The Eight-text Edition of the Canterbury Tales
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WITH REMARKS UPON

The Classification of the Manuscripts and upon
The Harleian Manuscript 7334

BY THE

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As the present article contains results of a rather miscellaneous character, a short description of its contents is here given.

Pp. 1–18. This portion contains nothing new, and is intended less for present perusal than for permanent use. I here collect all that is valuable in the “Eight-text” (as explained at p. 1) in the way of Titles, Colophons, Glosses, Remarks, and Side-notes. The References to Authorities (pp. 9–18) are, of course, of very great interest and value; but they have long been known and were mostly familiar to Tyrwhitt, who made use of them, and they are largely quoted in the Notes to my six-volume edition of Chaucer. They are here, for the first time, carefully collected and adapted for handy reference.

Pp. 18–28. Here follows a line-by-line collation of the eight MSS. published by the Chaucer Society, showing at a glance, by means of Tables, the exact contents of each of these MSS. One object of making this comparison (besides the obvious advantage of it) was to test my theory of “The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales,” which it strongly confirms.

Assuming that the eight MSS. can be chronologically arranged in the following order, viz. Hn., Pt., Cp., L., Hl., Cm., Dd., E., we should naturally expect to find continual additions, so that Hn. (the oldest) would contain the least number of lines, and E. (the latest) the greatest. And such proves to be actually the case, when casual imperfections of the individual MSS. have been duly considered, as they should be. For example, the Table at p. 21 seems to show that Cp. and L. have fewer lines than any, as regards Melibens; but this is merely due to scribal carelessness; and the same remark applies to the Table on p. 26, where the omission of E 117, 143, 173, and the like, cannot possibly be taken into account as real; for no one can suppose that Chaucer ever wrote six lines only in a seven-line stanza! Rightly considered, the above order of the eight MSS. is justified by actual results.

By the phrase “chronologically arranged,” I refer, of course, to the character or type of each MS., not to the absolute date at which it was
Introduction.

written out. There is a wide and obvious difference between the two conditions. If we were to come across a sixteenth-century MS. containing a copy of the A-text of Piers Plowman, it would of course precede, "chronologically," every MS. that exists of the B-text and C-text.

If the reader pleases to look upon my theory of "The Evolution of the Tales" as being wholly imaginary, this will not affect the results given in the Tables, the usefulness of which ought, in any case, to be apparent. When I show, e.g., at p. 27, that the lines F 1–8 occur in MSS. Hn., Pt., Hl., Dd., and E., but are lacking in Cp., L., and Cm., I merely tabulate a fact. And the result is just the same, if any other order of MSS. be adopted. On the other hand, it will be found that the order which I have adopted is by far the most intelligible and satisfactory; probably (I think) because it is right. I adopted it, in the first instance, merely by way of experiment; yet it explains (in my view) nearly everything.

Pp. 29–36. Remarks upon the famous MS. Harl. 7334, regarding which the last word has by no means been said. I show that the Comparative Tables (pp. 18–28) certainly help us to understand it better, and bring into relief certain characteristics of it that will have to be considered. I also illustrate by examples, both its excellences and its defects. See pp. 23, 24, 32, 35.

Pp. 36–43. I here consider certain readings in MS. Hl.; with further remarks upon some of its peculiarities.

Pp. 44–55. I here discuss the "Classification of the MSS."; with special reference to the order already assumed, viz. Hn., Pt., Cp., L., Hl., Cm., Dd., E. This amounts to a re-statement of the same theory that I have already stated rather fully in my previous essay on "The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales," which seems, so far, not to have been properly understood; for which reason, I now draw attention, once more, to some of the more important results. But the present essay really goes a good deal further; for I have found the theory so illuminating that I can now explain many things that were formerly dark, and I now find hardly any difficulty left. Every fact, however minute, seems now to drop into its right place; and I find everywhere confirmation of it. The darkest point was the history of lines E 2419–F 8 in the Petworth MS., which I did not previously understand, but can now explain. See pp. 49, 50, 54, 55, 62–64.

I can easily understand why my theory of the "Evolution" finds but slow acceptance; for the facts are extremely complex, and it requires much patience to arrange them. For this reason, I reconsider
(pp. 46–52) the most difficult points presented by the problem of re-
arrangement, and discuss each "link" separately, in the hope of
making the results clear even to those whose patience or whose time
is limited. For the same reason I here give a brief summary of the
chief results. They will bear testing; but can only be properly
tested by such as can spare leisure for it.

1. Neglecting all the Tales but four, we find that MS. Hn. has
the following arrangement, viz. Man of Law, Squire, Merchant,
Franklin.

2. Here the Man of Law and Squire are not linked together. But
Pt. provides, as a link, the old Squire's Prologue (B 1163–1190).
This Prologue is extremely common, as it occurs in all the numerous
MSS. of the "Pt." type, and in all the black-letter editions. See
pp. 47, 48.

3. The same arrangement, with the same link, appears also in Cp.,
L. See p. 47.

4. But in the next arrangement, HL, this link was practically can-
celled; and consequently disappears from the "edited" MSS., viz.
Cm., Dd., E. See pp. 47, 48, 51, 54.

5. Next, as to the Squire-Merchant. These were linked in Hn. by
the old Merchant's Prologue (F 673–708). The same order, with the
same link, occurs in Pt. But in Cp. L. the Merchant is shifted away,
and this link wholly disappears. In HI. the link probably reappeared,
only the MS. is here defective; it certainly reappears in Cm., Dd., E.
In these it still follows the Squire, but now precedes the Franklin;
and the changes required by its new position are duly made. It is
now called "Words of the Franklin." See pp. 48, 49, 52, 54.

6. Next, as to the Merchant-Franklin. These were likewise linked
in Hn. by lines E 2419–F 8, the old Franklin's Prologue. In Pt.
this connexion was severed, and the link became, practically, unmean-
ing; but the scribes preserved it, in front of the Franklin, though the
references to the Merchant's Tale had become absurd. Various scribes
tried various devices for saving it; all more or less ineffective, but all
instructive to the student. What Cp. L. did with this link I do not
know; as these MSS. are here defective. But, in HI., Chaucer came
to the rescue himself, and settled the matter easily enough. Instead
of placing it before the Franklin, he placed it before the Squire, alter-
ing the allusions accordingly. And instead of placing it after the
Clerk (as in Pt.) he restored it to its old place after the Merchant (as
in Hn.), so that all came right. See pp. 49, 50, 52.
I have now accounted for all the links in the original sequence, viz. Man of Law, Squire, Merchant, Franklin.

7. But there is one more link, too important to be passed over. In L., the Merchant had been placed after the Clerk, but without a link. In Hl., Chaucer now supplied an entirely new Clerk-Merchant link (E 1213–1244) in a masterly manner. Of course Cm., Dd., E. carefully reproduce it. See pp. 51, 54.

These seven points give, briefly, the history of the four principal and variable links. It is not easy, but I can make it no clearer; though I give all necessary details below. However, at pp. 62–64, I quote in full all that is necessary for explaining the old Merchant-Franklin link, which became the new Merchant-Squire link (E 2419–F 8).

8. It is worth drawing attention to some of the merits of MS. Harl. 7334. See pp. 24, 32, 35.

9. I make, by the way, several Notes; especially the following. On A 8 (p. 37); A 60 (p. 55); A 686, 831, 1376, 2555–6 (p. 38); B 4377–80 (p. 39); F 1, 2 (p. 52); F 207 (p. 57); H 16 (p. 43); I 5 (p. 43). On nine-syllable lines; pp. 40, 41. And I give three new references; viz. to Gregorius, Epist. lib. x. c. 39, for G 120 (p. 17); to Persius, prol. to Sat. 14, for F 207 (p. 57); and Rabanus Maurus, Expositio in Prov. lib. iii. c. 29, for D 2012 b (p. 24).
The Eight-text Edition of the Canterbury Tales
with Especial Reference to the Harleian MS. 7334.

RUBRICS, GLOSSES, AND SIDE-NOTES.

By the "eight-text" edition I mean the eight MSS. printed in extenso by the Chaucer Society, i.e. the original "six-text" taken together with the separate prints of MS. Harl. 7334 and the Camb. MS. Dd. 4. 24.

In comparing the various MSS., it is by no means without profit to take into account the various Rubrics (i.e. Titles and Colophons), Glosses written over hard words, and the Side-notes which throw so much light upon the original texts which Chaucer consulted. The last have been, no doubt, well considered already, but I propose to give here, once for all, a complete account of them.

In order to facilitate reference and to give more concentrated views of the results, I shall, in general, treat each "group" separately from the rest.

CANTERBURY TALES: TITLES AND COLOPHONS.

N.B.—In quoting Titles, the numbers refer to the lines that succeed them; in quoting Colophons, to those that precede.

Many Titles and Colophons occur in the printed copies of the Eight-text edition. I denote the texts by the following abbreviations, viz.—E., Ellesmere; Hn., Hengwrt; Cm., Cambridge; Cp., Corpus; Pt., Petworth; L., Lansdowne; Hl., Harleian; Dd., Cambridge Dd. 4. 24.

I prefer in general to quote them in the particular order following, viz.—Hn. Pt. Cp. L. Hl. Cm. Dd. E. I believe this to represent the chronological order of the types of MSS. to which they belong. No doubt, Cp. L. really belong to the same type, but the former seems to be, in some respects, the more antique. In like manner, Cm. Dd. E. belong to the same type; but Dd. contains lines that are not in Cm., and E. is the fullest of all. Even if these assumptions are all wrong, the following enumeration of facts remains unaffected.
I draw attention to the fact that I wholly disregard results found in MSS. that do not belong to the Eight-text. For example, Dd. is frequently supplemented, in the printed text of it, from the Egerton MS. 2726; and the Canon's Yeoman's Tale (not occurring in Hn.) is supplied from the Lichfield MS. But it is obviously convenient, in the present account, to leave MS. Egerton 2726 and the Lichfield MS. (and other supplementary MSS.) wholly unnoticed.

After copying out in full all the Rubrics and Colophons in the 8 MSS., enough to fill some 16 pages of print, I found that not much is to be gained from the comparison of them, and that it is hardly worth while to give them. On the whole, I should say that, in this respect, the MSS. show a good deal of independence of each other.

The following is a specimen:

A3109. Hn. The prologue of the Milleres tale.
   Pt. & here byg[i]nne pe Prologue of pe Milleres tale.
   Cp. The Prologue.
   L. Incipit prologus Melendenarij (sic).
   HI. And pus bygyn[ne] pe prologue of pe myllere.
   Dd. The prologue of pe Millere.
   E. Heere folwen the wordes / bitwene the host and the Millere.

There is a tendency towards the formation of two groups. This is particularly marked in the side-notes to the Monk's Tale. Thus, at B3285, we find:—Hn. Cm. Dd. E. Hercules; but Pt. Cp. L. HI. De Ercule. At B3333—Hn. Cm. Dd. E. Nabugodonosor; but Pt. Cp. L. HI. De rege Nabugodonosor.

As in nearly all other respects, Cp. L. are thus very closely allied. For example, at B3573, we find—Cp. Bertheun Claykyn. Olyuer Mawny; L. Betelmewe Cleykeynne. Oliuer Mawnye; where the rest have no side-note. But the most amazing instance is at F347, where we find—Pt. Explicit prima pars. The stag of an hert; Cp. Explicit prima pars. The stag of an hert. Here, as the stag of an hert has nothing whatever to do either with the Squire's Tale or with Chaucer, it can only have arisen from the copying of an idle scribble on the margin of a MS. But it links together these two MSS. by a bond that cannot be broken.

The following are some points of interest.
The Knight’s Tale was at first divided into three parts. After A1880, Hn. has—Explicit prima pars; Incipit pars secunda. After A2742, Hn. has—Explicit secunda pars; Incipit pars tercia & ultima. But E. divides it into four parts, as in my edition, viz. after lines 1354, 1880, and 2482.

A4422. Hn. Of this Cokes tale maked Chaucer na moore; Dd. Sic desinit fabula Coci.

The Man of Law’s Tale is divided into three parts, viz. after B385 and B875, not only in E., but in Dd. also. Dd. and E. are closely allied.

B1163. Pt. And here bygynne ðe prologue of ðe sqwiere; L. Incipit prologus Armigeri; Cp. (no title). The fact is that B1163–1190 constituted a Squire’s Prologue in the “Petworth” and “Lansdowne” schemes, as already shown in my essay on “The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales,” pp. 15, 17. The same 28 lines also form the Squire’s Prologue in both editions of Caxton1 and in that by Thynne. In the “Harleian” scheme they became useless, and should have been suppressed; and in fact they are left incomplete. In Hn. Cm. Dd. E. they of course do not appear at all. The assignment of this Prologue to the Shipman (as in MS. Arch. Seld. B.14, a MS. which misarranges the Tales more than usual) is merely a later device for preserving the lines, and has no connexion with Chaucer.

B1190. After this line there is a distinct break in all the MSS. of the Eight-text. Hn. places the Shipman’s Tale after the Pardoner’s, which is its almost invariable place in nearly all the MSS., in both editions by Caxton, in that by Wynkyn de Worde, 1498 (which, as far as the Tales are concerned, follows the “Harleian” order throughout), and in all the black-letter editions that follow Thynne.

The most explicit statement as to the position of the Shipman’s Tale is in Dd., which has—Here bigynneth the Shipmans Tale / next folowyng the Pardoner.

B1902. Hn. Cm. E. Here bigynneth Chaucers tale of Thopas; Pt. Here bygynne ðe tale of chaucre by Sire Thopase; Cp. Here bygynneth ðe tale of Chaucer of Sire Thopas. The form in Pt. is in striking contrast with the modern idiom, which requires “the tale of Sire Thopase by Chaucer.”

1 The arrangement in Caxton’s first edition is the same as that in the “Petworth” scheme and in Thynne, as noted by Dr. Furnivall. But Caxton’s second edition has a most unusual arrangement, as it places the Merchant after the Man of Law. Nevertheless, B1163–1190 follows the Merchant’s Tale as a Squire’s Prologue.
B3181. Dd. & bigynneth þe Monkes tale / þat is titled de casibus virorum Illustrium : Chaucer. Cp. L. E. also allude to this Latin title.

D829. Hl. Here makith þe frere an interpretacion (!) of þe wyfes tale ; Dd. Heere maketh the Frere an interempcioun (!) of the wyues tale. "Interruption" is meant, though the earliest sense of the word in this sense is given in the N. E. D. as occurring in Caxton in 1489. Interemption, i.e. slaughter, is recorded in 1656. E. has—Biholde the wordes bitwene the Somonour and the Frere.

The Clerk’s Tale. Divided by Hn. into five parts; see E197, 449, 610, 785. Most of the MSS. recognise a similar division. There is no Pars Sexta in the MSS.

E1212. Here follows, in Hn. Cm. Dd. E. a seven-line stanza—sometimes called the "Host-stanza"—which Pt. Cp. L. Hl. omit; and it was never put to use as a link. E. alone has a Title and Colophon to this stanza, and Dd. only a Colophon; as follows:

E. Bihoold the murye wordes of the Hoost. E. Heere endeth the tale / of the Clerk of Oxenford; Dd. Sic desinit fabula Clerici. This stanza was superseded in Hl. by the new Merchant's Prologue (E 1213–44), whereby a new and permanent link with the Clerk’s Tale was established, viz. by making 1. 1213 an echo of 1. 1212.


There is no real contradiction here. The lines E2419–2440 and F1–8, which in the Hengwrt MS. formed a Franklin’s Prologue (because the Franklin’s Tale then followed) were in the "Harleian" scheme converted into a Merchant’s Epilogue and a Squire's Prologue (because the Squire’s Tale then came next); and this "Harleian" scheme was adopted (very nearly) by the "edited" MSS., to which Dd. and E. belong. It is essential to notice that, in all cases, E2440 was immediately followed by F1; or, in other words, there neither was, nor is, any break between Groups E and F. These two Groups are really but one.

G1. Here Dd. has the remarkable heading:—& bigynneth the Secund Nonnes Tale of Seynt Cecile with-oute a Prologe; whereas E. has—The prologue of the Seconde Nonnes Tale. Yet both are right; for "The Prologe" in lines 1–28 is only a Proem or poetical introduction to the "Life"; and by no means such a Prologue as many of the other Tales are provided with. We are not even told who "the
Second Nun" really was, nor does the worthy Host say anything to introduce her.

G971. At this point Pt. L., as well as E., divide the Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale into two parts.

**Glosses and Remarks in the Eight-Text.**

Of these I have compiled a sufficiently complete list, for future reference. Of course many of them are of little value; but some may be due to Chaucer himself; and we ought to have, in a convenient form, everything of this kind that the MSS. can give us. It is easy to skip them.

**Group A.—**


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1 A correction: all the other 7 MSS. read at pale (Hn. a pale, by error).
2 Hence Pt. Hl. Cm. (which read for only) are wrong.


Besides these remarks on Melibeus, Dd. has Nota at 2337, 2348, 2374, 2382, 2629, 2645, 2702, 2706, 2749, 2769, 2829, 3056; and at 2605, Nota & caue. E. has a large number of references to authorities, but they tell us no more than is in the text. I also note the following:—2220. E. Nota de Judicibus & eorum Iudicis. 2276. E. Of .iiij. thynges pat dryuen a man out of his hous. 2311. E. Of .iiij. thynges pat been contrariouse to good conseil. 2339. E. How a man shal tellen his conseil. 2363. E. Of conseilours pat a man oghte to eschue. 2392. E. How a man shal examine his conseilours after the doctrine of Tullius. 2414. E. How a man may chaunden his conseilours with-outen repreue. 2527. E. Nota / of the strongeste garnisone that may be. 2594. E. In libro decretalium. 2801. E. Vnde versificator.


¹ A correction; the other 7 MSS. have clerkes.


¹ A slight mistake; May 3 is meant.
² Probably once also in Cp. 38, 46, 56; but a leaf is cut out of Cp. after l. 32.


**Group I.**—81. E. Nota de penitence. 84. E. What Penitence is. 89. E. Nota. 94. Hn. has tene over siker (by mistake), and certum over wey (by mistake); E. has tene over taak, and certum over siker (correctly). 96. E. The firste accioun of penitence. 99. E. The .ijde. accioun of penitence. 100. E. The .ijde. accioun of penitence. 102. Hn. E. have species over speces.

[E. has a large number of side-notes and references, but they merely repeat expressions and references that are given in the text itself, and are therefore omitted. Cp. (which ends at l. 290, repeats a few references given in the text. Besides these, I find only the following.]

125. Hl. Dilexi legem tuam, &c. 133. Hl. Sex sunt cause que mouent hominem ad contricionem. 284. Cm. .vj.a* 588. Hn. Mathee 5to Nolite iurare omnino (here inserted in the text, but only in the margin of E., and not in the rest at all). 592. Hn. Iurabis in uerita[te] in iudicio & in iusticia (in the text of Hn., but in the

¹ The right reference is to l. 14 of the Prologus of the Satires of Persius:—Cantare credas Pegaseum nectar. So that Chancer made a sb. Pegaseus out of this adjective. See p. 57 below.
References to Authorities.


295. Hn. Pt. Cp. L. Dd. E. Vnde Ptolomeus libro .i.° capitulum 8°. ⁵ Primi motus celi duo sunt / quorum vnus est qui mouet totum semper ab Oriente in Occidentem vno modo super orbis &c. / Item aliter vero motus est qui mouet orbem stellarum currenium contra motum primum videlicit ab Occidente in Orientem super alios duos polos &c. [Hn. omits Primi and mouet totum, inserting here celum, and omits modo; Pt. Philomeus—& (for in); Cp. Philomeus; L. Tholomeus; Dd. x° (for 8°)].


¹ Statius, Thebaid. xii. 519, 520.
² Boethius, De Cons. Phil. lib. iii. met. 12.
³ But it is not from Ovid; nor in "Pamphilus and Galatea."
⁴ The world was formerly divided into these three parts; Orosius, lib. i. c. 2; Higden, Polychronicon, lib. 1. c. 6 (following Augustine, De Civitate Dei, lib. 16. c. 8).
⁵ Bernardus Silvestris, Megacosmos, § iii. 1. 37 (see my note).
dana igitur [Pt. Cp. ergo] felicitas multis amaritudinibus est respersa: extrema gaudij luctus occupat / Aud irgo salubre consilium in die bonorum ne inmemor sis malorum.¹


1764 (rather 1770). Hn. Dd. Legamus apocolapsim Iohannis & ibi reperimus agnum super montem syon & cum illo exiliijor millia signatorum &c. qui cantant canticum novum &c. Isti sunt qui cum mulieribus se non coquinauerunt virgines autem permanerunt / Hii sunt qui secuntur agnum quocunque vadit &c.⁸

1817. Hn. Dd. Rachel plorans filios suos & noluit consolari &c.⁹

1828. Hn. Dd. de puero qui cantauit de gloriosa virgine.

  de maria qui quid sciuat  
  puer cantans enutrit  
  hunc Iudeus nequam stratuit  
  domo sua quem humauit  
  Mater querens hunc vocauit  
  hie in terra recantauit

  } Maternam inopiam
  } Diram per Inuidiam
  } Solita preconia

¹ From Innocent III., De Contemptu Mundi, lib. i. c. 23. Extrema ... occupat is from Prov. xiv. 18. In die ... malorum is from Ecclus. xi. 27 (Vulgate).
² From Innocent (as above), lib. ii. c. 19. Nullum ... ebrietas is from Prov. xxxi. 4 (Vulgate). See my note.
³ From Innocent III. (as above), lib. ii. c. 21. See my note.
⁴ A mane ... tempus is from Ecclus. xviii. 26; tenent ... organi is from Job xxi. 12. See my note.
⁵ From Innocent III. (as above), lib. i. c. 22. See my note.
⁶ Ps. viii. 1.
⁷ Ps. viii. 2.
⁸ Rev. xiv. 3, 4.
⁹ Matt. ii. 18.
References to Authorities.

Puer liber mox exuitt \} Iudeos &c.
Mortis reos lex punuitt

Melibeus.—2166. Hl. Dd. E. Ouidius de remedio amoris.\(^1\) 2174. L. Senec; Dd. E. Seneca.\(^2\) 2179. Hl. Dd. Apostolus ad romanos; E. Apostolus Paulus ad Romanos.\(^3\)


3917. Hl. leuitici capitulo .ij\(^o\) de spiritu phitonisse habendo octos' iij\(^o\) libro Regum capitulo primo [see l. 3938].\(^6\)


1 Ovid, Remed. Amoris, 127-130.
2 Seneca, Epist. 74, § 29.
3 Rom. xii. 15.
4 Alluding to vasa ; Daniel v. 2; 2 Chron. (4 Kings) xxv. 14.
5 Judith iv. 7.
6 The right references are to Levit. xx. 27, and 1 Sam. xxviii. 7.
7 Proving that the reference is to Cicero, De Divinatione, lib. i. c. 27. See my note.
8 The reference is to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
9 Ovid, Metam. x. 247.
10 See my note.
Canterbury Tales (Eight-text).


1 Flügel has shown, in Anglia, xviii. 133, that this passage and that at I. 327 occur in an edition of Ptolemy's Almagest printed at Venice in 1515.


1 These Latin notes are quotations from Petrarch's version.

References to Authorities.

17
censa vrbe cum se cerneret a Romanis capienda &c. [see my note]. 1405. E. primo ponam lucreciam / quae violate pudicie nolens super-
uivere maculam corporis cruore deleuit [see note]. 1409. E. Quis valet
silencio preterire vij. Milesias virgines que Gallorum &c. [see note].
1414. E. Senapho in Ciri maioris scribit / infancia occiso Habradate
&c. [see note]. 1426. E. Democionis Ariopagitarum principis virgo
filia &c. [see note]. 1428. E. Quo ore laudande sunt Cedasii filie &c. [see
note]. 1431. E. Nichanor victis Thebis vnius captive virginis [amore]
superatus est [see note]. 1434. E. Narrant scriptores Grecie & ailiam
Thebanam virginem &c. [see note]. 1437. E. Quid loquar Nicerati con-
jugem pie [read que] impacienis iniurie viri mortem &c. [see note].
1439. E. Alcebiades ille Socraticus victis &c. [see note]. 1442. E.
Alcesten fabule ferunt pro marito Adameto sponte defunctam / et
Penelopes pudicia Omeri carmen est [see note]. 1445. E. Lacedomia
[read Laodamia] quoque poetarum ore cantatur occiso apud Troian
Protheselao &c. [see note]. 1448. E. Porcia sine Bruto viuere non
potuit [see note]. 1451. E. Arthemisia quoque vxor Mauseoli insignis
pudiijjs fuisset perhibetur &c. [see note]. 1453. E. Teuta / Illi[ri]cor-
um Regina &c. 1455. E. Mem. strato regulus. Vidi et omnes pene
Barbares [sic] ca. .xxvjº. primi [libri]. Item Cornelia &c. Imitentur
ergo nupste Theanam / Cleobiliam / Gorgun[tem] / Thymodiam
Claudias atque Cornelias / in fine libri primi [see note]. 1465. Hn.
Dd. E. [Hn. 1395 ; Dd. 1392]. Singulas has historias et plures hanc
materiam concernentes recitat beatus Ieronimus contra Ioquinianum
in primo suo libro cap. 39. [i. e. all these stories and many more, are from
Jerome against Jovinian, bk. i.]

Group G.—85. Hn. Dd. E. Interpretatio nominis Cecilie · quam
ponit frater Iacobus Ianuensis in legenda aurea. 120. Hn. Dd. Gre-
gorius in registro [Epist.] libro. 10. Ad Eulogium patriarcham scribit /.
Indicamus preterea quia grauem hic interpretum difficultatatem patimus /
dum enim non sunt qui sensum de sensu exprimant / set transferre
semper verborum proprietatem volunt omnes dictorum sensum con-
fundunt &c. [Epist. l. x. c. 39 ; see Migne, Patriologia, vol. 77, col.
1099.] 645. Dd. E. Omne quod est nimium &c. [see note]. 688. E.
Cato ; Cm. Concios esse sibi [Dion. Cato, lib. i. dist. 17]. 745. E.
Solacium miserorum (sic) &c. [see note]. 962, 964. Cm. E. Non
teneas Aurum &c. ; E. Nec pulcrum pomum &c. [see note].

Group H.—147. Hn. Verum quid prodest / diligens custodia cum
vxor impudica seruari non possit, pudica non debeat / feda enim
custod[ia] est castitatis necessitas / pulera certe adamatur / feda facile
concupiscit. Difficile custoditur quod plures amant [see note]. 338.  

Cm. In multiloquio non deest peccatum. [Prov. x. 19].


**Comparison of the Eight MSS., as regards their Contents.**

**Group A.**

I here give some account of the lines in Group A respecting which the MSS. show the most variation; inasmuch as they are retained in some of them, but omitted in others. The horizontal line (—) denotes that the MS. retains the line or lines in question; the blank space denotes their omission. The square brackets [ ] denote that the MS. is mutilated or defective. Hn. = Hengwrt MS.; Pt., Petworth; Cp., Corpus; L., Lansdowne; Hl., Harleian 7334; Cm., Cambridge Gg. 4. 27; Dd., Cambridge Dd. 4. 24; E., Ellesmere.

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I beg leave to append the following notes. 252 b, c, are also in Thynne. It seems possible that Chaucer really meant to delete these lines, in order to connect l. 253 with l. 252 more closely.
Comparison of the MSS.

The omission of 4375–6 in HI. must be due to some blunder.

As none of the other lines appear in the Hengwrt MS., and as their omission does not impair the sense, it is possible that they were additions; indeed, 3155–6 and 3721–2 seem to be comparatively late additions. They all appear to be genuine.

Besides the above, there are many deficiencies or omissions in individual MSS. Several of these are obviously due to the scribe missing his place on account of the repetition of words. I append a list of these omissions, with some remarks. I denote defects or mutilations (very numerous and serious in Cm. and Dd.) by the use of square brackets; and I purposely ignore omissions in such additional MSS. as are used to supply gaps in the Eight-text.


Group B; Part I. (1–1162).

The MSS. of the Eight-text all agree, except for a few defects, as below.

[1–9]. Cm. defective. [82–133]. Cm. defective. 417 (in a stanza); HI. omits by mistake. [530–710]. Dd. defective. 579 (in a stanza); L. omits by mistake. 873 (in a stanza); L. omits by mistake.

Group B; Part I. (1163–1190).

1163–1190. Called the Shipman’s Prologue; but not recognised as such in the Eight-text. Hn. Cm. Dd. E. all omit it. In Pt. Cp,
L. it is a Squire's Prologue. The treatment of it in Hl. is remarkable; line 1175 is omitted, but a blank space is left for it; and in l. 1179, Squiere has been altered to Sompnour. But as this was unsuitable for l. 1190, the "Prologue" comes to a sudden end at l. 1185, without completing the sentence or providing a rime for telle. It thus became practically useless, and should have been cancelled. But as in MS. Arch. Selden B. 14 the Man of Law's Tale was (quite exceptionally) followed by the Shipman's Tale, it was used in that MS. as a Shipman's Prologue, for which there is no authority beyond this accident. The Shipman's Tale occurs in all the MSS. further on, and has no Prologue.

**Group B; Part II. (1191–2156).**

*(Shipman, Prioress, and Sir Thopas.)*

In these three Tales I find no characteristic differences, though the MSS. exhibit some defects. The following are the chief points.


**Group B; Part II. (Melibeu; 2157–3078).**

As the Tale of Melibeu is in prose, and abounds with omissions, the discrepancies between the MSS. may be found to give useful hints. But finding the omissions to be very numerous, I select only such as seem to be most significant. Many that occur in one MS. only are of no moment and usually arise from repetition of words or phrases. Thus, in 2281–2, where Hn. has—*to do wikkednesse* / and if ye wol werke wikkednesse—Cm. omits *and if ye wol werke wikkednesse* owing
to the repetition of the last word; but as all the rest retain this phrase, it is obviously a mistake that is of no moment. The most serious cases are those marked by the use of square brackets, such as 2252–3, where we find, by comparison with the original, that all the MSS. in the Eight-text are alike defective, as compared with the original French text.

The most important case is in 2726, where the words for *ellis were it agayn reson* were omitted in Hn., and disappear likewise from Pt. Cp. L. Hl., but were recovered in the "edited" texts, viz. Cm. Dd. E.

The Table that here follows is probably not exhaustive (it is a tedious business), but will suffice for practical purposes. In referring to 2190, &c., it is not always the whole of the paragraph that is affected.

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Three of these passages require special notice. Lines 3961–80 (not in Hn. Pt. Cp.) seem to have been an after-thought, and in l. 3972 is introduced the reference to “a cloude,” which occurs in what is now marked as l. 3956. Observe that l. 3956 was not the last line of the Monk’s Tale in Hn., but became so in Pt. Cp. by the insertion of the “modern” stories at an earlier place of the Tale, which brought l. 3956 into its marked place, although in those two MSS. the new 20 lines were not yet added. The allusion to l. 3956 first appears, consequently, in the Lansdowne MS., and the same allusion occurs in the Harleian. But the three “edited” MSS., viz. Cm., Dd., and E., unfortunately destroyed the point of the allusion by restoring the order of stories to their first position.

The omission of lines 4233–8 in Pt. Cp. L. was due to reprehensible carelessness, as they are obviously essential, and appear in Hn.

Lines 4637–52 form the Nun’s Priest’s Epilogue. They appear in the Eight-text in Dd. only, and copies of them are scarce. The last line, in which the Host “Seide vnto another as ye shuln heere” is remarkable. It implies that Chaucer did not then know what Tale was to come next, and the problem was never settled. And thus the Epilogue became useless, and small heed was paid to it. It is found in MS. Royal 17 D xv., which seems to belong to the “Petworth” scheme, and which I suppose to give, practically, the “first arrangement” of the Tales. I append the following notes.
Comparison of the MSS. Doctor and Pardoner. 23

[3079-3108]. Cm. defective. 3147-8. Omitted in E., which is surprising in the case of so excellent a MS. But the scribe for once lost his place, as both 3147 and 3149 begin with the same four words—This maketh that owe. 3236, 3247; Pt. omits. 3469, 3501, 3533. Cp. omits; each of the three lines begins a stanza. 3561. Pt. omits. 3570. Left blank in Dd. [3615-52]. Cm. defective. [3957-4048]. Cm. defective. [4000-79]. Dd. defective. 4353-6. Dd. omits! 4479-80. Hl. omits (as noted above) because the scribe confused But trewely (4479) with For trewely (4481). [4581-4636]. Cm. defective.

Group C; Doctor and Pardoner.

There is not much variation here; but the sixteen lines numbered 291-306 are troublesome and require close attention. The chief points are given below. Lines 487b and 488b seem to be spurious.

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Group D; Wife, Friar, and Sompnour.

In this Group there are several points of interest.

1. The six lines after 44, in Dd. only, are genuine.

2. Lines 575-84, 609-12, 619-26, 717-20 (26 lines in all) are genuine and characteristic. But they may have been added late, appearing only (in the Eight-text) in the “edited” MSS., viz. Cm. Dd. E.

3. Hl. preserves six lines, all (I believe) genuine, but not in the other seven MSS., numbered 2004 b, e, 2012 b, c, and 2048 b, c. Though marked by Furnivall as “spurious,” they scan perfectly and
rime correctly, though 2004 b is a "nine-syllable" line. Lines 2048 b, c end in best, arrest, precisely the same final words as in E 1281. There is, however, a scribal error in 2012 b; read—"Ire is the gate of synne, as seith the wise." This is a very characteristic line, and perfectly correct; for I have found the Latin original. It translates—"Ianua omnium vitiorum iracundia est," which occurs in Rabanus Maurus, Expositio in Proverb. Salamonis, lib. iii, c. 29; Opera, ed. Migne, vol. cxi, col. 775.

4. HI. also gives us two more additional lines, numbered 2037 b, c. These are also marked "spurious," and must indeed be deleted. All the same, 2037 b is so far from being spurious, that it merely repeats 2030 on the same page, which is given as genuine; and 2037 c is also partly genuine, as it repeats a part of 2031. What has happened is this. As both 2029 and 2037 end with be deed, the scribe lost his place, and began copying out 2030 and 2031 over again, and then discovered that they did not rime together; and not wishing to show marks of erasure or deletion in his manuscript, calmly completed l. 2031 in a way of his own; after which he went on as if nothing had happened!

5. HI. is the only one of the eight MSS. which gives both 1295-6 and 1307-8 in their right positions, where all the rest have blundered sadly. This requires a great deal of explanation on the part of those who would make out that this MS. shows no trace of 'inspiration.' On the contrary, it is obvious that the scribe had access, at this point, to a MS. of unusual value.

I now tabulate the more important variations.

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Comparison of the MSS. Clerk, Merchant. 25


Group E; Clerk and Merchant.

There is little variation in the Clerk’s Tale; though Cp. and L. drop three lines.

The suggestion that the “Host-stanza,” or “Clerk’s End-link,” which consists of a single seven-line stanza, was originally meant to follow line 1162 or line 1169, is entirely baseless. The evidence shows clearly that it was meant, of course, to follow the Clerk’s Envoy, and to connect the Clerk’s Tale with another one. It occurs, accordingly, in that position, in most of the MSS. that give it, viz. in Hn. Cm. Dd. E.; and in Barlow 20, Egerton 2864, Harl. 1758, Harl. 7333, and Royal 18. C. 2. So also in the old printed editions. But in MS. Trin. R. 3. 15, it is absurdly placed after the Pardoner’s Tale.

It appears from the very first, viz. in Hn. But Chaucer did not know, at that time, what the next Tale would be. At last he decided to link the Clerk with the Merchant, which he did by discarding this stanza altogether, and writing a new Link (absent from Hn. Pt. Cp. L.) which first appears in the “Harleian” type of MSS. This fact gives an extraordinary value to Hl., because lines 1213–44 are obviously genuine, whilst at the same time they rendered the suppression of the Host-stanza absolutely necessary, in order that l. 1213 may be an echo of l. 1212.¹

I add a few notes (chiefly to the Merchant’s Tale), after giving the comparative Table on the following page:

¹ Chaucer once placed the Clerk before the Franklin, but did not link them himself; see the remarks on the Petworth MS. in the Six-Text, pp. 441, 476, and pref. 53–6, discussed at pp. 49, 50 below. This is why the Franklin’s Tale follows the Clerk’s Tale in all the old black-letter editions.
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**Group F; Squire and Franklin.**

Groups E and F were made into one group, as is well shown by Hl. and the "edited" MSS. It was easily done, by altering Frankeleyn in F1 to Squire. It is obvious that F1 and F2 are misarranged in Hn. Pt.; the words com neer (which make F1 too long) should begin F2 (which is too short). But in the other MSS. they really belong to F1; and F2 was lengthened accordingly; see pp. 49, 52.
The chief differences are noted in the Table below.

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N.B. Lines 1455–6 (2 lines) and 1493–8 (6 lines) occur in E. only; they are certainly genuine, and 1455–6 occur in the black-letter editions. Observe how scarce are 673–708; this is how they came to be overlooked in Morris’s edition.

**Group G; Second Nun and Canon’s Yeoman.**

The chief points to be noted are (1) the loss of twelve essential lines (326–337) in Pt. Cp. L.; and (2) the total absence of any reference to the Canon’s Yeoman in Hn. This tale begins with l. 554. I subjoin a Table of the chief differences and some notes.
Canterbury Tales (Eight-text).

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**Group H; Manciple.**

Not in Dd., which is defective. No particular variation. 47–52. Pt. omits; because 46, 47 and 52 all begin with And. 215–6. Cm. omits; because 214 and 216 both begin with If.

**Group I; Parson.**

Groups H and I are but one. They are only separated in Hn., in which the Tales are but partially arranged. The whole Group (H and I) is lost in Dd. The variations do not appear to be of any special significance. I therefore omit details.
Remarks on the Harleian MS. 7334.

It remains to summarise the results given in the above Tables, in order that we may make a fair estimate of the Harleian MS. as compared with the other seven MSS. in the Eight-text.

First of all, we ought to leave out of account the "edited" MSS., Cm. Dd. E., as they are in a different category, being compiled from previous sources, of which I believe Hl. (i.e. the "original" of Hl.) to be one.

It remains to compare it (1) with Hn.; (2) with Pt.; and (3) with Cp. L.; the close connexion between the two last is very evident from the Tables.

**Group A.**—As compared with Hn., Hl. has ten new lines (637-8, 2681-2, 2779-82, 3155-6); but all but the last pair had been supplied already in Pt. Cp. L. Hence it only supplies two new lines (3155-6); which were adopted by Cm. E. The only later addition is the pair of lines in E. only (3721-2). But it drops the couplet 4375-6, by a scribal error. The result is that, in Group A, and not counting obvious blunders, Hl. has eight lines more than Hn. and as many as Pt. Cp. Ln. As compared with the rest, it contains as many lines as Cm.; at least six more than Dd.; and two less than E. (Of course 252 b, c, are in Hn. only.)

**Group B; Part I.** (1-1162). Hl. omits 417 in the Man of Law's Tale. But as this is the middle line of a stanza, it must needs be a fault of the scribe and is of no significance. It is otherwise complete.

**Group B; Part I.** (1163-1190).—Not in Hn. First in Pt. Cp. L. as a Squire's Prologue. (What we now call the Squire's Prologue (F1-8) first appeared (according to my theory) in Hn. as the latter part of a Franklin's Prologue, but the rearrangement in Hl. made it follow the Merchant's End-link; and this excellent change was adopted in the "edited" MSS., Cm. Dd. E.)

It is quite clear that these lines (B1163-1190) ought to have been suppressed, and should not have appeared in Hl. at all. Practically, the scribe made this discovery for himself while he was copying out the lines. When he came to line 1179, which begins in Hn. Pt. Cp. L. with Saydè the Squyere, he must have found out that the Squire's

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1 This couplet is in Thynne and the old editions.
2 Such as the blank at l. 2040, and the defects in ll. 2010-7 and 4375-6.
Tale was really a long way off, and that five Tales still intervened in the arrangement to which he was committed. But after writing six lines more, he gave the matter up as hopeless, and left off at 1. 1185 in the middle of a sentence; which was perhaps the best thing to be done. He then added:—Here endeth pe man of lawe his tale!

If the lines are to be preserved, the easiest thing to do is to follow Tyrwhitt's lead in assigning them to the Shipman, and so making a Shipman's Prologue of them, as in the Six-text. But it ought to be distinctly understood that this arrangement is a mere make-shift, and absolutely contradicts the evidence. The fact that one MS. happens to support this idea is really of no weight, as the rest of the MSS. absolutely prove that Chaucer never thought of it.

In making my own edition, I had practically no choice in the matter. The matter had been already decided, and a new method of numbering the lines had been already established. I am now convinced that the right thing to be done, in order not to falsify the general evidence of the MSS., is as follows, viz. to keep these lines (1163–1190) as a Squire's Prologue, and to put a line of stars after 1190, to show that there is here a complete break. There should be also a note to say that the lines are only preserved because they are genuine, and had at one time formed a part of the scheme; but must be regarded as having been cancelled. This is no more than has to be done with the so-called "Host-stanza" at the end of the Clerk's Tale.

The Shipman's Tale (without a Prologue) follows the Pardoner's in all the MSS. printed in the Eight-text except Pt., where it follows Gamelyn. It also follows the Pardoner in at least a dozen other MSS., in all the old printed editions, and even in Tyrwhitt. If we are to regard evidence at all, there is no other place for it.

GROUP B; PART II. (1191–2156); SHIPMAN, PRIORESS, AND SIR THOPAS.—No characteristic difference between the eight MSS.; see above. Hl. omits 1355 by a mere blunder; 1376–9 by the carelessness of not observing the recurrence of I you praye; and the final half-line in Sir Thopas, which the scribe wrongly disregarded. It also omits 1995, which only Dd. preserves. This is all that is wrong as regards its contents.

I suggest that in his exemplar, the lines in question had not been deleted, though the precaution had been taken of partially erasing the word squire; so that the scribe, seeing an initial s, filled it up as sompnour, and then found that it would not do.

Dr. Furnivall gives, in his Table, the arrangement in "Caxton," which agrees with Thynne's. By "Caxton" is here meant Caxton's first edition; the arrangement in his second edition somewhat varied.
Melibeus.—The Table shows that the losses in Hl., as compared with Hn. Pt. Cp. L., are not great; 2646-7, 2708, and 2741 (all in Hn. Cp. L.) are all wanting in Pt. As compared with Cp. L. only, it shows well by contrast, as they have lost 2313-4, 2315-6, 2328-61, 2378, 2387, 2409, 2417, 2447-8, 2476, 2519, 2586, 2654, 2746-7, 2815-6, 2963-5, and 3059; all of which it preserves. But it omits parts of 2432 and 2646-7, 2708, 2730, and 2741. Hl. also omits 3034, owing to the repetition of good name. I may, however, have missed some point or other.

Group B; Part II. (3979-4652).—As compared with Hn., the losses in Hl. are three, viz. 3213-20 (the second stanza on Sampson), 4136-7, and 4479-80; all apparently due to carelessness, as the other seven MSS. preserve them. As compared with Pt., Hl. restores 3764 and 4233-8. As compared with Cp., Hl. restores 3197-300, 3611, 3764, 4112, 4114, and 4233-8. As compared with L., it restores 3611, 3764, 4112, 4114, and 4233-8. Compare the remarks above.

Group C.—In 291-2, Hl. does not follow Hn. Pt., but the alternative (and possible) reading in Cp. L. It omits two couplets, viz. 299, 300 and 303-6; also 478 and 479 (by error). It restores 603-4, which do not appear in Cp. L.

Group D.—I have already noted above that Hl. alone preserves the lines 2004 b, c, 2012 b, c, and 2048 b, c. Also, that Hl. alone puts the couplets 1295-6 and 1307-8 in their proper places.

As compared with Hn. Cp. Pt. L., Hl. omits 605-8, perhaps by design on the part of the scribe; see p. 34. The readings of 1731-2 in Pt. Cp. L. cannot be right, because they reduce 1730 to nonsense. Observe that 45 b-g, 575-84, 609-12, 619-26, 717-20, are all late additions, in Cm. Dd. E. only.

Group E.—I have already noted the great value of 1213-44, the new Clerk-Merchant link in Hl. Hl. also restores the lines dropped in Cp. L. The chief fault in Hl. (in this group) is the loss of 2356-7 (as in Pt.); but the reason is obvious, viz. that it was due to confusing the ending of 2355 (agayn his sighte) with that of 2357 (his sighte agaym).

Group F.—Here Hl. has unluckily lost 8 leaves, containing 608 lines (F 617-1223), which exactly agrees with the fact that a leaf of that MS. usually contains 76 lines. Otherwise it rightly agrees with Hn. throughout, as against Pt. Cp. L.

Group G.—Here Hl. again rightly agrees with Hn. (as far as it goes) as against Pt. Cp. L. After Hn. fails, Hl. agrees with Pt. Cp.
L., which give the Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale with a quite unusual correctness and without any loss; probably because that Tale first appeared in Pt., being somewhat belated.

**Group H.**—Complete in Hl.; though Pt. omits 47–52.

**Group I.**—I make no remarks on this group, as the evidence seems sufficient without it.

Collecting all the results, we see that Hl. (except for careless mistakes by the scribe) is really fuller than Hn. Pt. or Cp. L.; and, as compared with these, has some points of superiority. The gains are these.

1. In Group A; lines 3155–6:—
   
   And euer a pousand goode agayns oon badde;
   That knowest pou wel pyself, but if pou madde.

2. In Group D; lines 2004 b, c, 2012 b, c, 2048 b, c.
   Schortly, may no man, by rym and vers,
   Tellen her thoughtés, pay ben so dyuers.—
   Ire is the gate of synne, as saith pe wise;
   To fle per-fro ech man schuld him deuyse.—
   An irous man is lik a frentik best
   In which per is of wisdom noon arrest.

3. In Group D, Hl. *alone* puts the couplets 1295–6 and 1307–8 in their proper places. *All* the rest are wrong.

4. In Group E, we have the great gain of the new Clerk-Merchant link, which does not appear in Hn. Pt. Cp. L.; not merely 32 new lines, but 32 lines of especial interest and usefulness, and, apparently, Chaucer’s *latest* addition of any length. Thus the total gain in Hl. (in Groups A, D, E) amounts to just 40 lines, all genuine; of which E preserves 34, Dd. has 32, and Cm. (which is deficient) only 2.

   If it were only for the sake of these four gains, MS. Hl. ought to receive respect. But see further below.

   I attribute the value of Hl. to the excellence (in respect of fulness) of the exemplar which the scribe had before him; but it can hardly be denied that the said scribe had moments of carelessness not far removed from idiocy; and I would attribute to him such blunders as occur in the following examples, which are by no means exhaustive.

   **A 1547.** Of Cadynus / pe which was pe furst man.
   The scansion is hopeless; but the carelessness consists in misreading
Cadmus as Cadinus, and then writing it as Cadynus; for he had just written down the form Cadme in the preceding line! Read Cadmus, he for pe, and firste, and it may pass.

A1659. That fropen white as fome fropë wood.

No doubt he had before him for yre (as in Pt.; most MSS. have for ire); yet he was capable of turning it into fropë, because he had just written fropen. One wonders what he thought it meant!

A1664. That excused in pe world ouer al.

Surely he had executeþ in his copy.

A1682. For after may he serueþ now Dyane.

Of course may is miswritten for Mars!

A1826. And þey him swore his axyng evere dele.

Of course he had evere dele in his original, only it was in the preceding line! He should not have repeated it in place of faire and wele.

A1966. A bowe he bar and arwes fair and greene.

Surely his original had kene! For how can good arrows be green?


His copy can hardly have had that! The fact is, that there must have been something illegible or imperfect here, as he has omitted the next six lines and gives l. 2018 as—The hunt strangled with wilde bores corage! Here not only has he misread beres as bores, but he has boldly added corage at the end of the line, and so secured a rime! There is no corage anywhere near, except his own. But 22 lines further on he has done the right thing, and left a blank line in place of an illegible one.

A2199. The riche aray of Thebes his paleys.

Surely his original had Theseus (not Thebes his); for the palace was at Athens. And the same man had just written Theseus, only 9 lines above!

A3180. And eek more ryalte and holynesse.

Here more ryalte is a playful substitution for moralitez.

It is unnecessary to pursue this painful subject. It seems fair to conclude that these blunders were due to the scribe, as in all these cases other MSS. are well agreed as to the right reading. If, on the
other hand, he found them all in his copy; he was so exceptionally unlucky that one wonders how he so often gives lines correctly. But of course his copy went wrong sometimes. They all do so to some extent.

The scribe does not often omit a line or lines; in this respect he is better than many. But I cannot help suspecting that when he did omit a line, he sometimes did so designedly, in the interest of what he called more ryalte, or of politeness. Thus he omits C305–6, 478–9, and D575–84, 605–12, 619–26. For although the 26 lines in D575–84, 605–12, and 619–26 are not in Hn., Pt., Cp., L., they ought to have been in the copy which he had before him.

All these considerations suggest that Hl. was copied from a MS. (unfortunately lost) which was both better and fuller than Hl. itself; and therefore contrasting favourably with MSS. Hn., Cp., Pt., L., which would seem to be of an older type. This is, at any rate, the theory which I propose, viz. (1) that Hn. represents an early collection of Tales, at a time before the Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale was written, and previous to any careful attempt at arrangement; (2) that what I have called the “Petworth1 type” of MSS. shows us the Tales, as they were first partially arranged. (3) Chaucer then somewhat altered the arrangement, and we thus get the Corpus-Lansdowne type. (4) He further improved this arrangement, which gave us the Harleian type; and there he stopped, long before his work was at all complete.

Lastly, some later compiler or editor rearranged the Tales for the last time, thus producing the “edited” MSS. of the “Ellesmere type,” such as Cm., Dd., and E. But the rearrangement in these last MSS. was quite unimportant; all that was done in this respect was to place the Second Nun and Canon’s Yeoman after the Nun’s Priest instead of between the Franklin and the Doctor.

The “Petworth,” or first partial arrangement, is so common that we can hardly dissociate it altogether from Chaucer’s (at least partial) responsibility.2 It appears also in Caxton’s first edition, and subsequently in Thynne and all the editions derived from him.

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1 There are many such MSS., as the type is common; viz. Harl. 7333, Harl. 1758, Sloane 1685, Royal 13 Cii, &c. Note that the Petworth MS. itself misplaces the Shipman and Prioress by putting them next to Gamelyn; the usual place is after the Pardoner and before Sir Thopas.

2 I think he meant E2419-F8 (found in Hn., absent from Cp. and L., but revived in Hl.) to be temporarily suppressed or held in abeyance. Their appearance in Pt. after the Clerk is quite inept, and the scribes made rather wild work of it. See this discussed below, at pp. 49, 50.
If this can be granted, it follows that the better arrangement in the next or Lansdowne type, is Chaucer's own work also; because it shows a real improvement, and places the Clerk before the Merchant, instead of behind that Tale and with the Wife-Friar-Sompnour intervening. Note the absence of E2419-F8.

Lastly, that the Harleian type is also due to Chaucer is probable, for two reasons: (1) because he now or about this time wrote the Clerk-Merchant link, thus at last joining these Tales indissolubly; and (2) because of the great cleverness by which he now linked on the Squire to the Merchant, and the Franklin to the Squire, and so reduced the Clerk-Merchant-Squire-Franklin to one coherent whole; which no one else could have done. This proceeding involved four manoeuvres, viz. (1) the suppression of the old Squire's Prologue [B1163-1190]; (2) the writing of a new Clerk-Merchant link [E1213-44]; (3) the conversion of the old Franklin's Prologue [E2419-2240, F1-8] into a Merchant's end-link and Squire's head-link, thus linking the Merchant to the Squire; (4) the conversion of an old Merchant's Prologue [F673-708] into Words of the Franklin, thus linking the Squire to the Franklin.

I have little hesitation in repeating that, whatever the worth or worthlessness of the readings in the Harleian MS. may be, we must nevertheless regard this MS. as being absolutely the most valuable that exists, because it gives the best and latest authoritative arrangement of the Tales; and the settlement of this point is quite as necessary, in its way, as the discovery of the MSS. which give us the best readings. It was Bradshaw who regarded this type as being "the most authentic;" and he is usually right.

When we speak of "edited" MSS., such as E. Cm. Dd., we of course imply that they were edited from something else that preceded them. And if we enquire whence the order adopted in those MSS. was obtained, there is only one possible answer; viz. from the "Harleian type" of MSS.; and what the order was in that type, is shown by Hl. itself; nor would this result be affected if the scribe of Hl. had miscopied every line throughout.

The single change of order effected in E (Ellesmere) was, as I have said above, to place the Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman later, or to "shunt them down." We can see why, viz. to bring the mention of Boghton (G556) nearer to the Blee (H3). That is all very well, if we are to go on rearranging the Tales to please ourselves; but it is
absolutely uncritical, if we really desire (as we ought) to find out precisely the order in which Chaucer left them. It is more instructive to know the truth than to try to better it.

It is obvious that Chaucer made no arrangement that even approached finality, because the thing was impossible. Before that could be done, he must complete the set; and this, as he well knew, would never be accomplished. All that he did was to collect from two to six Tales into Groups; to arrange the resulting Groups in a provisional order; to alter this order twice; to write new links or to readapt or even suppress old ones; and so to reduce the number of Groups gradually. The latest, or Harleian type, exhibits, after all, no very great advance, for there were still eight groups left. Even his latest attempt towards this end was anything but final.

But it was much better than at first appears. Seven new Tales, from the Yeoman, the Ploughman, the Haberdasher, the Carpenter, the Weaver, the Dyer, and the Tapicer, each with a connecting prologue and epilogue, would have filled up every gap and have given us a completed set. Each of these Tales could have been written separately and dropped into its place. There is thus no reason why the Eight-group scheme should not have been converted into a triumphant success, so far as the plan went. We can even trace a specimen of the working of the scheme; for, by completing the Cook's Tale and converting "Gamelyn" into a Yeoman's Tale, it would have been very easy to link the Cook with the Yeoman, and the Yeoman with the Man of Law. Perhaps this is why "Gamelyn" occurs in this position in the MSS. Lastly, Chaucer could easily have made some shifting of the Tales that would have brought us to Rochester before coming to Sittingbourne. But he never got as far as that.

**On some Readings in the Harleian MS.**

The recent essay on the Harleian MS. by Prof. Tatlock is of great value and interest. I find, however, a few conclusions of his that I cannot accept; and I believe it may help a few students if I point these out.

That Chaucer never carefully revised his work line by line is likely enough. But I hold still, as I have already shown, and have repeated above, that he did partially rearrange the Tales, and shifted the order of them more than once. This circumstance enables us to arrange the eight texts hitherto printed in full in the following order,
viz. Hn.—Pt.—Cp. L.—HL.—Cm. Dd. E.; where I place Cp. L. together, and call Cm. Dd. E. edited MSS. This I take to be the reason why Hn. contains the fewest number of lines, and E. the most. This is why, when anything goes wrong in Hn. (such as sertres for sterres in A2037), the same thing has a tendency to go wrong in MSS. of a later type. An easy example is the following. It is well known that in no couplet is there a greater variety of readings and greater general uncertainty than in E1305–6 (see my note). Turn to Hn., and what do we find there? The reading is:—

And if thou take a wyf she wole destroye
Thy good substance, and thy body annoy.

And here the words printed in italics were added in a later hand, and are of no authority whatever. It is surely remarkable that, whilst the other MSS. differ as to the words italicised, they all agree that the words "And if thou take a wyf" must begin the sentence. I have adopted the reading of Cm. E., chiefly because it is reasonably good, scans correctly, and makes sense; and I may here say, once for all, that the compiler of E. (who was not Chaucer) is usually successful (1) because he took pains, and (2) because he came last, and had the pick of all that preceded him.  

The reading in E. is:—

And if thou take a wyf vnto thyn hold,
Ful lightly maystow been a cokewold.

The reading in HL. shows a daring variation:—

Ánd / if þât pou take a wif, be war
Of oon peril, which déclare I ne dar !

It is not without humour, as it glances at the name of cokewold as being a word that should not be fully expressed. It is, however, suspicious, as the former "nine-syllable" line is not happily stressed, and the accents in the second line are unusual. And so I leave it.

The best way to examine the readings of HL. is (I believe) to compare it with Hn. Pt. Cp. L., rather than with Cm. Dd. E., because there is always a chance that a reading in the latter set may be derived from HL. itself. A curious example occurs in A 8; where Hn. Pt. Cp. L. have:—

Hath in the Ram his half cours y-ronne.

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1 MS. E. is early, and there are many later; but he had a sufficient choice, as he had access to samples of all Types.

2 Yet not (perhaps) impossible; cf. départinge, B 260, 293; désiring, A 1922; désirous, F 23; déstourbing, Compl. Venus, 44; rédoufynge, A 2050.
We know, of course, from the scansion and from grammar alike, that half should be halfe; and this is the reading of Hl. We can then, out of curiosity, consult Cm. E. (Dd. fails), and we find that they likewise have the erroneous reading half. This is because they may, or they may not, pay respect to Hl. I think E. got half from Hn., which it so often copies in minute details, glosses, side-notes, and all.

Prof. Tatlock does not, in this respect, give Hl. its due. Thus in A686, Hn. has:

His walet biform hym in his lappe.

And Pt. Cp. L. Cm. E. [Dd. is deficient] all follow like a flock of sheep. But the sentence has no verb, and the line scans vilely. Hl. has:

His walet lay byforn him in his lappe.

Surely this insertion of lay is an emendation as to which there can be no doubt. Whence did it come, if not from Chaucer?

In A831, Hn. (followed by the rest) has:

Lat se now, who shal tellë the firstë talë.

But Hl. has:

Let se now who schal tellë ferst a talë.

If this is not an emendation by Chaucer, it is at any rate worthy of him; it is better expressed, and the line is much smoother.

A1376. Hn. (followed by Pt. Cp. L.) has:

Biforn his celle fantastyk.

Here is no sense, and only eight syllables.

E. Cm. Dd. give us:

Biforn his owene celle fantastik.

Here (since owene = ow'ne) we get ten syllables, but still no sense. It is an attempt at emendation, and is wrong.

But Hl. has:

Byforne in his selle fantastyk.

I should prefer Biforen. But, passing over this, we here recover the missing word in, which is obviously right. It is not due to a revision by Chaucer, but, as in other cases, to a recovery of Chaucer's text.

A2555-6. Hn.:

And if so falle / the chiesteyn be take
On outhér syde / or ellis steen his make.
The Harleian Manuscript 7334.

Here *sleem* is impossible, as we require the 3rd pers. pres. sing. subjunctive. Pt. Cp. L. Cm. E. all follow Hn.; but Hl. has the right form *slee*, which of course is Chaucer's word. And if we must not owe an emendation to Hl., it may suffice to say that Dd. has *sle*. And Dd. is an honourable MS.

I hold it as good as proved that Hl. sometimes has the right reading where the other seven MSS., or most of them, have gone wrong; and in *this* sense, at any rate, it is an "inspired" MS., being in true contact with the author (*how*, I do not know) where other good MSS. fail. There is therefore no reason why it should not *sometimes* be right in cases of much variation and considerable doubt. Whence it is obvious that it should *always* be consulted.

On the other hand, I have no doubt that it is often unsafe and treacherous. Sometimes the scribe was stupid and wrote nonsense, as has been shown; and there is reason to suspect that he did not always follow his copy, but may have made "emendations" on his own account. And it may also be the case, that the compiler whose exemplar was before him did the same thing. It can hardly be always an honest record; and hence comes all the trouble. For this reason, Prof. Tatlock's paper is very much to be commended, as it is very helpful.

It is, however, not a little strange that the very *second* example which he adduces (p. 5) to show that Hl. can give a good emendation, is precisely one where I am of quite a different opinion. I must therefore quote it; only we require the context, upon which all turns. The passage in Hl. (B4377–80) runs thus:—

*Whan pat pe moneth in which the world bigan,*  
*That highte March, whan God maked first man,*  
*Was complet, and passed were also*  
*Syn March bygan, tway monjes and dayes tuo, &c.*

Let us reckon this up. We start from March 1; then we count onwards to March 31, when the month is complete; also, two months more (April and May), which brings us to May 31; and 2 days more, which lands us in June! This will not do at all; because the day meant is May 3. It is all explained in my note to B4045, p. 250 of vol. v. Not that I claim the credit of explaining it, if any credit there be; for it was explained long ago in Thynne's *Animadversions on Speght's Chaucer*, p. 62; and again by Mr. Brae, who calculated it.

1 The other 7 MSS. have *first maked* or *first made*.
carefully by astronomy, and found that the hour at which chantecler
crew was 9 A.M. on May 3. The right reading is, of course:—

Sin March bigan, thritty dayes and tuo.

_Sin March bigan_ indicates the starting-point; a completed March
brings us to March 31; and the _thirty dayes_ can only refer to April,
for the plain reason that March has _thirty-one_ days! So April is
also complete. Then come two days more, which are May 1 and May
2, also complete; and then we are safely landed in May 3. The
scribal side-note in Dd., "id est, secundo die Maii," is of no authority
and quite wrong. If the scribe had written "id est, tertio die Maii,"
he would have written sense. I am quite willing to accept a reading
of Hl. as against other MSS. in many cases, but certainly not here.
Why Chaucer is here charged with "carelessness and confusion" for
having stated a simple fact in a playfully roundabout manner, I do not
know.

As to the so-called "nine-syllable" lines, I should like to say a
few words. I think it is very likely that I may have needlessly
"amended" some of them by taking readings from the Harleian MS.,
and I am sorry for it. I do not think the history of this matter is
sufficiently well known. I remember the time when the mere suppo-
sition that Chaucer ever wrote such lines was a despised heresy; and
I have good cause to remember it. My first pronouncement on the
subject, which for some time brought down upon me quite a storm of
contradiction and contempt, appeared forty-three years ago, in Morris's
Chaucer, ed. 1866, vol. i. p. 174. I there dared to assert that the
following lines (all from the Harleian MS.) can be "properly scanned
by making the first syllable stand alone."

May / with al thyn floures and thy greene; A1510.
Ther / by auenture this Palamoun; A1516.2
Now / it schyneth, now it reyneth faste; A1535; &c.

James Russell Lowell, whose gracious presence I remember and revere,
in his delightful essay on "Chaucer" in "My Study Windows" told
us that "his [Chaucer's] ear would never have tolerated the verses of
nine syllables, with a strong accent on the first, attributed to him by
Mr. Skeate [sic] and Mr. Morris [who expressed no opinion on the
subject]. Such verses seem to me simply impossible in the pentameter

1 The same heresy had been broached at least twice previously. But I found
it out without help, all the same.
2 However, the Six-text has:—"There _as_, by auenture," &c. For other
similar cases, see Prof. Tatlock's article, p. 12, note.
iambic as Chaucer wrote it." But those were early days (1871). I retorted by quoting 13 consecutive lines of this character from Tennyson's "Vision of Sin," to show that such lines are still in use:

"Then / methought I heard a mellow sound;" &c.

And I sometimes ask myself whether people ever read, with any attention, the English dramatists about which they write so glibly. I give some examples.

Win / my love, and I will make thee great.

Greene, James IV, A. i. sc. 1.

Were / I baser born, my mean estate; id. iii. 3.
Will / them, even as they love their queen; id. v. 1.
Frank/ly tell me, wilt thou go with me?

Peele, Battle of Alcazar, A. ii. sc. 4.

Phil/ip, whom some call the Catholic King; id. iii. 1.
Bar/barous and bloody Tamburlaine.

Marlowe, Tamburlaine, I. ii. 7.

Conquer, sack, and utterly consume; id. II. iv. 2.
Jerome's bible, Faustus; view it well.

Marlowe, Faustus, i. 1.

Ho/mo, fuge / whither should I fly? id. ii. 1.
Lay / hands on that traitor Mortimer. Edw. II, i. 4.

Those / that hate me will I learn to loathe.

Marlowe, Massacre at Paris, i. 2.

I could quite easily add a score more of examples; see A Student's Pastime, p. 376. Our old writers were perfectly familiar with the device. Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar quotes a considerable number.

Stay, / the king hath thrown his warder down; Rich. II, i. 3.

The above explanation will show that, if I have weakly turned a nine-syllable line into one that is more acceptable to many others a little too often, it was not because I have any prejudice against them myself. It is strange to remember a time when I had to sustain this theory against all comers. ¹ It encourages me to imagine a time when

¹ It is amusing to see Prof. Tatlock (p. 16, note 1) speaking of "the archaistic language of the 16th-century Court of Love," when I remember the hard things said of me when I denied that Chaucer wrote it. Let me quote a specimen. "The criticism which would exclude from the Chaucerian canon such things not merely as the Court of Love and The Flower and the Leaf, but in whole or in part [I do not deny a part] the existing English version of the Romance of the Rose ... cannot be allowed to pass quite unchallenged by those whom it does not satisfy."—Saintsbury, A Short Hist. of Eng. Literature (1898), p. 119.
my explanation of the "Evolution of the Canterbury Tales" may be first of all tolerated, and then accepted as being obvious to all. The best tests will be (1) to examine the history of the Clerk-Merchant link (E1213-1244) in all the MSS.; (2) to explain why many MSS. know nothing about it; (3) to find out what MSS. besides Hl. put D1293-4 and D1307-8 in their right places; (4) to trace the history of B1163-90, F673-708, and E2419-F8.

I think Prof. Tatlock does me some injustice in saying (p. 2, note 4) that my views on the "Evolution" depend upon "the contents and arrangement of seven (not all) of the published MSS." Surely I tried to make it plain that I depended upon the contents and arrangements of the thirty-six MSS. described in the "Trial-Table" prefixed to the "Six-text" edition, at the back of p. xxii*. Here is arithmetical proof that my evidence is five times greater than it is alleged to be. It makes a difference. Thirty-six is a fair proportion of the whole, and ought to give good tentative results. To say that I only consider seven MSS. is very careless; for I mention fifteen more on p. 16, and three more on p. 22. My point is mainly this:—that if you only really understand to what "type" a given MS. belongs, you can understand the readings a great deal better, and can, not unfrequently, guess them beforehand. For example, I have now examined the eighth published MS., Camb. Dd., and find that its readings usually exhibit the peculiarities of an "edited" text; the "type" to which the "Trial-table" shows it to belong. So there may be some truth in my scheme after all. I proved, for example, that "H and I form an inseparable group," and "that E and F do" the same (see Prof. Tatlock's article, p. 21, note 1). He adds—"Dividing B, as I believe we should, into two, we shall have, therefore, eight groups instead of nine." All of which I have said already; only "as I believe we should" ought to be changed into "as we must."

As to the remarks in note 1 on p. 23, I find it said that I "half-exclude" A252 b, c. It was not my doing. I had to accept the numbering in the Six-text, or else to throw out all the numbering of the rest of Group A. Also, that I excluded six genuine lines after D44, "which are known to me in three MSS." Yes, but they are not in the Six-text, and I forgot all about them till I came to write the Notes in vol. v.; by which time vol. iv. had been printed off. It will be easily understood that my edition of Chaucer is by no means final, but was meant to be an improvement upon its predecessors, and to serve the immediate wants of students; it had to be completed.
within a limited time, or not at all. The shortness of human life has to be considered.

It seems a pity to trouble about the fact that the Manciple's Prologue hints at early morning (H16), while the Manciple's Tale, when prefixed to the Parson's, belongs to the afternoon. The solution is extremely easy, as the Hengwrt MS. shows us. The Manciple's Tale there precedes the Man of Law; and that is why the Man of Law is so emphatic about the progress of the day, and laments that it is already ten o'clock. But in his very first arrangement of the Tales, Chaucer moved the Tale down so as to precede the Parson's, without troubling to remove the inconsistency, because he could easily do that when he rearranged the Tales again finally. And that day never came. There is no difficulty. The poet was always putting off that final duty; a most fatal procedure.

Nor is it worth while to make a difficulty of the reading Ten of the clocke in l. 5 of the Parson's Prologue. It is certainly wrong, but the error was in the MSS. from the beginning; apparently a stupid error on the part of the scribe, made by confusing 4 p.m. with the tenth hour of the day. Indeed the error is valuable; for it proves that Chaucer never revised his text line by line; or, at any rate, he never did so as far as the Manciple. To this day, the French text shows us that there are gaps (which he never discovered) in the Tale of Melibeuus. The rearrangement of Tales and even the alteration of links did not involve a line-by-line revision of the whole text. He was not the man to trouble much about it, beyond banning Adam Scrivener once for all.

As to this reading (Ten) there really need be no difficulty. Chaucer says the afternoon was already advanced, and another Tale had to be told before sundown; indeed, earlier than that, for the early-rising Pilgrims would surely cease to ride at 6; and the sun set about 7. Hence the readings 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 are all impossible; and as the afternoon was already well advanced, we cannot read 1 or 2. Hence the only possible readings are three, four, and fyue; every one of which is dead against the readings of the majority of the MSS. Of these three readings, four is the only one that agrees both with the given length of the shadow and with the twenty-nine degrees of height; and even a few MSS. have this

1 As in the ill-arranged Christ Church MS.
2 All that Chaucer did at the time was to erase a name in Hn. in Group I, line 1, and to tell Adam to write Manciple instead.
reading. It is also, in any case, the most likely hour of the above three. Let us sometimes rest content with a reasonable possibility. Even the immaculate editor of the future will have to put up with making suggestions which many critics will still condemn.

Classification of the Manuscripts.

I have already shown how to classify the leading MSS. in my paper on "The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales"; but as the method does not seem to be sufficiently understood, I now try to make it clearer. The statement in Prof. Tatlock's paper on the Harleian MS. (p. 2, note 4)—that my evidence "is the contents and arrangement of seven of the printed MSS."—is misleading, as I consulted throughout Dr. Furnivall's Trial-Tables, which give the arrangement of thirty-six MSS.; and at the same time I carefully examined the numerous printed specimens of connecting links, as given in the Preface to the Six-texts, being more than seventy in number.

I have now further examined a considerable number of the descriptions of MSS. in Miss Hammond's excellent book; and I find nothing that I cannot reasonably explain. Her system of classification really differs from mine very slightly, but she obtains no secure results. The method of analysis there pursued is insufficient; for when the latest forms of arrangement have been analysed and shown to have earlier arrangements behind them, it obviously becomes necessary to reverse the order by synthesis, and to show chronologically how one arrangement grew out of the other. Of course many of the MSS. are really due to contamination of types; but for all that there are four main types that arose successively from the attempt made by the author to rearrange his material. This he did tentatively and from time to time, not always making all the changes that were rendered necessary; and sometimes even temporarily or entirely suppressing a link; but we can usually trace with sufficient clearness what he was about, and why he made such changes as appear. Of course a little patience is necessary. For no one will ever understand this matter until he comes to see that some of the Prologues were at once readapted to fit new circumstances, while some were left to be dealt with afterwards. Nothing but arrangement in the chronological

1 It is notorious that the Shipman's Tale was originally meant to have been told by the Wife of Bath; see B 1200-9. Cf. p. 48 above, lines 8-14.
Classification of the Manuscripts.

order of development, beginning with the earliest, can ever explain the whole matter. And it is this which I believe I can do; though it is quite possible that a few points can hereafter be better put. All depends, as it obviously must, on the history of the links. Of these, such as are genuine require careful handling; whereas such as are obviously spurious are worse than worthless. It is well to point out the latter, but they must always be neglected. We can tell them, fortunately, by their exceeding badness.

I use Dr. Furnivall's numbering of the Tales, with arabic numerals instead of roman; thus he calls the Clerk's Tale "IV. 1"; for which I write 4a. His arrangement is that of the Ellesmere MS., which (as I think we all agree) is the latest of all. Miss Hammond uses for the Clerk's Tale the symbol E1, because it is the first tale in Group E; but as no MS. whatever presents the Tales in the order of the Groups A, B, C, &c., such symbols are more likely to puzzle than to help us.

The list of Tales in E is as follows:


As I have already explained my views rather fully, I now propose to make several simplifications. For example, it is not worth while to consider no. 1; it is always at the beginning. Nor even Gamelyn; it is sufficient to say that it is not in the Hengwrt MS.; nor in those of the Ellesmere type. Neither need we trouble much about Groups 6, 7, 8, 9; though I note a few points. Except in the Hengwrt MS. and those of the Ellesmere type, the order is 8, 6, 7, 9; all unconnected, except by spurious prologues. Group 7 is, in several MSS., split up, but the final order of its tales (as all agree) is that given above. The real trouble is with Groups 2, 3, 4, 5; and it is upon those that everything turns.

We might almost go further, and omit 3; since it is always entirely independent of the rest. But its position (as will appear) affects the others. Groups 2, 4, and 5 demand the most careful watching.

Omitting for a moment all connecting links, we find these arrangements:

Hengwrt MS.—|| 2. 5a. 4b. 5b. 4a.
A. "Petworth" type. 1—2. 5a. 4b. || 4a. 5b.
B. Lansdowne MS.—2. 5a. || 4a. 4b. 5b.
C. Harleian MS.—2. || 4a. 4b. 5a. 5b.
C*. Ellesmere MS.—2. || 4a. 4b. 5a. 5b.

Observe particularly the symbol ||. It marks the position of Group 3, and always effectually separates tale from tale, and forbids any linking. It is extremely instructive.

Some MSS. do not conform to any of these types; but they are not (I think) numerous, nor do they agree among themselves; and I believe their arrangement to be due to contamination or to casual causes. They are therefore best neglected.

Miss Hammond's groups (p. 172) are as follows:—

I. Ellesmere. II. Harleian. III. Selden. IV. (a) Harl. 7333, &c.; (b) Corpus, Lansdowne; (c) Harl. 1758, &c.; (d) Petworth; (e) Hatton.

In Group III, she places the Selden MS. by itself; but it is hardly worth considering in this connexion; the order of tales is:—

1. 4a. 3. 4b. 5a. 2. 7. 8. 6. 5b. 9. 2 This gives no help, as the positions of 2 and 5b are (practically) absurd. In her Group IV, I take the sub-groups (a) and (e) to be here of very little value, whilst (c) and (d) hardly differ; but (b) has, as shown above, so material a difference from (c) and (d) that, for our present purpose, it must be considered separately. It is better, perhaps, to give the names of the Tales, as follows:

Hengwrt MS. || Man of Law; Squire; Merchant; Franklin; Clerk.
A. Petworth. Man of Law; Squire; Merchant. || Clerk; Franklin.
B. Lansdowne. Man of Law; Squire. || Clerk; Merchant; Franklin.
C. Harleian. Man of Law. || Clerk; Merchant; Squire; Franklin.

Note how the Clerk was regularly advanced, till he took the place of the Squire; and how 3 (denoted by ||) was advanced, at the

1 I call it the "Petworth" type, because a considerable number of MSS. exhibit a type very like it; but the Petworth MS. itself has 7a, b, after Gamelyn, which is quite an unessential difference. We want to know about 2, 4, 5.

2 Furnivall gives this order; and so does Miss Hammond at p. 187. The order given on p. 172 is misprinted.
same time, before him. Everything depends upon the position of these three—the Squire, the Merchant, and the Franklin.

It may seem strange that the Man of Law is here included; but he is concerned with a most important link. I call this link "m"; and its history must be understood. Its form in Hl, I call "m."

It does not occur in the Hengwrt MS.; but it must have been written very early; for it occurs in MS. Camb. Mm., in which the parts of Group 7 are still separate, and in MS. Camb. Ti., which is a "Petworth" MS. on which the Hengwrt MS. has exerted a strong influence. It is found both in Petworth and Lansdowne, always as a Man of Law-Squire link, and was, in fact, the old Squire's Prologue, in which capacity it appears in all the old black-letter editions. It is called "The Squiers Prolog" or "Prologus Armigeri" in at least fifteen MSS., and is assigned to him in three more; all being of the Petworth or Lansdowne type. But in the Harleian MS. it is wrongly assigned to the "Sompnour," as the scribe seems to have perceived; for he left it incomplete. The odd thing is that this error has crept into two other MSS., viz. Rawl. Misc. 1133 and Royal 17, where the reading "Sayde the Sompnour" is merely absurd, because in both instances the thoughtless scribes have not only written "the Prolog of the Squier" a few lines above, but actually prefix it to the Squire's Tale! In one MS. only, viz. Arch. Selden, it happens to precede the Shipman's Tale, and hence has been called the "Shipman's Prologue."

The fact is, that when the Clerk was advanced next to the Man of Law, this Prologue became absolutely useless, and was meant to have been cancelled.

My notion is, that instead of deleting the whole Prologue, the sole precaution taken was to erase the name of squier\(^1\) in the phrase "Sayde the squier," and to strike out the headline that described the Prologue. Hence the scribe of Hl. gives us no headline, and (seeing perhaps the s of the erased squier) wrote sompnour at a venture, though the following Tale was that of the Wife of Bath! And finally, finding that he was on a wrong tack, never completed the Prologue, but left off in the middle of a sentence, and simply added—"Here endeth the man of lawe his tale"; and so cut the tale off from all that followed. The casual assignment to the Shipman is against all the evidence; but I have allowed myself (as Tyrwhitt did) to make believe that it is right, merely for the purpose of preserving the

\(^1\) Just as a name was erased in Hn. in Group I, line 1.
28 lines, which are certainly all genuine. As in the Six-text, they are numbered B1163–1190.

In the "edited" MSS. of the Ellesmere type, they are very properly suppressed. Miss Hammond thinks that these MSS. may have been edited by Chaucer himself, as they are edited with some judgment. I would rather say that they may perhaps, if edited in his lifetime, have been edited by friends who had received his permission to do so. For they exhibit at least two blunders. They give the component parts of the Monk's Tale in the wrong order; and they quote the "Host-stanza" at the end of the Clerk's Tale, which the Lansdowne and Harleian scribes had rightly suppressed. As regards the order of the Tales, the Harleian MS. is alone authentic.

The history of this link "m" can be thus tabulated. Hengwrt:—
2. 5a. Pt:—2m5a. L:—2m5a. Hl:—2m 4a. E:—2 4a. The advancement of Group 3 to the position between 2 and 4a most effectively severed the Man of Law from the Clerk.

In the Hengwrt MS., the Squire, Merchant, and Franklin are all linked together; but the Clerk is unconnected with anything, though it has the ineffective Host-stanza at the end. We must consider each link separately. The old Squire-Merchant link I have called "n." It consists of F673–708, used in a different way from that in my edition; i.e. different as regards the Franklin only. Hence, in Hn., F675, we duly find "Quod the Marchant," which is quite right and consistent. So also in Pt., which keeps the same order, viz. Squire-n-Merchant. But in L., Group 3 was advanced to follow the Squire, which severed the connexion altogether; and consequently "n" disappears from it. But it was not done with; being revived in Hl., in the form which I call "m," as a Squire-Franklin link. This was extremely easy, because all that was required was to retain the word Squire, but to alter "Marchant" to "Fraunkeleyn." There was a slight difficulty as to the pronunciation, because the latter word was properly trisyllabic, as in A331. However, we may read it in F675 as "Fraunk'leyn," and so get it into the line.

F696 had still to be dealt with; but luckily, in Hn. and Pt. it was a "nine-syllable" line, viz. "What, / Marchaunt! pardée sire, wél thou wóst." Hence it was easily altered to "What, Fránk/eléyn," &c.; and all was complete as regarded F696. There still remained

1 Exactly the same may be said of the Nun's Priest's Epilogue, which is genuine enough, but quite useless as a link. It appears in but few MSS.
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F699; where Hn. Pt. have—"That knówe I wél, sire, quód the Marcháunt, certéyn." 

Here the alteration to "quód the Frañkeleyn" not only kept the rime, but made a better line. This change from "Squire-n-Merchant" to Squire-n-Franklin could not be bettered; so it remained permanently, and is found in MSS. of the Ellesmere type.

Surely this was Chaucer's own doing. Observe how common "Squire-n-Merchant" is; it occurs in a large number of MSS. and in the black-letter editions; so it was not merely casual.

We have next to consider the Merchant-Franklin combination. They are closely connected in Hn. by a link which I call "x, y." It is necessary to use a double symbol, because the Six-text places "x" in one group, and "y" in another, though "x" and "y" are in contact under all circumstances. The former is now counted as E2419-2440, and the latter F1-8; and Hn. has the combination Merchant-xy-Franklin; to which the readings correspond. Thus E2425 (Hn.) has "Marchauntes tale"; and F1,2 appear in Hn. as follows:—

"Sire Frankeleyn, com neer, if it your wille be,
And sey us a tale; for certes ye."

But this is obviously a scribal blunder; the words "com neer" are in the wrong line, making F1 too long, and F2 too short. Of course what was meant is:—

"Sire Frankelwyn, if it your wille be,
Com neer, and sey us a tale; for certes ye."

Thus understood, the combination Marchaunt-xy-Franklin, as given in Hn., is quite right.

But in the next arrangement, in Pt., Group 3 was placed in the position shown by ||; i.e. immediately after the Merchant, which at once severed him from the Franklin, destroyed the value of the link "xy," which could only follow the Merchant (see E2420), and left the Franklin isolated. It was then easy to alter his position, and to substitute Clerk-Franklin for Franklin-Clerk.

Besides the now useless link "xy," it must be remembered that the Clerk's Tale had an appendage of its own in the Host-stanza, or "h," which linked on to nothing. It is clear that Chaucer's intention, at this time, was to drop both connexions, at any rate for the moment, and to suppress both "h" and "xy," leaving the Clerk and Franklin

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1 Certeyn or certeyn occurs thus as a tag more than 30 times; see E646, 694, 960, 1417, &c.

2 It looks as if the line had been dictated piecemeal—Sire Frankeleyn—if it your wille be—com neer—if it your wille be (repeated)—And sey, &c.

EIGHT-TEXT ED. CANT. TALES.
unconnected, and trusting to a future day for connecting them. But the scribes did not understand this, and persisted in using up the old material in various ways; the chief difficulty being in E2420–5. Thus the scribe of Mm. dropped “h,” and wrote in “xy” unaltered (perhaps the easiest thing to do), as if the Tale preceding the Franklin’s was the Merchant’s, and not the Clerk’s. MS. Pt. also dropped “h,” and altered E2425 to—“By mony ensamples it proueth wel.” This answers the purpose after a poor sort, as if it referred to the “archeweues” in Chaucer’s Envoy; but the line is short. Had it been “By mony ensamples olde it proueth wel,” it would have scanned. MS. Harl. 7333 kept “h,” but dropped “xy”; which did no great harm. MS. Trin. R. 3, 15 did the same, but also dropped F709–728, which was a mistake. MS. Harl. 1758 kept “h,” and dropped part of “xy,” viz. the first eight lines (E2419–2426). This also served the purpose, but was inartistic, because it required a sudden change from the stanza to couplets; a difficulty which the scribe courageously surmounted by turning E2427–F6 into a couple of seven-line stanzas, with the daring rime of can with am! MSS. Royal 18 and Barlow 20 do precisely the same! MS. Sloane 1685 and the Lichfield MS. not only drop “h,” but also E2419–26, which leaves a gap. Briefly, they all alike make a sad mess of it. The attempt to preserve “xy” was beyond their powers; it was achieved in quite a different way, by the skilful hand of the author.

We now come to the Lansdowne type. Probably owing to the difficulty caused by this dropping of “xy,” Chaucer seems to have made rather a bold move, which solved that difficulty altogether. He advanced Group 3 still further, and reversed the order of the Clerk and Merchant, so that he now had to deal with the order Clerk, Merchant, Franklin. He provided no link for the Clerk and Merchant, but left them in mere contact. What he did with regard to the Merchant and Franklin, we have no very clear evidence, owing to the unlucky chance that the three MSS. of this type, viz. the Corpus MS., the Lansdowne MS., and Sloane 1686, all abruptly terminate the Merchant’s Tale with E2318, and leave a large gap between this line and F9. Thus the chief features of this type are the preservation of “m,” the Man of Law-Squire link, and the total absence of any link between either the Clerk and the Merchant or the Merchant and the Franklin.

1 It is worth saying that, although B3961–80 (not in Hn., but found in L.) are not in Cp. and Sloane 1686, they are found in several MSS. of the Petworth type, and must have been added rather early.
We now come to a consideration of the Harleian MS. Here Group 3 was again advanced yet another step, forming a barrier between the Man of Law and the Clerk, which rendered "m," the Man of Law-Squire-link useless, so that it ought to have been cancelled. But it wrongly appears, here, for the last time, in the inefficient form "m"; after which we hear no more of it in the latest or "Ellesmere" scheme, although the 28 lines that compose it are all genuine. One obvious result of this was to render the position of the Squire, for the first time, entirely free.1 Not only so, but the Clerk, Merchant, and Franklin, were all left free in L. (as far as we know); and it was easy to arrange all four, the Squire, the Clerk, the Merchant, and the Franklin, in any position. But Chancer had already tried prefixing the Merchant to the Franklin, as in Hn.; the Clerk to the Franklin, as in Pt.; a second prefixing of the Merchant to the Franklin, as in L.; but was still dissatisfied. But now it was possible to prefix the Squire to the Franklin, which pleased him. The Man of Law was now isolated, and so remained. The other four Tales were in the order:—Clerk, Merchant, Squire, Franklin; and all were free. There were thus no less than three links to be supplied, and this was done with such consummate skill that the hand of the master is obviously at work. Let us see how he did it.

First, as to the Clerk and Merchant. This combination was a new thing, and he rose to the occasion. Taking advantage of the fact that his Clerk's Tale ended with the line:—"And let him care and wepe, and wring, and wayle," he wrote an entirely new Prologue, commencing with E1213—"Wepyng and wailyng, care and other sorwe," and continued for 32 lines, to E1244; thus providing the firmest and most satisfactory link in the whole set. This link I call "z." It is amusing to see how much younger the Merchant has grown! In Hn. and Pt., he had a grown-up son (Six-text, F682-694); but now he has only been married for two months (E1234). This (as Tyrwhitt pointed out) brought the unfortunate Thynne to grief; for, finding in his MSS. both the old Merchant's Prologue (F673-708) and the new one (E1213-44), he impartially printed them both; so that the very man who, on Fol. xxxii, back, tells us that he had a grown-up son, goes on to explain, on Fol. xxxiii, that he had only been two months

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1 In Hn. it is linked to the Merchant, which it precedes. In Pt. it is linked both to the Man of Law (before it) and the Merchant (behind it). In L. it is free from the Merchant; and finally, in Hl. it is freed (for the first time) from all old connexions, and could therefore obtain new ones.
married! This is what comes of not understanding how the various links were from time to time altered.

Chaucer had next to connect the Merchant with the Squire; and this he does with great ease. He simply takes the old Merchant-Franklin link in Hn., viz. x, y (E2419–F8); leaves the allusion to the Merchant in E2425; and puts Squire for Franklin in F1.

The correct reading of F1, 2, as shown at p. 49, had once been:—

Sir Fraunkeleyn, if it your wille be,
Com neer, and sey us a tale; for certes ye.

But this had appeared, incorrectly, in Hn. and Pt., in the extraordinary form:—

Sir Fraunkeleyn, com neer, if it your wille be,
And sey vs a tale; for certes ye.

And sure enough, the scribe of H1. got hold of this, and produced this extraordinary result:—

Sir Squier, com forth, if it your wille be,
And say vs a tale; for certes ye.

The former line is all very well, but the second is surely wrong; and accordingly, we find in Cm. E. Dd., the well-known and acceptable lines:—

Squier, com neer, if it your wille be,
And sey somewhat of loue; for certes ye.

This is yet one more example of what I have said already, viz. that an error which occurs in Hn. is very apt to persist in many copies.

Lastly, Chaucer had to connect the Squire with the Franklin; and this he likewise did with perfect ease. He simply revived the old Squire-Merchant link, viz. “n,” or F673–708, which had been used in Hn. and Pt. The reference to the Squire in F673 was all right; but those to the Merchant required alteration. He had to deal with F675, 696, and 699. But I have already had occasion to explain this, in tracing the history of the link “n” at p. 48; so that I need not repeat what I have there said. Perhaps it is proper to add that the Harleian MS. is here defective; but it is fair to assume that it had, at this point, the same readings as are found in Cm., Dd., and E., and the other late MSS. in which the Franklin follows the Squire.

I hope I have now made the matter clear, though it is rather a difficult maze to follow. The point is, shortly, that there are no less than four arrangements of the tales in Groups E and F. This is
simple fact, whatever the explanation may be. All that I do is to place these arrangements in chronological order, and to show what was done from time to time. The four arrangements are: (1) Squire, Merchant, Franklin, Clerk; (2) Squire, Merchant, Clerk, Franklin; (3) Squire, Clerk, Merchant, Franklin; (4) Clerk, Merchant, Squire, Franklin. And the last of these was final. Those who do not accept my explanation will still have to deal with the orders (1), (2), and (3); and must explain them how they can. I think they will fail. Even these four arrangements do not quite exhaust the list, because (5) the Ellesmere MS. slightly alters the positions of other Tales, by carrying Group G lower down; though it agrees with Hn. in the arrangement of Groups E and F. If we leave MS. Hn., or order (1), out of consideration, there still remain (2), (3), (4), and (5).

These last four agree with those which, in my own edition (iv. xxiii), are called types D, C, B, and A respectively; where the arrangement A, B, C, D gives the order as reckoned back from the final one, and so reverses the chronology. All that I now do is to place Hn. by itself, at any rate as regards the Tales in Groups E and F, because it gives the order Squire-Merchant-Franklin-Clerk, which occurs (perhaps) nowhere else. This order is by no means casual, and involves much more besides; for the MS. welds Squire-Merchant-Franklin into one group, by the use of links "n" and "xy"; and that is why I take it seriously. The alternative is to ignore it, and to say that its arrangement is due to contamination of (possibly) (2) and (3). I will not now contest the point. For the sake of argument, let it be granted. It still remains to explain (2), (3), and (4); which is what I claim to have done. If my account of Hn. is wrong, it has only to be disregarded; and the remainder still stands. Then, going back to my old arrangement of the MSS. into classes A, B, C, D, the Tale of the Man of Law and of those in Groups E and F stand thus, inserting the links, and denoting Group D by | 3 |, because it always forms a barrier:—

D.—Petworth.—Man of Law-m-Squire-n-Merchant | 3 | Clerk-xy-Franklin.

C.—Lansdowne.—Man of Law-m-Squire | 3 | Clerk Merchant Franklin.

B.—Harleian.—Man of Law-m | 3 | Clerk-z-Merchant-xy-Squire-[n]-Franklin.

A.—Ellesmere.—Man of Law | 3 | Clerk-z-Merchant-xy-Squire-n-Franklin.
Here B and A coincide (m excepted). The link n is the same as n (F673–708), but has changes in the names referred to; and xy is similarly altered from xy (E2419–E8). My belief is that this employment of old links with new functions or relations is Chaucer's own doing, though some scribes certainly wrote (or preserved) links on their own account. Even if it is not so, the facts are unaltered.

Briefly, I call attention to the following facts, as appearing from the evidence of many MSS. (leaving out Hn. for the present).

(a) The same set of lines (m = B1163–1190) appears both as an old Squire's Prologue and (wrongly) as m (in HL) as a useless prologue. In MS. Arch. Selden it appears as a Shipman's Prologue. It appears in the Preface to the Six-text as “Man of Law's End-link, Real Shipman's Prologue.” I should call it “Man of Law's Endlink or Real Squire's Prologue; Sham Shipman's Prologue.” It is a Squire's Prologue in MSS. Corpus, Sloane 1686, and Lansdowne (of the Lansdowne type), and Sloane 1685, Barlow, Royal 18, Harl. 1758, Lichfield, Harl. 7333, Laud 739, Rawl. Misc. 1133, Hatton, Trin. R. 3. 15, II, Rawl. Poet. 141, Royal 17, Rawl. Poet. 149, Mm, Helmingham, Trin. R. 3. 3. To say that these twenty MSS. are all wrong is mere assumption, and explains nothing. In my view they are correct.

(b) The same set of lines (n = F673–708) appears both as an old Merchant's Prologue and as n (in E.) as Words of the Franklin. It is called in the Preface to the Six-text the “Squire's Endlink as Merchant's Prologue.” I should call it “Merchant's Prologue,” afterwards used as “Words of the Franklin.” However, it is always a Squire's Endlink. It occurs as a Merchant's Prologue in MSS. Hatton, Barlow, Sloane 1685, Rawl. Misc. 1133, Rawl. Poet. 149, Laud 739, Harl. 1758, Royal 18, Lichfield, Mm., II. [Some MSS., as Harl. 7333, Royal 17, Trin. R. 3. 15, employ “z” as a Merchant's Prologue, which is quite inappropriate; for that is the Clerk-Merchant link, and the Clerk does not precede the Merchant in those MSS. MS. Rawl. Poet. 141, which is imperfect, does not contain the Merchant at all.] Here are eleven MSS., all belonging to the same set as those enumerated in (a), employing F673–708 as an old Merchant's Prologue. That there was once an old Merchant's Prologue, as distinguished from the present one (z), is further rendered probable by the absence of “z,” i.e. the standard Merchant's Prologue, from many of the MSS. that give us “n.” I do not call the use of these lines as a Merchant's Prologue a wrong use, but rather an old use. I take it to be quite correct.
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(c) The same set of lines (xy = E2419-F8) which now constitute the Merchant’s End-link and the Squire’s Head-link (or, to give the true name, the Squire’s Prologue 1) were once used as a Franklin’s Prologue. As to this, the MSS. vary, according to the Tale which precedes the Franklin. When used as a Clerk-Franklin link, as in Pt. and many other such MSS., their shape is variable and quite unsatisfactory, as has already been said (p. 50). The only MSS. of an old type which employ them in a wholly satisfactory and perfectly natural manner are the Hengwrt MS. and its follower II., 2 in both of which the Merchant is followed by the Franklin. And this is one reason why I think the order of the Tales in MS. Hn. should receive attention.

ON THE WORD ARIVEE IN THE GENERAL PROLOGUE.

Let me first quote the following admirable summary. “On line 60’ of the General Prologue, arive or arme. The MS. readings are not yet collected. Caxton ed. I. has aruye, ed. II. arme; Thynne has armye; Speght army; Urry army; Morell aruye; Tyrwhitt arme. Skeat prints aruye, with condemnation of arme as giving no good sense, and due probably to the misreading of the spelling arive[e]. Skeat is criticised by Flügel (Jour. Ge. Phil. i. 124–5, Anglia xxiv. 443–6), with citations for arme, in the sense of ‘military expedition.’ The New Eng. Dict. takes Tyrwhitt’s reading, not Skeat’s, for annotation.”—Hammond, Chaucer, p. 273.

There is more to be said. I think the true reading is arivee, after all; or it may be spelt aruye. My original reasons were these. (1) If we are to take the duriōr lectio, surely that is arivee. (2) It scans better, for the word noble should have its e elided before a vowel, as in 1. 708:—“He was in chirche a nobl’ ecclesiaste.” So here:—“At mány a nóbl’ arivee hadd’ he bee.” (3) It is grammatical; we can say “he had been at many a noble disembarkation.” And surely that is graphic. Whereas we can hardly say “he had been at many a noble army, or military expedition. Surely we should say with. And this weighs with me most.

And now for more.

I am told by Mr. Aldis Wright that the reading in MS. Hengwrt (to which I now always look first) is really arivee, and that arme in

1 In E., before E2149, is the rubric—“The Prologue of the Squieres Tale”; and in Dd.—“Incipit prologus Armigeri.”

2 See the description of MS. II. 3. 26 at p. 61.
the “Six-text edition” is due to a mistake. The Cambridge MS. has *aryue*, which cannot be mistaken. And now that Dd. is printed, we find that it has lost lines 1–252; but Dr. Furnivall fills up the gap from MS. Egerton 2726, which has:—“ At many a noble *aryve* had he be”; actually with *v*, not *u*. All these facts require explanation rather than dismissal. If *aryve* is not in the N. E. D., it may some day be in the Supplement.

For the form is quite legitimate. Cotgrave has:—“Arrivée, f. an arrivall, accesse, abboard, or comming to.” Minsheu’s Spanish Dictionary (1623)² has:—“Arribada, or Arricada, f. an arriuall, comming to shoare, or to harborough, ascending, or mounting vpward.” The chief trouble is that the O. F. word does not appear in Godefroy’s Old French Dictionary; in which, unfortunately, the deficiencies are numerous. Perhaps it was commoner in Anglo-French.

At any rate, I have found an example in print. In the Black Book of the Admiralty (Record Series), vol. i. p. 427, I find:—

“Item, les choses desusditz deyvent estre cryes et publies plusieurs foitz et sovent par totes niefes [ships] de ceste presente *aryve*, et en chescon des escheles [companies], ayn qe chescon ait consaunce et plenier memoire de yceux.” The preceding sentence helps us a little:—“Item, qil soit crie et defendu, qe nul ne desende [that no one may disembark] sanz le comandement de maistre.” From MS. Cotton, Claudius E. viii; fol. 249.

Again, at p. 433:—“lesditz maistres et quatre compaignons les puissent prendre a leur *arrivement a terre*” [leaving the ship]. From MS. Sloane 2423 (A.D. 1373); fol. 3, back.

The two first “Items” are from Ordinances given to the French fleet in 1338; before Chaucer was born.

It is probably by mere luck that this form has been preserved. Had it been spelt with *i* instead of *y*, the chances are that it would have been written *arme* by a scribe. In the same volume I find, at p. 438:—“[est] advenu que nostredit admiral a commis soubz luy en aucuns portz ou es *armees* ou entreprinces qui se sont faites par ladite mer gens de legere facon.” The reference is rather to a naval than a military enterprise.

1 The librarian of the National Library of Wales (where the MS. now is) tells me that “the stroke over the *i* is very faint; but as seen with a magnifying-glass I think there is undoubtedly a mark present.”

2 I was once reproved for quoting this book by some one who wrote from the United States to tell me that I ought to have known that there is no such volume in existence. I quote from the copy in my own possession.
Again, at p. 439:—"es prouffitz communs de la guerre, tant a nos armees comme aultrement"; where armees may be meant. I do not pretend to decide.

At p. 441:—"quant au regard des navires [various reading, armees] et entreprinses, qui se ferout [feront ?] par ladite mer, nostredit admiral demourra en icelles armees chef." Was it usual for an admiral to be chief in armics?

Again, on the same page:—"Et sil advenoit aucun cas, es armees et entreprinses, ou nostredit admiral ou son lieutenant seroient en personne."

I desire to add that I am much obliged to Dr. Furnivall for verifying all these passages at the British Museum. He reports that they are printed exactly as they are written.

THE TWO ALLUSIONS TO PERSIUS.

It is known that F721 was suggested by l. 2 of the Prologue to the Satires of Persius. I now find that Chaucer was indebted to another passage in the same short Prologue for the remarkable form Pegasee (for Pegaseus) in F207; where a marginal note in the Ellesmere MS. has equus Pegaseus. I have noted (Chaucer's Works, v. 376) that the poet was thinking of the adjectival form Pegaseus rather than of the substantival form Pegasus. This is not quite right, but very nearly so. For a side-note in the Cambridge MS. Dd. tells us a little more. It runs thus: id est, "equus Pegaseus, Percius 4to." Here either "4to" is an error for "14o," or it is short for "quatuor decimo," as the allusion is obviously to the 14th line of the same Prologue, viz. "Cantare credas Pegaseium nectar"; the only allusion to Pegasus that occurs in Persius, and only twelve lines distant from the line alluded to above. This shows that Chaucer evolved the form Pegaseus as a sb. from the adjectival form Pegaseius.—Notes and Queries, 10 S. xii. 6.

A METHOD OF DESCRIBING A CHAUCER MS.

By making use of my article on "The Evolution of the Tales" and the Comparative Tables (and Notes) given above, it is possible to give, in a compendious form, a sufficiently minute account of a Chaucer MS. that will go a long way towards determining its character. I give such an account below.
MS. Mm. 2. 5 IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

A new symbol is required to denote the Spurious Shipman’s Prologue of 12 lines. I denote it by “s*.” And another, to denote the spurious Canon’s Yeoman-Doctor link; viz. “t*.”

My list of Symbols is as follows.


**Special Links.**—m. Old Squire’s Prologue (B1163–1190).

n. Nameless Prologue (the same lines); used as a Shipman’s Prologue in MS. Arch. Selden only.

h. Host-stanza (at end of Clerk); not used as a link. h*. The same, in a more or less spurious form; used as a link to the Franklin.

x, y. Old Franklin’s Prologue (E2419–2440; and F1–8); as in Hn.

x*, y*. The same lines, as used in Hl. and E.


e. Nun’s Priest’s Epilogue (B4637–4652).

Gam. Tale of Gamelyn. s*. Spurious Shipman’s Prologue. t*. Spurious link between the Canon’s Yeoman and the Doctor.

The contents of MS. Mm. 2. 5 may be thus expressed:

1. Gam. s* 7a, b, e (ending with cloude). 2 m 5a n 4b. 3. 4a x, y, 5b. 7f (with complete Prologue). 8 t* 6. 7c, d. 9.

Here the full stops mark where the Groups end.

I add Notes, giving some more minute particulars, gleaned from a partial examination. Such a note as “637–8” means that lines 637 and 638 are really found in the MS.; on the other hand, such a note as [3155–6] means that the lines within square brackets are omitted in it.


s* 7 a, b, e. (Group B). Shipman, Prioress, Monk. s* = spurious
Shipman's Prol. of 12 lines; *begins*—Nowe frende saide oure oste so dere; *ends*—beganne. Printed in Pref. to Six-text, col. 29. [1220–3]. 1461–2: An hundred fraunkes for a wyke or tweye For certayn bestes pat I moste bye *(sic)*. 1467–8; *like Pt.* [1881–3078]. 3197–3204; 3611; 3764. Monk's Tale *ends*—cloude: 3956.

2. (Group B). Man of Law. 1–1162; joined to Squire-Merchant. m 5a n 4b. (Group B, 1163–1190; F9–672, 673–708; E1245–2418). Squire-Merchant. B1179; Seide pe Squier, &c.; see Pref. to Six-text, col. 21. F671–2. F675; *Quod pe Marchante*; see Pref. to Six-text, col. 43. [F679, 680]. E1305–6; And jif thou take a wiffe pat to pe is vntrewe Full ofte tyme it schall pe rewe; cf. Pref. to Six-text, col. 72. El645; *ends*—a liffe here *(cf. 1647).* [E1646–7]. E1777–8; As pat sche bare daunsynge in hire honde So fressh scho was and perto so likande. E1815; *ends*—wise sone. [E1816]. E1818* (after 1818); So hasted Januarie and moste be done. [E1927–8]. E2355; *ends*—saf his sight a-zayne. [E2356–7].

3. (Group D). Wife to Sompnour. 45 *follows* 44. 222; Knyves and rings and purses wel faire. 382; And eke pat he hadde suspicioun and Ielousnes. [575–584]. [609–612]. [619–626]. [717–720]. 1295–6; And eke—tyme. 1307–8; *wrongly placed after 1294.* [1731]. 1732; *followed by*—To kepe jowe from pe peynes of fendes blake. 1872–4; *only one line*—Than burell folke in richesse and wynnynges. [2004 b, c; 2012 b, c; 2048 b, c].

4a x, y, 5b. (E1–1212, 2419–2440, F1–8, 709–1624). Clerk-Franklin. E117; For of wedloke cometh grete emprise (!). E143. E173. E1195–1200 *follow* E1212. E2425; By pis marchaundes (!) 1 tale it proueth wele; see Pref. to Six-text, col. 50. [E2433]. F1, 2. Sir fraunkeleyn con nere 2 jif it joure wille be And saye us a tale, for certes 3e. [F4]. F918 *precedes* F917. [1147–8]. [1191–6]. 1266 *precedes* 1265. [1433–4]. [1455–6]. [1493–8]. 1530 *precedes* 1529, and *runs*—Certes me thynekth it were right grete routhe. 1556–7. 1567–8.


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1 This most important reading shows that the reference to the Merchant in E2425 persisted even after, in the Petworth scheme, E2419–2440 was made to follow the Clerk. This oversight was corrected, in the Harleian and Ellesmere schemes, by changing x y into x y, as I have explained at p. 52.

2 *Com nere* belongs to F9; *read* Sir Fraunkeleyn, jif it *joure* wille be, Com nere, and saye us a tale; for certes 3e.
156–9. That \( \textit{3e wille 3owe gouerne no-thyng amys He wille 3owe saue and kepe tille 3e be dede For 3oure clene lyffynge and and (sic) 3our goodnes And brynge 3owe streight in-to heuene blisse (spurious). 213–4; I leue al pis thynge \( \textit{\%} \) an pis I dar wele saye (\textit{only one line}). 325. [326–337]. [432]. 563–5. 1238–9.


\( 9. \) (\textbf{Groups} \textbf{H, I}). Manciple and Parson. [H47–52].

\( \text{I 17; \textit{\%} ends with degree (\textit{error for decree}). \textit{I} 18; Who wille nowe telle a tale lat see (!); cf. Pt. Cp. L.} \)

As for Melibeus and the Parson’s Tale, I have not examined them.

The above description shows clearly that this MS. is of the “Petworth” type, and agrees with the Petworth MS. in a large number of cases where readings differ. Its variations from that MS. are but few. For example, it preserves B3764, which Pt. omits. The lines in D1872–4 do not agree with Pt., but with Cp. L. In E1777 it has \textit{bare} (as in Cp. L.), not \textit{ladde} (as in Pt.). E2425 has \textit{pis marchaundes tale} (as in Cp. L.); not like Pt.; though F675 agrees with Pt. in reading \textit{the marchante}.

But it has one very striking variation from Pt. in the fact that Group 7, instead of being complete and succeeding 6 (as often) is split up into no less than three fragments, viz. 7\( a, \, b, \, e \) near the beginning, 7\( f \) (after 5\( b \)) and 7\( c, \, d \) in the position in which we should expect to find the whole group. We find something of the kind in Hn., which has 7\( e, \, f \) near the beginning, and 7\( a, \, b, \, c, \, d \) after 6; and there are other MSS. which split up this Group in other ways. Indeed the Petworth MS. itself differs from nearly all MSS. of the \textit{usual “Petworth” type} by the fact that it places 7\( a, \, b \) after Gamelyn, but 7\( c, \, d, \, e, \, f \) in the usual place. This suggests that the Tales in that Group (as perhaps in others) were, in the first instance, written separately from each other, and were collected afterwards. And perhaps we may further conclude that both the Petworth MS. and Mm. are (as regards type) earlier than the other MSS. of the “Petworth”
type in which this Group is complete; and perhaps Mm. is (as regards type) the earlier of the two.

In her wonderfully comprehensive volume on "Chaucer," Miss Hammond draws attention (p. 192) to the curious fact that this MS. has some of its Tales numbered, but according to a system which does not agree with the order in the MS. itself. "These numbers are:—Reeve iii, Man of Law v, Wife of Bath vii, Summoner ix, Franklin xii, Prioress xviii, Sir Thopas xix, Parson xxiv"; and she refers us to similar markings found in the Corpus MS. (Oxford).

In describing this Corpus MS. (at p. 188) she notes that "the numbers in this Codex are: Reeve iii, Cook iv, Man of Law v, Wife of Bath vii, Pardoner xvi, Shipman xvii, Sir Thopas xix, Melibeus xx, Monk xxi, Nun's Priest xxii, Manciple xxiii, Parson xxiv."

She notes further that the two systems agree, "although neither MS. agrees in existing order with the numberings."

In this respect I think there is an oversight. The numberings are simply due to the order of the Tales in the Corpus MS. itself; so that there is no mystery about them.

This can be shown from her own description of that MS. "Order of Tales:—A Gamelyn B1 F1 D E1 E2 F2 G C B2 H I"; where A represents Group A in the Six-text, &c. If we write this order out, and number the Tales as we proceed, we have this result:—Knight i, Miller ii, Reeve iii, Cook (including Gamelyn) iv, Man of Law v, Squire vi, Wife vii, Friar viii, Summoner ix, Clerk x, Merchant xi, Franklin xii, Second Nun xiii, Canon's Yeoman xiv, Doctor xv, Pardoner xvi, Shipman xvii, Prioress xviii, Sir Thopas xix, Melibeus xx, Monk xxi, Nun's Priest xxii, Manciple xxiii, Parson xxiv. All that has happened is that the scribe of Mm. has taken his numbers from a MS. of the Corpus-Laudsdowne type.

MS. II. 3. 26 IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Without taking notice of lost lines and peculiarities of reading, the contents may be expressed by the following formula:—

1. Gam. 2 m 5a n 4b xy 5b. 3 . 4a. 8 . 6 . 7 . 9.

This only differs from the Petworth type by the remarkable position of "3. 4a," which follows "xy 5b" instead of preceding it. This is like the position found in Hn.; and what it means is easily seen.
The chief feature of Hn. is that, immediately after "2," it has the connected sequence "5a n 4b xy 5b." But in forming the Petworth type, the first step was the writing of "m," the old Squire's Prologue (B 1163–1190), which joined 2 to 5a, giving "2 m 5a." The scribe of Hn. has used this "m" to good effect, and has thus made out the long sequence "2 m 5a n 4b xy 5b," i.e. a Clerk-Squire-Merchant-Franklin group. The Petworth type cut off "xy 5b" from the end of this, and placed it after "3. 4a"; an arrangement which (with considerable modifications) persisted ever after. Hence Hn. 3. 26 presents a curious variety of the Petworth type, on which the Hengwrt MS. has exerted a remarkable influence.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have tried to explain that it is quite hopeless to comprehend the order of the Tales in any MS. unless we carefully study the connecting links that intervene between them. It is not enough to state whether they are or are not connected. We must know likewise the nature of that connexion.

I have shown above, for example, that the link "xy" occurs also as "xy," the difference being that one of the lines is altered. It would make the matter still clearer if I had gone further, and denoted the use of "xy" in the Petworth MS. by the symbol "x* y*"; using the asterisk, as elsewhere, to show that the lines, as they occur in that MS., are practically corrupt, inasmuch as they have not been properly altered so as to make them suit their new position; whereas in the forms "xy" and "yx" they are correctly adapted to their surroundings. In order to show this in such a way as to make it fairly obvious, it is necessary to give the actual readings of the variable lines; which I now do.

(1) xy. This is the connecting link between the Merchant and Franklin in Hn.

The complete passage is as follows; where I denote the invariable lines by numbers only.

The Merchant's Tale: E1245–2418. After which—¶ Here is ended the Marchantes tale of Januarie. ¶ Here folwen the Wordes of the Worthy Hoost to the Frankeleyn.
E2419. Ey goddes mercy / seyde oure Hoost tho
Now swich a wyf / I prey god kepe me fro
Lo whiche sleightes / and subtiltes
In wommen ben / for ay as bisy as bees
Ben they / vs sely men for to decayue
And from a sooth / euere wol they weyue

2425. By this Marchantes tale / it proueth well

(Here follows E2426–2440; and next—)

F1. Sire Frankeleyn / com neer if it your wille be
And sey vs a tale / for certes ye

(Here follows F3–8.)

¶ Explicit. ¶ Here bigynneth the Frankeleyns tale.

THE FRANKLIN'S TALE: F709–1624.

NOTE. This is all consistent. The reference in E2420 is to the
wife of Januarie; and the preceding Merchant's Tale is correctly
alluded to in E2425. I have explained above the (unessential) mis-
reading in F1, 2; viz. that "com neer" belongs to F2, not to F1; see p. 49.

(2) x* y*. This is the "manipulated" connecting link between the
Clerk and Franklin in Pt. It should have been rewritten, to suit the
preceding Clerk; but the work of adaptation seems to have been left
to the scribes. The complete passage is as follows—

which—¶ The prologe of the Frankeley

E2419. Ey goddis mercy seide oure hoost thoo
Alle euel wyues god kepe vs fro
For mony sleightes and sub[t]ilites
Bene in wommen that bene euere bisy as bees
Vs foly men forto descuyue
For from the soth euere wil thei weive

2425. By mony ensamples it proueth well
(Here follows E2426–2440; and next—)

F1. Sir Frannekeyne come ner if it your wille be
And say us a tale for sertys ye

(Here follows F3–8.)

¶ Here endeth the prologe of the Frannekeyne. And here
bygynneth the Fraunceleys tale.

THE FRANKLIN'S TALE: F709–1624.
Note. This is consistent, at the end, as regards the Franklin. But the placing of this Tale next to the Clerk (apparently adopted as an experiment only, for it was altered afterwards) required an adaptation which it did not fully receive; though we may well suppose *Alle euel wyues* to refer to the last stanza in the Clerk's Tale, which (in Pt.) contained the lines E1195 and E1197—*Ye Archewiffes,* &c., *And scelendere wyres,* &c. Note also the alteration in E2425, which gets rid of the allusion to the Merchant's Tale, since it no longer preceded the Franklin.¹

(3) *xy.* This is the connecting link in HI. between the Merchant and Squire; skilfully and correctly adapted.

**The Clerk's Tale:** E1–1212; *new* Clerk-Merchant link: E1213–1244; **The Merchant's Tale:** E1245–2418. *After which*—Here endith the marchauntes tale.

E2419. *Ey goddes mercy sayd our hoste tho*
Now such a wyf I pray god keep me fro
Lo whiche sleightes and subtilitees
In wommen ben for ay as busy as bees
Ben thay vs seely men for to desceyue
And from a soth. euer wol thay weyue

2425. By this marchaundes tale it proueth wel
*(Here follows E2426–2440; and next—)*

F1. *Sir Squier com forth if that your wille be*
And say vs a tale for certes ye
*(Here follows F3–8.)*

† Her endith the prologe. †† And her bygynneth the Squyeres tale.

**The Squire's Tale:** F9–616 (*gap in MS.*).

Note. This is cleverly done. The author has here the same readings as at first with respect to the Merchant; and simply alters F1 so as to suit the Squire. But it is characteristic that (if the scribe is right) he did not at the moment amend F2; let us hope the scribe is wrong! In any case, it was well mended at last; see p. 52.

If each of the other links, viz. "m," "n," and "z," be carefully studied at length in the same way, they will all become intelligible at last. All depends upon the patience of the reader.

¹ The readings in Cp. L. cannot be determined, as these MSS. are defective just at this very point.