THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S TROILUS

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# The Date of Chaucer's Troilus and Other Chaucer Matters.

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## and Other Chaucer Matters

BY

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# PREFACE.

THE essay here submitted to students of Chaucer takes the form of an argument in contravention of the theory of Professor Tatlock as to the date of Chaucer's *Troilus*. In publishing it, I wish to record, at the same time, my appreciation of the learning and the acuteness which Mr. Tatlock shows throughout his volume on *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, and of the substantial value which I attach to his results in general.

Since the greater part of my essay was finished, Professor Lowes has called attention (in the twenty-third volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*) to the bearing which Chaucer's use of the letter *A* in the *Troilus* has upon this question of dates.[1] Mr. Lowes had the kindness to show me his manuscript before I began to write. However, though I regard his argument as practically conclusive, it has seemed best to examine the case without utilizing the passage in question. The logical place for a repetition of Mr. Lowes's new evidence, and of his treatment of it, would be at the end of the present paper.

The scope of this essay does not include an attempt to determine the absolute date of the *Troilus* or to settle the question whether the *Troilus* or the *Palamon* was written first. Several other matters, however, have been discussed as incidental to the argument,—among them the date of the *House of Fame* and of the *Monk's Tale*.

In references to Benoit's *Roman de Troie*, the verses have been cited according to Joly's numbering, but the readings of Constans have been adopted as far as his edition goes. Joly's numbers are in the right-hand margin of the Constans text.

*Cambridge, Massachusetts,*
  *November* 24*th*, 1908.

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[1] 'Right as our firste lettre is now an A.'—*Troilus*, i. 171. *Chaucer's Works*, ed. Skeat, ii. 158. The 'A' is Anne of Bohemia, about whose winning by Richard II. Chaucer had written in the *Parlement of Fowles*, and who was crownd Queen of England on 14 Jan. 1382.—F.

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# The Date of Chaucer's Troilus and other Chaucer Matters.

In the *Mirour de l'Omme*, Gower, in treating of Sompnolence, the eldest daughter of Accidie, says that the Sleepy Man (*ly Sompnolent*), when he has to go to church on the morning of a high feast-day, does not say his prayers, but lays his head down on the stool (*eschamelle*) and takes a nap. He dreams that he is drinking wine, or else that he hears somebody "sing the tale of Troylus and the fair Creseide," and that is how he offers his petition to God!

| | |
|---|---|
| Au Sompnolent trop fait moleste, | Et dort, et songe en sa cervelle |
| Quant matin doit en haulte feste | Qu'il est au bout de la tonelle, |
| Ou a mouster ou a chapelle | *U qu'il oit chanter la geste* |
| Venir ; mais ja du riens s'apreste | *De Troïlus et de la belle* |
| A dieu prier, ainz bass la teste | *Creseide*, et ensi se concelle |
| Mettra tout suef sur l'eschamelle, | A dieu d'y faire sa requeste.[1] |

This passage is thought to have been written in 1377.[2]   Professor Tatlock, who first utilized it as a criterion for chronology,[3]

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[1] Vv. 5245–56.

[2] In an article in *Modern Philology*, I, 324 (1903), Mr. Tatlock holds that the passage in the *Mirour* "can hardly have been written later than 1376." In his important treatise *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Society, 1907, p. 15 ; cf. pp. 26, 32, 33, 225), he shifts the date to "about 1377." We may accept 1377, provisionally, as a basis for investigation, though we shall have to test its accuracy by-and-by (see Appendix VI, below).

[3] Mr. Macaulay called attention to the passage in his edition of Gower, 1899 (I, xiii), but took it for granted that Chaucer's *Troilus* is later than the *Mirour*. Dr. G. L. Hamilton, in 1903, assumed (without argument) that Gower was referring to the *Troilus* (*The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, p. 136). Later in 1903, Professor Tatlock utilized the passage as evidence for the date of Chaucer's poem (*Modern Philology*, I, 317 ff. ; cf. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XX, 824, note 1 ; Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 26, note 1). Mr. Tatlock's argument is elaborated and supplemented, with much learning and great acuteness and controversial skill, in *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*

holds that Gower is referring to Chaucer's *Troilus*, and that therefore the *Troilus* must already have achieved popularity. Since most scholars are disposed to put the *Troilus* several years later, the soundness of Mr. Tatlock's reasoning is a matter of considerable interest. The whole argument turns on a question of names:— Benoit de Sainte Maure and Guido delle Colonne, as is well known, call Troilus' ladylove *Briseida*, and Boccaccio calls her *Griseida;*[1] Chaucer changed *Griseida* into *Criseyde* (or *Criseyda*).[2] We are forced to infer, according to Mr. Tatlock, that it is Chaucer's *Troilus* to which Gower refers in the passage quoted. But, before the case can be regarded as closed, a number of facts, some of which have not been brought into the discussion hitherto, need to be considered. Many of these are familiar, and none of them are recondite. Their bearing will be clear enough as we proceed.

The question is: What does Gower mean by "la geste de Troylus et de la belle Creseide"? Is he alluding to Chaucer's *Troilus?*

The word *geste* does not help us at all. It conveys no more

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(Chaucer Society, 1907), pp. 15 ff., by way of rejoinder to Professor Lowes (*Publications*, as above, XX, 819 ff.). I must refer the reader to this treatise (cited as "Tatlock") very particularly, in order that Mr. Tatlock's position may be understood, and that it may not suffer—however slightly—from my way of stating the case. It should be especially noted that Mr. Tatlock does not regard his contention as resting altogether on Gower's use of the name *Creseide* instead of *Briseida*. I have not intentionally neglected any of his subsidiary arguments, although, in my opinion, the question really hinges on a single letter (cf. Lowes, p. 826).

[1] Mr. E. H. Wilkins, in an article published after the present essay was in the hands of the printer, makes it probable that Boccaccio's form was rather *Criseida* than *Griseida* (*Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, 65–66; reprinted in *Boccaccio Studies*, Baltimore, 1909, pp. 50 ff.). The acceptance of this view would somewhat simplify my argument in several places.

[2] *Criseyde* rhymes with the preterites *deyde* (i, 56, 460, 875; iii, 1171; iv, 151, 668; v, 1834); *pleyde* (i, 1006; v, 1112); *seyde* or *withseyde* (i, 457, 1005; ii, 879, 1233, 1415; iii, 1052, 1174, 1421, 1471; iv, 152, 179, 215, 345, 377, 827, 874, 960, 1148, 1253, 1653; v, 217, 506, 509, 522, 689, 734, 870, 932, 945, 1033, 1121, 1146, 1244, 1265, 1424, 1440, 1676, 1713, 1730); *leyde* (ii, 1548; iii, 1055; iv, 135, 180, 1163; v, 873, 1034, 1145, 1439); *preyde* (i, 1006; ii, 1602; iv, 137, 196, 214, 1438); *breyde* or *abreyde* (iv, 1212; v, 1243); with the first person present or preterite *breyde* (v, 1262); with the infinitive *breyde*, *abreyde*, *upbreyde* (iii, 1113; iv, 230, 348; v, 520, 1710); with the noun *mayde* (ii, 880). See Skeat's *Rime Index*, p. 13*, and cf. my *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus*, pp. 34, 247–8, 251, 258, 271–2. The full form *Criseÿdë* is common in the interior of the verse (i, 99, 392; ii, 386, 1100, etc., etc.). Elision of the final *e* occurs before a vowel (i, 273; ii, 598, 1562, etc.), before *his* (iii, 95), *hath* (v, 1247), and *hadde* (iv, 825). *Criseÿde* (with apocope) occurs before the cæsura, *that* following (ii, 689). *Criseydà* (three syllables) is found once (i, 169). *Crisèÿdà* (four syllables) occurs twice (ii, 1426, 1646). Some manuscripts show *Creseyde*, *Cresseyde*, *Cresseide*, and other variants.

definite meaning in Gower's French than "story" would convey in modern English. Earlier in the *Mirour*, at the wedding feast of the Seven Daughters of Sin, we are told that Temptation made himself very agreeable as a *raconteur:*—

> *Car mainte delitable geste*
> *Leur dist*, dont il les cuers entice
> Des jofnes dames au delice
> Sanz cry, sanz noise, et sanz tempeste.[1]

The word *geste* in Gower's Troilus passage is, to be sure, quite compatible with Mr. Tatlock's theory, for Chaucer's poem is undoubtedly a story. But "the story of Troilus and Creseide" has another sense, equally applicable. "The tale of Troy" is not necessarily the Iliad, or the fiction of Dictys Cretensis, or the *Historia Trojana* of Guido, or Benoit's *Roman de Troie*, or any other actual text: it may be, and commonly is, merely "what is said to have happened at Troy," the *res gestae* of the war, often recorded, to which each fresh narrator gives concrete expression as he tells them. With this sense of *geste* in mind, one cannot deny that Gower's language is consistent with the view that—grant the story of Troilus and Cressida already existed in any form—what the Sleepy Man heard in his dream was simply a *chanson* (in French or English) dealing with that material, a song that can no more be identified with any particular poem that ever existed than *ly Sompnolent* himself can be identified with any particular subject of the English crown, or the *eschamelle* with any particular stool in an English church. The term *geste*, then, does not advance us a particle toward an answer to our question, "Was Gower alluding to Chaucer's poem?"[2] Let us see if the form *Creseide* will prove more serviceable.

Before attacking the problems involved in this name and in Gower's employment of it in 1377, we must attend to a preliminary matter. We must ask ourselves whether the substance of the Troilus story was known to Gower—independently of Chaucer's poem—when he wrote the passage under review; and furthermore, whether he may well have had the story in mind—still independently of Chaucer—at the moment of composition.

[1] Vv. 981–4.
[2] This paragraph, which may seem a work of supererogation, is made necessary by what appear to be Mr. Tatlock's views with respect to the significance of the word *geste* in the *Mirour* passage. For the whole matter see Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIII, 300–1.

Here we get a foothold of solid fact. When Gower wrote the Troilus passage he was already thoroughly familiar with Benoit's *Roman de Troie.* This is proved by three other passages in the *Mirour*,—(1) vv. 3724–40, (2) vv. 5515–20, and (3) vv. 16700–2.

In the first of these three passages, in characterizing Envie, Gower writes,—

> C'est ly serpens toutdis veillant,     Jason de sa prouesce fine
> Q'en l'ille Colcos fuist gardant     Portoit grant pris en conquestant
> Le toison d'orr, dont par covine,     Malgre la geule serpentine.
> Q'en fist Medea la meschine,

That this brief summary of the tale of the Golden Fleece is based either on Benoit or on Guido appears from Gower's calling "Colcos" an island.[1]

In the second passage (vv. 5515–20) Gower, describing the panic fear of a coward, asserts that he suffers from "a palsy which he who cured Hector of Troy will never cure ":—

> Car combien q'il fort corps avra,     Ove tout l'entraille tremblera :
> Le cuer dedeinz malade esta,     Tieu parlesie ne guarra
> Du quoy le pulmon et la foie     Cil qui guarist Ector de Troie.

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[1] "En l'isle de Colcos en mer " (Benoit, v. 753) ; " In quadam insula dicta Colcos" (Guido, bk. i, ch. 1, ed. 1489, sig. a 2 recto, col. 1 ; cf. sig. a 2 verso, col. 2). This point is not conclusive in itself, for the error was doubtless widespread (partly under the influence of *Delos, Samos*, and other island names ; cf. *Delphos* for *Delphi*). Boccaccio, *Amorosa Visione*, cap. 25, writes " All' isola de' Colchi " (*Opere Volgari*, 1833, XIV, 99). Still, taken in connection with the Jason story in the *Confessio Amantis* (v, 3247 ff.), with Gower's general record in the use of Benoit (see pp. 6–7, below), and with the epithet "toutdis veillant," the error may pass as significant. That Gower's summary is based rather on Benoit than on Guido is shown by the epithet "toutdis veillant " applied to the dragon ; Benoit's words are " uns serpenz qui toz jorz veille " (v. 1357) ; Guido has nothing that corresponds. The evidence is clinched by the fact that when Gower, later in life, repeated the tale at full length in the *Confessio Amantis*, he not only expressly cited "the bok of Troie " (v, 3245), but used Benoit as his chief authority, as a detailed comparison demonstrates beyond a peradventure. There too he speaks of " an yle which Colchos was cleped " (v, 3265), and calls the guardian of the Fleece "a serpent which mai nevere slepe " (v, 3514) ; cf. also—

> For that serpent which nevere slepte
> The flees of gold so wel he kepte
> In Colchos, as the tale is told (v, 6607–9).

This detail, both in the *Mirour* and in the *Confessio*, might be held to come from Ovid's "pervigilem draconem " (*Met.*, vii, 149) if the evidence for Gower's use of Benoit in the *Confessio* were not, as it is, conclusive and admitted. See Mr. Macaulay's note on *Conf. Am.*, v, 3247 ff. I have verified his results by a careful comparison of Gower, Benoit, and Guido. Boccaccio (*De Genealogia Deorum*, xiii, 26, ed. 1511, fol. 98 recto) calls the dragon "peruigilem." For "l'isle de Colchos" see also Gower's *Traitié*, viii, 1. Chaucer's "an yle that called was Colcos, Beyonde Troye, estward in the see " (*Legend*, vv. 1425–6) is from Guido, i, 1 (" in quadam insula dicta Colcos *ultra regni Troiani confinia versus orientalem plagam*," the italicized words not appearing in Benoit).

Here we have an obvious allusion to Benoit's " good physician,"
Goz. When Hector had returned to Troy after the Second Battle,
triumphant but severely wounded,—

Li bons mires Goz li senez,
Qui devers Orient fu nez,
Qui plus preisiez fu en son tens
Que Ypocras ne Galiëns,
Li a ses plaies reguardees
E afaitiees e lavees.
Beivre li fist une poison
Que tost le traist a guarison.
Li cors li est asoagiez :
Ne puet mais estre trop gregiez.

Un poi l'a fait desgeüner,
Puis font la chambre delivrer.
Ainz qu'il s'endormist, vient li Reis,
Prianz li sages, li corteis.
Demanda li com li estait ;
Et il li dist que bien li vait :
" Demain, senz autre demorance,
Et o m'espee e o ma lance
Lor mosterrai si jo sui sains :
De ço seiez vos bien certains." [1]

And again, after the Eighth Battle,—

Bros [*var.* Goz] li Puilleis, li plus
senez
Qui de mirgie fust usez
Ne d'oignement freis ne d'emplastre,

Dedenz la Chambre de Labastre,
Tailla Hector si gentement
Que mal ne trait, dolor ne sent.[2]

There can be no doubt at all that Gower is alluding to Benoit's
narrative, for Guido says nothing whatever about the physician or
his treatment of Hector.[3]

In the third passage in the *Mirour* (vv. 16700–2), Gower says
that Paris first saw Helen in an island :—

> Auci Paris ne fist que sage,
> Qant vist Heleine, q'ert venue
> En l'isle presde son rivage.

This implies a knowledge of the Trojan story in the form in which
it occurs in Benoit and Guido :—In the course of his Grecian
voyage, Paris lands on the island of " Citherea," where there is a
famous temple of Venus near the shore. The inhabitants are
celebrating an annual feast-day in the temple. Paris and his
comrades visit the building and make an offering to Diana. The
beauty of Paris and the fine appearance of his troop attract the
attention of the great assembly. Helen hears the news and goes to

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[1] *Roman de Troie*, vv. 10183–202.
[2] Vv. 14557–62. See the numerous variants in the edition of Constans.
Gower may have had either or both of these passages in mind : it makes no
difference. Very likely his manuscript of Benoit had *Goz* in both places.
[3] Guido (sig. h 3 recto, col. 2) has not a word corresponding to Benoit, vv.
10183–202 (his " Troiani vero interea treuga ipsa durante eorum vulneratos in
bello peritorum consilio medicorum curare faciunt et mederi ita quod in fine
duorum mensium eorundem restituti sunt qui vulnerati fuerant integre sani-
tati " reflects the passage very faintly, but is in the main from Benoit, vv.
10253–8). In the other place (Benoit, vv. 14557–62) he has " Hector sibi
de vulneribus suis medetur iacens tunc in aula pulchritudinis " (sig. i 4 verso,
col. 1).

the festival, desiring to see the handsome stranger. They fall in
love with each other in the temple.[1]    The variation from the
classical tale is evident.    That Gower is indebted rather to Benoit
than to Guido cannot be proved, but probability sets strongly that
way ; for when he tells the fate of Paris and Helen in the *Con-
fessio Amantis*,[2] he demonstrably follows Benoit, as in the case of
the Golden Fleece.

From these three passages, then, it is certain that Gower was
familiar with Benoit's *Roman de Troie* when he wrote the *Mirour
de l'Omme*.    This would be antecedently probable anyway.    An
English author of the fourteenth century could hardly venture to
write a French poem of 30,000 lines without some previous
acquaintance with French literature, in which Benoit was, and is, a
distinguished figure.  It is a satisfaction, however, not to appeal to
arguments *a priori*, but to build, for once on a solid foundation of
fact.

What we have observed of Gower's familiarity with the *Roman
de Troie* when he wrote the *Mirour*, agrees with the extensive and
continual employment that he makes of the poem in his later
works.    In the *Vox Clamantis* he describes the reign of the mob in
London (*nova Troia*) under the figure of the Fall of Troy, mention-
ing the " wise old man " Calcas, Antenor, Diomedes, and others,[3]—
including Troilus in his martial capacity and in proverbial associa-
tion with Hector,[4] and he narrates the murder of the Archbishop of
Canterbury under the figure of Helenus "qui palladium Troie
seruabat ab ara."[5]

The *Confessio Amantis* abounds in matter from Benoit.    Three
of the *Balades* contain similar material,[6] and the *Traitié* several
times has recourse to Benoit for examples.[7]    Thus from his earliest

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[1] Benoit, vv. 4235 ff. ; Guido, fol. d 3 recto.    The source for the temple
incident (with the mistake of the island of *Citherea* for *Cythera*) is Dares,
9–10 ; Dictys, i, 3, makes Paris (Alexander) and Helen meet at Sparta.
Nobody will maintain that Gower derived the detail of the island from Dares
rather than from Benoit.    Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, xii, 12, fol. 88
recto, cites Dares Phrygius as authority for the "insula Cytherea" story.

[2] v, 7195 ff.    For the island, see v, 7469 ff.    I do not mean to exclude the
influence of Guido on this part of the *Confessio Amantis*, but Benoit is clearly
Gower's real source, as Mr. Macaulay has noted.

[3] Book i, chap. 13, heading ; also vv. 961 ff.

[4] "Hectoris aut Troili nil tunc audacia vicit" (i, 933).    This verse has
escaped the notice of Mr. Tatlock, who remarks that Gower " never men-
tions Troilus but as a lover " (p. 30).

[5] i. 1001 ff.

[6] Nos. 20, 30, and 43.

[7] vi, 3 ; viii, 1 ; ix, 2–3 ; x, 1.

extant work [1] to his latest Gower evinces unwavering devotion to the *Roman de Troie*. Manifestly it was one of his favorite books and he made it his constant companion. We can hardly doubt that there was a manuscript of the poem in his bookchest, and that he read it enthusiastically, returning to its pages with unabated delight.

Gower's lifelong interest in the *Roman de Troie* is significant enough, for it helps us to a conception of what may be called the background of his mind during the composition of the *Mirour*. But, as we have seen, we are not dependent on a retroactive inference from the later poems for our knowledge that he knew Benoit well when he wrote the verses about Troilus. We have first-rate evidence in the *Mirour* itself.

The three passages which we have studied are decisive. Two of them, to be sure, refer to well-known stories (Jason and Medea, Paris and Helen), but in terms that instantly betray the source of information which Gower had in mind. The other is in a category by itself. Goz, the skilful physician from the East, is mentioned but twice in the *Roman de Troie*, and all that is said about him occupies just twenty-six verses in this vast poem of more than 30,000 lines.[2] Yet Gower alludes to him as casually as he might have alluded to Galen or Hippocrates. Is it likely that a poet who had the details of Benoit's romance so vividly in mind could have mentioned "the story of Troylus and the fair Creseide" without thinking of Benoit's account of their amour?

But we have not yet done with the proved allusions to Benoit in the *Mirour*. Let us see where they come in that poem with respect to the verses about Troilus. The Jason passage is vv. 3724–30, the Troilus passage is vv. 5253–6, the physician passage is vv. 5519–20. In other words, the three passages, *Jason, Troilus, physician*, fall within a compass of 1800 lines, the Troilus verses standing about 1500 lines *after* the Jason passage and less than 300 lines *before* the physician passage. Further, the Troilus passage and the physician passage are in consecutive and closely related chap-

[1] Before Gower composed the *Mirour*, he had written love poems—"les fols ditz d'amour fesoie, Dont en chantant je carolloie" (vv. 27341–2). Either these are lost—like most of Chaucer's " ditees and songes glade " which Gower mentions as filling the land everywhere (*Confessio Amantis*, first version, viii, 2941–7, Macaulay, III, 466), or, as is extremely probable, some of them are included in the *Cinkante Balades* (see Appendix IV).

[2] I assume that Gower's copy of Benoit mentioned the same physician in both places (see p. 5, note 2, above). If it had " Broz " in the second passage, the argument is not affected.

ters—the former in the chapter on Sompnolence, eldest daughter
of Accidie, the latter in that on her second daughter, Peresce.   Under
these circumstances, it is not merely unlikely, it is inconceivable,
that Gower failed to think of the story of Troilus in the *Roman de
Troie* as he wrote his pretty verses about the Sleepy Man's dream,
whatever else he may have been thinking of.[1]

Let us now consider whether there is anything surprising in
Gower's mentioning the Troilus story in this passage, even if he
knew it from Benoit alone.   Certainly not.   It was "vain and
pleasant," a tale of worldly love, fit occupation for a leisure hour
or for the idle thoughts of a lazy fellow.   The contrast between
such a story and the solemn service to which *ly Sompnolent* ought
to have been attending is complete.   Gower could have mentioned
no more appropriate theme for the Sleepy Man's dreams in church.

But, it is objected, the story of Troilus' love "does not form a
unified episode" in Benoit's romance;[2] it exists there merely as
"a few scattered bits lost in a long poem."[3]   Gower, therefore,
would not have thought of mentioning the matter at all, unless both
he and his readers had known the work of Chaucer well.   This
objection will not long detain us.   It springs from a misapprehen-
sion in matters of fact.   Benoit's story of Troilus' unhappy love and
his death falls within a compass of some 8800 lines,[4] and of those
lines it occupies about 1900.   I append a table, that the reader may
see at a glance how the material is distributed.[5]   The breaks are
due merely to Benoit's straightforward chronological method,—he
is writing an orderly history of the Trojan War.   They do not blur
the outlines of the love story, nor do they interfere with its essential
unity.   The thread is kept well in hand, or picked up readily when
the time comes.   And the intervening portions of the general
narrative more than once concern themselves with Troilus, so that,
if one were disposed to claim everything, the sum of 1900 verses
might be substantially increased.   For it is obviously impossible
to separate Troilus the lover from Troilus the valiant knight, "the

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[1] This conclusion, which needs no argument, might be strengthened—if it
were not already as cogent as possible—by considering that Benoit mentions
Troilus almost immediately after the episode of Hector's cure, exalting his
prowess shown in the same battle in which Hector has been wounded (vv.
10221-26, with an interval of only eighteen lines).

[2] "While Troilus is very prominent all through Benoit's and Guido's
works as a warrior, the mention of his lady and his *amour* are at very little
length, and do not even form a unified episode" (Tatlock, p. 28).

[3] Tatlock, p. 30.

[4] Between v. 12930 and v. 21745.        [5] See pp. 62 ff., below.

wise and worthy Hector the seconde." In short, Benoit's Troilus story is a considerable affair; it does *not* consist of scattered bits, and it is by no means "lost" in the *Roman de Troie*. On its merits I need not here insist; they have been sufficiently brought out by several critics who, having no particular thesis to defend or attack, have had no temptation either to belittle them or to emphasize them unduly.[1] It will be enough to say that, if Chaucer is much indebted to Boccaccio, Boccaccio in his turn owes far more to Benoit than is commonly recognized.

Clearly, then, there is nothing in the form or the situation of the Troilus story in the *Roman de Troie* to make against the pregnant and unforced position that Gower might well have alluded to it on the basis of Benoit alone. A love story of 1900 lines was at least as likely to impress itself upon his imagination as the two brief passages (twenty-six verses in all) about the physician who cured Hector. We need not appeal to the general mediæval habit of citing authorities, bringing in *exempla*, and accumulating names without much regard to "obviousness or propriety." For an allusion to Benoit's Troilus story was both natural and appropriate.[2] Indeed, there is a pertinent fact which takes the question of naturalness quite out of the class of ordinary *a priori* considerations.

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[1] It is impossible not to quote the eloquent tribute of Savj-Lopez, *Romania*, XXVII, 471–2: "Ma quando Griseida [*i. e.* Briseida] nel campo greco s'accende di Diomede e comincia a dimenticare l'amico lontano, tutta la sua intima lotta è descritta dal trovero [*sc.* Benoit] con efficacia grande e con profonda finezza psicologica, fin che in lei prorompe irresistibile la voce della passione:

> Dex donge bien a Troylus!
> Quant nel puis amer, ne il mei,
> A cestui me done et otrei."

Perhaps it is only fair to append the highly figurative passage in which another eminent scholar pays his respects to Benoit and Boccaccio:—"So finden wir also die Rudimente von Boccaccio's Gedicht in Benoîts Roman, wo sie aber unter den dreissigtausend Versen fast ganz verschwinden. Es sind einzelne rohe Perlen, welche Boccaccio aus dem Meere Benoîts herausfischte und mit den glänzenden kostbaren Diamanten seines eigenen Geistes zum prachtvollen Kleinod verband" (Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio*, 1877, p. 90). This same critic, it may be added, speaks of Chaucer as a plagiarist ("Boccaccio's Filostrato hat aber nicht bloss von einem Plagiator, sondern auch von seinem Herausgeber zu leiden gehabt," p. 94), and says that in his *Troilus* we have neither the heroes of Homer, nor the adventurous knights of Benoit, nor yet Boccaccio's Neapolitan court ladies, "sondern derbe englische Spiessbürger des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts" (p. 93).

[2] To avoid the possibility of misunderstanding, let me remind the reader that we are here considering the naturalness and propriety of an allusion to the Troilus story, not the naturalness of calling Troilus' love *Creseide*. We shall take up that name in due season.

Froissart, in the *Paradys d'Amours*,[1] a poem written before 1370
and under French influences alone, puts Troilus at the head of a
long list of lovers.[2]   This shows what effect Benoit's episode had
upon Froissart.   And, in citing Froissart, we should not forget
that he had been in England in the service of Queen Philippa, that
the Duchess Blanche was his patroness,[3] and that both he and his
works were well known to Englishmen.   Chaucer, for example,
utilized the *Paradys d'Amours* in the *Book of the Duchess*[4] and
again in the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*.[5]   Any
argument that can be urged to prove that Gower was unlikely to
mention the Troilus story in 1377 on the basis of Benoit alone, will
apply with equal or greater force to Froissart before 1370.   Yet
Froissart *did* mention Troilus; he even gave him a highly con-
spicuous position in a poem intended not only for Frenchmen but
—like Gower's *Mirour*—for French-reading natives of England.[6]

[1] V. 974 (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, I, 29).   Froissart's mention of Troilus is
noted by R. Dernedde, *Über die den altfranzösischen Dichtern bekannten
epischen Stoffe aus dem Altertum*, 1887, p. 123, and Neilson, *The Origin and
Sources of the Court of Love*, 1899, p. 79 (Harvard *Studies and Notes*, VI ;
cf. Tatlock, *Modern Philology*, I, 323, note).   It is utilized by Lowes
(*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 825) in reply to Tatlock
(*Modern Philology*, I, 317 ff.) ; cf. Tatlock *Origin and Development*, p. 29,
and Lowes, *Publications*, as above, XXIII, 301–2.

[2] Froissart's knowledge of the *Roman de Troie* is shown also by his mention
of the prophecies of Helenus and Cassandra (see Benoit, vv. 3925–66, 4127–50)
and of the fatal love of Achilles for Polyxena (see Benoit, vv. 21911 ff.) in *Le
Joli Buisson de Jonece*, vv. 3336–59 (*Poésies*, II, 99–100).

[3] *Joli Buisson*, vv. 241–52 (*Poésies*, II, 8).

[4] See *Englische Studien*, XXVI, 321 ff. Longnon, in his *Réponse aux
Objections de M. Kittredge* (*Meliador*, III, 364, n. 1), accepts the use of the
*Paradys* in the *Book of the Duchess*.

[5] See Vollmer, *The Boke of Cupide*, pp. 101–2, and especially, Lowes, *Pub-
lications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 612 ff. ; cf. Tatlock, p. 88.

[6] In the *Joli Buisson*, vv. 230–77, Froissart pays a tribute to the following
English patrons,—Edward III, Queen Philippa, the Duchess Blanche of
Lancaster, Ysabel de Couci (daughter of Edward III), the Earl of Hereford,
Monseigneur de Mauni, the Earl of Pembroke, and "le grant seigneur
Espensier."   Among Scots (vv. 364–9) he thanks the King, the good Earl of
Douglas, "cils de Mare [Mar] et cils de la Marce [March], Cils de Surlant
[Sutherland] et cils de Fi [Fife]."   Chaucer's wife appears as *domicella* of Queen
Philippa's chamber, September 12, 1366 (*Life-Records*, p. 158), and it is clear
that she had already been for some years in the queen's service (Kirk, *Life-
Records*, p. xix), in which she remained till the Queen's death (August 15, 1369).
Froissart was in Queen Philippa's service from 1365 to 1369, and, though absent
from England during a considerable portion of that period, he was in personal
attendance during most of 1367 and for the first three months of 1368 (see the
details in *Englische Studien*, XXVI, 326–7).   Of course Chaucer's wife
must have known Froissart, and it is equally probable that Chaucer was
personally acquainted with him.   For Froissart's sole mention of Chaucer, see
Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition, VIII, 382 (cf. Kirk, *Life Records*, pp.
xxvi–vii).   Froissart was on good terms with Sir Richard Stury (XV, 143,
157), whom Chaucer of course knew well.

If the difference in character between Froissart's work and the *Mirour* be urged in reply,—an objection of little or no weight,— it is more than counterbalanced by the fact that a conspicuous mention of Troilus as a lover by Froissart—much read in England, and sure to have been read by Gower, who may even have been personally acquainted with him,—became instantly a potential moving cause for further mention.[1]

But the end is not yet. The community of culture between the French and English courts in the latter half of the fourteenth century is a matter of common knowledge, though the details still afford good opportunities for investigation. French fashions of literary composition were English fashions as well, and what Frenchmen read and understood,—particularly in the way of

[1] Mr. Tatlock's list of French poems, etc., which refer to Troilus as a warrior (p. 29) but do not mention him as a lover, is interesting and valuable, but it does not tend to prove that Gower,—who had the *Roman de Troie* in his mind while he was writing the *Mirour*,—might not naturally have referred to the Troilus story even if Chaucer's poem had never existed. Under the circumstances, the single passage from Froissart outweighs a great deal of silence (a rather imponderable commodity in any event). If it were worth while to linger on this point, there is some temptation. Let us see what we can do with two or three instances which Mr. Tatlock has overlooked. In 1377, as we have seen, Gower mentioned Troilus as a lover ; a few years later, in book i, verse 993, of the *Vox Clamantis*, he mentions him as a warrior, not as a lover : "Hectoris aut Troili nil tunc andacia vicit." More striking is the procedure of Boccaccio himself. In the *Amorosa Visione*, he twice mentions Troilus, once as a prosperous aspirant for worldly glory, and again as dead (caps. 7, 34, *Opere Volgari*, 1833, XIV, 30, 139). In both places it is Troilus the warrior, rather than Troilus the lover. Of course, if we did not know the facts, there would be some temptation for anybody who could utilize such a point to infer that when he wrote the *Visione*, Boccaccio had not already exalted Troilus as a lover, and that therefore the *Filostrato* was later than the *Visione*. And such an argument might be further supported by the fact that the *Visione does* mention as lovers "Florio and Biancofiore" (cap. 29, XIV, 118), whom Boccaccio had already written up in the *Filocolo*. "But," as Lord Bacon says, "enough of these toys ! "

*The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (vv. 323-31) mentions Troilus in its brief summary of the Trojan story :—

> Bot the lure at the laste light appon troye ;
> For there sir Priamus the prynce put was to dethe,
> And Pantasilia þe quene paste hym by fore,
> Sir Troylus, a trewe knyghte, þat tristyly hade foghten,
> Neptolemus, a noble knyghte at nede þat wolde noghte fayle,
> Palamedes, a prise knyghte and preued in armes,
> Vlixes and Ercules þat full euerrous were bothe,
> And oþer fele of þat ferde fared of the same,
> As Dittes and Dares demed[e]n togedir.

Edited by Gollancz, for the Roxburghe Club, 1897, p. 17. The source appears to be Guido. The editor dates the poem about 1350, or a little earlier (p. xi) ; cf. H. Bradley, *Athenæum*, April 18, 1903, pp. 498-9. This passage has apparently escaped Mr Tatlock's eye.

romance,—was equally intelligible to the household of Edward III and of Richard II.[1] We know that the *Roman de Troie* was much read on both sides of the Channel. It would be strange, indeed, if the episode of Troilus and Briseida had been overlooked by readers whose intellectual and social diversions centered in the discussion of chivalric love and of the casuistry to which its complications gave rise. Of course, most of the occasional lyrics thrown off impromptu by the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease, have perished—like many of Gower's and most of Chaucer's. So much the greater is the significance attaching to such of them as the iniquity of oblivion has spared.

The second of the *Responses* to *Les Cent Ballades* is by Jean de Chambrillac.[2] It contains the following stanza :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Bien ay oÿ de Troÿluz, | Car quant de Troie fu partie, |
| Le beau, le preux de hault pouoir, | Dyomedès en fu saisiz : |
| Qui a Brisaÿda fu druz, | Sa dame fu, il ses amis. |
| Ne d'autre amer n'ot nul vouloir. | Cela m'aprent que je m'atieigne |
| Le bien qu'il en pot recevoir | Qu'en lieu seul soit mon cuer assiz ; |
| Fu qu'il demoura sans amie ; | Je ne creing pas que mal m'en vieigne. |

At first sight this graceful stanza may seem too late to throw any light on the subject that we are discussing, for it was written in 1389. A moment's thought, however, suffices to reveal its place in the argument. The stanza is based solely on Benoit, with no influence from Boccaccio or Chaucer, as the name *Brisayda* proves. So was Froissart's mention of Troilus at the head of a list of distinguished lovers,—before 1370. What follows? Why, that from 1370 to 1389—a period that overlaps at both ends the time which we have to consider—it was perfectly natural for any courtly poet, in France or England, to allude to the amour of Troilus, merely on the ground of the episode in the *Roman de Troie*.[3]

Three things must now be clear : (1) that Gower knew the

[1] Some of the relations between the French circle of chivalric versifiers and English poetry in the fourteenth century are noted in an article in *Modern Philology*, I, 1 ff. See also Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, 593 ff. (with references).

[2] *Les Cent Ballades*, ed. Raynaud, pp. 203-4. Mr. Tatlock refers to this poem in a footnote (p. 29, note 5), inadvertently ascribing it to Jean le Seneschal ; but its significance does not strike him.

[3] How dangerous the *argumentum ex silentio* is, when applied to *vers de société* of the interval in question, appears from the fact that the *ballade* in which this stanza occurs appears to be the sole-surviving poem of Jean de Chambrillac,—and yet we cannot doubt that he was a fluent versifier of more than ordinary merit.

Troilus story in Benoit when he composed the *Mirour ;* (2) that he had Benoit's account in his mind when he wrote the *Sompnolent* passage, whatever else he may have had his eye on, and (3) that there would have been nothing strange in his alluding to the amour of Troilus merely on the basis of that account, without any knowledge of Boccaccio or Chaucer. In other words, if the Sleepy Man had dreamt that he heard somebody singing "la geste de Troylus et de la belle *Briseide*" instead of "*Creseide*," there would be no problem. The whole argument does, then, as Mr. Lowes has said, depend in the last analysis on a single letter.[1] We have only one phenomenon to account for, the appearance of *Creseide* instead of *Briseide* in the text of the *Mirour.*

Mr. Tatlock, as we know, explains this phenomenon by supposing that Gower is alluding to Chaucer's poem, and infers that the *Troilus* was published (and popular) not later than 1377. This seems, perhaps, the most obvious explanation, but it carries with it, in the opinion of most scholars, much too early a date for the *Troilus.* In all fairness, then, we should look about us a little before we fall in with Mr. Tatlock's theory. And first we should consider, as reasonable beings, whether it is possible that Gower made the change from *B* to *C* himself, "solely and merely of his own spontaneous motion," without any help from either Boccaccio or Chaucer. In order to answer this question judicially, we shall be forced to turn back to Benoit for a moment.

The only information about Briseida which the French romancer found in his sources was contained in a single brief passage of Dares Phrygius. In concluding his famous list of Greek portraits, Dares writes : "Briseidam formosam, non alta statura, candidam, capillo flavo et molli, superciliis iunctis, oculis venustis, corpore aequali, blandam, affabilem, verecundam, animo simplici, piam." This is every word that Dares vouchsafes on the subject of Briseida, and Dictys does not mention her at all. The association of Briseida with Troilus was Benoit's own idea. As for Chryseida, she is mentioned by neither Dictys nor Dares.

I have said that Dictys does not mention either Briseida or Chryseida at all. Nevertheless, he does tell, with additions and

[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* XX, 826. The difference between *Creseide* and *Criseyde,* and the adoption of a French form in final *e* instead of a Latin (or Italian) form in final *a* are matters of no moment.

variations, the Homeric story of Briseis and Chryseis, and here is
(in brief) the account that he gives of them,—

In the early days of the war an oracle is reported to the Greeks to the effect
that they must offer a hecatomb to Apollo Sminthius. [There is, as the
context shows, a temple of this god not far from Troy.] Chryses, the priest
of the temple, finding himself between two fires, feigns friendship for the
Greeks or the Trojans *pro re nata*.[1] He superintends the sacrifice.[2] About
the same time, Achilles attacks various towns which are the natural allies of
Troy.[3] He invades the country of the Cilicians and takes the city of
Lyrnessus; its king, Eetion, is killed; his wife, Astynome, daughter of
Chryses, is captured. Next Achilles takes Pedasus, a city of the Leleges.
Its king, Brises, hangs himself; his daughter, Hippodamia, is carried off by
the victor.[4] In the division of the spoil, Astynome falls to Agamemnon and
Achilles keeps Hippodamia.[5] Chryses visits the Grecian camp to beg that his
daughter Astynome may be given up to him. All agree except Agamemnon,
who dismisses the aged priest with threats.[6] Chryses goes home, and a
pestilence soon attacks the Greeks. Calchas, the Grecian seer, declares that
this is due to Apollo's wrath, and that Astynome must be restored to her
father.[7] Agamemnon consents, provided he shall receive Hippodamia in
exchange. Accordingly, she is torn away from Achilles, and Astynome is
sent to Chryses.[8] Achilles sulks in his tent.[9] After some time, Chryses
comes to the camp to thank the Greeks, and, in gratitude for their kindness,
as well as for the good treatment which Astynome has received while a
prisoner, he returns her to Agamemnon.[10] Agamemnon takes an oath
"inviolatam a se in eum diem Hippodamiam mansisse."[11] There is a public
reconciliation, and Hippodamia is sent back to the tent of Achilles,[12] where
she remains till his death.[13]

This narrative is repeated, in detail, by Benoit. But he does
not insert it in its chronological place. He makes it a part of the
interminable oration which Ajax delivers when the Grecian leaders
are contending for the Palladium.[14] Now it so happens that Dictys
never uses the patronymics *Briseis* (*Briseida*) and *Chryseis*
(*Chryseida*), though he tells us, in so many words, that Hippodamia
was Brises' daughter and he calls Astynome "Chrysi filiam."[15]
Benoit, it is perfectly clear, did not know that *Briseidam* (in Dares)
means "Brises' daughter." Hence it did not occur to him that
Briseida (whom he knew only from the portrait in Dares) and
Hippodamia (in Dictys) were one and the same person. Dares's
Briseida, therefore, remained for Benoit merely "the portrait of a
lady." Accordingly, he felt at liberty to invent a history for her,

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[1] "Quisque partium ad eum venerat, cum his se adiunctum esse simulabat."
[2] Dictys, ii, 14.    [3] ii, 16.    [4] ii, 17.    [5] ii, 19.
[6] ii, 28–29.    [7] ii, 30.    [8] ii, 33.    [9] ii, 34.
[10] ii, 47.    [11] ii, 49.    [12] ii, 51–52.
[13] iii, 12 (she prepares the body of Patroclus for burial); iv, 15 (Pyrrhus
finds her in charge of his dead father's property).
[14] Vv. 26739 ff. In Dictys (and hence in Benoit) this contest takes the
place of the classical quarrel over the arms of Achilles (see Ovid, *Met.*, xiii, 1
ff.; Dictys, v, 14–15).    [15] ii, 17.

and he attached her to Troilus and Diomedes without a suspicion of the inconsistency in which he was entangling himself.

But how about Gower? So fluent a Latinist can hardly have been ignorant of the ordinary patronymic endings.[1]  Would he not have perceived, at a glance, that *Briseïda* means " daughter of Brises," and that Benoit had confused the *dramatis personae ?*  This question, however, need not be pressed.  For Gower was not dependent on his knowledge of Latin suffixes.  He had an external source of information.  From the third epistle of Ovid's *Heroides* (*Briseis Achilli*), professedly written while Briseïda [2] was in the hands of Agamemnon, and from two famous passages in the *Remedia Amoris* [3] Gower had learned her *genuine* story.[4]  When, therefore, he read in Benoit of

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[1] "Patronymica dicuntur eo, quod trahuntur a patribus, ut Tydides Tydei filius, Aeneius Aeneae filius, quamvis et a matribus et maioribus ducantur" (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, i, 22, ed. Otto, in Lindemann, *Corpus Grammaticorum Latinorum Veterum*, III, 22).

[2] I adopt the accusative because that was the form which Gower himself would employ.  The third Epistle of the *Heroides* contains only *Briseïde*, abl. (v. 1), and *Briseïda*, acc. (v. 137) except in the superscription (*Briseis Achilli*) ; the *Remedia* has only *Briseïde* (v. 777) and *Briseïda* (v. 783).  In the *Confessio*, ii, 2455, Gower writes *Brexeïda* (the marginal Latin has " de amore Brexeide").  Chaucer uses *Briseïda* (*Hous of Fame*, v. 398) and *Brixseyde* (*Cant. T.*, B, 71). *Briseïdam* is the only form in Dares (cap. 13) ; Dictys does not use the word at all.

[3] Vv. 461–86, 777–84.

[4] That Gower was acquainted with the *Heroides* and the *Remedia* when he composed the *Mirour* cannot be proved ; but he certainly knew both works uncommonly well when he wrote the *Vox Clamantis*, for he borrows more than thirty lines—in parcels of from one to four verses—from the *Remedia* (ranging from v. 81 to v. 732 of that poem) and he appropriates passages from at least eleven out of the nineteen complete epistles of the *Heroides*, three being from the Epistle of Briseis itself (*Vox*, i, 1188, 1420, 1517–18 ; *Her.*, iii, 4, 24, 43–44).  Between v. 1358 and v. 1460 of book i, Gower borrows from books iii, iv, xiv, and xv of the *Metamorphoses*, from books ii and iii of the *Ars Amatoria*, from books i and v of the *Tristia*, from *Heroides*, iii, v, and xix, from the *Fasti*, and from the *Ex Ponto* (see Macaulay's notes).  I am well aware that mediæval authors often used collections of *flosculi*, or elegant extracts, and that there is a formidable list of Ovidian *flosculi* in Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum Historiale*, vi, 106–122, ed. 1494, fols. 67–69), but no use of *flosculi* will explain Gower's knowledge of Ovid as shown in the *Vox Clamantis*.  Nor will any one have recourse to such an argument unless he is "at Dulcarnon, right at his wittes ende."  Still, we may note, for safety's sake, that some of the verses which Gower borrows are not of a kind to be included in anthologies,— for instance, v. 24 of the Epistle of Briseis, " 'Quid fles ? hic parvo tempore,' dixit, 'eris,'"—which he reproduces as "Quid fugis ? hic parvo tempore vivus eris " (*Vox Clamantis*, i, 1420).

That Gower makes little or no use of Ovid in the *Mirour* need not surprise us.  He likewise makes very little use of Benoit, though we have seen that he had the *Roman de Troie* at his fingers' ends.  The matter and style of the *Mirour*—as well as the encyclopædic treatises on ethics and religion which were its models—were not favorable to the extensive employment of either the Roman poet or the French romancer.  The quotations and allusions in the *Mirour* generally go back to the Bible, Seneca, the Latin fathers, and other

"Hippodamia, daughter of Brises," and of her relations with Agamemnon and Achilles, he could not fail to perceive that this was the Briseida of the *Heroïdes*, a personage already associated in his mind with the most illustrious ladies of the antique world— with Phyllis and Medea and Helen and Hero and Dido. And Benoit's error in assigning to her two distinct and inconsistent *rôles* —one under the name of "Briseida" and the other under that of "Hippodamia, Brises' daughter"—would be clear to him in an instant. But Gower had no occasion to reject Benoit's account of Troilus' unhappy love affair,—*that* was right enough, for it collided with nothing in Ovid or elsewhere. Troilus and Diomedes, then, were rivals for the favor of an inconstant daughter of Calchas, but her name could not have been Briseida, for Briseida was somebody else, the heroine of a famous story. The conclusion was inevitable in Gower's mind : Benoit had simply got the name wrong.[1]

Gower's interest in the genuine Briseida story comes out in the *Confessio Amantis*, where he cites her case in discussing "supplantacioun" :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Ensample I finde therupon, | Which named was Brexeida ; |
| At Troie how that Agamenon | And also of Criseida, |
| Supplantede the worthie knyht | Whom Troïlus to love ches, |
| Achilles of that swete wiht | Supplanted hath Diomedes.[2] |

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serious books (see Macaulay's Gower, I, lvi–lviii. Cf. Miss R. Elfreda Fowler's thesis, *Une Source française des Poèmes de Gower*, Macon, 1905,—a learned and laborious treatise, to the conclusions of which, however, I do not feel ready to subscribe). In contrasting the materials and contents of the *Mirour* with those of the *Confessio Amantis*, we may well remember a similarly striking contrast between the *Speculum Morale* and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. Note also that whereas the *Vox Clamantis*, which is in the elegiac stanza, contains many borrowings from Ovid, the *Cronica Tripertita*, which is in leonine hexameters, shows little or no acquaintance with him ; yet the *Cronica Tripertita* is later than the *Vox Clamantis* (cf. Macaulay's *Gower*, IV, xxxiii).

When Gower wrote the Troilus passage in the *Mirour* he was forty-five years old ; when he negotiated loans in the *Vox Clamantis*, he was about fifty. Surely he did not obtain his Ovidian knowledge between these ages. If a man had not read Ovid before he was forty-five, he was not likely to read him at all. We may cheerfully accept the judgment of Mr. Macaulay, who has no thesis to maintain : "His knowledge of Ovid seems to have been pretty complete, for he borrows from every section of his works with the air of one who knows perfectly well where to turn for what he wants" (*Works of Gower*, IV, xxxiii).

[1] I assume that Gower read Ovid before he read Benoit, but the argument works equally well if he read Benoit first. We may take our choice.

[2] ii, 2451 ff. The reference to Criseida need not here be discussed, for no argument of any sort can be founded upon it. It is quoted merely that the reader may have the whole passage before him.

Of course this passage from the *Confessio* is not quoted to prove Gower's acquaintance with the *Heroides* when he wrote the *Mirour*, but merely to bring out his continued interest in a story which, as we already have seen, must have been familiar to him early in his career.

Gower, as his works reveal him to us, was a scholar; his intellect was of the schematic, comparative, and classifying order. Confronted with a striking blunder in Benoit,—the ascription of the name *Briseida* to Troilus' *amie*—he would have a natural inclination to substitute the correct name, at least in his own mind, if he knew what it was. Let us see whether—independently of all acquaintance with the *Filostrato* or with Chaucer's *Troilus*—he might have hit upon the name *Creseide* as a good substitute. Whence could he have derived any information that might have suggested this particular change?

The answer is at hand,—from the *Remedia Amoris* itself (vv. 467-84) :—

> Vidit ut Atrides—quid enim non ille videret,
>   cuius in arbitrio Graecia tota fuit ?—
> Marte suo captam Chrys-ida victor, amabat.
>   at senior stulte flebat ubique pater.
> Quid lacrimas, odiose senex ? bene convenit illis :
>   officio natam laedis, inepte, tuo.
> quam postquam reddi Calchas, ope tutes Achillis,
>   iusserat, et patria est illa recepta domo,
> "est" ait Atrides "illius proxima forma,
>   et, si prima sinat syllaba, nomen idem :
> hanc mihi, si sapiat, per se concedat Achilles :
>   si minus, imperium sentiet ille meum.
> quod si quis vestrum factum hoc accusat, Achivi,
>   est aliquid valida sceptra tenere manu."
>
>              .    .    .    .    .    .    .    .
> dixit et hanc habuit solacia magna prioris,
>   et posita est cura prima repulsa nova.

From this passage Gower learned that Chryseida [1] was a Trojan girl (or at all events not a Greek) ; that her aged father besought that she might be restored to him ; that she herself did not wish to be restored, since she was happy in her love, which would be interrupted by her return, and that she finally *was* given back through the influence of Calchas. These were striking points of agreement between her story and that of Troilus' *amie* in Benoit. And then that clever line about just changing the first letter of the name (" et, si prima sinat syllaba, nomen idem ")! Such a verbal

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[1] I purposely use the accusative, which is the only form that occurs in the *Remedia.*

trick was fascinating to a man like Gower, whose turn of mind appears in the transparent riddle in which he wrapped up his own name in the *Vox Clamantis.*[1] He had but to change a single letter,—to substitute *Criseida* for *Briseida,*—and he would have released Achilles' love from all entanglement with the quite independent story of Troilus.

Of course it was as plain to Gower as it is to us that by substituting *Creseide*[2] for *Briseida* he was getting rid of one error by running into another. For he knew perfectly well, from the Ovidian passage, that *Criseida* was Agamemnon's captive, Chryses' daughter.[3] But one cannot have everything. Unless he wished to invent a name outright,—which would hardly have occurred to him, especially in so venerable a matter as the Tale of Troy,—he had to choose between two alternatives :—admit the existence of two Chryseidas or of two Briseidas. To us, perhaps, one alternative seems as bad as the other, but not so in the eyes of Gower and his contemporaries. For Briseida had, to an Ovidian like him, a strong prescriptive right to her name and her personality : she was the heroine who had written a famous letter to her lover Achilles. Agamemnon's Chryseida, on the other hand, enjoyed no such distinction, and besides, the history of Chryseida was in several respects parallel—as Briseida's was not—to the experiences of Troilus' *amie.* The contradiction or confusion involved in substituting *Criseide* for *Briseida* in the tale of Troilus was, then, appreciably less than that involved in allowing *Briseida* to retain the *rôle* to which Benoît had assigned her. And so, we may reasonably conjecture, Gower made the change, and wrote of "la geste de Troylus and de la belle *C*reseide." Boccaccio, we should remember, made the same change in the *Filostrato* for similar reasons,[4] preferring the smaller or less noticeable inconsistency

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[1] Book i, *Prologue,* vv. 19-24 :

> Scribentis nomen si queras, ecce loquela
> Sub tribus implicita versibus inde latet. .
> Primos sume pedes *G*odefredi desque *Iohanni,*
> Principiumque sui *W*allia iungat eis :
> T*er* caput amittens det cetera membra, que tali
> Carmine compositi nominis ordo patet.

[2] The *e* in *Creseide* is a trivial variation.

[3] Whose story, under the name of Astynome (*Astronomen, Astrinomen*), he knew also from Benoît, vv. 26747 ff.

[4] It will not do to object that Boccaccio was a much better scholar than Gower,—for that argument would cut both ways. Besides, within the limits which confine our question, Gower was as learned as Boccaccio,—he knew Ovid and he knew Benoît.

to the greater,[1] and Chaucer had no hesitation in following his example.

That Gower, as a matter of fact, did not shrink from admitting the existence of two Cressids, is shown by a curious piece of evidence. After he had thoroughly committed himself to *Creseide* as the name of Troilus' *amie*,—in the *Mirour*, in the *Vox Clamantis*,[2] and in Book ii of the *Confessio Amantis*,[3]—he did not hesitate to tell, in Book v of the *Confessio*,[4] how King Agamemnon, in taking the city of " Lesbon," found there a fair maiden called " Criseide, douhter of Crisis," priest of Phœbus; how he carried her to Troy as his mistress; how Phœbus punished the sacrilege with a pestilence; and how the maiden was sent home to her father. This reproduces, with slight variations, a considerable part of the tale of Astynome, Chryses' daughter, as told by Benoit.[5] That Gower saw fit to repeat it in the *Confessio*

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[1] In the *Filocolo*, he gives Briseida her rightful position, on the basis of Ovid's third Epistle. Florio, who had been a victim of jealousy, believed, when he read Biancofiore's letter, that she was sincere in her written protestations that she loved none but him. But he soon began to doubt again, " e a dire fra sè: ' Fermamente ella m'inganna, e quello ch'ella mi scrive non per amore, ma per paura lo scrive. *Briseida* lusingava il grande imperadore de' Greci, e disiderava Achille '" (bk. iii, *Opere Volgari*, VII, 278). Cf. *Ameto* (*Opere Volgari*, XV, 136): " Ma se tu non meno savia che bella sarai, tu seguiterai gli esemple della bellissima Elena, abbandonante le già biancheggianti tempie di Menelao per le dorate di Paride, la qual cosa *Briseida* avrebbe fatta, se Achille l'avesse voluta ricevere." In cap. 24 of the *Amorosa Visione* (*Opere Volgari*, XIV, 97–98) Boccaccio introduces Achilles and Briseida and brings in a part of the third epistle of the *Heroides*.

Greif supposes that it was Boccaccio's acquaintance with Homer which led him to change *Briseida* to *Griseida* in the *Filostrato* (*Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, p. 69). But this can hardly be, for Boccaccio did not make the acquaintance of Leontius Pilatus, his Homeric instructor, before 1360 (Fracassetti, note to Petrarch, *Epist. Fam.*, xviii, 2, *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle Cose Familiari volgarizzate*, IV, 1866, 95 ff.; Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 21, note 2), long after the *Filostrato* was published. His perception of Benoit's error was due rather to his familiarity with Ovid (cf. the conclusions at which Mr. Wilkins has arrived in a paper published while the present essay was in the printer's hands: *Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, 66–67, reprinted in *Boccaccio Studies*, Baltimore, 1909, pp. 55 ff.).

[2] vi, 1325–8 :

> Mortuus est Troilus constanter amore fidelis,
> Iamque Iasonis amor nescit habere fidem :
> Solo contenta moritur nunc fida Medea,
> Fictaque Crisaida gaudet amare duos.

[3] ii, 2456–8.    [4] v, 6433–75.

[5] On this story in Gower, Mr. Macaulay (note to v, 6435 ff.) remarks: " This shows more knowledge than could have been got from the *Roman de Troie*. The story is told by Hyginus, *Fab.* 121, but not exactly as we have it here." In writing these comments, the learned and in every way praise-

after Chaucer's *Troilus* was before the world, shows that he was not disturbed by having two Cressidas in the field. That was a very different thing in his eyes from ascribing a new *rôle* as Benoit had unwittingly done, to the famous writer of the third "Epistle of Ovide."

It is now plain that Gower's use of the name *Creseide* in the *Mirour*, in 1377, by no means demonstrates that Chaucer's *Troilus* had already been published, or even that it had been thought of. We have arrived at another explanation which, though it cannot be proved,—any more than Mr. Tatlock's hypothesis can be proved,—is at all events natural and probable enough. The works of which it implies the use on Gower's part were well known to him; Benoit and Ovid, indeed, were two of his favorite authors. He had all the materials at hand and in his head. Gower was interested in Benoit, he was interested in Ovid, and he was interested in *stories*. To compare and rectify, under the circumstances, was an easy and obvious thing. Let us see what he did with the Jason tale in the fifth book of *Confessio Amantis*, for it is more satisfactory to observe what a writer's ways actually were than to guess what they may have been.

The story of Jason, in the *Confessio* is—beyond question— made up as follows :—[1] (1) vv. 3247–3930, from Benoit, freely treated, with additions and changes of Gower's own, and with possibly some slight influence from Guido delle Colonne ; (2) vv. 3931–4173, from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii, 159–293 ; (3) vv. 4187–4222, from an unknown source, with some use of *Metamorphoses*, vii, 394–401 ; (4) vv. 4243–4361, Phrixus and Helle, from

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worthy editor of Gower has overlooked Benoit, vv. 26747–907, in which the whole story of "Astronomen [Astynome], fille Crises" is reported in detail as given by Dictys (see the outline, p. 14, above). This, I think, Gower followed, with some recollection of the *Remedia Amoris*. Doubtless he wrote from memory, and this (with Ovidian reminiscences) would account for some slight variations from the *Roman de Troie*. Thus in Benoit it is Achilles, not Agamemnon, who captures Crises' daughter ; but Ovid (*Rem. Am.*, 469) calls her "Marte suo [sc. Agamemnonis] captam Chryseida." The ascription of her capture to Agamemnon doubtless led Gower to speak of her, by a slip of the mind, as taken at "Lemnon"; he was probably thinking of the capture of "Tenedon," a castle which Benoit represents the Greeks under Agamemnon as reducing and plundering on their way to the war (vv. 5991 ff. ; cf. Guido, sig. f recto). The story in Hyginus (*Fabulae*, 121) does not resemble Gower's account so closely as Benoit's does (cf. also *Fabulae*, 106).

[1] See Mr. Macaulay's notes. Cf. Karl Eichinger, *Die Trojasage als Quelle für John Gower's Confessio Amantis*, 1900, pp. 58 ff.

a different unknown source.[1]  This example is noted not, of course, as a precise parallel to Gower's procedure in the case of *Creseide*, but to show his learning and his manner of going to work.  A man who compiled a narrative from so many different authorities was assuredly equal to the feat of changing *Briseida* to *Creseide* without being inspired by Chaucer's poem.

We have, then, in the case of Gower and the change from *B* to *C*, a motive, the means, and the general temper and habit of mind,—and we have the result.  Our explanation, therefore, is neither over-subtle nor far-fetched, and it interposes an effectual barrier to the hasty inference that Gower must have written the chapter on Somnolence in the *Mirour* after the composition or the publication of Chaucer's *Troilus*.

There is, however, still another way in which one may reasonably account for Gower's form *Creseide :*—Chaucer may have made the change from *B* to *C* himself, under the influence of Boccaccio and Ovid, while he was studying the Troilus material, and may have communicated his discovery to Gower.  This, of course, would not necessitate the publication of the *Troilus* before 1377, or even its composition.  A work like the *Troilus* is not written at a sitting, nor is it undertaken without some previous thought and special preparation.  This theory may or may not turn out to be more probable than that which we have already discussed.  Let us, at all events, see whether it is reasonable in itself.

Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, died September 12, 1369.[2]  The *Book of the Duchess* must have been written immediately, and

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[1] It is impossible to hold that Gower found the whole story of Jason and the Fleece in some single unknown source and followed that, for the verbal resemblances to Benoit in the first division of the tale, and to Ovid in the second division, prove beyond a doubt that he had both those authors before him.  But neither of them afforded him the materials for the third division, nor yet for the story of Phrixus and Helle, which he appends in close connection with that of Jason, putting it into the mouth of Genius in response to the Lover's request for an explanation how the Fleece got to Colchos (v, 4230–37).  On Jason and Creusa, see Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, xiii, 26 (fol. 98 recto) and xiii, 64 (fols. 99 verso—100 recto).  In the tale of Phrixus and Helle, Gower is fairly close to the outline given by Boccaccio (xiii, 67–68, fol. 100).  Ovid refers to the Phrixus tale (*Her.*, xvii, 139–44 ; xviii, 123 ff. ; *Ars. Am.*, iii, 175–6), but nowhere tells it.  On Gower's relation to Ovid, one may compare E. Stollreither, *Quellen-Nachweise zu John Gower's Confessio Amantis*, 1901, pp. 32 ff.  Stollreither's comments on Gower and Hyginus are unconvincing.  He says, for example, that Gower's account of Alcestis (*Confessio*, vii, 1917–34) is " nichts anderes als eine weitschweifige Wiedergabe der 51. Fabel Hygins " (p. 47), which is really an absurd proposition.

[2] See the evidence in *Englische Studien*, XIII, 19, notes, 3, 5.

cannot be later than the early part of 1370. This is one of the two
or three indisputable dates in the literary chronology of Chaucer.
Now when Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, he was
undoubtedly familiar with what he calls "al the storie of Troye." [1]
He refers casually to Cassandra's lament over "the destruccioun
of Troye and of Ilioun," [2] and to Antenor, "the traytour that
betraysed Troye." [3]   He tells how Achilles, in revenge for Hector's
death, was slain in a temple—he and Antilogus—"for love of
Polixena." [4]   These references and allusions make it practically
certain that Chaucer was well acquainted with the *Roman de Troie*
before he went to Italy, [5] and we are therefore forced to infer that
his introduction to the story of Troilus came, in the first instance,
through Benoit. When, therefore, he utilized the *Roman de Troie*
in the *Troilus*—after he had come into possession of the *Filostrato*
—he was merely reverting to a book that he had known for years. [6]

[1] V. 326.

[2] Vv. 1246-9.  See note 5, below.  Observe also the names *Ector, Priamus,
Achilles, Lamedon, Medea, Iason, Paris, Eleyne* and *Laryne* (vv. 328-31), all
of which (except the last) are of course in Benoit (for *Lavine*, see *Roman de
la Rose*, ed. Michel, II, 321).        [3] Vv. 1119-20.

[4] Vv. 1065-71.  Cf. Benoit, vv. 22101 ff., especially vv. 22241-50 ; Guido,
sig. l 3 verso—l 4 recto.  The texts of Chaucer have *Antilegius*, but *Anti-
logus* (=*Antilochus*), is in both Benoit (var. *Antilocus*) and Guido, and it
improves the metre.  Skeat adopts it as an emendation (VI, 360, under
*Antilegius*).

[5] For the death of Achilles, Chaucer refers to "Dares Frigius" (v. 1070),
but there is no reason to suppose that he knew Dares at first hand.   Some
MSS. of Benoit mention Dares here ("S'ai en l'escrit Daires trové," v. 22248
Joly ; cf. Chaucer's "And so seyth Dares Frigius"), but Guido does not (sig.
l 3 verso—l 4 2 recto).  So far as I know, however, the form *Dares Frigius*
(*Phrygius*) does not occur in Benoit, who calls this author *Dares, Daires, and
Daire* (see vv. 106, 5183, 5562, 8799, 12018, 12292, 14048, 23722, etc. : for
lists, cf. Joly, I, 207, note 1 ; Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der
Trojanersage*, p. 15, n., *Ausgaben und Athandlungen*, LXI), whereas Guido
does refer to "phrigium daretem" (*Prologue*, sig. a recto, col. 2).   Still the
name was well known, in any case.   Antenor the traitor is a notable character
in Dares as well as in Benoit and Guido.   But the lamentation of Cassandra
is not in Dares or Dictys at all ; it is described in a striking passage by
Benoit (vv. 26009-18), from whom Guido borrows it (sig. m 4, 2 verso, col.
2).   Guido says merely, "Cassandra vero quasi demens effecta sola fugit et
minerue templum intrauit vbi suorum omnium excidium grauiter lamenta-
tur."   Virgil, *Aen.*, ii. 403-6 would not have given Chaucer the hint.   There
is a prophetic lament of Cassandra in Benoit, vv. 10355-84, in which both
"Ylion" and Troy are mentioned (cf. Guido, sig. h 3 verso, where Ilion is
not specified).   This, too, is in neither Dictys nor Dares.   Chaucer may have
had his eye on it.   It is possible that Chaucer drew his Trojan material in the
*Book of the Duchess* from Guido rather than from Benoit, but, on the whole,
Benoit seems more likely, and the question is of no real consequence to us at
this moment.

[6] For Chaucer's use of Benoit in the *Troilus*, see especially Dr. Karl Young's
monograph, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*,
Chaucer Society, 1908, where full references to previous studies will be found.

When Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess* he was about thirty years old, if not more. Acquaintance with Ovid might therefore be assumed without argument.[1] But there is some evidence. The *Metamorphoses* is utilized;[2] the *Remedia Amoris* is mentioned.[3] As to the *Heroides*, we cannot prove that Chaucer knew it at this time,[4] but there is nothing against such a view, and even if he did not, he had time enough to read it before his Italian journey of 1372–1373. If Chaucer, when he wrote the *Book of the Duchess*—or at any time before his Italian journey—was familiar with the *Heroides* and the *Remedia Amoris* (or with either of them), he knew perfectly well that Briseida was the captive whom Agamemnon took away from Achilles. He was at least as quick-witted as we are, and it is incredible that he, as well as Gower, should have failed to perceive Benoit's oversight and the consequent inconsistency in which the French poet had involved himself. Still, whether Chaucer had made this observation before he read the *Filostrato* is a point of no importance in the present discussion, for we are not obliged to consider what he thought about the matter until Boccaccio's treatment of the story came under his eye. Indeed, we have more leeway than that, for anything that he thought or observed before Gower wrote the *Mirour* passage in 1377 is usable for our purposes.

Now we cannot doubt, that, if Chaucer brought home a *Filostrato*

[1] Mr. Tatlock says that when Chaucer was introduced to Italian literature, "he had long been . . . familiar with the greatest poets of the Romans" (p. 18). I should not go so far as this, but no doubt he read Ovid early.

[2] For the relations of the Ceyx and Alcyone passage to Ovid and Machaut, see ten Brink, *Chaucer: Studien*, pp. 8–12 ; Skeat's note on v. 62. For a detail, not in Machaut, cf. "brak hir mast" (v. 71) with "frangitur . . . arbor" (*Met.*, xi, 551).

[3] "The remedies of Ovyde" (v. 568).

[4] There are no allusions to material in the *Heroides* that are not such as Chaucer might have got at second hand. On Dido (vv. 732–4), cf. *Roman de la Rose*, II, 80 ff.; on Penelope (v. 1081), cf. *Roman de Troie*, vv. 28821–34 ; on Phyllis (vv. 728–31), cf. *Roman de la Rose*, II, 80, 82. See Skeat's note on v. 726. As to Phyllis, use of the *Roman de la Rose* is practically certain. Professor C. G. Child, in his interesting essay on Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* and Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* (*Modern Language Notes*, XI, 478–9, cf. X, 380), remarking that Ovid nowhere says in so many words that Phyllis hanged herself, quotes the *De Genealogia* (xi, 25, ed. 1511, fol. 84 verso) as the source of Chaucer's knowledge on this point in the *Legend* (v. 2485). It may be added that Boccaccio's *De Casibus* supplies the same information : "Phillis amoris Demophoontis impaciens se suspendit" (i. 18, ed. 1544, p. 29). But Chaucer got a plain statement of Phyllis's suicide from the *Roman de la Rose*, II, 82 ("qu'ele se pendi" ; "heng hirself," *B. Duch.*, v. 729), years before he could have known Boccaccio's handbooks. However, the use of the *Roman de la Rose* is no proof that Chaucer did not know the *Heroides*.

manuscript in 1373, he had read the poem by 1375 or 1376. And as soon as he reached the third stanza of the First Book he encountered the name *Griseida*. The eleventh stanza informed him that she was the daughter of Calcas, the renegade Trojan priest, and long before he had finished the First Book it was, of course, evident to him that she was the same person whom Benoit had celebrated under the name of *Briseida*. And he was familiar with Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, which he had used in the *Book of the Duchess*[1] and was to use again in the *Prologue* to the *Legend*.[2] A man like Chaucer could hardly overlook the story of Troilus and Briseida when he read Benoit, and, even if it had made little impression on him—as is hardly conceivable—his attention would have been specially called to it by the very conspicuous position which Froissart assigns to Troilus as a lover. We should not forget, in passing, that when Chaucer came to write his own *Troilus*, he reverted to Benoit for more than a few passages.[3] One of the first things that struck him in reading the *Filostrato* was the change from *Briseida* to *Griseida* which Boccaccio had made. He had never seen the name *Griseida* before, and his knowledge of Italian was doubtless insufficient to teach him that *G* in this position is a good phonological representative of a Latin *C*; but, in any case, the form could not pass unnoticed. He straightway perceived (even if he had never thought of such a thing before) that Benoit had made a mistake in assigning to Briseida the *rôle* of Troilus' *amie*. The third epistle of the *Heroides* (*Briseida to Achilles*) and the well-known passage in the *Remedia Amoris* inevitably occurred to him, and he saw at once that Boccaccio had adopted—with a slight modification—the name *Chryseida* to avoid the contradiction in which Benoit had unwittingly entangled himself.[4] These are not conjectures: they are things that *must have happened* unless Chaucer forgot all he knew whenever he opened a book, and then went on to read it with his eyes shut.

Now, unless we are to believe that Chaucer never conversed on literary topics with his friend Gower—both parties confining

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[1] *Englische Studien*, XXVI, 321 ff.    [2] See p. 10, note 5, above.
[3] Gower's continual use of Benoit, from the beginning of his career to the end, justifies us in believing that he possessed a manuscript of the *Roman de Troie*. It is quite legitimate to conjecture that he lent it to his friend Chaucer. On the nature of Gower's text of Benoit, see Hamilton, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 179 ff.
[4] Here the argument will be somewhat simplified if we adopt Mr. Wilkins's view that Boccaccio wrote *Criseida* not *Griseida* (see p. 2, note 1, above).

themselves to long-distance messages in their published poems—
we may feel quite safe in conjecturing that Gower was one of the
first persons in England to whom he talked about his Italian
discoveries. And he could not by any possibility have talked
with Gower about this *Filostrato*—this new and highly original
version of a story already well known to both of them in Benoit's
romance—without commenting on the name *Griseida*.[1] Gower,
at the same time, or soon after, is engaged in writing the *Mirour*.
The romance of Benoit is in his mind, as we have already seen.
At v. 3724 he alludes to it, at v. 5515 he alludes to it again.
Between these two allusions, at v. 5245, comes the Troilus passage.
On the basis of his conversation with Chaucer, he alters Benoit's
*Briseida* to *Creseide*—and there you have it![2]

If confirmation is needed for the reasonableness of this
hypothesis, we have it in an observation of Mr. Tatlock's own.
He has noted that vv. 3831-4 of the *Mirour* "cannot be inde-
pendent of Dante's words on envy" in *Inferno*, xiii, 64–66, and
adds: "We can hardly avoid believing that Chaucer read or
repeated the passage to Gower."[3] We observe, with interest, that
these verses in the *Mirour* stand about 100 lines after Gower's first
allusion to Benoit, and about 1400 lines before the Troilus passage.
Let us arrange some of the significant facts in a tabular form :—

3724. Gower alludes to Benoit's romance (Jason).
3831. Gower uses a Dante passage which he got from Chaucer.
5254–5. Gower mentions both Troilus and *Creseide*.
5520. Gower alludes to Benoit's romance again (Goz the
physician).

I think it is clear enough that—even if Gower did not, according
to our first hypothesis, write *Creseide* instead of Benoit's *Briseida*
of his own motion,—he may very well have done so after talking
the *Filostrato* over with Chaucer.[4]

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[1] Such a conversation, let me hasten to add, was not "learned" or
"pedantic," any more than it would be learned or pedantic for two English
literary men of the present day to chat about the latest novel, and, in the
course of their talk, to mention Fielding and (say) Balzac.

[2] There is no evidence that Chaucer and Gower ever had a falling-out,
except Gower's omission, in the revised *Confessio*, of the passage relating to
Chaucer, and that is no evidence at all. But the question need not trouble
us on this occasion. Chaucer and Gower were certainly on good terms at the
date we are considering, for Chaucer made Gower one of his attorneys when,
in 1378, he left England for Lombardy (*Life-Records*, No. 120, p. 216 ;
Skeat's *Chaucer*, I, xxxii).     [3] P. 221.

[4] Cf. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*,
XXIII, 305–6.

Mr. Tatlock does not deny that Chaucer may have talked with Gower about the *Filostrato*. But he seems to think that no mere conversation could have resulted in Gower's speaking of " la geste de Troylus et de la belle Creseide " in this passage. " I do not ask," he continues, " what point there would have been in [Gower's] referring to [Boccaccio], but how could it ever have occurred to him, even if he had heard Chaucer speak of the poem, to make in so off-hand a manner a remark so unintelligible ? Is it impertinent to ask whether a modern preacher would rail at his parishioners for staying at home on Sunday to read the last Sherlock Holmes story or the works of a novelist of Paraguay ? Obviousness and popularity are necessarily implied in Gower's remark. This and the apparently rather humble station of Sompnolent are what suggest that the poem [which *ly Sompnolent* heard in his dream] is in English."

Now, in the first place, we must note that " Sompnolent " is not a person in a " rather humble station." Indeed, he has no definite rank at all. He is not *a person*, anyway,—he is not even " Sompnolent," character in an allegory. He is "*ly* Sompnolent," —the sleepy man, the sluggard of the Bible. The vice of somnolence is not confined by social barriers. Gower makes this plain enough, if we read the whole chapter.[1] " Sompnolence lives at ease," he tells us, " when he can sleep without opposition on a soft couch that is surrounded by curtains, where his subordinate (*soubgit*) or his servant dare not wake him. . . . When he has once gone to bed, there is a valet or a maid trained to rub him gently— hand and foot and back—till he falls asleep ; and that is his customary way of living. His chamberlain will lose his fees if the mattress and bedclothes are not soft, and if the sheets and pillow are not sprinkled with rosewater." All this applies, of course, only to the sluggard who lives in luxury. But Gower goes on to include other sluggards, thus showing the shifting character of his allegorical method. " When the Sleepy Man is a wage-earner and his master calls him in the morning, ' Come now, quick ! ' what a pang it gives him to leave his warm bed, and how he grumbles as, half-asleep, he puts on his breeches ! A man who has such a man-servant or such a maid may well wish that he or she (*cil et celle*) had gone away and would never come back." Then follows a general remark, unlimited by considerations of rank or occupation :

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[1] Wt follows is not a full or literal translation, but it suffices to bring out the maroints.

—" The Sleepy Man is like a child,—he doesn't like to get up, because it is cold. He makes a pitiful show of getting up long enough to warm his shirt; he gets half out of bed, and then lies down again and hugs the pillow." What follows—and contains our passage—is also of general application :—" It is a great trial to the Sleepy Man when he has to rise early on a high festival and go to church. He doesn't pray, but lays his head down on the stool,

Et dort, et songe en sa cervelle
Qu'il est au bout de la tonelle,
U qu'il oït chanter la geste

De Troÿlus et de la belle
Creseide, et ensi se concelle
A dieu d'y faire sa requeste. "

We are not dealing, then, with anybody in particular ; the social position of the Sluggard shifts with the course of the sermon. Nothing can be inferred from his social position as to the story that he dreams about, for he has no definite rank in the world. We are reduced, therefore, to more general considerations. We must ask ourselves whether there is anything in Gower's literary methods —more specifically, in the method of that pedantic and rambling moral allegory the *Mirour de l'Omme*—to indicate that he was likely to trouble himself much about the obviousness or popularity of an allusion. The question answers itself.

We have already seen that Benoit must have been in Gower's mind when he wrote the passage that we are considering—whatever else he may or may not have been thinking of. And we have also observed that the subject of which the Sleepy Man is dreaming is highly appropriate. Furthermore, it has been made clear that a mention of Troilus and *B*riseida would have been no more surprising in Gower than a mention of Troilus at the head of a list of lovers is in Froissart,—that is, not surprising at all in a poem written in French and addressed to the court and the gentry. The only thing in the passage that can conceivably be regarded as likely to cause any difficulty to Gower's readers, then, is *Creseide* instead of *Briseide*. In other words, there is nothing whatever that can be urged against the hypothesis that Gower's change of *B* to *C* may well have come about as the result of a conversation with Chaucer except the idea that Gower never would have used the name *Creseide* here unless it had already been familiar to his readers. " What readers ? " one may ask. Had the *Mirour* any readers in 1377, except Chaucer and other private friends ? Was it published serially ? If not, since its completion was a good way off,—perhaps, Mr. Tatlock thinks, as far off as 1381,—why should Gower have

been so scrupulous ? This inquiry need not be pressed, for there
is no likelihood that Gower's readers, either in 1377 or in 1381,
would have worried over *Creseide* for *Briseide*,[1] or that any such
remote contingency would have given him a moment's concern if
he found occasion to think, for any reason, that *Creseide* was the
preferable name. Such an opinion on his part—even if he had
never come to entertain it without help—might very probably have
resulted from half-an-hour's talk with his friend Chaucer, who had
just come home from Italy with some highly interesting documents
in his luggage. In this hypothetical but really inevitable conversa-
tion, let it be Gower—if one chooses—who furnished the Ovidian
learning and who actually suggested that the strange form *Griseida*[2]
which Chaucer called to his attention was merely Ovid's *Chryseida*
slightly modified. There are so many ways in which—when Ovid
and Benoit were familiar to both English poets—the change from
*B* to *C* may have come about, that we cannot be precise—nor does
the argument require it—as to the exact course of events.

In all this there is not the slightest indication that Chaucer was
at work on his own *Troilus* yet, or that he had even conceived the
idea of translating or adapting the *Filostrato*. All that is needed
is that he should have begun to read Boccaccio's poem and that he
should have talked with Gower. Far from affording us a date for
the publication of the *Troilus*, the *Mirour* passage does not even
give us a date for the inception or the planning of the work.

Let us now take account of stock. The Sleepy Man takes a
nap in church and dreams that he hears somebody singing "the
story of Troylus and the fair Creseide." There is nothing to
indicate that the Sluggard is a person of low degree or that the
song he hears in his sleep is in English. The word *geste* applies
just as well to the story in the abstract as to any extant concrete
version of it. Gower knew the history of these lovers as narrated
by Benoit, and he had Benoit's romance in mind when he wrote

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[1] Mediæval readers are perforce habituated to varieties in proper names.
*Mars* and *Marte*, *Allecto* and *Alete*, *Polixene* and *Polyxenen*, *Briseida* and
*Brexseida*, *Ceres* and *Cereres*, need not be cited. The manuscripts of the
*Roman de Troie* afford us abundance of examples. Thus in v. 6681 we have,
in different manuscripts, *Hupoz*, *Hupo*, *Huspos*, *Leipos*, *Empres* ; in the same
verse, *Cupesus*, *Cupensus*, *Cupesuc*, *Cuspesus*, *Cupresus*, *Crupesus*, *Adrastus* ;
in v. 6691, *Cisonie*, *Sisonie*, *Osonie*, *Tysonie*, *Cyfonie*, *Yfonie* ; in v. 6715,
*Pileus*, *Calles*, and *Thereplex* ; in the same verse, *Acamus*, *Alcamus*, *Calamus*,
*Calcamus*, *Arcasmus* ; in v. 6773, *Boetes*, *Oestes*, and *Doetes* ; in v. 6832,
*Serses*, *Perses*, and *Sercxes*.

[2] See p. 2, note 1, above.

the passage, whatever else he may have been thinking of. But Benoit always calls the lady *Briseida*. If Gower had kept this form, none of us would have been surprised at the occurrence of the passage in the *Mirour*. Every one would have said, without fear of contradiction, that *ly Sompnolent* heard—not (to be sure) Benoit's romance, but an imaginary song deriving its materials therefrom. Gower, however, wrote *Creseide*, not *Briseida*. Why did he change *B* to *C*? This is the only problem involved in the allusion.

Mr. Tatlock holds that Gower's change of *B* to *C* implies that Chaucer's *Troilus* had already been published and had become popular. This would force us to put the completion of the *Troilus* in 1377 at the latest, a date that seems to most scholars a good deal too early. We have therefore found it necessary to consider the possibility of accounting for Gower's change of a letter on other grounds, and we find that there are at least four other ways—all of them natural and easy—in which this modification of the name may have come about :—

(1) Gower saw Benoit's error, and made the change from *B* to *C* of his own motion, without any influence from either Boccaccio or Chaucer ;

(2) The change is due to Chaucer, who was led to perceive Benoit's error by reading the *Filostrato* and communicated his discovery to Gower ;

(3) Chaucer told Gower of the *Filostrato*, with its form *Griseida*,[1] and Gower, who was very familiar with Ovid, was led by this communication to perceive Benoit's error and so made the change ;

(4) The change was made, so to speak, by Gower and Chaucer jointly, in the course of a literary conversation in which Chaucer mentioned the *Filostrato* and the different forms of the story were discussed.

None of these four explanations implies that Chaucer had begun to write his own *Troilus* or had even planned it. Each of them accounts for all the phenomena in a natural manner, without compelling us to accept an improbably early date for so mature and competent a piece of work. It should be carefully noted that the conditions of the problem do not require us to accept *any particular one* of these four hypotheses in case we reject Mr. Tatlock's theory. The question is merely : *What are the chances that Mr. Tatlock's single explanation is correct as against the chances that some one of*

[1] See p. 2, note 1, above.

*the other four—no matter which—accords with the truth?*   " Davus
sum, non Oedipus," and I am quite willing to leave the decision to
impartial judges.

But is there not evidence—quite apart from the passage in Gower
—that makes in favor of as early a date as 1377 for the completion
of the *Troilus?* Mr. Tatlock thinks there is, and, though it is
impossible to agree with him, we must at least interrogate his
witnesses. The supposed pieces of testimony fall under three heads.

I. Thomas Usk mentions Chaucer's *Troilus* in his *Testament of
Love* and refers expressly to the discussion of free will in Chaucer's
Fourth Book,—a passage which, according to Mr. Tatlock, belongs
to the second version of Chaucer's poem.[1] The date of the
Testament is 1387. " We find, then," writes Mr. Tatlock, " that
Chaucer's revised version of the *Troilus* was known to Usk in 1387.
If, as Lowes thinks, the first version was not finished till 1385, is
not this rather quick work? So extensive and minute a revision
of a poem originally so finished as the *Troilus*, it seems to me,
implies the passage of a number of years. But all this agrees
perfectly with the date 1377 for the original completion and 1380
or later for the revision." [2] This argument surprises me a little.
I have spent some time over the *Troilus*, on various occasions, and
—as Mr. Tatlock indicates in a very generous acknowledgment in his
preface—have studied the matter of the two versions rather carefully.
The revision, so far as I can see, might have been done in a month
or two. However, since we are not here concerned with Mr. Lowes's
date of 1385, and since even the change of that date to 1384
would allow three years for Chaucer's polishing hand, we may grant
all that Mr. Tatlock claims under this head without its affecting at
all the question of the completion of the *Troilus* in 1377.

II. Lydgate's references to the *Troilus* as " translated" in
Chaucer's " youth" (*Falls of Princes*) [3] and as made " long or that
he deyde" (*Falls of Princes;* [4] *Troy Book* [5]) are used by Mr.
Tatlock as evidence in favor of his early date for the *Troilus*.

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[1] *Troilus*, iv, 953–1078. I do not feel quite sure that the free-will passage
came into the *Troilus* on the revision, but this may be granted so far as the
present argument is concerned.

[2] Pp. 24–25.

[3] *Prologue*, stanza 41 (Wayland's edition, sig. A. ii verso).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Book ii, chap. 15 (Marshe's edition, 1555, sig. K. ii recto); book iii,
chap. 25 (sig. R. ii verso).

"Fifteen years," he comments, "would not be so very long before
he died, and youth in the fourteenth century certainly did not
extend to the middle forties." [1] Now "fifteen years" is computed
on the basis of Mr. Lowes's date, 1385, for which (though I regard
it as probable) I am not contending. I do not care to discuss the
precise lapse of time implied in a Lydgatian "long"; but even
fifteen years was about a quarter of Chaucer's whole life. Youth,
it is quite true, did not extend to the middle forties; but neither
did it extend to the age of thirty-seven, which (even if Chaucer
was not born until 1340) is what Mr. Tatlock's date of 1377 would
give us. Clearly, then, on Mr. Tatlock's own showing, Lydgate's
"in youth" is worthless. I do not know whether Lydgate "knew
Chaucer personally," as Mr. Tatlock thinks distinctly probable.
I do know, however, that he used the phrase "I have heard tell,"
at the end of his *Troy Book*, in describing Chaucer's gentleness as
a critic,—

> My maister Chaucer, that founde ful many spot,
> Hym liste not pinche nor gruche at every blot,
> Nor meue hym-silf to perturbe his reste,
> *I haue herde tell*, but seide alweie the best[e]. [2]

The fact is, we students of Chaucer are always calling upon good
old Dan John to tell us things, but never with much success. One
can almost hear him saying reproachfully, "Why hast thou
disquieted me to bring me up?" [3]

III. "A fairly early date for the *Troilus*," Mr. Tatlock thinks,
is indicated by the fact that, while "the present *Knight's Tale* is
connected with the *Troilus* on the one hand and the *Legend of
Good Women* on the other, by a large number" of repetitions of

[1] P. 25.

[2] MS. Cotton Aug. 4, fol. 153 (in *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticisms
and Allusions*, by Miss Spurgeon and Miss Fox (for some proof-slips of which
I am indebted to Dr. Furnivall).

[3] Mr. Tatlock regards Lydgate's list of Chaucer's works in the *Falls of
Princes* as "roughly but rather strikingly chronological." The list is *T. C.*,
*Boeth.*, *Astrolabe*, *Ceyx*, *B.D.*, *R.R.*, *P.F.*, *Origen*, *Book of the Lion*, *Anel.*,
*Mars*, *L.G.W.*, *C. T.*, *Melibeus*, *Cl. T.*, *Monk's T.*, *lyrics*. The roughness of
the chronology is more obvious than its strikingness. If the order proves
anything, it proves that the *Troilus* was the earliest of Chaucer's works, and
very likely that was Lydgate's opinion—hence his "in youthe." The fact
that the *Troilus* stands first in the retraction at the end of the *Parson's Tale*
also seems significant to Mr. Tatlock (p. 25, note 2). But this list, too, is
not chronological, and there is no reason why it should be. The motive for
putting the *Troilus* at the head of a list of "translacions and endytinges of
worldly vanitees" for which the author expresses contrition is surely plain
enough.

phrases or lines, there is an almost complete "absence of such parallels between the *Troilus* and the *Legend*," which is "very striking, considering their frequent parallels to other poems." [1] This argument is simply a mistake. Mr. Tatlock has overlooked the parallels whose absence he emphasizes. His list of such resemblances between the *Knight's Tale* and the *Legend* foots up to nineteen, that of resemblances between the *Knight's Tale* and the *Troilus* to twenty-one.[2] Now there are more than thirty such parallels between the *Troilus* and the *Legend*. [3]

We have now examined all the evidence which Mr. Tatlock adduces—apart from the passage in Gower—in favor of an early date for the *Troilus*. Manifestly it amounts to nothing. The passage in Gower must stand on its own legs. Unless it be regarded—alone and unsupported—as sufficient to settle the question, we must give due heed to the maturity which, as all agree, the *Troilus* evinces, and must assign that great masterpiece to a time considerably later than 1377.

But the case cannot yet be closed. For it may still seem to some readers that Mr. Tatlock's interpretation of the passage in Gower is enough to decide the controversy, although there is no other evidence of any kind in support of his date. We must therefore examine the records of Chaucer's life for some years, beginning with 1372, when he set out on his first Italian journey, and we must give particular attention to the presumable nature of his studies and to his literary activity during the period which, according to Mr. Tatlock's theory, would have been spent in getting materials for the *Troilus* and in its actual composition. Whatever the result of our examination may be as to the date of the *Troilus*,

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[1] P. 19.          [2] P. 77.

[3] Prol. B. 48–49 ; ii, 967–70. Prol. B. 69 ; ii, 13. Prol. B. 535–6 ; ii, 645–6. 710–11 ; i, 64–65. 735 ; ii, 537–9. 773–5 ; iii, 129, v, 1107–9. 878 ; iv, 1161. 930 ; i, 141. 954 ; i, 142. 1019 ; i, 185. 1028 ; v, 1062. 1159 ; i, 461–2. 1166 ; i, 699. 1167 ; ii, 1306. 1180–1 ; ii, 320–21. 1192 ; ii, 1099 ; cf. ii, 1105. 1258 ; i, 760. 1387 ; i, 810. 1429 ; i, 294. 1554 ; ii, 29–30. 1627 ; i, 1010. 1662 ; v, 1852. 1725 ; ii, 123. 1773 ; iv, 600–1. 1797–8 ; iii, 1191–2. 1852 ; v, 796. 1863–4 ; i, 90–91. 2025 ; ii, 1299. 2132 ; iii, 999. 2208–9 ; v, 1791. 2580 ; iii, 617. 2604 ; v, 212. 2648 ; iii, 1200. 2677 ; ii, 947–9 ; cf. iii, 675–6. 2704–5 ; iii, 786–8. It would be easy to extend the list. Some of my parallels are striking, others are the reverse ; but they average quite as well as Mr. Tatlock's, and will serve as a more than sufficient offset. He says, of his own lists, "Some of these parallels are small, a few are due to Boccaccio or *Le Roman de la Rose*, or are proverbial, and one or two are (rather rare) idioms. But the important thing is their number, which is far greater than that of parallels between any others of Chaucer's poems" (p. 78).

it will perhaps throw some light on the intellectual biography of the poet.

Chaucer's first Italian journey occupied exactly 174 days (Dec. 1, 1372, to May 23, 1373), from the hour of his departure from London to that of his arrival there on his return.[1] He crossed the Channel, travelled to Genoa on horseback, thence to Florence, and returned to London *via* Genoa.[2] There is no likelihood that he picked up any Italian manuscripts at Genoa, nor can we suppose that he went on to Florence immediately after his arrival, for the only errand mentioned in his commission is to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Genoese.[3] Many of his 174 days, then must have passed before he had any opportunity to acquire copies of Dante or Boccaccio. We must also reduce the total still further by allowing for the return from Florence to Genoa, and from Genoa to London; for Chaucer was hardly studying Italian manuscripts *en route*. Then, too, we must allow a reasonable amount of time, while Chaucer was in Italy, for learning the ropes, seeing the sights, getting some colloquial knowledge of Italian,[4] and other

[1] Mather, *Modern Language Notes*, XI, 419 ff. ; *Life-Records*, No. 72, pp. 183–4.

[2] These details are safe inferences from Chaucer's account of expenses. The actual length of his stay in Italy has been variously computed. Dr. Mather, to whom we are all much indebted for his discoveries in this affair, makes it two or three months (*The Nation*, N.Y., Oct. 8, 1896, LXIII, 269 ; *Modern Language Notes*, XI, 423–4 ; XII, 18–19). Mr. Tatlock at first accepted this estimate (" two and a half or three months," *Modern Philology*, I, 321) ; in his later treatise (p. 157) he increases it slightly (" certainly less than four months "), and this seems a safe and judicious figure.

[3] *Life-Records*, No. 68, pp. 181–2. Dr. Mather considers the possibility that Chaucer made no stay at Genoa but proceeded to Florence at once (*Modern Language Notes*, XII, 5), but this is merely in order to allow all reasonable leeway to the advocates of the theory that Chaucer met Petrarch,— a pleasing fancy that he effectually disposes of. To assume that Chaucer took no part in the Genoese business would be unwarrantable. We do not know what his errand in Florence was, but the words " alant vers les parties de Jeene et de Florence par acunes noz secrees busoignes " (*Life-Records*, No. 75, p. 187) show that it is not safe to limit the application of the phrase " in secretis negociis " (No. 70, p. 182) to the Florentine matter.

[4] There is no proof that Chaucer knew Italian before he went to Italy. Professor Lounsbury (*Parlament of Foules*, p. 7) and Professor Hales (*Dictionary of National Biography*, X, 160 ; *The Bibliographer*, I, 37–39 ; *Folia Litteraria*, pp. 68–69) argue tentatively in favor of such a theory, but the general opinion is the other way. Mr. Tatlock seems rather inclined to favor their view in his article in *Modern Philology* (I, 321) ; in his later treatise (p. 41, n. 2), he says merely that Professor Hales " argues, but unconvincingly," for it. He also drops the suggestion that Chaucer may have learned something *en route* from " Johannes de Mari, a Genoese citizen." Certainly, as his works show, Chaucer had no acquaintance with Italian literature before that time, and any lessons that he may have got from Johannes on the road were not in reading, and not in the *dolce stil nuovo*.

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incidentals, remembering that he was at least as much interested in men as in books. Finally, it is to be noted that Chaucer visited Italy on the king's business, and not for the sake of cultivating his mind. In short, if we do not regard the active man of affairs —immersed in troublesome diplomatic negotiations and held to a strict account of his employments by the home government—in the light of a "travelling fellow" sent abroad to become a specialist in Italian literature, we shall be forced to doubt whether he actually read both the *Teseide* and the *Filostrato* in the scanty leisure of his first Italian journey. When he arrived in London (May 23, 1373), he had certain Italian manuscripts among his luggage which were to exert a momentous influence on his ideals and methods, and incidentally to make an epoch in the history of literature. That was a good deal; it was quite enough. Surely it was not until he got back to England that he actually began to *read* Italian literature, except, perhaps, in the most casual hit-or-miss fashion.[1]

For more than a year after his return, Chaucer had no public employment. "Not till over a year later," writes Mr. Tatlock, "June 8, 1374, was he appointed Comptroller of Customs, and during the interim, adorned by several benefactions and payments from the king, he may probably have enjoyed much well-earned leisure at court, with his books and pen. After his responsible mission to Italy, he would surely not be worked very hard as Esquire of the King's Chamber."[2] Thus Mr. Tatlock counts this interval as a year of elegant leisure. I read the records differently. In the first place, Chaucer's accounts for the journey showed a balance due to him of £25,[3] or about £400 in modern values, but the king was a slow paymaster. The writ to the Exchequer was not issued until November 11, 1373,—about six months after Chaucer's arrival,[4]—and he did not receive the money until the next February.[5] This lingering and vexatious business of getting his accounts settled must have cost him much time and trouble. Then there

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[1] Mr. Tatlock writes, somewhat unguardedly: "He had returned from Italy by May 23, 1373, after an absence of six months, during which he doubtless read much Italian, including very likely the *Filostrato* and *Teseide*. On his return, having once learned Italian, is it not natural that he should plunge with zeal into the study of Italian literature?" (p. 33). It seems reasonable to suppose that most of Chaucer's efforts in the way of acquiring Italian during his stay in the peninsula were directed to the end of speaking and understanding the colloquial idiom.

[2] P. 33.      [3] *Life-Records*, No. 72, p. 184.      [4] No. 75, p. 187.
[5] No. 78, p. 189.

was an old claim against him for £10 advanced "for wages and expenses" by the king in 1369, "at the commencement of the war."[1] This required adjustment, and Chaucer was excused from accounting for it, Sept. 29, 1373, along with many other persons[2] who were similarly held. Of course this does not mean a gift on the king's part; it is merely a specimen of the haphazard fashion in which men got their salaries in the good old times. Further, Chaucer's wife's annuity was badly behindhand, for, on July 6, 1374, he received the arrears for two years and a half.[3]

A good deal of Chaucer's time for the first year after his return to England must have been consumed in seeking some permanent post in the government employ. It was more than a twelvemonth before he secured the Comptrollership of the Customs. The business of getting an office, then as now, was scarcely compatible with the enjoyment of learned leisure or with extensive literary planning and performance. Waiting at court and social matters also must have claimed their tribute. The duties of an Esquire of the Chamber are too well known to need repetition.[4] Incidentally, Chaucer was house-hunting, for he was going to keep house, apparently for the first time since his marriage. In the spring of 1374 he probably had assurance of office, for on May 10 he took the "mansion" over the gate of Aldgate on a life-lease,[5] doubtless after the usual tedious dickerings and formalities, which would not be lessened by the consideration that he was committing himself to a life tenancy. On June 8th, he was appointed Comptroller, and on June 12th, he took the oath.[6]

The upshot of the matter appears to be that the thirteen months from Chaucer's return in May, 1373, to his appointment in June, 1374, were by no means an interval of leisure. If, during these months, he found time to improve his knowledge of Italian—which cannot have been either accurate or extensive on his return—and now and then to write a lyric in the conventional French style, he surely did all that could be expected of him.

From June, 1374, to the end of 1376, Chaucer was in daily attendance at the receipt of custom. The labor was not excessive, probably, and he neither repined nor complained.[7] Still, the post

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[1] No. 61, pp. 175-6.   [2] No. 74, pp. 186-7.   [3] No. 84, p. 192.
[4] See *King Edward II's Household and Wardrobe Ordinances*, edited by Furnivall (*Life-Records*, II).
[5] No. 80, p. 190.   [6] No. 82, pp. 191-2.
[7] Cf. *The Nation*, N.Y., Oct. 25, 1894, LIX, 309.

was no sinecure. We know, at all events, that he was busy all day long, and that his only leisure for study and writing was in the evening. The responsibilities, too, were pretty heavy ; the sums accounted for between February 26, 1374, and July 26, 1375, foot up nearly £34,000—a great deal of money in those days.[1] After a while Chaucer's duties of course fell into a routine, but they were not " routine work " at the outset. He had never been in the customs before. Six months will not be thought an excessive allowance for learning the business and settling down into the jog-trot of a comfortable official programme. And during this same half-year, the poet had also another kind of routine to settle into—for he had just gone to housekeeping, doubtless for the first time in his life.

This brings us squarely up to the beginning of 1375. Let us look, for a moment, at the other end of our limited period. Gower's Troilus passage was written by 1377.[2] *By what time in 1377 ?* There is no telling for certain. Still, we have no reason to assume—and Mr. Tatlock does not assume—the very end of the year. Indeed, the facts that the passage is vv. 5245–56, that v. 2142 must have been written before June, 1377, that v. 18817 may be as early as 1378, and that v. 30000 was penned before the disorders of 1381,[3] make the middle of 1377 seem not too early for the Troilus passage. To be safe, however, let us say that it was penned when the year was two-thirds gone. At that time, according to Mr. Tatlock's view, the *Troilus* had already been published ; it was " spreading abroad and exciting every one's interest." [4] The allusion, he says, implies " obviousness and popularity." I do not know how long it took for the *Troilus* to fulfil these conditions, but I should think that—in view of the slow process of copying, and the labor of " rubbing and scraping " to ensure correctness—say three months must have elapsed after Chaucer had laid down his pen before, *ex hypothesi*, the time would have been ripe for Gower's allusion. Add these three months to the other three, and subtract the six from December 31, 1377, and we have the middle of 1377 for the latest date when, on the basis of Mr. Tatlock's theory, Chaucer wrote *explicit*.

But we are not at the end of our figuring. The first half of 1377 must be relegated to the limbo of impossible seasons. Between

[1] *Life-Records*, No. 88, pp. 194–5.
[2] I am accepting Mr. Tatlock's date (p. 225).
[3] I still follow Mr. Tatlock's figures.                [4] P. 33, note 6.

December 23, 1376, and June 26, 1377, Chaucer was thrice sent abroad on the king's business.[1] This half-year, then, cannot have been spent in literary composition. It is evident, therefore, that if Chaucer finished the *Troilus* as early as the middle of 1377, he must have finished it six months before. In other words, Mr. Tatlock's theory compels us to put the completion of the work, at the very latest, in December, 1376.

Now, in working forward from the date of Chaucer's return from Genoa in 1373, we have already arrived at January, 1375, as the earliest moment at which he can be thought to have settled into the routine of his custom-house labors.[2] The actual composition of the *Troilus*, then, is reduced to the space of two years. And these are not two years of elegant leisure. During the whole of them Chaucer was continuously employed at the custom-house ; he was forbidden to appoint a deputy, and he was required to keep his accounts with his own hand. Only his evenings were available for study and writing. Manifestly the time is too short for the composition of so extensive, so original, and so highly finished a work as the *Troilus*, even if we assume—as we cannot possibly do—that the plan of the poem and the conception of the characters were framed and moulded during the year of restless practical activity and the preceding six months of induction into the novel duties of the comptrollership. Nor can we imagine that Chaucer wrote poetry every evening and all the evening long. Nobody works in that way. We do not need the celebrated passage in the *House of Fame* to teach us that many of his evenings were spent in reading.

Even if the *Troilus* were nothing but a translation of eight thousand lines of Italian, we should have to pronounce such leisure as Chaucer could command during two busy years decidedly insufficient. But it is something very different from that. Most of it is original, and the originality is of a high order. Further, if we study the sources of the *Troilus*, we find that its composition involved not only the use of the *Filostrato* and the *Filocolo*, but that the poet drew also from Dante and Petrarch and that he reverted to both Benoit and Guido delle Colonne, to say nothing of his employment of Ovid and Statius and Boethius. Some of these authors are but slightly utilized, but others are drawn upon abundantly. Take only the Trojan materials. Before he began to

[1] *Life-Records*, Nos. 98–106, pp. 201–6.          [2] See p. 36, above.

write, as well as during the progress of the poem, it is evident that Chaucer renewed his acquaintance with the older authorities—Benoit and Guido—and that he did this with the definite purpose of composing a new work. As for the *Filostrato*, he had mastered that, as well as the *Filocolo*—and had recognized its possibilities as the foundation for a great English poem. I have no wish to underestimate his obligations to Boccaccio. He owed him not only matter, but culture. Before he began the *Troilus*, then, he had not only learned to read Italian readily—far more readily than he could have learned it in the intervals of diplomatic business in a short visit to Italy—he had also immersed himself in Italian poetry. Long preparation of every kind was needed before the first stanza of the *Troilus* was written. When did Chaucer make this preparation? While he was getting his accounts adjusted, waiting for months to procure a warrant for payment, dancing attendance on the Exchequer for other months in a long series of efforts to get his warrant cashed, trying to collect the arrears of his wife's annuity, waiting at court, leaving no stone unturned to get an office commensurate with his deserts, hunting up a house and hiring it on a life-lease, setting up housekeeping, learning the novel duties of his highly responsible comptrollership and reducing them to a routine? I can hardly believe it, unless on the old principle of "credo quia impossible," and, so far as I can see, the change from *B* to *C* in the name of a Trojan beauty does not justify me in abandoning my reason and having recourse to an act of faith.

But we are not confined to such considerations as these. There are other reasons for rejecting so early a date as 1377 for the completion of the *Troilus*. What they are becomes evident as soon as we inquire whether there are no works of Chaucer's which certainly followed his return from Italy and are likely to have preceded this masterpiece. Before specifying them, however, let us see what kind of works we should expect them to be.

Since the appearance of ten Brink's distinguished *Studien* in 1870, it has been customary to regard Chaucer's return from Italy, in 1373, as marking the boundary between the French and the Italian Period in his poetical career. That the Italian journey marks a significant date cannot be questioned. When Chaucer set out for Genoa in 1372 he was dominated by French culture. His wife, who came of a French-speaking family and had been attached

to the household of a French-speaking queen, was quite as much at home in French as in English. Chaucer himself had been in France more than once, and spoke the language fluently for business and social purposes ; doubtless, too, he could use it readily enough in correspondence. He was an easy and practised poet in the French style. He was well acquainted with the *Roman de Troie* and with some of the works of Froissart and Guillaume de Machaut ; he had translated the *Roman de la Rose*, in whole or in part ; he had made a version of the *Dit du Lion;* he had written many lyrics in French measures and likewise the *Book of the Duchess*, which is French to its finger-tips. We are quite justified, therefore, in designating as the French Period that portion of his literary career which came before 1373.[1] Is it accurate, however, to make the Italian Period begin immediately on Chaucer's return to London ? What do we mean, or what ought we to mean, by the Italian Period ? Manifestly, that stage in Chaucer's career in which we find him distinctly under the influence of Boccaccio, evincing those qualities which were fostered and developed by the study of Italian.[2] This period, then, should begin with either the *Palamon and Arcite* or the *Troilus*—whichever of the two came first. Now Chaucer was not a new creature when he arrived in London after four months of diplomatic service in Italy. We must distinguish between the moment when he first came into contact with Italian literature and got an opportunity to study it, and the moment, somewhat later, when the rich fruitage of that study appeared in our literature. Between the end of the French Period and the beginning of the Italian Period there must have been what we may call a Period of Transition, during which Chaucer was reading and assimilating Italian poetry, was achieving emancipation from French fashions under its guidance, was "finding himself," was getting ready for the full exercise of his native power. This Period of Transition will fall between 1373 and the composition of the *Palamon*, or of the *Troilus*, as the case may be. If Chaucer wrote anything in the Transition Period—and he could

[1] The term French Period is, to be sure, inexact, for Chaucer came early under the influence of Ovid and of other Latin writers, sacred and profane. However, it will serve well enough, if it is understood to mean that period during which Chaucer was under the influence not of French writers altogether, but of French culture,—that period during which his reading (apart from English) was in French literature and in such Latin books as Frenchmen studied or enjoyed.

[2] Cf. Mather, *Modern Language Notes*, XI, 511.

no more refrain from writing than from breathing—what he produced, apart from mere practice work, would naturally be in the old manner, but would also show some signs of his new intellectual and artistic interests. And such signs might be expected to appear in the shape of translated or adapted passages from the Italian, occurring in the course of poems still prevailingly French in matter and style. If the Chaucer canon affords us any works that fulfil this expectation, we shall of course refer them to the Transition Period—from 1373 to the composition of the *Palamon* or the *Troilus*—unless there is positive evidence that they belong elsewhere.

Before we look for such poems, however, it is worth while to determine, if we can, what kind of purple patches they are likely to exhibit. This is not so futile an inquiry as it may at first appear to be. Our own experience and observation will guide us. To most men, Italian poetry means simply—Dante. To get at Dante as soon as possible is the aspiration of every unguided beginner. And Chaucer was an unguided beginner. If he bought any books at Florence, he of course bought the *Divine Comedy* first. And to this he would first turn when, on his return to England, he unpacked his foreign treasures. The seriousness of Dante would not deter him; for Chaucer was mediæval enough—and English enough— to like solid things. Good moral and religious reading never came amiss to the translator of *Melibee* and the *Parson's Tale* and the *Wretched Engendering of Mankind*. To be sure, Dante's genius and his own were very different, nor was the great Florentine to exercise any such influence upon him as was exercised by the lighter and more congenial Boccaccio. But Chaucer could not tell that. To Dante he would first turn, and, we may be equally sure, he would try his hand at the translation of particular passages that impressed him. We may expect, then, in case there are any poems in the Chaucer canon that meet our expectations for the Transition Period, that, while not in substance or in manner prevailingly Italian, they will contain passages from Dante.

Now three such poems exist, the *St. Cecilia*, the *Monk's Tale*, and the *House of Fame*. Naturally, therefore, one would refer them to the Period of Transition, beginning in 1373. But doctors disagree about their dates. Hence we must examine each of these poems separately.

The *Life of St. Cecilia* need not long detain us. It is a typical

legend, translated from the Latin. The introductory stanzas, whether or not they were developed from a hint in Jean de Vignay, are easily paralleled from French authors. Style, metre, everything about the poem are in perfect accord with assignment to the French Period. The only thing Italian is the invocation to the Virgin from Dante's *Paradiso*.[1] The *St. Cecilia*, then, fulfils the conditions, and may be assigned to the Transition Period. The date usually adopted, 1373 or 1374, seems on the whole a little too early. But no one will think of putting the poem later than the *Troilus*, or the *Palamon*, or even the *House of Fame*. It has no marked excellences beyond that ease and fluency of diction, that metrical skill, and that purity of language which came to Chaucer almost by nature. It is a pleasing poem, no doubt, but not too good for Chaucer at thirty-three or thirty-five. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from putting it where it appears to belong,— in the Transition Period.

To the Transition Period I should also assign the *Tragedies*— later utilized as the *Monk's Tale*. The general idea of the *Tragedies* is derived from Boccaccio's *De Casibus*, which is also drawn upon for material, though rather slightly. The moral of Fortune's Deceit and Malice, which gives the poem what structure it possesses, was a favorite commonplace of the French poets. The *Roman de la Rose* offers a long discourse thereon,[2] which is of particular interest to students of Chaucer, inasmuch as it is utilized, not only in the *Book of the Duchess*[3] and the *House of Fame*,[4] but, very strikingly, in the *Tragedies* also. After describing the actions of Fortune, Jean de Meun makes Reason remark, "Mains essamples en puis trover."[5] Chaucer, it will be remembered, in the proem to the *Tragedies*, bids his hearers "Be war by thise ensamples trewe and olde." Then, in the *Roman de la Rose*, Reason tells the stories of Seneca, Nero, and Crœsus—all of which are used by Chaucer[6]— and adds :—

> Et se ces prueves rien ne prises,
> D'anciennes istoires prises,
> Tu les as de ton tens noveles, etc.[7]

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[1] There is no reason for regarding the prayer as a later insertion. Its connection is perfect, and if it is thought to be better than the rest of the poem, the superiority is at once intelligible when one remembers whom Chaucer is following.

[2] Ed. Michel, I, 195 ff.    [3] For the Game of Chess (vv. 617 ff.).

[4] See Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, Chaucer Society 1907, pp. 118 ff.

[5] I, 206.    [6] Seneca in the section on Nero.    [7] I, 219.

Accordingly, Reason proceeds to give a number of Modern Instances. Thus in spirit, and to some extent in plan, the *Tragedies* accords perfectly with Chaucer's French Period.[1]

The Ugolino chapter, however, is from Dante, and there is no reason to regard it as later than the rest of the poem.[2] We have the conditions of the Transition Period fulfilled.

I have said that the moral of Fortune's Deceit and Malice gives the *Tragedies* what structural unity it possesses. This is greater than is commonly supposed. The work has not only a formal

In taking Professor Lounsbury to task for calling the *Monk's Tale* a parody, Mr. Tatlock (p. 167) declares, with great emphasis, that "the *genre* represented" therein "was wholly the creation of Boccaccio, both in conception and form, though hints are of course traceable to other mediæval works," and he goes on to refer to "Chaucer's procedure in introducing the species" into England. Certainly, the *Monk's Tale* is no parody, but were the tragedies that compose it so great a novelty? Boccaccio's originality in the *De Casibus* lay not in writing "tragedies," for, as everybody knows, *tragoedia* was a technical term for such pieces long before his day. The Monk's definition of tragedy is from Boethius, and so is the remark at the end of the poem (vv. 3951 : cf. Skeat's note, and Cloetta, *Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter*, pp. 41–43). Indeed, to write tragedies was a customary rhetorical exercise. Johannes de Garlandia, for instance, describes this kind of composition in his *Poetria* (thirteenth century), and gives a specimen (Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des eilften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, IX, 503 ; Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, XXVII, ii, 82 ; Cloetta, pp. 126–7 ; Kittredge, *Modern Language Notes*, VIII, 502–3). Nor did Boccaccio's originality lie in accumulating a number of tragic tales to illustrate the instability of Fortune : that had already been done in the *Roman de la Rose*, which Chaucer utilized for his sections on Nero and Crœsus. Nor did Boccaccio's originality lie in the schematism of his work, for schematism was no greater novelty in the fourteenth century than in the sixteenth. What was substantially original in Boccaccio's *De Casibus*—though previous hints even for that may easily be found—was the device of making the personages appear to the author, bewail their own woes, and (in some instances) tell him their own histories. And this device Chaucer ignored, thus returning a long way toward the adoption of the pre-Boccaccian fashion of merely amassing *exempla*. That Chaucer himself did not look upon his *Tragedies* as a new literary *genre* just invented by Boccaccio, is shown by what the Monk says in his *Prologue* : —

> And they [*sc.* tragedies] ben versifyed comunly
> Of six feet, which men clepe *exametron.*
> In prose eek been endyted many oon,
> And eek in metre, in many a sondry wyse (vv. 3168–71).

On hexameter as the metre of tragedy, see Cloetta, pp. 51–54, 139. Compare with the passage which he quotes (p. 51, note 3) from Honorius Augustodunensis (*De Animae Exsilio et Patria*, cap. 2, Migne, CLXXII, 1243 D) the following remark from a fourteenth-century treatise on versification : "Tragedya [*sc.* agit] de infelicitate sublimium personarum, ut facit Lucanus et Statius" (*Notices et Extraits*, XXII, ii, 418 ; cf. XXII, ii, 67, 68 and note 1).

[2] Mr. Tatlock's arguments on this point (p. 169) are convincing.

proem, but a formal conclusion which refers back to the beginning. It opens thus:

I wol biwayle in maner of Tragedie
The harm of hem that stode in heigh
  degree,
And fillen so that ther nas no remedie
To bringe hem out of her adversitee ;
For certein, whan that fortune list to
  flee,

Ther may no man the cours of hir
  withholde ;
Let no man truste on blind prosperi-
  tee ;
Be war by thise ensamples trewe and
  olde.

The final stanza runs :—

Anhanged was Cresus, the proude king,
His royal trone mighte him nat availle.—
Tragedie is noon other maner thing,
Ne can in singing crye ne biwaille,
But for that fortune alwey woll assaille
With unwar strook the regnes that ben proude ;
For when men trusteth hir, than wol she faille,
And covere hir brighte face with a cloude.

Compare the language of the conclusion with that of the proem, and the identity of idea and expression comes out strikingly. The poem begins and ends with a reference to the nature of its contents—Tragedies—and with emphasis on the lesson they teach, —that Fortune is so fickle and full of malice that no man should trust prosperity. The poem, it now appears, fulfils two-thirds of the Aristotelian requirement, inasmuch as it has a *beginning* and an *end*. That is doing pretty well for mediæval times. If there is some little uncertainty about the *middle*, the author may claim our indulgence.

An inspection of the several " ensamples " of which the poem consists brings out another fact of interest. Omitting the four Modern Instances for the moment, we note that the moral about Fortune has a strong tendency to appear at the end of each section. It stands there in Hercules, Nebuchadnezzar-Belshazzar (a structural unit),[1] Zenobia, Nero, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and Crœsus.[2]

[1] These two *exempla* form a unit. The account of Nebuchadnezzar ends with an account of God's restoring his reason, and of the king's subsequent piety ; that of Belshazzar begins—

His sone, which that highte Balthasar,
That heeld the regne after his fader day,
He by his fader coude nought be war,—

and ends with a stanza about Fortune. Thus the two *exempla* form a single (structural) chapter, with no break in the middle, and winding up with the customary moral.

[2] In Holofernes and Antiochus the Fortune moral comes at the beginning. In Samson, the lesson is more pointed—" Do not tell your secrets to a

Turning now to the Modern Instances, we observe that the Ugolino chapter has the Fortune moral at the end, though there is no such reflection in Dante's account. Next we note that the two stanzas relating to Pedro of Spain, with the single stanza relating to Pierre de Lusignan, form a structural unit. The first stanza begins " O noble, O worthy Petro, glorie of Spayne " ; the third begins "O worthy Petro, king of Cypre, *also*," and ends with the Fortune moral, which is applicable to both Peters and closes the whole section in the fashion that we have just remarked in so many other cases :—

> Thus can Fortune her wheel governe and gye,
> And out of ioye bringe men to sorwe.

The association of these two kings was natural, since they had the same name and were murdered in the same year (1369);[1] besides, they were both figures of interest to Englishmen.[2] There is nothing to indicate that the section describing their fate was not written when the rest of the poem was composed. Perhaps, therefore, a consideration of the probable date of this section will give a clue to that of the poem itself.

Now the idea of putting the two Peters together would be

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woman," a precept on which Chaucer rings the changes in five out of the ten stanzas. Lucifer is exempt, since "fortune may non angel dere" (v. 3191), and Adam's Fall could of course not be ascribed to Fortune ; but Lucifer and Adam are merely introductory and have but one stanza apiece. All the sections, except the Modern Instances, being now accounted for, the tendency or structural principle noted is seen to be a substantial matter.

[1] Pedro the Cruel was killed by his brother Enrique, March 23, 1369 (Ayala, *Crónicas*, I, 556). See Furnivall's letter in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, VIII, 449, and Skeat's note on the *Monk's Tale*, B, 3573.

Pierre I. de Lusignan was murdered Jan. 17, 1369. See the passages and the discussion in Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, II, 332–45 ; cf. N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 1896, p. 390, note 5.

[2] Pierre de Lusignan visited England in 1363, and was royally entertained by Edward III. On his tour see Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, II, 239–41, note 1, and Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, chap. vii, pp. 144 ff. (especially pp. 178–82). His capture of Alexandria (in 1365) is mentioned in the *Knight's Tale*, as well as his successes at Satalye (*Attalea*, modern *Adalia*) in 1361, and Lyeys (*Layas, Lajazzo*, modern *Ayas*) in 1367. These three exploits are mentioned, along with the capture of Tripoli (in 1367), in the epitaph of Philippe de Mézières, apparently as the most notable achievements of Pierre (Jorga, p. 511, note 5). Englishmen took part in them all. Humphrey de Bohun VIII, the 6th Earl of Hereford, was at Satalie (in 1361, it seems), and his successor (also named Humphrey), the last earl of the Bohun line (whose daughter Mary married the Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV), was at Alexandria, Tripoli, and Lyeys. See the references and the discussion in Manly, *A Knight Ther Was* (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXXVIII, 89 ff.), and cf. Jorga, pp. 121–4, 286 ff., 365–7, 369.

more likely to occur to Chaucer four or five years after their death than fifteen or twenty. Besides, the heraldic riddle about the "feeld of snow with thegle of blak therinne," and the punning allusion to Mauny as "wikked nest," in the second stanza, suggest composition not so very long after the fact. These are indications, not proofs, but they count for something. Let us see, therefore, if there was any particular occasion that may have prompted Chaucer to include either "Petro" in a poem that he composed soon after his return from Italy in 1373.

Here we get upon firm historical ground. John of Gaunt, Chaucer's great patron, married Constance, daughter of the Castilian king Pedro, in 1371, and brought her to England in 1372.[1] He immediately assumed the style of King of Castile and Leon, in his wife's right, and the title was recognized by Edward III in two indentures of June 25, 1372.[2] On the 30th of August John of Gaunt granted to Chaucer's wife the annual sum of £10, during his good pleasure, in consideration of the service which she had done and shall do in the future to his "treschere et tresame compaigne la Reine."[3] Thus we learn that Philippa Chaucer became attached to the household of Constance almost immediately after the latter's arrival in England. Chaucer left London for Italy on December 1st. His wife remained in Constance's service not only during his absence but for some time after his return, until he had hired the tenement above Aldgate, had secured the Comptrollership of the Customs, and was ready to set up housekeeping. His appointment, we remember, occurred on June 8, 1374, and he took the oath of office on the 12th. Next day, John of Gaunt granted a life annuity of £10 to Chaucer for his services to him "et auxint pur la bon seruice que nostre bien ame Philippe, sa femme, ad fait a nostre treshonure Dame et Miere la Royne, . . . et a nostre tres-ame compaigne la Royne."[4] This was in addition to the £10 previously granted to Philippa Chaucer, and not in lieu of it.[5]

These dates are significant. Whether or not Chaucer was helped to his office by the Duke of Lancaster, he had abundant cause for gratitude to his patron and his patron's new wife for favors

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[1] See the references in *Englische Studien*, XIII, 7, note 4 ; cf. Siméon Luce, *Froissart*, VIII, pp. xxi–ii.
[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, ed. Holmes, VI, 728–9 ; cf. Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, II, 115.
[3] *Life-Records*, No. 67, p. 181.      [4] *Life-Records*, No. 83, p. 192.
[5] Kirk, *Life-Records*, p. xxiv.

received both just before his departure for Italy and shortly after his return. Under the circumstances, we may feel pretty safe in inferring for the tribute to Constance's father, Pedro of Castile, the date of 1373 or 1374. The royal title which John of Gaunt had recently assumed, by right of his wife, made such a tribute especially timely.[1] The date of the tribute to Pedro carries with it the date of the poem as a whole.

So far everything fits uncommonly well. But what are we to make of the third modern instance, Bernabò Visconti, who died December 19, 1385? Must we on his account refer the whole poem to 1386 or later,[2] ignoring all the evidence to the contrary?

I am by no means disposed to so violent a procedure. The Visconti section in the *Tragedies* is peculiar in that it consists of but a single stanza and has no mention of Fortune. It has every appearance of being an afterthought—an insertion made under stress of some special interest or emotion. Let us consider the circumstances.

Bernabò Visconti had been in confinement for more than seven

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[1] I hasten to point out that the Castilian succession was likewise a matter of great interest to Chaucer and the English public from 1386 to 1389. On the 18th of February, 1386, a crusade in Spain was proclaimed at Paul's Cross. On March 8, 1386, Richard II " in pleno consilio in quantum potuit confirmavit et declaravit dominum ducem Lancastriae verum fore heredem Hispaniae ac in signum regii honoris illum in consilio supra archiepiscopos fecit juxta se sedere " (John Malverne, continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, Rolls ed., IX, 81–82). In July, John of Gaunt embarked for Spain to assert his title under arms. The expedition was a dismal failure. The English forces were attacked by pestilence in the spring of 1387. The Duke saw that he must disband his army, and he directed his constable, John de Holande, to draw off the troops. Holande executed this movement and returned to England, where we find him as early as June, 1388; no doubt he arrived in 1387. John of Gaunt retired (1387) from Spain to Aquitaine, where he remained until he was recalled by Richard II in 1389 (see the authorities cited in *Englische Studien*, XIII, 12–15). In the spring of 1388 he had made a treaty with Juan I, in which he and Constance renounced their rights to the Spanish throne but secured the marriage of their daughter to the Infante and the succession of her descendants (Ayala, *Crónicas*, II, 272 ff. ; cf. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 1904, p. 330). These dates will fit Mr. Tatlock's hypothesis. The question whether a tribute to Pedro was more timely when John of Gaunt's military fiasco was fresh in the public mind than in 1373, when the Spanish marriage and the assumption of the royal title were brilliant novelties, must be left to the reader's judgment. So likewise must the further question whether it was more natural to associate the two Peters in 1386-9 than it was when the fact that they were both murdered in the same year was a thing of comparatively recent memory. Here again, it should be remembered, we are merely weighing probabilities. *Nothing* is impossible.

[2] Mr. Tatlock thinks that " the *Monk's Tale* was written when the *Canterbury Tales* were well under way " (p. 172), and was intended for that collection (p. 166). He seems to date it about 1388.

months at the time of his death. His fall took place on May 6, 1385,[1] when he was treacherously arrested by his nephew (and son-in-law), Gian Galeazzo. He had long been a highly spectacular personage, and his overthrow made a great sensation throughout Europe. "En celle saison," writes Froissart, "avint une autre incidense mervilleuse en Lombardie et de laquelle on parla moult par le monde."[2] Of course the tidings of Gian Galeazzo's *coup d'état* reached England a good while before Bernabò's death. Malverne, the very trustworthy continuator of Higden, tells the story of the arrest under the correct date (May 6th),[3] and his narrative, which is lively, circumstantial, and accurate, may be unhesitatingly accepted as representing the form in which the report came to the English court and to Chaucer. Between May and December Chaucer had ample opportunity to reflect on one of the most amazing reverses of fortune that had taken place in his lifetime. Then, on December 19th, Bernabò died suddenly in prison. Chaucer knew him personally, having visited his court on an embassy in 1378.[4] That the Lombard despot had impressed his imagination,[5] if only hinted at in the *Prologue* to the *Legend*,[6] is proved beyond

[1] Letter from Carlo Visconti, Bernabò's son, to Sir John Hawkwood, dated May 6th, and saying that the arrest took place "hodie" (printed by Temple-Leader and Marcotti, *Giovanni Acuto*, 1889, p. 285); *Annales Mediolanenses*, cap. 147 (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XVI, 784); John Malverne, continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls ed., IX, 59–60).
[2] Ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, X, 324.
[3] Rolls edition of Higden's *Polychronicon*, IX, 59–60. The Monk of St. Albans (Rolls ed., p. 366) also records Bernabò's capture, in a passage which is not copied from Walsingham.
[4] *Life-Records*, No. 122, p. 218.
[5] Bernabò was of considerable interest to his literary contemporaries. See Sacchetti, *Novelle*, Nos. 4, 59, 74, 82, 152, 188, 193. Cf. L. di Francia, *Franco Sacchetti Novelliere*, 1902. p. 112–120; A. Medin, *Letteratura Poetica Viscontea* (*Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XII, 568 ff.), and *I Visconti nella Poesia Contemporanea* (*id.*, XVIII, 733 ff.); V. Vitale, *Bernabò Visconti nella Novella e nella Cronaca Contemporanea* (*id.*, XXVIII, 261 ff.). Three contemporary "laments" in verse have been printed by A. Medin and L. Frati, *Lamenti Storici dei Secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, I, 63–213.
[6] A, vv. 353 ff.; B, vv. 373 ff. A fine example of Bernabò's implacability may be found in Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, ix, 50, II, 237–8 (*Collezione di Storici e Cronisti Italiani*, VI). One is reminded of the "irous potestat" (from Seneca) in the *Somnour's Tale* (D, 2017 ff.). Villani died in 1363. He records instances of Bernabò's cruelty in book vii, chap. 48 (II, 43–45), excusing himself for so doing by remarking that they may serve "per esempio del pericolo che si corre sotto il giogo della sfrenata tirannia." There is an appalling catalogue (*ex parte*) of Bernabò's crimes in the accusation brought against him by Gian Galeazzo and preserved in the *Annales Mediolanenses* (Muratori, XVI, 794–800; cf. G. Romano. *Achivio Storico Lombardo*, XX, 602 ff.). See also the first *Lamento di Bernabò Visconti*, sts. 113–141 (Medin and Frati, *Lamenti Storici dei Secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, I, 116–127).

a shadow of doubt by the powerful line in which he apostrophizes him in the *Tragedies*,—"God of delit and scourge of Lumbardye!"[1] The stanza was certainly written as soon as the news of Bernabò's death reached England.[2] Chaucer was ignorant of the details. He supposed, as most contemporaries did, that Gian Galeazzo had procured his uncle's murder,[3]—but the particular reason for killing

[1] "Ceterorum principum sic cupiditatem inexplebilem superabat, ut medietatem bonorum plebis extorqueret" (Monk of Saint Denys, xxiv, 18, III, 132).

[2] There were special reasons, apart from the general fame of Bernabò, why his fall and death were of interest to Englishmen. Lionel, the Duke of Clarence (in the household of whose first wife Chaucer himself had served in 1357 : *Life-Records*, No. 33, pp. 152-3) married Violanta Visconti, niece of Bernabò, in 1368, and died in Piedmont in the same year, not without suspicion of poison (Froissart, ed. Kervyn, VII, 246-7, 251-2 ; ed. Luce, VII, 64, 83). Edward Despenser, who was in his company, received the thanks of Edward III for holding Lionel's possessions against Violanta's father, Galeazzo (royal instructions, Dec., 1368, in Kervyn's Froissart, XVIII, 489). Bernabò had offered his own daughter Katerina to Richard II, and an embassy had been sent to Milan on this business in 1379 (Rymer, *Fœdera*, 2nd ed., VII, 213 ; Record ed., IV, 60 ; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, Rolls ed. II, 46 ; C. G. Chamberlayne, *Die Heirat Richards II. von England mit Anna von Luxemburg*, Halle, 1906, p. 13). The wife of Sir John Hawkwood, the famous English free-lance, was Donnina, one of Bernabò Visconti's daughters. It is also worth noting that in 1388 two sons of Bernabò, "venientes in Angliam," received a gift of £40 from Richard II to aid in their support (Rymer, 2nd ed., VII, 601).

[3] The current opinion was that Bernabò was poisoned. "Veneno sumto in quodam ferculo," say the *Annales Mediolanenses* (Muratori, XVI, 800). Andrea Gataro remarks that "per quanto fu publicamente detto, fu avvelenato per tre fiate" (*Istoria Padovana*, Muratori, XVII, 499). Bernardino Corio (born 1459) is able to specify the very dish in which the poison was administered,—"in una scodella di fagiuoli" (*Storia di Milano*, ed. Butti and Ferrario, Part iii, chap. 7, II, 326 ; cf. Venice ed., 1554, fol. 259 r°). Ptomaines and acute indigestion occur to us as alternative possibilities, and one modern scholar is bold enough to assert that Bernabò died "della malattia stessa di Napoleone a S. Elena, ambizione rientrata" (C. Cantù, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XIV, 461). For the belief that he was poisoned, see also Sozomenus Pistoriensis, *Specimen Historiae* (Muratori, XVI, 1128) ; Matthaeus de Griffonibus, *Memoriale Historicum* (*id.*, XVIII, 196) ; *Cronica di Bologna* (*id.*, XVIII, 526) ; Goro (Gregorio) Dati, *Istoria di Firenze*, i, 9 (ed. Pratesi, 1902, p. 18 ; Florence ed., 1735, pp. 9–10) ; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, xxiv, 18 (III, 132, in *Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France*) ; *Chronica di Milano dal 948 al 1487* (ed. Lambertenghi, Turin, 1869, p. 121) ; Paulus Jovius, *Vitae Illustrium Virorum* (ed. Basel, 1578, I, 82) ; Ripamonti, *Historia Urbis Mediolani* (in Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, II, 571). Cf. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, VII, 486 (Lucca, 1752) ; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, VIII, ii, 266 ; Rosmini, *Istoria di Milano*, II (1820), 157 ; Verri, *Storia di Milano*, ed. 1834-5, I, 470 ; Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, vol. I, fasc. ix (*Visconti di Milano*), tav. v.

Sercambi expresses himself guardedly : "Vedendosi messer Bernabò esser privato di madonna Porrina, subito di malanconia amalò, e chi vuol dire che bevesse. Or chome la cosa fusse, lui amalato, doppo molto piangere e lamentarsi cadde in malatia, della quale in picciolo tempo morìo" (*Croniche*, Part i, chap. 296, ed. Bongi, I, 246, in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*).

him after he had been so many months in prison, and when there was no occasion to regard him as dangerous, Chaucer did not know, nor was he informed as to the precise manner of his taking off,—" But why, ne how, noot I that thou were slawe!" It is even possible to determine, with some probability, the exact source from which Chaucer derived the news. About a fortnight after Bernabò's death, a gentleman, presumably English, who had been for some time a number of Sir John Hawkwood's company of free lances, arrived from Lombardy at the court of Richard II. We do not know his errand, but it seems safe to infer that he brought word that Bernabò was dead. Perhaps he had been sent for this very purpose by Hawkwood himself, who, we should remember, was the fallen tyrant's son-in-law.[1] At all events, Malverne, whose relations to the English court were close, records his arrival, and tells of a prophecy about England which he reported as rife in Lombardy.[2] Malverne's text, to be sure, contains no mention of Bernabò's death, but in the margin of the same page the manuscript of his chronicle shows the following significant entry :—" Quo in tempore dominus Barnabos moriebatur in carcere, qua morte an gladio aut fame aut veneno ignoratur."[3] This gives us, at all events, the form in which the report reached English ears, and corresponds strikingly with Chaucer's expressed uncertainty as to the precise method of Bernabò's demise. What was more natural than that Chaucer, on hearing of the tyrant's end, should dash off his vigorous stanza in the margin of his own copy of the *Tragedies?* The obvious place for it was after the section on the two earlier modern

Froissart has a very curious passage on Bernabò's death : "Ses oncles [*sc.* Gian Galeazzo's uncle, Bernabò] morut, je ne say mies de quel mort, je croy bien qu'il fu sainniés ou hateriel, enssi comme il ont d'usage de faire leurs sainniés en Lombardie, quant il voellent à un homme avanchier sa fin " (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, X, 327 ; cf. XV, 258–9, with the variant reading).

Several chronicles register Bernabò's death without specifying a cause (Muratori, XV, 512 ; XVI, 544, 854 ; XVII, 1127).

[1] Chaucer knew Hawkwood (see *Life-Records*, Nos. 121, 122, pp. 216–19).

[2] "Circiter principium vero istius mensis [*i. e.* January, 1386] venit ad curiam domini regis quidam armiger, qui aliquamdiu in Lombardia stetit in comitiva domini Johannis Haukewode, et narravit de quodam religioso in illis partibus demorante quomodo praedicebat gentem Anglorum infra tres annos proxime secuturos propter eorum malam vitam fore atrociter castigandam," etc. (John Malverne, in the Rolls ed. of Higden, IX, 78). If, as is possible, this gentleman from Hawkwood left Lombardy too early to report the death of Bernabò, he was at any rate in a position to furnish the court circle (including Chaucer, who was still engaged in giving personal attention to the customs) with interesting details about the tyrant's arrest and incarceration.

[3] Malverne, as above, IX, 78, note.

victims of assassination—Pedro of Spain and Pierre I de Lusignan ; and Chaucer fitted it in as a kind of appendix to that section by putting it into the form of direct address. Compare the vocatives " O noble, o worthy Petro, glorie of Spayne," and " O worthy Petro, King of Cypre, also," with the vocative " Of Melan grete Barnabo Viscounte." Direct address is not the method in the other tragedies.[1] It is well to remember, as a possible associative influence in Chaucer's mind, the fact that one of Bernabò's daughters [2] had married Pierre II de Lusignan, the son and successor of Pierre I. " Why sholde I nat thyn infortune *accounte ?* " [3] is likewise eminently suggestive of an addition—" Why should I not *reckon in,* or *take into account,* thy misfortune [also]?" The high probability that the Bernabò stanza is an insertion, an after-thought, comes out clearly if vv. 3565–96 are read as they stand, with the structure of the section on the two Peters in mind.[4] I see nothing that can be urged against it except the general principle that a poet is never to alter a work that he has once finished or laid aside.[5]

[1] The instances of direct address in Samson (vv. 3242–7), Alexander (vv. 3848–52), and Julius Cæsar (vv. 3869–76) are merely apostrophic (cf. vv. 3883–4, 3909).

[2] Valentina (or Valenza) Visconti. The marriage was celebrated by proxy April 2, 1376. Pierre II died in 1382 ; Valentina lived until 1393. See di Mas Latrie, *Généalogie des Rois de Chypre de la Famille de Lusignan* (*Archivio Veneto,* XXI, 335–6 ; cf. also his *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre,* II, 346 ff.).

[3] *Accounte* is commonly taken as meaning "recount," "relate" (*Oxford Dictionary,* s.v., IV, 8), but the sense "reckon in," "take into account," is much more likely. The passage from Gower (*Confessio,* vii, 2226–7) quoted in the *Oxford Dictionary* under the same definition certainly does not belong there, nor—very emphatically—that from the *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy* (vv. 5443–4). The Gower passage should be punctuated—

> In here time thei surmonte
> Alle othre men, that—to acompte—
> Of hem was tho the grete fame (vii, 2265–7).

*To acompte* is parenthetical. The meaning is : " They surpass all other men in their time, so that (to estimate their reputation properly) the great talk was then of them," *i. e.* " they were more talked about, or had a greater reputation, than anybody else." *Of hem* goes with *the grete fame,* not with *acompte.* In the *Gest Historiale* (v. 5443) "to acounte of the kynges" introduces a long enumeration, not a narrative ; it means, therefore, " to make a list of the kings," " to enumerate them in their order."

[4] My argument for the late insertion of the Bernabò stanza does not involve the question whether the Modern Instances (*minus* Bernabò) originally stood at the end or where they stand now. It is equally consistent with both arrangements. For opinions on the original place of the Modern Instances, see Skeat's *Chaucer,* III, 428–30 ; Tatlock, pp. 170–2 ; Skeat, *The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales,* 1907, pp. 21, 29.

[5] It will hardly be objected that, in case my views about the Bernabò stanza are correct, the *Tragedies* ought to be extant in their earlier form, that is, without this stanza. Since the stanza was inserted, *ex hypothesi,*

This theory accords with certain other facts or beliefs with regard to the planning or composition of the *Canterbury Tales*. If, as is quite possible, Chaucer was thinking of that great work as

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before group B of the *Canterbury Tales* was published, no manuscript of that group, or of the whole of the *Canterbury Tales*, would ever have lacked the Bernabò stanza. This will be true whether we suppose the stanza to have been inserted by Chaucer in the act of fitting the *Tragedies* into the *Canterbury Tales* or earlier. Where is there a manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* in which the *Shipman's Tale*, originally written for a woman to tell, is ascribed to anybody but the Shipman ? As to a separate manuscript of the *Tragedies* (by itself) without the stanza,—where is there a separate manuscript of *St. Cecilia*, which was not written for the *Canterbury Tales* at all, or of the *Book of the Lion*, or of the *Wretched Engendering of Mankind*, or of *Origenes upon the Maudeleyne?*

Nor will it be objected that revision—witness the *Second Nun's Tale* and the *Shipman's*—is contrary to Chaucer's habits. The *Troilus* and the *Prologue* to the *Legend* are answer enough to that. If it be answered in surrebuttal, that these are not parallel cases, inasmuch as (1) the *Troilus* is a great poem, over which Chaucer lingered with loving care, and (2) the second *Prologue* is due to some special moving cause, one may answer that the insertion of the Bernabò stanza was due to a very special moving cause, the tragic death of that "god of delyt and scourge of Lumbardye" who had so impressed Chaucer's imagination. And if this answer is not accepted, one may still call attention to the essential difference between revising a poem and writing, under stress of exciting news, a single stanza in the margin of one's manuscript. And, finally, if this remark is also scouted, one may fall back on the schoolman's *exceptio probat regulam* and on Chaucer's own evidence that "sometyme it shal fallen on a day That falleth nat eft withinne a thousand yere." This guarding of the outposts seems rather superfluous, but the gentle reader is courteously petitioned to remember that the friendly contest over Chaucerian dates is being carried on with extraordinary vigor and quite particular keenness at the present moment.

Mr. Tatlock thinks that v. 3851 ("Thy sys fortune hath turned into as ") was borrowed from Gower's *Mirour*, vv. 22102–3 or v. 23399, and that this borrowing suggests a date not earlier than 1379–81 (p. 165). Yet, in arguing for a date of about 1379 for completion of the *House of Fame*, he thinks that vv. 22129–52 of the *Mirour* (a part of the same passage on Fortune in which vv. 22102–3 occur) were borrowed by Gower from the *House of Fame* (pp. 39–40). Such crisscross inferences seem a little too easy-going. Whatever may be true of vv. 22129–52 (which we need not discuss), I regard the resemblance pointed out between the *Monk's Tale* and the *Mirour* as quite fortuitous. Let us remember that, " in the dees right as ther fallen chaunces," so also verbal similarity may now and then occur by accident, especially in matters of common experience. Not only are figures from dice-play common (as Mr. Tatlock admits), but there was a fortune-telling game with dice, to which there may be an allusion in *Troilus*, ii, 1347–51. The throw six-six-one in this kind of divination has the following stanza attached to it in the *Book of Brome* (a fifteenth-century manuscript), edited by Miss Toulmin Smith, p. 16 :—

> Synys [*i. e.* two sixes] and asse tell me sekerly
> That 3owr dessyer ys but folly,
> Schonge 3owr thowt, I cowncell the,
> Yffe 3e wyll not a schamyd be.

See also Macaulay's note on *Confessio Amantis*, iv, 2792. Finally, one may cite as a parallel to the passages in Chaucer and Gower the remark of Love to the author of *Trésor Amoureux:* "Tu as A la fois pour un six un as " (vv. 589–90, in Scheler's *Froissart*, III, 70).

early as January, 1386, he would naturally take account of stock, looking through his papers occasionally for old narrative material which might be available. The *Tragedies*, then, was in his mind —perhaps, indeed, he had just read the poem over—when he learned of Bernabò's death.[1]

On the whole, then, we may feel reasonably certain that Chaucer wrote the *Tragedies*, except for the Visconti stanza, in the Transition Period (about 1374), and that he put in that stanza in January, 1386, as soon as the news of Bernabò's death came to his ears. No other theory appears to fit so many of the known facts.[2]

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[1] Mr. Tatlock's argument that the *Monk's Tale* was composed expressly for the Canterbury collection, relies, in part, upon " lordinges " in v. 3429, which he thinks suggests oral address to people actually present in the body (p. 170). But there is no reason why, for once in his life, Chaucer should not have used that extremely common vocative—the Middle English equivalent of the modern " gentlemen "—in a poem intended to be read aloud. We are prone to forget that the number of persons in the fourteenth century who heard a story read to them was much greater than the number of those who read it to themselves. Cf. *Troilus*, ii, 81 ff. ; Froissart, *Dit du Florin*, vv. 341–379, *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, II, 230–1.

Some colloquialism and informality might be expected, perhaps, in a poem originally written for the *Canterbury Tales*, but their presence in a poem by no means proves, or tends to prove, that it *was*, as a matter of fact, composed for that collection. How about the *House of Fame*, with its " now herkneth " (vv. 109, 509, cf. v. 1549), " as I shal telle yow echoon " (v. 150), " Ne can I not to yow devyse " (v. 1179), " to make yow to longe dwellen " (vv. 1300, 1454)? Or the *Troilus*, with its " my purpos is, er that I parte fro ye " (i, 5), " This, trowe I, knoweth al this companye " (i, 450), " if it happe in any wyse, That here be any lovere in this place " (ii, 29–30), " Eek scarsly been ther in this place three That han in love seyd lyk and doon in al " (ii, 43–44), etc. ? But we need not multiply words on this score. The appeal to sporadic colloquialism and informality is unfortunate, for it at once calls our attention to the stilted and rhetorical style of the *Tragedies* as a whole.

As for " I wol bewayle in maner of tragedie," there is absolutely nothing colloquial or informal about *that*. What Mr. Tatlock calls " the definition of tragedy " in v. 3951 (to say that this " echoes that in the *Monk's Prologue* " begs the question) refers back perfectly to the beginning of the poem. Nothing can be made of such trifles. But, if one wishes to hold that they are significant, they may—as Mr. Tatlock reluctantly admits—signify a very slight revision at the time of the insertion of the *Tragedies* into the *Canterbury Tales*. And, if one chooses, the Bernabò stanza may have gone in at the same time. This is not my opinion—for I attach no weight whatever to these supposed evidences of oral delivery—but it is quite consistent with putting the *Tragedies* in the Transition Period.

[2] Mr. Tatlock does not think that this stanza was written as early as 1386. " That it [the whole second half of the poem] was not written so immediately after Bernabò's death is suggested by the fact that his ' tragedy ' is preceded by those of the two Pedros, who died in 1369 ; we should expect that Chaucer would have begun with the modern potentate whom he had known, if he had just died " (p. 172). I do not quite understand this argument. However, Mr. Tatlock's chief reasons for regarding the stanza as not written in 1386 seem to be that " Professor Lowes has shown that Chaucer must have been occupied with the *Legend* in 1386, and [that] we have seen that this and the following year were pretty well occupied with this and with the zealous beginning of the *Canterbury Tales*." He concludes, " Everything therefore

The third poem which one would naturally refer to the Period of Transition is the *House of Fame*. The idea that the *House of Fame* is based upon Dante, or permeated with Dante's influence, or modelled after the *Divine Comedy*, cannot be seriously entertained. It belongs, in form, technique, and *mis en scène*, to the great class of French vision-poems, and from them and the Latin classics it derives most of its material, so far as this is not original with the author.

Yet, though the *House of Fame* is in no respect Dantesque, its relation to Dante, as all agree, is far more intimate than that of *St. Cecilia* or the *Tragedies*. The borrowed passages, though neither numerous nor extensive, are wrought into the texture of the poem: Chaucer has not merely appropriated them ; he has made them his own. And sometimes, without borrowing or imitating, he has taken a hint from Dante, and developed the suggestion in his own Chaucerian way. Not that Chaucer's obligations to Dante in this poem—his visible and palpable obligations—are large. On the contrary they are very small indeed, compared with his obligations to the classics for material and to French literature for both material and technique.[1] This may be tested by a simple experiment. Suppose we were forced to put the *House of Fame* in a group of two, the other member being either the *Divine Comedy* or the *Roman de la Rose*. We should not hesitate an instant to associate it with the *Roman*. No, Chaucer's real indebtedness to Dante in the *House of Fame* consists in nothing palpable or particular. It consists rather in the culture and stimulus and enlightenment that he could not fail to derive from studying the *Divine Comedy*, different as his genius was from

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indicates that the *Monk's Tale* was written when the *Canterbury Tales* were well under way" (*ibid.*).

The difficulty one has in accepting Mr. Tatlock's theory that the *Tragedies* was not written early and later inserted in the frame of the Canterbury Pilgrimage, but that it was really composed for the Monk, is only increased by the fact that this theory forces him to disregard the impression that the stanza about Bernabò makes upon most of us. If anything can be certain without documentary evidence, we may surely feel confident that this stanza was composed as soon as Chaucer heard of the tyrant's end.

It should be noted that, if we accept (as Mr. Tatlock does) the year 1386 as the date of the first version of the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women*, the mention of "tyrants of Lombardy" therein coincides very nearly in time with the indubitable date of the stanza on Bernabò Visconti, the " scourge of Lumbardye." This seems pretty significant.

[1] On the sources and technique of the *House of Fame*, see especially W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame*, Chaucer Society, 1907, where the French characteristics of the poem are well brought out.

Dante's in almost every way.    And even in this respect we must take care not to exaggerate Dante's influence, for Chaucer's evenings of study after office hours were not restricted to Italian.    He was broadening his literary horizon in all directions.    We no longer talk, as our ancestors did, of " learned Chaucer."    Yet, leaving Italian out of the reckoning, we see at a glance that Chaucer is much more learned in the *House of Fame* than in the *Book of the Duchess*.    Indeed, the allusions and references in the *House of Fame* are so many and so curious as to baffle the best scholarship of to-day.    It makes no difference where Chaucer got them,—from encyclopædias or anthologies or what not : he did not get them all out of one or two encyclopædias or out of one or two anthologies.    He had spent many an evening " sitting at another book" until his eyes dazzled.    He had been filling his head with information from various sources as well as cultivating his taste by reading Italian.    And, in particular, he had been studying the Latin classics.    Ovid he had long known, of course, but he had reverted to him just before he wrote the *House of Fame*, and he had recently read the Æneid, perhaps for the first time.    I need not pursue the subject.    The implications are obvious.    It is neither accident nor whim that we have to thank for the Eagle's description of Chaucer's studious habits.    The composition of the *House of Fame* was directly preceded by a time of reading and study, during which Chaucer, busy at the custom-house in the daytime, spent evening after evening over French, Latin, and Italian books. What he wrote in the meantime was not essentially different from the product of his French Period, though he was always growing. It included, besides many occasional lyrics, the *Tragedies* and the *St. Cecilia*,—perhaps also the translation of Boethius, which fits this studious time and must have been a powerful educating influence. And then, still in the Transition Period, came the *House of Fame*, —full of spirit and *verve* and conscious power, but not to be compared with what was to follow, in the Italian Period, when Chaucer had "found himself," recognizing Boccaccio as his proper guide.[1]

The *House of Fame*, then, is an earlier poem than the *Troilus*, —how much earlier we need not now consider.    For years I have

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[1] The Italian Period, in my sense, begins with the *Troilus* or the *Palamon*, whichever came first.    I am not yet ready to express a decided opinion on that point, nor is it of any moment in this argument.

believed and taught that this is the proper order. The *Troilus* is a great poem ; the *House of Fame* is merely a very clever poem. It is brilliant and spirited, and shows much liveliness in narrative and a good deal of humor ; but, by the side of a masterpiece like the *Troilus*, it sinks into comparative obscurity. To be sure, merit is not an infallible test of chronology. Common sense and experience alike teach us that a later work may often fall below the level of one that is earlier. But here there is no question of failing powers or an uncongenial subject or hostile circumstances. Both poems are ambitious,[1] both are written *con amore*, and both exhibit a high degree of technical skill. But the *Troilus* is manifestly indicative of greater maturity. The conclusion is obvious, and we cannot avoid it unless there is evidence to the contrary.

It is of no avail to assert in rebuttal that the appearance of maturity, in Chaucer, depends rather on the kind of subject than on the date of composition.[2] For maturity is indicated as well in choosing a subject worthy of one's powers as in treating it adequately after it is chosen.

There is no indication whatever that, when Chaucer began the *Troilus*, he meant to make a mere translation of the *Filostrato*, and that the project ran away with him, so that he produced a great original work. Indeed, the indications are all the other way. One has but to read (side by side with the Italian) the first thousand lines of the *Troilus*, which cover the period of about 700 in Boccaccio, to perceive that Chaucer took up his pen with a lively consciousness of what he was about.[3] Thanks to Dr. Young's recent investigations, we now know that Chaucer used the *Filocolo* as well as the *Filostrato*. Such use appears within the first thousand lines. Within these limits also, we find echoes from Benoit and Boethius, an important reference to Ovid's *Heroides* (with quotation), and a sonnet of Petrarch. These are not insertions or mere purple

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[1] It is not as if the *House of Fame* were a mere skit or brief *jeu d'esprit.* Unfinished as it is, it runs to 2158 lines, and gives no sign of stopping.

[2] See Tatlock, p. 18.

[3] Mr. Tatlock remarks that Chaucer " would have begun to work on the *Filostrato* . . . with no intention of expanding it " (p. 73). But the evidence is all the other way. The first thousand lines of the *Troilus* correspond to about 656 of the *Filostrato*, and that is a slightly larger expansion than the work shows as a whole (8246 lines against 5704). Mr. Tatlock remarks that Chaucer intended to finish his poem in the fourth book (pp. 67, note 1, 73). This, however, has nothing to do with his intention at the outset. It is wholly an inference (correct or not) from the proem to Book iv itself.

patches; they are, the sonnet excepted, worked into the texture of the whole, and even the sonnet is so introduced that we cannot regard it as an afterthought. Clearly, then, the varied materials that Chaucer expected to use, the freedom with which he intended to treat them, the plan and scope—everything essential to the structure of the work—were in Chaucer's head before he wrote the first verse. But this is not all. The most remarkable thing about the *Troilus*—that which gives it a well-recognized claim to be accounted a distinct novelty in our literature—is its profound and sympathetic knowledge of human nature and the subtlety and power with which it delineates character. The *Troilus* is not merely " perhaps the most beautiful long narrative poem in our literature " : it is a great psychological novel, and in this regard it is strikingly different from Boccaccio's romance. Griseida is charming, amorous, and fickle—essentially, however, she differs in nothing from the Briseida of Benoit. But Chaucer's Criseyde is one of the most complex and baffling of all heroines, yet perfectly natural and self-consistent even in her contradictions. Now it cannot be proved that Chaucer had fully conceived her character before he began to write—for its complete expression is possible, from the conditions of the problem, only in the later course of the narrative,—though it is clearly and firmly in hand no later than the early part of the Second Book. But one fact, equally significant, does come out beyond the shadow of doubt within the first thousand verses of the poem. The character of Pandarus—in which Chaucer departs quite as strikingly from Boccaccio—has a chance to express itself within the limits that we are considering, and it *does* express itself. Pandarus, in other words, was in Chaucer's brain, fully conceived, before he began to write, and we have every reason to infer the same of the other *dramatis personae.*[1]

Manifestly, then, Chaucer had in mind when he took pen in hand, not only the composition of an original work, in which other materials should be combined with what was to be taken from the *Filostrato*, but he had also in mind to write a novel of character, and he had the *dramatis personae*—who differ so strikingly from

[1] Of course I do not mean to deny that Chaucer's conception of the *dramatis personae* deepened and grew richer as the work went on—that is always the case with imaginative writers. But any such deepening or enriching does not make against what has just been stated. It appears, if at all, only in the intensification with which the character of each actor expresses itself in word and deed as the stress of circumstances tends to bring it out.

Boccaccio's—firmly and definitely imagined.   The *Troilus* comes of " entencion," not of "chaunce "; it is a deliberate creation, not a splendid accident.

Nothing, then, can justify us in regarding the *Troilus* as earlier than the *House of Fame* except definite evidence.   Is there any such evidence ?   There is not a particle.   Mr. Tatlock, to be sure, fancies that the passage on dreams in the proem to the First Book of the *House of Fame*, " looks greatly like an expansion " of that in the Fifth Book of the *Troilus*.[1]   But this is merely begging the question.   Each of the passages is appropriate to its context, and grows naturally out of the situation.   There is nothing to indicate which of them was written first.[2]   The idea that the treatment in the *House of Fame* is an expansion of that in the *Troilus* is shattered by the evidence adduced by Miss Cipriani, since the publication of Mr. Tatlock's volume, that the proem in the *House of Fame* is in great measure translated from the *Roman de la Rose*.[3]

The only other piece of evidence which Mr. Tatlock adduces is the mention of Lollius in the *House of Fame* among writers on the Trojan War.   Ten Brink was the first to urge this circumstance as proof that the *Troilus* is the earlier of the two poems, and Mr. Tatlock follows him.   Here again the supposed evidence is utterly ambiguous.   Assume that the *Troilus* is the older, and it follows that, in mentioning Lollius in the *House of Fame*, Chaucer was

[1] v, 358–85 ; Tatlock, p. 37.

[2] True, Pandarus' discourse is partly from the *Filostrato* and " grows out of the situation in the *Troilus* " (Tatlock, p. 37), but where is a discussion of dreams more appropriate or natural than in the prelude to an account of the most wonderful dream a man ever had (*House of Fame*, vv. 59–65) ?   To introduce a vision by insisting on the marvellous nature of the dream which one is going to describe is an obvious device, which Chaucer had already used in the *Book of the Duchess* (vv. 275–89).   By the way, I do not understand what Mr. Tatlock means by his remark that in the *House of Fame* Chaucer "dwells only on ill causes of dreams" (p. 37, note 3).   Devotion and contemplation (vv. 33–34) are surely not bad things.   And how about vv. 43–48 ?

| | |
|---|---|
| Or if the soule, of propre kinde, | And that it warneth alle and some |
| Be so parfit, as men finde, | Of everich of her aventures |
| That it forwot that is to come | By avisiouns or by figures. |

Nor is he right in saying that Pandarus dwells only on ill causes, for this is not the case in v, 372–7.   But the point is of no consequence anyway.   The *Troilus* passage is thoroughly in place, but no more so than the prelude, and it is idle to argue that either looks like a reminiscence of the other.   *Somnia ne cures.*

[3] *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXII, 586–8.   Vv. 11–12, 15–18, 24–31, 33–42 correspond rather closely to the *Roman*.

alluding to his previous employment of the name.   Assume, on the other hand, that the *House of Fame* is the older, and it follows that Chaucer mentioned Lollius therein merely because—for whatever reason—he thought he was a writer on Trojan history.   The second assumption is just as good as the first.

Unfortunately, however, it is necessary to dwell on the Lollius matter a little, for scholars have insisted on making a mystery out of it, and it is possible, therefore, that the complete ambiguity of the mention of this worthy in the *House of Fame* as evidence for the chronology of Chaucer may not be admitted without further discussion.

Who is Chaucer's Lollius?   Let us first see who he is *not*.   He is neither Petrarch nor Boccaccio.   He is simply the authority from whom Chaucer, by a perfectly lawful literary device—as common now-a-days as it ever was—pretends to have drawn all the material for his *Troilus*, as well that which he made up himself as that which he derived from the *Filostrato*.   Did Chaucer invent the name?   No, for it is a real name.   He found it somewhere.   Did he invent the idea that Lollius was an authority on the Trojan War?   It is extremely improbable, for there is a well-known line of Horace which, with the slight corruption of *scriptor* for *scriptorem*, afforded ample ground for the belief that Lollius was not only a writer on that subject, but a very great writer as well. It is, then, almost certain that Chaucer—whether he had seen the verse himself in a corrupt form, or had blundered in reading it, or had suffered a lapse of memory about it, or had found a statement in some book by somebody else who had done one of these things— really believed that there once lived a Lollius who composed a work on the Matter of Troy.   If this piece of erroneous lore—which, as we have seen, he might have acquired in any of at least half-a-dozen ways—came into his possession before he wrote the *House of Fame*, it was natural for him to utilize it therein when he was multiplying names in true mediæval fashion.   To object that such a reference " would be quite unintelligible " to his readers "unless the *Troilus* was known to them "[1] is neither here nor there.   In the first place, it is a pure assumption, for we have no reason to imagine that Chaucer was the only person who supposed that Lollius was a writer on Trojan affairs.   In the second place, even if it were admitted that the name was previously unknown to

[1] See Tatlock, p. 37.

Chaucer's readers, would that have made the passage unintelligible
to them? By no means, for the passage tells its own story.
Chaucer informs his readers that Lollius was an authority on the
Trojan War. What more could a mediæval reader ask? What
more, indeed, does a modern reader ask, unless he has the
scholar's artificially cultivated thirst for exhaustive information?
But that is not all. Mediæval writers were notoriously fond of
piling up names and citing authorities. Was it necessary—in
order to justify Chaucer in his own or his readers' eyes—that every
name he mentioned should be obvious and popular? Such a pro-
position would conduct us to preposterous conclusions. Did John
of Gaunt and his family know all about the Bret Glascurion and
Eleanor and Lymote and Atiteris and Eclympasteyr and Agaton
and Hermes Ballenus? Perhaps so, but some of these names are
puzzles to the best learning of to-day.

It appears, then, that Chaucer's use of the name Lollius in the
*House of Fame* and the *Troilus* implies, in all probability, his
belief that such a writer on the Trojan War had once existed.
Such a belief, in turn, was ground enough for Chaucer's numbering
Lollius among the worthies in the *House of Fame*, and also for his
employing him when, for whatever reason, he desired a literary
stalking-horse in the *Troilus*. No inference can be drawn as to
which of these poems is the older.

Clearly, then, neither the discourse on dreams in the *House of
Fame* nor the mention of Lollius gives any handle for the contention
that the *House of Fame* preceded the *Troilus*. Yet these are the
only bits of evidence that Mr. Tatlock adduces. True, he appeals
to the " orthodox " view, but he certainly does not mean to rest his
case on that. The current opinion, which we may call " orthodox "
if we like, is founded on the supposed allegory in the *House of Fame*
and on the theory that Chaucer looks forward to that poem towards
the close of the *Troilus*. Now the allegory is a mere fancy; it
rests upon nothing but air. Mr. Tatlock, though he is eager to
find arguments for putting the *House of Fame* after the *Troilus*,
dismisses the allegorical interpretation without ceremony. " All
attempts," he says, " to read a subtle personal or general allegory
into the poem seem to me worse than futile." [1] Nor is it any longer
possible to hold that Chaucer's wish, expressed near the end of the
*Troilus*, " to make in some comedye " forecasts the *House of Fame*

[1] P. 35.

or is in any manner fulfilled by it.    That theory is bound up with
the odd notion that the *House of Fame* is modelled on the *Divine
Comedy*.[1]    It has had astonishing vogue, but Mr. Tatlock frankly
abandons it, despite the fact that its acceptance would settle the
case in his favor.    With the vanishing of these two phantoms,
every conceivable reason for holding the " orthodox opinion "
dissolves into thin air, and we are left with only the criterion
of comparative excellence or comparative maturity.    This—in the
absence of all testimony to the contrary—is decisive.    So far as
we can tell, the *House of Fame* was written before the *Troilus*.

Let us now sum up the results of our rather long investigation
of Chaucer's doings in the Transition Period.    We have found that
from the time of his return from Italy to 1375, he was full of
business, and, during a considerable portion of that period, much
unsettled.    Then, during 1375 and 1376, we have a couple of
years of routine occupation, which left him his evenings—and his
evenings only—for reading, study, and composition.    We have
also found that—since there is no reason to date Gower's *Troilus*
passage later than (say) October 1, 1377, and since about three
months may be estimated as the time necessary for Chaucer's *Troilus*
to achieve popularity,[2] and since during the first six months of
1377 Chaucer was thrice sent abroad—the whole of 1377 is
accounted for, and therefore Chaucer's *Troilus* must have been
finished as early as December, 1376, in order to have been alluded
to—on grounds of obviousness and popularity—in v. 5245 of the
*Mirour*.    Thus only the time from January 1, 1375, to the last of
December, 1376—or two years—is left free for the composition of
the *Troilus*.    And, finally, we have found that three poems—the
*St. Cecilia*, the *Tragedies*, and the *House of Fame* must, in all
probability, fall within the Transition Period,—that is, the period

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[1] For a full discussion (and rejection) of the supposed allegory as well as of
the idea that the *House of Fame* is modelled on the *Divine Comedy*, see
Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame* (Chaucer Society, 1907), pp.
156 ff. (references, p. 156, note 1).    The Dante theory is vigorously combated
by Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 242 ff. ; cf. also Robinson, *Journal of
Comparative Literature*, I, 292 ff.

[2] This proviso of " obviousness and popularity " is vital to Dr. Tatlock's
theory, as he very clearly realizes.    Abandon that proviso and the hypothesis
that Gower's mention of " the story of Troylus and the fair Creseide [with *C*] "
was prompted by something that Chaucer had told him about the *Filostrato*,
or that Gower made the change from *B* to *C* of his own motion, and on the basis
of his Ovidian knowledge, at once asserts itself as an unassailable explanation
for the Troilus passage in the *Mirour*.

following Chaucer's return from Italy and preceding the composition of his first great poem in the Italian manner—whether it be the *Palamon* or the *Troilus.* Manifestly, all the time that Chaucer had for study, literary planning, and actual composition, from 1374 to 1377 or 1378 is accounted for, and more than accounted for. Indeed, Mr. Tatlock himself admits that it " is quite impossible to put between 1374 and 1377 a poem so long and showing such familiarity with Dante as the *House of Fame*," and that is, he says, the " chief reason " why he dates the *House of Fame* later than the *Troilus.* It is quite clear that only the most unequivocal testimony can justify us in assigning the completion of so mature a work as the *Troilus* to so early a date as 1376 or 1377. There is no such testimony. The sole evidence for such a date is a *C* instead of a *B* in Gower's *Mirour.* And that evidence, as we have seen, is susceptible of several explanations which free it from all entanglement with Chaucer's *Troilus.*

It is all a question of probabilities. Let us not forget that. Still, most questions that one has to decide in this life are settled on no better criterion than likelihood. And we need therefore feel few qualms in coming to a decision. What that decision must be, can hardly be doubtful. Mr. Tatlock has not made out his case. We cannot accept the form *Creseide* instead of *Briseida* in Gower as sufficient ground—and there is no other—for believing that Chaucer's *Troilus* was completed, or even that it was begun or planned, in 1376 or 1377.

Throughout the foregoing discussion we have taken for granted the correctness of the date—1377—which Mr. Tatlock assigns to Gower's Troilus passage. This is the latest year to which we can reasonably assign it, since vv. 2142–8 (about 3000 lines earlier) were certainly written before the death of Edward III in June, 1377,[1]—how long before, it is impossible to say,—and since the whole poem of about 31000 verses was finished by June, 1381, and probably some time before.[2] The earlier the date of the Troilus passage, the greater the difficulty of Mr. Tatlock's case. In closing, therefore, I must point out that 1377 is by no means an ascertained figure. For aught we know, the Troilus passage in the *Mirour* may have been written in 1376 or even in 1375. Still, I am content to rest the argument on 1377, the date which Mr. Tatlock prefers.

[1] Macaulay, I, xlii ; Tatlock, p. 222.
[2] See Appendix VI, below.

# APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX I.

SUMMARY OF BENOIT'S *ROMAN DE TROIE*, vv. 12931–21744, BEING THAT PORTION OF THE POEM WHICH INCLUDES THE STORY OF TROILUS AND BRISEIDA.

(The verses are numbered as in Joly's edition. Italics designate those passages which are not a part of the tale of Troilus and his love. Some of these passages, however, might be claimed, in part, for the Troilus story.)

12931–12986 (56 lines). In a conference between the Greeks and the Trojans with regard to an exchange of prisoners, Calchas asks for the restoration of Briseida. Priam agrees after an acrimonious debate with the seer.

*12987–13234 (248 lines). Same day. Magnificent appearance of Hector and his train.[1] Achilles addresses him in a bitter and threatening speech. Hector challenges Achilles to single combat to end the war. Achilles is eager to accept, but neither the Greeks nor the Trojans will allow it.*

13235–13830 (596 lines). Same day. Troilus, who is deeply in love with Briseida, is sad because she is to be sent to the Grecian camp. Lament of Briseida when she hears that she must leave Troilus. He visits her that night; they spend the night in grieving.—Next morning (13301) Briseida makes ready for departure. Long description of her rich attire. She takes leave of her friends. Troilus leads her horse. She is sorrowful, but by-and-by she will be comforted with a new lover; reflections on woman's inconstancy. Troilus begs her to be true. Diomedes and others receive her outside the walls, and Troilus returns to the city. Diomedes, who escorts Briseida, pays his court to her in a long speech, to which she replies discreetly; he continues to press his suit till they arrive at the tents. Briseida reproaches her father

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[1] This account of Hector and his train belongs to the second redaction (see Constans's edition, II, 277–8.)

for deserting the Trojans; he defends his conduct. The Greek chieftains pay her visits of ceremony. Before the fourth evening she had lost all her desire to go back to Troy.

*13831–14218 (388 lines). The truce comes to an end. A great fight (8th battle), in which, on the Trojan side, Hector and Troilus distinguish themselves particularly.*

14219–14431 (211 lines). Diomedes joins battle with Troilus " por la pucele " (14239), unhorses him, and sends his steed to Briseida. The messenger presents the horse in a little speech, telling her that it is a love-token from his master, and informing her how Diomedes won it. She replies, praising Troilus and sending word to Diomedes that he may expect reprisals. The battle continues. Polydamas unhorses Diomedes and sends his steed to Troilus. Troilus, armed with a lance on which is a *gonfanon* which Briseida had given him, plunges into the fight, and encounters Achilles, whom he comes near killing.

*14432–14926 (495 lines). Further account of the 8th battle, which lasted thirty days. A truce for six months. Goz cures Hector's wounds, in " la chambre de l'Ambastrie." Elaborate description of this chamber and its marvels (14583–14874). Paris goes hunting. The Greeks are tired of the long siege, but the young men like it, for it gives them a chance to gain credit with their* amies. *Achilles nurses his wrath against Hector.*

14927–15112 (186 lines). Diomedes gets no rest or comfort out of the truce, for he is tortured by love for Briseida. She, knowing that he loves her, is thrice as cruel to him on that account. Often he goes to beg mercy of her, but in vain. One day he asks her to return the horse that he had given her. She replies in a coquettish speech, taunting him with having lost his own horse, and suggesting that Troilus will win this one back if he is not careful. Diomedes replies seriously, and urges his love. She is glad, and gives him her sleeve to wear as a *gonfanon*. Her love for Troilus is *cassée.*

*15113–15547 (435 lines). The six months' truce is finished; twelve days of fighting ensue (9th battle); then thirty days of truce. Andromache's dream. She tries in vain to persuade Hector to keep out of the fight. At last Hector yields to Priam's supplication. The 10th battle begins.*

15548–15650 (103 lines). Combat between Troilus and Diomedes, the latter wearing Briseida's sleeve on his lance. The

combat is interrupted by the coming of Menelaus. Troilus is called off by Polydamas to aid the king of Frise, whom they rescue.

*15651–20056 (4406 lines). The 10th battle continued. Discomfiture of the Trojans. They rally, but are driven into the city. Hector renews the fight and wounds Achilles. Later, Achilles attacks Hector, who is dragging a prisoner "par la ventaille" (16169), and kills him. The Trojans are driven back again. Lamentation of the Trojans for Hector. Truce for two months (16565). Hector's funeral; description of his tomb, etc. Palamedes supersedes Agamemnon as Grecian leader; indignation of Achilles. End of the truce (16999).—More hard fighting (11th battle).—Another truce (17311). Achilles falls in love with Polyxena. His negotiations with Priam and Hecuba. Failing to induce the Greeks to make peace, he withdraws from all share in the war and forbids his followers to fight.—End of the truce (18455). Great (12th) battle; death of Deiphobus and Palamedes; Paris and Troilus set fire to the ships (18890) which are saved by Ajax.[1] Achilles ignores the request of the Greeks that he take part in the war. Agamemnon elected leader. Battle takes place next day (13th battle) (19077 ff.). Troilus puts the Greeks to flight. Next day the fight is renewed, Troilus performing wonders. It continues for a week (19360).—Truce for two months (19368). Another vain attempt to induce Achilles to take part in the war. Calchas persuades the Greeks not to make peace (19911 ff.) Truce ends. The next (14th) battle is advantageous to the Trojans. Exploits of Troilus.—The 15th battle begins within a week (20045) and the Trojans fight well.*

20057–20097 (41 lines).[2] Troilus encounters Diomedes and wounds him desperately, so that he is carried off the field for dead.

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[1] The account of the saving of the ships by Ajax ends with v. 18958 Joly (=18976 Constans). The attempt of the Greeks to persuade Achilles to fight, which is properly the next incident, is postponed by Joly until after the beginning of the 13th battle, because of an error in his MS. I follow the order in Constans, but use Joly's verse-numbers in citing, as usual. The following table make the difference of order clear :—

| Constans | Joly |
|---|---|
| 18976 . . . . . | 18958 |
| 18977–19087 . . | 19167–19277 |
| 19088–19294 . . | 18960 (18959 blank)–19166 |
| 19295 . . . . . | 19279 (19278 blank) |

[2] Vv. 20057–20064 in Joly are omitted by Constans.

Troilus addresses him "en reprovier": "Calchas' daughter, who, they say, does not hate you—It is her treachery to me that has brought this upon you," etc.  His words were well remembered both by the Trojans and by the Greeks.

*20098–20193 (96 lines).  The battle goes on.  Agamemnon wounded by Troilus.  Truce for six months at the request of the Greeks.*

20194–20330 (137 lines).  Grief of Briseida for the wounded Diomedes.  She can no longer conceal her love, but visits him often.  She upbraids herself for being false to Troilus, but resolves to be true to Diomedes at all events.

*20331–20653 (323 lines).  Time of truce.  Achilles, once more besought to help his friends, promises to send the Myrmidons.  New (16th) battle.  Troilus gains the day for the Trojans.  He is greatly honored.*

20654–20670 (17 lines).  Troilus is troubled at the thought of his love who has abandoned him.  Briseida is hated by the damsels for the disgrace she has brought upon them.

*20671–21012 (342 lines).  Love pangs of Achilles.—The 17th battle begins (20805).  Prowess of Troilus.  A brief truce.—The 18th battle (20867).*

21013–21175 (163 lines).  The Myrmidons are put to flight by Troilus.  Achilles rushes into the fight.  He encounters Troilus.  Both are unhorsed.  Their horses fall upon them, and Achilles is severely wounded by his hauberk.  Troilus captures his horse.  The battle continues for a week, and Troilus "le pris en ot."

*21176–21225 (50 lines).  Wrath of Priam and grief of Polyxena at the reappearance of Achilles.*

21226–21484 (259 lines).  The 19th battle.  Achilles is determined to be revenged on Troilus.  He bids the Myrmidons keep together and attack him.  Troilus discomfits the Greeks, but the Myrmidons surround him.  His horse is killed, and Troilus falls.  Before he can rise Achilles is upon him.  Death of Troilus.  His body is rescued by Memnon after Achilles has dragged it at his horse's tail.

*21485–21652 (168 lines).  Prowess of Memnon.  Achilles retires wounded.  The battle lasts a week.  Achilles, by the aid of the Myrmidons, kills Memnon.  More fighting.*

21653–21744 (92 lines).  The mourning for Troilus.  Hecuba's lament.

DATE OF C. T.                                                        F

## APPENDIX II.

### THE GENESIS OF THE TROILUS STORY IN BENOIT.[1]

BENOIT found in Dares a description of Briseida [2] at the end of
the portraits of the principal Greek chieftains. This was all he
knew about her, for beyond question he did not understand that
she was identical with Astynome, daughter of Brises, about whom
Dictys gives much information. Dictys does not use the form
*Briseis* (*Briseida, Briseidam*) at all, and therefore Benoit, not
knowing that *Briseidam* means "daughter of Brises," failed to
recognize in the Briseida described by Dares the Hippodamia,
daughter of Brises, of whom Dictys speaks. That he did not so
recognize her is shown by the remarkable fact (which has attracted
little attention) that, though he omits in its proper chrono-
logical place the account which Dictys gives of the capture by
Achilles of Astynome, daughter of Chryses, and Hippodamia,
daughter of Brises, and the narrative of the reclaiming of Astynome
by Chryses and the consequent seizure of Hippodamia by Agamem-
non, he nevertheless reproduces this whole account later in his
narrative. He brings it in as a part of the well-nigh interminable
speech made by Ajax Thelamon in his dispute with Ulysses over
the possession of the Palladium [3]—a dispute which replaces Ovid's
account of the quarrel over the shield of Achilles. [4] Ajax declares
that Achilles would deserve the Palladium if he were alive, and in
support of this assertion he takes occasion to rehearse the merits of
the dead hero. [5] Thus he reproduces in considerable detail the
account which Dictys gives of the capture of the two girls, of the

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[1] Compare the remarks of Joly, I, 287 ff., which contain many excellent
observations.

[2] The name occurs only once in Dares (cap. 13), and then in the accusative
*Briseidam*, whence Benoit derived his nominative *Briseida*.

[3] Vv. 26586 ff.

[4] Dares of course does not mention this dispute. Dictys reports it briefly
(v, 14–15), substituting the Palladium for the arms of Achilles. He does not
give the speeches of the rivals, though he says that "Ulixes cum Aiace
summa vi contendere inter se, atque invicem industriae meritis expostulare."
It occurred to Benoit to have recourse for material to an earlier part of the
narrative of Dictys.

[5] Vv. 26707 ff.

request of Chryses that Astynome be delivered up, of the pestilence, of Agamemnon's final yielding, and of the taking away of Hippodamia, daughter of Brises, by Agamemnon.[1] There cannot be a moment's doubt in the mind of anybody who compares Benoit with Dictys that the former derived his information from the latter. But Benoit had already inserted the love story of Troilus and Briseida—his own invention—and had represented Briseida as the daughter of Calchas the Trojan refugee. Evidently, then, he did not suspect that the *Briseida* mentioned so briefly by Dares and the *Hippodamia, daughter of Brises*, so fully dealt with by Dictys, were in reality one and the same. His error was natural—indeed, almost inevitable—and it was a fortunate mistake for literature, since we owe to it not only his delightful episode of Troilus and Briseida, but also Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, Chaucer's *Troilus*, and Shakspere's *Troilus and Cressida*. It would be hard to cite another example equally striking of the advantage which art may derive from absence of scholarship.

Briseida, then, was to Benoit a person quite unconnected with the story of Chryses and his daughter, quite unconnected with the wrath of Peleus' son. He could do with her as he would, and he chose to represent her as the unfaithful love of Troilus. Obviously he was prompted to this invention by three things,—the portraits which Dares gives of Briseida and Troilus,[2] the emphasis which Dares lays upon Troilus' valor,[3] and the feeling that so great a hero should have a love as his brothers Paris and Hector had. It should also be remembered that his sources, Dares and Dictys, provided Hector, Paris, and Achilles with very interesting lady-loves.[4] Two other characters on whose heroic qualities great stress is laid in Dictys and Dares are Troilus on the Trojan side (in Dares) and Diomedes on the Grecian (in both). It went against the grain for Benoit to leave these heroes unprovided with *amies*. But there was no interesting female character left for them in the sources except Briseida. Instead, therefore, of needlessly inventing a new *dramatis persona*, Benoit, by a happy inspiration, hit upon the idea of making Briseida love them both,[5] and the great story of

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[1] Vv. 26747 ff.  [2] Caps. 12, 13.
[3] Dares exalts Troilus as the equal of Hector in prowess (caps. 7, 30; cf. caps. 18, 20, 24, 29, 31, 32, 33). After Hector's death he becomes the leading champion on the Trojan side. In Dictys Troilus is barely mentioned (iv, 9).  [4] See also Joly, I, 274.
[5] Dares brings Troilus and Diomedes together in battle and makes Troilus wound Diomedes (cap. 31). Cf. Joly I, 293.

"supplantacioun" (to use Gower's word) sprang into existence. After all, the credit of inspiring Benoit is due in the last analysis to the celebrated "portraits" in Dares. These describe five women,—Hecuba, Andromache, Cassandra, Polyxena, and Briseida. Hecuba, Cassandra,[1] Andromache, and Polyxena had husbands or lovers. Only Briseida was left—the utterly charming Briseida, "beautiful, not tall in stature, a blonde, with soft golden hair, with eyebrows that joined, with lovely eyes and a graceful figure, soft-spoken, affable, modest, simple-hearted, affectionate." Such a girl could not go through the Trojan War without a lover.

Benoit's interest in Briseida, then, was roused by the portrait sketched by Dares. But Dares afforded him no further information about her,—except the inference that she was a Greek,—and Dictys, so far as Benoit could see, did not mention her at all. Benoit determined to make Briseida an important personage,—to invent a history for her. It is easy to see how his mind worked. If she was to be Troilus' love, it was natural to regard her as a Trojan; yet Dares had attached her name to a list of Greeks. It was natural, then, for Benoit to represent her as a Trojan woman who came in some way to be a resident of the Grecian camp. For this he had two precedents in Dictys,—that of Astynome, daughter of Chryses, and that of Hippodamia (whom Benoit did not recognize as identical with the Briseida of Dictys).[2] He might have made her—like Astynome and Hippodamia—a captive, assigned to one of the Greek leaders as a slave. But this would have been mere repetition; there were two slave girls in the story already,—and besides, it made her more dignified as well as more interesting to represent her as a free gentlewoman. Troilus was a hero comparable to Hector,[3] and Benoit was too good an artist to spoil his invention—when he had, as in this case, a free hand, not being hampered by any account of her in his sources—by describing Troilus' lady as a mere chattel. Hence he hit upon the happy idea of representing her father as a Trojan deserter or refugee, and of accounting for her presence in the

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[1] Cassandra is betrothed to Eurypylus (Dictys, iv, 14) and afterwards becomes the spoil of Agamemnon (Dictys, v, 13 ; Benoit, vv. 26195 ff.).

[2] The fact that these two were not, strictly speaking, Trojans need not be pressed. They were captives taken by the Greeks and were regarded as belonging, in a general way, to the Trojan party.

[3] Dares, caps. 7, 30 ; cf. Benoit, vv. 3972-6, 5417-23, 19893-904. See also Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne*, p. 76 ; Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, pp. 108-11.

Grecian camp by her father's natural wish to have her with him.
Of course she had to have a father, now that she was to be raised
to a position of dignity and importance in the plot, and to assign
to her in this capacity a Trojan refugee of high station was a
natural device. Here, too, Benoit was indebted to Dictys for
a hint. There was Chryses, a priest of Apollo whose natural
sympathies were with the Trojans, but who had to all intents and
purposes joined the Greek side, and this Chryses had a daughter
(Astynome) from whom he had been separated by the fortunes of
war and whom he wished to recover. Chryses, too, was a person
of importance who had served the Greeks very materially by
taking charge of the sacrifice of a hecatomb necessary, according to
the oracle, for the final success of the Grecian arms. But Chryses
would not do for Briseida's father, since he already had a daughter
of his own whose story Benoit intended to utilize—and did utilize
—when the time came. Benoit therefore had either to invent
a new character or to assign to Briseida as her father some
personage already in the story. The latter course was the easier
and the more obvious, and he adopted it. Both Dares and Dictys
told him of "Calchas, son of Thestor." Dictys represented Calchas
as a Grecian (Acarnanian) seer [1] and chieftain, who accompanied the
Grecians to Troy with twenty ships. [2] From Dares, however,
Benoit learned that Calchas was a Trojan [3] diviner, who, being
sent by his people to Delphi with gifts, consulted the oracle " de
regno rebusque suis," and got a response commanding him to join
the Greeks, and to urge them not to give up until they had taken
Troy. In the temple he met Achilles, who was consulting the oracle
on behalf of the Greeks. Achilles and Calchas compare notes,
and Calchas, obedient to the oracle, accompanies Achilles to Athens,
where the Greeks are waiting, joins them, is gladly received, and
accompanies them to Troy. Here was precisely the character that
Benoit needed for Briseida's father, and he grasped thankfully at
the idea. There was no difficulty in making the combination,

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[1] "Calchas, Thestoris filius, praescius futurorum " (Dictys, i, 15).

[2] Dictys, i, 17 (see Dederich's note, p. 394) ; cf. *Iliad*, i, 69–72.

[3] Dares (cap. 15) represents Calchas as a Phrygian ("dona propter Phrygas
a suo populo missus Apollini portabat ") ; but he seems to have regarded him
as a Trojan in the strict sense, since he says that he consulted the oracle " de
regno rebusque suis" and received command to join the Greeks and urge them
to stick to their task. At all events, Benoit so understood Dares. In
translating the passage he says of Calcas (so he spells), " Filz ert Testor [*var.*
Nestor] un Troïen " (v. 5813).

since, as we have seen, Briseida was the mere "portrait of a lady" in Dares and (as Benoit believed) was not mentioned by Dictys in any manner. For the combination, too, he had a precedent in the story of Chryses and his daughter. Accordingly, he adopted the account of the meeting of Calchas and Achilles as reported by Dares, and definitively put the Trojan seer into the position of a (blameless) Trojan refugee.

How well this fitted the invention which Benoit intended to introduce later comes out in a striking fashion when we observe that since Calchas, when he left Troy to visit Delphi on public business, had no idea of deserting to the Greeks, it follows that he must have left his family, if he had one, at home in the city. Thus the separation between him and Briseida comes about naturally, and the incident of his urging that his daughter be sent to the Grecian camp—so necessary to Benoit's purpose—is inevitable. Benoit, however,—who has great merits as a story-teller, which appear to good advantage in the tale of Troilus and Briseida, where, as we know, he had a free hand,—is careful to lay due emphasis on the motives which led Calchas to ask that his daughter be sent to him :

> Ne voleit pas d'ore en avant
> Qu' ele fust plus en lor commune,
> Car trop les het, ço set, Fortune ;
> Si ne vueut pas qu' o eus perisse,
> En l'ost o lui vueut que s'en isse.[1]

It appears also that Briseida has been in some danger since her father's change of sides, for Priam declares angrily that but for her beauty and excellent qualities she would have been " burned and torn to pieces "[2] on account of his treasonable conduct.

The more we examine the details of the Troilus story as devised by Benoit, the greater will be our admiration for the felicity of his invention and for the skill which he has used in fitting his novel fiction into the facts (as he regarded them) which he derived from his sources. He contrives to attach the new episode to his old materials without interfering with the integrity of the latter. The only point, indeed, in which he is obliged actually to *change* his sources (as opposed to *adding* to them) is in the trifling matter

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[1] Vv. 12960 ff.

[2] Se por ço non que la pucele
Est franche et proz e sage e bele,
Por lui [sc. Calcas] fust arse e desmembree (vv. 12977 ff.).

(vital to his new plot) of changing Briseida's nationality from Greek to Trojan.[1]

In one particular Benoit may be charged with an inconsistency. He introduces Briseida's portrait at the end of the Grecian list instead of transferring it to the Trojan catalogue, and he even emphasizes its position by saying, when he has finished the sketch,

> De ceus de Grece vos ai dit
> Les semblances, solonc l'escrit (vv. 5271–2).

But here he is simply following Dares, as his own words indicate. One might hold that, when he adopted this portrait, Benoit had not decided to make Briseida a Trojan—or, in other words, that the episode of the love of Troilus was an afterthought. Against this, however, must be alleged the convincing argument that Benoit has so modified Dares' portrait of Breseida as to prepare for her unfaithfulness:—

> Mout fu amee e mout amot
> Mes sis corages li chanjot (vv. 5267–8),—

verses which correspond to nothing in Dares,—and that further he has modified Dares' portrait of Troilus in such a way as to bring the two together in our minds and to foreshadow his unhappy love :—

> Ne fu sorfaiz ne outrajos,
> Mais liez e gais e amoros.
> Bien fu amez et bien ama,
> E maint grant fais en endura (vv. 5413 ff.).[2]

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[1] In this point he was really reverting to the older tradition, but he did not know that, in all probability. It is, of course, possible that, in an older form of Dares than that which we possess (a Greek Dares), something more was said of Briseida than the four or five lines of portraiture which our Latin text affords. If that is the case, no doubt Briseida's Trojan (or Phrygian) nationality was made clear. But there is no evidence that Benoit's text of Dares was different from our own. Indeed, we may congratulate ourselves that it was not. For, if Dares had told Benoit anything more than he does, he would doubtless have informed him that Briseida was the slave girl whom Agamemnon took away from Achilles. Thus Benoit would have been sure to identify her (correctly) with that Hippodamia whose story he tells (from Dictys). Under those circumstances, we may fear that he would not have hit upon the happy fiction that she was the love of Troilus, and the world might have lost the whole story of Troilus—in Benoit, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Shakspere. If he had known of the identity between Briseida and Hippodamia, he might simply have referred the portrait to the latter and passed on. Such speculations may seem pretty idle, but, idle or not, they serve to bring out in high relief what I believe to be an important point in literary history— the fact that it was the beautiful portrait of Briseida the unattached that gave Benoit his first specific impulse toward the invention of the Troilus story.

[2] Cf. Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, pp. 35–36.

The slight inconsistency which Benoit perpetrated in keeping Briseida's portrait where he found it makes no sort of difficulty in the reader's mind. When the time comes to disclose the Trojan birth and Trojan paternity of Briseida, Benoit ignores any difficulty, saying simply :

> Calcas li sages, li corteis,
> Ot une fille mout preisiee,
> Bele e corteise e enseigniee :
> De li esteit grant renommee,
> Briseïda ert apelee (vv. 12952 ff.),—

and the fact that Calchas is now among the Greeks allows the reader—if he happens to remember that Briseida has previously been put among them too, to correct his erroneous impression without any trouble.

As to Benoit's Troilus story, we may also remark that he found in a certain sense a prototype or suggestion for his Briseida and her fortunes in the history of Helen. As Helen was false to her Greek husband for the sake of a Trojan lover, so Briseida was false to her Trojan *ami* for the sake of a Grecian. If this is held to involve a frigid schematism,—as it does not, in reality, for the antiphrastic parallel is not brought out and is cited here merely as one of the obscure influences that may have been at work in Benoit's mind,—let us remember that in Henry VI we have a son who has killed his father and a father who has killed his son, and that Davenant and Dryden sought to improve the *Tempest* by so modifying Shakspere's conception that a heroine who had never seen a man (except her father) should be associated with a hero who had never seen a woman, " that by this means those two Characters of Innocence and Love might the more illustrate and commend each other."


## APPENDIX III.

### ARMANNINO.

THE treatment which the Troilus material receives in the *Fiorita* of Armannino (1325) is not without instructive suggestions. Gorra thinks that this curious version of the Trojan story comes from the *Roman de Troie*, but not directly. The immediate source was, he believes, a French work composed in Italy and

based on Benoit. For our present purposes, it is immaterial whether the differences between the *Fiorita* and Benoit are due to Armannino or to his predecessor.[1]

Benoit, expanding Dares, tells how, while the Greeks were at "Tenedon," Achilles and Telephus invaded Mese (*i. e.* Mysia), how Teutrans[2] (*i. e.* Teuthras) of Mese was killed and Telephus succeeded him, Achilles returning to the camp at Tenedos.[3] This story reappears in Armannino, but with strange variations. In Armannino, Achilles, with "Tellamaco" and Patrocolo, makes an expedition against three kings—Filomas of Neomasia or Neumasia, Aganor of Thrace the Greater, and Teutras of Phrygia, all of whom are killed.[4] Tellamaco succeeds to their kingdoms. Achilles returns to the camp, bringing with him Brisseida and Crisseida. Then follows an account of the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles.[5] Most of these peculiar features are immediately explained by referring to another passage in the *Roman de Troie*, —the speech of Ajax for the Palladium, in which he recalls his own and Achilles' services in the earlier days of the war.[6] This is mostly from Dictys,[7] and Benoit, instead of weaving it into the Dares material, has preferred to introduce it in a reminiscent way, without telling just where it belongs chronologically. Armannino or his predecessor, on the contrary, wished to make

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[1] For a careful discussion, with text of several chapters, see Gorra, *Testi inediti di Storia Trojana*, pp. 214 ff., 532 ff. For the date, see Mazzatinti, *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, III, 3–4.

[2] The manuscript variants (v. 6513) in Constans are instructive : they include *treutrans, thretaus, cheutrax, cetraus, centraus, cetlurus, treucier,* and *theucer.*

[3] Benoit, vv. 6489–6635 (from Dares, 16).

[4] *Neomasia* or *Neumasia* suggests *Moesia* (Benoit has *Mese*). It also reminds one a little of *Lyrnessus* (Benoit's *Linerse*), where *Astynome* (*Astronomen* in Benoit) lived (Dictys, ii, 17). These would be monstrous corruptions, but no stranger than *et Armoné* for *Eetione* (abl., Dictys, ii, 17) in Joly's text of Benoit (v. 26749), or *Cetlurus* for *Teutrans* (see note 2. above), or *Botrillancie* (v. 26661) for *Petyam Zeleamque* (Dictys, ii, 27). Note, too, Benoit's *Gerapolin* (v. 26731) for *Hierapolin* (Dictys, ii, 16). *Filomas* may be for *Phorbas*, king of Lesbos, who was slain by Achilles (Dictys, ii, 16 ; Benoit, v. 26725, calls him *Forbanta*, following the accusative in Dictys). *Aganor* looks like *Agenor*, but I do not know what he should be doing *dans cette galère*. When we get a complete text of Benoit with all the variants, it will be more satisfactory to guess about such matters as these. Meantime, it is clear enough that most of the materials which Armannino (or his immediate predecessor) needed for the campaign described are in Benoit.

[5] Gorra, pp. 551–5.

[6] Vv. 26586–918.

[7] For the general idea, see Dictys, v, 14 ; for details, see ii, 13, 16–19, 28–31, 33, 34, 47–52. Note, however, that Dictys does not actually report the speech. That was Benoit's idea, and he found materials in Dictys.

the narrative continuous. He suppressed the dispute over the Palladium, and attempted a combination of material. His *Tellamaco* is doubtless a mistake for *Telephus*, perhaps made under the influence of "Telamon," *i. e.* Benoit's "Telamon Aiax."[1] The exploits of Ajax in Thrace and Phrygia are combined with the campaign of Achilles against Teuthrans of Mysia and with other raids, and there is much transmogrification—intentional or otherwise—of proper names. The account of the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles over the captive maidens—which Gorra thinks is not in Benoit,[2]—is fully reported in Ajax's speech in the *Roman de Troie.*

Now in Armannino the names of the captives are not Astynome daughter of Chryses, and Hippodamia, daughter of Brises,—as they are in Dictys and Benoit,[3]—but Crisseida and Brisseida. For these patronymics, then, either Armannino or his predecessor was indebted to his knowledge of the classics, presumably Ovid's *Heroides* and *Remedia Amoris.* His use of the forms shows that he recognized Benoit's error in assigning Briseida to Troilus as an *amie. He met the situation by telling the story of the captives and by dropping the love-story of Troilus altogether.* Yet he adds an oddly undecided remark, to the effect that Achilles brought with him, on his return from his Thracian campaign, a wise diviner, who came of his own free will, and who counselled the Greeks faithfully thereafter. " One writer says," adds Armannino, " that this was Crisseida's father, . . . . whose name was Calcas; others say that he was a Trojan bishop whom Achilles found in the temple of Apollo when he went to offer sacrifice before going to Thrace, and who, knowing the future, wished to join the Greeks. Still another says that the father of Criseida was a priest named

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[1] "Aiax Telamonius" in Dictys (*e. g.*, ii, 18). Benoit has "Thelamonius Aiax" in v. 23493. "Telemacus" appears in Benoit as the son of Ulysses, but of course he takes no part in the Trojan War (vv. 28864 ff., 29719 ff., etc.).

[2] Gorra has overlooked the fact that Benoit included in Ajax's speech an account of the quarrel over the captive maidens. He remarks (p. 222, cf. p. 239) that Benoit, Guido, and Dares "non conoscono Criseida e non sanno nulla dell'ira d'Achille per la perdita di Briseida." This is true of Dares and Guido ; the former says nothing of the quarrel over the Palladium and the latter omits a great part of Ajax's oration (noting the fact, sig. n recto, col. 2). But of Benoit it is correct only so far as the mere patronymics *Criseida* and *Briseida* are concerned, for he makes Ajax tell the whole story (from Dictys) of "Astronomen [Astynome] fille Crises" and "Ypodamia" daughter of Brises (see pp. 66–67, above).

[3] With corruption of *Astynome* to *Astronomen* in Benoit (Joly's text).

Crisis."[1]   When we remember that Benoit makes *Briseïda* (not *Criseida*) the daughter of Calchas, this passage—which shows that the names were of interest and were discussed—becomes very tantalizing.   Benoit makes Calchas a Trojan diviner whom Achilles met in the temple of Apollo and who cast in his lot with the Greeks.   Of course Benoit does not say that Creseida is Calchas's daughter, for he mentions her only as "Astronomen [*i.e.* Astynome], daughter of Crises."   But a careless reader might infer that Calchas was Chryseis's father from *Remedia Amoris*, vv. 473–4 :—

> Quam [sc. Chryseïda] postquam reddi Calchas, ope tutus Achillis,
>     Iusserat, et patria est illa recepta domo,—

especially as Ovid mentions her aged father just before (" at senior stulte flebat ubique pater ") but has not told us that his name was Chryses.[2]

From all this tangle we emerge with three lessons in mind. They are (1) that at least one mediæval writer, who knew nothing of Boccaccio, *did* note the fact that Benoit had unwittingly told two contradictory stories about Briseida ; (2) that he came to this knowledge because he knew of Briseida in Ovid ; (3) that he decided that Ovid was a better authority than Benoit, and that therefore Briseida could not be the name of Troilus' *amie.*[3]


## APPENDIX IV.

### GOWER'S *BALADES.*

GOWER'S volume of *Balades* is dedicated to Henry IV, and there is every reason to think (with Mr. Macaulay) that " the collection assumed its present shape probably in the year of his accession, 1399."[4]   But it is impossible to agree with him in ascribing the

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[1] "Alcuno dice che costui fu el padre di Criseida, sicome di lei disse, el quale per nome Calcas fu chiamato ; altri dicono che fu uno vescovo troiano, el quale Achille trovò nel tempio d'Apollo quando andò a fare el sacrificio, prima che andasse in Tracia ; e sappiendo quello che avenire dovea del fatto, si volle tenere a' Greci.   Alcuno altro dice che il padre di Criseida fu uno prete, che ebbe nome Crisis " (Gorra, p. 555).

[2] For Chryses, see *Ars Amatoria*, ii, 399–405.

[3] See also the article of Mr. Wilkins, p. 2, note 1, above.

[4] *Complete Works of Gower*, I, lxxiii.

poems themselves to Gower's later years.[1]   In the case of such a
collection, there is always a strong antecedent probability that it
consists of lyrics written at sundry times and on different occasions.
Nor is there any reason to imagine that Gower's book of *Cinkante
Balades* is any exception to the rule.   The natural hypothesis is
that, toward the end of his poetical career, he selected such of his
*balades* as pleased him best, arranged them to a certain extent,
wrote others to round out the group, prefixed the dedication, and
added the address to the Virgin and the General Envoy.   A
scrutiny of the poems themselves is almost enough to establish this
inevitable hypothesis.   No. 2 is a Spring-song; Nos. 32 and 33
are New Year's Greetings; No. 34 and 35 are Valentines; Nos. 36
and 37 are May-songs;[2] Nos. 41–43 are addressed by a lady to her
false lover; Nos. 44 and 46 by a lady to her faithful lover.   The
question is not whether any of the *balades* express Gower's
personal feelings or were written, so to speak, for his own use.   On
this point every one may have his own opinion.   What seems
perfectly clear is that, as was to be expected, many, if not all, of
them are *occasional poems*, and that, so far as we can see, they may
have been composed at widely different times.

To be sure, we have them only in their collected form, but that is
not surprising.   Short occasional poems have a way of getting lost.
Nobody doubts that Gower knew what he was talking about when,
in the *Confessio Amantis*, he said that Chaucer had made "ditees
and songes glade" in honor of love, and that the land was full of
them everywhere.[3]   And we have the testimony of the Retraction
at the end of the Parson's Tale to the same effect,—"many a song
and many a lecherous lay."   Where are they?   Very few of them
have been preserved, and the reason is that Chaucer did not gather
them into a volume as Gower did.

Gower's own activity as a writer of love-lyrics before the

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[1] Compare ten Brink's remarks on the *Balades* (*Geschichte der Englischen
Litteratur*, II, 40, 102, 199, 624), and Koeppel's observations (*Englische
Studien*, XX, 154).   In his article on Gower in the *Cambridge History of
English Literature*, II, 154 (cf. II, 138), Mr. Macaulay seems more inclined
than in his edition (I, lxxii) to admit the theory of Warton that the *Balades*
were written early.

[2] So, possibly, Nos. 10 and 15.   No. 13 may have been written in March,
but the allusion to the changing weather of that month is proverbial.   A bold
conjecturer might guess that Nos. 6 and 31 had something to do with the
social amusement of the Flower and the Leaf, but here again the expressions
in point are perfectly conventional.

[3] First Version, viii, 2941–7, Macaulay, III, 466.

accession of Henry IV is proved, if proof be necessary, by two passages,—one in the *Mirour*, which was finished before June 1381, and the other in the *Confessio Amantis*. They may be quoted, though they are familiar enough.

Jadis trestout m'abandonoie
Au foldelit et veine joye,
Dont ma vesture desguisay
Et les fols ditz d'amours fesoie,
Dont en chantant je carolloie :
Mais ore je m'aviseray

Et tout cela je changeray,
Envers dieu je supplieray
Q'il de sa grace me convoie ;
Ma conscience accuseray,
Une autre chançon chanteray
Que jadys chanter ne soloie.[1]
(*Mirour de l'Omme*, vv. 27337–48.)

And also I have ofte assaied
Rondeal, balade and virelai
For hire on whom myn herte lai
To make, and also forto peinte
Caroles with my wordes qweinte,

To sette my pourpos alofte ;
And thus I sang hem forth fulofte
In halle and ek in chambre aboute,
And made merie among the route.
(*Confessio Amantis*, i, 2726–34.)

It is manifest, then, that no *balade* in Gower's collection can be pronounced " late," or " probably late," except on the strength of internal evidence, and there is no evidence of the kind in the vast majority of cases. Certainly, the allusions to Benoit's Trojan material which are found in several of these poems are no such indication, for we have seen that the *Roman de Troie* was one of Gower's favorite storehouses of lore and legend, and that he was very familiar with it before he wrote the *Mirour de l'Omme*.[2] Such allusions occur in Nos. 30 (Ulysses' return) and 43 (Hector and Penthesilea), and—in a fashion particularly interesting to us—in No. 20.

The purport of this " letter "—for so the writer calls it—is that Fortune's wheel, though said to be ever-moving, stands still in the writer's case : he has only ill-luck in his love. To emphasize the peculiar harshness of his lot in being thus *planté là*, he cites two examples in which one man's loss was another man's gain. Fortune acts normally, it seems, in general, but *his* evil condition must endure until his lady sees fit to have mercy upon him :—

Celle infortune dont Palamedes
Chaoit, fist tant q'Agamenon chosi
Fuist a l'empire : anci Diomedes,
Par ceo qe Troilus estoit guerpi,

De ses amours la fortune ad saisi,
Du fille au Calcas mesna sa leesce :
Mais endroit moi la fortune est faili,
Ma dolour monte et ma joie descresce.

Now the first of these examples is certainly taken from Benoit.[3]

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[1] The second half of this stanza will scarcely be taken by any one as evidence that Gower never wrote of love again !

[2] See pp. 4–7, above.

[3] For the election of Agamemnon to replace Palamedes, see Benoit, vv. 19027 ff. Benoit uses the word *empire* : " Nos n'i poons meillor eslire," says Nestor,

How about the second? One thing is immediately clear: it may
also be from Benoit, for it contains nothing that he does not tell.
What reason, then, is there for imagining that Gower, who certainly
drew from the *Roman de Troie* in the first example, did not draw
from the same source in the second, which he brings into such close
connection with the first? No reason whatever, unless we assume
that the *balade* is later than the *Troilus*. And what reason is
there for thinking that the *balade* is later than the *Troilus?* None
whatever, unless we assume that Gower is here alluding to that
poem.

It is quite impossible, then, to use Gower's twentieth *balade* as
evidence either for the early date of Chaucer's *Troilus* or for the
theory that the much-discussed lines in the *Mirour* allude to that
poem. What the *balade* does prove is that Gower—whether before
the writing of the *Troilus* or after—thought of the Troilus story,
which is in Benoit, at the same moment at which he thought of the
Agamemnon-Palamedes incident, which is also in Benoit. And our
knowledge of the ordinary processes of thought would lead us to
infer that, in this instance at all events, it was the Agamemnon-
Palamedes incident—the first example—which suggested to Gower
the citation of the Troilus incident—the second example.

But we may learn another lesson from Gower's twentieth *balade*.
According to Mr. Tatlock,[1] "in the Briseis narrative of Benoit, the
more substantial subject-matter is the Briseida-Diomed amour,
to which the Briseida-Troilus amour forms rather the proem;
whereas, in the Chryseis narrative of Boccaccio and Chaucer, the
main interest by far centres in the Cryseyde-Troilus amour, to
which the Cryseyde-Diomed amour forms but the sequel." Let us
apply this distinction to the stanza before us. Here, too, the
emphasis is strong on the Diomedes amour. If one were disposed
to imitate the keenness and subtlety with which Mr. Tatlock
conducts his case throughout, one might easily argue that Gower is
here following rather Benoit (on whom he is certainly drawing in
the lines that precede) than Chaucer. The inference might then

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"Qui si seit dignes de l'enpire" (vv. 19065–6). Guido, condensing heroically,
sums up Benoit's vv. 19018–76 in the following sentence: "In castris vero
grecorum de morte Palamidis planctus fit maximus et eius corpore tradito
sepulture greci conueniunt et cum sine ducis industria esse non possint de
consilio nestoris communiter acceptato regem Agamemnonem in eorum ducem
exercitus et principem iterum elegerunt" (sig. k 4, fol. 2 verso, col. 1). The
word *empire* shows whom Gower is following.

[1] P. 28, note 2.

be drawn that the stanza was written before Chaucer's poem. And then it would follow, as a logical certainty, that the writing and publication of the *Troilus* were not necessary conditions precedent for a mention of the Troilus story in the *Mirour*. Such a conclusion would spike one of Mr. Tatlock's guns. "If the reference [in the *Mirour*] is not to Chaucer's poem, the spelling with *C——e* is surprising; and . . . the occurrence of the reference at all is still more surprising."[1] The argument which I have just sketched does not account for the first surprise, but, if accepted, it effectually disposes of the second. However, I attach no importance to this argument, and give it only for what it is worth and to show, in Sam Patch's phrase, that "some things can be done as well as others." We have already seen that there is nothing to surprise anybody in Gower's referring to the Troilus story in the next chapter to one in which he refers to the physician who cured Hector,[2] and exsufflicate and blown surmises need not be resorted to.

## APPENDIX V.

### ALICE PERRERS AND GOWER'S *MIROUR*.

"MACAULAY points out that lines 22801–24 refer to the conditions at the end of Edward III.'s reign, especially to the domination of Alice Perrers:

> " 'Voir dist qui dist femme est puissant,
> Et ce voit om du meintenant. . . .
> Qe femme in terre soit regnant
> Et Rois soubgit pour luy servir.
> Rois est des femmes trop deçu, . . .
> Dont laist honour pour foldelit.'

This implies a date some time later than August, 1369, when Queen Philippa died, after which the *liaison* become more open than before. . . . But the passage may quite well have been written after Edward's death, June, 1377. It may reasonably be doubted whether Gower would have cared to express himself so fully and frankly on the king's shortcomings, before the king's

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[1] P. 32.
[2] See pp. 7–8, above.

death, in a poem meant for publication ; his other two great works were clearly meant to reach the royal eye. The passage simply expressed general contemporary conditions, and may well denote a foregone conclusion" (Tatlock, p. 220).

The verses omitted by Mr. Tatlock should be restored before this question is decided.

> Voir dist qui dist femme est puissant,
> Et ce voit om du meintenant :
> *Dieus pense de les mals guarir,*
> *Q'as toutes loys est descordant,*
> Qe femme eu terre soit regnant
> Et Rois soubgit pour luy servir (vv. 22806–11).

If Gower is really alluding to the domination of Alice Perrers over King Edward, the italicized verses certainly seem to imply that the king is alive, and his subjection a thing of the present. This is doubtless why Mr. Macaulay believed that the passage was written before the death of Edward III in 1377, and why he felt compelled to regard vv. 18817–40, which must have been written as late as 1378, as a later insertion.[1]

Still, it is unsafe to press details too much in a sermon which certainly has a more or less general application, and Mr. Tatlock may be right in supposing that the verses about kings and women were written after Edward's death.

# APPENDIX VI.

## THE DATE OF THE *MIROUR DE L'OMME.*

WHEN was the *Mirour de l'Omme* written ? Mr. Macaulay says that " we shall not be far wrong if we assign the composition of the book to the years 1376–1379."[2] Mr. Tatlock, " considering the great length of the poem," would " extend the limits to about 1375–81."[3]

Three chronological points are practically certain :—(1) vv. 2142–8 (2706–12)[4] were written before the death of Edward III, which occurred in June, 1377 ; (2) vv. 18817–40 (19381–404)

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[1] *Works of Gower*, I, xlii–iii.
[2] *Works of Gower*, I, xliii.      [3] P. 225.
[4] The figures in parenthesis allow for the lost verses at the beginning of the poem (" probably about forty-seven [twelve-line] stanzas ": Macaulay, I, 3).

were written after the beginning of the Great Schism in September, 1378; (3) the poem was finished before June, 1381, when the Peasants' Revolt broke out.[1]

Unfortunately, we cannot tell how long before June, 1377, vv. 2142–8 (2706–12) were written. In other words, we do not know when Gower *began* the *Mirour.* Sometime in the seventies, however, is a safe enough inference for the beginning of the work, and either 1375 (Tatlock) or 1376 (Macaulay) is, *per se*, a reasonable date.

For the *explicit* we have, it will be noted, a rather limited field for conjecture. Gower must have written the last eleven or twelve thousand lines of the poem between September, 1378, and June, 1381. Is there any way of determining how long before the latter date he laid down his pen?

This question cannot be answered, even provisionally, until we have made up our minds about the composition of the *Vox Clamantis.* Mr. Tatlock appears to have no doubt that the whole of this poem was written after the Revolt of 1381. This is certain for Book i, but there are strong reasons for believing that, in its original form, the *Vox* consisted of Books ii–vii, that these were composed before the Revolt broke out, and that Book i was a later addition. The arguments are given in full by Mr. Macaulay, and need not be repeated here. I do not see how any one can read the poem without being convinced.[2]

Books ii–vii of the *Vox Clamantis,* then, in all probability were composed before June, 1381. It follows that, between September, 1378, and this date, Gower wrote not only the last eleven or twelve thousand lines of the *Mirour,* but the 8000 Latin verses (in the elegiac couplet) which Books ii–vii of the *Vox* comprise. If we allow a year and a half for these 8000 verses,—which seems little enough,—we arrive at *ca.* January, 1380, as the most probable date (at all events, as the *latest* probable date) for the completion of the *Mirour.*[3]

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[1] Macaulay, I, xlii–iii ; cf. Tatlock, pp. 220 ff.

[2] Mr. Macaulay was strongly tempted to adopt this view in 1902 (see his edition, IV, xxxi–ii), and he seems to have become even better disposed toward it since that time (see his article on Gower in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II [1908], 144).
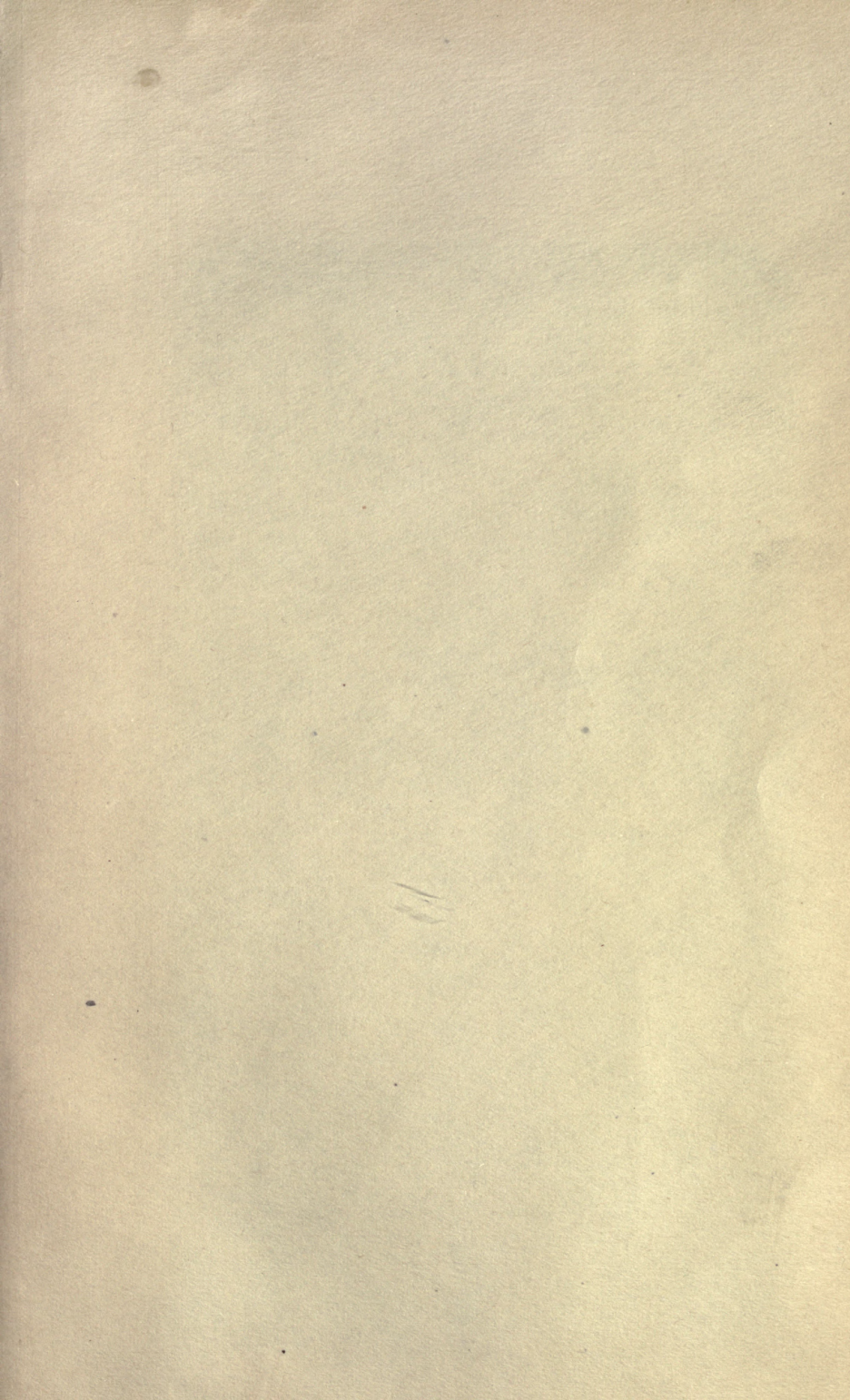
[3] Mr. Macaulay, it will be remembered, assigns the composition of the *Mirour* to 1376–1379. Thus, the result at which we have arrived by a consideration of the *Vox* accords exactly with the date which he sets for the completion of the work.
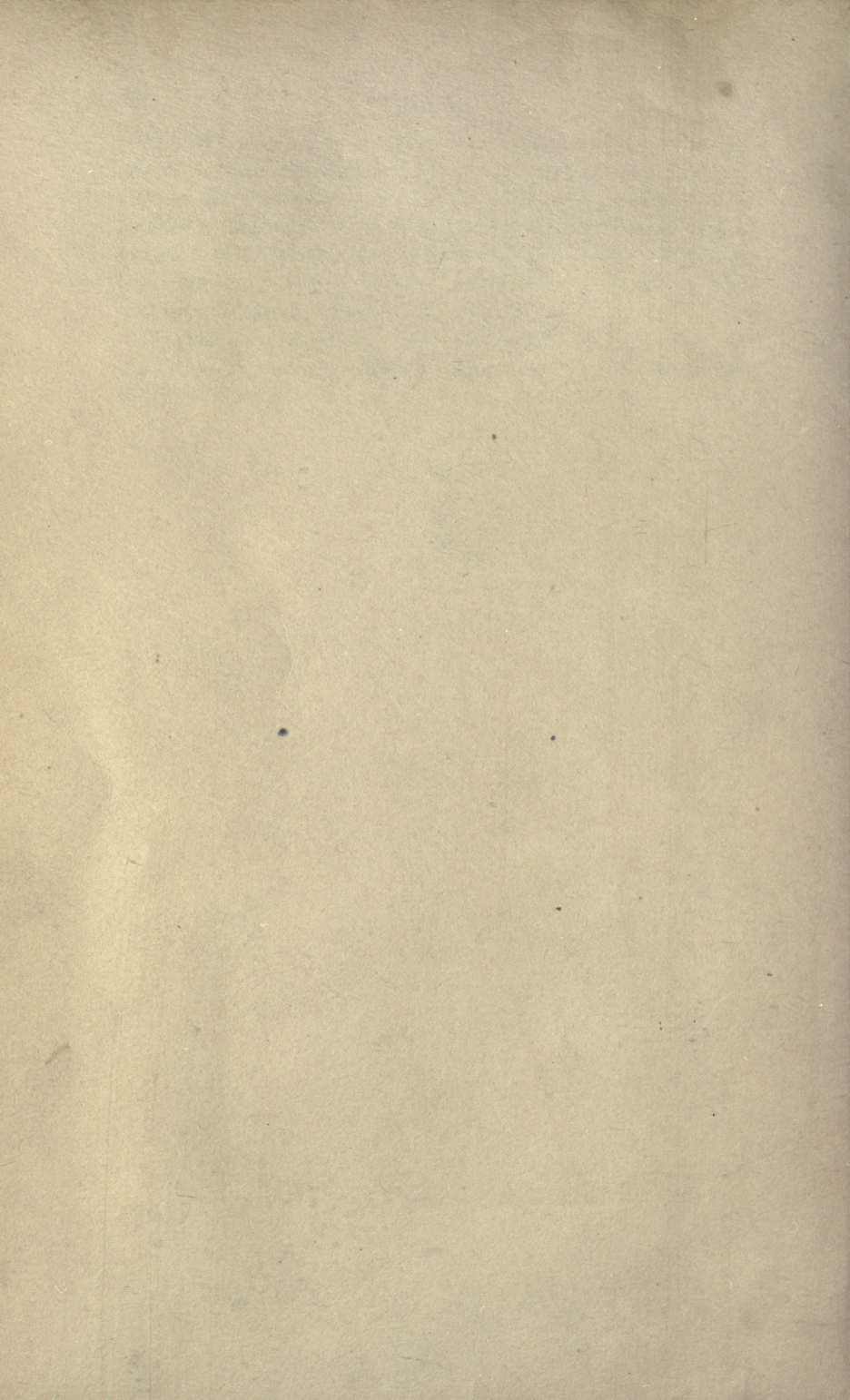
Now if Gower wrote eleven or twelve thousand verses of the *Mirour* between September, 1378 (at the *earliest*), and January, 1380 (at the *latest*),—that is to say, in a year and a quarter,—it is manifestly impossible to feel confident that the Troilus verses, vv. 5245–56 (5809–20) were written as late as 1377. If Gower began the poem in 1375 (as Mr. Tatlock seems to think), he may well have reached v. 5245 in 1375 or 1376.

It appears, therefore, that 1377, which is Mr. Tatlock's date for the Troilus verses in the *Mirour*, may be a year or two later than the facts warrant.