladies were assembled, making a fair show:—"For all wat3 this fayre folk in hir first age, *On sille*," i. e. for all this fair company were in their youthful prime, on the floor of the hall.

I have now exemplified the Kentish use of short open *e* for the short A.S. *y*. But the Kentish use of long *e* for the long A.S. *y* is even more striking; and of this we have several examples also. The words in which it appears are *drēye*, dry, A.S. *drȳge*; *fēre*, fire, A.S. *fȳr*; *fest*, orig. *fēst*, fist, A.S. *fȳst*; *hēden*, to hide, A.S. *hȳdan*; *threste*, orig. *thrēste*, to thrust, Icel. *þrȳsta*. We may also consider the curious word *vēse*, a rush, a sudden impetus.

For *dry*, the Midl. form is *drȳe*, which Chaucer duly rimes with *maladye* in his Prologue, l. 420; but in the Monkes Tale, B. 3233, the form is *dreye*, riming with *preye*, to pray, and *seye*, to say, as well as with *deye*, to die. In *Shoreham*, p. 145, *dreye* rimes with *greye*, grey.

For *fire*, the Midl. is *fȳr*, which Chaucer commonly

uses; it rimes with *desyr*, desire, D. 373; and *a-fyre*, on fire, rimes with *myre*, mire, D. 971. But we also twice find the form *fere*, in *Troil.* i. 229 and iii. 978. In the former case it rimes with open *e*, and in the latter case with a doubtful *e*, in accordance with the statement in my remarks on the Rime-index to *Troilus*. We find *fer* in *Shoreham*, p. 99, and *ver* in *Ayenb.* p. 30.

For *fist*, the Midl. is *fist*; the Southern form is *fust* or *vust*, as in *Layamon*; and the Kentish is *fest*, as in the Kentish version of St. Mark; see Stratmann. I cannot find *fist* in Chaucer at the end of a line; but I find *fest*, A. 4275, C. 802, I. 35, riming with *breſt*, *beſt*, and *leſt*.

For *hide*, the verb, the Midl. is *hyden*, South. *huden*, Kentish *heden*; see Stratmann. *Hede* occurs in the *Ayenb.* p. 44. Chaucer often uses the Midland form, as in B. 1350, where it rimes with *abyde*. He only uses the Kentish form in the pp. *hed*, in the *Leg. G. Women*, prol. A. 102, where it rimes with *bed*; and again, as *y-hed*, or *y-hedde*, riming with *bed* or *bedde*, *Deth of Bl.* 176. We thus see that, in the Man of Law's Prologue, B. 103, we may very well read *wounde hed* for *wounde hid*, to improve the rime.

For *thrust*, the Midl. is *thristen*, as in *Havelok* and *Robert of Brunne*; *thrusten* is Southern, but has become the standard form; *thresten* is Kentish, as in *Ayenb.* p. 204. I find the rime *thriste*, *kiste*, in *Troil.* iii. 1574; but it might be *threſte*, *keſte*. *Threſte* certainly occurs in Kn. Ta., A. 2612:—

“ With mighty maces the bones they to-breſte;
He through the thikkeſt of the throng gan threſte.”

In the *Merch. Tale*, E. 2003, we also find the rime *threſte*, *leſte*; it cannot be *thriſte*, *liſte*, because the next two lines end with *twiſte*, *wiſte*, and four lines should not rime together. For a like reason, Chaucer uses *threſte* in *Troil.* iv. 254, because *twiſte* has previously occurred in the same line; he rimes it with *reſte* and *breſte*. Besides these, we

find the form *thraste*, C. 260; but this is from A.S. *thræstan*.

Lastly, I come to the word *vese*, which is glossed in the Ellesmere MS. by "impetus," in a famous passage in the *Knights Tale*, A. 1985:—

"And ther-out cam a rage and such a *vese*
That it made alle the gates for to rese."

Vese is really a pure Kentish form, with the normal *v* for *f*, formed from the verb *fēsen*, variant from A.S. *fȳsan*, to hasten, or hurry, formed by mutation from the adj. *fūs*, prompt, quick. The Southern *fusen* occurs in *Layamon*. However, the form *fēsen* was more widely spread, being found also in various Southern and Midland texts; see *fēsin* in *Stratmann*.

As to *rese*, i. e. to shake, it answers likewise to the Kentish *resie*, in *Ayenb.* p. 23, where we read of a mighty wind that "maketh the greate helles to *resye*," that makes the great hills to skake. The South. *rusien* occurs in *Layamon*; see *Stratmann*. In this case, the *e* has been lengthened, and the M.E. verb is due to A.S. *hrysian*, which ought perhaps to be distinguished from *hrisian*, to shake, despite the similarity of sense.

Perhaps we may also include the word *reye*, *rye*; it only occurs once, in *Cant. Ta.*, D. 1745, where it rimes with *preye*, they pray. The A.S. form is *ryge*; and the Midl. is *ryĕ*, as in the *Prompt. Parv.*, whence the mod. E. *rye*.

In the case of the word *sick*, the usual M.E. form is *seek*, pl. *seke*, as in Prologue, l. 18. But we find, in *Ayenb.* p. 148, the form *zik*, and in *Shoreham*, p. 29, *the syke man*. So also, Ch. has *syk*, riming with *magyk*, *Ho. Fame*, 1270; see also *C. T.*, B. 4027; *Troil.* ii. 1572, iii. 61, 1172, 1362, v. 1354.

Can we draw any conclusions from Chaucer's use of the Kentish dialect? I think we certainly can. Several facts in his life point to a connection with that county.

In 1375, he received a grant of the custody of the lands and person of Edmund Staplegate, in Kent; and, in the same year, the custody of some rent for land, at Soles, in Kent; the heirs being, in both cases, minors, and in the latter case, only one year old. It may well have happened that he had to go to these places, in the interest of the heirs. In 1378, he appointed Gower as one of his attornies; of course he was well acquainted with him, and Gower was of Kent.

Although he did not definitely give up his house at Aldgate till 1386, we may feel tolerably certain that he had ceased to reside there after he was allowed to appoint a deputy in Feb. 1385; for in that year he wrote his *Legend of Good Women*, and the description of his house and garden (unless it is wholly imaginary, which may be doubted) shews that he was then residing in the country. In particular, he was residing in Kent, or he would not have been qualified for his election, as a member of parliament for Kent, in Oct. 1386. And if, as we may well believe, he was then living in Kent, he was certainly not far from London, and we may confidently locate him at Greenwich. The MS. note, opposite l. 45 of the *Envoy to Scogan*, that Chaucer was then residing at Greenwich, has been insufficiently attended to. It really clears up everything. My belief is that he resided there continuously, from the spring of 1385 till he took his house at Westminster, shortly before his death. It explains his nearness to London; why he was a member for Kent; why he was appointed, in 1389, a commissioner to repair the banks of the Thames between Greenwich and Woolwich; why he was robbed at Hatcham, in 1390; and, chief point of all, why he wrote the *Canterbury Tales*. For frequent observation of the Canterbury pilgrims, no place was so suitable as Greenwich. It lay very near the road, at a most useful point, viz. near the starting-point. Even the Tabard at Southwark was within a fairly easy walk or ride; or it

was possible to go to London Bridge by water. I suppose that Chaucer's attention was thus drawn to the subject, and that he pursued his studies for it by simple exercise of his powers of observation.

There is *one* passage in the *Canterbury Tales*, which is of deep significance; in the Reves Prologue:—

“Lo, Depeford! and it is half-wey pryme;
Lo, Grenewich, ther many a shrewe is inne.”

How did he know that Greenwich abounded in rascals, except from personal experience? He certainly meant something in particular by this observation; and it is in keeping with all we know of Chaucer, if we suppose that, amongst the shrews of Greenwich, he included himself! For it is the Host who speaks; and I do not believe that the Host spoke these words for nothing.

XXI.

THE ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE:
FRAGMENT B.

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PROF. LOUNSBURY is still unconvinced. He will not admit two authors for the *Romaunt of the Rose*; still less would he admit that there are *three*.

For tests, see my edition of Chaucer's Works, vol. i., pp. 3, 4.

1. Treatment of the French.
2. Dialect.
3. Riming of *-y*, *-ye*.
4. Assonant Rimes.
5. Imperfect Rimes.

More might be added.

6. Thus, Kaluza quotes a further test of mine in his *Chaucer und der Rosenroman*, p. 39. I show that the author of B is extremely fond of tags like 'withouten wene.' In the course of 4105 lines we have at least 39 instances, or nearly 1 in every 100 lines. The forms are: *withoute*—*wene*, *faile*, *drede*, *fable*, *lesing*, *were*, *more*, *gesse*, *doute*, *let*, *lees*, *delay*, *dreding*.

7. Again, there are 11 examples, quoted by Kaluza, as above, p. 41, of the use of *do* as a mere weak expletive, as in: 'And yit sich sorwe did I fele.'

I can now appeal to the vocabulary, as to which I have said nothing in my edition hitherto, because my Glossary was not complete. Kaluza also treats this subject, p. 42.

In my essay prefixed to my Rime-Index to *Troilus*, I show how particular Chaucer is in his treatment of the close and open *e*. Thus, he rimes *were*, *they were*, with open *e* with *there*, *where*, *ere* (ear), *tere* (tear), and the

like. But the author of B actually rimes *lere* with *desire*, 4685; *manere* with *desire*, 2779; *nere* (nearer) with *desire* (twice), 1785, 2441; as noted by Kaluza, p. 47. And, as if this were not enough, he also rimes *were* with *bare*, 5457, and with *forfare*, 5777.

In a recent review of my Chaucer in *The Bookman*, Prof. Herford drew attention to a slip of mine. I had written *y-seen* for *y-seyn*, as the pp. of the verb *see*. The Chaucerian form is *y-seyn* or *seyn*, riming with *greyn*, *reyn*, and *ageyn*. Prof. Herford further remarked that *seen* is an impossible form; whereupon I felt constrained to inform him that I had frequently seen it in MSS., and I also gave him a reference for it in Lydgate's *Minor Poems*.

Well, this impossible form occurs at least thrice in Fragment B of the *Romaunt*: see lines 3066, 4461, 5571. So much for Chaucer's authorship of the Fragment!

My object is to-night, not destructive, but constructive. I wish to determine the true dialect of the poem. Mr. Arnold, as long ago as 1878, admitted that "it seems to me tinged by the dialect of Norfolkshire and Lincolnshire; *lepard*, leaping, occurs—a distinctly Northern form." He then proceeded to explain this by assuming "an East-Anglian transcriber," on the ground that the MS. is known to have been, in 1720, at Bury St. Edmund's; which, I may remark, is neither in Norfolk nor in Lincolnshire.

The selection of the instance *lepard* was artful; because that word does not occur in rime. The answer is obvious, viz. that the pres. part. *sittand* rimes with *hand*, 2263; and the pres. part. *doand* with *fand*, 2707; showing that this peculiarity is due to the author. This being so, I may as well note the forms *criand*, 3138; *lepard*, 1928; *sparand*, 5363. We thus see, at the outset, that the author belonged to some Northern district.

Other Northern forms are noted in my edition, p 4.

Such are: *fand* for Ch. *fond* (found); *thar* for 'there'; *mar* for 'more'; *hat* for 'hot'; *wat* for 'wot' (all in rime); the use of *ado*; the frequent loss of inflectional *-e*, even in a gerund; and so on. I also show that the scribe was not given to the insertion of Northern peculiarities, but to their omission. He writes *sittand* to rime with *hand*, where he could not help himself; but elsewhere he writes *sitting*, l. 2309. I now find further examples; thus, at l. 4200, we have *brade* for 'broad,' riming with *made*.

I also notice the fact, that the author did his best to imitate Chaucer's forms; he continually inserts the inflexional *-e*, when he happens to remember it. There are a large number of examples both of its insertion and omission. These clearly show that the author's dialect is largely artificial; he wanted to write in Chaucerian English, but he continually forgot what the right forms were. This occurs not only in grammatical constructions, but in word-forms. Thus Chaucer uses the word *doute*, doubt, fear; always with a final *-e*; always dissyllabic, though the *e* may be elided. The author of Fragment B forgets this; so he rimes *dout* with *al-out*, 2101; where *al-out*, by the way, is an adverb that never occurs in Chaucer, though it is used by G. Douglas. We frequently meet with lines that, with the Chaucerian pronunciation, would be perfect lines of *five* accents. Such are:—

In hem I felt-e both-e harm and good: 1922.
 For god defend-e that I shuld-e make: 1948.
 Hoping in hert-e, that sum-tym-e ye: 1958.

In comparing my Glossary to Fragment B with that to Chaucer, I find a considerable number of words in the former that nowhere occur in the latter. It is difficult to be *quite* certain in such a matter as this; but I have exercised some care in selecting all words that seemed to require any notice, and I here note more than 100 words that occur, as far as I can tell, in Fragment B, but

nowhere in a work that is certainly Chaucer's. This list only goes down to G, so that the probable number is more than 300. Acold, ado, affy, afor, afyne, agree (adverb, with the sense 'in good part'), al-out, among (in the sense of 'now and then,' though Ch. has amonges), apparent, ar (at the end of a line), arblasters, a-slope, asethl, attend, attour, augment, aumenere, avaunt (adv.)—baillye (a jurisdiction), bate (strife), baud (bold), bimene, bitaught, bosarde, brade (broad), breve, burdoun (staff)—chafe, chastelainé, chever, chiche, clipsy, compendiously, compte, comuntee, concours, conestablerie, conisaunce, controve, contune, cos (kiss), cotidien, crece, criand, crounet, customere—defensable, delectacioun, demonstrable, demure, desperaunce, deviaunt, devoid (adj.), devoid (verb), discomfit, disordinat, disrewlily, disseise, dissolucioun, distoned, distourbled, doand, dogged, dole (part), dolorous, dool (grief), drehed, droune—enfaunce, engreven, enviroun (prep.), earnest (pledge)—fairhede, fand, fard, fardel, fatnesse, faute, fered (inflamed), fiaunce, fire-glow, fond, foote (verb), forfare, forofte, forpeyned, fortene, fortresse, forwandred, forwounded—garisoun, gate (way), gesse (sb.), gloumbe, at gree (Ch. in gree), grenen (verb), grete (to weep), gyle (verb).

Some of these forms and words are characteristic of dialect. The following are frequently found in Northern works, though some also occur elsewhere. Ado, al-out, bitaught, brade (for broad), contune, cos, criand, doand, dool, droune, fand, fond, gate (way), grete (to weep).

Some of them definitely mark off this production from Chaucer's works. For example, *brade* (broad) never appears in Chaucer in this form; he always has *brood*, pl. *brode*. *Contune*, used by Wyclif, is Chaucer's *continue*. *Doand* is, of course, *doing*. *Dool*, grief, occurs in *P. Plowman*, *Wycliffe*, *The Townely Mysteries*, and the like; but Chaucer has only *sorwe* or *greef*; of course he would have used the word frequently, if it had been in his poetic

vocabulary. Remarkable also is the form *dole*, a portion; Chaucer has *deel* or *del*, and that very often. *Dogged* is a capital word; it occurs in the *Prompt. Parv.* and in the *Destruction of Troy*; but Ch. never uses it. The form *droune* does not occur in Chaucer; he uses the form *drenche*, pp. *dreynt*. Ch. only has *fonne*, a foolish person, in his imitation of Northern dialect; so that he practically repudiates it. Why, then, have we *fond* in Fragment B? *Grete*, to weep, is a most characteristic word; it occurs in *Wycliffe*, *Havelok*, *Gawain*, *Prompt. Parv.*, and *Rob. of Brunne*; but Ch. only knew *grete* in the sense 'to greet,' which is a different word. *Gate*, a way, is a most characteristic word. Chaucer himself uses *algate* and *algates*, i. e. 'always' and 'in every way'; but he never uses *gate* by itself. But the author of Fragment B has the characteristic phrase 'wente hir gate,' 3332; 'thurgh any gate,' 5230; 'I may not go noon other gate,' 5167. Besides which, in l. 5722, the scribe miswrites the pl. as *yates*; so far was he from being a Northerner, as has been pretended, that he actually did not recognize the distinction between *gate*, a way, and the Southern English *yate*, a gate.

Surely we have here quite enough to show that Fragment B was not written by Chaucer; secondly, that it was written by some one who, being a Northerner, tried (with occasional success) to imitate Chaucer's dialect; and thirdly, that the scribe did not always understand the Northern forms, and has minimized their frequency and importance.

It seems to me superfluous, at present, to pursue the controversy further. If there is not enough evidence to convince Prof. Lounsbury, there is quite enough to convince a great many others.

I am able, however, to go one step further. Let us examine the verb *to slay*. This appears, in Ch., as *slee* or *sleen*, and is a common word; and it rimes with *he* and

me. But, in Fragment B, it appears frequently as *slo*; it rimes with *go*, 1953, 3150, 3523, 4592, 4992, 5643, and with *two*, 2593. This is highly important, because it is not the pure Northumbrian. *Barbour* and the *Cursor Mundi* only have *sla*; the infin. *slo* occurs in *Havelok*, and in the Yorkshire romance of *Sir Percival*; and this enables us to say, positively, that the Northumbrian is not of the most pronounced character. I attribute the origin of the Fragment to some county not far from the Humber, as Lancashire, Yorkshire, or Lincolnshire. Many of its characteristic words occur in *Havelok* and *Robert of Brunne*; and it seems to me quite possible that a close study of its vocabulary will enable us to decide the question definitely in the future.

As to the date, I doubt if it is earlier than 1400. We find in it several imitations of Chaucer, in places where the French does not warrant them. The interpolated passage on *Gentillesse*, 2185—2202, is copied from the *Wyf of Bathes Tale*, and can hardly be earlier than 1390. The expression *farewel, feldefare* (l. 5510) is from Chaucer's *Troilus*. And similarly, the numerous passages quoted by Prof. Lounsbury as coincident with Chaucer, and therefore written by him, are all easily explicable as being due to simple imitation. On the other hand, the MS. is as old as 1440, and is itself copied from something older. We should expect the right date to be between 1400 and 1440; and if we split the difference, and call it 1420, we are not likely to be far wrong. Dr. Murray has noticed that a considerable number of words appear in Fragment B for the first time, and are thus seen to be somewhat older than we might expect them to be. Thus the word *demurely* occurs in l. 4627, but is unnoticed in Mätzner and Stratmann. I can only find *demure* in *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, st. 51, and in Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 19 and 29. The occurrence of such words is against the assumption of an early date. If it

were Chaucer's, we should have to date it as early as 1368 at latest; which seems to me to be out of the question.

That Chaucer's dialect should be imperfectly copied is just what we should expect. We have the well-known examples of the *King's Quair*, by James I. of Scotland, and the Scottish poem of *Lancelot of the Laik*. Both of these abound with Southern words and forms, owing to the extraordinary popularity of Chaucer's works.

Let me draw attention to l. 5004, of which Bell's editor says: 'This grand image is the writer's conception; the original is comparatively tame.' Lines 5001-4 refer to Elde, or Old Age:—

'The day and night, hir to turment,
With cruel Deth they hir present,
And tellen hir, erly and late,
That Deth stant armed at the gate.'

The last line is particularly good, and it is certainly not in the original. My belief is that the author had in memory a very remarkable story in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, known as the Trumpet of Death, which tells how, by a law of Hungary, a man condemned to die had a trumpet sounded at his gate by a man whose office it was to do this. The king bade the trumpeter, accordingly, "To trompen at his brothers gate"; and his brother, in great tribulation, begs for his life, saying:—

"The trompe of deth was at my gate
In token that I sholde deye;" ed. Pauli, i. 116.

The whole story turns upon the great fear and torment which the person who hears the trumpet endures; and we have the very same thing expressed in the four lines quoted above. Gower's first edition of the *Confessio* came out about 1385; and we can hardly doubt that the writer of Fragment B must have read this particular story.

My impression is, that some of the other passages in which the writer has amplified his French original may have been due to Gower's example. I do not know that any one has observed that Gower, who of course knew

Le Roman de la Rose very well, has given us passages which are certainly founded on the French, though they are considerably altered and expanded. These passages occur within the compass covered by Fragment B. I therefore suggest, for comparison, the following.

Gower, ed. Pauli, ii. 24, 25; cf. fragment B, 2510—48.

Gower, ii. 78; cf. B, 1986—2008.

Gower, ii. 97; cf. B, 2624—40.

Gower, ii. 98, 99; cf. B, 2553—99.

Gower, ii. 130; cf. B, 2499—2502.

I do not find here any clear indication that the author of fragment B is indebted to Gower; but the parallelisms are worth a moment's consideration, and I dare say there are more of them.

I do not know that any one has pointed out that Gower's poem is, in some slight measure, indebted to *Le Roman de la Rose*. If we examine the *Confessio Amantis*, we find that it consists of a string of stories set in a certain framework. This framework is due to two ideas. One is the list of the Seven Deadly Sins, to which the stories relate more or less; and the other idea is the dialogue between a lover and his confessor named Genius. We find, in *Le Roman*, a dialogue of this character, between a lover and Reason (see Fragment B, 4615); in which Reason gives the lover a great deal of good advice. Further on, we find a similar dialogue (see Fragment C, 5877) between the God of Love and False Semblant, which takes the express form of a long confession; and Gower seems to have combined these two passages in one idea. Moreover, it is obvious that Gower derived the name of Genius from the same source; in the French text, ed. Méon, iii. 236, Genius is one of the characters, and is introduced as expounding the laws of Nature, with especial reference to the continuance of the human species.

The character called *Wikked-tonge* in Fragment B (3871, &c.) is called in the French *Male-bouche*. Gower expressly

mentions *Male-bouche* (i. 173); but the editor, having no suspicion as to the true sense of the passage, prints this name with a small *m*. The character called Fals Semblaunt occupies nearly the whole of Fragment C; Gower describes Fals Semblaunt at length (i. 222—231), and we can tell very well whence he drew his description; but here again, the editor is unaware of the facts, and prints the name throughout with a small *f* and a small *s*.

The female characters of Youth and Elde occur near the beginning of the *Romaunt*, in Fragment A; they reappear, as male characters, near the end of the *Confessio Amantis*. The character of Envy occurs in Fragment A, 247; Gower has a great deal about Envy in vol. i., pp. 159, 167, 264. I do not think that Gower is, after all, very greatly indebted to this celebrated Romance, to which Chaucer certainly refers very frequently; still, the fact that he had read it cannot be doubted, and it is worth while, for once, to say so. A comparison of the *Confessio Amantis* with *Le Roman de la Rose* is by no means attractive, and I have taken very little trouble about the matter. I do not find any hint of such a connection in Morley's *English Writers*.



XXII.

CHAUCER'S "SAINT LOY."

By W. M. ROSSETTI, Esq.



EVERY one knows the line in the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in which it is said of the Prioress that

“ Hire grettest ooth nas but by Seynt Loy ”—

a line over which much controversy has been waged. Who was St. Loy, it has been asked, and why should the Prioress have limited her swearing to that particular Saint? In an Italian author contemporary with Chaucer there is a passage which seems worth citing in illustration, but I am not aware that this has as yet been done. It goes to confirm the opinion, now prevalent, that St. Loy is the same as St. Eloy, or Eligius.

Franco Sacchetti, a distinguished Florentine, wrote a book of *Novelle* [Tales], which bears a high reputation. The dates of his birth and death are not known with exactness: the former was perhaps in 1335, and the latter in 1400 or soon afterwards. Chaucer's death was in 1400, and his birth may have been towards 1340, so that the correspondence of date is very close. Sacchetti's *Novelle* may have been written at various times between 1370 and 1390: this again approximates more or less nearly to the period of the *Canterbury Tales*. The *Novelle* were first printed in 1724, under the editorship of Monsignor Giovanni Bottari, who added a few notes.

The 149th Tale of Sacchetti narrates a commotion caused by an unruly horse in the Butchers' Market of Florence. A butcher belaboured the horse, and its master, Rinuccio di Nello, “ gli si gittava addosso, e diceva: ‘Per santo Loi che se tu dai al mio cavallo che io darò a te’— [fell upon him (the butcher) and said: ‘By Saint Loi,

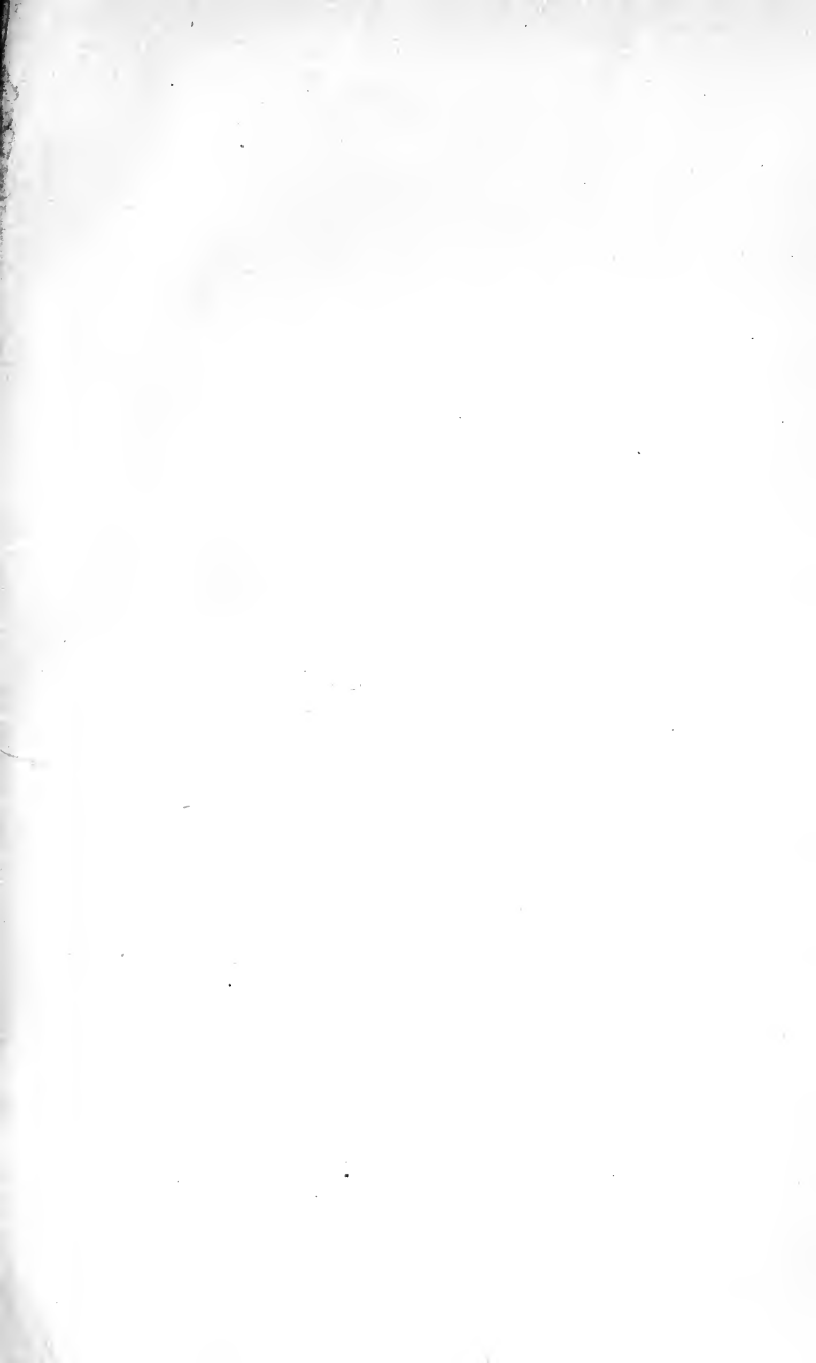
if you give it to my horse, I will give it to you']". To the words "Santo Loi" Monsignor G. Bottari has added this note: "O. s. Aloja, giuramento usato da' mulattieri, cioè, per S. Eligio." The meaning of the note (a little amplified in terms for clearness' sake) is this: "The words Per Santo Loi are equivalent to the interjection or expletive Aloja, this being an oath used by muleteers: in other words, By Saint Eligius."

As "per Santo Loi" means "by Saint Eligius," it seems almost manifest that "by Seynt Loi" must mean the same. But perhaps we might be warranted in proceeding a step further in our scrutiny of the Prioress's ejaculation, and inquiring—Did she make use of any such words as "by Saint Loy"? or did she merely indulge in some exclamation corresponding to the Italian interjection "aloja"? The latter course would be only a case of semi-swearing; as when a man exclaims "Zounds," instead of swearing "By God's wounds." In fact, if I correctly understand Bottari's note, the vocable Aloja (though originally derived from the name Loi) is practically a mere cry to a mule, barely or not at all more censurable than our English cry of "jee-up" to a horse.

Commentators, I believe, have not succeeded in showing why a Prioress who permitted herself to swear an oath (if oath it was) "by Saint Loy" should not have extended her license so as to swear oaths by other saints as well.

W. M. ROSSETTI.

July 1894.







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