

A Transcription and Study of British Library  
MS. Lansdowne 851  
of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

by

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**THESIS CONTAINS  
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## Abstract

British Library MS. Lansdowne 851 has never been viewed as central to the *Canterbury Tales* tradition and only two hypotheses regarding its priority within the transmission of the poem have ever been proposed: 1) that La and Cp shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars, and 2) that La is a direct copy of Cp. This thesis aims to provide a comprehensive analysis and description of La and to review in detail its relationship to Cp; thereby testing and ascertaining the relative priority of these hypotheses, proposed by Manly and Rickert (1940) and Blake (1985) respectively. To complete a comprehensive analysis of the La manuscript I have transcribed it into electronic format to permit accurate cross-referencing with a base text and other transcribed witnesses; an electronic copy of the transcription is provided with this thesis. A meticulous and exhaustive consultation of the La manuscript itself has also been completed, the detail of which is described within the chapters and appendices of this thesis.

Chapter I discusses and reviews the history of *Canterbury Tales* editions and scholarly attitudes regarding the textual tradition. A thorough description of the La witness is presented in Chapter II. The provenance of La and a reassessment of Manly and Rickert's work in this area is discussed fully in Chapter III. Chapter IV considers the tale order, and major textual omissions and additions of La and Cp, and begins to explore the genesis of the La and Cp text. This is investigated further in Chapter VI by close study of the minor omissions, additions, dialect and spelling, and glosses of the two manuscripts. These chapters yield firm evidence of sufficient detail to test the hypotheses of Blake and Manly and Rickert. Chapter V discusses the inclusion of unique links in La. Chapter VII considers the decoration of La and the plausibility of it having been produced in a commercial scriptorium. The Conclusion forms Chapter VIII in which it is established that Blake's hypothesis may be dismissed, and that Manly and Rickert's hypothesis is inconclusive. I have proposed an equally viable conjecture supported by both textual and other evidence, that La and Cp share a common ancestor, the *c* archetype, but that La was produced by consulting an intermediate, and now unknown exemplar.



And pat aprill daye was thowres porte  
 he brought of a wyche hare yowes to pe wote  
 And bayis every weyne in such a houre  
 Of wyche wyche enyowes is pe flour  
 Johan zephirus etc. v. his swete bryde  
 Inspred hape in eny holce a bethre  
 Dhe tendre croppes i pe zonges sonne  
 Hape in pe same his half couer womme  
 And swal soules maken melodye  
 pat slepen at nyght they open the

So pryde hem to come in her tyme  
 Than longen folke to gone one pilgrynage  
 And palmers for to seke strangers stowdes  
 To ferre halowes wythe in floure londes  
 And hooly from eny schyres ende  
 Of mayden to Cantuar pe wende  
 The holi blisful martir for to seke  
 That hem hay hoþen when pe wote seke  
 he be sit pan in pat seþne upon aduise  
 In Cuthewerke att pe taberle as i late  
 Red to wende on my pilgrynage  
 To Cantuar wy ful deuote crage  
 At nyght was come in to pat hostellerie  
 Wel syne and evedent on a compaigne  
 Of fardre folke be aucture spalle  
 In schawshyre i pilgrynage were pe alle  
 To wende Cantuar pat wolle ride  
 The chawmber i stables weren theyde  
 And dole weren esde at pe best  
 In schawshyre when pe son was to wete  
 So had i spoken to hem enyghane  
 pat i was of her chawshyre none  
 And made for to go for to rise  
 To take oþer wote pan as i wote seise  
 For nyghtes while i hane tyme i spate  
 At pat i suppe in vis tale pace  
 he payte it accordant to usene  
 To eke zowe all pe audiaone  
 Of wote of hem was it samde me  
 And while pe wote of wote digne  
 And eke in whate anone were tyme  
 and att a fuphte pan wote i fuphte spate



Fol.2f, British Library MS. Lansdowne 851  
 (Reproduced with permission of the British Library)

## Contents

Abbreviations of Tales and Links		i
Manuscript Sigils		vii
Manly and Rickert's Constant Manuscript Groups		xiii
Reference Abbreviations		xv
Chapter I	The Background to the <i>Canterbury Tales</i> : Scholarly Opinion and Proposals Regarding the Manuscript Tradition	1
Chapter II	Manuscript Description: British Library MS. Lansdowne 851	54
Chapter III	The Provenance of Lansdowne	97
Chapter IV	A Comparison of Lansdowne and Corpus: Tale Order, and Major Omissions and Additions	124
Chapter V	The Unique Lansdowne Links	149
Chapter VI	A Comparison of Lansdowne and Corpus: Minor Variants, Glosses, Dialect and Spelling	185
Chapter VII	Shop Production, Illumination, and Westminster	210
Chapter VIII	Conclusion	231
Bibliography		239
<b>Appendices</b>		
Appendix I	Contents of Lansdowne by Folio	267
Appendix II	Catalogue of Rubrics in Lansdowne	284

Appendix III	Ornamental Capitals, Decorated Initials, and Foliate Bar Borders in Lansdowne	294
Appendix IV	Emphatic and Abstract Capitals in Lansdowne	303
Appendix V	Textual Comparison of Lansdowne and Corpus:	308
	Additional Lines in Lansdowne and Corpus	308
	Lines Omitted from Lansdowne and Corpus	311
	Variant Lines in Lansdowne and Corpus	317
	Transposed Lines in Lansdowne and Corpus	321
Appendix VI	Glosses and Marginal Annotations in Lansdowne and Corpus	324
Appendix VII	Genealogical Tree I: Friends of Chaucer and Their Associations with the Grey de Wiltons and the Brydges	337
	Genealogical Tree II: The Brydges Family	338
Appendix VIII	Introduction to the Electronic Transcription of British Library MS. Lansdowne 851	339
	Disk A      CL - MI	
	Disk B      ML - WBT	

## Abbreviations of Tales and Links

The following list of abbreviations are those devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project. These abbreviations have been used throughout this thesis.

### Tales

Where the same link appears consistently with a specific tale across all witnesses the text has been lineated as part of a complete unit. For example, the linking passage traditionally known as the Clerk's Prologue is numbered as a continuous unit with the Clerk's Tale. Where links and tales have been lineated as a single unit the traditional title of the passages has been given in parentheses. The line numbers given in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987) are also presented. Where the 'Fragment' and 'Group' divisions of the *Canterbury Tales* have resulted in two sets of lineation numbers for sections of text both have been given; those in parentheses refer to the 'Group' lineation.

<b>Tale</b>	<b>Title used in <i>The Riverside Chaucer</i></b>	<b><i>Riverside</i> Frag. / Grp.</b>	<b><i>Riverside</i> Line Nos.</b>
CL	Clerk (Prologue and Tale)	IV E <sup>1</sup>	1 - 1176
CO	Cook	I A	4365 - 4422
CY	Canon's Yeoman	VIII G	720 - 1481
FK	Franklin (Prologue and Tale)	V F <sup>2</sup>	709 - 1624
FR	Friar	III D	1301 - 1664
GP	General Prologue	I A	1 - 858
KN	Knight	I A	859 - 3108
MA	Manciple	IX H	105 - 362
ME	Merchant	IV E <sup>2</sup>	1245 - 2418

MI	Miller		I	A	3187 - 3854
ML	Man of Law	(Prologue and Tale)	II	B <sup>1</sup>	99 - 1162
MO	Monk		VII	B <sup>2</sup>	1991 (3181) - 2766 (3956)
NP	Nun's Priest		VII	B <sup>2</sup>	2821 (4011) - 3446 (4636)
NU	Second Nun	(Prologue and Tale)	VIII	G	1 - 553
PA	Parson		X	I	75 - 1080
PD	Pardoner	(Prologue and Tale)	VI	C	329 - 968
PH	Physician		VI	C	1 - 285
PR	Prioress	(Prologue and Tale)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	453 (1643) - 690 (1880)
RE	Reeve		I	A	3921 - 4324
RT	Retraction		X	I	1081 - 1092

(Under the *Canterbury Tales* Project lineation scheme the PA and RT are treated as one continuously lineated unit)

SH	Shipman		VII	B <sup>2</sup>	1 (1191) - 434 (1624)
SQ	Squire		V	F <sup>1</sup>	9 - 670
SU	Summoner		III	D	1709 - 2294
TG	Tale of Gamelyn	(Not in <i>The Riverside</i> )			
TM	Tale of Melibeus		VII	B <sup>2</sup>	967 (2157) - 1888 (3078)
TT	Tale of Sir Thopas		VII	B <sup>2</sup>	712 (1902) - 918 (2108)
WB	Wife of Bath	(Prologue and Tale)	III	D	1 - 1264

### Links

The *Canterbury Tales* Project lineation scheme labels all prologues, epilogues and other linking passages as 'Links'. Each link is identified by a number as detailed below. Where links are unique to La or only occur in certain manuscripts details have been given in parentheses. To avoid confusion the traditional titles of each linking passage and the

corresponding line numbers used in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987) have been provided. Where two sets of lineation numbers exist for sections of text the 'Group' lineation is given in parentheses.

<b>Linking Passage</b>	<b>Title used in <i>The Riverside Chaucer</i></b>	<b><i>Riverside</i> Frag. / Grp.</b>	<b><i>Riverside</i> Line Nos.</b>
L1	KN-MI (Miller's Prologue)	I A	3109 - 3186
L2	MI-RE (Reeve's Prologue)	I A	3855 - 3920
L3	RE-CO (Cook's Prologue)	I A	4325 - 4364
L4	CO Endlink (2 MSS)		
L5	CO-TG (13 MSS)		
L6	CO-TG (Unique to La)		
L7	ML Headlink (Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale- Words of the Host to the Company)	II B <sup>1</sup>	1 - 98
L8	ML Endlink (Epilogue of the Man of Law's Tale)	II B <sup>1</sup>	1163 - 1190
L9	WB Headlink (Unique to La)		
L10	WB-FR (Friar's Prologue)	III D	1265 - 1300
L11	FR-SU (Summoner's Prologue)	III D	1665 - 1708
L12	SU Endlink (9 MSS)		
L13	CL Envoy (Lenvoye de Chaucer)	IV E <sup>1</sup>	1177 - 1212
L14	Host Stanza (Words of the Host)	IV E <sup>1</sup>	1212a - 1212g
L15	ME Headlink (Merchant's Prologue)	IV E <sup>2</sup>	1213 - 1244
L16	ME-WB (3 MSS)		
L17	ME-SQ (Epilogue to the	IV E <sup>2</sup>	2419 - 2440

	[ME-FK]	Merchant's Tale and Introduction to the Squire's Tale)	V	F <sup>1</sup>	1 - 8
L18	CL-FK	(11 MSS)			
L19	SQ Endlink	(Unique to La)			
L20	SQ-FK	(Words of the Franklin [SQ-ME] to the Squire and the Host to the Franklin)	V	F <sup>2</sup>	671 - 708
L21	PH-PD	(Introduction to the Pardoner's Tale)	VI	C	287 - 328
L22	PD-SH	(19 MSS)			
L23	SH Headlink	(Unique to La)			
L24	SH-PR	(Words of the Host to the Shipman and Lady Prioress)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	435 (1625) - 452 (1642)
L25	PR-TT	(Prologue to Sir Thopas)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	691 (1881) - 711 (1901)
L26	TT Headlink	(1 MSS)			
L27	TT Endlink	(2 MSS)			
L28	TT-TM	(Here the Host 'stynteth' Chaucer's Tale of Thopas)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	919 (2109) - 966 (2156)
L29	TM-MO	(Monk's Prologue)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	1889 (3079) - 1990 (3180)
L30	MO-NP	(Nun's Priest's Prologue)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	2767 (3957) - 2820 (4010)
L31	NP Endlink	(Epilogue to the Nun's Priest's Tale)	VII	B <sup>2</sup>	3447 (4637) - 3462 (4652)
L32	NU Headlink	(4 MSS)			
L33	NU-CY	(Canon's Yeoman's Prologue)	VIII	G	554 - 719

L34	CY-PH	(21 MSS)			
L35	CY-PH	(Unique to La)			
L36	MA Headlink	(Manciple's Prologue)	IX	H	1 - 104
L37	MA-PA	(Parson Prologue)	X	I	1 - 74

Further details regarding the lineation scheme devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project can be found in Blake 1994; and Blake 1997[a], pp. 5-14.

### **Fragment and Group Divisions**

The following table presents the Fragment and Group divisions used in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987).

<b><u>Fragment</u></b>	<b><u>Group</u></b>	<b><u>Tales</u></b>
I	A	GP, KN, MI, RE, CO
II	B <sup>1</sup>	ML
III	D	WB, FR, SU
IV	E <sup>1</sup>	CL
	E <sup>2</sup>	ME
V	F <sup>1</sup>	SQ
	F <sup>2</sup>	FK
VI	C	PH, PD
VII	B <sup>2</sup>	SH, PR, TT, TM, MO, NP
VIII	G	NU, CY
IX	H	MA
X	I	PA (including the RT)

For the sake of clarity, throughout this thesis any abbreviation or line number appearing in square brackets refers to the lineation scheme and abbreviations used by the *Canterbury Tales* Project. Where the *Canterbury Tales* Project has continuously lineated a prologue and tale as one complete unit traditional notation have been supplied to differentiate between the two sections of text; 'P' for Prologue and 'T' for Tale. For example, the Franklin's Prologue and Tale are denoted as FkP and FkT as necessary. In some instances the abbreviations for the 'Links' as used by the *Canterbury Tales* Project have been accompanied by more traditional notation to avoid confusion. For example, the Manciple's Prologue may be written as L36 (MaP). References to the Fragment/Group divisions used by the *Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987) appear in parentheses were appropriate.

The preparation of an electronic transcription of the La manuscript necessitated the use of a specially devised *Canterbury* font in order to preserve the form of the textual characters as found in the witness. Where manuscript text has been quoted within this thesis the *Canterbury* font has been utilised to represent this text in the most accurate form. This maintains the original typography and presentation of the text and allows it to be accurately replicated in this thesis. Special character forms are presented graphemically as found in the witness, similarly the spelling has not been regularised. A key to the special character forms may be found at the beginning of Appendix VIII.

## Manuscript Sigils

In those instances where a manuscript has a common name, other than its full manuscript title and number, it is given in square brackets. Any former names and reference numbers of manuscripts are given in parentheses. Whilst the following list of manuscript sigils is based on that used by Manly and Rickert (1940) it differs in that their Ox has been physically separated into two parts and has consequently been renumbered Ox<sup>1</sup> and Ox<sup>2</sup>. The discovery that manuscript To<sup>2</sup> contains fragments of tales has resulted in Manly and Rickert's To being renumbered To<sup>1</sup>. Likewise, their Ds has been renumbered Ds<sup>1</sup>.

### Manuscripts

Ad<sup>1</sup> London, British Library MS. Additional 5140

Ad<sup>2</sup> London, British Library MS. Additional 25718

Ad<sup>3</sup> London, British Library MS. Additional 35286

Ad<sup>4</sup> London, British Library MS. Additional 10340

(Flyleaf in a manuscript of Chaucer's *Boece*. Quoted from memory - description of the Parson from the GP)

Ar London, British Library MS. Arundel 140

(TM only)

Bo<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 414

Bo<sup>2</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 686

Bw Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Barlow 20

Ch Oxford, Christ Church MS. 152

Cn Austin, University of Texas, Humanities Research Center MS. 143 [Cardigan]

Cp Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 198

Ct Manchester, Chetham's Library MS. 6709

(PR and NU only - copied from Cx<sup>2</sup>)

- Dd Cambridge University Library MS. Dd.4.24
- Dl Tokyo, Takamiya MS. 32 [Delamere]
- Do Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce d.4  
(Single folio - GP)
- Ds<sup>1</sup> Tokyo, Takamiya MS. 24 [Devonshire]
- Ds<sup>2</sup> Derbyshire, Chatsworth House, Devonshire Fragment  
(Two folios - ML)
- Ee Cambridge University Library MS. Ee.2.15  
(ML only)
- El California, San Marino, Huntington Library MS. El. 26 C 9 [Ellesmere]
- En<sup>1</sup> London, British Library MS. Egerton 2726
- En<sup>2</sup> London, British Library MS. Egerton 2863
- En<sup>3</sup> London, British Library MS. Egerton 2864
- Fi Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. McClean 181
- Gg Cambridge University Library MS. Gg.4.27
- Gl Glasgow, Hunterian Museum MS. U.1.1 (197)
- Ha<sup>1</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 1239  
(Five tales - KN, ML, WB, CL, FK)
- Ha<sup>2</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 1758
- Ha<sup>3</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 7333
- Ha<sup>4</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 7334
- Ha<sup>5</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 7335
- He Princeton University Library MS. 100 [Helmingham]
- Hg Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 392 D [Hengwrt]
- Hk Norfolk, Holkham Hall MS. 667
- Hl<sup>1</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 1704

- (PR only)
- HI<sup>2</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 2251  
(PR only)
- HI<sup>3</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 2382  
(PR and NU only)
- HI<sup>4</sup> London, British Library MS. Harley 5908  
(Single folio - CL)
- Hn California, San Marino, Huntington Library MS. HM 144  
(TM and MO only)
- Ht Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Hatton Donat. 1
- Ii Cambridge University Library MS. Ii.3.26
- Kk Cambridge University Library MS. Kk.1.3  
(Single folio - PR)
- La London, British Library MS. Lansdowne 851
- Lc Lichfield Cathedral MS. 29
- Ld<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud Misc. 600
- Ld<sup>2</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud Misc. 739
- Ll<sup>1</sup> Wiltshire, Longleat House MS. Longleat 257  
(KN and CL only)
- Ll<sup>2</sup> Wiltshire, Longleat House MS. Longleat 29  
(PA only)
- Ln Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 110
- Ma University of Manchester, John Rylands Library MS. English 113
- Mc University of Chicago Library MS. 564 [McCormick]
- Me Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS. 21972 D [Merthyr]  
(Three folios - NP)
- Mg New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 249

- Mm Cambridge University Library MS. Mm.2.5
- Ne Oxford, New College MS. D.314
- Nl Northumberland, Alnwick Castle MS. 455 [Northumberland]
- Np Naples, Royal Library MS. XIII.B.29 [Naples]  
(CL only)
- Ox<sup>1</sup> University of Manchester, John Rylands Library MS. English 63  
(Two leaves - MI)
- Ox<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS. 1084/2  
(Eleven leaves - portions of RE, ML, SQ, CY, TT, PA)
- Ph<sup>1</sup> Austin, University of Texas, Humanities Research Center MS. 46  
(Formerly Phillipps 6570)  
(Two fragments each of twelve folios - 1) part of PD, SH, PR, TT, part of TM.  
2) last half of PA)
- Ph<sup>2</sup> Geneva, Bodmer Library MS. 48  
(Formerly Phillipps 8136)
- Ph<sup>3</sup> Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS. 1084/1  
(Formerly Phillipps 8137)
- Ph<sup>4</sup> California, San Marino, Huntington Library MS. HM 140  
(Formerly Phillipps 8299)  
(CL only)
- Pl New York, Columbia University Library MS. Plimpton 253  
(Formerly Phillipps 9970)  
(Two folios - fragments of ME and SQ)
- Pp Cambridge, Magdalene College MS. Pepys 2006  
(TM and PA only)
- Ps Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Fonds Anglais 39
- Pw Sussex, Petworth House MS. 7

- Py London, Royal College of Physicians MS. 388
- Ra<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson poet. 141
- Ra<sup>2</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson poet. 149
- Ra<sup>3</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson poet. 223
- Ra<sup>4</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson C.86  
(CL and part of PR only)
- Ry<sup>1</sup> London, British Library MS. Royal 17 D.xv
- Ry<sup>2</sup> London, British Library MS. Royal 18 C.ii
- Se Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden. B.14
- Si Tokyo, Takamiya MS. 22: [Sion College]  
(CL, WB, FR, SU only)
- Sl<sup>1</sup> London, British Library MS. Sloane 1685
- Sl<sup>2</sup> London, British Library MS. Sloane 1686
- Sl<sup>3</sup> London, British Library MS. Sloane 1009  
(TM only)
- St Lancashire, Stonyhurst College MS. B.XXIII  
(TM only)
- Tc<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.3
- Tc<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.15
- Tc<sup>3</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.19  
(MO only)
- To<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Trinity College MS. Arch. 49
- To<sup>2</sup> Oxford, Trinity College MS. 29  
(Parts of TM and PA only)

**Pre-1500 Printed Editions**

- Cx<sup>1</sup> Caxton, First Edition, c. 1476 (*STC* 5082)  
[*The Canterbury tales*. 1476]
- Cx<sup>2</sup> Caxton, Second Edition, c. 1482 (*STC* 5083)  
[*The Canterbury tales*. 1482]
- Pn Richard Pynson, c. 1492 (*STC* 5084)  
[*The Canterbury Tales*.]
- Wy Wynkyn de Worde, 1498, (*STC* 5085)  
[*The boke of Chaucer named Caunterbury tales*.]

## Manly and Rickert's Constant Manuscript Groups

Manly and Rickert's constant manuscript groups consist of four larger groups, comprising smaller constant subgroups as listed below. Those sigils underlined represent the heads of subgroups:

- a*     Dd-Cn
- b*     He-Ne
- c*     Cp-La-Sl<sup>2</sup>
- d*     En<sup>2</sup>-Lc-Pw-Ry<sup>2</sup>-Dl-Ha<sup>2</sup>-Sl<sup>1</sup>

The four main groups listed above contain the following subgroups:

- Ad<sup>3</sup>    Ad<sup>3</sup>-Ha<sup>5</sup>
- Bo<sup>1</sup>    Bo<sup>1</sup>-Ph<sup>2</sup>
- Cn     Cn-Ma
- Cx<sup>1</sup>    Cx<sup>1</sup>-Tc<sup>2</sup>
- Dd     Dd-En<sup>1</sup>
- En<sup>1</sup>    En<sup>1</sup>-Ds<sup>1</sup>
- En<sup>2</sup>    En<sup>2</sup>-Li<sup>1</sup>
- En<sup>3</sup>    En<sup>3</sup>-Ad<sup>1</sup>
- Lc     Lc-Mg
- Mc    Mc-Ra<sup>1</sup>
- Mm    Mm-Gl
- Ne    Ne-Cx<sup>1</sup>

Ps Ps-Ha<sup>1</sup>

Pw Pw-Ph<sup>3</sup>-Mm

Ra<sup>2</sup> Ra<sup>2</sup>-Ht

Ry<sup>2</sup> Ry<sup>2</sup>-Ld<sup>2</sup>

Further information and clarification of these groups can be found in Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 49-77.

## Reference Abbreviations

<i>BHA</i>	<i>Bridge House Accounts</i>
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i>
<i>ChauR</i>	<i>Chaucer Review</i>
<i>CIPM</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortems</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>E&amp;S</i>	<i>Essays and Studies</i>
<i>ELN</i>	<i>English Language Notes</i>
<i>EMS</i>	<i>English Manuscript Studies</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
<i>GEC</i>	<i>The Complete Peerage of England</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>JEBs</i>	<i>Journal of the Early Book Society</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>LALME</i>	<i>A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English</i>
<i>LB</i>	<i>Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London</i>
<i>LC</i>	<i>List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900</i>
<i>LSE</i>	<i>Leeds Studies in English</i>
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>N&amp;Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>NM</i>	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</i>

<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>PRO</i>	<i>Public Record Office</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>Roll</i>	<i>Recognizance Rolls (Freemen and Their Sureties)</i>
<i>SAC</i>	<i>Studies in the Age of Chaucer</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>STC</i>	<i>Short-Title Catalogue</i>
<i>YWES</i>	<i>The Year's Work in English Studies</i>

## Chapter I

### The Background to the *Canterbury Tales*:

#### Scholarly Opinion and Proposals Regarding the Manuscript Tradition

When Chaucer died in 1400 the *Canterbury Tales* was incomplete, with the added complication for scholars, that no holograph copy exists. Through the diligence and work of numerous medieval scribes/editors and the subsequent care and protection of bibliophiles, collectors, librarians, and conservators, eighty-three manuscript witnesses and four pre-1500 printed editions of the poem survive. The transmission of the text has been problematic due to the incomplete status of the poem, and the *Canterbury Tales* has been subjected to nearly six hundred years of editorial production; the text being presented in many formats according to the editorial tradition of the period.

#### The Early Textual History<sup>1</sup>

The first printed edition of *The Canterbury Tales* was produced by William Caxton in c. 1476 [Cx<sup>1</sup>]. A second edition followed in c. 1482 [Cx<sup>2</sup>] which was a revamped version of the first although, in his famous Preface, Caxton claimed to have used a different manuscript as his base-text which he stated was superior and closer to Chaucer's original work.<sup>2</sup> While this may just have been a clever marketing tactic it certainly provided the justification for a second edition. Instead of producing a copy of this second manuscript,

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<sup>1</sup>Accounts of varying detail regarding the editions discussed in this section of the chapter can be found in the following: Skeat 1894; Spurgeon 1914-22; Pollard and Redgrave 1926 [*STC*]; Hammond 1933 (the running order of tales followed in the early editions are generally given in this source); Brewer 1969; Brewer 1978, vol. 1, pp. 33-38 (the same accounts are reprinted in vol. 2, pp. 27-32); Ruggiers 1984, pp. 1-7 and 13-156; Blake 1985[a], pp. 1-14 (Blake provides detailed accounts of the tale orders followed in most of the major early editions); Anderson 1986, pp. 9-35; Ramsey 1994, pp. 3-9; and Dane 1988. (The accounts of the early editions presented by both Ramsey and Dane commence with that of Urry in 1721).

<sup>2</sup>The famous Preface to Caxton's second edition has been partially or fully reproduced by many scholars. A complete reproduction of the Preface can be found in Spurgeon 1914-22, Pt. I, n.48, pp. 61-3.

Caxton emended his first edition by removing lines, adding details, and adjusting the tale order slightly.<sup>3</sup> Caxton's second edition provided the basis for texts produced by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498 [Wy] and two editions by Richard Pynson, one in c. 1492 [Pn] and another in 1526.

A two column, black letter edition was produced by William Thynne in 1532.<sup>4</sup> He emended the text of Chaucer's work by consulting the manuscripts directly. Thynne searched the abbey libraries for Chaucer manuscripts and it is claimed that he owned no less than twenty-five.<sup>5</sup> Ruggiers states that Thynne's edition represents 'the first serious attempts at correcting Chaucer's work by collation with the available manuscripts' (Ruggiers 1984, p. 3). Thynne also used the editions produced by Caxton, de Worde and Pynson.<sup>6</sup> A second edition was published in 1542.

Nearly a hundred and forty years after Chaucer's death, Thynne's knowledge of Chaucer's language was somewhat limited and his editorial skills questionable. However, his contribution to the textual tradition of editing the *Canterbury Tales* should not be under-valued. His publications were frequently reprinted and provided the basis for the majority of *Canterbury Tales* editions until the production of Tyrwhitt's edition in 1775-78. Thynne also extended the Chaucer canon and was responsible for the first printing of

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<sup>3</sup>For a comparison of Cx<sup>1</sup> and Cx<sup>2</sup> and their respective tale orders see, Hammond 1905-6, pp. 159-178. For further discussion of Caxton's production of the *Canterbury Tales* see, Kilgour 1929; Greg 1929; Dunn 1940; Blake 1967, especially pp. 19-25; and Boyd 1984.

<sup>4</sup>In his recollections produced in 1598 William Thynne's son, Francis mentions a one column edition of Chaucer produced by his father, which he refers to as the first edition (Thynne 1598, pp. 6 and 7). If this did exist it is unknown to us with the only surviving copy being the two column black letter edition which is referred to as the first edition and was produced in 1532. Bradshaw argues that the existence of any one-column edition is a mistake on the part of William Thynne's son Francis, (Bradshaw 1876, pp. 75-6).

<sup>5</sup>This claim is made in Thynne 1598, pp. 6 and 12.

<sup>6</sup>There is some confusion over which printed editions Thynne consulted. For a brief résumé of the evidence and the varying view points of numerous scholars see Blodgett 1984, pp. 46-7. For further details on the sources used for Thynne's 1532 edition and its printing see, Blodgett 1979. Greg attempted to identify the sources of the first six printed editions by comparing the first 116 lines of the KN. He argues that the evidence suggests Thynne relied, in part, on a manuscript from the group classified as *cd* by Manly and Rickert. Whether this was one of Caxton's editions remains a mystery. For further discussion on the possible sources for Thynne's edition see Greg 1924. For details of Manly and Rickert's classification of the manuscripts see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, especially pp. 49-77.

several texts, including *The Romaunt of the Rose*, *The Legend of Good Women*, *The Book of the Duchess*, and *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, as well as some of the minor poems.<sup>7</sup>

One of the many editors influenced by Thynne's work was John Stow who prepared *The workes of Geoffrey Chaucer* in 1561.<sup>8</sup> Although Stow knew of many manuscripts, he did not directly consult the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses but based his edition on one of the many reprints of Thynne's work, and consequently reproduced the same errors verbatim.

Nearly forty years later in 1598, Thomas Speght produced an edition based on Stow's text and once more reproduced the same mistakes.<sup>9</sup> Speght's work is notable as he was the first editor to accompany the text with a glossary and simple glosses.<sup>10</sup> Explanations for Chaucer's metre were also included although Speght misunderstood the function of final *-e*. A second edition was produced in 1602 which was, to an extent, influenced by Thynne's work and at least one manuscript must have been used to help with the edition although it is not known which one. A further reprint appeared in 1687, many years after Speght's death.<sup>11</sup>

John Urry's publication of 1721 was the next major *Canterbury Tales* edition to appear. Urry died in 1715 leaving an unfinished edition of Chaucer's complete works which had been based on the publications of Stow and Speght. John Dart compiled a 'Life' of Chaucer and Timothy and William Thomas provided a preface, prepared the text for printing, and most notably produced a glossary which was superior to that of Speght.

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<sup>7</sup>For further information on Thynne's edition see, the introductions to the two facsimiles of the 1532 edition; Skeat 1905, and Brewer 1969.

<sup>8</sup>Two issues of Stow's edition survive (*STC* 5075 and *STC* 5076). Both issues were printed by John Kyngston for John Wight and the differences between the two copies are slight. The title page of the *STC* 5075 edition is more elaborate, the date is given and a woodcut of each pilgrim precedes their respective descriptions in the GP. The *STC* 5076 edition does not include these woodcuts and no date of publication is given.

<sup>9</sup>Speght's 1598 edition was produced in three impressions for, George Bishop (*STC* 5077), Bonham Norton (*STC* 5078), and Thomas Wight (*STC* 5079). All three issues are the same with the exception of slight differences in the title page of the first issue. The three issues were all printed by Islip of London.

<sup>10</sup>Speght also included a 'Life' of Chaucer in his edition. A complete reprint of the 'Life' can be found in Hammond 1933, pp. 19-35.

<sup>11</sup>For further information on Speght's editions see Pearsall 1984[a].

Urry claimed that he had collated fourteen manuscripts and also compared various printed editions which enabled him to include lines previously omitted by other editors.<sup>12</sup> Believing that Chaucer wrote in perfect ten syllable lines Urry misunderstood the role of the fifteenth-century scribe and claimed that they had corrupted the text. He consequently set about 'correcting' it and created a regular metre by adding or reducing syllables and words, and altering spellings. The edition appeared in 1721 and, although it is generally considered to be poor, it became the standard Chaucer text for almost the remainder of the century.<sup>13</sup>

Early editors of the *Canterbury Tales* had justified the publication of their editions by equating additional lines, passages, and tales with superiority. For instance, Stow included twenty-four poems in his edition many of which he believed were composed by Chaucer, although only three are now considered to be genuine.<sup>14</sup> Other editors had included extra tales, for example, the Tale of Beryn, The Merry Adventure, and The Plowman's Tale all of which are now considered spurious. Urry's edition marked the high water mark for the 'more is better' school of editorship and a new trend emerged in which editors strove not for quantity but for genuine Chaucer works to be arranged in what was considered to be the chronological order of composition.

The first of these 'new' editors was Thomas Tyrwhitt who produced a composite or eclectic text of the *Canterbury Tales* in 1775-8. Like Thynne and Urry, Tyrwhitt also consulted a range of manuscripts from which he took what he considered to be the 'best' words, lines, passages, and complete tales. Tyrwhitt used Speght's 1687 edition as a

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<sup>12</sup>A list of the manuscripts which Urry professes to have consulted and their identification as extant witnesses is printed in Alderson 1984, pp. 103-4. See also, Hammond 1933, p. 130.

<sup>13</sup>Numerous scholars have criticised Urry's edition and those cited here are only a small selection: 'This edition is, from the point of view of the text, the worst ever issued' (Spurgeon 1914-22, Pt. I, n.48, p. 353); 'This edition is the worst that has appeared' (Skeat 1894, vol. I, p. 30); 'the worst edition of *The Canterbury Tales* ever printed' (Ross 1983, p. 106); 'the most ravaged of all the printed texts' (Pearsall 1984[b], p. 116); 'it is hard to imagine a worse edition [than] that of John Urry' (Ramsey 1994, p. 4). Alderson records some of the earliest criticisms of Urry's edition. For further details see, Alderson 1984, pp. 93-4.

<sup>14</sup>For a complete list of the poems included in Stow's edition see, Hudson 1984, pp. 68-70; and Hammond 1933, pp. 120-1. The extra poems included by Stow and their possible textual source are discussed by Fletcher 1978.

copytext correcting it against the original manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> The primary source for Tyrwhitt's edition was Ha<sup>5</sup>, although he also relied heavily on four other manuscripts which he considered to be the 'best' available; Dd, En<sup>1</sup>, En<sup>3</sup>, and Ad<sup>1</sup>. The Hg and El manuscripts which have dominated editorial and textual work on the poem over the last hundred years, were not known to him, but he did make use of Ha<sup>4</sup>. Although this editorial technique is open to criticism, Tyrwhitt's direct use of several manuscripts to create his text makes his edition a valuable composite work. Tyrwhitt stated that 'the first object of this publication was to give the text of *The Canterbury Tales* as correct as the Mss. within the reach of the Editor would enable him to make it' (Tyrwhitt 1775-8, Preface vol. I, p. i). In fact Tyrwhitt had access to some twenty-six manuscripts which he consulted in compiling his edition, most of which were in the libraries of London, Oxford, and Cambridge. La is among the twenty-six manuscripts which Tyrwhitt cites as having either collated or consulted, but Cp is not listed by him.<sup>16</sup> Significantly, this is the earliest credited reference of La being consulted in the preparation of a printed edition. The initial four volumes of Tyrwhitt's edition were produced in 1775 with a fifth volume, the notes and glossary, of superior scholarship to Urry's, appearing three years later in 1778.

Tyrwhitt based his arrangement of the tales on the most consistent order found in the manuscripts available to him and provided explanations for his decisions. He rejected the Plowman's Tale and the Tales of Gamelyn and Beryn as spurious works. Significantly, Tyrwhitt was the first editor to consider the order of the tales and acknowledged that missing links within the text made the tale order dubious. He was also the first editor to dismiss the manuscript rubrics, introducing instead a prologue-tale-prologue-tale format, printing the poem as a linked piece with a continuous lineation scheme throughout. The lineation scheme served to suggest that the poem was a linked and completed piece of work, although Tyrwhitt acknowledged that the poem had never

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<sup>15</sup>Tyrwhitt used Speght's 1687 edition as his copytext, but used the 1602 edition for his printer's copy, emending it against the manuscript evidence. Further details are given in Hench 1950.

<sup>16</sup>The list of manuscripts consulted by Tyrwhitt is reproduced in Windeatt 1984, p. 123; and Hammond 1933, pp. 207-8.

been completed by Chaucer. In places Tyrwhitt regularised a line to conform with his idea of metre though he avoided formalising the spelling. Tyrwhitt also included an essay on Chaucer's language and versification in his edition. A measure of Tyrwhitt's achievement is that his work still influences the production of editions and scholarly discussion on the *Canterbury Tales* today. A two volume edition of his text was posthumously published in 1798.

Thomas Wright's three volume edition of *The Canterbury Tales* was published for the Percy Society in 1847-51.<sup>17</sup> Wright rejected Tyrwhitt's theory of taking the 'best' readings from several manuscripts and instead adopted the 'best-text' method of editing and worked from a single manuscript. He considered Ha<sup>4</sup> to be the 'best' manuscript suggesting that its early date meant it most resembled Chaucer's language. Wright used Tyrwhitt's edition as a guide to produce a copy of Ha<sup>4</sup> with annotations, possible emendations, and a selection of notes in which he outlined divergent readings of other manuscripts. Wright was the first editor to use a section of the La text in his edition stating that it 'appears to be, of those in the British Museum, next in antiquity and value to the MS. Harl.' (Wright 1847-51, vol. I, p. xxxvi). Although Wright's edition was primarily based on the text of Ha<sup>4</sup>, La was used to fill a gap in Ha<sup>4</sup>, which had occurred due to missing leaves, at SQ 608-FK 515.<sup>18</sup> When Wright considered the text of Ha<sup>4</sup> to be defective or unsatisfactory, he relied principally on La to make comparative readings and used it where necessary to improve the text for his edition. Wright retained Tyrwhitt's lineation scheme but placed square brackets around any lines he considered to be spurious. Those lines he considered to be additional were not numbered. Wright was the first editor

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<sup>17</sup>The first two volumes of Wright's edition were published in 1847 and the third appeared in 1851.

<sup>18</sup>The quires of Ha<sup>4</sup> are collated in eights. Quire 21 is now lost and would have contained SQ 608-FK 515. This section of text is comprised of the end of the SQ [608-664]; Link 20; and the beginning of the FK [21-515]. The lost quire would have appeared between what are now fols.156 and 157. Line numbers and link numbers given throughout this chapter refer to those devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project. It should be noted that the passages referred to as the FkP and the FkT in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987), are lineated as one continuous unit by the *Canterbury Tales* Project.

to state clearly that the tales were in fact comprised of eight fragments or sections as follows:<sup>19</sup>

Wright's Divisions: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.  
*Riverside* Fragments: I, II, III, IV V, VI, VII, VIII, IX X.

Wright's use of Ha<sup>4</sup> as the base-text meant that in arranging these sections he placed section 7 (VIII) before section 5 (VI). Despite the criticism the text received, it was the standard *Canterbury Tales* edition for the last half of the nineteenth century and was reprinted several times. It also influenced later editions, for example, Skeat's publication of 1894 which incorporated many of Wright's commentary notes.

### **The Late Nineteenth Century**<sup>20</sup>

This next phase of Chaucer scholarship witnessed not only further editions of the *Canterbury Tales*, but began to concern itself with debating, theorising, discussing and scrutinising the order of the tales and the transmission of the text through the early manuscripts.

In 1868 Frederick Furnivall established the Chaucer Society which subsequently sponsored his production of the *Six-Text Print of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* which was published in 1868-79. Furnivall produced diplomatic editions of what he considered to be the earliest extant, and consequently the principal, *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts with a view to making them more accessible. He printed the *Six-Text* in parallel columns to make collation and readings across all the manuscripts more manageable and also contemporaneously published separate editions of the six witnesses.

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<sup>19</sup>One of the problems facing Chaucerian scholarship is the various terms used for the constant tale groups found in the witnesses. Throughout this thesis I have used the terms adopted by each scholar as their contribution to *Canterbury Tales* scholarship is discussed. The Fragment numbers used in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987) are also given in parentheses to avoid confusion.

<sup>20</sup>For further details regarding the editions and editors discussed in this section of the chapter see, Skeat 1894; Hammond 1933 (a discussion on the classification of the manuscripts and the order of tales preferred by critics and editors is given in this source); Ruggiers 1984, pp. 7-9 and 157-89; Blake 1985[a], especially pp. 14-19 and 24-33; and Ramsey 1994, especially pp. 9-22.

The *Six-Text* edition comprised of Pw, El and Hg, which were in private collections and La, Gg and Cp from the library collections of London, Cambridge and Oxford respectively. For the first time in the textual history of the *Canterbury Tales* a detailed transcription of the La manuscript was produced, bringing the complete text of La to the attention of scholars. The separate transcription of La was published between 1868-79. Furnivall later produced editions of two further manuscripts, Ha<sup>4</sup> in 1885 and Dd in 1901-2. Editions of *Troilus and Criseyde* and the minor poems were also subsequently produced.

Furnivall unknowingly anticipated, or even inspired, twentieth-century debate by recognising El and Hg as the two 'best' *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. He also acknowledged Ha<sup>4</sup> to be one of the better witnesses. Having compared Ha<sup>4</sup> and El in several readings, Furnivall concluded that whilst El was superior in some instances, in others Ha<sup>4</sup> was better and was probably the earlier of the two. Despite this, he favoured El because he considered its language to be the closest to that of Chaucer and also preferred its more consistent use of a regularised final *-e*. Furnivall considered Hg to be the 'second best' manuscript acknowledging it to be earlier than El. Studies of the witnesses led Furnivall to conclude that there are nine distinct groups of manuscripts.

Furnivall accompanied his transcriptions with a collection of notes in his *A Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition* issued in 1868. It included a discussion on the main points of interest or 'specialities' of the six principal manuscripts he had edited including sections on both La and Cp.<sup>21</sup> Although Furnivall expressed the view that Cp was earlier than La he made no comment regarding the relationship between the two manuscripts.

In the *Temporary Preface* Furnivall also discussed the arrangement of the tales with the aim of placing them in the order which Chaucer may have chosen. He recognised the incomplete state of the *Canterbury Tales* and consequently devised a scheme of

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<sup>21</sup>For the 'specialities' of La and Cp see, Furnivall 1868, pp. 62-70, and pp. 59-60 respectively.

dividing the poem into sections which were labelled as 'Groups', each group being given its own lineation pattern. The division of the poem into groups allowed Furnivall to publish his transcriptions in parallel editions so comparative readings could be made across the witnesses. Furnivall's new lineation system, although restrictive in suggesting that Chaucer had settled on a set order of tales within fragments, allowed greater freedom for discussion and arrangements of tales than the continuous lineation schemes used by earlier editors like Tyrwhitt and Wright. Despite the fact that the GP makes reference to the pilgrims telling tales on both the journey to and from Canterbury, Furnivall believed that the extant tales were all told during the outward journey concluding with the PA. He did however accept that the PA could be the final tale of the poem, being written for the pilgrims return to Southwark. In accepting the GP as the beginning, the PA as the conclusion, and arranging several sections between which refer to specific places en route, the poem appears to be almost complete rather than the jumbled, fragmented, incomplete work it may at first seem.

Furnivall believed that no single manuscript contained the correct arrangement of tales so he devised an order based on geographical and temporal references within the text. However, in doing this he failed to acknowledge that the incomplete state of the text at the time of Chaucer's death meant that any or all geographical and temporal references could have been intended for alteration when Chaucer had decided on his final order.

Furnivall believed that the journey from Southwark to Canterbury had taken three and a half days and divided the poem into nine groups accordingly:

Furnivall's Groups: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I.

*Riverside* Fragments: I, II VII, VI, III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X.

The first group, Group A, is comprised of the GP, KN, MI, RE, CO and TG (I)<sup>22</sup> with the possibility that some tales were told before the pilgrims rested for the night at Dartford. Group B (II) comes next to fill the second day of the journey although no

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<sup>22</sup>The Roman numerals in parentheses are the Fragment divisions used in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987).

reference to a specific place is made. The only clue offered is in the MLP [L7 and the first part of ML]<sup>23</sup> to the time being approximately 10 o'clock in the morning, although of which day is not made clear. The positioning of Group B (II) was adopted in accordance with many of the manuscripts which follow the same pattern, E1 which was Furnivall's favoured manuscript being one example. According to Furnivall the advanced hour of morning indicates that the pilgrims had enjoyed a late night at Dartford and consequently resumed their journey late the following morning. He failed to acknowledge that the late hour of the morning may indicate that Chaucer intended other pilgrims to tell their tales prior to the Man of Law, a point which is made by Blake.<sup>24</sup> The order of the tales after the ML varies in the manuscripts, but Furnivall accepted Henry Bradshaw's opinion that the SH and those grouped with it came next (Group B, Fragment VII), an arrangement known as the Bradshaw Shift.<sup>25</sup> Furnivall followed the Bradshaw Shift because a reference in the MoP [L29] to Rochester where the pilgrims rested for the night geographically placed the group before Sittingborne justifying his chronological and geographical theories of arrangement. A further reason is that the Shipman speaks in the endlink to the ML [L8]; although only in one manuscript, Se. Group C (VI) begins the third day's travel and is placed next because the Pardoner's request for cake and drink before he begins his tale was taken by Furnivall to indicate early morning when a person may desire some sustenance prior to breakfast. Group D (III) is next because of a reference to Sittingborne which was the next established stopping place for pilgrimages from London to Canterbury. Group D (III) does not contain enough tales to fill the day so Group E (IV)

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<sup>23</sup>The *Canterbury Tales* Project classifies all epilogues, prologues or other linking passages as 'Links'. Accordingly, the linking passages are denoted by 'L' followed by the reference number and given in square brackets where appropriate.

<sup>24</sup>See Blake 1985[a], p. 25.

<sup>25</sup>The arrangement known as the 'Bradshaw Shift' is not found in any extant witness. Bradshaw proposed that Fragment VII should be moved forward to a position immediately following Fragment II to add to the effect of drama and realism in reading the *Canterbury Tales*. His proposed order is now considered to be misguided and irrelevant by the majority of modern scholars, although there are some who have defended it. For example, George Keiser argues that the Bradshaw Shift 'seems to represent the most artistically satisfying arrangement of the tales and may, therefore, suggest what Chaucer's final intention for tale-order was, if indeed there was one' (Keiser 1978, p. 191). For other favourable opinions of Bradshaw's proposed shift see, Baker 1962; and Fisher 1972.

forms the remainder of the third day's story-telling. The CL and ME were linked together on the grounds that they both contain references to the Wife of Bath which is the first tale of the preceding Group, D (III). Further evidence of a link between the two tales is the fact that in some manuscripts the last line of the Clerk's envoy (Group E, Fragment IV [L13]) is reflected in the first line of the MeP (Group E, Fragment IV [L15]). In many manuscripts the SQ is linked to the end of the ME, but Furnivall was forced to disregard this fact in order to create the division needed to maintain the chronological time line he mapped out for the journey. According to Furnivall the pilgrims stopped for the night at Ospringe after the ME. The fourth and final day commences with the SQ which Furnivall placed together in Group F (V) with the FK as some manuscripts link the two tales together. Group G (VIII) is placed next, beginning with the NU. The CY is linked to the NU in many manuscripts and this placement also suits Furnivall's geographical arrangement as the CYP (L33) makes reference to Broughton and the Forest of Blean. The mention of 'Bobbe-vp-and-down, Vnder Blee' [2-3] in the MaP [L36] was taken by Furnivall as Blee referring to Blean and therefore the automatic choice to follow on from the CY.<sup>26</sup> The PA is the final tale, told as the pilgrims near Canterbury and the conclusion of their journey before evening. The MA (Group H, Fragment IX) and the PA (Group I, Fragment X) are not intrinsically linked and Furnivall therefore chose to place them in separate groups.<sup>27</sup>

Furnivall showed that there is no conclusive proof of any arrangement which can be considered to be final. However, the lines which link the tales and are not considered spurious can be taken to suggest the definite end of one tale and the beginning of another.

Furnivall's determination to make the arrangement of tales comply with his belief in a geographical and chronological order ignores the factual evidence for some of his conjectures. For example, in his desire to link each section, almost to the hour, Furnivall

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<sup>26</sup>Line numbers given in square brackets refer to the lineation scheme used by the *Canterbury Tales* Project

<sup>27</sup>A table of Furnivall's division of the tales into groups and their separation into three and a half days travelling can be found in Furnivall 1868, pp. 42-3. For further details of Furnivall's arrangement of tales see, Furnivall 1868, pp. 9-44; and Hammond 1933, pp. 161-3.

contradicts his other belief that the poem is fragmented. Nevertheless, the division of the tales into the specific sections and the style of lineation used by Furnivall have become recognised world-wide and been copied by later editors although they have generally placed the tales or sections in different arrangements. Furnivall brought several manuscripts to the attention of scholars and hence into the discussion of textual transmission, particularly Hg and El. Furnivall was not an editor in the traditional sense, he printed texts rather than actually edited them. To quote Baker 'it is not exaggeration at all to say that the selection and printing of this series of texts was the most important contribution by one man to the tradition of Chaucerian textual study' (Baker 1984[a], p. 159).

Henry Bradshaw disagreed with Furnivall's order of the tales mainly because he did not believe in the geographical and chronological arrangement. Bradshaw produced his own pattern of manuscript divisions and tale fragments in 1871, but his theories were only published in 1889 with his collected papers. Bradshaw divided all the extant manuscripts into three groups based on the order of tales and the connecting links. The first group, which he considered to be the most authentic, followed the arrangement of tales found in Ha<sup>4</sup>. The manuscripts placed in the second group followed a tale order which Bradshaw considered to be the product of the manuscript editors. The third group, the least authentic, followed the arrangement used by Thynne. Bradshaw claimed to have studied over fifty *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in which the arrangement of the tales varied considerably. His study of the manuscripts led Bradshaw to claim that he could 'break the work up into what I have been led to believe were the fragments as left by the author' (Bradshaw 1889, p. 102). Bradshaw realised that SQ, ME, FK, and CL were four tales constantly shifting their order and association with other tales and therefore needed to be treated separately. Bradshaw consequently divided the text into twelve fragments, arranged as follows:

Bradshaw's Sections: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.  
*Riverside* Fragments: I, II, III, IV, IV, V, V, VIII, VI, VII, IX, X.

Unfortunately Bradshaw did not reveal the reasoning behind his choice of arrangement. Blake states that 'Bradshaw's scheme would have provided a much better foundation for future scholarship than Furnivall's, and it is a pity that it did not become better known' (Blake 1985[a], p. 29).

In 1886 Bradshaw died leaving the *Clarendon Chaucer* without an editor. Walter W. Skeat succeeded Bradshaw and the text which has been claimed to be 'the finest edition since Tyrwhitt's edition of 1775-78' (Ruggiers 1984, p. 8) was eventually published in six volumes during the period 1894-5, with a seventh volume containing notes and a glossary appearing in 1897. Skeat says of his edition that 'in the first place, my endeavour has been to produce a thoroughly sound text, founded solely on the best MSS. and the earliest prints, which shall satisfy at once the requirements of the student of language and the reader who delights in poetry' (Skeat 1894, vol. 6, p. ix).

Skeat was influenced by Tyrwhitt and like the latter, elected to produce a composite or eclectic edition of the text. He broke the tradition of using Ha<sup>4</sup> which had influenced many editions during the previous fifty years and chose El as his base manuscript of which he states, 'the general excellence and correctness of its spellings and readings render it the safest on which to found rules for our guidance as to pronunciation, syntax, and prosody' (Skeat 1894, vol. 6, p. xvii). However, like Furnivall, he recognised that Hg is one of the best extant manuscripts. Skeat's use of El as his base-text initiated a conscious preference for El and yet a simultaneous and unconscious shift toward the readings of Hg; a trend followed by many later editors. Skeat knew of over fifty manuscripts but relied principally on those which form Furnivall's *Six-Text* edition and that of Ha<sup>4</sup> which had also been published by the Chaucer Society. La is used in Skeat's work although he says that it is 'not a good MS., being certainly the worst of the six; but worth printing owing to the frequent use that has been made of it by editors' (Skeat 1894, vol. 4, p. x). However, to what extent La had actually been used by editors prior to the

work of Furnivall is debatable. Skeat accepted and used the Chaucer Society's division of the tales into nine groups and although he preferred the order of tales found in Ha<sup>4</sup> which he takes to be the most authoritative he adopted Furnivall's arrangement. He did not always agree with Furnivall's positioning of tales, believing that the correct order was in fact as follows:<sup>28</sup>

Skeat's preferred order:	A, B <sup>1</sup> , B <sup>2</sup> , D, E, F, C, G, H, I.
<i>Riverside</i> Fragments:	I, II, VII, III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X.
Ha <sup>4</sup> arrangement:	I, II, III, IV, V, VIII, VI, VII, IX, X.

Skeat accepted Bradshaw's positioning of Group B<sup>2</sup> (VII) after Group B<sup>1</sup> (II) consequently placing the Man of Law's Endlink [L8] before the SH although he chose to refer to it as the 'Shipman's Prologue'. Skeat printed Fragment C (VI) after Fragment B<sup>2</sup> (VII) in accordance with Furnivall's edition despite the fact that he did not accept the placement himself. This was presumably to maintain Furnivall's lineation scheme.

Skeat provided three different numbering systems used by previous editors, but commented that the inherent problem of numbering the text is the reason he adhered to the scheme of lineation and sections devised by Furnivall. Believing that he could determine the aims, intentions and thoughts of the fifteenth-century scribes he altered the metre of the text, particularly with relation to the final *-e*, to create what he considered to be the spellings prior to scribal alteration. Skeat also modernised some of the spelling, often intuitively rather than because of any clear understanding of the language. He also failed to identify all his emendations to the text. Criticisms can perhaps be levelled at Skeat's edition for his reliance on Furnivall's *Six-Text* edition, rather than studying the extant manuscripts directly. Skeat himself declared 'my work is entirely founded upon the splendid "Six-text" Edition' (Skeat 1894, vol. 4, p. vii). A further criticism is that while Skeat used what he considered to be the 'best' manuscript texts he also used parts of the worst, selecting passages often, as Eleanor Hammond has described it, 'intuitively' rather

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<sup>28</sup>For details of Skeat's preferred order of tales see, Skeat 1894, vol. 3, p. 434.

than because of great editorial skill (Hammond 1933, p. 146).<sup>29</sup> Despite these shortcomings Skeat's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* has been hailed as 'one of the great milestones in the editing of Chaucer, standing with Tyrwhitt as the greatest of their respective centuries' (Ruggiers 1984, p. 9). Skeat was also paramount in establishing a canon of genuine Chaucer works.

In 1907 Skeat produced *The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales* in which he discussed his belief that the text can be divided into fourteen fragments, which include the twelve introduced by Bradshaw and two more. Skeat proposed the two additional fragments on the basis of his close study of the Hg manuscript. In Hg the MO and the NP (Group B<sup>2</sup>, Fragment VII) are arranged earlier in the manuscript than the other tales in the fragment. It has now been recognised that the early placement of these two tales is due to a fault in the binding; a fact that Skeat was unaware of. The CYPT [L33 and CY] is not included in the Hg manuscript and Skeat therefore included it in a separate fragment from that of the NU. Bradshaw had arranged these two tales together in his section 8 but by separating them Skeat created the second of the extra fragments. In tracing the development and collation of these fourteen fragments Skeat was able to show that the amalgamation of them by scribes and editors had eventually created only eight fragments. Skeat accepted Hg as one of the earliest manuscripts and believed its text to be the nearest to Chaucer's original work. Consequently, the fact that the CYPT [L33 and CY] is not included in the Hg manuscript was taken by Skeat to mean that Chaucer added the tale at a later date or as a revision before his death, finding that he had a story or satirical comment to make about alchemists. Although Skeat was interested in the geographical considerations regarding the route the pilgrimage took to Canterbury, in contradiction to Furnivall, he believed that the order of tales as they appear in the manuscripts was more important.

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<sup>29</sup>For further discussion of Skeat's editorial methods see, Moorman 1989, pp. 100-4.

Skeat believed that Chaucer had produced fragments of text in a set order which had then been revised by himself before the scribes had copied them, producing the extant witnesses. The development of the texts was seen as a gradual progression, advancing from one manuscript to another. He claimed that there are at least four different arrangements or schemes which show this progression, represented by the following extant manuscripts; Hg the archetype, Pw the first scheme, Cp and La the second, Ha<sup>4</sup> the third, and El the fourth. Skeat considered schemes 1-3 to be the work and experiments of Chaucer while scheme 4 was created by the manuscript editors. He believed that these four orders were all close to that originally intended by Chaucer and that the arrangement of tales in subsequent manuscripts like El were the result of editorial intervention. Skeat argued that Ha<sup>4</sup> represents the last of the three Chaucerian arrangements and as such is 'the only authorised order' (Skeat 1907, p. 23). In tracing the textual development of the manuscripts Skeat listed instances where La, Cp, and Pw are in agreement and argued that the order found in La evolved from the ancestor of Pw.<sup>30</sup>

Skeat also compared the eight manuscripts whose transcriptions had been produced by the Chaucer Society. In 1909 his results were published in *The Eight-Text Edition of the Canterbury Tales*. Skeat reiterated what he had said in his *Evolution* (1907), stating that 'it is obvious that Chaucer made *no* arrangement that even approached finality' (Skeat 1909, p. 36) and that Ha<sup>4</sup> is 'absolutely the most valuable [manuscript] that exists, because it gives the best and latest authoritative arrangement of the Tales' (Skeat 1909, p. 35). He also defended and advanced Bradshaw's postulate that the tales of the Clerk and Squire were the key to tracing the development of Chaucer's re-arrangement of the tales. Following his theory that four schemes for the arrangement of the tales can be identified, as discussed in his 1907 *Evolution*, Skeat claimed that the CL had become positioned

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<sup>30</sup>For further details of Skeat's four schemes for the arrangement of the tales see, Skeat 1907; and Hammond 1933, p. 168.

progressively earlier in the arrangements until in Ha<sup>4</sup> it precedes the tales of the ME and the SQ.

John S. P. Tatlock likewise recognised that Ha<sup>4</sup> was one of the earliest extant manuscripts and therefore paramount in trying to trace the development of the *Canterbury Tales* and the poem's textual tradition. He consequently produced a study of the manuscript in 1909: *The Harleian Manuscript 7334 and Revision of the Canterbury Tales*. Unlike Skeat he believed that Chaucer would have been unlikely to have produced multiple copies of a poem that was not complete. He therefore concluded that the extant manuscripts which vary in their content and arrangement of the tales are the product of scribal and editorial processes rather than the result of the author's emendations. Tatlock 'feels sure, [Ha<sup>4</sup>] represents a non-Chaucerian revision' (Tatlock 1909, p. 32) because it is inferior in many readings and includes the non-authorial TG. In taking this stance Tatlock had to recognise that an original had existed at one time from which all the early manuscripts had been copied on an independent basis.

John Koch studied the PD in a number of manuscripts in an endeavour to construct a genealogical tree of witnesses. In a later study he researched the textual variations among the earliest eight manuscripts printed by the Chaucer Society. His results were published by the Chaucer Society in 1902 and 1913 respectively. From his critical study of the earliest eight manuscripts Koch concluded that the extant manuscripts could be separated into two groups, 'A' and 'B'. Group A, containing El, Hg, Gg, and Dd offered superior readings, while group B comprised of Cp, Pw, La, and Ha<sup>4</sup>. Like Skeat he also recognised the correlation between El and Hg in one group and Cp and La in the other. Koch favoured El as the 'best' extant manuscript because he believed its language would have most resembled that of Chaucer's. Koch located mistakes and mis-readings which appeared in many of the manuscripts. It was also found that when a manuscript from one group varied in its text from its fellow witnesses it tended to follow the text of the manuscripts found in the other group and vice versa indicating cross-contamination

between his two groups. Koch argued that the textual variants and anomalies and the evidence of cross-contamination between the eight manuscripts studied showed that none of the eight served as the copytext for any of the others. He concluded that they were copied from exemplars which in turn had been copied from Chaucer's original, therefore rejecting the idea that there had been any form of circulation of tales or fragments prior to Chaucer's death. The work of Koch was criticised on the grounds that his evidence and research was not detailed or thorough enough to be really convincing. Brusendorff states that Koch's work is 'often wrong in details; [. . .] while several statements about omissions are misleading' (Brusendorff 1925, p. 64, n.3).

Ha<sup>4</sup> had been the base manuscript for many of the editions produced during the nineteenth century and its relationship with E1 provided a fervent source of discussion, study and interest for the Chaucer editors of the period. This stage in the history of the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales* saw a general trend of accepting E1 as the finest of the extant manuscripts, with editors proclaiming it to be the closest in language to that which Chaucer might have used, despite the fact that Hg was generally recognised as an earlier witness. The textual transmission of the text was seen by most scholars as the result of groups of manuscripts deriving from Chaucer's original, although not necessarily directly. However, Skeat differed from the general trend and proposed a single line of descent from Chaucer's emended and revised copies.

### **The Early Twentieth Century**

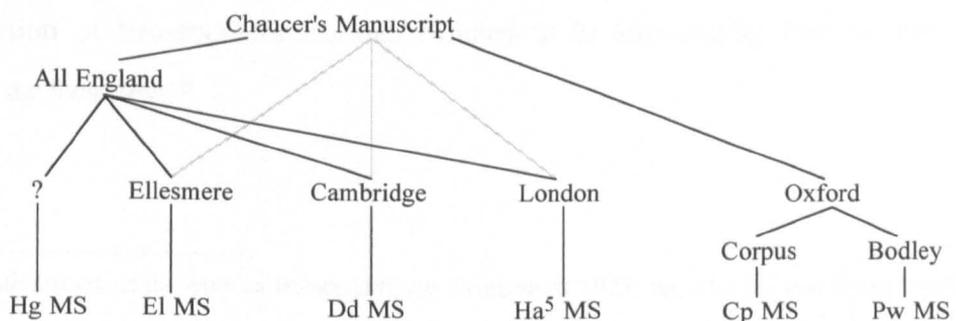
In this phase of textual development and Chaucer scholarship, E1 superseded Ha<sup>4</sup> to be regarded as the 'best' text. The interest in the geographical theories of arranging the tales waned and scholars focused on the nature of Chaucer's original text and the subsequent production of the extant manuscripts.

In 1925 Aage Brusendorff published the findings of his research into the textual transmission of the *Canterbury Tales*. He rejected any theories of prior circulation arguing

that Chaucer would not have revised an unfinished text. Believing that all extant manuscripts derive, although not necessarily directly, from Chaucer's original and only draft Brusendorff claimed that any variants between the witnesses resulted from either scribal alteration and emendation or authorial revisions of the draft which had then caused confusion among the scribes/editors. Brusendorff was in favour of trying to understand the role the scribes had played in copying the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. He believed that the scribes were professionals working in a commercial environment who would have followed the instructions of their editor emending lines and words to regularise and improve the texts.

Brusendorff accepted Koch's separation of manuscripts into two main groups but adjusted the system to create his own 'Oxford' and 'All England' classifications. He referred to the El group, which was the better of the two, as the All England and the Cp group, into which La fits, as Oxford, because the main manuscripts in this category were located in the libraries of Oxford. He then subdivided these two main classifications into subgroups; Oxford into 'Bodley' and 'Corpus', and All England into 'Ellesmere', 'Cambridge', and 'London'.<sup>31</sup> Brusendorff considered El to be the superior extant manuscript because of its textual readings rather than because of its language or metre which had been the criteria other scholars had used to state its excellence. Lines of text which appear in El but not Hg were accepted as being genuine by Brusendorff who believed they had been added to the margins of Chaucer's original text, but not followed by

<sup>31</sup>The tree of descent envisaged by Brusendorff is as follows (Brusendorff 1925, p. 106):



other scribes. As a result of this he had to place El in a subdivision of the 'All England' group by itself. He states of El that 'it is certainly the leading authority within the All England tradition, and forms practically an independent branch by itself, the *Ellesmere* group' (Brusendorff 1925, p. 85).

Brusendorff, like other editors, used Furnivall's lineation scheme and group divisions for his discussion. However, he actually believed that when Chaucer died he left eight parts of the poem, either as loose sheets or quires, rather than the nine groups proposed by Furnivall. These parts would have passed to editors who arranged the tales in order before instructing scribes on the copying of the text. Brusendorff also preferred a different arrangement to that postulated by Furnivall on the grounds that he rejected Furnivall's chronological map. He argued that Chaucer had only used the pilgrimage as a poetic device to explain the telling of many tales from a wide variety of people representing almost every sphere of medieval society. He stated that Chaucer 'simply inserted the allusions [to time] as touches of colour, which he did not trouble to fit into a careful scheme of topographical and chronological landmarks' (Brusendorff 1925, p. 125). Brusendorff arranged his eight parts in the following order (Brusendorff 1925, pp. 126-7):

Brusendorff's preferred order: 1, 2 + TG, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 + CY, 8.  
*Riverside* Fragments: I, II, III, IV V, VI, VII, VIII, IX X.

(The 'Oxford' groups divided part 4 into a variety of arrangements).

Brusendorff's research prompted him to caution future modern editors that 'any artificial arrangement, even the most attractive, is quite indefensible, as nobody can really pretend to know what Chaucer's final moves would have been' (Brusendorff 1925, p. 126). The production of Brusendorff's research resulted in El superseding Ha<sup>4</sup> to become regarded as the 'best' text.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>For further discussion on the work of Brusendorff see, Brusendorff 1925, pp. 53-136; and Blake 1985[a], pp. 33 - 4.

Fred Norris Robinson's edition of the complete works of Chaucer was published in 1933 and became the major Chaucer edition for use in colleges and universities for over half a century. In his review of Robinson's edition Tatlock acclaims it as:

*the soundest, most stimulating, and most agreeable edition in existence, for both the general reader, the serious student, and the proficient scholar. Few or none of us will live to see a better* (Tatlock 1934, p. 464).

The status of the text is not necessarily deserved in the respect that the work is not a critical edition. There are few textual notes and the glossary does not offer a full range of meanings; in places it is even misleading in the definitions presented. Robinson has inconsistently emended dialectic spellings and also indiscriminately added or omitted the final *-e* from words. A second edition was published in 1957.

Robinson favoured the E1 manuscript for his edition because of the belief prevalent at the time, that E1 was the superior text. He used the eight printed manuscripts from the Chaucer Society, Skeat's text and Thynne's collection as well as having collated the Cn and Mg copies. After E1 his main reliance was on Hg, Dd, and Gg, although he also used readings from some inferior manuscripts when he considered the metre, language, and meaning to be superior. Ten printed editions of manuscripts were used altogether which he claimed were the best available. Robinson declares that although he:

*might have access to the photographic reproductions of manuscripts assembled by my friend Professor Manly at the University of Chicago, [ . . . ] I felt, too, that the printed manuscripts represent so well the different classes of authorities that their readings, supplemented by my collations and the published reports of other copies, gave me in most cases the necessary evidence for the determination of the text. (Robinson 1933, p. vii).<sup>33</sup>*

Robinson's edition can be criticised because he used Skeat's text as the base, emending where necessary against his 'best' text, E1, and occasionally referring to the other witnesses. In following Skeat's text, which although based on E1 had tended toward the readings of Hg, Robinson has to a large extent ignored his belief that E1 was the superior text. Robinson's text can be criticised because he did not examine the manuscript evidence

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<sup>33</sup>The Preface to Robinson's first edition (1933) is also reprinted in the second edition of 1957 see, Robinson 1957, pp. xi-xii.

first hand, believing that earlier editors such as Skeat had produced accurate and trustworthy copies of the manuscripts.<sup>34</sup>

In 1935 an article by Tatlock was published in the *PMLA* in which he advanced Brusendorff's theory that when Chaucer died he left an incomplete draft of the *Canterbury Tales*. Tatlock believed that the draft would have been written on loose sheets and been, for the main part, unrevised although he did accept the possibility that Chaucer could have scribbled alternative words or phrases in the margins of his draft. He dismissed theories concerning the prior circulation of tales due to the incomplete state of the text and the anomalies within. He claimed that the extant manuscripts are derived directly from Chaucer's own copy. However, he conceded that the WB (Prologue and Tale) is a possible exception because it is mentioned in the *Envoy to Bukton* who is urged to contemplate marriage and its possible misfortunes by reading about the trials and tribulations of the Wife of Bath:

The Wyf of Bathe I pray yow that ye rede  
Of this matere that we have on honde. (*Envoy to Bukton* 29-30).<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless Tatlock favoured the belief that the tales would have been recited to a chosen audience or lent to close friends rather than being widely read by individuals. Tatlock accepted Brusendorff's division of the poem into eight parts but preferred to name them groups. He proposed that these groups would have been found among Chaucer's papers and subsequently been acquired by editors who prepared them for copying. Tatlock speculated that parts of the text, for example CO, may easily have been lost at this stage. Although the internal evidence of the text suggests that Chaucer had a clear idea of how the tales would be arranged, he left no finalised version and no real instructions other than some linking passages and lines between tales. The arrangement of tales in the manuscripts therefore have no authorial endorsement and would have been influenced by

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<sup>34</sup>For further information on Robinson's edition see, Reinecke 1984; Ruggiers 1984, p. 11; Anderson 1986, pp. 41-2; Moorman 1989, pp. 107-9; Ramsey 1989; and Ramsey 1994, pp. 22-43.

<sup>35</sup>This quotation is taken from *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987, p. 656).

the patrons and purchasers of the work. Tatlock argued that commercial pressures had encouraged scribes to make the manuscripts they produced appear as complete as possible. He believed that the eight distinct groups could be arranged using four types of criteria, 'actual joining by links, clear allusions to earlier incidents of the pilgrimage, notes of place, notes of time' (Tatlock 1935, p. 122). He considered Furnivall's arrangement of the tales to be the most convincing although he combines Furnivall's Groups H and I (IX and X) to maintain his eight group theory:

Tatlock's Groups: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.  
*Riverside* Fragments: I, II VII, VI, III, IV, V, VIII, IX X.

Tatlock believed that Hg, El and Ha<sup>4</sup> were the earliest and consequently most important of the extant witnesses. He recognised that both Hg and El had been copied by the same scribe, but considered Hg to be the earlier of the two on the basis that it has the poorest arrangement, an opinion also held by Blake.<sup>36</sup> Tatlock argued that the poor arrangement is probably the result of an editor not having settled on a definitive order for the eight groups when the production of the manuscript was commenced. As Blake comments, Tatlock,

was the first to give Hg proper recognition [and . . .] to pay due regard to Hg's pre-eminence as a good early manuscript without sacrificing the order and extra passages which are found in El (Blake 1985[a], p. 35).<sup>37</sup>

John Manly and Edith Rickert produced their eight-volume edition of *The Canterbury Tales* in 1940.<sup>38</sup> The aim, as the sub-title clearly summarises, was to produce a work *Studied on the Basis of all Known Manuscripts*.<sup>39</sup> The project was commenced in 1924, late on in the lives of Manly and Rickert, and occupied them until their deaths.

<sup>36</sup>See Blake 1985[a], pp. 79-80; and 1980, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup>For further information on the work of Tatlock see, Blake 1985[a], pp. 34-5; and Ramsey 1994, pp. 266-83.

<sup>38</sup>Contents of the volumes are as follows: Volume I, *Descriptions of the Manuscripts*; Volume II, *Classification of Manuscripts*; Volumes III and IV, *Text and Critical Notes*, Parts I and II respectively; Volumes V - VIII, *Corpus of Variants*, Parts I - IV respectively.

<sup>39</sup>Manly and Rickert's work on the *Canterbury Tales* included descriptions and textual analysis of all extant manuscript witnesses and the two pre-1500 printed editions of Caxton [Cx<sup>1</sup> and Cx<sup>2</sup>]. They did not include the printed editions of either Pynson [Pn] or Wynkyn de Worde [Wy], which both appeared before 1500 in their study.

Manly and Rickert made a thorough study of all extant manuscripts and investigated in depth the textual tradition and genesis of the extant *Canterbury Tales* witnesses. At times their work lacks clarity and on occasions is contradictory, however, this is perhaps understandable given the vast quantities of information and data they were analysing in a pre-computerised age.<sup>40</sup> Fortunately an article by Germaine Dempster, published in 1946 clarifies the main objectives and conclusions of the study. The edition Manly and Rickert produced is eclectic, tending to follow readings from Hg and yet using the actual material which makes up the El manuscript. Skeat's *Student's Chaucer* was used as the base-text against which all variants were noted.<sup>41</sup>

It is necessary to clarify a number of conjectures made by Manly and Rickert before their contribution to Chaucer studies can be properly evaluated. They believed that Chaucer had died leaving an unfinished draft of the *Canterbury Tales*, but that during his life time individual tales and fragments had been in circulation, if only among his friends.<sup>42</sup> Manly and Rickert consequently argued that numerous authorial versions of tales and fragments were in existence at the time of Chaucer's death. They referred to the pre-1400 existence of tales and links in various stages of authorial revision as 'Stage 1' in the process. This conjecture accounts for authorial variants between manuscripts; the piecemeal acquisition of fragments and tales by scribes/editors; and the large number of extant manuscripts whose early ownership can be traced back to friends and associates of Chaucer. Prior circulation meant that many exemplars had once existed, although none survive, from which the scribes worked. The text was subjected to further alteration and emendation at the hands of the scribes/editors once they had obtained tales and fragments, accounting for non-authorial variants between manuscripts. Once scribes/editors had gathered as many fragments as possible the initial production of complete manuscripts

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<sup>40</sup>Manly and Rickert estimated that they had recorded some 500,000 entries on the collation cards for the verse tales alone. Ramsey states that this results in an estimated four to five million variants. See, Ramsey 1994, p. 123.

<sup>41</sup>Skeat's *Student's Chaucer* was first published in 1895 and subsequently reprinted on numerous occasions.

<sup>42</sup>Manly and Rickert maintained that Bukton had a copy of the WB, if not a copy of the whole of section III (D).

could begin in earnest. Manly and Rickert referred to this phase of the process as 'Stage 2'. It was concluded that each fragment, tale, or even passages within tales had their own textual tradition and that variants between extant manuscripts result from both scribal alteration and authorial revision.

Manly and Rickert believed that Chaucer had left no final arrangement and few, if any, guidelines as to the intended order of tales. From the many varied exemplars which Manly and Rickert proposed existed, the scribes had to try and organise the tales in the order they considered most appropriate. Hg was perceived to be the first real attempt at trying to organise the fragments logically, but in receiving the fragments in stages the order was disjointed and the manuscript shows signs of hesitation. Omissions from Hg are explained by proposing that the scribe did not receive all the material which existed. Manly and Rickert believed that the order of the tales are solely scribal attempts to position the fragments and tales, and that this accounts for the varying arrangements found in the extant witnesses. Based on the assumption that individual tales or excerpts of tales were in circulation before Chaucer's death Manly and Rickert claimed that none of the extant manuscripts offer an arrangement of tales which can be attributed to Chaucer, even hesitantly, and the earliest extant manuscript therefore cannot be considered to be the nearest to Chaucer's intended order. They adopted the group divisions and lineation scheme devised by the Chaucer Society for their edition, but they preferred the following tale order:

Manly and Rickert's Fragments: A, B<sup>1</sup>, D, E, F, C, B<sup>2</sup>, G, H, I.  
*Riverside* Fragments: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X.

In contradiction to the beliefs outlined above, Manly and Rickert also postulated that the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts were derived from a single copy in Chaucer's possession. Any anomalies in the text are explained as either scribal alteration or more probably authorial changes written in the margins of Chaucer's copy or on separate pieces of parchment. Some tales were perhaps considered finished by the author while others

had received no amendment since their first draft. Copies of such altered texts would have eventually found their way to the editors and scribes causing confusion over which were the later and most recently revised texts.

Manly and Rickert's intention was to establish as near as possible what Chaucer's final aspirations for his poem had been. Comparisons and detailed study of the variants within different manuscripts were commenced with the aim of eliminating any unoriginal readings. This would also allow them to identify and distinguish between any evidence of scribal editing and authorial revisions. Like many editors they were subjective in their decisions as to what they considered to be genuine Chaucer lines. The criteria used for these decisions is not clear and seems reliant on their own discretion. In using Skeat's edition as a base-text Manly and Rickert were influenced by his opinion as regards what were considered to be genuine Chaucer lines and passages. They compared textual evidence and endeavoured to reconstruct by recension the archetype from which they believed all the extant manuscripts derived. This hypothetical archetype is referred to variously as 0 or 0<sup>1</sup> and is basically the last copy made from Chaucer's own final draft. As the archetype was presumably copied by a scribe it would have included scribal errors and possibly annotations and scribbles by Chaucer himself regarding further intended revisions. To what extent this archetype differed from Chaucer's original is impossible to prove. However, Manly and Rickert never claimed to produce an accurate Chaucer original, only the common ancestor of all extant manuscripts. Once the process of recension had been applied Manly and Rickert restored the text which they considered not to have been in Chaucer's original draft but to have been added by him later. Manly and Rickert's methodology is unsatisfactory as recension can only succeed if there is only one archetype, yet they proposed that tales and fragments existed in numerous authorial variants. Their presentation of the textual traditions and variants is highly complicated and frequently confusing, making the data difficult to use. It should be noted that the contradictions between hypothesis and methodology are the result of time constraints and

pressure by the University of Chicago to produce the volumes in a specific order. This resulted in the technique of textual recension being implemented at the inception of the project. In fact Manly and Rickert realised that the manuscript evidence indicated that genealogical relationships changed with each tale and link but the pressure of publication dates meant it was impossible to alter the methodology. Lack of time, finances and ultimately the intervention of death meant the disharmony between hypothesis and methodology was never redressed. However, this problem is being tackled by the work of the *Canterbury Tales* Project which is discussed later in this chapter

Manly and Rickert's extensive study led them to classify the witnesses into genetically related groups or categories according to their tale order and textual affiliations. There are four main groups; *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*.<sup>43</sup> This classification is again subjective as Manly and Rickert were forced to distinguish between what they termed, 'significant variants of widespread contamination' within related groups (ctm) and 'accidental coincidence of variants in unaffiliated manuscripts' (acco). The four main classifications, *a*, *b*, *c* and *d*, are represented by Dd, He, Cp, and Pw respectively. Although El has close associations with the members of the *a* group it is not identical to them and like Hg and Ha<sup>4</sup> is classified as *anomalous* and therefore left outside the main lines of descent. La was classified as a member of the *c* group on account of the close relationship it shares with Cp. Manly and Rickert recognised that La, Cp, and Sl<sup>2</sup> are closely linked, believing that they are derived from a common ancestor; La and Cp sharing the same exemplar or sets of exemplars. Manly and Rickert therefore classified these three manuscripts as a constant group. This group is in turn very like the *d* manuscripts which form the largest of the groups and includes the Pw manuscript. Manly and Rickert promoted the idea of fifteenth-century commercial shop production of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. They

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<sup>43</sup>Manly and Rickert's constant manuscript groups consist of four larger groups, comprising smaller constant subgroups as follows (sigils underlined represent the heads of subgroups):

*a*: Dd-Cn;      *b*: He-Ne;      *c*: Cp-La-Sl<sup>2</sup>;      *d*: En<sup>2</sup>-Lc-Pw-Ry<sup>2</sup>-Dl-Ha<sup>2</sup>-Sl<sup>1</sup>

A complete list of the subgroups which are contained within the four main groups listed above is presented at the front of this thesis. Further information and clarification of these groups can be found in Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 49-77.

claimed that La was produced shortly after Cp but probably in the same shop and, although written by different scribes, their scribes had been trained in a similar fashion and style. It is also suggested that Ha<sup>4</sup> came from the same commercial scriptorium.

Hg was considered by Manly and Rickert to be the earliest manuscript with the most reliable and 'best' text. Although Manly and Rickert considered the text of El to be poorer they believed that material in El, which is not included in Hg, had been taken direct from Chaucer's own copy; for example the CY, Man of Law's Endlink [L8], and the Adam Stanza.<sup>44</sup> Their study commenced with a general preference toward El, but their analysis of witnesses showed that El was a largely edited text and that Hg was in fact closer to Chaucer's original in many tales.

Despite the contradictions in Manly and Rickert's arguments, the descriptions of the different manuscripts and the *Corpus of Variants* have proved to be invaluable in their contribution to our understanding of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. The group classifications have been used ever since for scholarly discussion.<sup>45</sup>

Germaine Dempster produced five valuable articles during the period 1946-53, which analysed, evaluated and expanded the studies of Manly and Rickert.<sup>46</sup> In 1948[a], she suggested that a change of ink in Hg, which occurs at line 1074 of the ME, indicates a pause in the copying of the manuscript, perhaps only overnight. She claimed that a logical place for a scribe to stop copying would be at a break in the exemplar, for example a new sheet. The importance of the ink change in Hg is reflected in the *c* group manuscripts which lack the final hundred lines of the ME after 1074. Dempster suggested that the Hg exemplar had some kind of break at this point and that when the scribe stopped copying,

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<sup>44</sup>The Adam Stanza [MO 16/2-16/9], was not included in Hengwrt at the time of production and no gap was left, but the verse has been added by a different hand in the right margin with a dash indicating where it should be positioned.

<sup>45</sup>For further information and discussion of Manly and Rickert's research see, the introductions to Manly and Rickert's 1940, 8 volume publication; Dempster 1946; Blake 1983; Blake 1985[a], pp. 19-22 and 35-7; Kane 1984; Ruggiers 1984, pp. 10-11; and Ramsey 1994, especially pp. 57-166. For early reviews of the edition see, Brown 1940; Everett 1940 and 1942; and Root 1941. Evaluations of these early reviews can be found in Ramsey 1994, pp. 610-27. Ramsey also assess Kane's 1984 essay on Manly and Rickert's work, see Ramsey 1994, pp. 638-53.

<sup>46</sup>Dempster 1946; 1948[a]; 1948[b]; 1949; and 1953.

the loose sheets could have been lost or temporarily mis-laid resulting in the absence of the end of the ME in the *c* group witnesses. This would obviously assume that the Hg exemplar and that of the *c* manuscripts were related at least for this tale. Dempster concluded that 'the very great majority of the manuscripts postulated as heads of genetic groups for various *CT* pieces were copies made after Chaucer's death from the papers that he had left' (Dempster 1948[a], p. 329). She argued that a number of scribes had been 'simultaneously' producing copies of individual tales and fragments from Chaucer's papers and that these copies 'were intended, not for sale, not for readers, but as exemplars to be copied from when conditions would permit the preparation of *CT* manuscripts for readers' (Dempster 1948[a], p. 329). Therefore, the manuscripts which had been classified by Manly and Rickert as the head of each genetic group were in fact copied from Chaucer's own papers after his death. This contradicted the belief of prior circulation and many authorial variants which had been proposed by Manly and Rickert.

In 1948[b] Dempster produced an article in which she discussed how the manuscripts in Manly and Rickert's *d* classification are derived from *c* via a common ancestor; *cd*. Manly and Rickert's research showed that the *d* and *c* witnesses shared many textual affiliations and for two-thirds of the text were largely inseparable. The *c* group lacks any links for the SQ, ME, CL and FK and Dempster argued that the scribe of the *d* archetype had access to the links for these tales from Hg. Dempster confirmed Manly and Rickert's postulate that the manuscripts classified as *b* were derived from *d* and thus illustrated that the *b*, *c* and *d* witnesses had close links to each other and probably to Hg. She argued that the closeness between the three groups indicated the possibility that the main manuscripts in each classification had all been produced by the same scriptorium. This challenged Manly and Rickert's belief that numerous scribes/editors had independently gathered together fragments and tales and then tried to assemble them in a satisfactory order, but supported their conviction that many *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts had been commercially produced in the fifteenth century.

A further article by Dempster was produced in 1949 in which she studied the tale order of the extant manuscripts, but with specific reference to Hg and El. She accepted the piecemeal acquisition of material by the Hg scribe resulting in a poor arrangement of tales. She argued that the Hg scribe received the author's own copy of links and tales and that his work on the manuscripts 'represents the very first editorial attempt at arranging the tales' (Dempster 1949, p. 1133). Dempster claimed that the first scribe probably received certain fragments of the *Canterbury Tales* where individual tales were obviously and closely linked in a definite order, but acknowledged that Chaucer left no complete and definitive arrangement. Dempster also believed that El is reliant on Hg for its order consequently arguing that El affected the order of the *a* classified manuscripts, these in turn influenced the *c* group and these the *d* which ultimately led to the order of the *b* group. From her studies Dempster concluded that the arrangement and ordering of the tales were linked in all manuscripts and the development of tale order consequently followed a simple evolutionary pattern with all orders therefore deriving from Hg.

Dempster based her studies on the work of Manly and Rickert although she rejected the idea of prior circulation, preferring to argue that manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were copied from Chaucer's original fragmented text after his death. Dempster believed that after the author's death demand for his work increased and editors had to collect together any fragments or tales which could be found in order to produce the manuscripts commercially, a policy adopted by the *c* editor and then by those succeeding him. In basing her studies on the ideas and proposals of Manly and Rickert, Dempster developed her own opinions and drew her own conclusions which ultimately questioned some of Manly and Rickert's theories.<sup>47</sup>

During the early twentieth century El and Hg attracted the limelight and Ha<sup>4</sup>, although still considered an important early manuscript, received less scholarly interest

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<sup>47</sup>Further details and analysis of Dempster work can be found in Blake 1985[a], pp. 37-9; and Ramsey 1994, pp. 627-38.

than in previous years. Although Hg was not only recognised as the earliest manuscript but also as having the best text, E1 was still considered to have the best arrangement of tales. It was however, generally recognised that all orders were scribal/editorial and that the E1 order had in fact been derived from that of Hg. This period of Chaucer scholarship saw the publication of Manly and Rickert's monumental eight volume work, the most thorough examination to date of all extant manuscripts. Although not always attributed by modern scholars, this work has been the foundation for the last fifty years of scholarship focusing on the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. As a result of Manly and Rickert's research, discussions over tale order, prior circulation, and the commercial production of manuscripts began in earnest.

### **The Late Twentieth Century**

During this more recent phase in scholarship regarding the textual transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* the work of Manly and Rickert has been evaluated and the theories of prior circulation and tale order, postulated in the early part of the century, have been explored, expanded and developed. A further primary concern and area for discussion is that of commercial shop production. This particular debate has been fuelled by the work of scholars like A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, C. Paul Christianson, and Kathleen L. Scott whose research is discussed in Chapter VII of this thesis.<sup>48</sup> Scholarly opinion is divided between the Hg and E1 advocates who each claim primacy for their chosen manuscript. The palaeographical study of manuscripts has provided many significant developments in manuscript studies. A significant development in the debate regarding the priority of Hg and E1 occurred in 1978 when Doyle and Parkes argued on palaeographical grounds that the same scribe had written both Hg and E1.<sup>49</sup> Although this postulate has been generally

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<sup>48</sup>For example see, Doyle and Parkes 1978; Christianson 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989[a], 1989[b], and 1990; and Scott 1968, and 1997.

<sup>49</sup>In fact Tatlock first suggested that the same scribe was responsible for the copying of both Hg and E1 in 1935, and Manly and Rickert also made a similar, cautious assessment. However, it was not until the 1978 article by Doyle and Parkes that this conjecture was generally accepted by scholars. Doyle and Parkes

accepted there are scholars who argue that different scribes were responsible for the production of the two witnesses.<sup>50</sup> Doyle and Parkes are also responsible for naming the Cp scribe as Scribe D whose hand has been identified in eleven other manuscripts, including Ha<sup>4</sup> and eight Gowers.<sup>51</sup> Research into orthography and dialect have also greatly advanced, particularly through the work of Angus McIntosh, Michael Benskin, Martin L. Samuels, and Jeremy J. Smith whose numerous publications have led to a greater understanding of the production of manuscripts and can be used to support and verify the identification of particular scribes.<sup>52</sup> Editors have also been extremely productive and countless editions of the *Canterbury Tales* have been published during the later twentieth century, the three most notable are discussed below.

The 1970's saw the collaboration of numerous scholars under the directorship of Paul G. Ruggiers to produce the *Variorum Edition of The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* and

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named the Hg/El scribe as Scribe B. For further details see, Tatlock 1935, p. 128; Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 23, and 268; and Doyle and Parkes 1978.

<sup>50</sup>For further information and analysis of the evidence which suggests that the same scribe copied both Hg and El, see Doyle and Parkes 1978; 1979; and Doyle 1997. Other scholars have also supported the conjecture of Doyle and Parkes, by examining different criteria. For example, M. L. Samuels and Jeremy J. Smith who have studied the spelling systems used in both witnesses, see, Samuels 1983[a] and 1983[b] (these articles are also reprinted in Smith 1988[a], pp. 23-37, and 38-50 respectively); and Smith 1988[b] and 1997. For discussions and arguments in favour of Hg and El being produced by different scribes, see Ramsey 1982, and 1986.

<sup>51</sup>The hand of the Corpus scribe, Scribe D, has also been identified in the following manuscripts:

London, British Library MS. Harley 7334 [H<sup>4</sup>] (*Canterbury Tales*);  
London, British Library MS. Egerton 1991, (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.2 (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 902, (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 294, (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
Oxford, Christ Church MS. 148 (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
Oxford, Corpus Christi MS. B.67 (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
New York, Columbia University Library MS. Plimpton 265 (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*);  
Princeton, Princeton University Library, Robert H Taylor MS. Taylor 5 (Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, olim Rosenbach 369, olim Phillipps 8192);  
London, University Library MS. V.88 [Ilchester] (Langland, *Piers Plowman* 'C-text').  
London, British Library MS. Additional 27944 (Trevisa's translation of *Bartholomaeus Anglicus de proprietatibus rerum*).

For further information on Scribe D, see, Doyle and Parkes 1978; and Smith 1988. For the Taylor Gower, see, Griffiths 1983. Ramsey has questioned the identification of Scribe D as the copyist of both Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup>. He argues that these two manuscripts, like Hg and El, are by different scribes. See Ramsey 1986, pp. 126-34.

<sup>52</sup>For example see, McIntosh 1963, 1974, and 1975; Benskin 1981; Benskin and Laing 1981; Benskin and Samuels 1981; Samuels 1983[a] and 1983[b]; and Smith 1988[a], 1988[b], and 1997. The work of the scholars listed here is discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

facsimiles of the most important *Canterbury Tales* witnesses.<sup>53</sup> The intended purpose of the *Variorum* edition is to try and establish Chaucer's final intentions for the poem. The *Variorum* is based on the text of a single manuscript, Hg, but tends to follow the content and tale order of El. The edition contains variants from nine other manuscripts including those used by Skeat; El, Cp, La, Ha<sup>4</sup>, Dd, Gg, He, Pw, and Ad<sup>3</sup>.<sup>54</sup>

In 1980 Norman F. Blake produced an edition of *The Canterbury Tales* which is a careful and accurate transcription of the Hg manuscript. Blake states that 'the claim of that edition [is] to reflect the state of Chaucer's text at his death as against the standardized text of other modern editions' (Blake 1985[a], p. 23). Blake's edition uniquely adheres to both the content and tale order of Hg rejecting any text which does not appear in Hg as scribal. Despite the fact that Hg is the earliest extant manuscript and probably the closest to what Chaucer wrote, this edition has not, as yet, replaced the El based editions of the *Canterbury Tales*, such as that by Robinson (1933 and 1957) or Larry Benson's *The Riverside Chaucer* (1987); the latter being used as the main college and university text for the purposes of teaching. Blake's extensive scholarship on the *Canterbury Tales* is discussed later in this chapter.

Larry D. Benson is the general editor of *The Riverside Chaucer* which is based on Robinson's second edition, and consequently follows the El order and text. The edition can be criticised for relying on an already printed and edited text rather than the actual witnesses and therefore offers no radical departures from Robinson's edition which it replaced as the most popular text used in educational establishments today.

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<sup>53</sup>Ruggiers edited a facsimile and transcription of the Hg manuscript which forms the first volume of the *Variorum Edition* (Ruggiers 1979). It is intended that the second volume will be comprised of twenty-five parts, the following of which have already been published: Part 1A and 1B, *The General Prologue*, ed. Malcolm Andrew, 1993; Part 3, *The Miller's Tale*, ed. Thomas Ross, 1983; Part 9, *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, ed. Derek Pearsall, 1984[b]; Part 10, *The Manciple's Tale*, ed. Donald C. Baker, 1984[b]; Part 12, *The Squire's Tale*, ed. Donald C. Baker, 1990; Part 17, *The Physician's Tale*, ed. Helen C. Corsa, 1987; Part 20, *The Prioress's Tale*, ed. Beverly Boyd, 1987.

<sup>54</sup>For further information regarding the aims, intentions and aspirations of the *Variorum Edition* see, 'The Editor's Preface' and 'Introduction' to the Hg facsimile and transcription (Ruggiers 1979, pp. xi-xiii, and pp. xvii-xviii); 'The General Editors Preface' which is reproduced in each part of the *Variorum Edition* published to date; and Morse 1987. See also, Blake's review of the Hg facsimile and transcription, Blake 1981[a].

Over many years E1 has attained a firmly established place in the hierarchy of the manuscript texts with its language, metre, and tale order often being considered superior to Hg. The vast majority of modern editions are based on E1 with the exception of Donaldson (1958), Ruggiers et al (*Variorum Edition*, 1979-), and Blake (1980) who have all used Hg.

There was a lull in scholarship regarding the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales* between the mid 1950s and the 1970s, during which time scholarly attention focused more on the use of a framework for the poem and literary criticism. However, since the mid 1970s Chaucer scholars have produced a multitude of articles and publications on the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses. The bulk of publications can be roughly divided between those scholars who advocate the authority of the E1 text, content, and tale order and those who hold Hg in higher esteem as regards authenticity of what is considered to be nearest to what Chaucer wrote. The scholarly community is similarly drawn on opposing sides with regard to other contradictory beliefs, such as prior circulation, and the commercial shop production of manuscripts. From such an abundance of articles and publications relating to the textual transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* it has been possible to outline the main arguments and conclusions of only a small number here.

Blake has published widely regarding the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales* and of related concerns and aspects. In *The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales* published in 1985, which examines the eight earliest witnesses in detail, Blake takes up some of Dempster's arguments and is in agreement with both her and Tatlock in rejecting the idea of prior circulation.<sup>55</sup> He states that any evidence of the tales or pilgrims having been known before Chaucer's death is most likely due to recitals of tales or excerpts of the text to the author's social circle, rather than as the result of booklets of the individual tales having been in circulation. Certainly Chaucer's friends and patrons would have known of

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<sup>55</sup>Blake has published several articles which discuss and develop the arguments of Dempster. For example, see Blake 1979, and 1981[b].

his work and some may even have heard the stories read aloud. This interest would have resulted in the gathering of his notes at the time of his death and subsequent production of the manuscripts.

Blake's overall picture of Chaucer's working methods and the production of manuscripts after his death are outlined in his 1985 publication. Chaucer had composed the *Canterbury Tales* over a twenty year period and died without having completed the poem. He was not working to a pre-decided arrangement and consequently did not write the tales in the order they would eventually appear. When two tales had been composed that he felt would be paired together in the final sequence a link was written. Blake postulates that these linked tales would then be physically joined together although perhaps not by particularly secure methods. Chaucer only had the one, probably disorganised and untidy copy of his work and although he may have recited sections of his poem to his immediate social circle no written copies of any tales were released. With the event of his death this social circle gathered together Chaucer's papers from his house. The disorganised draft of the poem lacked links between some tales which these first 'editors' then had to supply. Although the poem was probably largely arranged as Chaucer had left it, the editors no doubt had to insert certain tales. Blake states that 'because the manuscripts were copied from Chaucer's drafts, there was probably in existence in the early fifteenth century some person or persons who had control of those drafts and who acted in an editorial capacity in issuing the finished poems' (Blake 1985[a], p. 186).

Blake postulates that Hg is derived from Chaucer's own copytext which was the only one in existence at his death, and although it seems likely to be the earliest extant witness it is not necessarily the first manuscript produced after Chaucer's death from the authors own papers. Blake is in agreement with Tatlock that all witnesses of the *Canterbury Tales* derive from the only version of the poem in existence at the time of Chaucer's death, that being his own draft. Blake is a staunch Hg advocate and argues that

since it seems likely that the manuscript was the first extant witness to be produced from Chaucer's own papers after his death it consequently shows the text of the *Canterbury Tales* closest to how Chaucer wrote them. As a result Hg offers the most accurate insight into Chaucer's spelling, metre, and style and is therefore primary to the textual tradition. Blake argues that Hg must be viewed individually so that 'its evidence will help form our ideas on Chaucer's language, style and metre' (Blake 1981[c], p. 224). Blake believes that Chaucer's unfinished copytext was in a state of disorganisation perhaps containing revisions in the margins or even additional sheets of extra tales, links and passages. The copytext with its modifications passed direct from his house to the editors of the Hg manuscript. Consequently, anything which does not appear in Hg is considered to be spurious and any emendations found in later manuscripts are editorial rather than authorial. Blake comments that 'the impossibility of deciding which might have been authorial rather than scribal means that we cannot accept changes in later manuscripts to the text as preserved in Hg as authorial' (Blake 1985[a], pp. 176-7). However, he also recognises that the Hg scribe may have copied mistakes included in Chaucer's manuscript or that he may in places have misunderstood his own copy and as a consequence not all material in Hg is authorial.

Blake states that all the early manuscripts are derived from the exemplar used by Hg which was in fact Chaucer's own draft, with the possible exceptions of the *a* text. The parts of the exemplar were arranged in the order which Hg subsequently followed and was then refined and altered by the later scribes/editors. He therefore concludes that the eight earliest manuscripts suggest that the following sections were in existence at Chaucer's death;

Blake's Sections	<i>Riverside</i> Fragments
1 GP, KN, MI, RE, CO;	I
2 WB, FR, SU;	III
3 ML;	II
4 SQ;	V
5 ME;	IV

6	FK;	V
7	NU;	VIII
8	CL;	IV
9	PH, PD;	VI
10	SH, PR, TT, TM, MO, NP;	VII
11	MA;	IX
12	PA, RT;	X

Hg lacks the end of PA and the RT due to lost leaves, but Blake included them in his 1980 edition and his arrangement of sections because they appear in early manuscripts and were therefore likely to have originally been included in Hg. The TG and CY are missing from Hg and are consequently not included in the edition or division of the text into sections. Blake considers these two tales to be scribal and editorial additions.

Blake believes the tale order in Hg is not authorial, but the first scribal/editorial attempt to arrange the tales. He claims that the arrangement of tales in Hg was modified and altered as the copying progressed and this explains the different colouring of inks and the gaps left by the scribe which were presumably to be completed later. Gaps were left on several occasions where links have then been added. Later scribes and editors rearranged the tales in Hg, adding links and even the CY and TG before using these new orders as the exemplar for their own manuscript copies.

*The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales* (1985[a]) is an examination of the eight earliest witnesses and as such includes La. Blake states that 'Lansdowne was copied from Corpus with extra material available to the scribe rather than from Corpus's own exemplar' (Blake 1985[a], p. 73). This view, although in contradiction to that of Manly and Rickert who claimed that La and Cp shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars, has been accepted by many modern scholars, reinforcing the perception that La can add little to our knowledge of the textual traditional.

Blake cautions that critics and scholars have accepted too readily the work of the scribes, and that we have not fully accepted that they were intelligent people who had developed their own ideas about Chaucer's poetry and emended the manuscripts as they saw fit. Rubrics, running heads, and divisions within tales are all part of the process of

presentation implemented by the scribes and editors rather than by Chaucer. The majority of glosses are also considered to be scribal although Blake does state that some were probably added to the copytext by editors. He argues that the glosses show that an editor had access to Chaucer's own texts and sources supporting his opinion that Chaucer's own draft served as the copytext. Blake believes that our ideas regarding the scribes need to be reconsidered in the light of evidence from the earliest manuscripts.

The *Chaucer Review* published a two part article in 1988 by Charles Owen Jr. on the 'Pre-1450 Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*'.<sup>56</sup> Owen subsequently published *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales* in 1991 which discusses the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales*. Owen disagrees with the ideas of Blake stating that manuscripts like Hg, Cp, and Ha<sup>4</sup> are unlikely to have been copied from the one exemplar due to their textual variations. Owen believes copies of individual tales in the form of booklets were circulated in large numbers to Chaucer's friends shortly after his death and that these account for the many variations in the extant manuscripts. The scribes collected these copies of the tales or groups of tales and arranged them in order. Owen therefore concludes that the six earliest manuscripts were created from tales which had, to some extent, already been circulated, but only after Chaucer's death. Hg is seen as the first attempt to obtain all the tales that could be located, to try and create a full collection of the tales. Hg then provided inspiration for other editors to try and produce a more satisfactory arrangement of the tales. Owen believes that the Hg scribe left gaps in his manuscript because he had encountered difficulties receiving the links due to the circulation of tales after Chaucer's death either individually or as fragments. It was not until approximately five years after Chaucer's death that demand for a complete copy of all the tales grew. Editors then faced the task of having to trace and collate the tales which were in circulation. Owen believes that little evidence can actually be found to directly

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<sup>56</sup>Owen has published widely on his studies of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts and it is not possible to fully discuss his valuable contribution to Chaucer scholarship here.

link the orders of the individual tales to Chaucer's originally intended arrangement, if in fact he had actually attempted to organise the tales by the time of his death.

Owen recognises that El and Hg are copied by the same scribe and that they also share a similar style of glosses and marginalia, although they are superior in El. He claims that the respective supervisors of Hg and El had endeavoured to give the *Canterbury Tales* an 'impression of completeness or near completeness' (Owen 1988, Pt. II, p. 115). El and La are viewed by Owen as the attempts of scribes and editors to produce complete collections of the tales. He states that 'the purpose of most of the early editors to give an impression of finish and completeness to the text reaches fulfillment in the Ellesmere and Lansdowne manuscripts' (Owen 1991, p. 13). A series of links which are unique to La and considered spurious epitomise the editorial attempt to make the text appear complete.<sup>57</sup> La and Cp are the only witnesses of the six earliest manuscripts that share close textual affiliations and tale order. Owen believes that Cp and La used the same set of exemplars although he says La is 'clearly later than Cp and perhaps the last of the six extant manuscripts produced during the first twenty years after Chaucer's death' (Owen 1991, p. 11). It is also claimed that this set of exemplars served as an ancestor of Sl<sup>2</sup> and also for many of the *d* texts. The *c* text manuscripts, of which La is classified, are considered to represent the intermediary component of the textual transmission between Hg and the *d* texts and although the smallest group in certain respects have had the most influence. Owen views the development of the tale order, parts of the text, and any marginalia as a continual progression from Hg through the early witnesses.

As a result of his research Owen concludes that there are three patterns which can be identified in connection with the production of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. 1) The individual tales and notes left by Chaucer had been circulated after his death, they were then gathered together and collated to create an exemplar from which the manuscript was copied. Owen claims that this scenario is true for Hg, Cp, Ha<sup>4</sup>, Dd, El, and Gg. The

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<sup>57</sup>See Chapter V of this thesis for a full discussion of the spurious links in La.

individual exemplars used by each of these manuscripts may have then been used for the production of other witnesses. 2) The manuscripts in this second classification have used a manuscript which was already written as their exemplar and include Ld<sup>2</sup>, Mg, and the first part of Gl. Owen also states that Ds<sup>1</sup> and Ra<sup>1</sup> may also fall into this group. 3) The third pattern Owen describes as being based on a number of exemplars which had originally been collected together to form the copytext for an earlier manuscript. In this group Owen includes La, En<sup>1</sup>, Ma, Mm, and Ph<sup>3</sup>.

Owen believes that the pilgrimage had taken five days to complete with tales appearing in sections, some of which were to be told on the return journey, for example; Fragments IX, III, VI, IV, V (SQ only), and VIII. The evidence of the manuscripts gives no indication that the pilgrims were not to continue with a return journey to Southwark and Owen argues that 'the impression of completeness, aimed for by some of the manuscript editors, Ellesmere and Lansdowne especially, does not survive the removal of editorial excrescences' (Owen 1982, p. 247).

Owen advises that we should view the *Canterbury Tales* as an unfinished work which therefore does not have a definitively 'best' or final order. Owen postulates that we should stop trying to create an effect of completeness with the poem, that we should instead study the narration of the text where he claims we will find 'three different beginnings of the story-telling and two different projected endings' (Owen 1988, Pt. II, p. 115). He believes that from the narrative evidence of the text we will be able to establish the varying arrangement of the tales which Chaucer may have considered. We are urged to view the sections as representing different stages in the development of the extant manuscripts, to consider the evidence of what Chaucer actually left when he died, rather than the extant manuscripts which have been subjected to editorial alterations and arrangements to try and create the appearance that the text is finished and complete.

In his publication 'The Hengwrt Manuscript and the Canon of *The Canterbury Tales*' (1989), Ralph Hanna III recognises the importance of Hg and makes two

classifications of allegiance to the manuscript. 1) 'Soft' Hengwrtism, which follows the text of Hg but adopts an alternative order of tales and 2) 'hard' Hengwrtism which follows both the text and tale order of the Hg manuscript. Hanna questions 'soft' Hengwrtism because it excludes the possibility that variant readings in other manuscripts may also have come from Chaucer's authorial copy. 'Hard' Hengwrtism is questioned on the grounds that although Hg may offer the 'best' text, it does not offer the best arrangement. The changes in ink and gaps in the Hg manuscript are considered to be the result of the scribe/editor receiving the tales piecemeal, while the omission of lines may be due to the fact that the scribe only had access to individual tales or sections which were actually emended at a later date by Chaucer. Hanna argues that Hg is composed of a series of booklets because the editor encountered difficulties in acquiring the exemplars and was consequently limited in selecting an arrangement for the tales before all the known exemplars had been received. The theory that Hg was composed in a series of booklets necessitates that prior circulation in the form of tales having been supplied by the author to close friends and associates or recited to select groups is accepted. Such a piecemeal acquisition of exemplars by the Hg scribe/editor contradicts Blake's view that Chaucer's working draft passed in its entirety to the Hg production team.

An article produced by Larry D. Benson in 1981 claims that although the *Canterbury Tales* were not revised, and in places imperfect, Chaucer had in fact completed his work on them by the time of his death. He argues that the RT proves Chaucer was finished with his poem stating that 'since we have Chaucer's own word, in the *Retraction*, that, unfinished as *The Canterbury Tales* obviously is, he was finished with it' (Benson 1981, p. 80). He states that Chaucer himself provided two main orders for the arrangement of the tales from which all the extant manuscripts are derived and that any variations on these are due to scribal rearrangement or distortion. He believes that manuscripts which follow order number 1, which he calls 'Type a', are similar to E1 and the a group manuscripts, comprising the following order:

Fragment	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII,	VIII,	IX, X
Group	A, B <sup>1</sup> , D, E, F, C, B <sup>2</sup> ,	G (with CYPT),	H, I.

Order number 2, which he refers to as 'non-Type a' is virtually the same except that Fragment VIII (Group G with CYPT) appears immediately before Fragment VI (Group C); a variation which Benson states occurred by the misplacement of leaves during scribal copying. The two orders are so similar that to assume they were created by different people is viewed by Benson as unrealistic. Contrary to the beliefs of contemporary scholars Benson in fact claims that 'both orders can indeed be assigned to Chaucer and that the order of the tales in the Ellesmere MS. (and others) represents Chaucer's own final arrangement' (Benson 1981, p. 79). Benson accepts Dempster's arguments that *b*, *c* and *d* classified manuscripts are all based on one exemplar, but rejects Dempster's and Blake's opinion that El is derived from the Hg order on the grounds that Hg, although an earlier manuscript, represents a later arrangement of tales than El. He reaches this conclusion because Hg has omitted material which appears in other manuscripts and which is considered genuine, for example the CY. Benson adopts the rather limiting opinion that only Chaucer could have invented the El order and that its superior metre and language indicate that it is the closest to Chaucer's draft of the *Canterbury Tales* at the time of his death. With regard to the subject of prior circulation Benson comments that although not conclusive that tales were in pre-1400 circulation it seems probable.

Like Benson, James Dean considers El to be a manuscript of superior text and with the best tale order. He believes that the tales should not be viewed individually when it comes to the matter of order, instead they should be grouped together and viewed as distinct sections. He argues that certain sections have a definitive order within all manuscripts. For example, Fragment I always appears at the beginning while Fragment X is always placed at the end, and the MA (IX) appears before that of the PA (X) in the majority of manuscripts. The placement of these sections has generally been accepted as Chaucer's intended arrangement since the nineteenth century. Dean argues that Chaucer's

inclusion of time and geographical details are not meant to be a realistic representation of the order the tales should follow. He believes that the EI arrangement is nearest to that intended by Chaucer claiming that the last four tales (NU, CY, MA, and PA, followed by the RT in that order) provide a more satisfactory ending to the text than a return journey by the pilgrims, or as Owen has suggested a summing up of the storytelling contest. Dean argues that through these four tales Chaucer was drawing his work to a definite close 'that he deliberately subverted or, better, dismantled his book through theme and technique' (Dean 1985, p. 746). He argues that the last four tales are closely linked in a pattern which highlights Chaucer's concerns at the end of his work, where the narratives of the tales are condensed until one man alone addresses his audience, that man being the author himself. The correlation of the last four tales also supports the order of EI, Dean's favoured manuscript. It is acknowledged that if Chaucer had drawn a definite closure to his work he would probably have tied up all the loose ends and anomalies which can be found in the tales, for example, the fact that in MaP [L36] the Cook still has to tell a tale while in PsP [L37] the Host comments to the Parson 'every man save thou hath toold his tale' [L37, line 25]. Dean's study of the tales 'has been aesthetic and thematic rather than textual, but it has been so because I am convinced that the controversy must be debated along both thematic and textual lines' (Dean 1985, p. 759). Dean's study may not be convincing in its conclusions, but it offers a different perspective in trying to establish Chaucer's possible intentions with regard to tale order and just one of many studies which examine theme and genre in an attempt to arrange the tales.<sup>58</sup>

More recently, in 1992 the *Canterbury Tales Project* was established under the directorship of Norman Blake. The aim of the Project is to transcribe all extant manuscript witnesses and pre-1500 printed editions of the *Canterbury Tales* in order to

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<sup>58</sup>For further discussion and analysis of Dean's hypothesis see, Owen's response to Dean's theory and Dean's subsequent reply; Owen 1986. For arrangements and discussion of the tales by themes and genres see, for example, Pearsall 1985; and Bloomfield 1983.

plot the development of both the poem and any marginal annotations during the fifteenth century. This will help establish more clearly the text Chaucer left when he died.

*The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM*, edited by P. M. W. Robinson, was published by Cambridge University Press in 1996 and includes transcripts of the fifty-eight manuscripts and pre-1500 printed editions which contain the WBP accompanied by digital images of all folios. Descriptions of all witnesses and linguistic profiles were supplied by Daniel Mosser and transcriptions of all glosses by Stephen Partridge.<sup>59</sup> Electronic publications of the GP, MI, and RE as they appear in all witnesses and the single manuscripts of Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup> will shortly follow.<sup>60</sup>

It is the Project's intention, over an estimated ten year period, to electronically publish transcripts of all individual manuscripts as well as every individual tale and link as represented in each witness. Transcriptions will be accompanied by digitised images of every folio, a lemmatised spelling database arranged by witness and by spelling, and regularised and unregularised collations.<sup>61</sup> Analysis of grammatical details, linguistic provenance, and a description of each witness will also be provided. The Project's official publication, *The Occasional Papers*, outlines the technical details of the Project and makes available new information as it is gathered and analysed.

The accuracy of the transcripts is paramount to future research and as such the original spellings, abbreviations and punctuation of each witness are reproduced. Any scribal additions, deletions, alterations, and underlining are preserved and recorded as they appear in the manuscripts. Marginal annotations, glosses, paraph marks, and ornamental capitals are also noted as they appear in the witnesses.<sup>62</sup> Incipits, explicits, headings and tale divisions are also being transcribed and will allow greater comparison between

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<sup>59</sup>Details regarding the proposed new descriptive catalogue of *Canterbury Tales* witnesses see Mosser 1993. For a discussion on the value of comparing glosses across all witnesses, see Partridge 1993.

<sup>60</sup>Transcripts of Hg, El, Dd, Gg, En<sup>1</sup>, Ds<sup>1</sup>, Ch, Ad<sup>3</sup>, Cp, and La have been completed.

<sup>61</sup>The inclusion of digital images of each folio of every witness is subject to permission by the present owners of the witnesses.

<sup>62</sup>Comprehensive guidelines for the transcription of witnesses is given in Robinson and Solopova 1993.

witnesses.<sup>63</sup> Transcriptions are checked several times against microfilm copies and finally against the actual witness with the intention of eliminating as many errors as possible and identifying any marginal marks too faint to be visible on microfilm.

The transcripts are published in both an unregularised form which preserves all original spellings, and a regularised form which removes non-substantive variations, for example, abbreviations, punctuation, and differing verbal forms. Hg is used as the base-text against which all other witnesses are regularised. Through regularisation all spellings of every word in the witnesses will be recorded and published in lemmatised spelling databases. An estimated five million word forms will have been recorded by completion of the Project. A specially designed computer programme, *Collate*, allows a single word, line, paragraph or tale to be collated across all witnesses. Full collations of all texts both regularised and unregularised with hypertext links to all images are published on each multi-witness CD-ROM. Another technique adopted by the Project to analyse the data is 'cladistic analysis' which is used in the area of biological studies to reconstruct evolutionary pathways. The same technique can be applied to manuscripts where the shared and non-shared variants can be used to show relationships between witnesses as stemmatic trees depicting the evolution and development of the text.<sup>64</sup>

The Project had to emancipate itself from the editorial tradition of viewing the poem in a series of fragments and devise a new lineation scheme which attempts to present the text with as few preconceptions as possible, does not prejudice or impose a presupposed order on the tales or links, and facilitates the collation and comparison of every line of text across all fifteenth-century witnesses. The new system individually lineates each tale and link, and includes every line found in any of the extant witnesses regardless of whether the text is considered spurious by most scholars. Each tale or link is

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<sup>63</sup>The only previous full collection of rubrics which act as incipits, explicits, and tale division was produced by McCormick and Heseltine in 1933. The transcriptions of the *Canterbury Tales* Project will now allow this to be checked with ease.

<sup>64</sup>For further details on the techniques of cladistic analysis and its limitations see, O'Hara and Robinson 1993. For preliminary results of the cladistic analysis of the WBP see, Robinson 1997.

considered as an individual block or unit with its own continuous lineation within that unit so that a single line can be identified by the same number across all the witnesses. Where the same link appears consistently with a specific tale in all witnesses it may be included as part of that unit, for example the WBP and tale are lineated as one continuous unit. However, in most cases the links are treated separately. Individual lines are lineated according to the earliest manuscript in which the tale or link occurs, in the majority of cases the base-text is consequently Hg as it is considered to be the earliest extant witness.<sup>65</sup> This enables scholars to compare and collate a line across all witnesses and thereby examine and account for the variations which exist.

The Project's new lineation scheme breaks away from the restrictions of the traditional system, which is used for example, in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987). It allows scholars a more accurate and less constrained view of the poem as it appears in the actual manuscripts. The lineation and terminology given to linking passages in the new system allows a freer approach to their textual content and subsequent role. By viewing the links as independent sections of text we can learn a great deal about their development as individual passages. The use of Hg as the main base-text redefines links and passages which are often included in modern editions as additional or variant and therefore encourages us to reconsider their authority. A re-assessment of the entire text as it exists in all extant witnesses is possible with the new lineation system, presenting a clearer view of the problems that faced the early scribes in assembling fragments, tales, and links from what at times must have seemed contradictory and inconsistent material.

This new presentation of the text ultimately questions some of the theories proposed by scholars and encourages a reassessment of those issues which are central to any debate regarding the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales*: Chaucer's method of composition; the theory that scholars are able to identify authorial lines and passages; that

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<sup>65</sup>Hg lacks the TG and CY; the next earliest extant witness Cp is therefore used as the base-text against which all variants are recorded. The RT does not appear in either Hg or Cp so Ha<sup>4</sup> is adopted as the base-text.

a complete authorial version of the poem can be reconstructed; the state of the copytext and editorial intervention in the production of the manuscripts; possible authorial revisions; the state of the text at the time of Chaucer's death; and the possibility that multiple copies of individual tales may have existed prior to 1400.

The new lineation system implemented by the *Canterbury Tales* Project is in its infancy compared to the traditional system devised during the nineteenth century. It takes time for new ideas to be fully accepted and it is not yet clear whether other scholars will adopt the new system. A fresh approach to the text could yield new and valuable evidence regarding Chaucer's composition of the poem, the authority of the text, and the problems faced by the early scribes and editors. The *Canterbury Tales* Project encourages scholars to examine and analyse all the manuscript evidence with as few preconceived ideas and assumptions as possible rather than rely on modern editions. This has implications for future scholarship in the way in which we view not just the *Canterbury Tales* but all manuscripts, in terms of composition, methods of manuscript production, for whom they were produced, and why.<sup>66</sup>

The use of computers in this new evaluation of the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses allows the user to check for information via a sophisticated series of hypertext links. For example, the reoccurrence of spellings or names of persons connected with witnesses or locations. Research material provided by the Project renders immediate and easy access to witnesses which are located around the world, some in private collections and therefore largely inaccessible. The inclusion of digitised images of each witness enables scholars to compare scribal hands, manuscript decoration and to check the data and accuracy of transcriptions more conveniently. Data collected and analysed by the *Canterbury Tales* Project will help establish textual affiliations. This data and the use of specific computer programmes like *Transcribe* and *Collate* and the use of processes such as cladistic analysis will enable the various theories postulated by Manly and Rickert and other Chaucerians to

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<sup>66</sup>For further details of the lineation system see, Blake 1994; and Blake 1997[a].

be tested with more ease than the previous manual methods. In turn this will potentially allow a more informed discussion of the textual transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* and facilitate the development of new hypotheses.<sup>67</sup>

### **Summary**

The early editors of the *Canterbury Tales* produced editions of the poem based on the best manuscript(s) that they could obtain and relied heavily on earlier editions. These early editors, believing that quantity denoted superiority, frequently included more tales and additional works many of which are now considered to be spurious.

Although the early editors recognised that the *Canterbury Tales* was an unfinished work, they printed the poem as a continuous text and thereby inferred completeness. In the nineteenth century editors believed that despite the unfinished state of the poem there was a completeness and cohesion within certain fragments. Wright became the first editor to clearly divide the tales into sections concluding that there were eight. Subsequent scholars have theorised and rationalised the manuscript evidence and consequently argued in favour of a varying number of existing sections at the time of Chaucer's death. During the late nineteenth century, scholars like Furnivall and Bradshaw pondered the order of tales as Chaucer may have left them placing great faith and reliance on the geographical and temporal references within the text and dividing the tales into fragments accordingly.

Furnivall, with the support of the Chaucer Society, devised a lineation system which divided the text of the *Canterbury Tales* into groups or fragments based on those tale-groups which appear as constant units across the extant witnesses; each individual group being given its own continuous lineation. The division of the text into groups creates a sense of disunity to the poem as a whole, but an appearance of completeness and cohesion within each group. However, it is not at all certain that Chaucer had selected a

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<sup>67</sup>For further information on the *Canterbury Tales* Project and a full description of its aims and principles see, Blake and Robinson 1993, and 1997; Blake 1995; Robinson 1993, and 1994.

definitive arrangement for his tales or even come close to it. It may be that, while certain tales were to be linked together, the arrangement for others was still to be selected. Even if the majority of tales had been allocated a position, Chaucer could have changed his mind several times before producing a final copy of his work. The arrangement of tales is also subject to scribal and editorial intervention, for example, the unique links considered spurious which appear in La indicate that the scribe/editor wished to present the *Canterbury Tales* in a state of completeness. The Chaucer Society named linking passages by the tales they unite or the narrator of the subsequent tale. This system has been followed by most modern editions creating assumptions about the role and function of each link. In reality the linking passages may be used to unite different tales and be assigned to different pilgrims in the witnesses.

The traditional lineation system devised by the Chaucer Society constrains and influences our interpretation of the poem, encouraging us to accept it as a more complete and regulated text than the earliest witnesses indicate. In turn this affects our view regarding the state of the poem at the time of Chaucer's death compelling us to believe we can reconstruct the perceived coherent groups into a definitive authorial version. Despite its many limitations the traditional lineation system, which is based on the arrangement and content of the El-a manuscripts, is used in the majority of modern editions.

The debate over tale order ultimately led to theories of prior circulation and the possible existence of numerous pre-1400 versions of the tales and fragments in various authorial revisions. Tale order has remained a contentious issue still debated by modern scholars. It is now generally considered that there is little evidence to support any theory of prior circulation of any of Chaucer's tales or fragments but that pre-1400 versions were in existence at the time of Chaucer's death, possibly in varying states of authorial revision. Kathleen Scott's work on illuminated manuscripts has recently led her to suggest that the dating of El should be revised to the 'period beginning in or just after 1400 and ending no later than 1405' (Scott 1997, p. 106). This has implications for the early *Canterbury Tales*

witnesses by shifting them back to earlier production dates and could intimate that Hg is a pre-1400 copy. In 1979, Doyle and Parkes stated that 'the style of the illumination of the first page is, like that of El, of the end of the fourteenth century' (Doyle and Parkes 1979, p. xx). However, they cautiously note that 'the executants [of the Hg border] may have been old-fashioned' (Doyle and Parkes 1979, p. xx). Scott is more precise in her dating and states that 'the Hengwrt border was probably not made after ca. 1395-1400' (Scott 1997, p. 119, n.55). In a recent article for the *Early Book Society* Blake also suggests that some manuscripts may have been produced during Chaucer's life time and contemplates the implications of such a possibility.<sup>68</sup>

Manly and Rickert's work raised the question of the early scribal role in the production and editing of *Canterbury Tales* witnesses. They favoured the theory that many manuscripts had in fact been produced by commercial scriptoria. Modern scholars generally now believe that commercial production of manuscripts was not an established concept, but that professional scribes were commissioned as required to produce manuscripts.

Further to this, the number and type of manuscript groups were an area of fervent discussion and debate. Furnivall's study of the extant manuscripts led him to propose that there were nine distinct groups. Koch classified the manuscripts into two groups 'A' and 'B' and whilst Brusendorff accepted this division he preferred to label the groups as 'All England' (the El group) and 'Oxford' (the Cp group). Manly and Rickert argued that the extant witnesses could be classified into four genetically related groups, these being the *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* texts. More recently the work of the *Canterbury Tales* Project and Robinson's use of cladistic analysis has suggested that manuscripts can be classified on textual grounds into six groups, A, B, CD, E, F, and O.<sup>69</sup> Those manuscripts which form group O are most likely derived from the archetype of the entire *Canterbury Tales* tradition.

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<sup>68</sup>For further details see, Blake 1997[b].

<sup>69</sup>Robinson's fundamental witness groupings are as follows:

A Group: Cn-Ma, Ds<sup>1</sup>-En<sup>1</sup> (descending from Dd or an archetype closely related to Dd).

The new lineation scheme devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project allows scholars the freedom to view each tale or link as an individual piece of text with its own textual development. This fresh and innovative approach to the text provides a less restricted foundation for discussion and will enable the debates regarding manuscript groups, tale fragments, and arrangement to be completely re-evaluated. This in turn will perhaps answer some of the questions regarding the existence of pre-1400 copies and authorial revisions.

Although La is generally recognised as being among the earliest eight *Canterbury Tales* witnesses it has never been central to the *Canterbury Tales* tradition, and while printed editions of the poem have been produced frequently over the last two hundred years, the text of La has only been used or consulted by a very small number of editors. Tyrwhitt lists La among the twenty-six witnesses he consulted in preparing his edition. However, Wright was the first editor to defer to La for readings when there were gaps or what he considered to be inferior readings in his base-text, Ha<sup>4</sup>. It was not until the late nineteenth century when Furnivall produced a transcription of La as part of his *Six-Text* edition that the complete text of La was first brought to the attention of scholars. The inclusion of La in Furnivall's edition resulted in the manuscript being recognised as one of the earliest eight witnesses. La was subsequently included in the research of other eminent scholars who relied upon the Chaucer Society text, for example, Skeat who included it in his 1894 edition, and Koch and Brusendorff who included La in their respective studies of the early manuscripts.

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B Group: Ii, He, Ne, Cx<sup>1</sup>-Tc<sup>2</sup> (descending from an A Group manuscript).

CD Group: Cp, La, Mm, Ld<sup>1</sup>-Ry<sup>1</sup>, Ph<sup>3</sup>, Pw, Sl<sup>2</sup>, To, Dl, Fi, Nl, Sl<sup>1</sup>, Lc-Mg.

E Group: Bo<sup>1</sup>-Ph<sup>2</sup>-Si, Gg.

F Group: Bw-Ln, Ld<sup>2</sup>-Ry<sup>2</sup> (Groups E and F were partially identified by Manly and Rickert. See, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 196-7).

O Group: Ad<sup>1</sup>-En<sup>3</sup>, Ad<sup>3</sup>-Ha<sup>5</sup>, Ra<sup>3</sup>-Tc<sup>1</sup>, Ch, Bo<sup>2</sup>-Ht, Hg (descended from the archetype of the whole tradition, but otherwise these manuscripts share no relationship).

Robinson identifies four independent lines of descent represented by manuscript Groups AB, CD, E, and F. The four pairs and two singletons which form Group O represent six further independent lines of descent from the archetype of the whole tradition. For further details and discussion regarding the identification of these manuscript groupings see, Robinson 1997.

It is generally accepted that La and Cp share a close relationship and although neither manuscript is dated, both are traditionally thought to be from the period c. 1410-20, although Cp is believed to have been produced slightly earlier than La. Only two hypotheses regarding the genesis of La and its relationship to Cp have previously been proposed. Firstly that the two manuscripts shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars, and secondly that La is a direct copy of Cp. The shared exemplar(s) theory was proposed by Manly and Rickert in their 1940 publication on the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses. Manly and Rickert identified the close relationship between La, Cp, and Sl<sup>2</sup>, classifying all three as *c* group manuscripts, as they exhibit the same tale order and share many textual affiliations. Manly and Rickert believed that Cp and La had shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars but that Cp was slightly earlier in date and as such the head of the *c* group. They also proposed that La, Cp, and Ha<sup>4</sup> were all produced in the same shop due to their similar style of decoration, evidence of editing, the theory that La and Cp shared exemplar(s), and the fact that the scribe, now known as Scribe D, was responsible for producing both Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup>. Although occasionally guilty of supposition many of Manly and Rickert's conclusions have invariably been accepted.

The only other hypothesis regarding the relationship between La and Cp was proposed in 1985 by Norman Blake. He included La in his comprehensive evaluation of the earliest eight manuscripts and concluded that La was a copy of Cp with the La scribe also having access to additional information. In accepting one or other of these hypotheses scholars have inadvertently perceived La as less significant than Cp and whilst Cp has received full recognition as an important early witness La's contribution to the tradition has not yet been recognised. Cp is considered to be a more careful copy than La, and this has resulted in Cp being viewed as a far superior manuscript. Consequently, La has generally been overlooked by scholars in the last hundred years in favour of more detailed studies of Cp. Whilst there is no doubt that Cp and La are textually close, the specifics of their relationship have not yet been fully discussed. This thesis will dismiss

previous preconceptions and show that La cannot be compartmentalised in the way it has been and is certainly more important to the *Canterbury Tales* tradition than it has been given credit for.

This thesis develops a comprehensive and thorough analysis of La in order to test the hypotheses proposed by Blake and Manly and Rickert. This has been achieved through close analysis of the manuscript itself and consultation of the electronic transcripts prepared by myself and the *Canterbury Tales* Project. By also considering the linguistic provenance, early ownership of La, and the manuscript's decoration, additional evidence is provided which assists in ascertaining the genesis of La and in establishing the priority of the two hypotheses being tested. In taking an holistic approach to the La manuscript the intention of this study is to try and ascertain the true relationship between La and Cp, to establish the state of the text(s) from which La was copied, and to reassess the evidence that La was produced in a commercial scriptorium. Only through testing the Blake and Manly and Rickert hypotheses to see whether they are accurate can the whole question of La's genesis and its importance within the textual tradition be established. The foundations laid by this thesis will allow future scholars to reconsider which witnesses are valuable in trying to ascertain the state of the *c* archetype and to determine more accurately its true nature.

## Chapter II

### Manuscript Description:

#### British Library MS. Lansdowne 851 (La)

**Present Location:** London, British Library.

**Contents:** The first written leaf in La (fols.1<sup>r</sup> and 1<sup>v</sup>) is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century, vellum flyleaf.<sup>1</sup> The Latin text is a copy of John Bale's life of Chaucer or 'Galfridus Chaucer' and his works from *Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytannie*.<sup>2</sup> The heading inscribed at the top of the page reads 'Vita Galfrida Caucer ex Scriptorium Brytaniæ Centuria Septima Cap. xxiiii'.

*The Canterbury Tales:* fols.2<sup>r</sup> - 255<sup>r</sup>.

Fol.255<sup>v</sup> was originally blank but now has the name of a possible owner and other scribbles (see Later Hands and Dry Point, and Provenance).

**Binding:** Nineteenth-century binding, possibly dating from the early part of the century. Brown in colour, probably calf. Blind stamping of a simple floral design appears around the edges of the front cover both outside and in. The spine is sewn on five bands. The title of the manuscript appears on the spine in gilt lettering. There is a burgundy and slate grey marbled pastedown on the inside of both the front and back covers of the binding. At

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<sup>1</sup>Manly and Rickert date the flyleaf as sixteenth-seventeenth century on paleographical grounds. Mosser has more recently suggested that it is sixteenth century. For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 304; and Mosser 1996.

<sup>2</sup>John Bale (1495-1563) was Bishop of Ossory, an antiquary and writer. Bale's most significant work was his chronological catalogue of British authors and their works, first published in 1548 as the *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium in quinque centurias divisum*. Bale continued to expand his catalogue and two further editions were published in Basel 1557-1559 (*DNB* vol. III, p. 42). The 1559 edition is titled *Scriptorum Maioris Brytannie . . . Catalogus*. If Mosser's revised dating of fol.1 as sixteenth century is correct it cannot pre-date 1548. A brief life of John Bale is given in the *DNB* vol. III, p. 41-2.

the front of the manuscript there is a blank flyleaf followed by a marbled brown and blue flyleaf and then a further blank flyleaf. All three of these flyleaves are constructed of modern stiff paper. The verso of the modern marbled flyleaf was originally blank but 'N<sup>o</sup>. 907' in dark black ink has been written in the top left hand corner of the page. This is crossed out with a single horizontal stroke in pencil and '851' written beneath it in pencil (see Later Hands and Dry Point). The three modern flyleaves of stiff paper at the front of the manuscript are followed by a sixteenth-century vellum flyleaf with Latin text (see Contents). Situated at the back of the manuscript is a sixteenth-century stiff paper flyleaf in the middle of which is a pencil inscription which reads, '255 Folios . W. L' (see Later Hands and Dry Point). The codex concludes with a modern, stiff paper flyleaf. Unfortunately no records regarding the nineteenth-century binding and conservation of La exist.

Dimensions of the binding: 23.5 x 36 cm.

Each board is 0.5 cm thick.

Thickness of book block: 9 cm at fore-edge; 7 cm at spine

Thickness of text block: 8 cm at fore-edge; 6 cm at spine.

There are no visible impressions of clasps, boards, or sewing which would provide evidence of any former binding. The stained appearance of the first and last folio indicate that La was either not bound immediately after completion but kept in some form of loose wrap, or that when originally bound no flyleaves were included to protect the vellum from getting stained and rubbed by the binding boards (see Form and Present Condition). The evidence of the catchwords may also suggest that La was not bound immediately after completion (see Layout).

**Material:** The text of the *Canterbury Tales* is written on vellum. There is no noticeable colour variation between quires although the shade of some folios does vary slightly.

There is no distinct colour change between the hair and flesh side of the vellum. The Latin text which appears on fols.1<sup>r</sup> - 1<sup>v</sup> (see Contents) is written on sixteenth-century vellum.

**Form and Present Condition:** La is constructed in reasonable quality, heavy vellum. Wormholes extend from both ends of the manuscript and continue for some distance through the leaves. These may have occurred if the manuscript was unbound for some time after completion or by pests attacking early binding boards and then spreading through the vellum (see Binding). The first and last leaves of the *Canterbury Tales* are now badly stained and marked (fols.2<sup>r</sup> and 255<sup>r</sup>). The last leaf is badly crinkled.

Several tears and evidence of repairs and sewing can be seen; some medieval and some later in date. Medieval, or extremely early, repairs to the manuscript can be identified because the thread has decayed but the tear and the original sewing holes are visible. A vertical tear on fol.38<sup>v</sup> stretches through lines 2238-2240 of KN, which the scribe has written around. The tear does not effect the text on fol.38<sup>r</sup>. Likewise on fol.173<sup>v</sup> a tear stretches through lines 39-40/1 of L21. The scribe has written around the tear at line 40 'Vppon [xx] sum', but at lines 39 and 40/1 he has separated words either side of the tear; 'w[xx]ysse' [39] and 'Expli[xx]cit'[40/1].<sup>3</sup> As with the earlier example, the sewing holes are visible but the thread no longer exists. Repairs to the manuscript are often located in the margins, especially the lower edge and therefore do not usually interfere with the text. Relatively large vertical tears exist on fols.5, 37, 105, and 140 which do not effect the text. In both cases the sewing holes are clearly visible although no thread remains.

The thread used for later repairs has survived and, with one exception, all sewing repairs have apparently been executed at one specific time. A single strand of matt cream thread, which resembles thin string, has been used to repair tears in the manuscript on two occasions; large tears in the lower margins of fols.99 and 175. The thread on fol.99 is tied

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<sup>3</sup>[x] represents the tear in the manuscript.

off with a knot at the beginning and end of the repair and the stitching is relatively small, neat and tidy. The repair to fol.99 does not interfere with the text, nor does the repair to 175<sup>v</sup>. However, on fol.175<sup>r</sup> the tip of the tear stretches through the last three lines of the text [PD, 180-2]. The scribe has been able to write the line with virtually no disruption to the text. The stitches which extend into the text have been unpicked but the holes can clearly be seen. The tear on fol.175 stretches to the very extremities of the lower margin and the final stitches have been cut in half during trimming which means the repair must pre-date 1807 when the manuscript was purchased by the then British Museum. The cropping of the lower edge of the manuscript and subsequent damage to the sewing thread has removed any knot which might originally have existed to tie off the thread.

On fol.124 a dusky pink, double strand of thread has been used to make the repair. The stitches are large and coarse and are almost certainly the work of someone other than the person who used the cream thread. The dusky pink thread is more like conventional sewing thread, being much finer than the string-like cream thread and having a silky sheen.

There are also some tears to the manuscript which have not been repaired and therefore presumably post-date the later cream, or dusky pink thread, for example, the lower margin of fol.114. Small tears near the gutter of the manuscript have also not been mended, but this could be due to their position so near the spine making them difficult to sew; for example, fol.130<sup>r</sup>.

There are also numerous holes in the manuscript which have not been repaired and must have occurred during the process of preparing the vellum for writing as the scribe has written around the holes. The scribe adopts different methods of dealing with defects in his vellum; writing either side of the hole, or separating a word around the gap. Some examples are given here; on fol.71<sup>r</sup> a large hole stretches through three lines of text [ML 409-411] which the scribe has written around, even to the extent of separating a word into two around the hole; 'stikked' [ML 411] appears as 'sti[xxxxx]kked'.<sup>4</sup> The text on fol.71<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>[x] represents a hole in the manuscript. Each 'x' denotes the approximate space of one character.

is also effected [ML 452-454], but the scribe has written around the hole. On fol. 96<sup>r</sup> the scribe has again separated a word round a hole; 'lo[xxx]ued' [WB 726]. The hole does not interfere with the text on fol.96<sup>v</sup>. A hole on fol.102<sup>v</sup> stretches through three lines of text [FR 17-19]. At lines 17 and 18 the scribe has written around the hole, but at line 19 he begins to write 'þorw' before the hole, not quite completing the 'w' and then repeats the entire word on the other side of hole; 'þorw[xx] þoruhe'. The text of folio 102<sup>r</sup> is not effected by the hole. A further example of the repetition of a word either side of a hole in the manuscript occurs at line 35 of L33 on fol.158<sup>v</sup>. Similar examples of the scribe separating words around a hole in his manuscript can be found on fols.48<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>v</sup>, 71, 168<sup>v</sup>, and 250<sup>v</sup>.

On fol.64<sup>v</sup> the scribe has written around a hole which occurs in TG at line 885; 'hongede[xxx]be þe nekke'. The hole does not effect the text on fol.64<sup>r</sup>. Other examples of the scribe writing around a hole in the manuscript can be found on fols.68<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>, and 175<sup>r</sup>.

On several occasions a hole in the manuscript which occurs at the point where a line of text should commence results in the slight displacement of the start of the line. For example, lines 126-7 of FK on fol.142<sup>v</sup> and line 685 of TM on fol.203<sup>r</sup>.

Many of the holes caused by the preparation of the vellum do not interfere with the text. For example, fols.5, 72, 95, 104, 117, 140, and 168<sup>r</sup>, to mention just a few.

The manuscript has been heavily trimmed, especially at the top of pages, where several running heads and illuminated folios are partially damaged. Fortunately, any reduction of the decoration or running heads is slight. The lower margin measures approximately 7.5 - 8 cm from the last line of text to the edge of the page while the upper margin measures only 2.8 - 3.3 cm from the edge of the page to the first line of text. This suggests that at least 4 - 5 cm has been cropped from the top edges as the bottom edges have also been trimmed to make them flush. This damage probably occurred during the nineteenth century when La was bound in its present binding (see Binding, and Later

Hands and Dry Point). The leaves of the manuscript are flush as a consequence of the trimming.

Manly and Rickert state that the ink foliation numbers are 'probably 19 C' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 304). In fact it is possible to date the foliation numbering more exactly (see Later Hands and Dry Point). The foliation numbers are written in the top outer corner of the recto folios, executed in dark black ink in a large hand. The same hand has written 'Cons. fol: 255.' in black ink on the verso of fol.255, and also 'N<sup>o</sup>. 907' in the top left-hand corner on the verso of the modern marbled flyleaf at the front of the codex (see Binding). On several pages these foliation numbers are so close to the edge of the page that part of the final number of the folio is missing. For example, on fol.209<sup>r</sup> the number '9' is not complete. This indicates that the foliation was written before the manuscript was trimmed (see, Later Hands and Dry Point).

The overall condition of the manuscript is good.

**Page Size:** Approximately 21 x 35 cm.

The ruled writing space for verse tales is approximately 13 - 13.5 x 24 cm but each line of writing actually fills approximately two-thirds of the ruled area. The ruled writing space for prose text is the same as the verse, but the entire ruled area has been filled with writing.

**Handwriting:** La has been copied by one scribe in an early secretary hand. The ductus of the La scribe illustrates many typical features of the secretary hand. A major characteristic of the secretary script is the use of broad and hairline strokes placed at diagonals according to the cut of the pen nib. Some strokes are so thin that they are barely distinguishable. Where the pen strokes change direction or cross, a 'horn' is formed creating angular rather than round lobes or bows. For example, on *a*, *e*, *g*, *o*, *q*, *p*, horned looped *d* and the 'figure 2' form of *r* (short-r). Secretary script consistently uses the long form of *s* as a lower case with the 'figure B' form of *s* appearing consistently at the end of

words. The 'B' form of *s* also has the characteristic angular appearance. The long *s*, *f*, *l* and the descender of *p* and *þ* are all tapered creating an angular, pointed appearance.

The lobes on letters are often broken, for example on *p* and *þ*, and *e* is frequently open. Often the lobes of letters are closed by a hairline stroke that is barely distinguishable giving the appearance of broken lobes. Broken strokes can also be identified on *w*, *r*, *i*, and the lobe of looped *d*.

The letter *g* is tailed, but the angular lobe frequently has a ligature stroke to attach it to the following letter. In many cases the attachment is not complete and the ligature stroke does not actually reach the adjacent letter.

Minims are characterised by semiquadrata serifs at the top and bottom of each minim. Punctus over *i* appears as a hairline stroke set at an upward-slant. The horizontal stroke consistently placed over *y* is also set at an upward slant.

The La scribe makes constant use of both lower and upper case thorn [*þ*] and yogh [3]. The '*y*' is distinguished from the thorn by being dotted. The letters *c* and *t* are sometimes indistinguishable particularly where they appear adjacently. Crossed letters occur when a horizontal stroke joins the ascender, usually in the top third of the stroke. The La scribe uses double crossed *l* frequently (double *l*, with one horizontal stroke through both ascenders [*ll*]); on a few isolated occasions capital crossed *L* [*L*] and single crossed *l* [*l*] are found. Crossed *h* [*h*] appears on occasions particularly in the name 'loþn' which appears as 'seint loþn' in several tales, for example, SU [92] and TG [366]. In this example the crossed *h* represents an abbreviation of *a* in the name 'Johan'.

The La scribe uses three types of abbreviation; suspensions, contractions, and symbols of abbreviation. He makes frequent use of superscript letters which can act as suspensions at the end of words, or contractions at any point other than the word end. For example, *a* for *ra*; *r* for *ur*; *t* for *ith*; *i* for *ri*; 9 for *is*, *es*, and *us*; *u* for *ou*; and superscript hook for *er* and *re*. The scribe also uses a superscript *e*. Other contractions which are frequently used include *q* with tailed *d* for 'quod' (*qo<sup>d</sup>*), lower or upper case *p*

with a horizontal stroke through the descender (p) for *per* and *par*, lower and upper case *p* with a looped tail which crosses back through the descender (p), for *pro*. A single horizontal stroke or macron regularly appears over *u*, *m*, *n* and *o*, and denotes a missing letter, for example, 'Londoū - Londoun'. Flourishes which also appear to be purely decorative appear on the final minim of *n* and the head-stroke of *r*. Where a flourish appears on *u* it is probably an abbreviation for the final *n*, (Londoū - Londoun). The Tironian note, ampersand, has been used for 'and' in the majority of cases. Numbers are mainly written as Roman numerals although Arabic numerals do occur, especially in the prose PA.

Several forms of punctuation are used by the La scribe. A punctus mark is used consistently by the scribe at either side of upper case *I* (*.I.*), and at either side of abbreviated numbers, for example, '*.c.*' or '*.iii.*'. The punctus in many instances acts as a full stop. It also occurs more randomly where it appears to serve no grammatical purpose. On many occasions the dot is accompanied by a downward flourish like a modern day comma or a vertical stroke which is not attached to the punctus; although these are punctuation marks they appear to follow no principle rules of use. The semi-colon denoted by a squiggle line in a horizontal orientation over a punctus (ˆ) and the comma, occur throughout the prose texts but not the verse. Fillers (˘) also occur at the end of many prose lines. Hyphens are used at the end of prose lines, but the La scribe is not consistent. Hyphens appear where a word is not broken and the punctuation is not necessary; and in many cases no hyphen appears where it is required. Space markers in the form of a thin vertical pen stroke are frequently used throughout the manuscript to separate words.

Tails or light downward strokes appear consistently on *c*, *e*, *f*, *k*, *r*, *s*, *t* when they are the final letters of words. In some cases the strokes are not actually attached to the final letters listed, and may be categorised as virgules. The tails on final letters and the

virgules appear to serve no function for metre, pronunciation or grammar and must therefore be assumed to be purely decorative.

The ascenders of the first letter of each word on the first line of the page are often attenuated and forked in a calligraphic form. In some instances the ascenders are elaborated into emphatic forms or grotesque faces (see *Illumination and Decoration*).

The La scribe writes in an upright orientation which is careful, but the prolific occurrence of tails and downward strokes sometimes makes the text unclear. The characteristic horns and breaking of strokes in letter forms, create what Parkes and Brown both refer to as a 'prickly' appearance (Parkes 1969, p. xx; Brown 1990, p. 80).

The body height of the text is approximately 2.5 - 3 mm.

The La scribe is anonymous and his hand has not been recognised on any other manuscripts.

**Date:** La contains no colophon or formal dating. However, the manuscript's date is generally accepted as the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Manly and Rickert dated it more specifically as 1410-20.<sup>5</sup> More recently Scott has suggested that the dating of La should be revised to c. 1405-10 because of its style of decoration.<sup>6</sup> The sixteenth-century Latin flyleaf (fols.1<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>) at the front of the manuscript was obviously added later.

**Collation:** The leaves of La are collated in eights. The sixteenth-century vellum flyleaf which appears prior to the text of the *Canterbury Tales* and the modern stiff paper flyleaves are not included in the quiring.

There are thirty-two quires which would originally have contained eight leaves each. The seventh leaf of quire 30 is missing which results in the loss of lines 397-437 of the PA, although only the first few words of line 437 are missing. The lost leaf would

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<sup>5</sup>In the manuscript descriptions La is dated c. 1410-20, while in Rickert's chapter on illumination it is dated as not much later than c. 1410-12. See, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 93, 304 and 568.

<sup>6</sup>See Scott 1997, p. 117, n.44. Scott also dates La as c. 1407-10 (Scott 1996, vol. II, p. 87), and c. 1410 (Scott 1996, vol. II, p. 141).

originally have been situated between what are now fols.239<sup>v</sup> and 240<sup>r</sup>. As the foliation numbering is nineteenth century and continuous, the loss of the leaf must have occurred prior to the nineteenth century. The final leaf of quire 32 is also missing, but was probably blank as the RT ends on fol.255<sup>r</sup> (the recto of the seventh leaf of quire 32). The stub of the missing leaf is still visible. The arrangement of quires is as follows:

Quire 1 - 29 <sup>8</sup>	fols.2-233
30 <sup>7</sup> (-7)	fols.234-240
31 <sup>8</sup>	fols.241-248
32 <sup>7</sup> (-8)	fols.249-255

No original signatures are visible, but there are small modern pencil signatures in the form of letters in the lower right hand corner of the final leaf of each quire. Catchwords in the hand of the scribe appear on the final leaf of each quire positioned in decorative scrolls. The edges of the scrolls in which the catchwords appear are nearly always shaded, the majority in a pale red, but some in pale brown; the last fifteen catchwords are all shaded with red. The shading may not be contemporary with the catchwords and scrolls themselves.

<u>Quire No.</u>	<u>Quire Leaves</u>	<u>Folios</u>	<u>Catchword</u>	<u>Corresponding Line of Text</u>
1	8	2 <sup>r</sup> - 9 <sup>v</sup>	. This Sompro <sup>r</sup> .	This Somenoure bare to him a stif burdoune (fol.10 <sup>r</sup> . GP)
2	8	10 <sup>r</sup> - 17 <sup>v</sup>	. 3owe louers .	3owe louiers .i. aske þis questiōne (fol.18 <sup>r</sup> . KN)
3	8	18 <sup>r</sup> - 25 <sup>v</sup>	. Vnder þe whele .	Vnder þe whele ful lowe he laie a doune (fol.26 <sup>r</sup> . KN)
4	8	26 <sup>r</sup> - 33 <sup>v</sup>	. And alwey .	And alweie cryeinge After Emelye (fol.34 <sup>r</sup> . KN)
5	8	34 <sup>r</sup> - 41 <sup>v</sup>	. He wakeþ .	He wakeþ al þe nyght 7 al þe daie (fol.42 <sup>r</sup> . MI)
6	8	42 <sup>r</sup> - 49 <sup>v</sup>	. And þouht al þis .	And þouht al þis nys done bot for a wyle (fol.50 <sup>r</sup> . RE)

7	8	50 <sup>r</sup> - 57 <sup>v</sup>	þan anseward .	Than anseward þe portier 7 swore be goddes berd (fol.58 <sup>r</sup> . TG)
8	8	58 <sup>r</sup> - 65 <sup>v</sup>	. Th children	The children hongeinge be þe hals (fol.66 <sup>r</sup> L7)
9	8	66 <sup>r</sup> -73 <sup>v</sup>	. I. am 3oure3 .	I am 3oure seruant boþe niht 7 daie (fol.74 <sup>r</sup> ML)
10	8	74 <sup>r</sup> - 81 <sup>v</sup>	Howe men	Howe men miht in it suche þinges see (fol.82 <sup>r</sup> . SQ)
11	8	82 <sup>r</sup> - 89 <sup>v</sup>	. I. gouerned . hem.	I gouerne hem so wele aften my lawe (fol. 90 <sup>r</sup> . WB)
12	8	90 <sup>r</sup> -97 <sup>v</sup>	And att þe last	And att þe last he chase him for to wende (fol.98 <sup>r</sup> . WB)
13	8	98 <sup>r</sup> - 105 <sup>v</sup>	.vp peine of cursinge.	Vp peine of Curseinge loke þat þu be (fol.106 <sup>r</sup> . FR)
14	8	106 <sup>r</sup> - 113 <sup>v</sup>	. Schal performe .	Shal pforme vp þe nombre of his Couent (fol.114 <sup>r</sup> . SU)
15	8	114 <sup>r</sup> - 121 <sup>v</sup>	. Riht so þinke .	Riht so þenke .I. to serue him priuely (fol.122 <sup>r</sup> . CL)
16	8	122 <sup>r</sup> - 129 <sup>v</sup>	If he be pore .	If he be poufe Sche helpeþ him to swynke (fol.130 <sup>r</sup> . ME)
17	8	130 <sup>r</sup> - 137 <sup>v</sup>	Sūme clerkes	Sōme clerkes halden þat felice (fol.138 <sup>r</sup> . ME)
18	8	138 <sup>r</sup> - 145 <sup>v</sup>	. That hast .	That haste þin lusti husbande in þine Armes (fol.146 <sup>r</sup> . FK)
19	8	146 <sup>r</sup> - 153 <sup>v</sup>	. And to þe poufe .	And to þe pouer folkes þat þ'e duelle (fol.154 <sup>r</sup> . NU)
20	8	154 <sup>r</sup> - 161 <sup>v</sup>	That onli where .	That ouhwhere is where for as forþe best (fol.162 <sup>r</sup> . CY)
21	8	162 <sup>r</sup> - 169 <sup>v</sup>	ffo riht as sche .	For riht as sche kan peinte as lyle white (fol.170 <sup>r</sup> . PH)
22	8	170 <sup>r</sup> - 177 <sup>v</sup>	. That wil .	That wil chaunge his 3ouþe for myne age (fol.178 <sup>r</sup> . PD)
23	8	178 <sup>r</sup> - 185 <sup>v</sup>	. Sche schollen .	3e schollen my . loly body haue to wedde (fol.186 <sup>r</sup> . SH)
24	8	186 <sup>r</sup> - 193 <sup>v</sup>	. it is for to singen .	As it is for to singen be forne him þat wepeþ (fol.194 <sup>r</sup> . TM. The <i>As</i> is underdotted)

25	8	194 <sup>r</sup> - 201 <sup>v</sup>	. ful 7 þe mishappe .	Ful 7 þe mys happe is þe condicion of a pouer begger . (fol.202 <sup>r</sup> . TM)
26	8	202 <sup>r</sup> - 209 <sup>v</sup>	In Reine wip	In reyne wip wilde bestes walked he (fol.210 <sup>r</sup> . MO)
27	8	210 <sup>r</sup> - 217 <sup>v</sup>	. A porier wedowe .	A Pouer wedowe sumdel stoupe in age (fol.218 <sup>r</sup> . NP)
28	8	218 <sup>r</sup> - 225 <sup>v</sup>	. Be cause .	Be cause þat drinke hape dñacione (fol.226 <sup>r</sup> . L36)
29	8	226 <sup>r</sup> - 233 <sup>v</sup>	. mortified .	mortified be oft sinynges & Whiche good werkes he dide whiles he was i (fol.234 <sup>r</sup> . PA)
30	7	234 <sup>r</sup> - 240 <sup>v</sup>	. Frome on Est daye .	ffrōme one heste day vnto anop <sup>e</sup> est daie or more (fol. 241 <sup>r</sup> .PA) (Leaf vii of this quire is missing)
31	8	241 <sup>r</sup> - 248 <sup>v</sup>	hem w' outen respite	Hem wip outen respite 7 w' outen ende (fol.249 <sup>r</sup> . PA)
32	7	249 <sup>r</sup> - 255 <sup>v</sup>	(The text of the RT concludes on fol.255 <sup>r</sup> , so fol.255 <sup>v</sup> is actually blank. The final leaf was probably blank and could easily have been lost)	

The marks which appear before and after some catchwords are represented here by punctus marks. However, in the actual manuscript these marks often look more like commas and on one occasion (fol.240<sup>v</sup>) semi-colons have been used.

There is a false catchword, not in the hand of the scribe and probably added later, on fol.133<sup>r</sup> which Manly and Rickert suggest is 'perhaps merely a pen trial' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 304).

False Catchword      133<sup>r</sup>    I haue herde .i. haue herd saie ful 3are agoo  
(fol.133<sup>v</sup>. ME)

Any differences between a catchword and the corresponding line of text may indicate carelessness by a scribe. However, in La the catchwords and the corresponding line agree in all cases although they are not faithful copies, spelling sometimes varies. The

false catchword which appears on fol.133<sup>r</sup> agrees with the corresponding line at the top of fol.133<sup>v</sup>.

There are no misbindings in La and on no occasion does the end of a tale coincide with a quire boundary, although on one occasion a prologue ends at a quire boundary. L30 concludes on the last line of fol.217<sup>v</sup>, which is the last leaf of quire 27. The NP commences at the top of fol.218<sup>r</sup>, which is the first leaf of quire 28.

**Layout and Ordinatio:** The text of the *Canterbury Tales* is written in a single column. The pages have been ruled and margined with plummet. The manuscript has been heavily trimmed, probably when it was placed in its present binding, and any evidence of pricking has consequently been lost. There are 42 lines per page for the verse tales and the writing space is approximately 13 - 13.5 x 24 cm. The prose texts also fill 42 lines of writing space per folio which equates to approximately between 20 and 25 lineated lines. The writing space for the prose is the same as that for the verse tales, but while the verse text only fills approximately two-thirds of the width of ruled writing space the prose fills it entirely and is presented with a justified right margin.

The ink is dark brown, which at times appears almost black. It is fairly even throughout the manuscript, although extremely uneven on a small number of leaves; for example, fol.98<sup>v</sup>. Such irregularities probably result from the quality of the ink and the scribe dipping his pen to different levels in the ink. It is possible to identify changes of stint, ink, or pen, in several instances where the writing size changes and the ink appears to be of a slightly different hue. For example, in WB on fol.98<sup>v</sup> [930-71]; the writing becomes smaller at line 942 and the individual pen strokes appear much thinner than those earlier in the folio. The same effect can be seen on fol.75<sup>r</sup> [ML 725-66] where lines 744-5 are executed in a paler ink than that used for the previous part of the folio [725-743]. The script is also smaller and the pen strokes are thinner. From line 746 to the end of the folio the pen strokes are slightly thicker and the script larger, but are still thinner and smaller

than those used for the text which fills the first section of the page. The script on fol.75<sup>v</sup> [ML] resembles that at the beginning of fol.75<sup>r</sup>.

Changes in ink are frequently detectable within manuscripts and often occur at quire breaks which form a natural place for the scribe to take a rest from his work, be it for just a few hours, overnight or, some considerably lengthier period of time. La is no exception and noticeable changes in ink can be seen at quire breaks. For example, there is a noticeable change of ink between fols.225<sup>v</sup> and 226<sup>r</sup> [L36]. Fol.225<sup>v</sup> is the final leaf of quire 28 and the changes in ink probably indicate a different stint of copying. Likewise, a noticeable change in ink and pen can be seen between fols.233<sup>v</sup> and 234<sup>r</sup> [TM]. Since fol.233<sup>v</sup> is the final leaf of quire 29 it would be reasonable to presume that the differences in ink indicate a change of stint rather than just a change of ink and pen. Changes of pen are also detectable throughout the manuscript, for example, at line 199 of fol.234<sup>v</sup> [TM]. Here the writing of the scribe changes part way through a line of text. The start of the line is written in a darker ink than that used to execute the remainder of the line. The uneven colour of the ink could be the result of uneven ageing but certainly indicates a change in ink. There is also considerable difference in the pen nib used for the lighter text. The pen nib is poorly cut creating an effect where individual characters resemble a set of parallel lines rather than being composed of solid strokes. This substandard nib continues to be used from this point in the manuscript to half-way through the next folio where the nib appears to have been recut.

The differences in ink and size of script detectable on the manuscript indicate copying in different stints or changes of ink or pen. It should be noted that many of these subtle changes are not detectable on microfilm copies of the manuscript and can only be seen by studying the manuscript directly. Although diversity of ink, pen, and size of script can be detected with careful examination they do not detract from the overall impression of uniformity evident in the La manuscript.

Catchwords, written in decorative scrolls, appear consistently on the final verso of each quire. There are thirty-one catchwords in total, plus a false catchword which appears on fol.133<sup>r</sup>; the recto of the fourth leaf of quire 17. The hand is later than that of the original scribe and the scroll is less angular than those which appear at quire breaks. There is no need for a catchword at this point in the manuscript as it is not the end of a quire (see Collation). In many other contemporary manuscripts the catchwords were positioned at the extreme lower corner of the page often to be removed by medieval binders. Any which survive have been severely damaged or destroyed by nineteenth-century cropping. In La the catchwords were clearly designed to add to the decoration of the manuscript. They are placed below the main body of the text to the right-hand corner of the folio but always a great distance from the lower edge of the page. Despite nineteenth-century trimming the catchwords remain undamaged and a long way above the lower edge of the page. Where a catchword is found on an illuminated page it is included within the three-quarter foliate bar border. The decorative scrolls in which the catchwords are written are contemporary although it is impossible to know whether the shading has been added later. These factors indicate that in La the catchwords were not intended to be trimmed off when the codex was bound but are a feature designed to add to the overall appearance of the manuscript. The fact that such a feature has been made of the catchwords perhaps suggests that the manuscript was to remain unbound, but kept in some form of loose cover, for some time after completion.

Rubricated running heads appear consistently at the top of each page, executed in the hand of the scribe. With the exception of TT and TM, running heads record the name of the narrator. The running head appears above the illumination on pages with foliate bar borders. The only incorrect running head appears at the top of fol.113<sup>v</sup> in the SU and reads 'pe p dorŕe.'. Cropping of the top edge of the manuscript has resulted in damage to some running heads. The running head on fol.2<sup>r</sup> reads 'Incipit prologus fabularum

*Cantuariensium*'.<sup>7</sup> On fol.2<sup>v</sup> a descender in red ink is the only sign that a running head once existed but it presumably originally read 'Prologus' as on fol.3<sup>r</sup> and throughout the rest of the GP. Similarly, on fol.166<sup>r</sup> the running head should read 'þe 3oman', but has nearly all been trimmed away. No running head exists on fol.65<sup>r</sup> which contains the end of TG and the beginning of L7. The running head which accompanies the rest of TG reads 'þe Coke', as TG is included within the rubrics for CO. The subsequent running head on fol.65<sup>v</sup> reads 'plog" Legis piti'. Likewise, no running head exists on fol.186<sup>r</sup> which contains the end of the SH and the beginning of L24, or on fol.255<sup>r</sup> which contains the RT and is the last written leaf of the manuscript. While it may have been felt unnecessary to incorporate a running head on the final leaf of the manuscript (fol.255<sup>r</sup>) it is impossible to know whether or not running heads were included on fols.65<sup>r</sup> and 186<sup>r</sup>. On those folios where one tale concludes and the next one commences, the running head relates to whichever tale occupies the largest section of the folio.

Some running heads are written over both the verso and recto of adjoining pages. For example, the running head which accompanies the WB reads 'þe wif' at the top of the verso and 'of Bape' at the top of the following recto. This format is followed throughout the WB and can also be found in the ML, PH, and TT in the following manner:

<u>Verso</u>	<u>Recto</u>
'þe man'	'of lawe'
'þe mayster'	'of ffysike'
'Sir'	'Thopas'

Running heads show considerable variation in spelling from folio-to-folio. For example, the running head which accompanies the PH appears in a variety of spellings; 'þe mayster of ffysike', or 'þe maist<sup>r</sup> of Phisike'.

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<sup>7</sup>Abbreviations have been expanded and are represented here by italics.

On rare occasions running heads are underlined although there appears to be no obvious pattern, for example, 'þe Nonne' (fol.153<sup>v</sup>), 'þe 3oman' (fol.164<sup>v</sup>), and 'of Fissik' (171<sup>r</sup>).

Explicits and incipits written in red ink by the scribe appear at the beginning and end of links and tales, in red ink in the main body of the text. Incipits and explicits often appear together on the same line. Rubrics in the prose tales appear in the main body of the text but are not given a separate line. Some links or tales lack rubrics where they would normally be expected. For example, no rubrics mark the end of L2 but there are rubrics to mark the beginning of the RE. Rubrics to denote the end of the CO appear after the conclusion of TG and as a consequence the beginning and end of L6 and the beginning of TG are not marked by rubrics. L7 commences with the rubrics 'Incipit prologus Legis piti ' and although there are rubrics to mark the beginning of the ML there is no explicit to mark the end of the Prologue. L19 is included within the rubrics for the SQ. The incipit for the Wife of Bath's Prologue appears at the start of L9, and although rubrics mark the beginning of the Wife of Bath's Tale no rubrics mark the end of the Prologue. The explicit for the CL appears after L13. L24 is contained within the rubrics for the beginning of the Prioress's Prologue and Tale; there are no rubrics to mark the end of the Prioress's Prologue. The TT lacks any rubrics at its conclusion, but this is probably due to the fact that the TM immediately follows it and is told by the same narrator; Chaucer. L28 only has rubrics to mark its beginning. The end of L30 (fol.217<sup>v</sup>) is not marked by rubrics, nor is the beginning of the NP (fol.218<sup>r</sup>).

Rubricated text is in Latin with the exception of the rubrics which mark the beginning of the RE which reads 'þe revese tale begynnep heP ', (fol.48<sup>v</sup>). The text of the *Canterbury Tales* concludes with the rubric 'Explicit', which appears on fol.255<sup>r</sup> after the RT.

The selection of rubrics which accompany links and adjoining tales generally refer to the narrator at some point although some rubrics simply read 'incipit fabula' or 'explicit

prologus'. There are three exceptions to this format, the rubrics which appear at the end of the NU read 'Explicit vita scē Cecilie' (fol.158<sup>r</sup>). The rubric which introduces the MO reads, 'Incipit fabula de Casibz virox .', (fol.207<sup>v</sup>). The rubrics which appear at the end of the NP read 'Explicit fabula Capellani' (fol.225<sup>r</sup>).

Rubricated texts also mark divisions within some tales, appearing in the main body of the text. The four parts of the CL are denoted by rubrics, but the rubrics are positioned at the end of the parts which means that the CL in fact contains only four numbered sections instead of the usual five. For example, the rubrics for Part I actually appear at the end of the section immediately before Part II. Immediately following the rubrics for the part divisions in CL appear three-line ornamental capitals. Rubrics also introduce the *Lenvoye de Chaucer* [L13] (fol.128<sup>r</sup>) which follows the CL. The second part of the CY is marked by red rubrics in the right margin opposite line 253 on fol.163<sup>r</sup>. The stanzaic MO is composed of eight line verses. The text is written continuously with no blank lines between stanzas. However, rubricated text marks the beginning of each tragedy. Each stanza commences with a decorated paraph so even within tragedies where there is no need for rubrics it is clear where each verse commences. Rubrics incorporated into the main body of the text also mark the divisions of the PA. Proper names are underlined in the prose texts of the PA, TM, and RT, often in red ink.

La does not mark the various parts of the KN, ML or the SQ. However, a one-line gap has been left at the beginning of Part II of the SQ, presumably for rubrics which have not been included (fol.83<sup>r</sup>). A five-line illuminated initial 'T' marks the beginning of the second part (fol.83<sup>r</sup>), and the page is decorated with a three-quarter foliate bar border in the style normally found only at the beginning of each new tale (see *Illumination and Decoration*).

The stanzaic tales of the ML, CL, PR, and NU, like that of the MO, are presented as continuous text with no gap between stanzas, however, paraphs mark the beginning of each new verse. TT is composed in tail-rhyme stanzas and as with other stanzaic tales in

La the text is presented as continuous with no spaces between verses. There are no paraps or other marks to denote the beginning of any of the stanzas. Rhyming lines are connected by brackets which are drawn in the right-hand margin and 'bob' lines are offset in the right margin.

For a comprehensive list of all incipits, explicits, and divisions within tales marked by rubrics see Appendix II. For details of divisions within tales denoted by decorated initials, and ornamental capitals see, *Illumination and Decoration*.

**Glosses and Marginal Annotations:** Marginal glosses and annotations appear most frequently in the ML, but are also found in the WBP, KN, MI, SQ, WBT, ME, NU, TM, and PA. Glosses which accompany the verse tales are generally written in the margin of the text, with the occasional exception. Those which appear in the prose tales are contained within the main body of the text. The majority of glosses are citations and references to sources.

Glosses and marginal annotations are written in the hand of the scribe and the same ink as the text. On one occasion a seven-line Latin gloss in the main body of the text is rubricated. This, actually two glosses, is written as one passage in La, appearing between lines 203 and 204 on fol.68<sup>v</sup>. Glosses and marginal annotations appear to have been anticipated when the layout of the manuscript was planned as adequate space was provided for their inclusion, some are accompanied by paraph marks (see *Illumination and Decoration*). A comprehensive list of all glosses and marginalia found in La can be located in Appendix VI. The glosses are also discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

**Illumination and Decoration:** The border decoration and gilded initials in La are painted and most probably all executed by one hand. It is difficult to tell whether the historiated figure on fol.2<sup>r</sup> is the work of the same hand. The decoration in La forms part of the strict system of *ordinatio* which has been employed throughout the manuscript.

A ten-line historiated initial 'W' dominates the first page (fol.2<sup>r</sup>) of La.<sup>8</sup> To allow greater space for the miniature the 'W' is actually composed of double 'U'. The shaft of the 'W' is painted white. Contained within the 'W' is a full length figure of a man holding an open book in both hands, presumably meant to be Chaucer. The figure has a pen case with a white top around his neck which again indicate that the figure is a representation of Chaucer. The man stands on a pale, yellow tiled floor against a backdrop of green, decorated with fine gold filigree/arabesque patterning. The man is dressed in a grey, calf length gown, red hose and black shoes with a strap across the front. The gown is untrimmed with a high collar and the sleeves full length, and loose around the elbow. The hair is cropped around the ears and is so delicately painted that through a magnifying glass the individual brush strokes can be seen. The facial features are delicately painted and as such appear individualised. The flesh is pale and the features created by very fine light brown brush strokes. The cheeks and lips have a delicate rosy tint to them. The brown eyes are reasonably close together but I feel this is because the face has been drawn at a slight angle. The eyebrows are formed by very fine brown strokes, slightly arched, joining the line of the nose as it meets the brow. The ears appear almost unnaturally long and are perhaps the only feature which detracts from the miniature. The figure is turned slightly to the right and to create a sense of perspective the figure is portrayed with legs and feet apart, the far leg being slightly shorter than the near leg. The toes of the near foot turn in slightly but again this is presumably an attempt to create perspective so that the slight point of the shoe is drawn at an angle rather than straight on. The overall pose is one of a serious and dignified man. The miniaturist may be different from the limner who executed the borders and gilded capitals throughout the rest of the manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

A full foliate bar border or demi-vinet decorates the rest of fol.2<sup>r</sup>. The frame of the border itself is comprised of two adjacent bars, the outer bar is gilded and the inner bar a mixture of blue and pink. The corners of the border are elaborated into interlaced foliate

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<sup>8</sup>A reproduction of the first folio, containing the historiated capital can be found at the front of this thesis.

<sup>9</sup>See Chapter VII of this thesis for further discussion on the La miniature.

clusters and similar designs are situated at the mid-point of the lower and upper bars. A large foliate design is positioned in the mid-point of the right side of the bar, the occasional leaf is coloured orange on this spray only. Sprays extend from each corner and foliate cluster. The tendrils of each spray are decorated with alternating naturalistic motifs, and gold balls with green spirals and green dots. The colour palette used for the bar border on fol.2<sup>r</sup> includes gold, white, dark blue, pale blue, dark pink, light pink, plum, orange, and green.

The pages on which new tales commence are decorated with three-quarter foliate bar borders and a five- to seven-line gilded initial marks the beginning of each tale. The gilded initials are also outlined with blue and pink and appear on a coloured background decorated with naturalistic motifs. A consistent feature of these large gilt initials is that part of the central section of the naturalistic design, for example, the largest leaf or trefoil, is coloured orange, a colour not found anywhere else on the border designs other than fols.2<sup>r</sup> and 128<sup>v</sup> where touches of orange have been used to colour naturalistic motifs in the border itself.

The shaft of the border to the immediate right of the initial is usually painted white or left blank in keeping with the design of the historiated 'W' on fol.2<sup>r</sup>. The colour scheme is the same as that found on the first folio (fol.2<sup>r</sup>) and the design of the border is also essentially the same. The initial and bar are stiff and uniform, but the stem of the bar borders of the lower and upper margins are attenuated into fine sprays decorated with gold balls, green spirals and green dots, and a variety of naturalistic motifs which provide the design with an impression of softness and lightness.

On fol. 12<sup>r</sup> the original drawing lines for the three-quarter foliate bar border and six-line gilded capital 'W' are still visible next to the gilt and blue which have been painted on to create the margin. The original drawing lines can also be faintly seen around the ornamental capital on fol.53<sup>v</sup>. The top left-hand corner of the three-quarter bar border on fol.141<sup>v</sup> is smudged as the paint has smeared up toward the corner of the page as though

rubbed in that direction when still damp. The six-line gilded capital 'T' also displays a small downward smudge of paint from the lower extremities of the letter. This also resembles the effect of the paint being rubbed in one direction whilst still damp.

The start of prologues or links are denoted by two- to three-line gilded initials with sprays. The gilded initials enclose a decorated background with alternating blocks of colour in pink and blue. Finer details have been applied in white. The pink used in these smaller gilded initials tends to be lighter than that found in the large initials which are accompanied by three-quarter bar borders. There are several exceptions to this format, for example, L21 (PdP) is marked by a three-quarter foliate border and a six-line gilded initial (fol.173<sup>v</sup>), decoration usually reserved for tales. The PD itself is introduced by a seven-line 'T' (fol.174<sup>v</sup>), but no bar border. However, in La L21 is introduced by the rubrics 'Incipit plogus questoris' and a two-line gilded capital on fol.173<sup>r</sup>. Rubrics on fol.173<sup>v</sup> note the end of the prologue ('Explicit Prologus questoris'), and the beginning of the PDT ('Incipit fabula questoris .'), accompanied by a six-line initial and three-quarter bar border. What we consider to be the PDT commences on 174<sup>v</sup> with a seven-line gilded initial 'T'.

The second part of the SQ is marked by an illuminated five-line initial 'T' and a three-quarter foliate bar border normally reserved for the beginnings of new tales (fol.83<sup>r</sup>). The TG is marked by a three-quarter foliate bar border and a six-line gilded initial 'A' (fol.54<sup>v</sup>), although no rubrics separate it from the CO and it finishes with rubrics declaring the end of the CO.

Two-line illuminated gilt letters on a background of pink and blue are also found throughout the text to mark new parts of tales, or changes in speaker both in the prologues and tales. On four occasions one-line initials in blue and red ink in the style of paraphs also exist. These denote changes in speaker for example, in the ReP [L2] (fol.48<sup>v</sup>), and the MLP (fol.65<sup>v</sup>), where the change of speaker from Host to teller is marked by a red and blue initial. The other two occasions where a red and blue ink initial appear are in the WBP. The first one marks the text at the point where the Wife begins to speak of her first

husband (fol.92<sup>v</sup>), and the second at the section of text where she begins to talk of her fifth husband (fol.93<sup>r</sup>). The second of these initials appears to have been erased but is still distinguishable and is drawn in the same format as the other inked initials suggesting that it was also originally in blue and red pen.

The style of illumination found in La is typical of the New English Style. Some colours and shades appear to have been achieved by painting one colour on top of another. The paint is well adhered to the surface of the vellum and there are no signs of cracking or flaking. The La manuscript was obviously decorated after the text and rubrics had been completed as the decoration sometimes covers parts of letters from the text. For example, on fol.141<sup>v</sup> the descenders of letters in the rubric which appears immediately above a six-line illuminated capital have been obscured by the decoration. On several occasions the decoration is partially obscured by the gutter. For example, the lower spray of the two-line gilded initial on fol.169<sup>r</sup> is partially lost in the gutter.

Emphatic and grotesque faces are formed on the first letter, of the top line of the folio on nineteen occasions. A face is also created out of the letter 'A', which is the first word, of the eighteenth line, on fol.5<sup>r</sup> [GP, 272] and marks the beginning of the Merchant's portrait. On several occasions more than one face is incorporated into the emphatic letter, for example, two faces per letter in eleven cases and three faces per letter on one occasion. The emphatic letters and faces are drawn in the ink used for the text and then coloured with a pale yellow wash. On two occasions pale red crayon is also used to colour the motif.

There are also twenty-seven emphatic letters which are elaborated into leaves, flourishes or just ornamental forms. Of these, twenty-six form the first letter of the first line on a folio. The other emphatic letter appears on the seventeenth line of fol.3<sup>r</sup> [GP, 101]. The emphatic initials are again drawn in the ink used for the main text and then given a pale yellow wash with the exception of three occasions where the wash is a pale red. A catalogue of emphatic and abstract capitals in La can be located in Appendix IV.

Paraphs decorated with pen work mark the beginning of many of the descriptions of the pilgrims in the GP. The GP is the only section of the La manuscript where the system of ordinatio seems confused. Paraphs mark the beginning of many of the descriptions of the pilgrims, however, at the beginning of the GP some descriptions are only marked by emphatic letters. Some paraphs have not been executed but the mark to indicate where they should have been positioned is still visible. Consequently the Manciple's description at line 569 fol.8<sup>v</sup> has no paraph but the horizontal lines to indicate that one was intended to be placed there are still visible. The ordinatio of the GP is as follows:

<b><u>Pilgrim</u></b>	<b><u>Ordinatio</u></b>	<b><u>Folio</u></b>
Knight	Emphatic letter	2 <sup>v</sup>
Squire	Emphatic letter	2 <sup>v</sup>
Yeoman	Emphatic letter	3 <sup>r</sup>
Prioress	Paraph mark	3 <sup>r</sup>
Second Nun	Paraph mark	3 <sup>v</sup>
Monk	Nothing	3 <sup>v</sup>
Friar	Paraph mark	4 <sup>r</sup>
Merchant	Emphatic letter and paraph mark	5 <sup>r</sup>
Clerk	Paraph mark	5 <sup>r</sup>
Man of Law	Pen initial	5 <sup>v</sup>
Franklin	Paraph mark	5 <sup>v</sup>
<b>The Five Guildsmen:- Haberdasshere, Carpenter, Webbe, Dyere and Tapycer</b>		
	One-line pen initial	6 <sup>r</sup>
Cook	Emphatic letter and paraph mark	6 <sup>v</sup>
Shipman	Paraph mark	6 <sup>v</sup>
Physician	Paraph mark	6 <sup>v</sup>
Wife of Bath	Paraph mark	7 <sup>r</sup>

Parson	Paraph mark	7 <sup>v</sup>
Plowman	Paraph mark	8 <sup>r</sup>
Reeve, Miller, Sommoner, Pardoner, Manciple, and myself		
	Paraph mark	8 <sup>r</sup>
Miller	Nothing	8 <sup>r</sup>
Manciple	Marks for a paraph	8 <sup>v</sup>
Reeve	Paraph mark	8 <sup>v</sup>
Sommoner	Paraph mark	9 <sup>r</sup>
Pardoner	Paraph mark	9 <sup>v</sup>

The remainder of the GP contains paraphs which denote a change in theme or speaker as outlined below. The 'narrator' is Chaucer the pilgrim:

Narrator	Paraph mark	10 <sup>v</sup> [line 715]
Narrator	Paraph mark	10 <sup>v</sup> [line 743]
Host	Paraph mark	11 <sup>r</sup> [line 769]
Narrator	Paraph mark	11 <sup>r</sup> [line 784]
Host	Two-line ornamental capital	11 <sup>r</sup> [line 788]
Narrator	Paraph mark	11 <sup>v</sup> [line 810]
Host	Paraph mark	11 <sup>v</sup> [line 837]

The same style of pen and ink paraphs appear throughout the manuscript to indicate stanzas and changes of speaker. The paraphs tend to alternate between a blue paraph mark with red pen work, and a gold paraph with mauve penwork. Occasionally two consecutive paraphs will both be coloured the same although this is probably just an oversight. A large number of paraphs have been missed throughout the manuscript and the scribe's marks, of two parallel lines (=) to indicate where the paraphs should appear are still visible.

Tales which would normally contain paraps have not had them executed on pages where three-quarter bar borders exist, however, the scribe's marks to indicate that a paraps should be placed there are still visible. For example, on fol.115<sup>r</sup> the CL is introduced by a six-line gilded initial and a three-quarter bar border. The tale is stanzaic and the La scribe has denoted the start of each stanza by a paraps even though he has left no gap between verses. However, on fol.115<sup>r</sup> there are no paraps but two sets of marks can still be seen where paraps should have been executed; lines 78 and 92 which are the first lines of new stanzas. On fol.115<sup>v</sup> the paraps have been drawn in and consequently each stanza is clearly distinguishable. The paraps marks in La are positioned in the *left* margin immediately before the start of a line of text and as such there is no room to include them on the pages ~~w~~<sup>h</sup>ere bar borders exist.

Paraps marks are used in both the verse and prose tales, details of their usage is given under *Layout* and *Ordinatio* above. The most consistent use of paraps is in the stanzaic tales where they mark the beginning of each new verse. Where paraps marks are used in the prose and stanzaic tales they alternate between blue with red flourishes, and gold with mauve flourishes. In each tale where paraps are frequently used the first paraps is coloured blue with red flourishes, followed by gold with mauve flourishes and then alternating in that format. On two occasions the paraps has not been fully executed. The last paraps mark on fol.124<sup>r</sup> [CL] should be gold with mauve flourishes. Whilst the mauve flourishes have been drawn the gold has not been applied. On fol.199<sup>r</sup> [TM] a blue paraps has been placed on the last line of the folio, but the red flourishes which should accompany it have not been executed.

On nine occasions paraps accompany glosses. For example, opposite line 63 on fol.67<sup>r</sup> of ML a one-line gloss is marked by a blue paraps, but unlike similar decoration in La the paraps is not decorated by contrasting flourishes. The gloss, but not the paraps, is underlined in red. Each of the four lines which comprise a gloss in the ML in the right margin by lines 97-100 [fol.67<sup>r</sup>] all commence with a paraps alternating blue with red

flourishes, and gold with mauve flourishes. The four lines which comprise the gloss are joined together by a decorative bracket. A rubricated seven-line, interlinear gloss between lines 203 and 204 on fol.68<sup>v</sup> [ML] is marked at the beginning by a paraph coloured blue with red flourishes. The paraph which marks the gloss opposite line 233 in the left margin on fol.235<sup>v</sup> [PA] is coloured gold with mauve flourishes. The gloss 'Ex <sup>iiii</sup>' on fol.237<sup>r</sup> of PA is marked by a blue paraph with red flourishes.

A pointing hand in the right-hand margin indicates the beginning of the unique SQ Endlink [L19] on fol.87<sup>r</sup>. Another pointing hand is drawn in the top right-hand corner of fol.236<sup>r</sup>, possibly in brown crayon, pointing down at the rest of the PA on that folio [243-261]. The pointing hands are probably the work of two different people and it is impossible to know if either is the work of the La scribe or merely additions by later owners or readers.

The edges of the scrolls in which the catchwords appear are nearly always shaded, the majority in a pale red, but some in pale brown. It is possible that the shading has been done at a later date. The last fifteen catchwords are all shaded with red.

The head and shoulders of a bearded man drawn in ink originally appeared above the running head on fol.4<sup>v</sup>. Unfortunately this has now been trimmed so only the shoulders and bearded chin remain.

Names, particularly in the prose tales are underlined, sometimes in red ink. For example, all the underlining in the RT [255<sup>r</sup>] is in red ink with exception of part of line 1012 which is underlined in dark brown ink; 'Valentynges Daye of pe plement of birdes'. Blue ink is used on one occasion for the purposes of underlining. On fol.25<sup>v</sup> 'Cradel' is the final word of line 1161 [KN]. The 'de' is underlined in blue ink but since this is not a spelling error there is no obvious reason for the underlining.

An interesting feature of La is that on every folio the initial letter of every line, other than those letters which are illuminated, are shaded in pale yellow. Each letter has been shaded individually rather than a single solid strip of yellow being applied to the edge

of the text. In the prose tales the initial letter immediately following a paraph mark have been shaded yellow. On many occasions in the prose the '=' mark for the paraph is visible, but no actual paraph has been executed. The fact that the initials are washed yellow and the paraph is still missing may indicate that the yellow was applied before the paraph marks were executed although it is impossible to be sure. Where initial letters are emphasised or elaborated along the whole of the first line of a folio they have all been painted with yellow.

Some illuminated folios are slightly dirtier than those which are undecorated perhaps indicating that these pages have been open for display, or certainly opened to the elements more often than others in the manuscript. All of these folios are decorated with three-quarter foliate bar borders to denote the commencement of a new tale and none coincide with quire breaks:

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Tale</u>
128 <sup>v</sup> and 129 <sup>r</sup>	ME
160 <sup>r</sup> and 160 <sup>v</sup>	CY
226 <sup>v</sup> and 227 <sup>r</sup>	MA
230 <sup>v</sup> and 231 <sup>r</sup>	PA

For further details of the decoration in La see, Appendices III and IV, and Chapter VII.

**Order of Tales:** La is classified as a *c* order manuscript by Manly and Rickert.<sup>10</sup>

Fragment:	I + TG	II	V	III	IV	V	VIII	VI	VII	IX	X	
Group:	A + TG	B <sup>1</sup>	F <sup>1</sup>	D	E <sup>1</sup>	E <sup>2</sup>	F <sup>2</sup>	G	C	B <sup>2</sup>	H	I

GP-KN-L1-MI-L2-RE-L3-CO-L6-TG-L7-ML-L8-SQ-L19-L9-WB-L10-FR-L11-SU-CL-L13-ME-FK-NU-L33-CY-L35-PH-L21-PD-L23-SH-L24-PR-L25-TT-L28-TM-L29-MO-L30-NP-L36-MA-L37-PA-RT

<sup>10</sup>Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 305.

**Running Order for La:** The following list presents the tales and links included in La and the relevant folio numbers. Under the lineation scheme devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project some prologues and tales are lineated as single continuous units but for ease of reference the traditional title of each passage as used in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987) has also been given. A comprehensive list of the abbreviations for tales and links used by the *Canterbury Tales* Project and the corresponding line numbers given in *The Riverside Chaucer* is presented at the beginning of this thesis. Full details of the lineation scheme devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project are given in Chapter I of this thesis.

<b><u>Tale</u></b>	<b><u>Folios</u></b>	<b><u>Traditional Title</u></b>	<b><u>Comments</u></b>
GP	2 <sup>r</sup> - 12 <sup>r</sup>	General Prologue	
KN	12 <sup>r</sup> - 38 <sup>v</sup>	Knight's Tale	
L1	38 <sup>v</sup> - 39 <sup>v</sup>	Miller's Prologue	
MI	39 <sup>v</sup> - 47 <sup>v</sup>	Miller's Tale	
L2	47 <sup>v</sup> - 48 <sup>r</sup>	Reeve's Prologue	(Concludes at the end of fol.48 <sup>r</sup> )
RE	48 <sup>v</sup> - 53 <sup>r</sup>	Reeve's Tale	(Commences at the top of fol.48 <sup>v</sup> )
L3	53 <sup>r</sup> - 53 <sup>v</sup>	Cook's Prologue	
CO	53 <sup>v</sup> - 54 <sup>r</sup>	Cook's Tale	(Concludes at the end of fol.54 <sup>r</sup> )
L6	54 <sup>v</sup> - 54 <sup>v</sup>	Unique to La	(Commences at the top of fol.54 <sup>v</sup> )
TG	54 <sup>v</sup> - 65 <sup>r</sup>	Tale of Gamelyn	
L7	65 <sup>r</sup> - 66 <sup>r</sup>	Introduction to the Man of Law's Tale - Words of the Host to the Company	
ML	66 <sup>r</sup> - 66 <sup>v</sup>	Man of Law's Prologue	
	66 <sup>v</sup> - 79 <sup>r</sup>	Man of Law's Tale	
L8	79 <sup>r</sup> - 79 <sup>r</sup>	Epilogue of the Man of Law's Tale	(In La the link reads the Squire but in six manuscripts it reads the Summoner)
SQ	79 <sup>r</sup> - 87 <sup>r</sup>	Squire's Tale	(The passage traditionally known as the Introduction to

				the Squire's Tale is omitted from La)
L19	87 <sup>r</sup>	- 87 <sup>r</sup>	Unique to La	
L9	87 <sup>r</sup>	- 87 <sup>r</sup>	Unique to La	
WB	87 <sup>r</sup>	- 97 <sup>r</sup>	Wife of Bath's Prologue	
	97 <sup>r</sup>	- 102 <sup>r</sup>	Wife of Bath's Tale	
L10	102 <sup>r</sup>	- 102 <sup>v</sup>	Friar's Prologue	
FR	102 <sup>v</sup>	- 106 <sup>v</sup>	Friar's Tale	
L11	106 <sup>v</sup>	- 107 <sup>r</sup>	Summoner's Prologue	
SU	107 <sup>r</sup>	- 114 <sup>r</sup>	Summoner's Tale	
CL	114 <sup>r</sup>	- 115 <sup>r</sup>	Clerk's Prologue	
	115 <sup>r</sup>	- 128 <sup>r</sup>	Clerk'e Tale	
L13	128 <sup>r</sup>	- 128 <sup>v</sup>	Lenvoye de Chaucer	(The Host Stanza which follows the Lenvoye de Chaucer in some manuscripts is omitted from La)
ME	128 <sup>v</sup>	- 141 <sup>r</sup>	Merchant's Tale	(The section of the text traditionally known as the Merchant's Prologue is omitted from La)
FK	141 <sup>r</sup>	- 141 <sup>v</sup>	Franklin's Prologue	
	141 <sup>v</sup>	- 151 <sup>v</sup>	Franklin's Tale	(The rubrics to mark the end of the FK appear on the first line of fol.152 <sup>r</sup> . The rubrics which mark the beginning of NU appear on the same line)
NU	152 <sup>r</sup>	- 153 <sup>r</sup>	Nun's Prologue	
	153 <sup>r</sup>	- 158 <sup>r</sup>	Nun's Tale	
L33	158 <sup>r</sup>	- 160 <sup>r</sup>	Canon's Yeoman's Prologue	
CY	160 <sup>r</sup>	- 169 <sup>r</sup>	Canon's Yeoman's Tale	
L35	169 <sup>r</sup>	- 169 <sup>v</sup>	Unique to La	
PH	169 <sup>v</sup>	- 173 <sup>r</sup>	Physician's Tale	
L21	173 <sup>r</sup>	- 173 <sup>v</sup>	Introduction to the Pardoner's Tale	
PD	173 <sup>v</sup>	- 174 <sup>v</sup>	Pardoner's Prologue	
	174 <sup>v</sup>	- 180 <sup>v</sup>	Pardoner's Tale	
L23	180 <sup>v</sup>	- 180 <sup>v</sup>	Unique to La	(Rubrics which mark the end of L23 and the beginning of the SH appear on one line at the bottom of fol.180 <sup>v</sup> )
SH	181 <sup>r</sup>	- 186 <sup>r</sup>	Shipman's Tale	

L24	186 <sup>r</sup>	- 186 <sup>r</sup>	Words of the Host to the Shipman and Lady Prioress	
PR	186 <sup>r</sup>	- 186 <sup>v</sup>	Prioress's Prologue	
	186 <sup>v</sup>	- 189 <sup>r</sup>	Prioress's Tale	
L25	189 <sup>r</sup>	- 189 <sup>r</sup>	Prologue to Sir Thopas	
TT	189 <sup>r</sup>	- 191 <sup>v</sup>	Tale of Sir Thopas	
L28	191 <sup>v</sup>	- 192 <sup>r</sup>	Here the Host styteth Chaucer's Tale of Thopas	
TM	192 <sup>r</sup>	- 206 <sup>r</sup>	Tale of Melibeus	
L29	206 <sup>r</sup>	- 207 <sup>v</sup>	Monk's Prologue	
MO	207 <sup>v</sup>	- 217 <sup>r</sup>	Monk's Tale	(Includes the Adam Stanza)
L30	217 <sup>r</sup>	-217 <sup>v</sup>	Nun's Priest's Prologue	(La contains the long version of this passage. L30 concludes at the end of fol.217 <sup>v</sup> )
NP	218 <sup>r</sup>	- 225 <sup>r</sup>	Nun's Priest's Tale	(NP commences at the top of fol.218 <sup>r</sup> )
L36	225 <sup>r</sup>	- 226 <sup>v</sup>	Manciple's Prologue	
MA	226 <sup>v</sup>	- 229 <sup>v</sup>	Manciple's Tale	
L37	229 <sup>v</sup>	- 230 <sup>v</sup>	Parson's Prologue	
PA	230 <sup>v</sup>	-254 <sup>v</sup>	Parson's Tale	(The rubrics which mark the end of the PA and the beginning of the RT appear on one line at the end of fol.254 <sup>v</sup> )
RT	255 <sup>r</sup>	- 255 <sup>r</sup>	Retraction	

A breakdown of the contents of La by folio can be found in Appendix I.

**Progress of Copying:** La contains only one small gap, a single line between the end of Part I and the beginning of Part II of the SQ (fol.83<sup>r</sup>), presumably intended to be filled by rubrics. There are no signs of hesitation and the beginnings and endings of tales do not correspond with the quire boundaries (see Collation). La consequently appears to have been copied in the order the tales actually appear as rearrangement of the tales would have been difficult once copying had begun.

The La scribe has included five unique linking passages; four lines between the CO and the TG [L6] (fol.54<sup>v</sup>); eight lines at the end of SQ [L19]; four lines at the beginning of the WBP [L9] (fol.87<sup>r</sup>); sixteen lines between the CY and the PH [L35] (fol.169<sup>r</sup>-169<sup>v</sup>);

and six lines between the PD and the SH [L23] (fol.180<sup>v</sup>). These links are considered to be spurious and do not appear in any other extant manuscript with the exception of one link. Se which is dated c. 1450-70 and classified as an *anomalous* order manuscript, has used L19 from La. These unique La links are discussed fully in Chapter V of this thesis.

**Corrections:** The vast majority of the corrections to the text are in the scribal hand, and take several forms. Caret marks are used to indicate the insertion point for letters and words; the missing character/word written as interlinear additions. For example, 'ginne' has been added at line 132 and 'me' at line 144 of fol.56<sup>r</sup> [TG]. The scribe uses a single horizontal pen stroke as a form of deletion or underdotting to indicate letters or words that have been wrongly included or repeated. At line 144 in the ME on fol.130<sup>v</sup> the scribe has repeated the word 'pou' writing 'pou or pou'. The first use of the word has been erased to leave a gap where the erasure can still faintly be seen. The same thing has occurred at line 165 on the same folio; 'Als[o] sudarly [for .i] for .i. wil nouht abide'. Here the text in square brackets has been erased but is still faintly visible. It is impossible to know if these erasures are the work of the scribe, an editor, or a later owner but, the fact that the scribe had underdotted the 'o' of 'Also' would make it perhaps seem unlikely that he would then also erase the errors. On numerous occasions the scribe corrects spellings by altering letters. Pairs of parallel lines appear above words in some instances to indicate that the word order is incorrect. For example, line 215 of TG (fol.57<sup>r</sup>) has pairs of parallel lines above 'cam inne' to indicate that the text should read 'inne cam' which is the word order found in Hg.

A later hand has written over some words or letters where the ink has become rubbed or faded (see Later Hands and Dry Point).

Omitted lines have been added in the margins of the manuscript and take two forms; those in the hand of the La scribe and on two occasions by another fifteenth-century hand(s). The La scribe has added the following lines:

**KN** 12<sup>v</sup> 48 Added in the right margin immediately after line 49. The additional line is bracketed to the previous line with an ornamental brace. The extra line is marked by a small cross ('x') included within the bracket. There is not sufficient space to have written line 48 at the end of line 47 which is already relatively long. The bracket is consequently used to indicate the correct positioning of line 48.

**KN** 20<sup>r</sup> 694 Added immediately at the end of line 693. The two lines are separated by a semi-colon.

**KN** 29<sup>r</sup> 1448 Added immediately at the end of line 1447. The two lines are separated by a semi-colon.

**KN** 32<sup>v</sup> 1733 Added immediately after line 1734. The two lines are separated by a semi-colon. A single pen line indicates where the insertion point for the line should be, and a cross with a dot in each corner appears between lines 1732 and 1734. The same mark is found at the start of the column of text positioned in the gap between lines 1732 and 1734. This is the only occasion where such a mark has been used in La.

**MI** 40<sup>r</sup> 54 Added immediately after line 53. The two lines are separated by a semi-colon mark. The spaces between words in line 54 are greatly reduced despite the fact that there is enough room across the page to fit the line in comfortably. This may suggest that the scribe did not want to draw attention to the addition.

**L2** 48<sup>r</sup> 42 Added immediately at the end of line 41, but due to a lack of space the added line has been written over two lines; at the ends of lines 41 and 43. A semi-colon separates the end of line 41 and the beginning of line 42. A paraph mark has been added part-way through line 42. The misplacement of this paraph has resulted from there being no room to include it at the start of line 42.

**TG** 61<sup>r</sup> 561 Added over three lines of text at the ends of lines 560, 562, and 563. A paraph has been executed part way through the added line.

**NP** 220<sup>r</sup> 188 Added immediately after line 187. The two lines are separated by a semi-colon.

On two occasions lines in La have been written in the margins in a fifteenth-century hand, or possibly two separate hands:

CL 116<sup>r</sup> 173 Added in the right margin with a single line to indicate that the added line should be positioned between lines 172 and 174

CL 126<sup>r</sup> 985 Added in the right margin immediately after line 984. A single pen line indicates the insertion point. The line is written by a fifteenth-century hand, but not that of the La scribe, and possibly different from the hand responsible for the addition of line 173 in CL noted above. The hand or hands responsible for these two additions is not identifiable with that of Scribe D who copied Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup>, nor with the hands of the respective scribes responsible for producing Sl<sup>2</sup> and Se.

The final two lines of text on fol.242<sup>v</sup> of the PA [555] are either in a different hand to that of the La scribe, or his hand but executed in a different script from that used throughout the rest of the manuscript. The text appears to be contemporary with La and there is no hesitation in the placing of the text. The spacing of the words corresponds with that of the La scribe and the consistent use of tails or light downward strokes after final letters persist in exactly the same style as that used by the La scribe. However, the letter forms are different from those used by the La scribe throughout the rest of the manuscript. For example, the letter *a* has two chambers compared to the usual form of a single lobe, and the descenders of letter *f* and *l* end in a horizontal stroke rather than tapering to a point which is the usual form. The *o* is 'squarer' than that found in the rest of the manuscript, the lobe of *g* is more angular and the descender doubles back, underneath itself. The ascenders of the letters *b* and *l* have small horizontal strokes at their peak, and the text generally has a straighter and more rigid appearance than the rest of the manuscript. This text is not that of the Cp scribe and may just be a different style of script written by the La scribe. The usual La script continues without pause at the top of the next folio (fol.243<sup>r</sup>).

On six occasions transposed lines these have been marked by an 'A' and 'B' in the left margin:

	<u>KN</u>	<u>RE</u>	<u>TG</u>	<u>SQ</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>SH</u>
	(fol.28 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.48 <sup>v</sup> )	(fol.61 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.85 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.116 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.182 <sup>v</sup> )
<b>B</b>	1350	34	556	510	164	158
<b>A</b>	1349	33	555	509	163	157

The 'A' and 'B' appear as upper case letters on four occasions and lower case in the KN and the CL. Although difficult to be sure these appear to be the hand of the La scribe.

Thirty-three lines have been completely omitted from La.<sup>11</sup> There are also seven instances of the scribe repeating the last line of a folio at the top of the next folio. For a comprehensive list of all omitted, additional, variant, and transposed lines in La see Appendices V. Additions, omissions, repetitions, and instances of transposed lines are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

**Signs of Editing:** Some directions for rubrics are still visible and many others have been erased. Those directions still visible all appear in the same ink as the main text and are in the scribe's hand, but written in a much smaller script than that used for the text. Judging by the width of the rubbed patches on the manuscript the directions which have been erased were also originally written in the same extremely small script. It is impossible to know whether such directions were erased after copying or at a later date. The directions are listed below

**Fol.48<sup>v</sup>:** Written in the hand of the La scribe but in very small script in the right margin and now partially obscured by the gutter is the text 'her be Reves', with 'Reves' appearing as a second line of text underneath 'her be'. This text appears opposite the rubric for the

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<sup>11</sup>This figure relates to single lines or passages of text comprised of no more than four consecutive lines. Any passage of text equivalent to more than four consecutive lines is regarded as a substantive variant and is discussed in Chapter IV of this thesis.

RE which reads 'þe revese tale begynnep her'. This is the only rubric in La which is written in the vernacular.

**Fol.76<sup>v</sup>:** Written in the left margin by line 771 of the ML is the direction 'ʒitā pars'. The third part of ML actually begins at line 778, but no rubrics or marginal annotations have been included to mark any of the parts in ML.

**Fol.83<sup>r</sup>:** A blank line has been left between lines 338 and 339, presumably for the rubrics to mark the division between Parts I and II of the SQ. Although no rubrics have been executed the instruction can be seen in the left margin opposite the blank line; '2<sup>a</sup> pars'.

**Fol.151<sup>v</sup>:** In the gutter near the lower margin of the folio is written 'Explicit fabula de la ffrankeleyne'. The FK concludes on the last line of fol.151<sup>v</sup>, but the rubric appears as the first line of fol.152<sup>r</sup>.

**Fol.209<sup>r</sup>:** Instructions for rubrics are just visible in the gutter. 'De Eadem' is written next to the rubric 'De eodem' [MO 104/1]. In the gutter adjacent to the second rubric of the folio 'de eod' is written; the rubric has been executed and reads 'De Eod' [MO 112/1].

**Fol.209<sup>v</sup>:** The instructions for the divisions in the MO on this folio were originally written next to each rubric but have been erased. Although the text is no longer visible the marks of erasure are clearly detectable on the manuscript. The same effect appears on fols 210<sup>v</sup>, 212<sup>v</sup>, and 213<sup>v</sup> of the MO.

**Fol.226<sup>v</sup>:** The direction, 'explicit plog<sup>o</sup>', can be made out in the left margin to mark the end of L36 (MaP).

**Fol.229<sup>v</sup>:** Two lines of text originally appeared in the left margin opposite the rubrics which mark the end of the MA and beginning of L37 (PsP). The text has now been erased but was presumably instructions for the rubrics.

**Fol.230<sup>v</sup>:** There is evidence of an erased line of text in the left margin adjacent to the rubric for the PA.

**Fol.240<sup>v</sup>:** Written in the left margin in a very small script is 'de ira', the instruction for a rubric which has been executed.

**Fol.245<sup>v</sup>:** The rubric 'De Auaricia' has been executed at line 664/1 of the PA, but the original instruction, 'de avaricia', is still visible in the left margin at the start of line 665.

**Fol.247<sup>v</sup>:** Text erased from the left margin was probably the original instruction for the rubric, 'c de gula' [PA 743/1].

**Fol.248<sup>r</sup>:** Text erased from the left margin was probably the original instruction for the rubric, 'c De luxuria' [PA 761/1].

**Fol.251<sup>v</sup>:** There is evidence of erased text in the left margin next to line 884 which commences at the beginning of the line below that which contains the rubrics 'De .2<sup>a</sup>. p̄t p̄tie'. The text could be the instructions for the rubric or the two-line ornamental capital which appears at the start of line 884.

**Fol.253<sup>v</sup>:** Text which is still partially visible in the left margin reads 'De s----'. This was probably the original instruction for the rubric which appears at 953/1; 'De satisfaciōe.'

**Fol.254<sup>v</sup>:** Text next to the 'Explicit' [1006/2] in the left margin has been erased.

**Fol.255<sup>r</sup>:** Text by the 'Explicit' [1018/2] in the left margin has been erased.

The instructions for rubrics which still exist are in the ink and hand of the La scribe and as such are not evidence of an editor overseeing the compilation of the manuscript but the scribe's own instructions to himself for the insertion of rubricated text which also appears in his own hand.

The last line of fol.150<sup>v</sup> has been erased, but it is still possible to distinguish enough of the erased text to identify that it was the same as line 815 which commences fol.151<sup>r</sup>. This is not the end of the quire and the scribe presumably made a mistake in repeating the line. As a consequence of the erased line, fol.150<sup>v</sup> contains only forty-one lines instead of the usual forty-two. Assuming that it was the scribe who removed the line after he had repeated it on the following folio, he presumably felt that an erasure at the end of a folio would cause less obvious disruption to the text than to remove the first line of a folio. There are seven examples of the scribe having repeated the last line of a folio at the

top of the following page and a comprehensive list is presented in Appendix V: Additional Lines.

There is evidence that at some point there was writing on fol.41<sup>v</sup>, vertical to the main body of text in the left margin. The writing has now been erased and is consequently indistinguishable.

Faint crosses in the left and right-hand margins of the text, throughout the manuscript, perhaps denote editorial marks and indicate checking of the manuscript. However, they appear to have been largely ignored and in many cases it is difficult to tell exactly what errors they refer to. A close examination of the manuscript reveals that many crosses in the margins have been erased, for example, fols.23<sup>v</sup> and 94<sup>v</sup>. It is impossible to know whether these erasures are the work of the scribe or the result of the manuscript being cleaned, possibly in the nineteenth century.

**Later Hands and Dry Point:** On two occasions, both in the CL, lines omitted by the La scribe have been supplied in the right margin of the manuscript written in a fifteenth-century hand; fol.116<sup>r</sup> [173] and fol.126<sup>r</sup> [985]. The final two lines of text on fol.242<sup>v</sup> of the PA [555] are also possibly in a fifteenth-century hand other than that of the La scribe or the additions in the CL mentioned above. (For further information on the text mentioned here see, Corrections). No later hand in La corresponds with the Cp or Ha<sup>4</sup> manuscripts.<sup>12</sup>

Another later hand has used a very pale brown ink to write the title of the pilgrims by their respective portraits in the GP. Some titles have been elaborated, for example, by the Parson's portrait the later hand has inscribed 'a good man or parson'. The text of the La manuscript at this point reads 'a goode man' and on the next line 'a pouer parson'. The later hand has therefore presumably used the text of the manuscript to influence the titles

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<sup>12</sup>It is worth noting here that on several occasions text in Cp has been written in a hand other than that of the Cp scribe, for example, line 222 of the WBP (fol.107<sup>r</sup>). None of the lines added by a different hand to the Cp scribe can be identified as belonging to the La scribe.

he places in the margins next to the portraits. The same hand has also added other small amounts of text in the margins of the manuscript, for example, words that have become rubbed and indistinct in the main body of the text. For example, 'helpe' on fol.29<sup>r</sup>, 'mouse' on fol.94<sup>r</sup>, and 'hateful' on fol.101<sup>r</sup>, and 'know' on fol.103<sup>r</sup>, to mention just a few. In many instances these minor additions agree with the text of Hg. This later hand is extremely similar, if not identical with that found on fol.1<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>, the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century flyleaf (see Contents).

A different later hand has written the titles of the tragedies and provided annotations in the margins of the MO. The text is executed in a large script, written in black ink.

Fol.255<sup>v</sup> was originally blank but now contains several inscriptions. The name of 'Anthony B' is formally written in black ink on the leaf and is discussed further under the section on Provenance in this chapter. Also in black ink is written 'Liber ffabularu Cant' nearer the top of the folio. There are several other inscriptions which read 'Liber' but are not necessarily all written by the same hand. Another inscription at the very top of this folio reads 'Cons. fol: 255.' and is discussed below.

La contains three modern flyleaves of stiff paper, the recto of the second flyleaf is marbled and the verso was originally blank. In the top left hand corner in dark black ink 'N<sup>o</sup>. 907' has been written. A single horizontal pencil line has been used to cross this out and '851' has then been written in pencil below. La was in the possession of William Petty, Marquess of Lansdowne and Lord Shelburne for the period 1771-1807.<sup>13</sup> He catalogued the manuscript as No. 907 and it therefore seems likely that this number has been written by William Petty or someone employed by him, possibly as a librarian. When the then, British Museum purchased La it was catalogued as 'Lansdowne 851'. The pencil number of '851' and the deletion of 'N<sup>o</sup>.907' presumably therefore occurred at the British Museum in 1807 or soon after. The same hand responsible for writing 'N<sup>o</sup>.907' on

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<sup>13</sup>William Petty actually died in 1805, but his manuscript collection was not sold until 1807.

the verso of the modern flyleaf has also placed foliation numbers in a reasonably large script executed in dark black ink in the top outer corners of each <sup>recto</sup> folio. The foliation numbers on some folios are so close to the edge that the final number is partially missing. For example, on fol.209<sup>r</sup> the number '9' is not complete. Since it would seem extremely unlikely that who ever added the foliation numbers wrote several of them off the page it seems logical to suggest that the numbering was added before the manuscript was trimmed to its present state. Since the hand responsible for including the foliation numbers has also written 'N<sup>o</sup>. 907' on a flyleaf at the front of the manuscript it is likely that they are the work of William Petty or someone in his employment and can therefore be dated to somewhere in the period 1771-1807. The same hand has also written 'Cons. fol: 255.' in black ink on the verso of fol.255.

A sixteenth-century stiff paper flyleaf is situated at the back of the manuscript, followed by a modern flyleaf in stiff paper. Written in pencil in the middle of the sixteenth-century vellum flyleaf is '255 Folios . W. L' . This hand is different from any of the other hands which have written on La and is obviously a late addition.

The following dry point can be detected on the La manuscript:

- Fol.227<sup>v</sup>** 'M' in dry point in the left margin, in the upper-third of the folio, next to the start of lines 91-2 of MA.
- Fol.228<sup>v</sup>** 'M' in dry point in the right margin, near the top of the folio, by line 121 of MA.
- Fol.139<sup>v</sup>** In the lower margin in dry point a love heart with a short line of writing either side of it can be detected; the text is indistinguishable.
- Fol.159<sup>v</sup>** In the left margin in dry point is a love heart with two circles attached to the lower point of the heart then a slight gap and two further circles.

For details of names which appear on La, both in dry point and as written inscriptions see, Provenance.

**Spelling and Dialect:** The La scribe makes consistent use of yogh (*ȝ*), and thorn (*þ*), in his spellings. In the majority of cases, *v* is used where *u* would normally be expected. The use of *-sch-* occurs regularly and there is frequent use of *h* for *gh*, and *k* for *c*. Frequent use is also made of *aw* and *ow* for *au*, *ou* and *i* when it is found beside *m* or *n*. Occasionally the scribe has used *du* and *tu* as in 'duelle' and 'tuo'. In rare instances *sc* has been used for *sh*, and *scl* for *sl*. The examples of usage listed here apply to both initial and medial positions. The doubling of vowels is rare, but the scribe does sometimes make use of double consonants.

The La scribe has replaced *qu* with *w* or *wh* which creates a much softer sound, for example, 'quite' (requite) appears as 'white' on several occasions. However, the scribe never uses the Northernism *quh* for *wh* despite consistent use of Northernisms in other cases, for example, the continual use of 'be' for 'by'; 'mony' for 'many'; and 'yhalow' for 'yellow', to mention but a few.

Previous linguistic studies of La have led earlier scholars to suggest a Northern origin for the manuscript, or at least for the scribe. Furnivall suggested that the La scribe was from the North of the country or the Chester region. Kerby-Miller made a dialectal study of the *c* and *d* groups of the *Canterbury Tales* in 1938. Her unpublished dissertation was consulted by Manly and Rickert who note that La contains some Western features combined with some Northernism and as a result suggest that the scribe is from the Cheshire area or possibly South Lancashire if the spelling and dialectic variations are the scribe's own.<sup>14</sup> Previous studies did not have access to the valuable research tools available to modern scholars, for example, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (LALME, 1986). As a result many of their conclusions have been modified with the help of LALME. More recently the dialect features of La have been considered as part of an extensive study of the Cp scribe's language, spelling, and dialect

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<sup>14</sup>For further details regarding these earlier analyses of the origins of the La scribe see, Furnivall 1868, p. 65; and Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 306, 550, and 553.

undertaken by Smith in 1985. Certain forms used with regularity in La can be identified as part of the scribe's own repertoire and these can be localised to the South-West Midlands:

<u>Form</u>	<u>Item</u>
is	HIS
nouht	NOT
mony	MANY
bien / buen	ARE
schol	SHALL
iche	EACH.

La also contains some Northernisms:

ware	WERE
peire	THEIR
hundrep	HUNDRED
werld(e)	WORLD

All Northernisms in La, with the possible exception of 'hundrep' HUNDRED can be accommodated as variables of a South-West Midland dialect.

The La scribe makes consistent use of 'pouhe' THOUGH which is dialectically specific to Worcester and consequently confirms Smith's analysis that the origin of the La scribe is Worcester.<sup>15</sup> For further discussion regarding the spelling and dialect of La see Chapter VI of this thesis.

**Provenance:** Several names can be identified on the manuscript and are possibly early owners or makers of La. The name of 'Anthony B.....' is formally inscribed on fol.255<sup>v</sup>. The faint lines of a rectangle surrounding the name can still be seen. Although the surname is badly rubbed and consequently not readable, Manly and Rickert used a 'temporary

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<sup>15</sup>For further details of Smith's analysis of the dialect and spelling of La see, Smith 1985, especially pp. 215-231.

reagent' to restore the text and state that the surname 'is plainly Brydges' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307).

Philip Carteret Webb (1706-70) was the next known owner of La. The manuscript was sold in 1771 following his death. William Petty, who was the Marquess of Lansdowne and Lord Shelburne (1737-1805) purchased the manuscript and catalogued it as No. 907. La was therefore among a collection of his manuscripts purchased by the British Museum in 1807.

Other names, which Manly and Rickert suggest may be the names of people involved with the book trade in London, at the time La was produced, also appear in the margins of the manuscript. The name 'Symond' is written vertically in red crayon, in the right margin, of fol.98<sup>r</sup> in a fifteenth-century hand. The name 'Medoltun' is written in dry point at the top of fol.187<sup>r</sup>, and possibly in the right-hand margin half-way down on fol.17<sup>r</sup>.<sup>16</sup> The hand in both cases is fifteenth century. Manly and Rickert also state that 'Medoltun' appears in dry point on fol.115<sup>r</sup>.<sup>17</sup> However, I have been unable to locate this on the manuscript.

For further details regarding the provenance of La see Chapter III of this thesis.

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<sup>16</sup>There is definitely dry point in the right margin of fol.17<sup>r</sup>. The letter 'M' is clearly distinguishable, but I cannot be certain that the name is 'Medoltun'. For further information see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>17</sup>Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307.

## **Chapter III**

### **The Provenance of Lansdowne**

The only evidence for the early ownership of La are three names which appear on the manuscript. 'Medoltun' and 'Symond' are both dated as fifteenth century and are discussed later in this chapter. There is also a sixteenth-century formal inscription, 'Anthony B.....'. The later known ownership of La can be established with certainty from the present day back to 1771. The provenance of La can consequently be separated into three categories; the early provenance, the later known provenance, and a tentative set of possible links between the two.

#### **The Early Provenance**

The first real clue to the early provenance of La is on fol.255<sup>v</sup> where the name of 'Anthony B.....' is formally inscribed. Although the surname is badly rubbed and consequently illegible, Manly and Rickert used a 'temporary reagent' to restore the text and state that the surname 'is plainly Brydges' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307). If Anthony Brydges did own La, the erasure of his surname indicates that at some point the manuscript left the possession of the Brydges family.

Anthony Brydges was the third and youngest son of Sir John Brydges (1490-1557) and Elizabeth Grey de Wilton (d. 1559). John Brydges was the first Baron Chandos and is perhaps most famous for his role in escorting Lady Jane Grey to her execution.<sup>1</sup> Anthony's ancestry on his mother's side makes him the great-great-grandson

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<sup>1</sup>Sir John Brydges was Lieutenant of the Tower of London from August 1553 to June 1554. During Lady Jane Grey's imprisonment at the Tower she was effectively John Brydges's prisoner. On the 12 February 1554 Sir John Brydges escorted Lady Jane Grey to her execution. It is said that Sir John was so charmed by his prisoner that he asked Lady Jane to give him something in her writing to remember her by. Jane presented Sir John with her prayer-book on the scaffold and inside she had inscribed a farewell message to

of Sir Reynold Grey de Wilton (c. 1421-1494). This particular link is important as Sir Reynold's sister, Margaret (d. 1492), married William Burley, whom Manly and Rickert believe probably owned the Cp manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>2</sup> The name 'Burle' appears in dry point on fol.146<sup>r</sup> of Cp and is contemporary with the hand of the scribe. 'Burle' is believed to be a version of 'Burley' which can also be spelt 'Boerley'. The Burleys (or de Burles) were a prominent family in the early fifteenth century and had connections with both the monarchy and Chaucer. William Burley's father, John (d. c. 1413), was the nephew of Sir Simon Burley who was tutor to Richard II and friend of Chaucer. John was also the grandson of Sir John Burley who had been sent on a secret mission in 1376 accompanied by Chaucer.<sup>3</sup> The relationship of the Grey de Wiltons and the Burleys is given in Appendix VII, Genealogical Tree I.<sup>4</sup>

The close relationship of La and Cp lead Manly and Rickert to surmise that Sir Reynold Grey de Wilton and his sister Margaret, although not the original owners, could have been in possession of the two manuscripts relatively soon after production. They believe that Cp and La shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars which they suggest may have been owned by a social acquaintance. Manly and Rickert state that 'whether this was their grandmother, who was the aunt of Chaucer's friend, Sir Philip la Vache, or one of the Burleys, who were in various ways associated with Chaucer himself, it is

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him. The prayer-book is now British Library MS. Harley 2342. For further information regarding Sir John Brydges see, *GEC* vol. III, p. 126; and *DNB* vol. VI, pp. 163-4, and 165.

<sup>2</sup>For the early provenance of Cp see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 98-9 and 307.

<sup>3</sup>There is some confusion over the relationships within the Burley or de Burle family. Hibbard describes John de Burley, who went on a secret mission with Chaucer, as 'Simon's brother' (Hibbard 1915, p. 170). However, Manly and Rickert claim the relationship is one of father and son (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 98). In the *DNB* it is stated that Simon 'appears to have been a younger brother rather than a son of Sir John Burley' (*DNB* vol. VII, p. 373). In either case it is clear that the John Burley who went on a diplomatic mission with Chaucer was also closely related to Sir Simon Burley who was a friend of Chaucer.

<sup>4</sup>The only other clue to the provenance of Cp is found at the foot of fol.1<sup>r</sup> where a note containing the name 'Gulielmi Fulman' is written. The note reads 'Liber C .C. C. Oxon Ex dono Gulielmi Fulman A.M. hujus Collegii quondam socius' and suggests that the manuscript was given to Corpus Christi College, Oxford as a bequest. Fulman (1632-88) was employed as a tutor to Edward Peyto (d. 1658). The Peyto family were a legal family who had married into the Ferrers family and were consequently connected, albeit remotely, to both the Grey de Wiltons and the Burleys. Both Edward's mother and his great-aunt left books in their wills and it is possible that Fulman inherited Cp via his ancestors. Fulman later became a collector of books and could have purchased Cp independently. For further reference to the wills of Fulman's mother and great-aunt see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 99.

impossible to say' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307). I have been unable to trace any relationship that would make Sir Reynold and Margaret's grandmother an aunt of Sir Philip la Vache.<sup>5</sup> However, a more important relationship between the Grey de Wiltons and the la Vaches is not mentioned by Manly and Rickert in their 1940 publication. Blanche, daughter of Philip la Vache married Richard Lord Grey de Wilton (d. 1442), making her the mother of Reynold and Margaret, and subsequently the great-great-grandmother of Elizabeth, and great-great-great-grandmother of Anthony Brydges.<sup>6</sup> After Blanche's death Richard married Margaret (d. 1452), daughter of William de Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of Groby.<sup>7</sup>

Several of Chaucer's known friends had associations with both the Grey de Wilton family and the Burleys. Philip la Vache (d.1408) was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Lewis Clifford (d. 1404), another of Chaucer's friends.<sup>8</sup> William Burley's step-father was Sir Richard Arundel (1346-1397), father of Joan Fitzalan/Arundel (d. 1435) who married Chaucer's friend, Sir William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny (d.1411).<sup>9</sup> It is

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<sup>5</sup>Manly and Rickert make the same incorrect statement regarding this relationship when they report that William Burley's father-in-law (Sir Richard Grey de Wilton) was cousin to Sir Philip la Vache see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup>Edith Rickert published a paper in 1913 in which she traced the ancestry of Sir Philip la Vache. She refers to the marriage of Blanche and Sir Richard Grey de Wilton in this article see, Rickert 1913, especially p. 223. For reference to the marriage of Blanche see also, *GEC* vol. VI, p. 178. Reynold and Margaret Grey de Wilton are the children of Richard and Blanche. Their maternal grandmother would consequently be Elizabeth Clifford, wife of Sir Philip la Vache. Their paternal grandmother was Elizabeth Talbot (d. 1396), daughter of Sir Gilbert Talbot (Lord Talbot) of Eccleswell, Herefordshire. I have not been able to trace any relationship which would make their paternal grandmother Philip la Vache's aunt. See Appendix VII, *Genealogical Tree I* for further clarification.

<sup>7</sup>For further details see, *GEC* vol. VI, p. 178. Subsequent generations of the Grey de Wiltons and Ferrers family also inter-married. The Ferrers family were related by marriage to the Peyto family. Edward Peyto (d. 1658) was tutored by Gulielmi Fulman who probably bequeathed the Cp manuscript to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. For further information and details of the Ferrers-Fulman-Peyto relationship see n.4 above.

<sup>8</sup>There is some confusion over the ancestry of Sir Lewis Clifford (d. 1404). It is not clear whether he is the brother or the son of Sir Roger Clifford, ninth Lord Clifford and fifth Baron of Westmorland (1333-1389). Roger Clifford, married Maud, daughter of Thomas (de Beauchamp) Earl of Warwick, and Catherine daughter of Roger Mortimer, first Earl of March. Sir Lewis was probably Roger's brother rather than son, but there is some confusion over their relationship. For further details see *DNB* vol. XI, pp. 69 and 74; and *GEC* vol. III, p. 292 n.[d]. For a brief biography of Clifford's life see Kittredge 1903, especially pp. 6-13.

<sup>9</sup>Manly and Rickert state that Sir Richard Arundel was the step-father of Sir William Burley, however, I have been unable to trace this exact relationship. In 1359 Richard Arundel married Elizabeth, daughter of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton and Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew Badlesmere. Elizabeth died in 1385 and Richard Arundel subsequently married Philippe in 1390. Philippe was the widow of John Hastings and the daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Philippe, daughter and heir of Lionel, Duke of Clarence in whose household Chaucer had spent his youth. For further details see, Manly and

reasonable to suppose that Chaucer's friends and acquaintances would have known of the existence of the *Canterbury Tales* and therefore be among the earliest owners of copies of the poem. Through their friendship and associations with both Chaucer and the Grey de Wiltons, Sir Lewis Clifford and Sir Philip la Vache appear to be almost ideal candidates for the early ownership of copies of the *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer's moral ballade the *Balade de bon Conseyl*, traditionally known today as *Truth*, is possibly addressed to la Vache and if this is the case it seems probable that he would have owned a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, composed by his friend.<sup>10</sup> Both Clifford and la Vache had died by 1408 and even allowing for Scott's revised dating of La and a margin of error, it seems unlikely that either of these two men could have been the original owner of La.<sup>11</sup> However, they both had an interest in books and it is not impossible that one of them owned a manuscript which acted as a copytext for La; this hypothesis presupposes that La is not a

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Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 99; and *GEC* vol. I, pp. 244-5. There is also some confusion over the relationship of Sir Richard Arundel (executed 1397) and Joan (d. 1435). Manly and Rickert describe Richard as 'kinsman of Joan' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 99). In the *GEC* Joan is described as Richard's third daughter by his first wife, Elizabeth (d. 1385) see, *GEC* vol. I, pp. 26, 244-5, and 246 n.[d]. The family name was in fact Fitzalan, but as was common the title of the Earldom, Arundel, was adopted as the surname. The Arundel family tree is given in *GEC* vol. I, p. 253.

<sup>10</sup>The lyric *Truth* survives in twenty-three manuscripts, a transcript of a Cotton Manuscript, and six early printed editions including those of Thynne 1532 and Stow 1561. For a comprehensive list of manuscripts and early printed texts containing *Truth* see, Pace and David 1982, pp. 52-3. In her 1913 article, 'Thou Vache', Rickert suggests that the poem was composed for Chaucer's friend, Sir Philip la Vache (see Rickert 1913, pp. 224-5). Line 22 of the text is a clever play on the word Vache - 'Therefore, thou Vache, leve thyn old wrecchednesse'. The address to la Vache appears in the envoy (lines 22-8) to the lyric which itself is only included in one witness (Ad<sup>4</sup>) and the passage may therefore have been added at a later date. Pace and David 'accepted the Envoy as a genuine part of a later redaction of *Truth*' (Pace and David 1982, p. 49). Scattergood also believes the envoy to be authorial, stating that 'I cannot envisage anyone except Chaucer writing it' (Scattergood 1982, p. 32). Hanna suggests other possibilities for the envoy only appearing in one witness. He argues that the envoy may have been lost from the exemplar after Ad<sup>4</sup> had been produced, or alternatively, but I feel least probably, that the envoy was omitted through 'scribal suppression' (Hanna 1988, p. 38). Blake argues that whilst the poem can be attributed to Chaucer the envoy is a scribal addition. For further details of these arguments see, Pace and David 1982, pp. 49-51; Hanna 1988, pp. 37-8; and Blake 1989, pp. 302-5. La Vache's career in the royal household spanned the reigns of Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV. As a result of Rickert's 1913 article the dating of the poem has generally been accepted as 1386-9 as la Vache was out of favour during this period, only regaining his royal allowances after 1390. For further information on the poem see, Pace and David 1982, pp. 49-65; Benson 1987, pp. 1084-5, and 1189; and Scattergood 1982, and 1995, pp. 492-6. It should be noted that British Library MS. Additional 10340 is given the sigil Ad<sup>1</sup> in Pace and David, Benson, and Hanna; but is known as Ad<sup>4</sup> by Manly and Rickert and the *Canterbury Tales* Project, whose sigils are used throughout this thesis.

<sup>11</sup>The traditional dating of La is c. 1410-20 although Kathleen Scott has recently suggested that the date should be revised to c. 1405-10 on the basis of the illumination and decoration used in the manuscript. For further details see, Scott 1997, p. 117, n.44. Scott also dates La as c. 1407-10 (Scott 1996, vol. II, p. 87), and c. 1410 (Scott 1996, vol. II, p. 141).

direct copy of Cp. The alternative hypothesis that La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s) is explored throughout this thesis.<sup>12</sup>

Another possibility would be that La was produced for the Burley family who were, as already mentioned, associated with Chaucer in many ways and possibly the early owners of the Cp manuscript.<sup>13</sup> La could have been owned by successive generations of the Burley family until it reached William who married Margaret Grey de Wilton. La could then have passed to her brother Reynold and eventually to his great-granddaughter Elizabeth and her son Anthony Brydges. This is the least direct route for La and therefore perhaps the least likely but, the close relationship of La and Cp and the possibility that they shared exemplar(s) make the idea of both manuscripts being produced for one family viable.

It must be stressed that these are only suppositions and the very early provenance of La will almost certainly never be known. However, these tentative suggestions are interesting because of the associations which can be made between those people acquainted with Chaucer, one another, and the possible ownership of La and Cp. The relevance of the linguistic provenance of La and Cp, and the connections between dialect and the possible early owners of the two manuscripts is discussed later in this chapter. The friends of Chaucer and their relationships to the Grey de Wiltons and the Burleys can be found in Appendix VII, Genealogical Tree I.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Sir Philip la Vache married Clifford's daughter, Elizabeth and was consequently the grandfather of Reynold and Margaret Grey de Wilton. In Sir Clifford's will dated 17 September 1404, Vache is one of several named people made specific bequests. Sir Clifford left books to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband la Vache as follows; 'Now first I bequethe to Sire Philype la Vache, Knight, my masse-book, and my porhoos; and my book of Tribulacion to my daughter hys wyf (*Scrope-Grosvenor Rolls* II, 431). This reference is given by Rickert 1913, p. 221. No other books are mentioned in Clifford's will but the fact that the only books referred to are left to his daughter and son-in-law indicates their interest in texts.

<sup>13</sup>Sir Simon Burley, friend of Chaucer and tutor to Richard II was executed in 1388 and it is obviously impossible for him to have owned either La or Cp, or indeed any prospective copytext. However, it is interesting to note that Simon was certainly a lover of books. An inventory of Sir Simon Burley's belongings, at the Mews and Baynard's Castle, includes a list of some twenty-one books, mainly romances. The inventory is preserved in British Library MS. Additional 25459. The list of books bears testimony to Sir Simon Burley's interest in literature and his relatives may also have possessed a similar interest in books. For details of Burley's inventory, see Hibbard 1915; Scattergood 1968; and *DNB* vol. II, p. 374.

<sup>14</sup>Confirmation and further details of the friendships and associations of Chaucer can be found in Crow and Olson 1966.

## The Later Known Provenance

Evidence for the known ownership of La is vague but its provenance can be firmly traced from the present day back to 1771.<sup>15</sup> La has been held at the British Library since 1807 when it was purchased from the estate of William Petty, first Marquess of Lansdowne and Lord Shelburne (1737-1805). The Marquess of Lansdowne had been a collector of books and manuscripts and after his death it was announced that his manuscript collection was to be publicly sold on 27 April 1807. In the manuscript sale catalogue, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Lansdowniana*, Lot 907 is described as 'The Canterbury Tales, on vellum. Illuminated, olim Ph. Carteret Webb, folio'.<sup>16</sup> The British Museum privately purchased Petty's collection prior to the intended public sale and Lot 907 became British Library MS. Lansdowne 851 and has resided in the Library ever since.<sup>17</sup> In Chapter II of this thesis I suggest that the foliation numbers in La were written on the manuscript whilst it was in the ownership of William Petty.<sup>18</sup>

The reference to La having previously been owned by 'Ph. Carteret Webb' leads us safely back to 1771. Webb's manuscript collection was sold by Baker and Leigh over a seventeen day period commencing on 25 February 1771 (S.C. 7 [6]).<sup>19</sup> The sale catalogue

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<sup>15</sup>Manly and Rickert researched the provenance of the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses as part of their 1940 study. For their findings on the later known provenance of La see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 308, 634, and 638.

<sup>16</sup>William Petty's manuscript collection was due to be sold on 27 April 1807 by Leigh and Sotheby, (S.C. 955 [1, 2]). The public sale never took place and the collection was bought in its entirety by the then, British Museum. See, *LC* 1915, p. 119. Earlier auctions of William Petty's library collection had taken place in 1806 and consisted of his printed books, auctioned over thirty-one days commencing on 6 January 1806 (S.C. 51 [1] and S.C. 956 [1]). Subsequent auctions were held to sell his collections of maps, charts, and printed books on 14 April 1806, and tracts and pamphlets on 30 April 1806. All sales were conducted by Leigh and Sotheby. For further details see *LC* 1915, p. 117. Copies of all the sales catalogues referred to throughout this chapter are held by the British Library unless otherwise stated.

<sup>17</sup>Petty's first wife was Sophia Carteret (d. 1771), daughter of John Carteret, Earl Granville (1690-1763). However, there appears to be no connection between Sophia Carteret and Philip Carteret Webb who owned La in the late eighteenth century. For further details see, *DNB* vol. XLV, p. 124, and vol. IX, p. 214; and *GEC* vol. VII, p. 437.

<sup>18</sup>For further details see Chapter II, Later Hands and Dry Point.

<sup>19</sup>Carteret Webb died on 22 June 1770. He bequeathed everything he owned to his second wife, Rhoda, daughter of James or John Cotes of Doddington in Cheshire. It was consequently Rhoda who instigated the sale of her late husband's library. For further details of Philip Carteret Webb see, *DNB* vol. LX, pp. 107-8. Manly and Rickert state that the sale of Carteret Webb's library was by 'Leigh and Sotheby' (Manly and Rickert vol. I, p. 634). In the *LC* 1915, the sale is attributed to the firm of 'S. Baker & G. Leigh' (*LC* 1915, p. 76).

for Philip Carteret Webb (1706-1770) includes a manuscript, Lot 2870, which is described as 'Chaucer's Works, a very fine MS on vellum'. This is certainly La which was purchased by William Petty and consequently the British Museum. Lot 2870 is said to be from 'the collection of . . . Poole of Chesterfield, Derbyshire'. Manly and Rickert were unable to trace Poole of Chesterfield and despite visiting the Derby Records Office, I have unfortunately been no more successful.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Tentative Later Provenance**

The provenance of La now becomes hazy and only tentative links can be made between the ownership of Carteret Webb in 1771 and Anthony Brydges. Manly and Rickert provide a suggested route of ownership for La prior to Carteret Webb in their *Recorded Manuscripts* section.<sup>21</sup> However, the evidence is scant and at best vague leading to many suppositions and assumptions. Manly and Rickert propose that La is one of several manuscripts being sold on 25 March 1751 by T. Osborne, on behalf of a number of named

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<sup>20</sup>In the early Middle Ages, a family of De la Poles held estates in Staffordshire, however, the family extended their roots to Derbyshire when three successive generations married heiresses from Derbyshire. In 1400 a Peter de la Pole of Radborne, which is situated near Derby, was made a Knight of the Shire. He was married to Elizabeth, whose parents were Sir John Lawton and Alianore. In the *DNB* Alianore/Eleanor's husband is named Roger Colyng see, *DNB* vol. X, p. 44. Alianore and her unmarried sister, Elizabeth were co-heirs of their brother Sir John Chandos (d. 1370). Through his marriage Pole consequently gained the estate of Radborne which had been the property of Sir John Chandos. An estate in Mugginton, Derbyshire was also owned by Sir John Chandos and may also have been inherited by Pole, (*GEC* vol. III, p. 147 n.[c]). The estate of Radborne remained in the Pole family through the male line of descent until 1683 and the death of German Pole. The property of Radborne then passed to a younger branch of the family, the Chandos-Poles (*DNB* vol. XLVI, p. 34). Poole of Chesterfield may be some relation of this family as Poole can be spelt Pole or Poule. Another family named Pools or Poles were based at Spinkhill, Derbyshire (*DNB* vol. XLVI, p. 99). The Title Deeds of the Pole family of Spinkhill are held at Derby Record Office (ref. No. 1233M - *Records Society* B905). However, I have been unable to identify any member of this family with Poole of Chesterfield who owned La. In the thirteenth century the Chandos family claimed to be descended from Robert Chandos who had been a companion of William the Conqueror. In the thirteenth century the two branches of the family settled in Herefordshire and Derbyshire respectively (*DNB* vol. X, p. 43). The Sir John Chandos (d. 1370) referred to here is descended from the Derbyshire branch of the family, and was distinguished as a great soldier and friend of the Black Prince. He is not to be confused with the Sir John Chandos (d. 1428) of the Hereford branch, whose niece, Alice (daughter of his sister Elizabeth Berkeley) married Giles Brydges or Brugges (1390-1467) the ancestor of the Brydges family (*DNB* vol. X, p. 44). Giles Brydges's great-grandson, John, married Elizabeth Grey de Wilton and their youngest son was Anthony Brydges whose name appears on La.

<sup>21</sup>The following references in Manly and Rickert's *Recorded Manuscripts* section are relevant to the possible provenance of La: James Ware, 1666, p. 624; Thomas Tenison 1692, p. 626; Henry Hyde 1709, pp. 629-30; James Brydges 1747, pp. 632-3; T. Osborne 1751, pp. 633-4; Philip Carteret Webb 1771, p. 634; William Petty 1807, p. 638 (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 606-45).

and unnamed owners (S.C. 463).<sup>22</sup> Lot no. 1752 is described as 'Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, a very fine and ancient MS copy, wrote on vellum and by the writing seems to be wrote about the time of Chaucer, folio'. The prices of the sale are written in the sale catalogue and Lot 1752 was sold for '2 l. 2 s.'. If La were Lot 1752 it was presumably either being sold on behalf of Poole of Chesterfield and consequently purchased by Carteret Webb; or alternatively was purchased at this sale by Poole of Chesterfield eventually being acquired by Carteret Webb.

Manly and Rickert postulate that La could have been one of the three manuscripts listed in a sale of 1746/7 of books and manuscripts belonging to James Brydges (1673-1744), Earl of Carnarvon and first Duke of Chandos. All three of the manuscripts are listed as folios and where sold by Cock, 12 March 1746/7:

1141. Jeffrey Chaucer's Works.

1153. Chaucer, Lydgate, with other old poets on vellum and paper.

2002. Chaucer's Works, which seems to be the original MSS.

The prices of the manuscript sale have been written next to each entry in the sale catalogue as follows; 1 l. 14 s.; 3 l. 3 s.; and 2 l. 2 s., respectively. Brydges, it is claimed, probably inherited the three manuscripts along with others from Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon. Manly and Rickert state that the description of Lot 1752 sold by Osborne in 1751 'suggests Chandos 2002 and seems to point to La' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 633). Although the descriptions are similar they are both vague and the associations are therefore tenuous.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>The sale catalogue names several people for whom T. Osborne was selling manuscripts as follows; 'WEBBE, Edward, *Counsellor-at-Law*; DAVIE, Alexander, of *Sidney College, Cambridge*; CARRINGTON, Francis; WORSLEY, *Hon. Lady Mary*' (LC 1915, p. 64). The catalogue does not state which manuscripts belonged to which owners. Manly and Rickert give the name of Alexander Davie of Sidney College, Cambridge, as 'Alexander Dacre'. They also state that Edward Webbe and Philip Carteret Webb, who later owned La were not related. For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 633.

<sup>23</sup>One of the three manuscripts listed in Brydges's sale could be En<sup>1</sup>, a mutilated vellum manuscript dated 1430-50, which Brydges probably also owned. Brydges reputedly lent a *Canterbury Tales* manuscript to Urry when he was compiling his edition which was published posthumously in 1721. It seems probable that this manuscript was En<sup>1</sup>. Urry's edition is discussed in Chapter I of this thesis and a list of the manuscripts which Urry professes as having consulted, and their identification as extant witnesses is printed in Alderson 1984, pp. 103-4. See also Hammond 1933, p. 130. There is no way of knowing for sure

Henry Hyde, the second Earl of Clarendon (1638-1709) was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from September 1685 to February 1687. In 1686, in Dublin, he purchased a collection of manuscripts and books belonging to Sir James Ware (1594-1666).<sup>24</sup> Lot 81 of Ware's sale is described as 'Sir Geoffrey Chaucer's [*sic*] Works, fol.'. Clarendon lent his collection of manuscripts, which consisted mainly of those formerly belonging to James Ware, to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury (1636-1715).<sup>25</sup> Tenison had become parish priest for St. Martin-in-the-Fields on 8 October 1680 and remained as rector for eleven years. While in the parish Tenison had built, in Castle Street, Leicester Square, what was to be the first public library in London. Tenison placed the manuscripts loaned to him by Clarendon in the library but described them as belonging to himself. Having taken offence at Tenison's audacity, Clarendon withdrew his manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> In 1861 the contents of Tenison's library were sold and no Chaucer manuscripts were mentioned supporting reports that Clarendon had retrieved his manuscript collection.<sup>27</sup>

There is some confusion over the sale of Clarendon's library, and manuscript collection. Manly and Rickert refer to a note written in the British Library's copy of

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whether either En<sup>1</sup> or La, or indeed both manuscripts, could have been Lot 207 or 355 of Henry Hyde's sale. En<sup>1</sup> next appears as one of the manuscripts used by Thomas Tyrwhitt for his 1775-8 edition noted as being owned by Edward Haistwell. A complete list of the manuscripts which Tyrwhitt consulted in producing his edition is reproduced in Wingeat 1984, p. 123; and Hammond 1933, pp. 207-8. If Brydges had inherited La from his ancestors and then also acquired three Chaucer manuscripts from Henry Hyde, he must have disposed of one of them prior to his own sale which lists only three Chaucer manuscripts. It is possible that En<sup>1</sup> had already been sold and La could be one of the three listed at his sale. For further information regarding Brydges's possible ownership of En<sup>1</sup> see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 135, and 632. For a description of En<sup>1</sup> see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 130-5.

<sup>24</sup>In 1626, Sir James Ware travelled from Dublin to England and visited a number of libraries. In 1644 he spent time at the libraries of Oxford. In 1651 he moved from Ireland to England and took up residence in London until 1660 when he returned to Ireland. Ware's visits to English libraries indicate his interest in books and manuscripts and it is possible that during his periods in England he acquired the *Canterbury Tales* manuscript now known as La 851. Sir James Ware died in 1666, but his manuscript collection was not sold until 1686. Sir James Ware's eldest son was also named James (d. 1689). Since Sir James Ware's manuscript collection was not sold until twenty years after his death it was therefore presumably sold by James Ware junior. For further details of Sir James Ware see, *DNB* vol. LIX, pp. 359-60.

<sup>25</sup>For further details see, *N&Q* 1861, p. 441.

<sup>26</sup>For further details see, *N&Q* 1861, p. 441.

<sup>27</sup>There were three individual sales of Tenison's library. The first on 3 June 1861 (S.C. 499 [5] and 957 [4]); the second on 1 July 1861 consisted of his manuscript collection (S.C. 501 [1] and 680 [12]); and the third on 23 January 1862 (S.C. 509 [3] and 963 [4]). All three sales were conducted by S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson. For further details see *LC* 1915, pp. 295-6, and 298. For further information on Thomas Tenison see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 626; and *DNB* vol. LVI, p. 58.

*Catalogi liborum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* compiled by E. Bernard in 1697 which states that there appears to have been no sale, but that the manuscripts 'passed into the hands of the Duke of Chandos, and after his death were sold by auction' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 629).<sup>28</sup> Manly and Rickert believe that the sale catalogue referred to by Bernard is 'A Catalogue of the Library of a Person of Honour'. The British Library holds several copies of this sale catalogue, but even these are confused. One copy is dated 1700, presumably incorrectly, and the other has the date 1709 added in pencil and Clarendon is attributed as the owner of the library.<sup>29</sup> Three Chaucer manuscripts are listed in the 1709(?) catalogue:<sup>30</sup>

207. Chaucer's Works, MS

211. Chaucer's Tale and several tracts of Lydgate, MSS, folio, bound

355. Chaucer on vellum, MS.

Regardless of whether a sale actually occurred or not, Manly and Rickert believe that Lot 207 could be Lot 81 of Ware's sale, purchased by Clarendon in 1686. The other two Chaucer manuscripts in Clarendon's collection could have been in his possession prior to 1686 or acquired later. Clarendon's father, Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), had been a collector of books, manuscripts, and works of art, and it is possible that Edward Hyde had in fact owned the other two Chaucer manuscripts. There is some confusion over the details of the Clarendon sale, as part of the library had already been sold to Clarendon's brother, Laurence, Earl of Rochester, (1641-1711), due to financial difficulties. However, this was not made public knowledge until after Clarendon's death.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>See also, *N&Q* 1861, pp. 441-2.

<sup>29</sup>For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 629-30; and *LC* 1915, p. 441.

<sup>30</sup>A later sale on 9 April 1764 (S.C. 5 [5]) conducted by S. Baker was described as a collection of manuscripts previously belonging to Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon; Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon; and Edward Hyde, third Earl of Clarendon, afterwards in possession of Joseph Radcliffe. There is no record of any Chaucer manuscripts at this sale. For further details see *LC* 1915, p. 70. Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), was the father of Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon (1638-1709). Edward Hyde, third Earl of Clarendon (1661-1723) was Henry's son and succeeded him in the title of Earl. For further information regarding the relationships of the Hyde family and their literary interests see, *DNB* vol. XXVIII, pp. 370-93, and 394-9; *DNB* vol. LIX, p. 360; and *GEC* vol. III, pp. 263-9.

<sup>31</sup>The Hyde family were collectors of manuscripts and books. Many works of art had been collected by Henry Hyde's father, Edward Hyde (first Earl of Clarendon). Although it appears that Edward's library collection was inherited by his younger son Laurence, Earl of Rochester (1641-1711), it is hard to believe

Although Manly and Rickert's suggested route is a plausible chain of ownership for La nothing is certain until Philip Carteret Webb's sale in 1771. The descriptions of the Chaucer manuscripts in the various sale catalogues are all very vague. When compared with each other these descriptions appear similar. However, if they are also compared with descriptions of Chaucer manuscripts in other sale catalogues and wills, known not to be associated with La, they are no more specific and it is consequently very speculative to claim that any of them prior to Carteret Webb's sale in 1771 are in fact La.

It would be just as plausible if not more convincing to argue that the La manuscript remained in the Brydges family, passing from Anthony Brydges or one of his siblings, through successive generations to James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos (d. 1744). Anthony Brydges's son Robert died without male issue and his daughter, Anne Jackson (née Brydges) was his heir.<sup>32</sup> If Anne Jackson had inherited La from her grandfather, Anthony, or father Robert, the manuscript would presumably have passed to her own descendants or those of her husband; the line of descent becoming more and more distant from James Brydges. The formal inscription of Anthony's name on La does not necessarily mean that he himself owned the manuscript, but it does indicate that he had direct access to it. If it is accepted that La was almost certainly owned by Anthony's parents, John Brydges, first Baron Chandos and Elizabeth Grey de Wilton, it is equally possible that the manuscript was inherited by his elder brother, Charles; Anthony already having inscribed his name in it. Since Charles was the great-great-grandfather of Sir James Brydges it is more reasonable to suggest that La passed via this route. Alternatively,

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that Henry did not acquire at least part his father's collection. The majority of Henry's library, which must have included some works collected by his father and the collection of Sir James Ware which he himself had purchased, had been sold to his younger brother Laurence, Earl of Rochester in 1697. Laurence's son, also named Henry (1672-1725) inherited his father's collection and in turn these passed to his own son, also named Henry (1710-1753). The latter Henry bequeathed in his will part of the collection of papers and books previously belonging to his great-grandfather (Edward, first Earl of Clarendon), to the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Rawlinson Collection) and the British Library (Clarendon Collection). For further details see, *DNB* vol. XXVIII, p. 392; *DNB* vol. LIX, p. 360; and *GEC* vol. III, p. 269. Manly and Rickert discuss the confusion over Hyde's sale and give references to several sale catalogues, see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 629-30.

<sup>32</sup>For further information regarding Anthony Brydges's son, Robert and his granddaughter Anne Jackson see, *GEC* vol. III, p. 133 n.[c].

ownership could have progressed through the descendents of Edmund who was Anthony's eldest brother, but this is a less direct path. These connections are illustrated in Appendix VII, Genealogical Tree II.

The passage of La through successive generations of the Brydges family is a convenient explanation of how La came to be in the possession of James Brydges, if it is one of the three Chaucer manuscripts listed at his sale in 1746/7 as discussed above. There is a period of only approximately twenty-four years between the date of the sale of Brydges's manuscript and that of Philip Carteret Webb in 1771. For some, if not all of this period, La could have been in the possession of Poole of Chesterfield. The name 'Brydges' which was originally written on fol.255<sup>v</sup> could have been erased during this period. It seems too great a coincidence that a manuscript would pass from the family of its early ownership into numerous other hands before conveniently returning to the Brydges family years later. It is more convincing to argue that La was in the ownership of the Brydges family from an early date until 1746/7 when the manuscript collection of James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos was sold.<sup>33</sup>

### **Other Fifteenth-Century Names on La**

The only other clue to the early provenance of La are two names which appear in the margins of the manuscript. The name 'Symond' is written vertically in red crayon, in the right margin of fol.98<sup>f</sup> in a fifteenth-century hand. Manly and Rickert tentatively suggest that this may be a reference to Simon Payvy who was a scrivener in London in 1392.<sup>34</sup> The revised dating of La being 1405-10 means it is possible for Simon Payvy to still have been working at the time of La's production. A reference to a William Symondes as a

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<sup>33</sup>It should also be remembered that it is not certain that La was ever owned by James Brydges. While he may have obtained three Chaucer manuscripts from Henry Hyde, there is nothing to positively identify La as any of these manuscripts. La could have passed through the hands of any number of owners from Anthony Brydges before it entered the possession of Carteret Webb.

<sup>34</sup>Manly and Rickert give the name as that of 'Simon Pavye' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 308), it appears as 'Simon Payvy 'seryvener' ' in the *CCR 1389-1392*, p. 529.

supplier of parchment in 1424 appears in the Bridge House Accounts.<sup>35</sup> However, as William Symondes is listed as a parchment supplier rather than a scrivener or limner this reference is perhaps not relevant.

The name 'Medoltun' is written in dry point in a fifteenth-century hand at the top of fol.187<sup>r</sup>, and possibly in the right margin of fol.17<sup>r</sup>.<sup>36</sup> The letter 'M' also appears in dry point in the left margin of fol.227<sup>v</sup> and in the right margin near the top of the page on fol.228<sup>v</sup>. Manly and Rickert state that 'Medoltun' 'is a variant of Melton, and both are variants of Middleton = Milton' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307). Several men with the name 'Melton' involved in the book trade can be identified. Reference in the *CCR* is made to a John Melton who was a scrivener in 1405.<sup>37</sup> Another reference to a John Melton is to a limner, possibly the same man, in 1438/9.<sup>38</sup> The existence of a Gilbert Melton, who was involved in the book trade is also recorded. Gilbert Melton, 'liminer', was certainly living in London in 1424. Reference to his wife Isabel is also made in the same record dated 19 July 1424.<sup>39</sup> Gilbert A Melton, limner, and Peter Blyton, bookbinder, were recorded as joint Wardens/Masters of the Mystery of Stationers on 22 July 1426.<sup>40</sup> On 11 January 1448 Gilbert Melton, William Childern and Thomas Treswell, all stationers, are listed as the surers for Marmaduke Howton, stationer.<sup>41</sup> Christianson explains that 'foreign or alien craftsmen in the book trade, that is, English artisans without London franchise or artisans born abroad, did in fact gain freedom of the City by redemption, that is, by presenting themselves as members of the Mystery of Stationers, with other named members serving as their surers' (Christianson 1984, p. 147).

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<sup>35</sup>See, *BHA 1423-60*. This reference is given by C. Paul Christianson who has researched the unpublished Bridge Records. For further information see Christianson 1987, p. 24.

<sup>36</sup>There is certainly dry point in the right margin of fol.17<sup>r</sup> and whilst I cannot be definite that the name is 'Medoltun' the letter 'M' is clearly distinguishable. Manly and Rickert also state that 'Medoltun' appears in dry point on fol.115<sup>f</sup>, but I have been unable to locate this on the manuscript. See, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>37</sup>*CCR 1405-8*, p. 81.

<sup>38</sup>*PRO, Treaty Roll 121*, m. 19.

<sup>39</sup>*CCR 1422-9*, p. 146.

<sup>40</sup>*LB, K*, p. 53.

<sup>41</sup>*Roll 17*, fol.1.

Marmaduke Howton was presumably classed as a 'foreign craftsman' and could only obtain the freedom of the City by enlisting the help of Gilbert Melton and two other stationers to act as his surers. On 9 July 1451 William Coton, gentleman and Thomas Lesyngham, stationer gave a charter of demise and a letter of attorney to enter a house on the quay of Baynard's Castle in the parish of St. Andrew, London. Gilbert Melton is listed as one of the witnesses, but his occupation is not given.<sup>42</sup>

Manly and Rickert suggest that the names of 'Symonds' and 'Medoltun' may relate to people involved with the book trade in London, and perhaps indicate the existence of a shop, producing manuscripts over a substantial period where La, Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup> were produced.<sup>43</sup> However, neither the name 'Medoltun' nor 'Symond' appear on Cp, or Ha<sup>4</sup>.

The evidence of stationers/limners involved in the Westminster book-trade in the early fifteenth century bearing the names 'Symond' and 'Melton' is compelling and yet could be pure coincidence. Other explanations are equally possible. For example, a further interesting connection with the name 'Melton' is through association with Chaucer's friend, Sir Lewis Clifford. There is some confusion over the ancestry of Sir Lewis Clifford as to whether he is the brother or the son of Sir Roger Clifford, ninth Lord Clifford and fifth Baron of Westmorland.<sup>44</sup> Roger Clifford's daughter, Margaret, married a knight named Sir John Melton.<sup>45</sup> Margaret is either the niece or possibly the sister of Sir Lewis Clifford. I have been unable to discover the date of death of either Margaret or Sir John Melton and it is possible that it is Margaret's married name of 'Melton' that appears in dry point in two places in the La manuscript. The Grey de Wilton s also held a manor known as Middleton, in Suffolk. A portion of land, owned by the Clare family and situated immediately adjacent to the Manor of Middleton, was rented by a man named

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<sup>42</sup>*CCR 1447-54*, p. 270. For further discussion of the existence of the stationer/limner, Gilbert Melton and the Wardens/Masters of the Stationers' Company see, Pollard 1937[a]; Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307; Christianson 1984, especially pp. 148, 154-5, and 162 n.12; Christianson 1989[b], especially pp. 97, 106 n.25, and 29; and Christianson 1990, pp. 133-4.

<sup>43</sup>Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>44</sup>For further details regarding the family of Sir Lewis Clifford see, *DNB* vol. XI, pp. 69, and 74; and n.8 above.

<sup>45</sup>For details of the marriage of Margaret Clifford and Sir John Melton see, *DNB* vol. XI, p. 74.

'Symond'. The names inscribed on La cannot therefore be simply accepted as being those of persons involved in the London book-trade and need to be considered in the context of the entire manuscript. Chapter VII of this thesis considers the hypothesis that La is the product of a commercial London shop and examines to what extent the manuscript evidence supports such theories.

### **Family Seats and Land Holdings**

It is not necessary to list all the manors and lands held by the various persons possibly associated with the early provenance of La and Cp, a brief summary of each person clearly shows that the vast majority had strong connections with the South-West Midlands.<sup>46</sup>

The Greys were a large and prestigious family with many branches and in order to emphasise the connections of the Grey de Wiltons with the South-West Midlands a brief outline of their family history from the late thirteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century is presented here.<sup>47</sup> The early roots of the Grey de Wiltons sprang from John de Grey of Shirland (d. 1265/6) and his son Reynold Grey of Ruthin (d. 1308). At this time the family seat was the estate of Shirland in Derbyshire and the family were sometimes known as the Greys of Shirland.<sup>48</sup> Reynold's main land holdings were Ruthin, Co. Denbigh; Wilton, Herefordshire; Shirland, Derbyshire; Rushton, Cheshire; and Purleigh in Essex. Many other manors and lands were also held in the counties of Gloucestershire, Huntingdon, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire.<sup>49</sup> The estate of Wilton was gained

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<sup>46</sup>The *GEC* is a wealth of information and detail regarding the various properties held by families and individuals and comprehensive lists of the records containing this information accompany the description of each person. The numerous volumes of *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (1900-) also offers details regarding certain manors and estates.

<sup>47</sup>For a full account of the Greys of Wilton and the land holdings of each generation see, *GEC* vol. VI, pp. 171-88. Entries for each of the family members can be located at this reference unless otherwise stated. Various entries for the Grey de Wiltons can also be found in the *DNB* vol. XXIII pp. 169-215.

<sup>48</sup>John's second wife Emma inherited the following land holdings which then became part of the Grey empire; Water Eaton, Buckinghamshire; Salbourne, Berkshire and Wiltshire; Eaton Grey, Wiltshire; and Duston, Northamptonshire. John's older brother was Sir Richard de Grey of Codnor whose descendants form one of the many branches of the vast Grey family.

<sup>49</sup>Other minor land holdings included, for example, Kempley, Gloucestershire; Toseland, Hemingford, Yelling, Huntingdon; Water Eaton or Waterhall, Snellson, Great Brickhill, Buckinghamshire; and Thurleigh, Wrest, Brogborough, Bedfordshire.

through Reynold's marriage to Maud, daughter and heir of Sir Henry de Longchamp of Wilton, Herefordshire. Reynold's son and heir John (d. 1323) was known as John de Grey of Wilton and it was at this stage that the castle and estate of Wilton, Herefordshire became the family seat and namesake of the de Wilton branch of the Grey family. John's first son Henry (d. 1342) inherited the majority of the lands held by his father, including the family seats of Wilton and Shirland. John's second son Roger was titled Lord Grey of Ruthin and he inherited lands in Ruthin, Co. Denbigh, and Rushton, Cheshire. Henry and Roger are the generation which mark the division of the Grey family into two main branches. Roger's descendants formed a branch of the Grey family that held a variety of titles including, the Lords of Ruthin, Earls of Kent, Lords Ferrers of Groby, and Marquis' of Dorset.<sup>50</sup>

The lands, estates, and manors of the Grey de Wilton family passed from father to son through successive generations; from Henry (d. 1342), to Reynold (d. 1370), to Henry (d. 1396). This latter Henry, Lord Grey de Wilton, was grandfather of Reynold and Margaret Grey de Wilton, who had possible early connections with the La and Cp manuscripts respectively. Having inherited his father's lands Henry had strong roots in the South-West Midlands, associations which were strengthened by his marriage to Elizabeth (d. 1397), daughter of Sir William Talbot, Lord Talbot of Eccleswell, Herefordshire (d. c. 1396).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>The Grey de Wiltons are one of several branches of the prestigious Grey family and are not to be confused with other branches. The united branches of the Grey family were so vast that they owned property throughout the country, but the branch associated with La is that of the Grey de Wiltons and their main estates during the late fourteenth and early to mid-fifteenth century were in the South-West Midlands and Buckinghamshire. Other branches of the Grey family include the Greys of Ruthin (*GEC* vol. VI, pp. 151-60); also known as the Earls of Kent (*GEC* vol. VI, pp. 160-1 and *GEC* vol. VII pp. 164-79). Other branches include the Greys of Codnor (*GEC* vol. VI, pp. 123-34) and the Ferrers of Groby. This particular title was attained when Sir Edward Grey, younger son of Reynold Grey de Ruthin married Elizabeth, Lady Ferrers of Groby. For further details of this matrimonial alliance see, *GEC* vol. VI, p. 135.

<sup>51</sup>In 1391 Henry took livery of the manors which had been held by his mother Maud (d. 1391). These additional manors and land holdings were mainly concentrated in Buckinghamshire. The ties of William Talbot with the South-West Midlands are illustrated by his land holdings. When William Talbot died in c. 1387 he was seised of lands in a number of counties; Gloucester, Hereford, Oxford, Bedford, Buckingham, Wiltshire, and the march of Wales. For further details of the Talbot family connection and the lands held by Sir William Talbot see, *GEC* vol. XII, Pt. I, pp. 614-16, especially p. 616 n.[a].

Richard Grey de Wilton, Henry's son (d. 1442), could possibly have been the earliest owner of La. He inherited the family lands and through his second marriage to Margaret Ferrers, daughter of William De Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of Groby, and her dowry he obtained additional lands in Herefordshire, the march of Wales, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire. These lands were liberated to his widow in 1442/3. Margaret then married Sir Thomas Grey of Richemount, Bedfordshire, afterwards Lord Richemount Grey (executed in 1461).<sup>52</sup>

Richard's son, Reynold Grey de Wilton (d. 1494) married Thomasine or Tacine, the illegitimate daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Reynold inherited the lands of his father and in 1461/2 he also received livery of those lands which had originally been in the possession of his father and then his step-father Thomas Grey, Lord Richemount.<sup>53</sup>

The family estates passed through successive generations of father to son; from Reynold to John (d. 1499), and then Edmund (d.1511).<sup>54</sup> Edmund was the father of Elizabeth Grey de Wilton and subsequently grandfather of Anthony Brydges whose name appears on La. Elizabeth had four brothers, the youngest, William inherited the family lands and manors in 1528/9.<sup>55</sup> William was taken prisoner in Guines, France and eventually ransomed for the substantial sum of 24,000 crowns. The ransom severely damaged his finances and he was forced to sell the family castle and estate of Wilton, along

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<sup>52</sup>Thomas Grey was the youngest son of John Grey and Constance, daughter of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, this made Thomas the younger brother of Edmund Grey, Earl of Kent and the grandson of Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthin. Thomas married Margaret, widow of his father's third cousin, Richard Lord Grey de Wilton (d. 1442). Margaret's son William was by her first husband Richard Grey de Wilton and consequently step-brother of Reynold and Margaret Grey who are associated with the La and Cp manuscripts. Thomas, Lord Richemount of Grey, his step-son William Grey, and their descendants are too far removed from Anthony Brydges whose name appears on La to be significant in the early provenance of La. For further information on Thomas Grey, Lord Grey of Richemount, see *GEC* vol. X, pp. 777-8.

<sup>53</sup>Those lands being, the manor of Shirland, Derbyshire; Snorham, Acrefleet and Wildebernes in Debden Essex; moiety of Shenley, Buckinghamshire; and the manor of Gilling, Huntingdon. For further details see, *GEC* vol. IV, p. 180 n.[f]; and *CCR 1447-54*, pp. 415, and 486.

<sup>54</sup>John increased his influence in the South-West Midlands by marrying, firstly Anne, daughter of Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthin and first Earl of Kent, this being another branch of the Grey family. John's second wife Elizabeth was the widow of Sir Thomas Cokesey/Grevile of Cooksey, Worcestershire, and Peckforton and Bickley, Cheshire.

<sup>55</sup>The three elder brothers were; George, Lord Grey de Wilton (d. 1514/5); Thomas (d. 1517); Richard (d. c. 1521). All three died without male issue and the manor of Wilton was enfeoffed to each in turn. For further details see, *GEC* vol. VI, pp. 182-3.

with his title in 1603. His nephew, Charles Brydges purchased the estate and title. This particular connection is interesting as Charles Brydges is the elder brother of Anthony Brydges and it could be that William had owned the La manuscript and that it passed to the Brydges family at this stage. The possible passage of La through the descendants of Charles Brydges has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

The ancestors of Anthony Brydges were also associated with the South-West Midlands; the Brydges family seats being Sudeley Castle and Coberley, both in Gloucestershire. The Brydges family were part of the Chandos/Chaundos family whose main land holdings were in Herefordshire.<sup>56</sup>

The Burleys were a Hereford family and their connection with the South-West Midlands is clearly illustrated by the manors associated with Margaret Grey de Wilton which she inherited from her first husband. Margaret (d. 1492) was the sister of Reynold Grey de Wilton the name of whose direct descendant, Anthony Brydges, appears on La. Margaret married firstly William Burley, possible owner of Cp. William Burley was elected a Knight of the Shire for Salop in 1417. After William's death Margaret married Richard Walwen who was also located in the West Country, near Ludlow. Margaret Walwen was seised of fifteen manors and other property the majority of which were located between Wellington and Ludlow, which lies approximately 25 miles to the north. Of the property held by Margaret Walwen, two manors were held for the Earl of Arundel, and one of the Prior of Wellington.<sup>57</sup> The step-father of Margaret Walwen's first husband, William Burley, was Sir Richard Arundel.<sup>58</sup> The manors near Ludlow are close to Stokesay (approximately 8 miles north-west of Ludlow and 2 miles south of Wistanstow) which was held by John Grey de Wilton (d. 1499), and his second wife Elizabeth, previously widow of Thomas Cokesey/Grevile of Worcestershire.<sup>59</sup> John Grey de Wilton

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<sup>56</sup>These lands included the manors of Snodhill, Fawnhope and the manor of Wellington, all in Herefordshire. For further information on the Chaundos family see, *GEC* vol. III, pp. 126-34, and 147-52.

<sup>57</sup>*CIPM Hen VII*, vol. I, 726 pp. 303-4.

<sup>58</sup>There is some confusion over this relationship, see n.9 above.

<sup>59</sup>*CIPM Hen VII*, vol. II, 116 pp. 77-9.

was Margaret Walwen's nephew and also grandfather of Elizabeth Grey de Wilton (d. 1559) whose youngest son was Anthony Brydges. Manly and Rickert suggest that it is Margaret's name which appears on Ra<sup>1</sup>, an incomplete manuscript dated 1450-60 with an irregular tale order. Several inscriptions are visible on Ra<sup>1</sup> all of which are fifteenth century. On fol.66<sup>r</sup> opposite CL 507-9 'sainsy [si ainsi?] est margurite' is written which Manly and Rickert suggest is possibly a comparison of Margaret Walwen to Griselda. The name 'Henry Arund[?]' appears on fol.72<sup>r</sup> and what looks like 'Wellington' on fol.84<sup>r</sup> in dry point. In view of dialect features which are markedly West-Midlands and South-West Midlands, possibly Shropshire in origin, Manly and Rickert suggest that 'Wellington' may refer to a town situated approximately 10 miles east of Shrewsbury.<sup>60</sup>

Other persons associated with Chaucer, the Grey de Wiltons and the South-West Midlands include Sir William Beauchamp who became Lord Bergavenny (Abergavenny). In 1366 Beauchamp was appointed as Justiciary of South Wales and Governor of Pembroke. On 20 February 1395/6, Richard II entailed the castle and estate of Abergavenny on William Beauchamp, his wife Joan Fitzalan, and his male heirs for life. William Beauchamp had succeeded to the castle and estate of Abergavenny from his cousin John (d. 1375).<sup>61</sup>

Sir Richard Arundel who was the father of Joan Fitzalan (Lady Bergavenny), had inherited the vast Arundel estates which comprised Arundel Castle and honour, including lands in Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and Hertfordshire. The family also held manors and land in

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<sup>60</sup>Manly and Rickert also state that other names appearing on Ra<sup>1</sup>, which I have not mentioned here because they have no known connection with either La or Cp, can also be located within this area of the South-West Midlands. For further details of the provenance of Ra<sup>1</sup> see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 453-4.

<sup>61</sup>William Beauchamp was the fourth son of Thomas, Earl of Warwick and Katherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl March. Beauchamp's maternal aunt, Agnes Mortimer married Laurence Lord Hastings, and Earl of Pembroke (d. 1348). Laurence's son, John Hastings succeeded his father as Earl of Pembroke. In 1372 John, having no heir at the time, decreed that if he were to die abroad, his cousin, William Beauchamp should be given his manors and lands with some exceptions which should be enfeoffed by the king, Edward III. When John died overseas in 1375 he did in fact leave a son also named John, who was in his minority. It was decided that the king should hold custody of the manors and lands until the young John came of age. However, John died in 1389, still in his minority and the lands and manors therefore passed to William Beauchamp who became Lord Bergavenny (Abergavenny). The family connection with the South-West Midlands continued and William Beauchamp's son Richard was created Earl of Worcester (*GEC* vol. I, pp. 26-7). For details of William Beauchamp see *GEC* vol. I. pp. 24-6, and 24 n.[b].

Shropshire, Shrewsbury, and the West-Midlands. The Arundel lands were forfeited when Richard was executed in 1397.<sup>62</sup>

Sir Lewis Clifford and the la Vache family were mainly associated with Buckinghamshire. Philip la Vache held property and land in Chalfont St Giles, Shenley, and Asshenden, all in Buckinghamshire. Property of the manor of Shenley was probably given as a dower for Blanche because it was in the possession of Richard Grey de Wilton when he died in 1442 and Blanche pre-deceased her father. The manor of Shenley was subsequently in the possession of Richard's second wife Margaret when she died in 1452.<sup>63</sup>

Whilst it can be demonstrated that a community of book-owning persons, acquainted with Chaucer and closely connected with each other, had strong associations with the South-West Midlands this does not exclude London as a place of origin for either the La or Cp manuscripts. All of the persons named thus far either held positions within the royal household or had close associations with the monarchy and therefore must have spent considerable time in London.

### **Linguistic Provenance**

The La and Cp manuscripts both contain a layer of dialect from the South-West Midlands, but the layer is separate in each witness and must therefore represent two independent scribal layers rather than a common layer from the exemplar. The dialect of La is discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis and it is only necessary to state here that the origins of the La scribe can be localised to Worcester and the Cp scribe to West-Worcestershire. The *d* group of manuscripts which are closely related to the *c* group, of which La and Cp are primary members, also show some West-Midland features of dialect. While the linguistic provenance of a manuscript can identify the origins of a particular scribe it

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<sup>62</sup>For further details of Sir Richard Arundel and the land holdings of the family see, *GEC* vol. I, pp. 231 n.[a]; 232 n.[b]; 241; 242 n.[a]; 243; and 245.

<sup>63</sup>*CCR 1447-54*, p. 415, and 486.

cannot prove that the manuscript was copied in the same area. The scribes of La and Cp are of South-West Midlands origin, but it is impossible from the evidence thus far considered to know whether the two scribes lived and worked in that area or had migrated to London.<sup>64</sup> Certainly large provincial towns would have had professional scribes who copied manuscripts. However, it is also known that many craftsmen migrated to London from all over the country and these men would have retained a layer of dialect in their speech and writing from their native origins. At present research into the book trade has centred on London but as our knowledge and understanding grows, further study into the provincial centres of the trade will hopefully shed more light on this, at present, relatively little-known area.

As mentioned previously another *Canterbury Tales* manuscript, Ra<sup>1</sup>, has possible connections with Margaret Grey de Wilton. Ra<sup>1</sup> and Mc share a close textual relationship, Ra<sup>1</sup> possibly even being a copy of Mc. Some tales in Ra<sup>1</sup> and Mc are closely related to the archetype of the *c* group to which La and Cp belong.<sup>65</sup> Both Ra<sup>1</sup> and Mc have many West-Midlands features; Mc has traces of dialect relating to the Western border; Worcester, Wells, Bristol, and Pershore. The latter certainly being its place of ownership in the sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> The textual affiliation between Ra<sup>1</sup>, Mc, and the *c* manuscripts, and association of names appearing on Ra<sup>1</sup>, La and Cp, prompted Manly and Rickert to

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<sup>64</sup>The Cp scribe was named Scribe D by Doyle and Parkes in 1978 and his hand has been identified in eleven other manuscripts, including Ha<sup>4</sup> and eight Gowers. The collaboration of Scribe D on the Trinity Gower (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.2), along with five other scribes one of whom has been identified as Thomas Hoccleve, would appear to place him in the Westminster area. However, Doyle and Parkes have also shown that rather than working in a commercial scriptorium Scribe D was employed on an individual basis not necessarily working with the other scribes in person. For further information see, Doyle and Parkes 1978. The association of Scribe D with Westminster is considered in Chapter VII of this thesis.

<sup>65</sup>Some of the most interesting similarities between the *c* archetype, Ra<sup>1</sup> and Mc. 'Pausacio' is written in the margins of the CL in both Cp and Ra<sup>1</sup>. Cp has 'Pausacio' opposite lines 6, 14, 20 and 30 of the CL; lines 33-107 are missing from Cp due to a lost leaf. Ra<sup>1</sup> has 'Pausacio' opposite lines 7, 14, 21, 28, 38 and 56 of CL. At line 1 of TM, Mc and Ra<sup>1</sup> have 'Sapience' for 'Sophie' a peculiarity also found in the *c* group manuscripts. Mc writes the title of the Adam Stanza and leaves a gap but does not include the verse, the same thing happens in Cp and SI<sup>2</sup>. For details of the textual affiliations between Ra<sup>1</sup> and Mc and their association with the *c* archetype see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 357-8, and 451-2.

<sup>66</sup>Mc has no known connection or association with the Grey de Wiltons, Burleys or any of the other possible owners of La or Cp, discussed early in this chapter. For the provenance of Mc see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 359-60.

suggest that these factors 'may at least point to the social circle or the neighbourhood in which Ra<sup>1</sup> was owned' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 453-4).

Ra<sup>1</sup> was later known to have been owned by Thomas Rawlinson (1681-1725) who rebound the manuscript in the early eighteenth century. Rawlinson kept the flyleaves of all the manuscripts in his collection when he had them rebound. His manuscripts, Rawlinson D 1386 and 1387, contain several autographs which Thomas Rawlinson noted as being from Chaucer manuscripts as follows: Anne Barlee, twice (MS Raw. D 1386, fol.38<sup>v</sup>); Wyll'm Barlee (MS. Raw. D 1386, fol.263<sup>r</sup>); Tho. Leventhorpe, Dorothy Leventhorpe, and R Greene with the date 1599 (MS Raw. D 1387, fols.72<sup>r</sup> and 73<sup>r</sup>). These names, with the exception of 'Greene' are associated with Ha<sup>4</sup>, a manuscript which has a unique tale order, but was copied by Scribe D, who also produced Cp.<sup>67</sup> As Rawlinson has cut these autographs from the discarded flyleaves of his rebound Chaucer manuscripts it is not clear whether they come from Ra<sup>1</sup>, Ra<sup>2</sup>, or Ra<sup>3</sup>.<sup>68</sup>

The inference of these numerous connections and associations is that there was a book-owning community in the South-West Midlands area, which several generations back were identifiable as Chaucer's friends and associates. Further to this both La and Cp seem likely to have been owned by the descendants of this community.

### **An Alternative Theory for the Provenance of La**

One further aspect with regard to the possible provenance of La has to be mentioned. In his recent *Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts* (1997), Seymour has suggested an alternative possibility for the provenance of La. He states that Manly and Rickert 'mistakenly identify [Anthony Brydges] as the son of John Brydges, 1st Baron Chandos (d. 1557)' (Seymour 1997, p. 135). Seymour provides no explanation for his belief or

<sup>67</sup>There are a number of inscriptions on Ha<sup>4</sup> relating to persons with the surname of Grey who were members of a different branch of the large Grey family of which the Grey de Wiltons, associated with La, form a further branch. For details of the inscriptions found on Ha<sup>4</sup> and the possible provenance of the manuscript see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 225-30.

<sup>68</sup>For further details of the autographs cut from flyleaves in Thomas Rawlinson's manuscript collection see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 453, and 460.

alternatives for whom Anthony Brydges may have been. Seymour offers the following hypothesis with regard to the provenance of La:

HISTORY: ff. 115, 187, and possibly 17 'Medoltun' all erased, perhaps the hand of William Middleton who married the widow of Roger Thorney (d. 1505). Possibly the ms, owned by John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale (d. 1682) which passed to Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey (d. 1686) and thence to Roger Belwood, serjeant-at-law (d. 1695); but there are no visible marks of ownership. Owned by Henry Hyde, 2nd earl of Clarendon (d. 1709) and at his sale (undated S.C. in British Library lot 355) bought by John Brydges, 1st duke of Chandos (d. 1744). (Seymour 1997, p. 134).

There are some difficulties with Seymour's proposed provenance of La. Firstly he states that 'Medoltun' can be located on fols.115, 187, and 17 and that they are all 'erased'. As stated earlier I have been unable to find any evidence of the name on fol.115 and in the case of fols.187 and 17 the name appears to be in dry point rather than erased. I have been unable to provide any evidence which would support Seymour's proposed ownership of La by William Middleton, John Maitland, Arthur Annesley or Roger Belwood and Seymour does not provide any explanation for his claims. Seymour states that 'the history of each manuscript is primarily recorded by Manly-Rickert and given here with some updating and modification' (Seymour 1997, p. x). His conjectures are therefore presumably based on the information presented in Manly and Rickert's *Recorded Manuscripts* section of their 1940 publication from which I have consequently extracted much of the following information.

The manuscript collection of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale (1616-82) was auctioned by Benjamin Walford on 30 October 1688.<sup>69</sup> The catalogue of 'English MSS' lists Lot 1 as 'The Works of Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, curiously writ upon Vellum and gilded very ancient'. Manly and Rickert state that the manuscript described is 'not identifiable with certainty' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 626) and do not volunteer any probable witnesses. The description is certainly similar to La, but I have been unable to trace any

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<sup>69</sup>Sale catalogues for six library sales of John Maitland's collection are held at the British Library. Manly and Rickert refer to the first sale which took place on 30 October 1688 and is described as a 'library sale'. Further sales took place in 1689, 1690 (two sales), 1691, and 1692. The final sale listed in 1692 is the only one described as a 'manuscript sale' and took place on 15 January 1692, by J. Bullord. See *LC* 1915, pp. 9-10, and 12.

evidence to link John Maitland with La other than the similarity of the description. Seymour claims that La was owned by John Maitland and then passed to Arthur Annesley. However, presuming that Seymour is referring to the sale of 1688, the first of six auctions, this would be impossible as Arthur Annesley died in 1686, two years before the sale of John Maitland's manuscript collection.

Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey (1614-86) was a notable collector of manuscripts who reputedly purchased whole libraries to boost that of his own. When he died his collection of manuscripts was auctioned on 25 October 1686 by Thomas Philipps.<sup>70</sup> Lot 5 in the sale catalogue is 'Geffrey Chaucer the Ancient English Poet, his Works, most curiously written upon Vellum and the great Letters Guided, with flourishes in Gold and Colours. Folio' (S.C. 1039). Manly and Rickert state that 'there are several possibilities, but no certainty' to the identity of the manuscript described (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 625). Seymour postulates that La then passed from Arthur Annesley to Roger Belwood, although via what route he does not explain.

The manuscripts of Roger Belwood (d. 1695) were auctioned by John Bullord in 1695. Lot 110 was a folio manuscript described as 'Geffrey Chaucer's Works, the greatest part, fairly written on Vellom'. Manly and Rickert make no identification of the manuscript, but note that 'Belwood was a serjeant-at-law of the Middle Temple' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 626). A fact which is noted in the sale catalogue. As far as I am aware there is no evidence to link Roger Belwood with the ownership of La.

Seymour states that Lot 355 in Clarendon's sale is La bought by John Brydges, First Duke Chandos. Manly and Rickert believe La could be Lot 207 of this same sale, the two Lots being described as follows in the sale catalogue, dated 1709(?):

- 207. Chaucer's Works, MS
- 355. Chaucer on vellom, MS.

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<sup>70</sup>See, *N&Q* 1854, pp. 286, and 375; and *N&Q* 1861, pp. 442-3.

Since both descriptions are far from detailed it is pure supposition to claim that either are La without more substantial evidence than either Manly and Rickert or certainly Seymour have offered.

I can find no evidence to support Seymour's conjectures. The identification of Anthony Brydges as the son of Sir John Brydges, first Baron Chandos and Elizabeth Grey de Wilton neatly fits with the known existence of a closely related social circle and milieu of persons related either directly or by marriage and who were also associated with Chaucer. The main land holdings of this closely related community were located in the South-West Midlands, an area which corresponds with the linguistic provenance of La and Cp. In view of these factors I can see no better, or indeed other, option for the identity of Anthony Brydges. What Seymour's theory does illustrate is that singular reliance merely on the brief and vague descriptions of manuscripts given in sale catalogues is misguided.

### **Summary**

The early provenance of La prior to Anthony Brydges remains unknown, however, strong links between persons associated with Chaucer, the Grey de Wiltons, the Brydges, and the Burleys allow some discriminating speculation. The physical location in the South-West Midlands of the main land holdings of these families and the dialect features of the La and Cp scribes originating from the same area also provide evidence for speculation. However, as already stated the dialect origin of a scribe alone does not provide proof of the production location. Even though both manuscripts are written by scribes whose origins are in the South-West Midlands it is possible that the early owners, who almost certainly had originated from that area, deliberately sought out scribes who would copy in a dialect similar to their own. Although the evidence is strong for suggesting a centre of copying in the South-West Midlands of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, London cannot be discounted as a possible place of production. The existence of evidence which would link La and Cp to Westminster needs to be fully considered before any firm conclusions can be made and

is explored further in Chapter VII of this thesis. What can be stated with some assurance from this research is that there was a book-owning community of powerful and wealthy persons living in the South-West Midlands who were related by marriage and formed a strong social-circle. With further research into book-production this area of the country may even prove to be a centre for the production of manuscripts, and possibly some *Canterbury Tales* witnesses.

The names of possible owners identified by Manly and Rickert which form only tentative links between Anthony Brydges and the certain ownership of La by Philip Carteret Webb in 1771 might be strengthened if the later hands which have written in La could be identified. Later owners of La created a table of contents, transcribed an extract from John Bale's catalogue of British writers, added the names of the pilgrims next to their descriptions in the GP, provided marginal annotations in the MO, and made numerous corrections throughout the text.<sup>71</sup> The author(s) of these additions may never be known but it is clear that many years after the production of the manuscript whoever owned La was obviously extremely interested in the text. Letters of Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon, are among the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian Library, the 'earliest paper in his handwriting is dated Cologne 2 Aug 1655' (*DNB* vol. XXVIII, p. 389). Other members of the Hyde family were certainly interested in literary texts and examples of their handwriting along with other later possible owners may be traceable. If the hand could be identified as that of Henry Hyde or one of the other possible owners suggested by Manly and Rickert a more definite route of passage for La from Anthony Brydges to Philip Carteret Webb may be identifiable. Whoever made the later additions to La either owned or had access to another *Canterbury Tales* manuscript or printed edition as many of the corrections correspond with readings taken from Hg.

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<sup>71</sup>The additions made by later hands in La are detailed in Chapter II of this thesis, see Later Hands and Dry Point for further information.

The *GEC* provides detailed references to records of the wills of many of the people mentioned in this chapter or their family members. Given additional time, further investigations of these records may uncover useful references and bequests of books. Future research into the production of manuscripts and possible centres of copying could also help throw light on the issue of provenance not just in respect of La and Cp but manuscripts generally.

## Chapter IV

### A Comparison of Lansdowne and Corpus: Tale Order, and Major Omissions and Additions

#### Introduction

To test Manly and Rickert's hypothesis that La and Cp shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars, and Blake's postulate that La is a copy of Cp, the similarities and disparities between the two manuscripts need to be established. The evolution and nature of the *c* group ancestor is also considered in this chapter. For the purposes of this study, only what may be termed as major textual omissions and additions within the two witnesses are considered; minor variants are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

#### Tale Order

The eighty-three surviving manuscript witnesses of the *Canterbury Tales* offer a variety of tale orders which make it clear that, at the time of Chaucer's death in 1400, the *Canterbury Tales* was not a completed work and no definitive order for the tales had been established. Whilst the appearance of constant tale groups across all witnesses suggests that certain tales and adjoining links had been arranged by Chaucer the actual order of these groups does not appear to have been finalised. The various arrangements of tales in the extant manuscripts consequently represent the attempts of successive scribes/editors to create an order of tales which they considered to be the 'best' and superior to previous arrangements. Despite plans outlined in the GP that each pilgrim would tell two tales on the way to Canterbury and two on the return journey to Southwark the order of tales found in the extant manuscripts trace only the outward journey to Canterbury.

Hg, dated c. 1400-1410 and classified by Manly and Rickert as an *anomalous* manuscript, is generally considered the earliest extant witness, and is assumed to be the earliest known attempt to arrange the tales in any kind of order. It is for this reason that Hg has been chosen as the base-text for the *Canterbury Tales* Project and the analysis considered in this chapter. Any section of text which does not appear in Hg is consequently considered additional, and any text which appears in Hg but is omitted from any of the manuscripts studied is referred to as an omission.<sup>1</sup>

The extensive study of the extant manuscripts undertaken by Manly and Rickert led them to classify the witnesses into five categories according to their tale order and textual affiliations; *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *anomalous*. Manly and Rickert classify La, Cp, and Sl<sup>2</sup>, which is dated c. 1480-90, as *c* group manuscripts as all three exhibit the same tale order and share many textual affiliations.<sup>2</sup> Both La and Cp are traditionally thought to be from the period c. 1410-20. However, Cp is believed to have been produced slightly earlier than La and is considered to be a more careful copy. Manly and Rickert state that La is 'inaccurately copied and is obviously much edited' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 306), and despite giving both manuscripts the same range of dating they cautiously claim that La is 'very little later than Cp' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 307).<sup>3</sup> These conclusions led them to view Cp as 'the best representative of the *c* MSS' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 95) and therefore more important and significant in the transmission of the text of the *Canterbury Tales*. Manly and Rickert consequently downgrade the importance of La, because they believe that it can add little to the nature of the archetype, even though in their opinion, both manuscripts are descended

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<sup>1</sup>Where Hg lacks sections of text the earliest witness in which it occurs is used as the base-text. For example, Hg lacks the TG and CY; the next earliest extant witness Cp is therefore used as the base-text against which all variants are recorded. The PA is defective and the RT absent from both Hg and Cp so Ha<sup>4</sup> is adopted as the base-text.

<sup>2</sup>For further information and clarification of Manly and Rickert's classification of the manuscripts into constant groups see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 49-77.

<sup>3</sup>In the manuscript descriptions both La and Cp are dated c. 1410-20; while in Rickert's chapter on illumination both manuscripts are dated c. 1410-12. See, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 93, 304, and 568.

independently from a single exemplar or multiple exemplars.<sup>4</sup> The low profile of La amongst *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts is only justifiable if Blake's hypothesis that Cp was its copytext can be proved.

La and Cp contain all the standard tales associated with the Hg manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* and also include the TG after CO, and the CY after NU. La also contains five unique linking passages between tales which are discussed later in this chapter. The arrangement of tales and links in La and Cp, excluding those linking passages unique to La is as follows:

<u>Tales and Links</u>	<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Group</u>
GP-KN-L1-MI-L2-RE-L3-CO-TG	I +TG	A +TG
L7-ML-L8	II	B <sup>1</sup>
SQ	V	F <sup>1</sup>
WB-L10-FR-L11-SU	III	D
CL-L13	IV	E <sup>1</sup>
ME	IV	E <sup>2</sup>
FK	V	F <sup>2</sup>
NU-L33-CY	VIII	G
PH-L21-PD	VI	C
SH-L24-PR-L25-TT-L28-TM-L29-MO-L30-NP	VII	B <sup>2</sup>
L36-MA	IX	H
L37-PA	X	I
(RT only appears in La)		

La, Cp, and SI<sup>2</sup> are the only extant *Canterbury Tales* witnesses to be classified as *c* order manuscripts and to follow this particular arrangement of tales. Excepting the five linking passages unique to La, the arrangement of tales and links in both La and Cp is identical. As such, the evidence of tale order alone offers no information regarding the genesis of either manuscript.

The arrangement of tales and links in La is executed without hesitation suggesting that the La scribe was in possession of all the material included and the arrangement had been decided prior to the commencement of production. This certainty in his work

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<sup>4</sup>Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 95, 99, and 306-7; and vol. II, p. 62.

suggests that he was using an exemplar where the arrangement of the tales and links was already established. This could be because Cp acted as the copytext, or both manuscripts shared the same exemplar(s); the La scribe having the advantage that the Cp scribe/editor had organised the copytext in a manner where the La scribe was in no doubt of the order he was to follow. The Cp scribe was slightly more hesitant in his copying and left two gaps in his manuscript, the first being an eighteen line gap at the end of the SQ and the second, an eight line gap for the Adam Stanza in the MO.

### **Similarities and Disparities**

In endeavouring to ascertain whether the Blake or Manly and Rickert hypothesis is most likely, the similarities and differences between La and Cp need to be identified.<sup>5</sup> Besides the order of tales, close textual affiliation, and style of decoration, the two manuscripts are similar in the respect that they both include the TG after CO.<sup>6</sup> Both witnesses also position the Modern Instances near the middle of the MO, although in Cp corrector's marks indicate that the Modern Instances should be positioned at the end of the MO.<sup>7</sup> Sections of text are also missing from both manuscripts; the Host Stanza [L14],<sup>8</sup> a hundred lines from the end of the ME [from 1075 onwards], and a passage of thirty-four lines in

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<sup>5</sup>This chapter only considers the major affinities and disparities between La and Cp. For the purposes of this chapter any passage of text comprising of more than four consecutive lines is considered to be a major variant. Sections of text of four, or less, consecutive lines are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

<sup>6</sup>The TG is not included in Hg or El and is generally considered to be spurious, however, it is included in twenty-five later manuscripts. When it is included the TG is generally positioned after the incomplete CO and is normally included under the heading of the latter. For details of which manuscripts contain TG and its positioning after CO see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 170-2.

<sup>7</sup>The Modern Instances are four tragedies in the MO which deal with rulers from the fourteenth century; Peter of Spain, Peter of Cyprus, Barnabo Visconti of Milan, and Count Hugelino of Pisa. The Modern Instances occur at the end of the MO in many witnesses but in some they are positioned in the middle of the tale between the tragedies of Zenobia and Nero. In La and Cp this results in lines 681-768 being placed between lines 376 and 377. In Corpus an 'a' has been placed by the tale of Nero and a 'b' by the first of the Modern Instances, indicating that either the Corpus scribe/editor, or corrector did not approve of the repositioning of the Modern Instances. For details of which manuscripts position the Modern Instances in the middle of the MO see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 397-409.

<sup>8</sup>The Host stanza [L14] is also known as the Clerk's Endlink and follows the 'Lenuoy de Chaucer' [L13] at the end of the CL. The seven-line Host Stanza consists of the Host praising the tale told by the Clerk, but does not appear in all manuscripts. For details of which manuscripts contain the Host Stanza see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, p. 265.

the TM [170-203]. Other shorter passages omitted from both La and Cp are as follows: FK [483-488]; NU [326-337]; and NP [224-228]. These common features illustrate the close relationship of the two manuscripts but are not conclusive evidence as to the genesis of La and would have occurred whether one manuscript copied from the other or if they both shared the same exemplar(s). La lacks two sections of text which are included in Cp as follows: ME [1037-1044], and PD [81-99]. These omissions could be simple carelessness on the part of the La scribe and as such could have occurred irrespective of which hypothesis regarding the genesis of La is correct.

The differences in content between La and Cp are more useful in trying to establish the possible genesis of the two manuscripts. Material is contained in La which is no longer present in Cp due to a number of lost folios. In Cp Fragment X is not complete, as the end of the PA is missing from line 217 onwards, consequently the RT, which follows the PA is also missing and it is not clear whether it would originally have been included in Cp. Five visible stubs remain at the end of the Cp manuscript and indicate that more pages of the PA existed at one time.<sup>9</sup> The loss of a further six leaves in Cp accounts for the absence of the following sections of text:

- 1) The beginning of the GP [1-72]
- 2) A section of the WBP [146-217]
- 3) The end of the CLP [33-56]  
and beginning of the CLT [57-107]
- 4) The end of the envoy [L13, 13-36] which follows the CL  
and the beginning of the ME [1-48]<sup>10</sup>
- 5) The end of the FK [868-908]

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<sup>9</sup>La contains the RT and the complete text of the PA except for the seventh leaf of quire 30 which is missing. The quires of La are collated in eights and it would be unusual for a manuscript with such a regular pattern of quires to suddenly change its format. The missing leaf would have been situated between what are now fols.239<sup>v</sup> and 240<sup>r</sup>. The text that would have been contained on this missing leaf includes lines 397-437, although only the first few words of line 437 are missing.

<sup>10</sup>The Cp scribe generally wrote thirty-six or thirty-seven lines of verse per page. The missing conclusion to the envoy [L13] would have taken twenty-three lines [14-36] and the ME which follows is missing forty-eight lines [1-48]. In total this equates to seventy-one lines, indicating that although the envoy was probably complete, the seven-line Host Stanza and any link between the CL and the ME would probably have been omitted from Cp. La also lacks the Host Stanza and any link between the tales of the CL and ME.

and the beginning of the NU [1-36]<sup>11</sup>  
6) The end of L37 [62-74]  
and the beginning of the PA [1-30]  
(only the beginning of line 30 is missing).

Discounting this material from any further analysis, La contains two further sections of text not found in Cp; the Adam Stanza and the long version of the NPP [L30].<sup>12</sup>

Although both La and Cp have the same order of tales, one of the major disparities between the two manuscripts is the method of separating the tales. The La scribe follows a link-tale-link format adding links where necessary, while the Cp scribe uses chapters although not all of the chapter numbers have survived.<sup>13</sup> Despite using spurious links elsewhere the link-tale-link format used in La breaks down between the sequence CL-ME-FK-NU where no formal link between each tale and the following prologue appears. The Cp scribe is less diligent in his inclusion of links with the following lacking any formal link: CO-TG; SQ-WB; CL-ME-FK-NU; CY-PH; and PD-SH. An exceptional feature of La is the inclusion of five spurious links between tales; four lines between the CO and the TG [L6]; eight lines at the end of the SQ [L19]; four lines at the start of the WBP [L9];

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<sup>11</sup>In Cp the end of the FK and the beginning of the NU are omitted, an amount of seventy-seven lines due to a missing leaf. The final part of the FK in Cp finishes at the bottom of fol.170<sup>v</sup> and the NU begins at the top of fol.171<sup>r</sup>. Calculations of the number of lines per leaf show that forty-one lines are missing from the FK, thirty-six from the NU and that in all likelihood no link between the two tales was ever included. La also lacks any formal linking passage between FK and NU.

<sup>12</sup>The MO consists of a number of tragedies, one of which is that of Adam, an eight-line passage which is commonly referred to as the Adam Stanza [MO 16/2-16/9]. The Adam Stanza was not included in Hg when it was first produced and no gap was left, but the verse has been added by a later hand in the right margin with a dash indicating where it should be positioned. The stanza does appear in E1 and most of the later manuscripts. For details of which manuscripts contain the Adam Stanza see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 405-6. The NPP [L30] follows the MO and exists in both a long and a short form. The short version is thirty-four lines long, while the long version consists of an extra twenty lines positioned between lines 4 and 5, being numbered 4/1-4/20 in which first the Knight and then the Host criticise the Monk for his tale. The short form of the NPP [L30] exists in fourteen manuscripts although only ten of these have the Host as the interrupter of the MO. The remaining manuscripts which contain L30 all contain the long form of the passage. For further details of which version of L30 is included in which manuscripts see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 410-13.

<sup>13</sup>For full details of the surviving chapter numbers in Cp, see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 97; and McCormick and Heseltine 1933, pp. 86-93. Pw which is dated c. 1420-30 and classified as a *d* order manuscript is the only other early manuscript which has a system of numbering the tales. Details of the system followed in Pw can be found in Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 412-13.

sixteen lines between the CY and the PH [L35]; and six lines between the PD and the SH [L23]. These linking passages are unique to La with the exception of the SQ Endlink [L19] which has been used by Se, an *anomalous* order manuscript, dated c. 1450-70. Henceforth these links will be referred to as 'unique links'. It is these links which make La a landmark witness and unique among the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. A close textual analysis of the links, reasons for their inclusion in La and why they do not appear in other extant manuscripts are discussed fully in Chapter V of this thesis.

There is also considerable variance between La and Cp in dialect, spelling, and the inclusion and content of rubrics, running heads, and glosses. Headings and rubrication provide little evidence for the genesis of the two manuscripts as there is such variation among all the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses. La uses Latin for all rubrics with the exception of the beginning of the RE which opens with the rubrics 'þe revese tale begynneþ her' (fol.48<sup>v</sup>). The rubrication in Cp follows a less regular format than La and employs a mixture of English and Latin for incipits and explicits throughout the manuscript. The ordinatio of La is more structured than that of Cp and this may be due to the fact that the La scribe had a clearer understanding of the complete text he was trying to produce. Some of the major differences between La and Cp, for example the variation in dialect, spelling and presentation could have occurred no matter which of the two hypotheses for the genesis of La is correct.<sup>14</sup>

The most significant disparities between the two manuscripts can be summarised as material included in La, but not Cp; namely the Adam Stanza, the long version of the NPP [L30], and the unique La links.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>A comprehensive catalogue of the rubrics and tale divisions in La are recorded in Appendix II. For details of the rubrics found in Cp see, McCormick and Heseltine 1933, pp. 86-93. A catalogue of glosses in La and Cp can be located in Appendix VI. Dialect and spelling, and glosses are discussed in Chapter VI of this thesis.

<sup>15</sup>The main aim of this chapter is to try and ascertain the relationship of La to Cp, but it is worth noting some details regarding the content of the S1<sup>2</sup> manuscript, the only other member of the *c* group. S1<sup>2</sup> shares the same tale order as La and Cp but differs in the respect that the CYPT [L33 and CY] is omitted and the whole of Fragment X [PA and RT] is missing. The end of the ME, Host Stanza [L14], a section of text equivalent to one page in TM are omitted, and there are no links for the tales which comprise Fragments IV and V [CL, ME, SQ, FK]. S1<sup>2</sup> contains those sections of text which are included in La, and although

### Shared Exemplar(s)

The hypothesis proposed by Manly and Rickert regarding the genesis of La and its relationship with Cp is that both manuscripts shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars. This theory offers a convincing explanation for the omission of identical sections of text in both manuscripts. For example, the Host Stanza [L14], the end of the ME, and the lack of any links for the CL, ME, SQ, and FK, and the equivalent of almost one page of text from the TM.<sup>16</sup>

Although La and Cp are traditionally given the same date it is generally accepted that Cp is the earlier of the two and this consequently influences any exploration of the Manly and Rickert hypothesis. The assumption that the extra twenty lines of the NPP [L30] and the unique links were not included in Cp through either editorial choice or because these sections of text were not in the exemplar(s) is valid. The Cp scribe intended to include the Adam Stanza because he left a correctly sized gap and wrote the title of the verse in the left margin, 'De Ad<sup>a</sup>m' (fol.236<sup>v</sup>). There is evidence to indicate that Cp was checked by at least one editor and it is unlikely that the editor would ignore this gap if the text meant to fill it was known to him. Consequently, to suppose that this gap was not filled as a result of negligence is not a satisfactory explanation. This indicates that the Adam Stanza was not in the exemplar(s), but that the Cp scribe knew of its existence or was expecting to receive it, either from another source or because it was being specifically composed. The Adam Stanza was not originally included in Hg although it has been added by a different hand in the margin.<sup>17</sup> If the *c* archetype and Hg used the same copytext, a

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originally included in Cp, are now missing due to the loss of leaves, for example, the complete text of the Clerk's Envoy [L13]. As with the other *c* manuscripts the Modern Instances are positioned near the middle of the MO. Like Cp, S1<sup>2</sup> has left a gap in the MO for the Adam Stanza and written the title of the verse in the margin although the stanza has never been added. Like Cp, the S1<sup>2</sup> scribe has used the short form of the NPP [L30]. The evidence of material included or omitted by S1<sup>2</sup> suggests that it shares a closer relationship to Cp than La, sharing the same exemplar (possibly the *c* archetype) or more probably, in view of its later production date, a now unknown manuscript based on either Cp or the *c* archetype. If La had been used as the copytext for S1<sup>2</sup> the unique links, Adam Stanza, and long form of the NPP [L30] would presumably have been included.

<sup>16</sup>The lack of any links for the CL, ME, SQ, and FK obviously ignores the inclusion of the unique SQ Endlink [L19] in La.

<sup>17</sup>See n.12 above for further details.

proposal explored later in this chapter, it would seem unlikely that both the Hg scribe and the scribe of the *c* archetype would fail to copy the Adam Stanza.<sup>18</sup> The verse could have been composed specifically for Cp and although not finished in time for inclusion, passed to La with the copytext.

Having examined why sections of text are omitted from Cp, reasons for their inclusion in La must now be considered. It is possible that the extra twenty lines of the NPP [L30], the Adam Stanza, and the unique links were added to the exemplar(s) after Cp had been completed, either in the margins or on loose sheets with directions for their inclusion which the La scribe then followed. Alternatively these sections of text may never have been part of the exemplar(s) but included by the La scribe because he had access to additional material as Blake proposes.

### **La copied from Cp**

In his book, *The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales*, Blake hypothesised that 'Lansdowne was copied from Corpus with extra material available to the scribe rather than from Corpus's own exemplar' (Blake 1985[a], p. 73).<sup>19</sup> That additional material was available to the La scribe is evident, but his inclusion of the Adam Stanza and the long version of the NPP [L30] is not exceptional as they are common in other manuscripts. The inclusion of the unique links and their possible origins are discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

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<sup>18</sup>Seymour states that the fall of Adam 'could not have been credibly omitted from any medieval account of fallen men' (Seymour 1987, p. 218). Following this argument Seymour claims that the Adam Stanza is misplaced between the two Belshazar stanzas and that it should in fact have appeared at the beginning after Lucifer. Seymour believes that a scribe prior to Hg misplaced the Adam Stanza and states that 'the most likely explanation of the absence of the Adam stanza from MS Hengwrt is that the scribe, seeing its inappropriateness at that point, suppressed it' (Seymour 1987, p. 218). The Hg scribe realising this mistake, but only after copying had begun, chose to omit the passage altogether rather than misplace it or add it in the margin at the correct place. For further details see, Seymour 1987, p. 218. If it is accepted that the *c* archetype shared the same copytext as Hg, Seymour's argument is only convincing if it is also accepted that the scribe of the *c* archetype suppressed the Adam Stanza for the same reasons as the Hg scribe, which seems unlikely.

<sup>19</sup>See also, Blake 1985[a], pp. 96, 119, 121, 122, 168, and 196; and Blake 1984[a], p. 8.

The analysis of tale order, and major omissions and additions, does not proffer conclusive evidence to prove the priority of either the Blake or the Manly and Rickert hypotheses. However, this is not to suggest that this evidence may be dismissed, it is of relevance and is the means by which the genesis of the *c* archetype can be explored.

### **The Development of the *c* Order**

Manly and Rickert argue that several manuscripts, had been produced from a copy of Chaucer's draft papers and that these manuscripts form the head of each of their classified constant manuscript groups. They see Cp, which they view as the head of the *c* group, as deriving from an archetype no longer in existence.<sup>20</sup> They state that the archetype 'represents the earliest attempt to arrange the tales', and that the scribe of the *c* archetype 'did not know the order [. . .] and he obviously got his tales from various sources, different in the main from those of *g*' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, p. 42).

Other scholars, for example Dempster and Blake, have suggested that the order of *c* is derived from that of Hg.<sup>21</sup> That the *c* order is a development of that followed in Hg and represents a later stage in the textual development of the poem is clear. It is probable that the *c* archetype used the same exemplars from which Hg was copied, the editor of the *c* archetype making alterations to the order and textual content.

Since neither Chaucer's draft papers nor the *c* archetype are extant, the only way to try and establish what the *c* archetype might have contained and in what order the tales and links were arranged is by comparing Hg as the representative of what Chaucer's draft

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<sup>20</sup>Manly and Rickert propose that Chaucer's draft papers had been copied to produce a *bcd* ancestor. From this ancestor a *cd* exemplar was produced. A *Cp* archetype and a *d* archetype were then copied from *cd*. Cp, La and the *S*<sup>2</sup> ancestor were then all copied from the *Cp* archetype. Manly and Rickert see the *d* arrangement and text as a derivation of *c*. For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 95-6, and vol. II.

<sup>21</sup>Both Dempster and Blake postulate that Cp is based on Hg or at least the same exemplars used by Hg. For further information see, Dempster 1948[b], and 1949; Blake 1979, especially pp. 2-3; 1981[b], especially p. 113; 1985[a], especially pp. 96-109; and 1985[b], especially pp. 31-2.

might have contained, and Cp as the representative of the *c* group.<sup>22</sup> First it is necessary to briefly consider how the arrangement of Hg arose.

As discussed in Chapter I, the evolutionary process of the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses and the state of Chaucer's draft papers have been a rich source of scholarly interest and debate. Scholars are divided over whether the only copy of the poem in existence at the time of Chaucer's death was the author's own draft papers, and the possibility of prior circulation and its effects on the arrangements of tales found in the extant witnesses. It is worth stating several current opinions at this stage. Owen hypothesises that the diversity in arrangement of tales exhibited in the extant witnesses arose from scribes/editors gathering together individual tales and fragments of tales some of which had been in circulation during Chaucer's lifetime. However, he argues that no arrangement is authorial and that Chaucer's text was incomplete and largely unordered.<sup>23</sup> Blake argues against any form of prior circulation and claims that Hg represents the state of the poem at the time of Chaucer's death. Blake maintains that any supplementary material not included in Hg results from scribal additions rather than authorial compositions or revisions. The variety of arrangements in the extant manuscripts clearly indicate that the poem was incomplete, but the occurrence of constant tale groups or fragments in witnesses across all four of Manly and Rickert's classified manuscript groups indicate that Chaucer had composed adjoining links for certain tales. Other tales were not accompanied by links and as such their positioning was not certain, resulting in a variety of arrangements.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>At this point in my thesis the priority of La and Cp has not been fully established and as such Cp has to be used as the representative of the *c* group for the purposes of the study undertaken in this chapter. However, it should be noted that using Cp as the representative of the *c* group is undertaken only with reservations.

<sup>23</sup>Owen's views on tale order have been discussed in Chapter I of this thesis. For further discussion see, Owen 1988, and 1991.

<sup>24</sup>Scholars have regularly debated theories regarding the status/existence of links between tales at the time of Chaucer's death. It is not necessary in this chapter to become distracted by such discussions as only one link, the NPP [L30], shows variation between La and Cp; this obviously ignores the unique La links which are fully discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. Manly and Rickert believe that the links for those tales in Fragments IV and V [CL, ME, SQ, FK] are authorial but were not available to all scribes/editors, explaining their absence from some manuscripts, for example the *c* group. For further details see, Manly

Hg is generally accepted as representing the first attempt to arrange the tales. If the Hg scribe/editor received fragments of the *Canterbury Tales* piecemeal or received all the fragments together in a disordered state he would have been faced with the task of deciding on an arrangement which he considered to be the most satisfactory. The fragments of tales which the Hg scribe received and used as his copytext may even have been Chaucer's own draft papers. An alternative proposal is that when Chaucer died several fragments of the *Canterbury Tales*, or simply individual stories, were already in circulation. The Hg scribe may have collected together the copies of these stories in circulation which he then had to try and arrange. However, if multiple copies of individual tales, or fragments of tales, had been in circulation the constant fragments or sections found in the majority of extant manuscripts would perhaps not occur with such regularity as the extant witnesses indicate. It therefore seems more likely that only certain fragments of the poem were in circulation, if in fact any were, for example Fragment I. Other individual tales may only have been heard verbally or personal friends of the author may have received their own copies, for example, a reference to the WB is made in the *Envoy de Bukton*. It would certainly appear that when Chaucer died certain tales were linked together to form fragments, perhaps through quire boundaries in the draft papers or

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and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 266, 284, 298, 477-8, 482, and 489. The omission of the ML Endlink [L8], the Host Stanza [L14], and the NP Endlink [L31] are explained by Manly and Rickert as having been cancelled by Chaucer in revision. For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 189-90, 265, 422-3, 480, and 491-2. These points are all summarised by Dempster 1946. Tatlock argues that such links are Chaucerian, but were either intended to be deleted by Chaucer, omitted by scribes, or in some cases, for example the ML Endlink [L8] were not clearly attached to any specific tales at the time of Chaucer's death. He argues that the change from 'Summoner' to 'Squire' in L8, as it occurs in the *c* group, results from scribal misreadings, and interpretations. For further details see, Tatlock 1935, pp. 112-8. Blake believes that Chaucer's original draft papers passed to a team of literary executors after the author's death. This resulted in the compilation of the Hg manuscript. He argues that the arrangement of tales in Hg resulted in gaps between tales where no links had been provided by Chaucer. Spurious lines and passages were consequently produced during the fifteenth century to achieve a sense of cohesion between these link-less tales. Consequently Blake is of the opinion that any material found in Hg can be considered to be authorial and as a result he rejects some sections of texts, for example the ML Endlink [L8] as spurious. Blake argues that any links not included in Hg are scribal additions, explaining the lack of any ME-FK link [L17] in Hg as resulting from the fact that there was no Chaucerian link at this point and where it occurs in other manuscripts results from scribal composition. He concludes that L20 as found in Hg, as the SQ-ME link, is authorial and where it acts as the linking passage between SQ-FK in later manuscripts is a scribal emendation. This also leads Blake to argue that the allocation of tales to narrators was only secured in some cases after Chaucer's death. For further information see, for example, Blake 1979, especially p. 10-11. The inclusion in La of the long version of L30 (NPP) is discussed later in this chapter.

because the author had already decided on the order of some of the tales, for example those which form Fragment I. Other tales may not have been allotted a definite position within the overall pilgrimage framework by the author. Whichever scenario, prior circulation or otherwise, is favoured it is clear that the Hg scribe/editor was uncertain of the tale order and what tales and links he might obtain.

Variation in the coloration of ink occurs in several places in Hg which indicate that different structural sections, tales, and even parts of tales were not copied in the sequence in which they were eventually arranged.<sup>25</sup> The tale order followed in Hg and the manner in which the tales have been copied creates different structural sections that appear in the following order in their present binding:

<u>Structural Section</u>	<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Tale Order</u>	<u>Group</u>
I	I	GP-KN-L1-MI-L2-RE-L3-CO	A
II	III	WB-L10-FR-L11-SU	D
III	VII	L29-MO-L30-NP	B <sup>2b</sup>
	IX	L36-MA	H
IV	II	L7-ML	B <sup>1</sup>
	V	SQ - L20	F <sup>1</sup>
	IV	ME - L17	E <sup>2</sup>
	V	FK	F <sup>2</sup>
	VIII	NU	G
	IV	CL-L13-L14	E <sup>1</sup>
	VI	PH-L21-PD	C
	VII	SH-L24-PR-L25-TT-L28-TM	B <sup>2a</sup>
V	X	L37-PA	I

A reference to the TM in the first line of L29 (MkP) and a reference to the Manciple in the PA are taken as evidence that structural section III has been misplaced and should in

<sup>25</sup>For further information on the structural sections which make up Hg see, Doyle and Parkes 1979, especially pp. xxii-xxxiii; and Blake 1979, and 1985[a], pp. 59-65. The changes in ink which are evident in Hg are discussed by Dempster 1948[a]; Doyle and Parkes 1979, especially pp. xxii-xxxiii; and Blake 1979, pp. 4-6. See also, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 266-83, and vol. II, pp. 477-9 for their description of the Hg manuscript.

fact appear between sections IV and V.<sup>26</sup> It therefore follows that the arrangement of structural sections the Hg scribe probably intended is I, II, IV, III, V. However, quire signatures, although indistinct, suggest that section IV was originally intended to follow section I which would give structural order I, IV, II, III, V.

Within the different fragments of tales the Hg scribe would have found evidence that the intended format was tale-link-tale, for example in Fragment I. The GP in Fragment I clearly indicates that this fragment was intended to be placed first. Likewise a reference by the Host in L37 (PsP) to there being only one more tale to tell indicates that this was to be positioned last. The remaining tales would have to be arranged between these two fragments.<sup>27</sup>

The arrangement of tales followed in the *c* group has clearly developed the order found in Hg and taken it a stage further. An examination of the *c* archetype and Hg is therefore necessary to establish how the two differ. As already stated, since no *c* archetype is in existence the nearest alternative is a comparison of Cp and Hg to see how the tale order and textual content have developed.

The *c* group follows a different order of tales to that of Hg; essentially repositioning the tales of the ML, SQ, CL, MO, NP, and MA (Fragments II, V, IV and parts of VII, and IX) and including the CY after NU (Fragment VIII) and the TG after CO (I). The lack of hesitation in Cp, and the occurrence of the same changes in the other members of the *c* group is indicative that the editor of the *c* archetype was responsible for such alterations. Several of the changes made to the *c* order actually place the tales where the Hg scribe originally intended. For example, the ML (II) and SQ (V), MO and NP (VII), and MA (IX). The rearrangement of tales by the *c* editor also required a change in some of the links used and are discussed as follows.

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<sup>26</sup>For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 270; Doyle and Parkes 1979, p. xxiii; and Blake 1985[a], p. 61. When Hg was rebound in 1956 it was decided to leave the arrangement as it had been in the old binding which is as detailed above.

<sup>27</sup>For further details of the conception of the arrangement found in Hg see, Blake 1979, and 1985[a], pp. 59-65; and Doyle and Parkes 1979, pp. xxii-xxxiii.

There are no signs of hesitation in the *c* ordering; in Cp the MLP [L7] commences after the conclusion to TG on the same leaf. In Hg the ML and SQ are positioned later in the order but quire signatures in Hg, although indistinct, suggest that structural section IV was originally intended to follow structural section I. This would have resulted in the structural order I, IV, II, III, V. If this is correct then the *c* order places the ML and SQ where the Hg scribe/editor perhaps originally intended. The ML Endlink [L8] is not included in Hg but does appear in the *c* manuscripts after the ML. However, the *c* arrangement necessitates the change of 'Summoner' to 'Squire' at line 17 of L8 (ML Endlink), a change that was probably made by the editor of the *c* archetype.<sup>28</sup>

The incomplete SQ is divided into three parts in many manuscripts, with the third part only containing two lines. Cp has moved the two lines, normally found in Part III [663-4] of the SQ and included them at the end of Part II. Unlike the CO, the SQ is already fairly long and the Cp scribe/editor may not have felt the need to include a further tale. After completion of the SQ the remainder of the page is left blank, an amount equivalent to eighteen lines. The hesitation at this point suggests that the Cp scribe was expecting to receive either a conclusion to the tale or a linking passage with the WB which is positioned next. The WBP commences on the following leaf (fol.100<sup>r</sup>), which means if a conclusion to the SQ had materialised the Cp scribe could have added further leaves if he desired. There is no linking passage between SQ and WBP in Cp, the two tales being separated by rubrics and the eighteen line gap. La replaces the final two lines of the SQ,

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<sup>28</sup>Thirty-five manuscripts contain L8 and twenty-two omit it. The name of the pilgrim at line 17 appears as 'Squire' in twenty-eight witnesses, 'Summoner' in six, and 'Shipman' in one (Se). Manly and Rickert claim that the reading 'Summoner' remains from an early version of the text and that this was emended in revision as the allocation of tales to narrators and the consequent positioning of linking passages changed. Tatlock argues that since the interruption of the Parson in L8 is an action inappropriate to the gentle and polite Squire those manuscripts which contain this later reading result from scribal misreadings and interpretations. He claims that the present SH was originally written for the Wife of Bath and that when Chaucer reassigned the tale to the Shipman he partially erased the name from L8 but failed to completely change it. As a result scribes/editors found a link where 'S' was visible but unsure of the correct reading emended the text to suit their own needs. The result being that in some witnesses the link reads 'Summoner', others 'Squire', and in Se alone 'Shipman'. Tatlock also states that the Shipman is the most appropriate attribution as the link was originally composed with this pilgrim in mind and the actions suit his more rough and ready personality. For further discussion and details of which version of the link survive in which witnesses see, Tatlock 1935, pp. 115-8; Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 188-90; and Benson 1987, pp. 862-3.

which normally form Part III, with the unique SQ Endlink [L19]. This is followed by the unique Wife of Bath's Headlink [L9]; the two links being separated by rubrics.

In Hg the two lines which form the third part of the incomplete SQ appear at the top of fol.137<sup>v</sup>. The SQ-ME link [L20] which acts as a prologue to the ME appears next. The ME commences at the top of fol.138<sup>r</sup> and the ink used for L20 on the previous folio is of a different colour to that used for the SQ and the ME. This suggests that L20 was added at a later date, to fill the remainder of fol.137<sup>v</sup> which must have been left blank when the SQ and ME were copied. In *c* the WB follows the SQ and L20 which links the SQ to the ME in Hg was consequently unsuitable for use in the *c* archetype and is therefore omitted from Cp and the other members of the *c* group.

Structural section II of Hg consists of four quires the last leaf of the final quire is blank. Although the ink used throughout this structural section is of a similar shade, it is lighter than that used for the rest of the text indicating that it was copied at a different time to the bulk of the manuscript. It has been suggested that the Hg scribe moved structural section II which is comprised of the WB and consequently the rest of Fragment III [FR and SU] to appear after the CO late on in the copying of the manuscript. A move perhaps pre-empted by references made to the WB in both the ME and the end of the CL meaning that the WB had to be positioned prior to these tales.<sup>29</sup> Blake claims that the Hg scribe placed Fragment III between the CO and the MLP [L7] because there was no other place to put it, rather than because it was the order considered most acceptable.<sup>30</sup>

The *c* order places Fragment III after the ML (II) and SQ (V), but if the quire signatures identifiable on Hg are accepted, the *c* positioning of the ML simply achieves what the scribe of Hg had perhaps originally intended before he moved structural section II to a position earlier in the manuscript.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>For further details see, Blake 1985[a], pp. 83 and 98.

<sup>30</sup>For further discussion see, Blake 1985[a], p. 98.

<sup>31</sup>Following the quire signatures on Hg the structural sections would have been arranged in the following order: I, IV, II, III, V.

The CL (IV) follows the SU (III) in *c*, but in Hg appears between the NU (VIII) and the PH (VI). The *c* order probably moved the CL to a position after Fragment III because of a reference to the WB at the end of the CL which meant that the latter tale had to appear after the WB. In *c* the CL is followed by the ME (IV) and this may be the first appearance of this arrangement. Hg does not include a CL-ME link due to the different order which means the PH follows CL. This change in order may indicate that either no Chaucerian link existed for this combination, or it was unavailable to the *c* editor, thereby explaining the lack of any CL-ME link in the *c* arrangement. The Host Stanza [L14], which in Hg appears at the end of the CL after the 'Lenvoy de Chaucer' [L13], is omitted from the *c* group manuscripts. It may have been missed in error during the production of the *c* archetype due to the change in the position of the CL in the *c* group.

In Cp the MO, NP (VII), and MA (IX) have been positioned between the TM (VII) and the PA (X). If structural section III in Hg was misplaced as suggested by both the textual content of the tales and the quire signatures in Hg, then the Cp scribe/editor merely placed it in the originally intended order.<sup>32</sup> Reference to the MO in the TM and to the MA in L37 (PsP) indicate that the Cp arrangement of these tales is what Chaucer had probably intended. The re-arrangement of this group of tales means that the ML follows TG in Cp with the ML Endlink [L8] acting as the SqP which follows. In Hg the PH and PD (VI) appear after the CL (IV) followed by Fragment VII except for the MO and NP which appear earlier in the order after the SU (III). As already mentioned Cp has moved the MO, NP and MA to what was probably the intended order of the Hg scribe before structural section III, containing these tales was misplaced.

The ease of rearrangement of tales from their position in Hg to that followed by the *c* group may indicate that certain tales in the copytext for the *c* archetype existed as physically separate and individual pieces.

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<sup>32</sup>See, n.25 above for further details regarding details of structural section III in Hg.

Two other major differences between Hg and the *c* group are the inclusion by the latter of the TG (I) and CY (VIII).<sup>33</sup> Cp is probably the first extant manuscript to include the TG. There is no sign of hesitation in copying, indicating that the order and inclusion of TG had been decided prior to the commencement of production. The TG is considered to be spurious and may have been included in Cp to expand the chapter containing the CO. However, numerous alternative scenarios can be envisaged for the transmission of TG which are all plausible in their own right.<sup>34</sup> The TG occurs in many later manuscripts, twenty-five including La and Cp, and is normally included under the heading of the *Cook's Tale*. La includes the first of its unique links [L6] to join the CO and the TG.

The CY is not included in Hg, and Cp may be the first extant manuscript in which it appears. The *c* order places L33 (CYP) and the CY immediately after the NU on the same leaf in Cp, indicating that the Cp scribe had no hesitation in the positioning of the tale. This suggests that he was in possession of the text prior to beginning production of the manuscript.

The last hundred lines of the ME [1075 ff.] are missing from all *c* manuscripts as is any ME-FK link. The break-off point of the ME in Cp coincides with a change in ink at the same point in the Hg manuscript, which could indicate that the Hg scribe had come to a natural break in his copytext, perhaps at the end of a leaf or quire, returning to his work later.<sup>35</sup> It would therefore follow that the section of text missing from Cp could have been lost at this point from the Hg exemplar. The missing section of text at this point in the Cp manuscript suggests that the *c* archetype had been produced from an exemplar which had

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<sup>33</sup>Although both Cp and La include the CY it is omitted from the third member of the *c* group, S1<sup>2</sup>. However, the NU concludes at the nineteenth line of a verso in S1<sup>2</sup> and although the PH commences on the following recto it would have been possible to insert extra leaves if necessary. This perhaps indicates that the S1<sup>2</sup> scribe intended to include CYPT, leaving himself the option to be able to return to the tale at a later date.

<sup>34</sup>An alternative explanation is that TG was originally composed for Hg, but not finished in time for inclusion. TG could then have passed directly to Cp, been attached to the Hg exemplar, or to an unknown manuscript which had used either Hg or shared the same exemplar, and then to Cp. It is also possible that TG was never intended for inclusion in Hg but was specifically composed for an unknown manuscript which was then used by Cp as an exemplar.

<sup>35</sup>For theories that the Hg scribe had reached a natural break in his exemplar see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 282-1; and Dempster 1948[a].

lost this leaf. This unknown exemplar may have been the same draft papers used by Hg, the change of ink in Hg indicating the position in his copytext of the hundred lines missing from the *c* group.

The TM is defective in all *c* manuscripts, a passage of thirty-four lines being omitted. This relatively large section of text is the equivalent to almost a folio and suggests that the exemplar used by the *c* archetype had perhaps lost a leaf at this stage, or that the *c* scribe had accidentally omitted to copy a page of his copytext.

The positioning of the Modern Instances is a further difference between Hg and Cp. The Modern Instances are comprised of four tragedies dealing with events in Chaucer's own time and in the *c* group are contained near the middle of the MO between Zenobia and Nero.<sup>36</sup> In Hg they appear at the end of the MO and Cp is probably the earliest extant manuscript to contain the Modern Instances in the middle of the tale. Many scholars believe that a correlation can be established between the positioning of the Modern Instances and the content of L30 (NPP). As such, it is necessary to examine the nature of L30 at this juncture.

The MO is followed by L30 (NPP) which exists in two forms, the long version of the link commences with the Knight interrupting the MO while the short version has either the Knight or the Host as the interrupter.<sup>37</sup> The shorter account is comprised of thirty-four lines, while the long version contains an extra twenty lines added after line 4, in which the Knight criticises the Monk for his tale, a sentiment echoed by the Host who states that the tale has 'anoyeþ al þis Compaignye' [4/19]. As mentioned earlier, scholars have debated the authority of L30, most concluding that both the long and short forms are authorial. It is generally accepted that the short form of L30 is probably the earlier of the

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<sup>36</sup>The positioning of the Modern Instances near the middle of the MO occurs in all the *c* group manuscripts and is also common in the *d* group. For full details of which manuscripts follow which positioning of the Modern Instances see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 397-409.

<sup>37</sup>The long form of the NPP [L30] commences with the Knight criticising the Monk's narrative and is the form used in the majority of witnesses which contain the link, including La. The short form exists in only fourteen manuscripts, of which ten have the Host as the interrupter. Both Hg and Cp contain the short form of the NPP [L30] but have the Knight as the interrupter of the MO. See, n.12 above for further details.

two compositions and that the extra twenty lines were added as a later revision by Chaucer.<sup>38</sup> The long version of L30 appears in forty-seven manuscripts including La and El, while the short version exists in fourteen witnesses including Cp and Hg.

The positioning of the Modern Instances in the MO has been a source for scholarly debate with opinions divided over which arrangement is authorial and which scribal. Manly and Rickert claim that the positioning of the Modern Instances near the middle of the MO preserves an early authorial arrangement of the tragedies and state that the arrangement found in Hg and El is scribal, referring to it as a 'blunder' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, p. 408). However, Eadie argues that the positioning of the Modern Instances near the middle of the MO and the Cresus story at the end result from scribal/editorial tampering as do the additions to the NPP [L30] to create the long form of the passage. Eadie therefore proposes that the authorial version places the Modern Instances at the end of the MO which was then accompanied by the short form of the NPP [L30]; the arrangement found in Hg. Eadie postulates that when the position of the Modern Instances was rearranged so that the Cresus story no longer concluded the tale the scribe/editor also revised L30 adding the extra twenty lines. The positioning of the Cresus story in the MO is important in any consideration of the NPP [L30] and which arrangement of the stories in the MO may be authorial as the Cresus story is alluded to at line 4/12 of the NPP and directly mentioned at line 319 of the NP.<sup>39</sup>

Blake also argues that the positioning of the Modern Instances near the middle of the MO is scribal, and that the arrangement of the stories followed in Hg represents the authorial version. In Hg the Modern Instances appear at the end of the MO and as such the stories then follow a chronological order. Consequently, Blake suggests that the words of the Knight are simply an expression of relief rather than an interruption, the narration having in fact drawn to its natural conclusion.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>For example see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 410-13.

<sup>39</sup>For further details see, Eadie 1990, pp. 328-34.

<sup>40</sup>For further information see, Blake 1982[a], p. 44-6; and Blake 1984[b], pp. 74-7.

Blake argues that whilst the TT is intended to appear unfinished, as clearly indicated by the fact that Chaucer halts the narrative in mid-sentence, the MO only appears incomplete if the words of the Knight are interpreted as an interruption. There is nothing in the textual content of the MO to indicate that it is incomplete and Blake argues that the suggestion that the MO is unfinished can only be inferred by the words of the Knight. In the MO all the stanzas are complete unlike the TT which, apart from the incomplete SQ, is the only other tale which is actually interrupted.<sup>41</sup> Blake points out that whilst the rubrics which accompany the TT in Hg state 'Here the host styntheth Chaucer of his tale of Thopas and biddeth hym telle another tale' the rubrics at the end of the MO simply state 'Here is ended the Monkes tale'. This indicates that the Hg scribe thought the MO was concluded rather than interrupted by the Knight. Blake states that the move of the Modern Instances, as found in the *c* group, may have been pre-empted by the Knight's comment, 'O quod the knyght good sire namoore of this' [L30, 1], which concludes the MO abruptly making it seem incomplete. The moving of the Modern Instances, to earlier in the order so they appear after Zenobia, results in a distortion of the chronological order and makes the tale appear less complete than the version found in Hg. The extra twenty lines of the NPP [L30] allow the Host to criticise the Monk for his Tale which also adds to a sense of incompleteness by emphasising the abrupt ending of the tale.<sup>42</sup>

As the Modern Instances are positioned near the middle of the MO in all the *c* manuscripts it seems likely that this arrangement was in the *c* archetype. This change may have been a deliberate act by the *c* scribe/editor or else accidental, in which case the copytext must have been on loose leaves.<sup>43</sup> There are no signs of hesitation by the Cp scribe in this new positioning of the Modern Instances which suggest that Cp used a

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<sup>41</sup>The scholarly debate regarding whether or not the SQ is actually interrupted, or just not completed, is discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.

<sup>42</sup>For further information regarding Blake's discussion on the positioning of the Modern Instances and the relationship between the MO and L30 (NPP) see, Blake 1982[a], especially pp. 43-6; 1984[a], especially pp. 12-19; and 1984[b].

<sup>43</sup>A point made by Blake. For example see, Blake 1985[a], p. 100.

copytext where this arrangement had already occurred. However, in Cp an 'a' has been placed in the margin by the tale of Nero and a 'b' by the first of the Modern Instances, which perhaps indicates that the editor was not happy with the arrangement and believed the two should have been copied the other way round.

The comparison of Hg and Cp undertaken in this chapter enables the identification of certain aspects of the Cp arrangement and major textual differences which probably result from the work of the *c* editor. A study of the manuscript tale orders can offer certain clues to the evolution of the extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. Based on the acceptance of Hg as the earliest extant witness, perhaps produced from Chaucer's notes, evidence can suggest a line of descent and development. The change in ink colour, blank sections, and quire boundaries indicate that Hg was not copied in the sequence of its final arrangement. This is almost certainly the earliest extant attempt at arranging all the tales in any kind of order, although evidence suggests that specific tales were probably already arranged in constant fragments, for example, Fragment I.

A comparison of Hg and Cp suggests that the arrangement followed in Cp is a development of the Hg tale order, the *c* archetype having advanced the arrangement a stage further and accomplished what the Hg scribe/editor had endeavoured to achieve. The lack of hesitation in Cp indicates that a definitive arrangement of the tales had been decided prior to the commencement of copying although the scribe was evidently expecting some form of conclusion or linking passage at the end of SQ. The omission of the Host Stanza [L14], end of the ME; and the addition of TG and the CY indicate that the *c* archetype did not use Hg as its copytext, but was probably derived from the same draft papers as Hg after some sections had become defective.

### **The Relationship Between the *c* and *d* Groups**

It would not be appropriate to conclude this chapter without reference to the relationship of the *c* and *d* group manuscripts. The *c* group of manuscripts consists of only La, Cp,

and Sl<sup>2</sup> and as such is the smallest grouping. However, the *c* manuscripts are fundamentally important, as they are considered to be the ancestral group of the *d* manuscripts, which form the largest group.<sup>44</sup> As the earliest manuscripts of the combined groups La and Cp are paramount witnesses. The exemplars used by the *c* group formed the basis of approximately two-thirds of the text and influenced the tale order of the manuscripts that comprise group *d*.<sup>45</sup> That the *c* and *d* groups are largely inseparable was noted on numerous occasions by Manly and Rickert, and has prompted later scholars to question the existence of the *d* manuscripts as a separate group.<sup>46</sup> The witnesses which comprise the *c* and *d* groups may be considered by scholars to be of little significance in trying to establish the original text of the *Canterbury Tales*; however, they are valuable as representatives of a later textual tradition. The number of extant manuscripts classified as

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<sup>44</sup>Manly and Rickert state that group *d* is not a constant group as the thirteen manuscripts which comprise it 'are so much affected by editorial processes and so subject to individual error that the group is rarely found without one or more members absent; and they are rarely without other MSS temporarily attached.' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, p. 50). The *d* group is in fact comprised of four subgroups or families of manuscripts which are among themselves related by textual affiliation and tale order, yet each family shows variation and in places departs from the *d* text. Manly and Rickert classify the following manuscript families as members of the *d* group; En<sup>2</sup>; Lc; Pw; Ry<sup>2</sup>; and the single manuscripts Dl, Ha<sup>2</sup>, and Sl<sup>1</sup>. For details of the manuscripts which constitute the four *d* subgroups see, Manly and Rickert's Constant Manuscripts Groups at the front of the thesis. For the classification of group *d* manuscripts and those temporarily attached, see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 63-70.

<sup>45</sup>The sections of text in the *d* manuscripts which are influenced by the *c* exemplar(s) are as follows: GP; KN to c. 882; MI from c. 294; L2 and RE; Man of Law's Prologue, Tale and Endlink [ML and L8]; WBPT; L10 and FR; L11 and SU to c. 32; ME from c. 396-1074; SQ, FK to c. 829; PH; SH from c. 181; Prioress's Prologue and Tale [PR]; L25 and TT; L28 and TM; L30 and NP; L33 and CY; MA; L37 and PA. The only difference between the tale order of the *c* group and the majority of *d* manuscripts is the shift of one tale, with the ME being moved from its position after the CL and placed instead between the SQ and the WBP. For further details of the relationship between the *c* and *d* manuscripts see, Dempster 1948[b], especially p. 457.

<sup>46</sup>The close relationship between the *c* and *d* groups, and to a certain extent group *b*, was first noted by Manly and Rickert. For evidence developed by Manly and Rickert that the order of tales in the *d* group was derived from that of the *c* manuscripts, see Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 475-94 (especially pp. 482-5). Dempster subsequently published a thorough analysis of the *d* classified manuscripts and their relationship with the *c* group. Dempster argues that the *d* text was produced by amalgamating the *c* text with that of Hg. Dempster suggests that groups *b*, *c* and *d* descend from the original copytext and as such do not warrant being separated into different classifications. For further details see, Dempster 1948[b], and 1949. Blake argues that all tale orders are derived from Hg and its exemplar which itself were Chaucer's own draft papers. For example see, Blake 1979, especially pp. 2-3; 1981[b], especially p. 113; 1984[a]; 1985[a], especially pp. 96-109; 1985[b], especially pp. 31-2; and 1997[c]. Owen sees the *c* archetype as derived from the same pile of papers used by the earlier manuscript scribes/editors. Owen see Cp and La sharing the same exemplar(s) which then remained together for the copying of Sl<sup>2</sup> and much of group *d*. He states that 'more than half the *c* exemplars then became the basis for the *d* family with an arrangement for the whole collection derived from *c* with the shift of a single tale' (Owen 1991, p. 121). See also, Owen 1988, especially pp. 5, and 95-116; and Owen 1991, pp. 33-44.

members of the *d* group bear testimony to the success, for whatever reasons, of this tradition and a great deal about the textual transmission of the text of the *Canterbury Tales* can be learned from these manuscripts. Whilst this is not a direct concern of this thesis and will not be discussed further it is clearly an area which necessitates future attention and research, a point which is made in the conclusion to this thesis.

### **Summary**

The development of tale order within the extant witnesses is a rich source of scholarly debate as discussed in Chapter I of this thesis. Tale order is the only surviving key to understanding the state of Chaucer's own copytext and his intended arrangement of tales. If it is accepted that there was no definitive arrangement of tales at the time of Chaucer's death and that the nature of his draft papers was disorderly, perhaps with many loose sections, and signs of revision, then the tale order which we find in the extant witnesses is a product of editorial intervention. Hg represents the first extant attempt at presenting the tales in a complete and authoritative format, and the tale order of the *c* group is, in all likelihood, derived from the Hg copytext. Whilst La follows a link-tale-link format and Cp is divided into chapters, the texts are otherwise very close, the similarities found in their tale order do not give priority to either the Blake or the Manly and Rickert hypotheses, in this respect, the textual differences are also inconclusive. For example, the Adam Stanza is present in La, but not Cp, but the intention of the scribe to include the passage is evident by the appropriate gap left and the inscription of the title in the margin. This suggests that La is not a direct copy of Cp, but if the Adam Stanza was being specifically composed for Cp, but delayed, it could have been attached to the exemplar and passed to La, thus affording agreement with both hypotheses.

It has already been noted that the comparison of the tale order in La and Cp does not prioritise either the Blake or the Manly and Rickert hypotheses. However, it does begin to hint at the nature of the *c* archetype and this is possibly its ultimate value. The *c*

group witnesses all lack any formal linking passages between CL, ME, FK, SQ, all omit a passage of thirty-four lines from TM, and all are defective at the end of ME, omitting a hundred lines.<sup>47</sup> The lack of the ME ending corresponds with a well documented change of ink in Hg suggesting that the exemplar for the ME used by the *c* archetype was probably derived from the Hg copytext. A point for consideration is that if La is a copy of Cp then only Cp and Sl<sup>2</sup> can help to develop our understanding of the *c* group archetype. As Sl<sup>2</sup> is a much later text this fully affirms the present status afforded to Cp. If the Manly and Rickert hypothesis is valid for tale order then by the willingness to accept a lost exemplar or sets of exemplars, a substantial freedom is afforded to develop a much more durable and realistic theory for the relationship of La and Cp which better fits all of the evidence. For example, a further possibility as to the genesis of La and Cp is that they used separate exemplars which had in turn been copied from the *c* group archetype. Any variants between La and Cp, for example, the long version of the NPP [L30], the Adam Stanza, and the spurious links found in La, being included in their respective exemplars. This would then go some way to explaining their differences but also their inherent closeness. Proposing the existence of extra unknown manuscripts to fill the gaps may be a neat and convenient way of producing an explanation but can be misleading and is not readily advocated by scholars. However, if the evidence suggests such a scenario it needs to be given due consideration.

The study of major textual omissions and additions analysed in this chapter cannot establish the specific genesis or priority of La or Cp, nor their exact relationship to Hg. However, the value of such a study is in understanding more about the *c* archetype, the existence of which is supported by a significant quantity of manuscript evidence.

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<sup>47</sup>Although La does contain a spurious endlink for the SQ [L19].

## Chapter V

### The Unique Lansdowne Links

#### Introduction

The close relationship of La and Cp in respect of tale order and similar textual content has been discussed in Chapter IV. However, La contains extra material in the form of linking passages between tales which were not exhaustively studied in the earlier chapter. These links do not appear in Cp or any other extant *Canterbury Tales* witnesses and are unique to La, with the exception of a section of one link which will be discussed later. La contains five extra links between tales; four lines between the CO and the TG [L6]; eight lines at the end of the SQ [L19] which are immediately followed by four lines at the beginning of the WB [L9]; sixteen lines between the CY and the PH [L35]; and six lines between the PD and the SH [L23]. These links are considered to be spurious but their inclusion makes La unique among the extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. This chapter endeavours to establish reasons for their inclusion in La, analyse their content, discuss their possible origin and examine why they do not appear in any other extant *Canterbury Tales* witness. Henceforth these links will be referred to as 'unique links'.

#### Why did the La Scribe Include Unique Links?

The La scribe followed a format of link-tale-link, creating unique links where necessary. This format is adhered to throughout the manuscript with the exception of four tales where there is no formal link between narratives; CL-ME-FK-NU.

The inclusion of the unique links in La are an attempt by the scribe to make the *Canterbury Tales* appear as complete as possible which is, in itself, not unusual among the extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts and is clearly evident in El. The fact that the majority of scribes/editors of the extant witnesses produced the *Canterbury Tales* as a

continuous text suggests that they either viewed the poem as complete and in a virtually finished state at the time of Chaucer's death, or more probably, recognised it as an unfinished text but desired to present it in as complete a form as possible. The scribe of La took this desire one step further by including a series of links which create cohesion between tales and in the case of the CO and SQ offer explanations for why the tales are unfinished. The linking passages in La, both spurious and authorial, serve a dual purpose in marking the beginning and endings of tales, and also in connecting each tale to the subsequent story so that the entire text of the poem appears to be a series of individual tales all linked together in the overall narrative framework of the pilgrimage.

The motivation of the scribe in making the text of the *Canterbury Tales* seem as complete as possible is not known but the overall impression of completion represents a further stage in the textual development of the poem. Editorial and scribal experimentation could be the answer; in an endeavour to create a manuscript which was considered superior to others being produced at the time, perhaps as a marketing ploy to make the manuscript more saleable. However, it seems likely that the production of a large manuscript like the *Canterbury Tales* was only initiated once it had been commissioned. Whether this attempt to achieve a sense of completeness was undertaken at the scribe's own initiative; simply because the links were available either as part of the copytext or as additional material; or at the instruction of a patron is not known. However, one thing is clear, the La scribe achieved what was attempted in many other extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts; to make the text appear as complete and united as possible.

### **Content of the Unique Links**

The content of the unique links is discussed in this section of the chapter, the style of verse, metre, and dialect are examined later.

### *I. Cook - Tale of Gamelyn Link [L6]*

The first unique La link is four lines long and connects the CO and TG. The unique link creates two rhyming couplets as follows:

Fye þer one it is so foule .i. wil nowe tell no forþere  
For schame of þe harlotrie þat sewep after  
A velany it were þare of more to spel  
Bot of a knyhte 7 his sonnes my tale .i. wil forþe tel [1-4]

There are no rubrics at the beginning or end of the unique link but a six-line illuminated capital and a three-quarter foliate bar border mark the beginning of TG which immediately follows L6. This form of decoration is used to mark the start of all tales in La.<sup>1</sup> The unique link offers an explanation for the incomplete state of the CO by declaring that, although there is more of the story, it is too 'foule' and ribald 'to spel' and a more suitable tale regarding a knight and his sons will be recited instead. Although the first person pronoun 'I' is used in the link, it is not absolutely clear whether this is the Cook, Chaucer himself, or the La scribe speaking. However, TG concludes with the rubric 'Explicit fabula Coci' which illustrates that in La, TG is to be viewed as part of the Cook's narrative rather than as a separate tale. It therefore follows that the narrator of the link must be the Cook, declaring that his own tale is unsuitable and henceforth commencing with a different story; the romance TG.

It has been suggested by Manly and Rickert that the CO-TG link is an attempt by the La scribe to intimate that he 'could tell the rest of CkT but found it so repellent that he substituted a better tale for it' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, p. 482). The CO is incomplete in all extant witnesses that contain it and it is therefore extremely doubtful that the La scribe actually knew of any such conclusion.<sup>2</sup> If the words of the link are taken to be those of the Cook, Manly and Rickert's theory becomes superfluous as the La scribe is not intimating that he himself knows the real ending to the tale, but has instead included an

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<sup>1</sup>For full details of the decoration and ordinatio of La see, *Illumination and Decoration* in Chapter II of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>There are fifty-eight complete or nearly complete *Canterbury Tales* witnesses, of which eight lack the CO. For details of which witnesses contain the CO see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 165-70, and the tale order charts situated between pp. 494 and 5.

explanation for why the CO is incomplete and provided an alternative story for the pilgrim to tell. In Hg the lower quarter of the folio has been left blank after the CO and in a lighter ink than the rest of the text, and therefore presumably added later, the Hg scribe has written in the left-hand margin 'Of this Cokes tale maked Chaucer na moore'. The gap left by the scribe suggests that he was expecting to receive an ending of some description for the tale, if only a link offering some explanation for its incomplete state. In Hg what does exist of the CO fragment ends on the final folio of a quire and if a full conclusion had been discovered an extra quire could easily have been inserted if necessary. Since no ending, explanatory passage, or link was forthcoming the scribe noted that Chaucer did not complete the tale.

Scholars have debated whether or not, Chaucer actually completed the CO, resulting in the conflicting opinions that; 1) Chaucer never completed the tale; 2) that an authorial ending did exist but was lost early on; and 3) that the CO fragment is actually the complete tale as Chaucer intended it to be.<sup>3</sup> It seems extremely unlikely that Chaucer ever provided a conclusion for the CO, and even if he did it was lost before the early scribes/editors began to produce copies of the text as they clearly possessed no such ending. Regardless of whether Chaucer completed the CO, the composer of the unique La link obviously perceived it as unfinished and provided an alternative tale and connecting passage to compensate.

A notable difference between the unique link and the established passages which appear between the majority of tales in the extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts is that the Host does not speak. Harry Bailly traditionally takes the leading role in the linking

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<sup>3</sup>Stanley is of the opinion that the short CO as it survives in the extant witnesses is actually complete. He argues that the Cook interprets the preceding tales told by the MI and RE as a comment on 'herbergage'; 'The three tales of the First Fragment, if seen by the Cook as consequences of incautious *herbergage*, are answered by the formula of the situation described at the end of *The Cook's Tale*. There is no more for him to say on that subject' (Stanley 1976, p. 59). Blake postulates that when Chaucer died many tales lacked links as tales were only assigned to a teller and provided with adjoining links once the tale was complete. However, he suggests that although the CO was probably never finished by Chaucer it was provided with a link because Chaucer was certain of the genre of the tale as *fabliau*, and the teller as the Cook. For further discussion see, Blake 1981[d], especially pp. 54-5. Seymour argues that if Fragment I had been in circulation prior to the first attempt to gather all the tales together it would be easy for the end of the CO to be mislaid and lost. For further details see, Seymour 1987, p. 217; and Seymour 1990.

passages/prologues, acting as a referee and a vehicle for the smooth transition from one tale to the next. The normal format for the content of the linking passages in the *Canterbury Tales* is for the Host to engage in at least one of the following; to offer some comment on the tale just told, to participate in some banter with at least one of the pilgrims, or to invite the next story teller to begin his tale. What does exist of the CO is extremely short, a mere fifty-eight lines, and although potentially going to be ribald, at such an early stage in its conveyance nothing which could be considered truly offensive had been said. It may have seemed inappropriate to the composer of the unique link to have the Host halt a tale so early in its narration or that an interjection by the Host was unnecessary as the link is contained within the overall narrative of the CO.

There is some antagonism between the Cook and the Host, the exact nature of which is discussed below, and in view of this if the composer had chosen to have the Host interrupt the CO the unique link would have necessitated a more substantial passage, no doubt involving a heated exchange between the two characters.<sup>4</sup> The unique link is only four lines long and yet with the minimum of effort the composer has managed to explain the incomplete state of the tale and neatly ascribe the TG to the Cook.

The content of the unique link has to be examined in the knowledge that it is the Cook who denounces his own tale as unfit to repeat. What little Chaucer reveals about the character of the Cook has to be taken into account when considering if the unique link is convincing. The Cook accompanies the five guildsmen, none of whom recite a tale, presumably to prepare their meals during the journey. The portrait of the Cook in the GP is short and mainly consists of a wealth of culinary descriptions and delights offering little insight to his personality or physical appearance. A reference to the Cook's drinking habits is made; 'wele coupe he knowe a drawht of londen ale' [384] and the only physical description of the Cook is, 'pat on his schinne a mormal had he' [388]. The Cook's sense

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<sup>4</sup>For the antagonism between Host and Cook and the traditional hostility between the professions represented by these two characters see, Tupper 1915, especially pp. 261-5; and Lumiansky 1955.

of humour is revealed in the prologue to the CO [L3] where he expresses great appreciation of the RE, appearing to take genuine delight in the ribald story:

The coke of london while þe reue spakke  
For loy him þouht he clowde him on þe bakke [L3, 1-2]

The Host agrees to let the Cook tell his tale next and comically remarks on his dubious business practices:

Now tel on Roger . loke þat it be goode  
For mony apaste haste þou laten blode  
And mony a lak of doue hast þou solde  
That hap bene twis hote 7 twis colde  
Of Mony a pilgrim hast þou cristes curse  
For of þi poelly 3it þei fare þe wrse  
þat þei haue eten wip þe stoble goose  
For in þi schope is mony a flie lose  
Nowe tel on gentil roger be þi name [L3, 21-29].

The Cook, who is the proprietor of a cook-shop or public eating house rather than a chef, answers with a proverbial warning that 'a true jest is not a jest' and if the Host is not heedful he will at some point tell a retaliatory tale about an innkeeper:

Bot soþe pleie . quade pleie as þe flemynge seipe  
And þer fore herry baillif be þi feipe  
Be þou nouht wroþe er we departen here  
þouhe þat myne tale be of an Ostelere [L3, 33-36]

The Cook's response is a shrewd one that neither confirms nor denies the charges levelled at him by the Host. However, the reference in the GP to the ulcer on the Cook's shin would no doubt suggest to a medieval audience that the Cook is lacking in personal hygiene and if the same attitude and disregard for cleanliness were extended to his profession the accusations of the Host would more than likely appear to be true. The humorous antagonism and animosity between Cook and Host is clearly evident and the latter's reference to the Cook as '*gentil* Roger' [L3, 29] is at best tongue in cheek. In giving the Cook a name, Roger or Hogge of Ware, the pilgrim is individualised and appears as more than just a stereotypical medieval figure to the reader. The text of L3 creates a portrait of a jovial man who enjoys a bawdy story and a good joke, and is not abashed at making a living through what at times are probably roguish business practices.

The comic depiction of the intoxicated Cook in the MaP [L36] is in contrast to his description in the GP. The heavy drinking habits of the Cook, who is so inebriated that he is incapable of sitting on his horse, are mentioned at several points throughout L36 where the Manciple follows the Host's lead in gibing at him. For the remainder of the link we are witness to a battery of insults hurled at the Cook, who is referred to in the following manner:

And wele .i. wote þi breþe foule stinkeþ [L36, 32]

Halde close þi mouþe man be þi fader kinne  
The deuel of hel sett his fote þe inne  
This cursede breþe wil enfect vs al  
Fy stynkinge swyne fy foule motte þe fat [L36, 37-40]

The Manciple states that the Cook is in the stage of drunkenness associated with apes, in other words the Cook is a fool; 'I. trowe þat 3e haue dronken wyne ape', [44].<sup>5</sup> This barrage of insults hurled at the Cook continues until line 45, when inebriated he falls from his horse. The Host subsequently manages to regain a certain amount of control by chiding the Manciple for his behaviour toward his fellow pilgrim; warning him that the Cook may at some point choose to reveal the Manciple's dubious business dealings as a reprisal.

In all, there are fourteen lines out of the total one hundred and four that make up L36 where direct reference to the Cook's drunken state or drinking habits are made. The physical appearance of the Cook is repeatedly hinted at in relation to his drunken state, for example, 'in lifynge vp his hevy dronken cors' [L36, 67] and the Manciple's reference to him as a 'stynkinge swyne' [L36, 40]. The narrative of L36 paints a vivid portrait of the Cook as a man who partakes in consuming large quantities of ale on a regular basis.

The image of this large drunken man, who delighted in the RE, does not wholly comply with the character of etiquette and manners who denounces his own tale of 'harlotrie' as being too 'foul' and bawdy to repeat to his fellow pilgrims. The exclamation

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<sup>5</sup>The various stages of a man's drunkenness were likened to animals: Lamb (meek), Lion (bold), Ape (foolish), Sow (Wallowing). For further details of such associations, see Benson 1987, p. 953, n.44; and Rowland 1974, p. 10.

'fye' [L6, 1] is classified as an interjection by Taavitsainen; 'an exclamation of disgust' (Taavitsainen 1995, p. 200). 'Fye' is an emotive word and as such helps to develop the character of the pilgrim. The Cook is an emotive man and it would seem out of character if he blandly stated that he was going to tell a different tale. However, to denounce his own tale with such disgust is contradictory to the portrait created of him in L3 and to a certain extent L36. Such lack of consistency in the Cook's character is highlighted by the fact that his tale follows those told by the Miller and the Reeve which are both ribald stories. There are also inconsistencies between the character of the shrewd Cook in L3 (CkP) and his later appearance as a drunken fool in L36 (MaP) which suggests that Chaucer had not decided exactly how to portray the pilgrim. In L36 the Host requests that the Cook tell a tale without giving any indication that the pilgrim had already commenced one narrative earlier in the pilgrimage. Chaucer had perhaps decided to remove the Cook's earlier appearance and incomplete tale in revision and then avoid having the pilgrim narrate a story due to his incoherent, drunken state. That the CO was never actually deleted from Chaucer's draft papers left the early scribes/editors with a quandary. They could have chosen to omit the short section of the CO which exists, or as many scribes/editors did, provide an alternative tale for the pilgrim to tell, ignoring the discrepancies which arise in L36. Regardless of the inconsistencies and the fact that Chaucer had apparently not decided on the character of the Cook, the composer of the unique link must have viewed the pilgrim as a man who revels in a bawdy story in L3 and is a drunken fool in L36.

Although short, the CO was evidently viewed by the composer of the unique link as potentially being an extremely vulgar tale. This could be for several reasons 1) because the Cook enjoyed the bawdy tale told by the Reeve, is a jovial man who likes a drink, and it would be reasonable to imagine that any tale he told would be rude. 2) In L3 the Cook declares:

15 Bot god for bede þat we sterte here  
 17 A tale of me þat am a por man  
 18 .I. wil 3owe tel as wele as euþy can  
 19 A lifel lape þat felle in owre Citee [15-19 (lines 15 and 16 are transposed)]

The simple statement expressed in line 15 can be read in two ways, firstly a desire on the part of the Cook to proceed with the story telling contest; secondly as a rhetorical question in which the Cook is expressing his intention to best the story told by the Reeve with his own even more risqué 'jape'. If the composer interpreted the passage in this way it makes perfect sense that he would expect the Cook to narrate a vulgar story.<sup>6</sup> 3) Regardless of whether or not the composer of the unique link believed the CO to be potentially bawdy, declaring the tale unfit meant the link could be succinct and to the point. Although only a short extract of the CO exists scholars generally assume that if it were complete the tale would be a ribald fabliau.<sup>7</sup>

The final couplet of the CO reveals that the sacked apprentice has sent his belongings to an associate whom we are told:

. . . had a wife þat helde for countenance  
A schoppe 7 swyued for his sustenance . [57-58]

It is perhaps surprising that the Cook speaks these two lines and then declares his tale unfit to tell as 'swyued' would appear to have been considered extremely vulgar in the context of Middle English.<sup>8</sup> The spurious TG which is subsequently ascribed to the Cook is a story of rough farming men quarrelling over an inheritance, not of aristocratic ideals and courtly conventions. In this respect the tale is suitable for the Cook who is certainly not pre-occupied with courtly civilities or chivalric romance. However, since a portrait of a jovial man who revelled and delighted in the bawdy tale narrated by the Reeve was created in L3, the telling of a story regarding 'a knyhte 7 his sonnes' [L6, 4] is not what we might expect to hear from a character like the Cook. As such the explanation offered in the unique link for the unfinished state of the CO is not wholly convincing.

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<sup>6</sup>Kolve argues that 'the word "jape" designates a subject, not necessarily the mood or manner of its telling' (Kolve 1984, p. 469 n.43).

<sup>7</sup>Kolve questions this traditional view suggesting that there may be alternative possibilities for the genre of the tale, perhaps a tale of justice or a prodigal son. He proposes that if Chaucer had completed the CO it would have been a moral narrative concerned with the mercantile classes, trade, respectability, and standards. For further discussion see, Kolve 1984, pp. 257-85, especially pp. 269, and 276-7. Scattergood suggests that Chaucer possibly 'abandoned the *Cook's Tale* because it may have approximated too closely to what he had written or intended to write for the Pardoner' (Scattergood 1985, p. 22).

<sup>8</sup>For further details of the use of 'swyued' in Middle English see, Campbell 1972, p. 143.

Since Chaucer had evidently not decided on the Cook's character nor what tale he might actually tell, such observations are perhaps circumspect.

The attribution of TG to the Cook by later scribes/editors is no doubt largely due to the fact that the CO remained incomplete and rather than omit the short text which existed they opted to expand the Cook's involvement in the story-telling contest by including a further tale. La is not unique in its inclusion of a linking passage between TG and CO. Twenty-five extant witnesses include the TG and of those that also include the CO, with the exception of one mutilated copy, the TG is positioned after the CO. Eight witnesses include the TG with no form of link between the two tales. The rest incorporate some variant of the following couplet:

But hereof I wol passe as now  
And of yong Gamelyn I wole telle yow.<sup>9</sup>

Bo<sup>2</sup>, dated c. 1430-40, includes an additional forty-four lines in the CO, twelve of which appear at the end of the tale. This spurious ending concludes with Perkyn the apprentice hanging on the gallows.<sup>10</sup> Ra<sup>1</sup> does not include TG but provides a spurious four line conclusion to CO:

And thus with horedom and bryberye  
Togeder thei used till thei honged hye.  
For whoso evel byeth shal make a story sale;  
And thus I make an end of my tale.<sup>11</sup>

The various ways scribes/editors coped with the incomplete state of the CO represent the earliest critical readings of the tale. The spurious conclusions contained in Bo<sup>2</sup> and Ra<sup>1</sup> are an illustration of how the character of Perkyn and the short fragment of the CO were interpreted by at least two medieval readers. Likewise, the unique link incorporated in La indicates that the composer felt the CO had the potential to be vulgar.

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<sup>9</sup>For further details of this link and those manuscripts which incorporate the TG see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, pp. 170-2.

<sup>10</sup>The version of the CO found in Bo<sup>2</sup> is reproduced in McCormick and Heseltine 1933, pp. 40-1; and Bowers 1992, pp. 35-7. For further discussion regarding the ending of the CO in Bo<sup>2</sup> see, Boyd 1996.

<sup>11</sup>This spurious conclusion is reproduced in McCormick and Heseltine 1933, pp. 426-7; and Bowers 1992, pp. 33-4.

## II. Squire's Endlink [L19]

The twelve lines which unite the SQ with that of the WB are in fact two separate links. Under the lineation scheme of the *Canterbury Tales* Project the first passage is known as 'the Squire's Endlink' containing eight lines and numbered Link 19. The passage concludes with the rubrics 'Explicit fabula Armig<sup>r</sup>' and immediately following on the same line appear the rubrics to mark the beginning of the WB; 'Incipit prologus Uxor<sup>i</sup> de Bath'. The four-line unique link which is known as the 'Wife of Bath's Headlink' [L9] under the *Canterbury Tales* Project lineation scheme, immediately follows marked by a three-line ornamental capital of the style used consistently to mark prologues throughout the manuscript.

The incomplete SQ is divided into three parts in many extant manuscripts, with the third part only containing two lines. The final two lines of the SQ in La, which normally form Part III of the tale, have been replaced by the eight-line unique link [L19] which appears as follows:

Bot .i. wil here nowe maake aknotte  
To þe time it come next to my lotte  
For here be felawes behinde an hepe treulye  
þat wolden talke ful besilye  
And haue her sporte as wele as .i.  
And þe daie passeþ fast certarly  
Therefore oste takeþ nowe goode heede  
Who schal next tel 7 late him speede [1-8]

In this link the Squire states that he will 'maake a knotte' and cease his tale until it is his turn to tell a story again in order to allow his fellow pilgrims a chance to relay their tales. The positioning of the SQ in La means that a further seventeen tales, including that of the Canon's Yeoman, who dramatically joins the pilgrimage after the NU, have yet to be narrated. A comment on the day passing quickly at line 6 is perhaps in response to a reference in the prologue to the preceding ML, that the time is approximately 10 o'clock in the morning. If this is the case it indicates that the author of this unique link had a good knowledge of the other tales and prologues. In the GP Harry Bailly decrees that the pilgrims should draw lots and whoever gets the shortest will tell the first tale. The use of 'lotte' in the link is a reference to the pilgrims selecting who will tell the first tale in the GP

and also illustrates that the author of the unique link had a good knowledge of the *Canterbury Tales*:

Now draweþ cut or þat we ferþer wyne  
Whiche þat haþe þe schortest schal be ginne [GP 835-6]

Another reference to the pilgrims drawing lots to tell their tales appears in the FrP [L10] where the word 'lote' [27] is actually used. During L10 the animosity of the Friar toward the Summoner is vented when the Friar declares he will tell a tale about a Summoner and then proceeds to insult the profession of his fellow pilgrim:

Bot if it like vnto þis compaignie  
.I. wil 3owe of a Somno<sup>r</sup> tel a game  
þde .I. maie wele knowe be þi name  
þat of no somno<sup>r</sup> mai no good be seide  
.I. praie þat none of 3owe be yuel apaide  
A Somno<sup>r</sup> is a romer vp 7 doune  
Wip amendement of fornicacioune  
And is .I. bette att euery tounes ende [14-21]

When the Host intervenes at line 22 telling the Friar to leave the Summoner alone, the latter replies that it is of no consequence for when it is his 'lote' to tell a tale he will gain reprisals for any insults the Friar may have voiced:

Naie qd<sup>r</sup> Somno<sup>r</sup> late him seito me  
What so him liste whan it comeþ to my lote  
Be god .I. schal him qwite euþy grote . [L10, 26-28]

The unique endlink to the SQ [L19] implies that the conclusion to the tale is in fact known and will simply be told later in the pilgrimage. That the ending is known is doubtful because the pilgrims only tell one tale each, despite plans outlined in the GP which state that they are intended to tell two tales on the way to Canterbury and two during the return journey to Southwark. It is more likely that any intimation that the ending of the SQ is known is a clever ploy to try and achieve a sense of completeness; so that the tale does not appear unfinished, just not narrated in its entirety. The Squire's Endlink [L19] in La offers a plausible explanation for the SQ not being complete without acknowledging the fact that an ending was unknown, either because Chaucer never completed the tale or because the conclusion had been lost at some stage. In many

manuscripts the SQ is followed by L20, a passage referred to as the 'Words of the Franklin to the Squire, and the Words of the Host to the Franklin' in *The Riverside Chaucer*.<sup>12</sup> In this passage the Franklin gently interrupts the Squire who has just summarised the further complications in his tale which have still to be recounted and praises the narrator's eloquence. The Franklin's interruption comes before the Squire has even completed the first sentence of Part III. The Squire's complicated story of chivalric romance has the potential to be even longer than that of his father the Knight. L20 does not appear in either La or Cp, the WB appearing immediately after Part III of the SQ in Cp, and La replacing Part III with the spurious endlink [L19].

Scholars are divided in their opinion over whether the SQ is actually interrupted by the Franklin, or that Chaucer never had time to complete the tale, but intended to return to it. Some scholars of this latter opinion claim that it is possible that a completed version of the tale existed but was lost early in the copying process, shortly after Chaucer's death.<sup>13</sup> Benson claims that the Squire's depth of description and unhurried pace indicate that if he had concluded his tale, including all he intended, it would have been at least twice the length of the KN. Benson therefore believes that 'Chaucer most likely intended the tale to remain unfinished' (Benson 1987, p. 13). Although the Franklin praises the Squire, if Benson is correct the passage is not an accolade but in fact the epitome of diplomacy and tactfulness in drawing a close to a tale which would have been excessively lengthy in its recitation. Other scholars have argued in favour of a variety of scenarios with regard to the SQ and whether or not it is actually incomplete. Seymour claims that it is 'untenable' to suggest that the SQ was unfinished. He states that 'such an assumption ignores the clear satiric pointers within the Squire's Tale (bawdy puns, gross exaggerations, deliberate incongruities and misconceptions, false starts and confusions) that reveal it is a parody of a courtly romance which was intended to be dramatically interrupted by the Franklin'

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<sup>12</sup>See, Benson 1987, p. 177.

<sup>13</sup>For a comprehensive list of scholars who are of the opinion that the SQ is deliberately interrupted and those who believe the tale is unintentionally incomplete see, Seaman 1986, p. 13 n.1 and the references cited therein.

(Seymour 1987, p. 216). Mehl argues that Chaucer never intended completing the SQ but that it is not clear whether the Franklin deliberately interrupted the Squire to halt the tale or was genuinely impressed with the Squire's narrative skills. He states that the Franklin 'cannot any longer suppress his admiration and that perhaps he is not really interested in the plot but only the Squire's demonstration of *gentillesse*' (Mehl 1978, p. 70). Seaman argues that the words of the Franklin to the Squire are not an interruption but an 'end comment' composed before the SQ had been completed.<sup>14</sup> Seaman's belief is in contradiction to Blake who argues that links were only composed after a tale had been completed and suggests that the link is possibly spurious, written once Hg had been arranged.<sup>15</sup> In Hg the order of tales results in the ME following the SQ and as a consequence it is the Merchant rather than the Franklin who interrupts the Squire and praises his narrative skill in L20. Whether Chaucer actually intended the SQ to be incomplete or not, it is clear that whoever composed the unique L19 perceived the tale as unfinished.

L19 clearly indicates that the composer of the passage, whether he was the scribe, an editor, or someone else, possessed a good working knowledge of the framework of the *Canterbury Tales* by making a reference to the fact that the pilgrims were intended to tell more than just one tale, as revealed in the GP. However, it is strange that a scribe who is attempting to make the *Canterbury Tales* appear complete would make a reference to the pilgrims telling more than one tale when in fact, at the time of Chaucer's death, they had only told one each and even then not all the pilgrims had spoken, for example, the Plowman. In suggesting that the Squire will conclude his tale next time it is his turn, draws attention to the fact that the *Canterbury Tales* is incomplete in the respect that it does not comply with the original plan outlined in the GP that each pilgrim will tell several tales. However, the style of rhetoric and the gesture expressed in L19 are appropriate to the courteous and polite Squire who is described in the GP as:

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<sup>14</sup>For further details see, Seaman 1986.

<sup>15</sup>For example, see, Blake 1985[a], p. 89.

Wip hime þare was his sōne a ʒonge swiere  
 A louyer 7 a lusti bachellere  
 Wip lokkes crulle as þei were leide in p̄sse  
 Of .xx. ʒeres of age he was .i. gesse .  
 Of his stature he was of euen lengeþe  
 And wonderly deliuer and grete of strenkeþe  
 And he had be some tīrfe in cheualrie  
 In Flandres in artoys and in Pykardie  
 And borne him wele as of so lifel space  
 In hope to stonden in his lady grace  
 Embrowded was he as it were a mede  
 Al ful of frissche flowres white 7 rede  
 Singeinge he was or flowteinge al þe daie .  
 He was al so fresche as is þe monep of maie .  
 Schort was his goune w' sleues longe 7 wide  
 Wele coupe he sitte on an horse 7 faire ride  
 He coupe songes make 7 wele endite  
 Iuste and eke daunce 7 wele purtreie 7 write  
 So hote he loued þat be nyghter tale  
 He slepete no more þan dope þe nyhtegale  
 Corteis he was lowly 7 fuisable  
 And karf to for his fader att þe table [GP 79-100]

The portrait of the Squire in the GP is that of a twenty year old following in the profession of his father the Knight. He is a man proficient in all the courtly attributes and social conventions essential for a man of his class and social position. The Squire is an excellent horseman who has seen active chivalric service, and is accomplished in all the main courtly pass-times. He can sing, play the flute, compose music, dance, draw, write, and joust. A fashionable man whose style of dress reflect<sup>s</sup> his youth and carefree attitude to life; his gown is short to show off his strong physique and his green coat embroidered with white and red flowers 'like a meadow'. The Squire is as 'fresh as the month of May'; appropriately the month of love and youth. He is an ardent lover, so passionate he sleeps little and whose actions, be they courtly or chivalric, are undertaken to try and secure the admiration of his lady. Suave, sophisticated, full of life and vigour with a definitive *joie de vivre* and yet the Squire is simultaneously 'lowly and serviceable', modest and selfless, courteous, and ready to serve before his father. The Squire's generous consideration and charitableness toward others make it completely plausible that such a man would cut his

story short to allow his fellow pilgrims their chance to speak with an assurance he will complete his tale next time it is his turn. In this respect the unique link is believable.

The Host does not actually speak during L19 although the Squire addresses him directly [7-8]. It is unusual for the Host not to contribute some form of rhetoric in a link between two separate tales. While the lack of any speech by the Host during the unique CO-TG link [L6] can be explained by the fact that the link does not appear at the end of the Cook's session, the Host's absence is not so easily explained in this case if L19 is considered as an independent passage. However, the Wife of Bath does not wait for the Host to reply to the Squire's question, or to select the next narrator, but immediately declares that she will tell the next tale. The interruption by the Wife excuses the Host from speaking and explains his absence from the link.

### *III. Wife of Bath's Headlink [L9]*

The four lines of L9 follow L19 with no gap in the text just the rubrics mentioned previously. In these four lines the Wife of Bath declares she will tell the next tale:

Than schortly ansewarde þe wífe of Bathe  
And swor a wonder grete hape  
Be goddes bones .I. wil tel next  
.I. wíf nouht glose bot saye þe text [1-4]

This link is immediately followed by the WBP, in which she talks of her five husbands.

Considering the Wife's natural exuberance and passion for rhetoric the section of the unique link where she does speak is surprisingly short. The Wife actually declares that she 'wíf nouht glose bot saye þe text' [4], which itself offers an explanation for the shortness of the link. The composer of the link may have felt that the subsequent prologue was extensive enough and consequently did not warrant a lengthy introduction. However, if L9 is read as literal, it is somewhat ironic that the Wife of Bath states her intention to commence directly with the text and then proceeds to relay the history of her married life in a prologue which is twice as long as her eventual tale. The WBP is in fact the longest prologue in the *Canterbury Tales* amounting to more than eight-hundred lines.

Like the CO-TG unique link [L6] the four lines of the Wife of Bath's Headlink [L9] are very basic in content, with the central pilgrim making a simple statement of intent. Another likeness between these two links is that each commences with an exclamation from the primary character. The Cook commences his speech by declaring 'fye' [1], while the Wife of Bath;

... swore a wonder grete hape  
Be goddes bones .i. wil tel next [2-3]

At no point during her Prologue or Tale does the Wife of Bath swear 'Be goddes bones' and the oath therefore seems out of character for her. Oaths of this kind are more suited to the Host who utters them on several occasions during the *Canterbury Tales*; for example, L8 (ML Endlink); 'Sir piche preste qd<sup>h</sup> he for goddes bones', [4]; L29 (MkP) 'Be goddes bones whan .i. bete my knaues [9]. The Miller is likewise not averse to uttering oaths, for example, L1 (MiP) 'And swore be armes 7 be blode 7 bones' [17].

Taavitsainen has recently analysed what she terms 'genre-specific vocabularies' (Taavitsainen 1995, p. 191). She lists many examples of cursing, oaths, and swearing in the *Canterbury Tales*, concluding that oaths are used frequently in the fabliaux tales.<sup>16</sup> Kennedy argues that the inclusion of the unique link is indicative of the La scribe's negative attitude toward the Wife.<sup>17</sup> However, I feel that in view of Taavitsainen's research it is feasible to suggest that the composer of the link was not making the Wife rude or blasphemous, but a comical figure. In La the WB follows the fabliaux of the MI, RE, and the potential fabliau of the CO, and if the Wife is viewed as a humorous character and her Prologue read as a fabliau the inclusion of the oath seems completely appropriate. While this concept may be difficult for a modern reader to comprehend the medieval author of L9 may well have adopted such an approach to the Wife and her Prologue. The fact that the Wife declares she, 'wil nouht glose bot saye þe text' [4], and then narrates

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<sup>16</sup>For further details see, Taavitsainen 1995, especially pp. 200-203, and 209-10.

<sup>17</sup>Kennedy argues that 'for sheer rudeness, not to mention blasphemy, the Wife's interruption is matched elsewhere in the *Tales* only by that of the drunken Miller' suggesting 'that the Lansdowne scribe thought of the Wife as similar in character to the Miller, i.e. rude and immoral and possibly jolly, but not at all respectable' (Kennedy 1997, p. 24).

such a long prologue may again be indicative of the author's interpretation of the Wife as a humorous character.

Modern day critics are divided over the character of the Wife of Bath. Some view her as offensive and coarse in both her direct, colloquial speech and her attitude to life. Others see her as a vivacious extrovert, strong minded, opinionated, and assertive, but with a sense of humour and natural gregarious warmth which make her an appealing character. She is a successful, financially independent woman of some social standing within her community. The Wife is a forthright, self-confident character who as a matter of social precedence sees it as her right to make the first offering at mass. She therefore perhaps feels her standing in the community warrants that she tells the next tale. The portrait of the Wife in the GP describes an emphatic personality who could no doubt have seemed intimidating. The Wife of Bath evokes conflicting attitudes in the modern reader, in the eyes of some she is a spirited and likeable character, others perceive her less positively. Blake argues that while in the GP the Wife is portrayed as an independent woman of some social status in her Prologue she is portrayed as the tyrannical wife. Blake states 'her behaviour is typical of the usurping tyrant who does not know how to behave properly because she is not born to that status' (Blake 1982[b], p. 48). If the composer of the unique link saw the Wife in the same vein it is not difficult to understand that he would feel a rude interruption and outburst, accompanied by an oath, to be appropriate from such a woman. It is also possible that the composer of the unique link simply took his lead from L1 (MiP) where the Miller rudely usurps his fellow pilgrims by insisting that he tell the next tale.

Like the CO-TG link [L6] the Wife of Bath's Headlink [L9] can perhaps be taken as an indication of how the composer of the unique link saw the Wife. Regardless of how a modern reader views the Wife's exuberant character, be it with approval or disapproval, L9 can be interpreted in two contradictory ways, revealing that the medieval scribe or editor responsible for the link either viewed the Wife as a comic figure or felt her to be a

coarse, rude and pushy woman. Although the unique La links are a valuable source of evidence for how the medieval reader might have viewed the *Tales*, where the evidence is ambiguous like the text of L9, the modern reader finds him/herself endeavouring to decide between several possible medieval interpretations. A situation not altogether satisfactory for drawing any firm conclusions, other than the fact that by having the Wife's interruption deny the Host chance to reply to the Squire, the author avoided having to compose a more lengthy passage involving dialogue between the Host and fellow pilgrims.

#### *IV. Canon's Yeoman - Physician Link [L35]*

The third unique link, comprising sixteen lines, appears at the end of the CY and in La acts as the prologue to the PH introduced by the rubric 'Incipit prologus Magistri Phisici':

Howe trewly qd<sup>r</sup>oure Oste þis is a prati tale  
 For litel merveile it is þat þou lokest so pale  
 Seþen þou hast medeled wiþ so mony þinges  
 Wiþ bloweinge att þe cole to melte boþe brochez 7 ringes  
 And op<sup>e</sup> many lewels dar .i. vnder take  
 And þat þi lorde coupe vs tel ȝif we myht him ou<sup>e</sup> take  
 Bot lat him go adeuelwayne þe compaigny is neu<sup>r</sup> þe wers  
 And al suche fals harlotes .i. sette not be hem a kers  
 Bot latt þas ou<sup>e</sup> nowe al þes subtilitees  
 And sume worþi man tel vs sūme veritees  
 As ȝe worschipful Maister of Phisike  
 Telleþ vs sōme tale þat is a cronyke  
 þat we may of ȝowe leren sum witte  
 Qd<sup>r</sup> þe Maister of Phisik a tale þat .i. finde writte  
 In cronyke passed of olde tyme  
 Herkeneb for .i. wil tel it ȝow in rime [1-16]

The link is spoken by the Host who desires that a 'worþi man' [10] tell a 'cronyke' [12]. The Host deems that the Physician is a worthy man whom he addresses as 'worschipful Maister of Phisike' and invites to tell his tale. The Physician declares that he knows a tale, a 'cronyke' [15] that happened in olden times and bids the company to listen as he tells it in rhyme. This link is concluded with the rubric, 'Explicit prologus.' and the PH immediately follows it beginning with the rubric, 'Incipit fabua'.

The unique CY-PH link [L35] is longer than the other unique links and although still relatively short is similar to the majority of standard links found between tales in

terms of the narrative voice and content. For example, the Host is the main speaker who spends nine lines referring to the tale that has just been told by the Canon's Yeoman [1-9]. The Host then invites the Physician to tell the next tale [11] suggesting that it should be a 'cronyke' [12]. The Host frequently requests to hear specific types of stories from the pilgrims and this again indicates the composer's clear knowledge of the entire poem. The Physician speaks for the last three lines of the link to confirm that he will tell the next tale [14-16].

The author of the unique link makes use of specific words and references to the Canon's Yeoman's occupation which also appear in the CY. For example, reference is made to the Yeoman's job of blowing on the fires [34 and 204], the words 'medel' [465 and 705], 'deuel waie' [63], and 'sutelte' [L33, 67-73] are used which also appear in the tale. The Host also refers to the Canon's hasty departure from the pilgrimage company which occurs during the CYP [L33, 147-9]. The composer of the unique link borrowed many references and phrases from the CY and L33 suggesting that these texts made a strong impression on him and also indicate that he possessed a good knowledge of the text.

That the Host requests a 'chronyke' from the Physician is certainly fitting as the pilgrim has completed lengthy studies to qualify as a physician. His portrait in the GP reveals that his studies have included the works of both ancient and near contemporary medical authorities. Five lines of the Physician's portrait in the GP are devoted to listing the medical authorities known to the Physician:

Wele knewe he þe olde Escalapius  
And discorrdes 7 eke Rufus  
Olde ypocras haly 7 Galiene  
Serapion . Razie 7 Auizene  
Auerois Damascien 7 Constantine  
Bernard 7 Gatisdene . 7 Gilbertine [GP 431-436].

The references of these medical authorities fall into three main groups; 1) Ancient Greek: 'Escalapius' (Aesculapius), 'discorrdes' (Dioscorides), 'Rufus' (of Ephesus), 'ypocras' (Hippocrates), and 'Galiene' (Galen). 2) Arabian/Moslem: 'haly' (Haly), 'Serapion', 'Razie' (Rhazes), 'Auizene' (Avicenna), 'Auerois' (Averroes), 'Damascien', and 'Constantine'. 3)

Modern European: 'Bernard' (of Gordon), 'Gatisdene' (John of Gaddesden), and 'Gilbertine' (Gilbertus Anglicus).<sup>18</sup> It is probable that the majority of these names were unknown to the composer of the unique link, but he almost certainly recognised them as a list of notable persons. The first line of the PH makes reference to Livy the Roman historian and this would also have been a cue for the composer to recognise the genre of the PH as a 'chronymic':

Ther was as telleþ vs titus liueus  
A knyght þat cleped was virgineus [PH, 1-2].

The impression created from such a list is one of great knowledge and learning, apparent to both the modern reader and the medieval composer of the link. Any further analysis of the Physician's character or portrait in the GP is unnecessary as the verbal exchange between Host and Physician takes the form of a simple request by the Host and an equally simple statement of compliance from the Physician, and as such reveals little about the pilgrim.

The references to the CY, the type of narrative to be relayed by the Physician, and the fact that it will be in rhyme, indicates that the composer of the link had a good knowledge of both these tales. L35 is more substantial in content than the CO-TG [L6] and SQ-WB links [L19 and L9] and bears a greater likeness to the more established *Canterbury Tales* links.

#### *V. Pardoner - Shipman Link [L23]*

The final unique La link comprises of six lines and appears at the end of the PD, to join it to the SH. L23 acts as a prologue to the SH and is introduced by the rubric, 'In<sup>e</sup> plogus':

Bot þan spak oure Oste vnto maister schipmaū  
Maister qo<sup>h</sup> he to vs sūme tale tel 3e caū  
Where withe 3e myht glad al þis company  
If it were 3oure pleseinge .i. wote wele sekuriye  
Sertes qo<sup>h</sup> þis Schipman a tale .i. can tel  
And þefore herkenep hyderward how þat .i. wil spe<sup>t</sup> [1-6]

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<sup>18</sup>Further details and information regarding these authorities can be found in Benson 1987, pp. 817.

In this link the Host requests that the Shipman tell a pleasing tale which once again indicates that the author of the unique links had a good knowledge of the tales because the humorous fabliau told by the Shipman meets this criteria.

The link contains three individual voices; the narrator, the Host, and the Shipman. Line 1 is the voice of Chaucer the narrator who states that 'oure Oste' spoke to the Shipman. The narrator is present in the majority of links, and again illustrates the composer's detailed knowledge of the entire text.

Although this link is short, it follows the normal format of the *Canterbury Tales* linking passages, in the respect that the Host is the leading voice. Although the Host makes no reference to the PD which precedes the link he does invite the Shipman to tell a tale and requests that it fulfils a specific requirement. The reply of the Shipman is a simple acceptance of the Host's request that he tell the next tale. Any analysis of the Shipman's portrayal in the GP or the tale he narrates is irrelevant as the two lines spoken by the pilgrim are not enough to reveal anything about his character or personality.

A study of the composition of the link reveals that the Host refers to the Shipman as 'maister' [1 and 2] which is the form of address also used for the Physician in the unique CY-PH link [L35], and is also used regularly throughout the *Canterbury Tales*. The request made by the Host that the SH, 'myht glad al þis company' [3], is a phrase which also appears in the CYP [L33, 45], and while this could be a simple coincidence may well be taken as an indication of the author's detailed knowledge of the other tales and prologues.

### **Versification and Dialect**

The unique La links, like all the linking passages in the *Canterbury Tales*, are composed in rhyming couplets. Although Chaucer adopts iambic pentameter for the majority of the *Canterbury Tales* it does not always appear in its ideal form; the syllable count being irregular in places. However, even bearing this in mind the unique links are composed in lines of varying stresses and whoever composed them was not a brilliant metrist.

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The spelling of words in the unique links are the usual forms used throughout the manuscript by the La scribe, for example, 'suche' and 'bot'. Occasionally a spelling, although common in La, is not the most frequently used form. For example, 'knyhte' [L6, 4] only occurs eight times throughout La in this particular form; the most common spelling being 'knyht', appearing one hundred and twenty times. The vocabulary used in L35 refers to the occupation and job description of the Canon's Yeoman and as such is quite specialised. Although such vocabulary is not common throughout the *Canterbury Tales* these specialised words have been borrowed from L33 (CYP) and the CY.

A study of the composition of the unique links reveals that there are two words used in the links which only appear on one other occasion in a similar context in the La edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. 'Sewep' is used at line 2 of L6 and occurs on only one other occasion in the TM at line 568; 'ȝ And so sewep it þat 3e haue no wil to 3oure dede attempally ȝ'. 'Spell' appears in the TT at line 181, 'And herkenep to my spelle.'. The use of 'spell' is interesting as it occurs twice in the unique links; once in L6 at line 3, and in a similar context in the unique PD-SH link [L23, 6]. The appearance of the word 'spell' in two of the unique links, and yet only once elsewhere in the same context in the *Canterbury Tales*, may suggest that it is vocabulary which was popular with the author of the links. Other words which appear more than once in the unique links also appear elsewhere in La. For example, 'harlotrie' [L6, 2] and 'harlotes' [L35, 8] also occur on three other occasions; GP [563], L1 [37], and PA [828].

Little can be deduced from the spelling forms and vocabulary used in the unique links as they are also the common forms used throughout the La manuscript. As mentioned throughout this chapter, the composer of the unique links has made regular use of Chaucerian words and phrases which are indicative of his thorough knowledge of the entire text. Consequently, it is impossible to know whether the unique links were composed by the La scribe or someone else, the La scribe simply changing spellings to suit his own repertoire. The most interesting feature which can be localised as dialectically

specific is 'hape' [L9, 2] and is a Northern spelling of 'oth'. Where 'oth' appears elsewhere in La the usual form is 'opes', being used on nine occasions. On one occasion the form used is 'oother' [SH 131]:

SH	131	For oñ my portos .i. make an oother
GP	810	Ɔ This þinge was graunted 7 owre opes swore
KN	1066	The opes þat here couenantz ensuren
MI	657	Wipe opes grete he was so sworne y doune
SQ	520	Vpon his opes 7 his surete
PD	144	Here opes bene so grete 7 dampnable
PD	308	Thowe schalt swere soþe þine opes 7 nouht lye
PD	322	þat of his opes is so outrageous
PD	331	Leueþ 3oure opes boþe grete 7 smale
PD	571	And opes grete of vsage 7 of pride
T M	858	7 receyued her <sup>P</sup> obligacions 7 her Landes by hire opes vpon here plegges 7 her borwes

The most common form of 'oth' in Hg is 'othes', and in both La and Cp the most common form is 'opes'.<sup>19</sup> The occurrence of the same form in both La and Cp indicates that either this form was in the exemplar or in both scribes' repertoires. This is feasible as both scribes originate in the South-West Midlands and use similar spelling forms. The occurrence of the rogue spelling 'hape' in the La links indicates that the composer of the unique links used Northern forms in his spelling, although it is possible that it represents a scribal alteration imposed on an antecedent copy of the links. Although the La scribe has a Northern layer in his dialect and it is possible that 'hape' was a form he was familiar with, if the spelling was his usual form the La scribe would presumably have used it rather than 'opes' elsewhere in the *Canterbury Tales* text. However, the fact that he did not alter the rogue form in the link indicates that the form 'hape' was in his passive repertoire and

<sup>19</sup>The Hg scribe uses the form 'oth' at line 131 of the SH and 'othes' the other ten occasions. The Cp scribes uses 'opes' eight times; 'oth' at 131 of SH, 'othes' at 1066 of the KN, and 'orhis' at line 322 of the PD.

therefore as a familiar form, if not his usual one, he was prepared to copy it verbatim.<sup>20</sup> The shortness of the links makes any dialect study statistically unsound, but it seems unlikely that L9 was composed by the La scribe.

In conclusion it can be stated that the unique links are not Chaucerian. However, although the composer was not a brilliant metrist he was capable of creating rhyming couplets in the style followed in other linking passages in the poem. The composer also obviously knew the text of the *Canterbury Tales* extremely well. A study of the dialect shows that the links display the typical features of the La scribe's spelling, but since the scribe could have emended the spelling of the links to suit his own forms this does not mean that the La scribe was the composer.

### **Possible Origins of the Unique Links**

The La scribe leaves no gaps or shows any signs of hesitation in respect of the positioning of the unique links indicating that he was in possession of the links and their arrangement had been decided prior to the commencement of copying.

To try and identify possible origins for the unique links the relationship La has with Cp must be considered. A close study of the tale order, and major omissions and additions within the La manuscript was considered in Chapter IV of this thesis. A major difference between the two manuscripts is La's inclusion of the unique links. Although La and Cp share the same order of tales and are similar in textual content they use different methods of dividing and separating the tales. La follows a link-tale-link format, creating links where necessary while the Cp scribe/editor allotted chapter numbers to each tale. Not all the chapter numbers in Cp survive but from those that do it seems likely that all the tales w~~h~~ere originally numbered. Surviving chapter numbers are as follows; RE (3),

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<sup>20</sup>For further explanation of passive and spontaneous/active scribal repertoire and the layers of dialect identifiable in the La manuscript see, Chapter VI of this thesis.

CO (4), ML (5), WB (7), PD (16), SH (17), TT (19), TM (20), MO (21), NP (22), MA (23), and PA (24).<sup>21</sup>

There are three possible origins for the links 1) they were originally composed for Cp, but not completed in time. The links then passed to La with the Cp manuscript, or were attached to the Cp exemplar(s) which was then used by La; 2) The links were included in the exemplar(s) shared by La and Cp, but the latter chose to divide his tales with chapter numbers, making the unique links superfluous; 3) The La scribe, realising some tales in his exemplar lacked any linking passages, commissioned the links to be composed or acquired them from some other source. Each of these three proposals for the origin of the unique La links needs to be considered.

If the unique links had originally been composed for Cp it would be reasonable to expect to see signs of hesitation or gaps in the manuscript where the links could have been positioned. The only gap in Cp which coincides with the possible placement of a unique link is at the end of the SQ where the remaining eighteen lines of fol.99<sup>v</sup> have been left blank. This indicates that the Cp scribe/editor was expecting to receive some text, although not necessarily a linking passage. The WBP commences at the top of the following recto (fol.100<sup>r</sup>) which means that extra leaves could have been inserted if required. The Cp scribe/editor may have expected a conclusion to the SQ to materialise or was waiting for a brief closing section to be composed. It is also possible that the Cp scribe left the gap to include a linking passage, perhaps even the unique SQ-WB link [L19 and L9] found in La. Since there are no other signs that the Cp scribe was expecting to receive any form of linking passages it seems unlikely that the unique links were composed originally for Cp. The division of tales into chapters also indicates that additional links would not have been a primary concern as their inclusion was

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<sup>21</sup>Cp is not the only *Canterbury Tales* witness to make use of chapter numbers. Pw which is dated 1420-30 and classified as a *d* order manuscript is the only other early witness which has a system of numbering the tales. Although some later manuscripts also use a numbering system, they vary in form between each witness. Other manuscripts containing chapter numbers are Fi, S1<sup>1</sup> which only numbers the KN, and Ry<sup>1</sup> which contains its own system of Roman numerals as rubricated running heads. For further details of the chapters numbers contained in certain manuscripts see, McCormick and Heseltine 1933.

unnecessary. If the unique links had already been attached, or included, in the Cp copytext it would seem strange that the Cp scribe did not use at least the SQ Endlink [L19] to fill the eighteen line gap in his manuscript.

The second of the possible origins of the unique links is that they may have been included in the exemplar(s), the Cp scribe/editor choosing to omit the links in favour of chapter numbers. This is not a very satisfactory explanation as the Cp scribe does not exclude all linking passages just those unique to La.<sup>22</sup> It could be assumed that the unique links were not copied because they were not considered to be authorial. However, that the Cp scribe/editor omitted material on the basis that he did not consider it to be genuine is unconvincing since he includes TG which appears in only a few manuscripts and left a gap to include the Adam Stanza.

Assuming that La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s) makes it feasible to argue that the unique links, although not composed specifically for Cp, were attached to the copytext, after Cp had been produced with clear indications as to their intended positioning. The La scribe could then simply have incorporated them.

La follows a rigid format of link-tale-link throughout the manuscript with the exception of four tales where there is no formal link between each tale and the following prologue; CL-ME-FK-NU. Considering the third possible origin of the links, if the unique links were composed specifically for La it would seem strange that linking passages were not also composed for the CL-ME-FK-NU. The lack of any link between the aforementioned tales may be a simple oversight, if it was believed that the copytext possessed links between these tales it would not be necessary to specifically compose any for La. The unique links could have been among extra material available to the scribe, either in the form of loose sheets or as part of another manuscript. The complete lack of hesitation by the La scribe in positioning the unique links indicates that he gained these

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<sup>22</sup>Although Cp does contain links between some of the tales, the following lack any formal link; CO-TG; SQ-WB; CL-ME-FK-NU; CY-PH; and PD-SH. La also lacks any links between CL-ME-FK-NU and has incorporated spurious unique links to accompany the other tales which lack links

sections of text prior to commencing copying and that their arrangement had been pre-decided. It is also possible that the La scribe realised there were no links between these four tales but was simply producing a copy of the exemplar rather than trying to create a superlative manuscript and was consequently not concerned with trying to compose links. Since it is unlikely that the Cp scribe would deliberately ignore the links if they had been in his copytext, this theory assumes that the links were added to a shared exemplar after Cp had been produced. A further possibility is that whilst La and Cp share a common ancestor they do not share the same exemplar(s). If the La exemplar is independent from that used by Cp it is possible that the unique links were included in the La copytext and simply copied verbatim by the scribe.

Having analysed the three proposals for the origin of the unique links, in conclusion, it seems unlikely that the links were actually composed for inclusion in Cp, as the Cp scribe shows no indication that he expected to receive any of the missing links except for the eighteen line gap at the end of the SQ. It is also unlikely that they were commissioned specifically for La as to explain the failure of the rigid link-tale-link format between the CL-ME-FK-NU as a simple oversight is not convincing. If the links had been included in the Cp copytext the scribe would presumably have used at least L19 to fill the gap left at the end of the SQ, even if he chose to ignore the rest. Having discounted that the unique links were originally composed for Cp or composed specifically for La, the only feasible scenario for their origins are as follows: that they were added to the Cp copytext after Cp had been produced, this exemplar then passing to La; alternatively that La copied an exemplar which contained the links, but which had not been the copytext used by Cp; or that the La scribe had access to additional material.

Following this discussion it is possible to reassess the hypotheses regarding the possible genesis of La and its relationship to Cp first examined in Chapter IV of this thesis. Neither the Blake, nor the Manly and Rickert hypotheses proposed for the origins of the unique links, that La used Cp as the copytext and included additional material, or

that the two manuscripts shared the same exemplar(s), can be discounted. A further hypothesis that La and Cp might share a common ancestor but not a common exemplar can also be suggested.

The theories regarding the origin of the five unique links considered thus far have assumed that they all originate from the same source. However, the variation in quality, length, and format may indicate that they derive from different sources. Linking passages in the *Canterbury Tales* normally include a closing device for the tale just told, and an opening device to introduce the proceeding tale. The CY-PH and PD-SH links [L35 and L23] both accord with the normal format for the linking passages with the Host guiding the proceedings. Although the Host does not speak during the SQ Endlink [L19] or the Wife of Bath's Headlink [L9] he is specifically addressed by the SQ [L19, 7-8]. However, the Wife's interruption denies the Host the chance to reply. It is perhaps not necessary, or even apt, for the Host to speak during the CO-TG link [L6] as this four line passage is contained within the Cook's section. The four lines of the Wife of Bath's Headlink [L9] and the four which constitute the CO-TG link [L6] are of poor quality with regard to content. This leads to the possible suggestion that L6 and L9 may have been written by someone other than the composer of the other unique links. In view of the dialect study discussed above it seems unlikely that the La scribe himself composed L9. If the La scribe did compose these two short passages it again raises the question of why he did not create linking passages of a similar nature for tales where no links appear; CL-ME-FK-NU. Although the Wife of Bath's use of an oath can be explained as the result of the composer's interpretation of the character of the Wife as explored earlier it is also possible that L9 was originally intended for the Host or another pilgrim where an oath may have been more in character. The other tales which lack links in La are the CL-ME-FK-NU and since none of the respective narrators are prone to oaths the unique link would have been inappropriate for these characters. It is therefore unlikely that L9 was intended for use between any of these tales. However, that it was originally composed for the Host

and adapted for use in La is a point worth considering. An alternative theory again suggests two distinct authors for the unique links, the first producing the SQ Endlink [L19] which may have been originally composed for inclusion in the gap at the end of the SQ in Cp, but not completed in time. This link may have been attached to the exemplar and passed to La, assuming that the two manuscripts shared the same exemplar(s). The La scribe may then have decided to include specifically composed links or accessed additional material between other tales, the absence of links between CL-ME-FK-NU being a simple oversight. This theory would perhaps help explain why only L19 is used by any other extant witness, that being Se.

### Why are the Unique Links not Included in Other Witnesses?

The scribe of La succeeded in creating a *Canterbury Tales* manuscript which had the appearance of being more complete than most and yet the additions unique to La do not appear in the extant manuscripts with the exception of Se, where the SQ Endlink [L19] is used. The fact that La achieved what the majority of later editors strove for, raises the question of why the links in La were not adopted and used in these later witnesses. The possibility that another manuscript or indeed multiple manuscripts not known today may have used La as a copytext or shared the same exemplar as La incorporating the unique links is not inconceivable but cannot be proved.

Only one extant manuscript uses any of the unique links in La. Se which is dated 1450-70 and classified as an *anomalous* order manuscript, has used the eight lines which comprise the SQ Endlink from La [L19]. The tale order in Se is as follows:

Fragment	I	IV	III	IV	V	II	VII	VIII	VI	V	IX	X
Group	A	E <sup>1</sup>	D	E <sup>2</sup>	F <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>2</sup>	G	C	F <sup>2</sup>	H	I

The arrangement of tales in Se differs from La as follows: IV (E<sup>1</sup>) has been moved and appears between I (A) and III (D); IV (E<sup>2</sup>) has moved after III (D) and V (F<sup>1</sup>) after IV (E<sup>2</sup>); VII (B<sup>2</sup>) and V (F<sup>2</sup>) have changed positions so that VII (B<sup>2</sup>) now appears before VIII (G) and V (F<sup>2</sup>) appears after VI (C).

The use of the unique L19 indicates that the Se scribe either had access to; a) the La manuscript itself; b) the original sheets containing the unique links, assuming that they were additional material; c) La's copytext, assuming that the links had been included in this; or d) used a now unknown exemplar which had been copied from La or the La copytext; this exemplar may have included all the unique links, or portions of them. An alternative suggestion could be that the Se scribe used an exemplar which for the most part was unrelated to La, but had access to this specific link. Se is believed to have been produced some thirty years after La and does not follow the *c* order, make use of all the unique links or include the TG. It therefore seems extremely unlikely that the La manuscript itself was used as the copytext.

The Se scribe only uses L19, but this may be because only this link would be necessary, or even relevant to the Se manuscript, due to the change in tale order and omission of TG. Whilst the Se scribe/editor used L19 which specifically offers an explanation for the unfinished state of the SQ he was not concerned by the fact that the CO is incomplete and made no attempt to offer any conclusion, explanation or alternative story to divert attention from this fact. The absence of TG makes the CO-TG link [L6] superfluous. The SQ is followed by the ML, but La's L19 is used by the Se scribe/editor after the SQ, only the spelling varies from that of La. The four lines of L9, where the Wife of Bath declares she will tell the next tale are not necessary due to the change in tale order which means the *wB* follows that of the *cL*. The change in tale order also means that the PD is no longer followed by the SH, but instead by the FK, and the SH is preceded by the ML. The PD is separated from the FK, and the ML from the SH, by rubrics rather than formal linking passages. A fourteen-line link between the CY and the PH is added, which is different from the sixteen-line link found in La, but the same as that found in two *d* classified manuscripts; Pw which is dated 1420-30 and S1<sup>1</sup> which is dated 1420-50:

Whan that this yoman his tale ended hadde  
Of this fals chanon whiche that was so badde  
Oure hoost gan seie treuly and certayne

This prest was bigiled sothely for to sayne  
 He wenyng for to ben a philosophre  
 Til he no gold lefften in his coffre  
 And sothly this prest had a lether Iape  
 This cursed chanon put in his hood an ape  
 But al this passe I ouer as now  
 Sir doctor of phisike I pray yow  
 Telle vs a tale of some honeste matere  
 It schal be done if that ye wil hit here  
 Seide this doctour and his tale bigan anoon  
 Now gode men quod he herkeneth euerychoon<sup>23</sup>

Although this link and the unique L35 used in La are different there are some similarities in the content of the passage. In both links the Host comments on the previous tale told by the Canon's Yeoman, reiterating the fact that the story is about a canon who beguiles a priest into giving him money in return for learning the secrets of alchemy. In both links the Host requests that the Physician speak next; although in the Se link he does specify the genre of tale he would like to hear. The Physician accepts and the PH then commences. The similarities between this link and L35 used in La may be purely coincidental.

The only other extant *c* type order manuscript is Sl<sup>2</sup> which is dated 1480-90. It shares the same tale order as that followed in Cp and La but the CY is omitted and the whole of Fragment X (I) is missing. Sl<sup>2</sup> does not include any of the unique links and is therefore unlikely to have used La as the copytext. Although TG is included, it is linked to the CO by rubrics; 'The tale of Gamelyn tolde be the Cooke'. TG ends with the rubrics:

Here endith the Cookes tale of Gamelyn and  
 here begynneth the prolog of the Man of Lawe.<sup>24</sup>

There is no specific link, just rubrics between the SQ and the WB and likewise between the PD and the SH. Sl<sup>2</sup> has a closer relationship to Cp than La in terms of the material which it includes or omits. Like Cp, Sl<sup>2</sup> omits the Adam Stanza, but leaves an eight line

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<sup>23</sup>This is the link as found in Se between the CY and PH, as reproduced in McCormick and Heseltine 1933, p. 479.

<sup>24</sup>This quotation is taken from McCormick and Heseltine 1933, p. 493. For details of all rubrics contained in Sl<sup>2</sup> see, McCormick and Heseltine 1933, pp. 491-9.

gap in his manuscript and writes 'Adam' in the margin; and uses only the short version of L30 (NPP); and does not include any of the unique links found in La. In view of the late date of S1<sup>2</sup> it seems most probable that it is descended from a now unknown manuscript which had used either Cp or the same exemplar as Cp.

It could be argued that after completion the La manuscript immediately passed into the hands of the patron and was therefore not available for examination by other scribes/editors. However, this theory is somewhat shallow, if it is believed that La is the product of a commercial scriptorium, as the very nature of manuscript production at the time appears to have occurred within a close knit community who would presumably have been aware of the work of each other.<sup>25</sup> It would be extremely unlikely that if the scribe composed the unique links he would have written them directly onto the leaves of the manuscript. The composer of the unique links, be it the La scribe, editor or other unknown person, would no doubt have experimented with the links studying the metre and style of the existing text before creating a set of passages he was satisfied with. The La scribe would then have had to copy in the links where appropriate, presumably from vellum copies. It is possible that the unique links could have been composed on wax tablets due to the relatively high cost of vellum and therefore destroyed. However, it seems unlikely that a copy of the unique links would not have been kept in some form as a record, if only in case a further patron hearing of the La manuscript desired a similar work; this theory is only valid if it is assumed that La was shop-produced. If the unique links were kept as loose sheets it would be simple for them to be mislaid, lost or destroyed. The fact that the links are unique to La raises questions regarding the whole issue of shop production. If La had been produced in a commercial shop it is more difficult to explain their absence from any other witness. However, since commercial shop production as Manly and Rickert envisage it was not an established concept, the explanations for the links being exclusive to La are increased. The evidence for commercial shop production

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<sup>25</sup>For further information regarding the close working community of scribes see, Doyle and Parkes 1978; and Christianson 1984, and 1989[a].

and La's possible production in Westminster is discussed fully in Chapter VII of this thesis. If La was not produced in a commercial scriptorium and not necessarily even in Westminster it is feasible to argue that La is neither a copy of Cp nor that it shared the same exemplar(s). This would then suggest that while the two manuscripts shared the same ancestor they derived independently from separate exemplars. The unique links may have been included in the La copytext and simply copied by the scribe.

Another explanation for the La links not having been used in other extant manuscripts may be due to their supposed lack of authenticity. However, authenticity seems to have been a factor not considered important since the TG, which is considered to be spurious, is included in many extant manuscripts.

### **Summary**

Whilst it can be concluded that the unique La links are not Chaucerian, the composer of the links remains anonymous. It is clear that, although not a brilliant metrist the composer had an excellent knowledge of the entire text of the *Canterbury Tales* and endeavoured to recreate Chaucer's style of verse and to imitate his poetry by adopting many Chaucerian words and phrases.

Three equally viable explanations for the origin of the links can be proposed; 1) they were added to the exemplar after Cp had been produced and assuming that La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s) simply copied by the La scribe; 2) they were among additional material available to the La scribe; or 3) La and Cp share a common ancestor, but not a common exemplar, and as such the links and additional material, like the long version of the NPP [L30] and the Adam Stanza were included in the La copytext. It is also possible that the links pertain from two different composers and two different sources. Whilst the analysis of the unique links provides clues to the scribe's skill and intentions it does not help in establishing the priority of either the Blake or the Manly and Rickert hypotheses.

The unique links in La have been added to create an impression of a complete work where even the incomplete Tales of the CO and SQ are concluded in a sense, by offering plausible explanations for their unfinished states. The sense of completion created in the La manuscript was an effect many other editors and scribes of *Canterbury Tales* witnesses endeavoured to achieve. However, La's influence on later manuscripts appears to have been somewhat limited with only the eight lines of the SQ Endlink [L19] being used on one occasion in any of the extant manuscripts, that being Se. Although Se uses a section of one of the unique links it is unlikely that it used either La or the La copytext as its exemplar.

The only explanation for the exclusion of the unique links from other manuscripts is that the links were lost or destroyed and later scribes/editors did not have access to the La manuscript, the copytext used by La or the unique links. The loss of the unique links assumes that they were recorded on loose sheets, or wax tablets. This theory does not offer a very satisfactory explanation for the absence of the unique links in any other of the extant manuscripts but may indicate that La was not produced in the close knit, book-producing community of Westminster. Another explanation could be that the eighteen line gap left in Cp at the end of the SQ suggests that the Cp scribe was expecting to receive a passage of text, possibly in the form of a link. It is possible that the SQ Endlink [L19] was originally intended for inclusion in Cp, but that this passage or link did not materialise in time for inclusion, and could then have been attached to the exemplar or passed to the La scribe in some other manner. Se could also have gained access to this particular link, or to an unknown manuscript which had included L19. This theory would therefore suggest that the other unique links were specifically composed for La, which as already discussed seems unlikely, or more probably were among additional material used by the La scribe.

The line of development which exists for Cp and La is strong but appears to come to a halt after La has been completed and possible reasons why the unique La links have not been adopted by later extant manuscripts are pure speculation. It is of course possible

that manuscripts which have been lost over time were either copied from La or an ancestor, making use of all the unique links.

Many scholars dismiss La because of the spurious links it includes, arguing that it is obviously highly edited and therefore of little importance in the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales*. However, the inclusion of the links is one aspect of the La manuscript which makes it interesting and important, the unique additions to the text clearly represent a further stage in the textual development of the poem. The unique links are not mere textual insertions but a record of how at least one reader, the composer, viewed the *Canterbury Tales* and the pilgrims. To quote Windeatt, 'in ignoring the context of scribal responses in which medieval texts are preserved to us in the mss, the modern reader may waste a valuable resource' (Windeatt 1979, p. 120).

## Chapter VI

### A Comparison of Lansdowne and Corpus: Minor Variants, Glosses, Dialect and Spelling

#### Introduction

The previous chapters on major omissions, additions, and unique links established that the La scribe desired to present the text of the *Canterbury Tales* in its most complete form. Consequently La includes the established tales and links and also incorporates the spurious TG and additional compositions in the form of unique links to try and achieve a sense of completion. In order to ascertain the priority of the two hypotheses tested in this thesis a more detailed analysis of the complete textual evidence must be undertaken. As such, this chapter comprises of three sections; minor textual variants, glosses, and dialect and spelling. For the sake of clarity each section of this chapter is concluded separately.

#### Minor Omissions, Additions, Transposed, and Altered Lines

The first section of this chapter provides a study of the minor omissions, additions, transposed, and altered lines within La. A study of this nature can help establish how the text was treated from an editorial point of view, the competence of the La scribe in copying the text, and the state of the copytext used. The analysis of these minor elements in the text of the La manuscript assists in establishing the nature of the textual relationship between La and Cp by identifying any affiliation of variants. The hypotheses of Manly and Rickert, and Blake can then be tested to see if either offers the most likely scenario for the genesis of La.

The potential number of minor variants within the La manuscript is so vast it is necessary to limit this chapter to the study of variations of at least one line in length.

Possible explanations for the individual variants are discussed and an evaluation of how they may help indicate the relationship of La to Cp is also considered. The close relationship of La and Cp, established in earlier chapters, necessitates that a detailed comparison is made between these two manuscripts. An analysis of the minor variants will highlight any affiliation between La and Cp where conjunctive readings occur in both manuscripts.

A reliable line by line comparison of La and Cp to identify minor variants was achieved by comparing computerised transcriptions of the manuscripts with each other and also with Hg which is generally considered to be the earliest extant witness and against which all variants are established.<sup>1</sup> The results of this study are comprehensively catalogued in Appendix V and the table presented below summarises the data. This comparative study shows that there are 83 omitted lines in La, 24 additional lines, 36 altered lines, and 38 transposed lines as follows:<sup>2</sup>

<u>Variant</u>	<u>La</u>	<u>Cp</u>	<u>La and</u>	<u>La</u>	<u>Cp</u>
	<u>Totals</u>	<u>Totals</u>	<u>Cp</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>Only</u>
Omitted Lines	83	59	50	33	9
Additional Lines (not repeated)	17	17	16	1	1
Additional Lines (repeated)	7	1	0	7	1
Transposed Lines (total)	38	27	26	12	1
[Transposed Lines (also altered)]	12	11	11	1	0]
Altered Lines (total)	36	36	35	1	1
[Altered Lines (also transposed)]	12	11	11	1	0]

<sup>1</sup>The TG and CY, do not appear in Hg, consequently Cp is adopted as the base-text. Other sections of text not found in Hg use alternative manuscripts as the base-text, for example, the extra twenty lines which are included in the long version of the NPP [L30], the Adam Stanza, the end of the PA and the RT.

<sup>2</sup>Where lines occur in couplets or consecutive groupings each individual line of the couplet or group has been counted as an individual variant. Any passage of text equivalent to more than four consecutive lines has been treated as a substantial variant and is consequently excluded from the data presented here. Major variants within La and Cp have been discussed in Chapter IV of this thesis.

The rows contained in square brackets are subgroups of their respective main categories. For example, the 11 La and Cp shared 'transposed lines (also altered)' are part of the 26 lines which make up the La and Cp shared 'transposed lines (total)'. It should be noted that of the 33 omitted lines recorded in La, 3 would have been included on a leaf now lost from Cp and as such are discounted from any further analysis.

The table presented above summarises the results of the textual analysis of minor variants within La and Cp and clearly shows the close textual relationship of the two manuscripts. It is impractical to study each of these variants individually so examples from each category will be examined in turn.

### *I. Minor Omissions*

The omission of 83 lines in La is a relatively large number in a manuscript where the scribe was endeavouring to present the text in its most complete form, however, it should be noted that 50 of these omissions are also shared by Cp. There are three causes for omitting text from a manuscript; carelessness, editorial decision, and the lack of the text in the exemplar. The primary cause for omitting lines is carelessness and can be explained as the result of eyeskip. Eyeskip can be defined as the occasions when the final word, or the text at the beginning of a line is repeated or presented in a similar form to that of another line. This causes the scribe's eye to skip to a line later in the text and thereby resulting in the omission of the intervening text. Eyeskip can occur in both prose and verse texts but is most prevalent in verse where the final rhyme word is often repeated in adjacent lines. Lines can be deliberately omitted to avoid content which may be considered either vulgar or controversial, or to correct rhyme or metre perhaps disrupted by an earlier omission. There are several occasions in La where lines have been omitted but the cause of these exclusions is not clear. In such cases the content of a line may be controversial or vulgar, however, the rhyme pattern is such that the lines could equally have been omitted through eyeskip.

La and Cp each omit 50 common lines. Where there is agreement between lines omitted in both La and Cp, this merely serves to reinforce the close relationship between the two but cannot be used to argue priority of either hypothesis as they would presumably have occurred whether La copied from Cp or they both shared the same exemplar(s). The La scribe omits 33 lines, of which 30 definitely appear in Cp; the other 3 may, or may not, have been included on a leaf which is now lost from Cp. As such the total number of lines omitted from La, but found in Cp is actually 30. These 30 omissions can be explained as carelessness on the part of the La scribe, if either of the two hypotheses considered in this thesis is accepted as the true genesis of La.

An example of eyeskip can be found in the PD where the La scribe has omitted line 318. The repetition of 'standeth' as the final word of line 317 and 318 is presumably the cause;

Hg	317	I seye / þ' as by ordre / thus it standeth
Hg	318	This knoweth / that hise hestes vnderstandeth
Hg	319	How that the secunde heste of god / is thatʒ
La	317	.i. seie as be order þus it standep
La	319	Howe þat þe secunde hest of god is þat

Line 318 forms a rhyming couplet with line 317 and its omission disrupts the rhyme pattern of the verse, but not noticing his mistake, the La scribe has made no attempt to either add the missing line or correct the rhyme pattern. The inclusion of line 318 in Cp suggests that it must have been present in the La copytext, if La used either Cp or shared the same exemplar(s) as Cp. This would indicate that the omission of line 318 from La is the result of scribal error. That the La scribe made careless mistakes is evident because on 8 occasions the La scribe omitted a line but realising his mistake has subsequently written the line in the margin. Full details of such occurrences are listed in Chapter II of this thesis, under Corrections. Although La's omission of 30 lines which appear in Cp can be

explained as scribal error on the part of the La scribe, equally they could have been missing from his exemplar assuming that this was neither Cp nor the Cp copytext.

The most significant result arising from a study of omitted lines in La and Cp is La's inclusion of 9 lines, scattered throughout the text that are present in Hg and considered to be authorial, but that are absent from Cp; KN 2181; WBP 10; CL 173; ME 64; NU 390; MO 281, 313, 345; and NP 223. Line 173 of the CL is omitted from Cp, and in La has been written in the right margin of the manuscript with a dash to indicate where it should be positioned. Although written by an early hand it is not that of the La scribe.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, for the purposes of this analysis, the number of authorial lines contained in La, but omitted from Cp will be treated as a total of 8.

To fully understand the significance of this result each of the two hypotheses being tested in this thesis must be discussed in turn. Blake's hypothesis that La is a copy of Cp with additional material available to the scribe can be supported by arguing that these extra 8 lines were among the additional material as the La scribe could not have composed these lines exactly as Chaucer had done. The inclusion of these lines would presuppose that the La scribe made a fairly close comparison of Cp with another manuscript to highlight changes or corrections which should be made. Although this is not absolutely impossible it seems unlikely, considering that a further 30 lines that appear in Cp and Hg are omitted from La. The omission from Cp of 8 lines scattered throughout the text would then have to be explained as the result of careless copying by the Cp scribe. Certainly there is nothing in the content of these lines which is particularly conspicuous and might explain their omission. The hypothesis that La is a copy of Cp assumes that the scribe compared his major copytext with another manuscript to make corrections and alterations. The possibility that this occurred must be recognised, but involves many stages in the textual development of the two manuscripts which can be better explained through the assumption that they both shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars.

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<sup>3</sup>See the subsection on Corrections in Chapter II of this thesis for further details regarding the addition of line 173 in the CL.

## II. Minor Additions

Of the 24 lines recorded as additional in La a number are technically not additions but repetitions. On 7 occasions the last line of a folio has been re-copied as the first line of the following page, none of which coincide with quire boundaries. As such these are not strictly additional lines and are discounted from the present analysis. On 1 occasion Cp contains an additional line [NU 482/1] which does not appear in La, but this is also a repetition and is similarly discounted from this analysis. As a result the number of additional lines in La totals 16 and in all cases agrees with Cp. Often additional lines form couplets rather than singletons. The fact that all additional lines are common to both La and Cp can serve no purpose in establishing priority of either Blake's or Manly and Rickert's hypotheses.

Several reasons can be postulated for the appearance of additional lines in La and Cp. Lines not included in the base-text may be added to correct the rhyme of a passage, particularly if an earlier line has been missed thereby disrupting the pattern. Lines may also be added to clarify the content of a passage. For example, an additional line occurs in the WBT (872/1) and is also found in Cp, El, and Ha<sup>4</sup>;

Hg	871	And yaf hym to the queene / al at hir wille
Hg	872	To chese / wheither she wolde / hym saue or spille
Hg	873	And after this / thus spak she to the knyght
Hg	874	Whan that she saw / hir tyme vp on a day
La	871	And 3aue him to þe qwene al att hir wil
La	872	To chese weþer sche wolde him saue or spil
La	872/1	The queen þonked þe kinge wip al here myht
La	873	And after þis þus spak sche to þe knyht
La	874	Whan þat sche seihe her time vpon a daye

The additional line actually maintains the rhyme pattern which at this point in Hg fails, perhaps due to the Hg scribe omitting this line during the production of the manuscript. The inclusion of line 872/1 also helps to clarify the meaning of the text. Despite the omission from Hg the line may well be authorial as it appears in the early witnesses; Cp,

El, and Ha<sup>4</sup>. Even if working from Chaucer's own draft papers it must be recognised and accepted that scribal errors could have been introduced at this early stage of copying by the Hg scribe.

### *III. Transposed Lines*

La contains a total of 38 transposed lines of which 26 are shared with Cp and as such cannot provide evidence for the priority of either of the two hypotheses. La contains 12 occurrences of transposed lines, which appear in the correct order in Cp. On the basis of the two hypotheses tested here these can best be explained as scribal error, probably initially resulting from eyeskip.

The most significant example is a transposed line in the ME [846-845] in Cp which does not appear in La. If La was a copy of Cp it must follow that the La scribe, realising this pair was reversed in his copytext corrected it. If La and Cp shared the same exemplar the occurrence of this particular transposition in Cp must be explained as scribal error on the part of the Cp scribe.

On 6 occasions transposed lines in La have been marked by an 'A' and 'B' in the left margin:

	<u>KN</u>	<u>RE</u>	<u>TG</u>	<u>SQ</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>SH</u>
	(fol.28 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.48 <sup>v</sup> )	(fol.61 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.85 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.116 <sup>r</sup> )	(fol.182 <sup>v</sup> )
<b>B</b>	1350	34	556	510	164	158
<b>A</b>	1349	33	555	509	163	157

Only on 1 occasion [CL 164-163] does a transposition which is marked in La also appear in Cp although it is not marked in the latter manuscript. Although difficult to be absolutely sure, the 'A' and 'B' marks next to each of the above transpositions appear to be in the hand of the La scribe. As such it seems likely that the reversal of the lines in each case results from scribal error on the part of the La scribe.

Of the 26 shared transpositions, 11 are also classified as altered. In these instances, when a line has been transposed, the second line of the pair has been altered, this often corrects the rhyme pattern, distorted by the original reversal. This anomaly is discussed in the next section.

#### *IV Altered Lines*

There are 36 lines classified as altered in La, of which 35 are shared with Cp (11 of which are also classified as transposed lines). This again reinforces the close relationship of the two manuscripts. Cp includes an altered line at SH 278/a which does not appear in La, in fact La omits line 278 altogether:

Cp	277	But <sup>7</sup> lete pis ping <sup>7</sup> be secre l zou preye
Cp	278/a	Ze schulle be payed wher pat <sup>7</sup> l lyue or deye

Several theories regarding this particular altered line can be postulated. If La was a copy of Cp the omission of this line could be explained as scribal error. The same explanation is applicable if both manuscripts shared the same exemplar. However, the altered Cp line does not appear in El or Ha<sup>4</sup>, which both include the base-text line. This suggests that line 278 of the SH was omitted from the exemplar and that the Cp scribe consequently composed this line himself to create a couplet with line 277 and thereby maintain the rhyme pattern. That line 278 was omitted from the Cp exemplar would also explain its absence from La, assuming that it shared the same copytext. The possibility that the Cp line 278/a is authorial is not compelling as it does not appear in Hg, nor is it included in the other early witnesses; El and Ha<sup>4</sup>.

The only other non-shared altered line in La and Cp is that of 222/a which appears in the WBP in La. This line is of particular interest as it raises several questions regarding the relationship of La with Cp. If La was a copy of Cp, the La scribe would probably have included line 222 as found in the base-text and Cp rather than substituting an altered line. It should be noted at this point that line 222 of the WBP as found in Cp has been

written by a different hand. Line 222 has been written in the main body of the text and is evenly spaced in accordance with the other lines on the folio. Since it has been written by someone other than the Cp scribe, it must be assumed that the Cp scribe either left a one-line gap in his manuscript accidentally or because he realised a line of text was missing from his exemplar. The inclusion of line 222 is most likely the work of one of the editors who appear to have checked Cp and have also inserted lines elsewhere in the manuscript. The hand is certainly contemporary with that of the Cp scribe. Three scenarios can be postulated with regard to the inclusion of this line. Firstly, it seems most likely that the inclusion of line 222 is the work of the Cp editor. It would therefore probably have been included in the Cp manuscript before the La scribe produced his copy if it is assumed that Cp was the La copytext. Secondly, the possible hesitation by the Cp scribe at this point perhaps indicates that there was some confusion in his exemplar. If this is the case and La shared the same exemplar(s) the fact that the La scribe included a variant line indicates that he either had access to additional material or that the variant line had been supplied to the exemplar after Cp had been produced. Since the variant line as found in La occurs in 15 other witnesses it seems unlikely that it was specifically composed for La. As such, the arguments regarding the La scribe's use of additional material, as discussed previously are still valid; it is unlikely that the La scribe actively sought additional material as he does not correct other missing lines from his text. This same scenario would hold true if the line had been missing from the Cp manuscript and La used it as his copytext. The third consideration is that whilst the Cp copytext was unclear or missing the line at this point, La used a different exemplar from that of Cp where the variant line had been substituted. This would suggest that the confusion arose in the *c* archetype which is the common ancestor of both La and Cp but was partially corrected in the La exemplar, but not the Cp copytext.

The variant line WBP 222/a as used in La, as already stated, is also found in 15 other witnesses including Pw and Se which are of particular interest. Pw is a significant *d*

group manuscript, this group is known to share a close textual relationship with at least two-thirds of the text as found in the *c* group. The occurrence of line 222/a in both La and Pw could indicate a closer relationship between La and the *d* group than previously thought. Although the close relationship between the *c* and *d* groups has been recognised by scholars as discussed in Chapter IV, previous studies of the two groups have usually been based on a comparison of Cp with the *d* manuscripts as Cp is generally accepted as the head of the *c* group. The results of this study suggest that a close textual comparison of La and the *d* manuscripts should also be undertaken. The inclusion of the same variant line in both La and Se is of interest as Se makes use of the unique La Squire's Endlink [L19]; the only witness to use any of the unique La links.

The fact that La includes line 10 of the WBP which is omitted from Cp and also contains a variant line in the same text, line 222/a being substituted for line 222, may indicate that La and Cp were using different exemplars containing slightly altered versions of the WBP. Line 222 of the WBP is also absent from the remaining *c* group member, Sl<sup>2</sup> which instead includes an altered line, although different to that found in La. An electronic transcription of Sl<sup>2</sup> has not yet been completed by the *Canterbury Tales* Project, but when finished it will enable a through analysis of textual variants across all three *c* members and thereby ascertain a better knowledge of the *c* archetype.

### **Summary**

The most striking result of this analysis is the large number of variants that La and Cp have in common. This strongly affirms their textual closeness and this large number of shared variants would appear to readily support either the Blake or the Manly and Rickert hypotheses. However, it is only when analysis is undertaken of those variants which are exclusive to either La or Cp that evidence which could challenge or conclusively prove the two hypotheses is revealed. La contains 8 authorial lines which do not appear in Cp and these lines could be the additional material to which Blake alludes. To fully support

Blake's theory it would need to be proven that not only did the La scribe have access to further relevant material but that he was also sufficiently concerned to consult it throughout the text. The La scribe omits a total of 83 lines, 50 of which are also absent from Cp, he also includes 8 lines which are considered to be authorial but which have been omitted from Cp. That the La scribe would choose to correct only these 8 missing lines with his available additional material seems unlikely.

Manly and Rickert's theory is well supported by the evidence of this chapter and can justify almost all of the incidents of variants. A slight modification is required to the theory to fully support the additional line at WBP 222/a, that the exemplar containing this line was altered in transition. Ultimately the only shortcoming of the Manly and Rickert hypothesis is that to fit some of the observed variants to their shared exemplar(s) theory scribal carelessness has to be inferred. As this cannot be satisfactorily proved or disproved, it can only be stated that as far as variants in the La and Cp texts are concerned, the Manly and Rickert hypothesis is of a higher priority than Blake's. The supposition that La and Cp used different, albeit very closely linked exemplars as proposed in previous chapters, could be supported across all of the observed variants within La and Cp.

To further clarify the relationship and genesis of La and Cp a study and comparison of their respective glosses and marginal annotations has been completed as discussed below.

### **A Comparative Study of the La and Cp Glosses**

The use of marginal and interlinear glosses in the early extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* is common, but as a source of evidence marginalia has been largely neglected. The close relationship between La and Cp in tale order and textual affiliation makes a comparison of the glosses beneficial in endeavouring to ascertain the genesis of the two witnesses. However, despite the assertions that La is a copy of Cp or that they both

shared the same exemplar(s) there has never been a comprehensive and exhaustive comparison of the glosses contained within the two manuscripts or any record of the affiliations they may share with those contained in Hg and El.

To fully assess the significance of a comparison between the La and Cp glosses it is necessary to establish scholarly opinion regarding the authorship and function of the glosses. The authorship, sources, and function of the glosses are all closely interwoven and a number of notable studies regarding these concerns have been produced. The identification of the possible sources Chaucer used for the *Canterbury Tales* has been researched in depth and as a result the sources of the glosses in some specific tales have also been fairly well established.<sup>4</sup> The most heavily glossed tales are those of the CL, ML, WBP, and parts of the ME and FK; it is the glosses in these tales which have been subjected to most scholarly investigation. Manly and Rickert suggest that the occurrence or absence of specific glosses in the constant manuscript groups they had identified may indicate different branches of development and reveal more information about the hypothetical archetypes of each of their four main groups. Manly and Rickert published a section on glosses in their eight volume work which catalogued most of the glosses found in the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> Although confusing in its presentation and classification, not always accurate, and lacking any definite conclusions, theirs remains the most complete published record of the glosses and is relied upon by scholars. Partridge has recently addressed the fallibility of Manly and Rickert's work stressing the importance of clarity and consistency in classification of glosses.<sup>6</sup> The transcripts which comprise Furnivall's *Six-Text* edition (1868-79) incorporate the marginal and interlinear glosses of the earliest witnesses, including those of La and Cp. However, this record is not always reliable, for example, Cp contains 'V' at line 503 of WBP (fol.110<sup>v</sup>), and a 'nota' gloss at line 633 of WBP (fol.112<sup>v</sup>), neither of which have been listed by Furnivall.

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<sup>4</sup>For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. III, pp. 525-7; and Bryan and Dempster 1941.

<sup>5</sup>See, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. III, pp. 483-527.

<sup>6</sup>Partridge provides examples of errors in Manly and Rickert's collation of glosses paying particular attention to the ML. For further details see, Partridge 1993.

The manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* contain many different types of marginal and interlinear glosses some of which may be authorial, whilst others are scribal or additions by patrons and owners. Glosses can take the form of intelligent observations and comments about the text, citations of authorities or, in some cases frivolous remarks.

The glosses and marginal annotations in the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses serve no single function and they have consequently been classified as different types. The terminology used by scholars in making such classifications varies, but for the purposes of this chapter the following have been adopted:

- 1) Source Glosses - these are often the longest of the glosses and take the form of citations or references to sources and generally appear in Latin.
- 2) Explanatory Glosses - these take the form of Latin equivalents of unfamiliar English words and most frequently appear as interlinear insertions positioned above the word being glossed. They are generally '.i.', homonyms.
- 3) Subheadings - many glosses mark the introduction of significant thematic or narrative passages. Glosses can also be used to denote major divisions in the text.
- 4) Simple markers - these can take the form of 'nota bene', 'exemplum', or 'auctor'. They have been included to draw the readers attention to a passage which an individual scribe considered particularly important or noteworthy. Pointing hands and other pictorial forms of marginalia also act as a form of gloss or marker. In La a pointing hand marks the unique SQ Endlink [L19], another pointing hand is drawn in the top right hand corner of fol.236<sup>r</sup> [PA 243-261] pointing toward the rest of the page.<sup>7</sup>

Glosses and marginal annotations in medieval texts were common, but interestingly they are not a feature of any of Chaucer's other works.<sup>8</sup> This has led many scholars to postulate that those glosses which make references to sources or citations from texts are a form of 'authorial memoranda'; Chaucer's own notes of references to the sources used perhaps indicating his desire to return to these points at some later time, possibly to expand or add passages.<sup>9</sup> If the source glosses are viewed as authorial memoranda they

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<sup>7</sup>The inclusion of the pointing hands in La is discussed in Chapter II of this thesis under Illumination and Decoration.

<sup>8</sup>For information regarding the frequency of glossing in medieval texts and their function see, Caie 1984, p. 339 and the sources referred to there. Dinshaw discusses the use of glosses in early texts of the Scriptures and provides an interesting definition of the term 'gloss', see Dinshaw 1989, especially pp. 121-2.

<sup>9</sup>For further discussion on this point see, Brusendorff 1925, p. 82; Dempster 1943; Silvia 1965; Lewis 1967; and Brennan 1973.

must have been included in Chaucer's working draft and presumably were never intended to appear in completed copies of the *Canterbury Tales*. This particular form of marginalia can perhaps be seen as providing evidence of Chaucer's working method and his process of revision and also affirm that the earliest witnesses, like Hg, derive from Chaucer's own draft papers. It is also possible that rather than Chaucer, the glossator was a scribe who had close associations with the author, his working draft of the poem and his source manuscripts. The fact that the glosses appear in witnesses dated as having been produced c. 1400, for example Hg and El, indicates that the glosses were either added during Chaucer's lifetime or shortly after his death.<sup>10</sup>

Regardless of who composed the glosses or how they are classified they offer a source of information about the text and provide us with an insight into the way it was received and viewed by the scribes who produced the copies, and in some cases by the later owners who also penned annotations in the margins of their manuscripts.<sup>11</sup>

### **Transcription of La and Cp Glosses**

A complete transcription of all marginal and interlinear glosses in La can be located in Appendix VI of this thesis. The principles of transcription followed in this study are outlined in the appendix but it is worth stating some points at this stage of the chapter to ensure clarity for the reader as to exactly how the glosses have been treated in this study. Where Cp contains glosses not found in La these have also been presented to allow a thorough comparison of the two witnesses. Where a gloss or marginal annotation is found in La and/or Cp its appearance in Hg and/or El is also noted. A comparison with Hg and El is appropriate as Hg has been used as the base-text against which all textual variants

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<sup>10</sup>For the various arguments and views regarding the possibility of Chaucer as the glossator see the references cited in n.9 above and, Tatlock 1935, especially pp. 103-4; Blake 1982[b], especially pp. 32-3; and Owen 1982, especially p. 239.

<sup>11</sup>Caie argues that many of the annotations and glosses in the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses are more than just references to sources and can in fact be viewed as 'comments on the text' (Caie 1975, p. 350). Viewing the glosses as textual commentaries alleviates the necessity to show that Chaucer could have been their author. Farrell also postulates the theory that glosses and marginal annotations should be viewed as 'a supplement to the text' (Farrell 1989, p. 288). See also, Caie 1984.

have been established and E1 is the most heavily glossed of the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses. All abbreviations have been expanded and any textual variants have been ignored for ease of comparison and because these two forms of variable could be entirely scribal.

## **Results**

A total of 23 marginal and interlinear glosses found in La have been recorded and transcribed for the purposes of this study. Cp contains a total of 132 glosses of which 16 are common to both witnesses.<sup>12</sup> Of the total number of glosses found in La, 4 glosses if originally included in Cp would have been contained on leaves which are now lost from the manuscript; 1 of these glosses occurs at lines 156-7 of WBP in La (fol.89<sup>r</sup>), the other 3 are the only glosses to appear in the PA in La. As it is impossible to know whether these 4 glosses would originally have appeared in Cp they have been excluded from the analysis considered here. The glosses in the MO, TM, and the PA as found in La and/or Cp are included in the totals presented above, but have been discounted from the following study; only those in La have been transcribed. Glosses in the prose tales are of no significance in the comparison undertaken here because in the prose tales, formal names are frequently written in the margins of the manuscript or underlined in red ink in the main body of the text. As such, they could be scribal/editorial and prove coincidental when common to both La and Cp. Of the 17 glosses in the MO in Cp, all are also included in La but these have been incorporated in the main body of the text and have consequently been recorded as rubricated tale divisions in Appendix II. Other marginal annotations which present the titles of the verses in the MO have been added by a later hand in La. The scope of this study is focused by discounting those glosses discussed above. The following analysis of glosses has been completed using accordingly adjusted figures; La 17 glosses; and Cp 42

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<sup>12</sup>It should be noted that the seven lines of Latin text, which in La occur on fol.68<sup>v</sup> between lines 203 and 204 of the ML, appear as two separate glosses in both Hg and E1 and have therefore been counted as two individual glosses for the purposes of this chapter.

glosses; of these totals 14 are common to both witnesses. Due to the large number of possible permutations resulting from a comparison of glosses across four witnesses (La, Cp, Hg, and El) it is not possible to concisely and clearly discuss all the data here. Consequently, figures are presented in summary tables at the end of the gloss catalogue in Appendix VI.

Of the 17 glosses in La, 11 appear in both El and Hg; 2 appear in El but not Hg [WBP 51, fol.88<sup>r</sup>, and WBT 1178-9, fol.101<sup>r</sup>]; 3 appear only in La and Cp [KN 1200, fol.26<sup>r</sup>, WBP 358-9, fol.91<sup>v</sup>, and 401-2, fol.92<sup>r</sup>]; and 1 is exclusive to La [L3, 4, fol.53<sup>r</sup>]. As the Cp manuscript contains significantly more glosses than La it consequently presents more meaningful results and as such is discussed first. The glosses of the La manuscript are considered in comparison to those in Cp.

Several significant results and conclusions can be extrapolated from this study. Given the textual closeness of La and Cp the number of glosses common to both is less than would be expected. Of the 42 glosses included in Cp, 22 are common to both Hg and El, whilst a further 7 are included in El but not Hg. Although El is the most heavily glossed *Canterbury Tales* witness it is surprising to find that the Cp glosses share a closer relationship to those of El than to those of Hg given that the *c* archetype has strong links to the Hg copytext as discussed in Chapter IV of this thesis.<sup>13</sup>

Where a gloss appears in both La and Cp and is also found in Hg, El and many other *Canterbury Tales* witnesses across all manuscript groups, it may be assumed that the gloss was present in the La and Cp copytext(s). Of the 14 glosses common to both witnesses the majority can be categorised as explanatory or source glosses with the exception of the simple 'nota' at line 633 of fol.94<sup>v</sup> and 'i-homonyms' at lines 14 (fol.79<sup>v</sup>) and 198 (fol.81<sup>v</sup>) of the SQ, and line 4 of L25 (fol.189<sup>r</sup>).<sup>14</sup> Of the 14 glosses common to

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<sup>13</sup>In view of the fact that Dempster and Blake postulate that the *c* text is derived from that of Hg or at least the same exemplars used by Hg, as discussed in Chapter IV, it is surprising to find that the Cp glosses share a closer relationship to those of El than to Hg. For further details regarding the relationship of the *c* text and Hg see, Dempster 1948[b], and 1949; Blake 1979, especially pp. 2-3; 1981[b], especially p. 113; 1985[a], especially pp. 96-109; and 1985[b], especially pp. 31-2.

<sup>14</sup>All line and folio numbers given refer to La. Where specific reference is made to Cp it will be noted

La and Cp, 10 share an affiliation with both Hg and El. Of the remaining glosses, 3 share no affiliation with either El or Hg and 1 is found only in El.

Of the 28 glosses contained in Cp but not La, 12 appear in both Hg and El; 6 are contained in El but not Hg; and 1 occurs in Hg but not El. A further 9 glosses found in Cp, are not included in either Hg or El. Of this latter category most are simply explanatory or source glosses, or 'i' homonyms, the majority of which occur in similar forms in other manuscripts even though not in Hg or El. Two of these glosses are worth considering in more detail as follows. Interestingly the positioning of the Cp gloss 'The Stag of<sup>7</sup> an hert<sup>7</sup>' at line 338/2 of the SQ (fol.95<sup>r</sup>) coincides with a blank line in La, the only gap in the La manuscript. It is likely that this gap was left for a rubric, drawing attention to the end of Part I of the SQ and the commencement of Part II. Had 'The Stag of<sup>7</sup> an hert<sup>7</sup>' been identified as part of the main text by the La scribe it would presumably have been copied without hesitation, unless he intended to treat the phrase as a rubric and add it later in red ink. Whilst interesting, this does not provide evidence for the priority of either hypothesis as the intentions of the La scribe are unknown as regards this gap in his manuscript and what he intended to write in it. The 'Stag of<sup>7</sup> an hert<sup>7</sup>' gloss is a feature of some *d* group manuscripts and Manly and Rickert suggest that it was originally a scribal misreading of 'Inc scda pars' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. III, p. 535).<sup>15</sup>

The other interesting Cp gloss is that of 'Et lamentat<sup>7</sup>' which appears in the main body of the text between lines 207 and 208 in the NU (fol.173<sup>r</sup>). This gloss is unique to Cp and is therefore presumably an addition by the Cp scribe himself. Manly and Rickert state that it is 'an error, perhaps suggested to the scribe by the four Oo's of lines 207-8' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 97).<sup>16</sup> As an independent gloss this provides no evidence for the priority of either hypothesis.

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accordingly.

<sup>15</sup>For further information regarding this gloss see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. III, p. 535.

<sup>16</sup>Lines 207 and 208 of the NU as found in Cp read as follows:

O lord o feip o god wipoute mo  
Of<sup>7</sup> cristendom and fader of<sup>7</sup> al also

The glosses in La are written in the hand of the La scribe and there is no noticeable difference between the ink of the glosses and that of the main text. This indicates that the text was annotated concurrently on a line by line basis or as each short section of the text was completed.<sup>17</sup> The glosses were almost certainly anticipated when the production of the La manuscript was planned and the pages ruled as none of the annotations are cramped or displaced and all are written in the same size script as the main body of the text. Several are accompanied by decorative paraph marks, details of which are provided in Chapter II of this thesis (see *Illumination and Decoration*). The planned inclusion of glosses and marginal annotations strongly suggests that they existed in the La copytext.

If a gloss appears in Cp but not La then the hypothesis that La is a copy of Cp can be supported only by explaining their absence from La as an editorial decision or an oversight on the part of the La scribe. As stated above, the inclusion of glosses in La was well planned and to suppose that the scribe deliberately omitted so many glosses seems doubtful. In a manuscript where decoration and *ordinatio* was a primary concern, where even the catchwords are a decorative feature rather than simply serving a practical function, it seems out of character for the La scribe to omit textual features which could also act as decorative enhancements to the manuscript. The employment of decoration and *ordinatio* in the La manuscript is discussed fully in Chapter VII of this thesis. If Manly and Rickert's hypothesis that La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s) is valid then two explanations can be considered for the variation between the number of glosses contained in La and Cp. Firstly, that those glosses contained in Cp were copied from the exemplar(s), La omitting some of them through editorial decision or carelessness. Secondly, that La simply included all the glosses found in his exemplar(s) whilst Cp chose to add to this body of material. Neither of these two explanations can be substantiated.

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<sup>17</sup>A later hand has included the name of each pilgrim next to their respective descriptions in the GP. Another later hand has also included the title of the tragedies and marginal annotations alongside the stanzas of the MO. These are discussed further in Chapter II of this thesis see, *Later Hands and Dry Point*.

On 3 occasions La contains glosses which are not in Cp; L3 [4, fol.53<sup>r</sup>], MI [194, fol.42<sup>r</sup>], and WBT [1178-9, fol.101<sup>r</sup>]. The gloss in L3 of La, which reads 'be koce', is a simple marker and as such scribal and therefore of little significance. The gloss in MI is also found in Hg and El, and the gloss in the WBT is found in El, but not Hg. The gloss in the MI is widespread across all groups of the tradition and if La was a copy of Cp its absence from the latter could be explained as a careless oversight, editorial decision or because the gloss was not in the copytext. That La contains this gloss and Cp does not, and given the premeditated construction of La, suggests that La is not a copy of Cp. That the gloss was part of extra material available to the La scribe cannot be conclusively discounted, but as already discussed elsewhere in this thesis, it seems unlikely that the La scribe sought sections of additional text. Consequently, the omission of the MI gloss from Cp is more indicative that La is not a copy of Cp.

There are several series of independent glosses which do not appear in Hg or El but are present in a number of manuscripts from shared genetic groups. The glosses in the WBP form an independent group in the *c* and *d* manuscripts which suggests that they were present in the *c* archetype; as such, the glosses in the WBP are worthy of closer examination.<sup>18</sup> In order to review the significance of these glosses in Cp it is necessary to see how they relate to those in a typical *d* group witness. Although Manly and Rickert claim that Pw is the best representative of the *d* manuscripts it is misleading to select one single witness as being illustrative of an entire group. However, for the purposes of testing the independent glosses in the WBP the Pw manuscript has been chosen for comparison with La and Cp as it has already been mentioned in relation to minor textual variants earlier in this chapter and is also considered in the analysis of dialect and spelling which follows.

Cp contains 9 glosses in the WBP and in order to establish which of these are part of the independent series it is necessary to discount any glosses which are also found in

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<sup>18</sup>For further reference to the possible existence of independent series of glosses see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. III, p. 496; and Partridge 1993, pp. 86, and 91 n.4.

Hg and/or El. The simple 'nota' at line 633 occurs in both Hg and El; and the gloss at line 51 occurs in El; as such these are not significant in trying to identify the independent series. Likewise, the 'V' at line 503 which marks the passage where the Wife of Bath begins to talk of her fifth husband is probably scribal and the fact that it coincides with a lengthy gloss in the El manuscript is most likely purely coincidental. Of the remaining 6 glosses in Cp in the WBP, 5 occur in Pw and 2 appear in La.<sup>19</sup> Although the gloss at 358 does not appear in Pw it is included in both Cp and La. As such, the 5 glosses which are common to both Cp and Pw and the single gloss, not in Pw but in both Cp and La, are part of the independent series to which Manly and Rickert, and Partridge allude.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that these glosses form an independent series but only 2 appear in La suggests that; 1) the glosses were in a shared exemplar and the La scribe omitted them through either editorial decision or carelessness. 2) The glosses were not in the shared exemplar but the Cp scribe/editor chose to include additional annotations. 3) The glosses were in the Cp exemplar but not that used by the La scribe, this theory presupposes that La and Cp used different exemplars. This evidence is inconclusive and does not add to our knowledge of the genesis of La.

Since only 2 glosses of the independent series as found in Cp also appear in La, and none appear in SI<sup>2</sup>, it is actually misleading to claim that an independent series of glosses in the WBP exists across the *c* group. The discussion of the independent series of glosses has not been a diversion, it serves to illustrate the failing of the entire *c* classification because it is based on Cp as the head of the *c* group. In reality the independent series of WBP glosses may be common to Cp and some *d* group manuscripts but are certainly not a feature of the *c* group as Manly and Rickert, and Partridge have claimed.

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<sup>19</sup>A missing leaf in Cp would perhaps have contained a gloss which appears at lines 156-7 in La. As already stated, this gloss has been discounted from this study, however, it should be noted that although this gloss is included in neither Hg nor El, it does appear in Pw and as such is presumably one of the independent series of glosses associated with the *c* and *d* group manuscripts.

<sup>20</sup>See n.18 above for further details.

## **Summary**

Instances of repeated similarities and intrinsic differences amongst both widespread glosses and those considered to have originated as independent series can provide significant evidence in the analysis of textual tradition. The analysis of the glosses evidence found within Cp and La suggests a variety of interpretations of the La genesis, but only one explanation which fulfills all eventualities satisfactorily:- that whilst Cp and La share a common ancestor, the *c* archetype, they were copied from different exemplars; Cp possibly being a direct copy of the archetype.

The evidence analysed so far in this chapter has reduced the priority of Blake's hypothesis and consideration of the dialect and spelling will lead to a position whereby Blake's theory can be disregarded from future discussions of the genesis of La and its relationship to Cp.

## **Dialect and Spelling**

A comparison of the spelling systems and dialect of La and Cp can prove useful in endeavouring to ascertain the genesis of the two witnesses. The work of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin and Laing, have shown that scribal behaviour is multifarious but not indiscriminate. By adopting the criteria and applying the techniques developed by McIntosh (1963), Benskin (1981), and *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (henceforth, *LALME*), it is possible to identify layers of language within manuscripts and thereby isolate the personal repertoire of a specific scribe.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>The Edinburgh Middle English Dialect Survey was commenced in 1952 by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin and resulted in the production of *LALME*. The introduction to *LALME* 1986, vol. 1, pp. 3-55, explains the aims of the *Atlas* and the principles followed for the study. Scribal profiles and layers of language in a manuscript can be identified by applying the type of questionnaire developed for the Survey of English (*LALME*). For further information regarding the questionnaire see, Benskin and Laing 1981, pp. 59-62. For discussion on the criteria used to construct a scribal profile see, McIntosh 1974, and 1975. For details regarding the methodology for localising a scribal dialect see, McIntosh 1963; and *LALME* 1986, vol. 1, pp. 3-36.

The Cp scribe was named as Scribe D by Doyle and Parkes in 1978 and his hand has been identified in eleven other manuscripts, including *Canterbury Tales* witness Ha<sup>4</sup> and eight Gowers. Through the work of Smith the scribal repertoire of Scribe D has been identified and analysed and the origin of the scribe determined.<sup>22</sup> Smith concludes that Scribe D originated in the South-West Midlands, most probably from West Worcestershire.<sup>23</sup> Smith's study of Scribe D also includes a brief analysis of the language of the La and Pw manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> Making use of electronic transcriptions of La and Cp, and using Hg as a control against which to compare all spelling variants, it has been possible to test Smith's analysis and supplement his study with additional findings.

Certain forms used with regularity in La can be identified as part of the scribe's own repertoire. For example: 'is' HIS; 'nouht' NOT; 'mony' MANY; 'bien / buen' ARE; 'schol' SHALL; 'iche' EACH. These forms can be localised to the South-West Midlands. Smith more precisely concludes that the origins of the La scribe are 'Worcestershire'.<sup>25</sup> The consistent use of 'pouhe' forms in the La manuscript substantiate Smith's findings. In La the form 'pouhe' occurs consistently, and almost exclusively, throughout the entire manuscript. At the same places in the text Cp uses 'pough' and Hg uses 'thogh' or 'though', these represent the most common forms used in each manuscript respectively. Smith states that 'a scribe's *repertoire* of spellings consists of two elements: his *active repertoire* - the forms he always uses, whatever he is copying - and his *passive repertoire* - the forms he will allow when faced with them in his exemplar but will otherwise prefer not to use' (Smith 1983, p. 108). Since the La scribe has no hesitation in using this spelling such forms are therefore presumably part of the scribe's spontaneous or active repertoire. The form 'pouhe' is dialectically specific to Worcester.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Smith has studied the copying of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* with particular reference to the spelling practice of Scribe D. For further details see, Smith 1985; and 1988[c]. For a discussion of the linguistic and dialect features of Scribe D see, Smith 1988[b].

<sup>23</sup>See, Smith 1985, p. 208; and Smith 1988[b].

<sup>24</sup>See, Smith 1985, pp. 215-31.

<sup>25</sup>See, Smith 1985, p. 224.

<sup>26</sup>See LALME 1986, vol. 4, p. 58, and vol. 2, p. 142 for the Item map.

La also contains some Northernisms: 'ware' WERE; 'peire' THEIR; 'hundrep' HUNDRED; 'werld(e)' WORLD. Cp likewise contains Northernisms but, the occurrences of Northernisms in La do not coincide with those in Cp and as such both witnesses contain an individual and unrelated Northern layer. All the Northernisms present in La and Cp, with the possible exception of 'hundrep' HUNDRED, can be accommodated as variants of a South-West Midland dialect.

Pw, a *d* manuscript which shares a close relationship with the *c* group, also contains features of a South-West Midland dialect, but Smith argues that these are introduced by the scribe rather than from an archetype. This reinforces the fact that the South-West Midland layers found in La and Cp are each scribal rather than a common archetypal layer. The origins of the Pw scribe can be localised to the border of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire.<sup>27</sup>

The appearance of Scribe D's hand in so many manuscripts allows his personal repertoire to be identified with some conviction. As a result any features in Cp not identified as part of Scribe D's repertoire may come from the exemplar. If a common layer of dialect can be identified in manuscripts which have used the same exemplar it is reasonable to suggest that this common layer represents the language of the exemplar or archetype, but not necessarily a Chaucerian layer. Certain parts of the *Canterbury Tales* text in Cp, La, and Pw show an East Anglian layer, for example, the use of the form '3ouen' GIVEN. Smith states that 'The presence of some East Anglian exemplar in the evolution of the Corpus manuscript is dramatically confirmed by the presence of *drynclyng* at line A 2456 (*Knight's Tale*) - a form of very restricted provenance' (Smith 1983, p. 112).<sup>28</sup> Having detected an East Anglian layer in Cp, La, and Pw, Smith concludes that all three manuscripts share a common East Anglian ancestor, but that all

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<sup>27</sup>For further details regarding the origins of the Pw scribe see, Smith 1985, p. 225.

<sup>28</sup>The line reference as per the lineation scheme used by the *Canterbury Tales* Project is, KN 1598. The form used in La is 'drynchingē' [KN 1598], and in Hg 'drenchyng' [KN 1598].

three scribes involved in the copying of these manuscripts originated in the South-West Midlands introducing their own dialect layers of South-West Midland forms.<sup>29</sup>

### Summary

On the assumption that Chaucer's language was an East Midlands variety, any other dialectic layers must therefore be the product of scribes. However, as the original exemplar is copied and altered by numerous scribes, intermediate witnesses display linguistic mixtures or scribal layers, known as *Mischsprachen*. McIntosh identifies three categories of influence excerpted on the scribe by the exemplar:

- 1) The scribe copies his exemplar exactly, retaining all the spellings. This occurs only rarely.
- 2) The scribe alters the vast majority, if not all orthography, morphology and vocabulary to correspond with his native dialect. This form of copying is common.
- 3) The scribe faithfully copies some aspects of the exemplar and changes others to suit his own spontaneous repertoire. This process of copying is also common.<sup>30</sup>

A scribe's repertoire is consequently changing as he learns new spellings from each exemplar he copies. Spellings and forms may be alien to him at the onset of copying but may by the end of the process have become part of his own repertoire. As such, with each new exemplar a scribe copies previously alien features become part of his regular usage and as such the dialect layers change, alter and modify until the layers are too dialectically mixed for us to be able to identify the place of origin of the scribe.

Smith's research identifies spellings of words which change form progressively throughout the La text. For example, '3iuen / 3euen' which is the most common form of GIVEN in the KN in La becomes '3ouen' in the PA.<sup>31</sup> Due to spellings altering between tales, only a complete linguistic analysis of the entire manuscript would be valuable in respect of La. For Scribe D, and consequently Cp, the case is clearer because the other

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<sup>29</sup>See Smith 1985, p. 230.

<sup>30</sup>These categories were first identified by McIntosh in 1973 but have been reiterated by Benskin and Laing 1981, p. 56. Benskin and Laing also discuss the problems associated with the relationship of scribe and exemplar see, Benskin and Laing 1981.

<sup>31</sup>For a full analysis of the change of this form see, Smith 1985, pp. 227-30.

manuscripts attributed to him can act as a control against which to establish his repertoire. In the case of La there is no other identified manuscript in the hand of the scribe and as such it is extremely difficult to try and establish his repertoire. If accepted that La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s), and having already identified Scribe D's repertoire, it is possible to establish what was probably in the exemplar. Since one of the main aims of this thesis is to test whether or not La and Cp shared exemplar(s) such an extensive linguistic study is rendered too demanding and not viable at this stage, but may be considered for future research.

Electronic transcriptions of Cp and La make a comprehensive linguistic study of the two witnesses easier and when transcriptions of SI<sup>2</sup> and Pw are undertaken and completed by the *Canterbury Tales* Project a dialect study of all these manuscripts and subsequent comparison would prove extremely valuable. At present what can be deduced from the brief linguistic analysis summarised here is that both Scribe D, who copied the Cp manuscript, and the La scribe originated from neighbouring areas of the South-West Midlands in Worcestershire; that both manuscripts contain Northern layers which are separate from each other; and both witnesses share certain spellings which probably derive from a common archetype. On the analysis of the South-West Midland features found in La and Cp, Smith states that 'since the Lansdowne is a more markedly South-West Midland MS than Corpus, the South-West Midland forms in the former cannot come from copying from the latter' (Smith 1985, p. 224).

## Chapter VII

### Shop Production, Illumination, and Westminster

#### Introduction

The similarities in provenance, tale order and textual affiliations of La and Cp have been established in previous chapters. Another major issue regarding the genesis of the two manuscripts and their relationship is that of shop production. Manly and Rickert note the close textual relationship and similar style of illumination in La, Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup> which led them to conclude that in all probability the three manuscripts were produced and decorated in the same shop, thus explaining the close relationship between La and Cp. They believe that shop production of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts was common and state of La's relationship to Cp that:<sup>1</sup>

The marriage of William de Burle, whose surname is in Cp, with Margaret Grey de Wilton, and the descent of Anthony Brydges, whose name is in La, from her brother, Sir Reynold Grey de Wilton, together with the evidence in the two MSS from textual relationship, writing, illumination, and style in general, that they were made in the same shop and from the same exemplar, La only a little later than Cp, suggest that the copies of tales from which these two MSS were derived belonged to some one of their immediate social circle who was intimate with Chaucer. (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 98-9).

Although Blake acknowledges that the Manly and Rickert theory of La and Cp sharing a common exemplar(s) is a possibility, he argues strongly against both this suggestion and the idea that La and Cp were produced in the same shop. Blake states that 'since the concept of scribal shops has been shown not to be applicable to these two manuscripts, this [Manly and Rickert's] conclusion may be modified by suggesting that Lansdowne was

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<sup>1</sup>Manly and Rickert state that 'by the 15 C the production of secular books, and indeed of most religious ones, had passed into the hands of the book-trade, scribes, text-writers, stationers, and the like' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. II, p. 12). For further details of the relationship of La, Cp, and Ha<sup>4</sup> and Manly and Rickert's claim that all three were produced in the same shop see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 99, 220-1, and 307-8; and vol. II, p. 490.

copied from Corpus with extra material available to the scribe rather than from Corpus's own exemplar' (Blake 1985[a], p. 73).

This chapter considers the evidence for the existence of an early fifteenth-century book trade to assess whether it is likely that both La and Cp were copied in the same commercial scriptorium. A comparison of the ordinatio and decoration of La, Cp, and to a lesser extent Ha<sup>4</sup> will help establish how far any similarities are significant or coincidental. An analysis of the historiated initial situated on the first folio of La may provide evidence for the place of illumination by possible identification of a school or master artist. A comparison of the artwork found in La and Cp can prove valuable in trying to establish more clearly the nature of the relationship between these two manuscripts.

The value of analysing the decoration of a manuscript and its limitations need to be established at the start of this chapter in order to assess just how useful such a study can be. The decoration of a manuscript, be it illumination, or illustration in the form of miniatures, is rarely dated or signed. However, the style of decoration can in many cases be given a speculative date. Miniatures and historiated initials can be given tentative dates of production from the style of clothes, architecture, and hairstyles depicted since these tend to be contemporary. Motifs and heraldic devices can be used to identify possible owners or patrons and the importance and value of a manuscript can be indicated by how elaborately and extensively it is decorated.<sup>2</sup>

In the same way that palaeography can be used to identify the hand of a particular scribe in several manuscripts, the close study of a manuscript's artwork and identification of specific motifs, mottoes, or unusual design features in miniatures and borders replicated in other manuscripts can indicate the work of a specific artist, atelier, or the number of artists who have worked on a manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Just as handwriting is unique, an artist's work

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<sup>2</sup>For details of how heraldic devices and portraits in manuscripts can help identify possible patrons and owners see, Scott 1989[a].

<sup>3</sup>Through tracing the re-occurrence of an 'owl' motif in the borders of a number of manuscripts, and the subsequent identification of several hands involved in the decorating of these manuscripts, Scott has been able to identify a mid-fifteenth-century English illuminating shop. For further information see, Scott 1968.

is similarly idiosyncratic, displaying the particular style of a school or master artist, combined with touches of personal artistic flair. Even though the identity of an individual artist remains unknown, indications as to his period of work and location can be generated by piecing together the clues.

The restrictions of studying manuscript artwork must be recognised before any theories regarding dating, style and possible artists, speculative or otherwise, can be made. Even if the artwork of a manuscript can be dated there is no way of knowing how long a period of time elapsed between the completion of copying a manuscript and the time it was decorated. The identification of a specific artist or an atelier can be difficult to prove, especially with regard to manuscripts which do not contain miniatures or other specific motifs. Likewise, the identification of similar styles of decoration used in several manuscripts, without the re-occurrence of specific motifs, is not evidence of production in the same location but merely of the use of a style fashionable at the time. In undertaking any study of manuscript decoration, what can and cannot be gleaned from this source of evidence, has to be borne in mind before any conclusions can be drawn.

### **Evidence for a Fifteenth-Century Book Trade**

The work of Pollard and subsequently Christianson, Doyle and Parkes, and Scott has been invaluable in establishing a greater knowledge of the book trade in fifteenth-century London.<sup>4</sup> The first known reference to a 'stationer' in London survives in a record of payment to William de Southflete for supplying four volumes of bound parchment which were to be used for the accounts of the Royal Wardrobe in 1311 and 1312.<sup>5</sup> The first reference to the guild of Writers of Court-Letters can be dated as 26 September 1373 and from 1390 until 1628 their Common Paper is continuous. In 1389 records survive to

<sup>4</sup>For example see, Doyle and Parkes 1978; Christianson 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989[a], 1989[b], and 1990; and Scott 1968, and 1997.

<sup>5</sup>William de Southflete, described as 'stacionarius Londiniensis', was paid 10s for making and binding four volumes for the Royal Wardrobe accounts. The record can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Tanner 197, fol.43v. These are the Wardrobe Accounts for the fifth year of the reign of Edward II. For further details see, Pollard 1937[a] pp. 2-3.

show that there was also a separate gild of Limners.<sup>6</sup> Possibly as early as 1403, and certainly by 1416 it would appear that the Scriveners, Textwriters, Limners, and Stationers had amalgamated to form one gild known as the Stationers' Company which was finally chartered as a Livery Company in 1557.<sup>7</sup>

It would be surprising if there was no evidence of book-related crafts in the capital at this time. However, although records and data provide evidence of book-related crafts having been practised in London, it does not prove that the book trade was a highly sophisticated, well established organisation, responsible for the production of the majority of books with London origins. Surviving records indicate that book-related crafts clustered around London Bridge and the Westminster area of the City. Clustering of industries has been the norm since Anglo-Saxon times, for ease of obtaining materials and resources necessary for particular crafts. That scribes and limners were separate entities has been shown by Scott and serves to reinforce the economic advantages of clustering of book-related trades.<sup>8</sup> Pollard argues that a stationer would be contracted to produce a codex from beginning to end, employing the various craftsmen this task demanded; textwriter, limner and binder.<sup>9</sup> Clustering of trades would have allowed a product to be completed from acquisition of the basic materials to the finished item with relative ease. In the case of book production it is therefore not unusual to find a parchmenter and stationer, a textwriter, and a binder all situated in close proximity.<sup>10</sup>

In the first half of the fifteenth century the book buying public in England would have been a small and select market and could not have feasibly supported a wholesale

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<sup>6</sup>For further details see, Pollard 1937[a], pp. 7-8.

<sup>7</sup>For a comprehensive account of the emergence of the book trade and its associated guilds see, Pollard 1937[a], especially pp. 9-11; and Pollard 1937[b]. See also Christianson 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989[a], 1989[b], and 1990.

<sup>8</sup>Scott's identification of a mid-fifteenth-century illuminating shop shows that the establishments of illuminators and scribes/copyist were separate entities. For further details see, Scott 1968, especially pp. 194-6.

<sup>9</sup>For further details see, Pollard 1937[a], p. 14.

<sup>10</sup>Evidence for the clustering of book-related crafts is presented by the work of Christianson who states that 'in 1404, members of the book trade were concentrated in one rental site, the shops in Paternoster Row' (Christianson 1987, p. 49). For further details see, Christianson 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989[a], and 1989[b].

commercial 'book-trade'. Books were very expensive items in the early fifteenth century and scribes could not viably have afforded to produce books which were not guaranteed to sell.<sup>11</sup> It therefore seems probable that the book trade operated on a bespoke basis.<sup>12</sup> The work of Doyle and Parkes supports this theory by revealing that independent scribes were being hired as each job arose as shown by the fact that five different scribes worked on the production of the Trinity Gower.<sup>13</sup> They also show that there was less organisation than would perhaps be assumed.

To summarise, a book trade did exist in London in the early fifteenth century, mainly centred in the Westminster and London Bridge area of the City. However, it is also clear that the trade was not a wholesale commercial enterprise in the modern sense. The trade was almost certainly bespoke and it seems most probable that professional scribes were hired by a master scrivener as and when the work required. Doyle and Parkes suggest that early fifteenth-century scribal shops were not an established concept which means that the closeness of La and Cp becomes more problematic to explain.<sup>14</sup> Although it seems unlikely that La, Cp, and Ha<sup>4</sup> were produced in a commercial shop, it is possible that they were all shop illuminated. Certainly if shop production is discounted as a possible reason for the close textual links between La and Cp one needs to look for some other explanation as to why the two manuscripts have so many similarities. One point

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<sup>11</sup>The cost of copying and illuminating books varied widely as can be seen in the accounts, records and bills which have survived from the period detailing the various costs of manuscript production. Blank pages in manuscripts sometimes record a list of prices for the completion of the manuscript giving a breakdown of the cost of parchment, textwriting, illumination and binding, inks and colours. The illumination of a manuscript often cost one-third of the total cost of production. Service books tended to be more lavishly illuminated than secular manuscripts and at times the costs of illumination were extraordinarily high. For example, in 1384 the cost for illuminating the 'large letters' in Abbot Litlington's Missal came to £22 0s.3d; while it cost £4 to write the text. The total cost of the manuscript's production was £27. 17s.15d. The price of book production varied to a large degree, but even so, the size of La and its decoration must lead us to consider it as having been an expensive manuscript in its time. For further details regarding the cost of manuscripts see, Schramm 1933; and Bell 1937.

<sup>12</sup>The work of both Pollard and Scott shows that the book trade worked on a bespoke rather than a wholesale basis. For further details see, Pollard 1937[a], p. 16; and Scott 1968, especially pp. 194-6.

<sup>13</sup>See, Doyle and Parkes 1978, pp. 199-203. The Trinity Gower is Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.2 of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

<sup>14</sup>Doyle and Parkes have found no evidence to support the theory that *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts were being commercially produced in the first half of the fifteenth century. See, Doyle and Parkes 1978, especially pp. 196-203; and Doyle and Parkes 1979, p. xxi.

can be made with some certainty, that a large and beautifully decorated manuscript like La would have been expensive and in all likelihood only have been produced once it had been commissioned. It follows then, that the patron of La must have been a person of wealth.

Records show that individual scribes were sometimes employed by patrons to produce documents and texts. William Ebesham was a professional scribe who Sir John Paston II (d. 1479) and his uncle William occasionally employed to copy business and legal documents.<sup>15</sup> John Paston had a literary interest and commissioned Ebesham, to copy several literary works for him, including his *Grete Boke* which he ordered to be made in 1468.<sup>16</sup> Sometime between July and the end of October in 1468, Ebesham sent a bill to Paston detailing texts he had copied, those for which he had received payment and those he had not including a reference to 'vij quairs' of the *Grete Boke*. Ebesham requests that Sir John Paston send him one of his gowns as payment; 'for almes oon of your olde gownes, which will countirvale much of the premysses, I wote wele'.<sup>17</sup> In the Spring of 1469 Ebesham wrote to John Paston again outlining details of payment received for copying and accounts still unsettled. With respect to the *Grete Boke* Ebesham lists the following:

Item, as to the Grete Booke, first for wrytyng of the Coronacion and othir tretys of knyghthode in that quaire which conteyneth a xij levis and more, [ij d. a lef]	ij s. ij d.
Item, for Othea Pistill which conteyneth xliij leves	vij s. ij d.
Item, for the Chalenges and the Actes of Armes which is xxviiij lefes	iiij s. viij d.
Item, for de Regimine Principum which conteyneth xlv leves aftir a peny a leef, which is right wele worth	ij s. ix d.
Item, for the rubrisshyng of all the booke (Davis 1976, Pt. II, 755).	ij s. iiij d.

Although Ebesham was working some fifty years after the production of La, similar practices, whereby patrons employed the services of a professional scribe, are

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<sup>15</sup>For references to Ebesham's copying of literary texts and legal documents see, Davis 1976, Pt. II, 751, and 755. Ebesham's hand has also been identified as having written the address on a letter from William Paston to his sister Margaret Paston, see, Davis 1971, Pt. I, 93. It should be noted that all references to Davis are to letter numbers rather than page numbers. Doyle has identified many manuscripts which are in Ebesham's hand, for further details see, Doyle 1957.

<sup>16</sup>The *Grete Boke* survives as London, British Library MS. Lansdowne 285. Ebesham had also been commissioned by John Paston to copy two French books in 1469. For further details see, Davis 1971, Pt. I, 245.

<sup>17</sup> Davis 1976, Pt II, 751.

recorded a hundred years prior to the appearance of La. For example, in 1324 the Countess of Clare, employed a scribe for sixteen weeks at Clare House to produce a copy of *Vitae Patrum*, for which he was paid 8s.<sup>18</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the commissioning of 'free-lance' professional scribes by private patrons did not occur throughout the intervening period. Since the production of La in a commercial scriptorium seems unlikely this is a possible explanation for the copying of the manuscript. The scenario that the La patron requested a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* from a master scrivener who then employed his own scribe, illuminator and binder is possible, but it is just as viable to suggest that a patron could have sought and employed a professional scribe himself cutting out the middle man; the master scrivener.

Accepting the logical assumption that whoever the La patron was he was wealthy, he probably also employed his own professional clerks and scribes from his immediate locality. This theory could tentatively be suggested as an explanation for why the La hand has not been identified in other manuscripts or records. To employ one's own professional scribes is not unusual; Richard de Bury had his own scribes, binders, correctors and illuminators and Chaucer himself is thought to have employed his own scribe, Adam Scriveyn.

The Paston letters also offer evidence of book lending. 'The Inventory off Englysshe bokis off John [Paston]' was written shortly before his death in November 1479.<sup>19</sup> The inventory reveals details not only of John Paston's interest in literary texts, but also the interest of others. It is stated that Paston received 'off myn ostesse at the George' a manuscript which contained three romances and a chronicle. Paston's inventory also lists 'a reede Boke that Percyvall Robsart gaff me' which contained several religious treatises. Paston also lent his books to others, for example he had lent a copy of *Troilus and Criseyde* to a friend who had kept it 'neer x yer and lent it to Dame [. . .] Wyngfelde,

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<sup>18</sup>See, Schramm 1933, p. 140; and Bell 1937, p. 313.

<sup>19</sup>Evidence of John Paston's interest in literature and books can also be found in Davis 1971, Pt. I, 195, 267, 271, 316, 352 and 245; and Davis 1976, Pt. II, 745.

et ibi ego vidi'. He also lent a volume of favourite fifteenth-century poems to Midelton.<sup>20</sup> A copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, belonging to his sister Anne, had been lent to the Earl of Arran, and 'when he hathe doon wyth it he promysyd to delyuer it'.<sup>21</sup> The Paston's circulated their collection of books among other interested parties who perhaps then had their own copies made of the texts. In this way the La exemplar could have been loaned to the patron who employed a professional scribe or had his clerk produce the La manuscript. It is clearly evident that manuscript production was not exclusively the domain of the book trade, commercial enterprise, or professional copyists.

Whilst I accept that La and Cp share a common ancestor, it cannot be proved that they shared the same exemplar(s) and it certainly seems improbable that La is a copy of Cp even with additional material being included to supplement the copytext. The proposition that La is a copy of an unknown manuscript which could have been lent to a wealthy person who then either employed a professional scribe to produce a copy, or had his own household scribe produce it is equally as viable as any other suggestion postulated by scholars with regard to the genesis of La. If this scenario is accepted as plausible there remain no constraints on the location of production; London, or the South-West Midlands which would accord with the scribe's dialect and the probable early provenance of La. The evidence to indicate the existence of a book-owning community with strong personal connections, located in the South-West Midlands, is compelling. That a social circle of persons acquainted with Chaucer, and whose direct ancestors were almost certainly early owners of La and Cp has been discussed fully in Chapter III of this thesis. That one of their number owned a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, based on the *c* archetype, and loaned it to a friend or relative for copying is certainly feasible, although not provable.

It is worth considering further Manly and Rickert's beliefs regarding the production of La and Cp. As already noted, they perceive an established and well organised

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<sup>20</sup>All of these quotations are taken from John Paston's 1479 inventory of books. For further details see, Davis 1971, Pt. I, 316.

<sup>21</sup>Davis 1971, Pt. I, 352.

commercial book trade where shops employed a number of scribes and possibly even illuminators. It has been established that the book trade was not as advanced as Manly and Rickert envisage and that scribes and limners operated as separate entities. Their hypothesis for La being commercially produced is based on several factors; the overall appearance of a 'shop' manuscript represented by its strict and consistent system of ordinatio, signs of editing, the inclusion of spurious material, and most obvious of all its illumination. Having declared La the product of a commercial shop, the close textual relationship with Cp reinforced Manly and Rickert's belief in a shared exemplar(s). Although the Cp scribe had not been identified and named as Scribe D at that time, Manly and Rickert suggest that it is possible that the Cp scribe was also responsible for the copying of Ha<sup>4</sup>.<sup>22</sup> In Manly and Rickert's opinion a comparison of the decoration in La, Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup>, supports their belief in the 'same shop' theory. Further to this, Westminster, being the vicinity of Chaucer's final residence and an area identified as a place of manuscript production, seems the ideal location for the production of the early *Canterbury Tales* witnesses.

Each of the elements Manly and Rickert identify as evidence that La is the product of a commercial shop need to be considered individually. The use of rubrics is evidence of the work of a professional scribe. However, Ebesham rubricated the *Grete Boke*, albeit some fifty years after the production date of La, but even so it is evidence that 'free-lance' professional scribes and not just those employed in commercial scriptoria used this technique and that it is not exclusive to shop-produced manuscripts.

As presented in Chapter II of this thesis the signs of editing in La are few and can be noted as crosses in the margin, the addition of lines in the margin in a fifteenth-century hand, and the erasure of text next to the rubrics. Many of the crosses, although still faintly discernible, have been erased and on only two occasions have lines been added to the margin of the text in a fifteenth-century hand, other than that of the La scribe.

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<sup>22</sup>For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 93, and 220.

Although many of the marginal instructions have been erased several memoranda are still visible near the gutter of the manuscript. From these it is possible to ascertain that they are written in the hand of the La scribe and the same ink as the main body of the text. As such the only conclusion that can be reached is that the scribe wrote a note in the margin as he copied the main text leaving space to add the rubricated text either when he had completed the entire quire, the tale, or some other unit of division. That the rubrication was added after the main part of a tale was completed is evident by the unfilled one-line gap in the SQ at the end of the first part. Rubricated text to denote the commencement of the second part was presumably intended to be inserted here although on this occasion no marginal text exists and there is no evidence to suggest that any note regarding the intended rubrication has been removed. Throughout the manuscript rubrics are in the hand of the La scribe and it would be logical to suppose that he erased his own notes as he completed the rubrics. The crosses in the margin appear to have been completely ignored and it is almost impossible to interpret what they actually signify. There is no way of telling whether they are the work of an editor, the La scribe himself, or a later owner. The two lines added in the margin in a different, yet fifteenth-century, hand may be the work of an editor but could just as easily be the work of a later owner. Both lines have been added in the CL. If this is the work of an editor it seems strange that the other eighty-three lines omitted from the text have not been reinstated in a similar manner.<sup>23</sup> All that can be concluded from the evidence listed above is that the La scribe was a professional who had a clear understanding of how to compile a manuscript implementing a comprehensive and thorough system of *ordinatio* and planning for the inclusion of decoration.

The inclusion of five spurious links, the long version of the NPP [L30] and the Adam Stanza cannot be conclusively seen as the work of an editor overseeing the production of La. As I have suggested in Chapters IV and V it is just as likely, if not more

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<sup>23</sup>For further details regarding all of these aspects see, Corrections in Chapter II of this thesis. For details of the omitted lines in La see, Chapter VI and Appendix V.

so, that this material was already contained in the La copytext and simply reproduced by the scribe. The evidence considered so far indicates that absolutely nothing regarding the production of La can be as certain as previous scholars have stated.

The Cp scribe has been identified as Scribe D and his hand recognised in eleven other manuscripts, including Ha<sup>4</sup> and eight Gowers. The collaboration of Scribe D on the Trinity Gower along with five other scribes, one of whom has been identified as Thomas Hoccleve, places him in the Westminster area.<sup>24</sup> However, Doyle and Parkes have also shown that rather than working in a commercial scriptorium he was employed on an individual basis not necessarily working with the other scribes in person.<sup>25</sup>

The location of Westminster as the place of production becomes the next theory which has to be assessed. If La is not a copy of Cp, if it is not even conclusive that the two witnesses shared the same exemplar(s), and the hand of the La scribe has not been identified on any other manuscript, the only connection to Westminster remaining to be tested is the decoration in La and its similarity to that in Cp.

### **Ordinatio and Decoration**

The decoration of a manuscript can be seen to serve several purposes. The decoration and use of rubrics, running heads, glosses and paraph marks denote the divisions in the text and act as markers which help guide the reader to find his way through the text. They perform both a practical and aesthetic function.<sup>26</sup>

A manuscript like La which contains all of the above design elements has to be thoroughly planned before copying commences. A strict system of ordinatio is enforced in La including a thorough system of rubrics to mark the beginning and end of prologues and tales, and the consistent use of running heads which all act as markers to guide the

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<sup>24</sup>Hoccleve was a professional scribe, a clerk of the Privy Seal, not to mention poet and admirer of Chaucer.

<sup>25</sup>For further information on the attributions to Scribe D and the working practices of the scribes involved in the production of the Trinity Gower see, Doyle and Parkes, 1978, especially p. 177.

<sup>26</sup>For further details regarding the functions and importance of compilatio and ordinatio see, Parkes 1976.

reader through the text. A rigid pattern of paraphs, gilded initials, and bar borders is used to denote the beginnings of tales, prologues, stanzas, paragraphs, and thematic and narrative changes within the text. Catchwords in many manuscripts serve nothing more than a practical purpose, but in *La* they are an integral feature of the decoration, placed in decorative scrolls. In *La* the tails and virgules which are prevalent throughout the text seem to serve no real purpose to metre or grammar and may therefore be considered decorative. They represent a design feature peculiar to the *La* scribe and are further evidence of the careful planning of the manuscript. *La* was never meant to be *just* a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*; every aspect of the manuscript's design and system of ordinatio, including the catchwords, serve both a practical purpose and provide aesthetic pleasure.<sup>27</sup>

Although thoroughly planned, *La* shows no physical signs of an editor's influence; all directions for rubricated text are in the hand of the *La* scribe, and all rubrics and running heads are also written by the scribe himself. *Cp*, however, displays evidence of two supervisors who have written directions for rubrics and illumination and made numerous corrections to the text. The directions for 'prolog' and 'tale' have been written in chalk in a heavy script and can be seen in many places throughout the manuscript. Directions for the illuminations are executed in a different hand, in thin chalk, crayon, and are also sometimes detectable in dry point. The instructions for a 'demi-vynet' appear next to the bar borders, and 'champe' adjacent to gilded initials with sprays.<sup>28</sup> *Cp* shows clear signs that an editor was supervising the compilation of the manuscript, and although *La* was obviously comprehensively planned, there is no physical evidence in the manuscript itself to prove the presence of a supervisor or editor overseeing the work.

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<sup>27</sup>Complete listings of all forms of ordinatio found in *La* and a description of the manuscript's illumination and decoration can be located in Chapter II of this thesis; see also Appendices II, III, and IV. For details of the ordinatio and decoration of *Cp* and *Ha*<sup>4</sup> see Manly and Rickert vol. I, pp. 92-9 and 219-30 respectively. See also Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 561-605, especially pp. 565-9.

<sup>28</sup>These specific terms also appear in another *Canterbury Tales* witness, *Lc*. That these terms were used in the fifteenth century is evident from some contemporary accounts for illumination carried out by known limners. For further details see, Craigie 1925; Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 562-3; and Scott 1968, especially p. 175. See also the description of *Cp* in Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 93 and 94. For the description of *Lc* see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 322-8; the use of these limners terms and instructions in *Lc* are discussed on p. 323.

### The New English Style, La, Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup>

La, Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup> all display characteristic attributes of a style of decoration now known as the 'New English Style'. The most consistent characteristics of this style can be catalogued as follows:

- 1) Delicate hair line sprays extending into the upper and lower corners from rigid bar borders. The sprays being adorned with small gold spirals and green dots.
- 2) An increased use of naturalistic motifs to decorate the solid bar border.
- 3) An overall appearance of a delicate, feathery and light effect mainly created by the fine sprays.

This particular style was the fashionable and prevalent style of the early fifteenth century. As this art style was common generally at the time, it is difficult, if not impossible, to try and identify individual artists or workshops, unless specific motifs are repeatedly used. The borders in La, Cp and Ha<sup>4</sup> were not completed by the same hand and there are no recurring motifs which can be used to show that the three were decorated in the same shop. A comprehensive description of the decoration of La is contained in Chapter II of this thesis and a comparison of the borders in all three manuscripts is necessary to establish to what extent they share common features. As already noted the manuscripts in question are decorated in the New English Style fashionable at the time and as such display the typical features associated with the style. The Cp manuscript contains two full bar borders (fols.12<sup>v</sup> and 217<sup>v</sup>) and has more three-quarter bar borders than La. The bar borders in Cp are more delicate than those of La and have been executed with more care. A comparison of the tendrils and sprays characteristic of the New English Style show that in Cp a greater number of naturalistic motifs have been used than in La. Gilded initials, generally stretching through two or three lines of text, mark the beginning of each new tale. The sprays which attenuate from these gilded capitals to mark the beginning of tales regularly extend along the margin for the length of the ruled writing space; for example, fols.44<sup>f</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup>, and 120<sup>v</sup>. The colour palette used for the bar borders in Cp is generally lighter than that used in La, including pastel pinks, blues and violet.

In Cp the stanzaic tales are written as continuous text with no gap between stanzas, a format also found in La. The beginning of each stanza in Cp is denoted by a decorated paraph, coloured blue with red flourishes. Throughout the manuscript, paraphs and gilded initials have been used to mark new paragraphs and stanzas. In the early sections of the Cp manuscript chalk marks appear to indicate the inclusion of paraphs, but many have not been executed creating the impression that the Cp manuscript was never completed. Where gilded letters occur they are decorated with fine blue and violet flourishes. As noted in Chapter II of <sup>this</sup> thesis, paraphs are also used in La to mark the beginning of stanzas and paragraphs, but follow a regular pattern of alternating blue with red flourishes, and gold with mauve flourishes.

The decoration of Ha<sup>4</sup> differs from that of La and Cp in both execution and colour range. Interlaced knots, similar to those found in El and the first folio of Hg, are occasionally used.<sup>29</sup> The bar borders and gilded initials are decorated with fine black sprays adorned with gold trefoils. The green dots which decorate the tendrils and sprays in La and Cp are characteristic of the New English Style and are not included in the design of Ha<sup>4</sup> other than on the first folio. A full bar border adorns the first folio decorated with a striking shade of blue/green which is best described as almost ultra-marine. The decoration is probably the work of two artists, the first folio being of superior quality to the rest of the manuscript. A bold pink, light red, and a darker metallic red which has oxidised are also used to decorate the first folio. These colours are much stronger than those found in either La or Cp. Folios on which tales commence are introduced by three-quarter bar borders, and decorated initials on gold grounds of four- to six-lines depth mark the beginnings of the tales. Prologues and links are marked by three-line gilded initials on blue and pale pink grounds. The decoration of Ha<sup>4</sup> is heavier and more solid than that of

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<sup>29</sup>For details of the bar borders in Hg and El see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 269 and 149 respectively, and 565-7; and Doyle and Parkes 1979, p. xxxix.

La, and certainly Cp. However, similarities between Ha<sup>4</sup> and La can be seen in the use of white to highlight gilded initials.

Individual verses in the stanzaic texts are marked by paraph marks, executed in either blue with red flourishes, or gold with a combination of either blue, or black, or dark purple flourishes. Paraphs regularly accompany incipits, explicits or other rubricated text.

To summarise, all three manuscripts are decorated in a similar style, but close examination shows variation in almost every element of the design. No identification of a common hand in any of the three can be made, there are no recurring motifs, and the range of colours used in each manuscript shows variation between the three witnesses. To conclude, no single aspect can be shown to indicate that any of the three were decorated in the same illuminating shop or even in London, the common use of a fashionable style is not sound evidence on which to base such a conjecture.

### **The La Portrait, Herman Scheerre and Westminster**

The most significant feature of La's decoration is the inclusion of a ten-line historiated initial 'W' which dominates the initial folio of the manuscript (fol.2<sup>r</sup>). The initial encompasses a full length figure of a man who is identifiable as Chaucer by the depiction of the tools of his craft; an open book held in both hands and a pen-case around his neck. A reproduction of fol.2<sup>r</sup> is situated at the front of this thesis and a full description of the portrait is presented in Chapter II, see *Illumination and Decoration*. La is not unique among *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in containing a portrait of the author; it is in fact one of five.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>El, Ra<sup>3</sup>, Bo<sup>2</sup>, and Ds<sup>1</sup> also contain portraits of Chaucer. The El portrait is probably the earliest extant representation of Chaucer, dated c. 1400-1410. Like the other pilgrims, Chaucer is represented on horseback at the start of his tale [TM, fol.153<sup>v</sup>] rather than as the author of the work. Ra<sup>3</sup> depicts a seated figure in an historiated initial next to the TM which is probably meant to be Chaucer the pilgrim. La, Bo<sup>2</sup> and Ds<sup>1</sup> contain a figure of a man, whom we must assume is meant to represent Chaucer as the author, on the first folio encompassed in an historiated initial 'W'. La is perhaps the most appropriate portrayal as it shows Chaucer full length with a pen-case around his neck, reading from an open book. The full length standing figure in Bo<sup>2</sup> lacks any symbols of Chaucer's craft. Ds<sup>1</sup> shows Chaucer lying outside on a bank of flowers in the sun's rays with his left hand pointing to a gilt purse suspended from his waist; again there are no motifs of his profession as a writer. The figure is a beardless young man and if it were intended to be

Scott has recently suggested that the dating of La should be revised to c. 1405-10 on the basis of its decoration and illumination.<sup>31</sup> Scott has also examined the Chaucer portrait in La which she states is 'a likely attribution to Herman Scheerre' (Scott 1997, p. 117, n.44).<sup>32</sup> Christianson's work on the documents, rent books, and memorials of the London book trade have enabled him to identify a number of tenants in Paternoster Row who were either book artisans or associated with the trade of the stationers in some capacity. Christianson has shown that it is likely that Scheerre, known to be working in London at around 1404, did rent a shop on Paternoster Row in Westminster.<sup>33</sup> Manly and Rickert also recognise that the La decoration and portrait is very similar in style to the decoration and miniatures in other contemporary manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> The miniatures to which they alluded have since been attributed to Scheerre or his atelier.<sup>35</sup>

A close comparison of the La portrait with those illustrations known to be by Scheerre himself confirms that the La portrait is not of a quality consistent with his other work. In particular, the detail of the floor tiling on which the figure stands is very basic, almost amateurish compared to his certified other works. The figure also has poorly

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Chaucer is a youthful representation rather than an authentic portrait. DI also contains a full length standing figure of Chaucer, but this was probably inserted in the late sixteenth century. For details regarding the portraits and illustrations in *Canterbury Tales* witnesses see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 561-605, especially pp. 583-605. The *Canterbury Tales* portraits are well documented. For further details see, for example, Loomis 1965, pp. 4-6; Kelliher 1977, p. 197; Seymour 1982; and Pearsall 1992, pp. 285-305.

<sup>31</sup>The traditionally accepted dating of La is c. 1410-20 although Scott has recently suggested that the date should be revised to c. 1405-10 on the basis of the illumination and decoration used in the manuscript. For further details see, Scott 1997, p. 117, n.44. Scott also dates La as c. 1407-10 (Scott 1996, vol. II, p. 87) and c. 1410 (Scott 1996, vol. II, p. 141).

<sup>32</sup>See also, Scott 1996, vol. II, pp. 87 and 111.

<sup>33</sup>Christianson notes that a 'John Hun' and 'Herman Skereueyn', rented the same shop successively. He states that 'it is possible that Skereueyn was a scribal transcription of the name Scheerre; the now-famous limner Herman Scheerre was working in London at the time. John Hun, in turn, may have been the limner "Johannes," whose work dated c. 1400 survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 264' (Christianson 1987, p. 50 n.31).

<sup>34</sup>Manly and Rickert note the following manuscripts as sharing similarities with La: *Hoccleve's Regement of Princes* in which Henry V, while still the Prince, is presented with a copy of the manuscript by the author, British Library MS. Arundel 38 (fol.37r); two Gowers, *Confessio Amantis* manuscripts, British Library MS. Egerton 1991, and British Library MS. Royal 18 C.XXII; and a Psalter produced for John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (d. 1410), British Library MS. Royal 2 A.XVIII. This latter manuscript has been attributed to a follower of Scheerre rather than the master himself. For further details see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 569.

<sup>35</sup>For details regarding the life and work of Herman Scheerre see, Rickert 1935, and 1965, pp. 156-7, 166-79, and plates 169-76; Kuhn 1940; Spriggs 1964, and 1974.

drawn, almost exceptionally long, ears and the near foot turns inward at an awkward angle. The far leg is drawn shorter than the other, probably to create a sense of perspective, but prompting Rickert to comment that it is 'a peculiarity that has given rise to a theory that Chaucer was deformed' (Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, p. 585). Another feature of the miniatures attributed to Scheerre is his use of rich, bright colours. That such colours are employed in Scheerre's work, particularly for clothing, is in sharp contrast to the rather drab grey gown in which Chaucer is clad in the La portrait. Although the gown could simply reflect Chaucer's status which is relatively humble when compared with the likes of Henry V, whom Scheerre has depicted in a miniature, the lack of richness in the colour of the gown indicate that the La portrait is not the work of Scheerre's own hand. Despite this, strong and definite parallels may be drawn between the style of the La portrait and other Scheerre works, notably the tiled floor device which although crude by comparison to Scheerre's attributable work, gives a simple perspective to the illustration and the gently swirling filigree backdrop. There are several possible explanations for this.

The portrait could well have been painted in Scheerre's shop by a member of his then current atelier, or by a limner previously trained by Scheerre. This would explain the strong similarities with other miniatures of the Scheerre genre and would place La's production firmly within the Westminster area, if only for the duration of its illustration. Whilst this neatly and conveniently supports Manly and Rickert's theory, it is by no means conclusive proof of La having been shop produced in a commercial scrivener's.

A brief overview of Scheerre's attributed work is sufficient to confirm that he was undoubtedly a superb miniaturist with an eye for detail and its accurate depiction. The 'clustered' community of Westminster would have been well aware of his talent and the style of his work. That he was a foreign artisan of such quality would have made a significant impact on the small professional community of limners and scribes and the temptation for his contemporaries to emulate his new and fashionable style would be overwhelming. Scheerre's known period of work was contemporaneous with the

expansion of the book trade and supporting businesses to other regional centres across Southern and Middle England, one of which was Worcester.<sup>36</sup>

No evidence of Scheerre's work later than 1414 has been identified, and Manly and Rickert's dating of La as being from the period c. 1410-20 raises another difficulty.<sup>37</sup> If La was produced towards the end of this period clearly, the work could not be by Scheerre.<sup>38</sup> A later date for La makes the priority of Westminster as the location for the illumination of La less certain. Following the disappearance of Scheerre from the Westminster community in 1414 the magnet which attracted his artistic acolytes was removed. Although Scheerre's style of decoration persisted, with the focus of the Scheerre style gone, there would certainly have been a tendency for his atelier to disperse and drift to the provinces, perhaps to set up their own limners shops in new areas.

It is then quite possible that the La miniature was painted by an artist who, although familiar with the new Scheerre style, was formally unconnected with either him or his London base. As mentioned previously, there is strong evidence to support the existence of free-lance scribes and centres for manuscript production other than Westminster. There is also good evidence to show that the wealthier classes commissioned scribes to copy texts, and limners to complete illumination/decoration for them. It is the case that the highly skilled limner community was much more nucleated than the less exclusive scribal centres. However, given that we have ascertained the financial wealth of the La patron, it follows that a limner could quite easily be summoned from either London or elsewhere to complete a work, for the right price.

That the La portrait is essentially a reproduction of a similar miniature in the La exemplar must also be considered as an alternative explanation for its origin. Since the first folio of Cp has been lost and as this would be the likely position of an historiated initial it

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<sup>36</sup>For further details see, Rickert 1965, p. 3, and the map of centres for manuscript production on p. xxix.

<sup>37</sup>That Scheerre's own hand has not been identified on English manuscripts dated after 1414 is noted by Rickert. For further details see, Rickert 1965, p. 166.

<sup>38</sup>Seymour has recently dated the decoration of La as late as c. 1425. For further details see, Seymour 1997, p. 134.

is impossible to know whether Cp contained any such illustration. Likewise, if La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s) this hypothetical manuscript is now unknown to us. It has been established that Blake's hypothesis that La is a copy of Cp is extremely unlikely and that La and Cp shared the same exemplar(s) cannot be proved. It therefore follows that if the La miniature is simply copied from its exemplar the area of production could feasibly have been anywhere in the country. Although a point worth considering, that the La miniature is simply copied from the exemplar is speculative and cannot be proven.

The dating of La is crucial in establishing where it was illuminated. The expansion from London of the book trade in general, including the limners, occurred towards the end of Manly and Rickert's date range for La's production. This suggests that an early date for La would probably place it in London, at least for its decoration. Whilst the La patron was wealthy enough to send his tome to London for illumination, a later date for La would allow the patron the opportunity to commission it for production and decoration locally either within a regional shop or to employ a free-lance limner.

### **Summary**

This chapter has aimed to research the evidence for La having been produced commercially in London and how this might expose and effect its true relationship with Cp. The identification of the hand of Scribe D has placed the production of Cp in London, disappointingly La yields no such evidence which will allow such a firm statement to be made. La is clearly the work of a professional scribe, but as Doyle and Parkes have shown, Manly and Rickert's convenient picture of several scribes working in a common commercial scriptorium is a false one. As such, the close textual relationship of La, Cp and the proposed unknown shared exemplar(s) was almost certainly not the result of production in a Westminster shop. The La scribe's hand has not been identified within other manuscripts, and the palaeographical evidence alone cannot place the La witness in any specific geographical location, either London or elsewhere.

A close study of La's illumination and its relationship to other contemporary art is similarly inconclusive. If, as we must on the basis of its quality, discount Scheerre himself as the illuminator of the La miniature, the La witness cannot conclusively be attributed to a London origin.

Scott and Blake have both recently suggested that the accepted dating of Hg and El may be too late. The implication of any such revision places the production of these manuscripts, and possibly Cp, within Chaucer's lifetime. This would then actually increase the chronological distance between Hg, El, and La.<sup>39</sup> As such the view that the manuscript production proliferated in a short space of time and therefore must have been focused in one specific area is less realistic. The additional years between La and these other early witnesses does allow sufficient time for exemplars and texts to have been geographically dispersed to provincial regions and associated centres of manuscript production.

In the intervening years since the assertion that La and Cp shared the same exemplar or sets of exemplars, probably in a London shop, new scholarly research has made such conclusions less easy to draw. Unfortunately, despite the wealth of information that the La manuscript exhibits, it cannot currently be tied to a specific location. A study of the early provenance of La does provide affiliation to Cp, but for the purposes of its actual manufacture such a connection is not confirmed.

In early May 1998 at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Nancy Turner of the J. Paul Getty Museum presented a paper which detailed the latest computer techniques being used by the Getty Museum for the study of its manuscript collection.<sup>40</sup> A sophisticated system of x-rays, and infra-red reflectography

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<sup>39</sup>Although Scott has suggested a revision of the dating of La to c. 1405-10 on the basis of its style of illumination, Seymour, using the same criteria dates La as c. 1425. Manly and Rickert date La as 1410-20 on palaeographical grounds and yet Rickert in her chapter on illumination dates it as c. 1410-12. For further details of the various dates pertaining to La see, Manly and Rickert 1940, vol. I, pp. 304, and 568; Scott 1997, p. 117, n.44; Scott 1996, vol. II, pp. 87 and 141; and Seymour 1997, p. 134.

<sup>40</sup>Nancy Turner, 'The Art and Science of Illumination: New Analytical Techniques for the Investigation of Manuscript Painting'. Presented at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, May 1998.

have been used to carbon date and analyse the composition of manuscript paint and ink. The x-ray techniques applied can detect specific elements like lead, mercury, and copper used in the decoration of manuscripts and reveal the original drawing lines. The information provided by these advanced techniques will expand our knowledge of manuscript decoration and as a result provide us with a greater understanding of manuscript production in the Middle Ages.

## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been two-fold: firstly to compile a detailed description and analysis of the La manuscript. Secondly, to test the two hypotheses regarding the genesis of La and its relationship to Cp:- Manly and Rickert's hypothesis that La and Cp shared the same exemplars or sets of exemplars, and Blake's hypothesis, first published in 1985, that La is a copy of Cp with additional material available to the scribe. These two hypotheses have been tested to ascertain if either is correct, with a view to establishing the implication this might have toward a *c* archetype and the *Canterbury Tales* textual tradition generally. Only through testing these hypotheses to see whether they are accurate can the whole question of La's genesis and importance within the textual tradition be established. Manly and Rickert never really consider La when trying to establish the nature of the *c* archetype, but if their hypothesis is correct this is a shortcoming of their research which needs to be addressed. If La were a copy of Cp, as Blake proposes, it would be of some interest from a purely reception point of view but not of great importance to the textual tradition.

Manly and Rickert's hypothesis has been readily accepted by the majority of modern scholars, and as a result La has tended to be marginalised and overlooked in favour of closer study of Cp. The previous dismissals of La have been based on insufficient and unsatisfactory evidence, and less than extensive research, usually without reference to the primary source material itself, the actual manuscript. Reliance on transcripts and microfilm does not allow the subtlety and detail of the complete document to shine through, and this has been an additional cause of La's neglect. It is only by extensive consultation of the primary source material, as carried out by myself in preparing this

thesis, that the high level of detail required to make a considered judgement of La has become available. When La is included in studies, it is often the subject of generalised statements which suggest it is almost identical with Cp but presents a less careful copy of the poem. Other generalisations state that La is the product of a commercial scriptorium, and that it is highly edited because it contains five spurious and unique links between tales. Such views have served to reinforce the perception that La can add little to the textual debate of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Throughout this thesis, the hypotheses of both Manly and Rickert and of Blake have been tested against the evidence presented in each chapter. Certain areas of study have yielded ambiguous evidence which could be interpreted in several ways, to loosely fit either hypothesis. Whilst each element of the La manuscript is worthy of close study not all chapters resulting from such research have borne conclusions of firm relevance to this final analysis and these are dealt with first.

Tale order and the major omissions and additions across the *Canterbury Tales* witnesses has proved to be a rich source of debate for modern scholars and equally a preoccupation of the earliest editors. An analysis of the major textual similarities and disparities of the La and Cp manuscripts and the development of the *c* group tale order was undertaken in Chapter IV. The findings of this chapter can satisfy the criteria of both the Blake and the Manly and Rickert hypotheses. Whilst this appears a woolly conclusion to have drawn from such a rich source of evidence, perhaps even to the extent of being non-committal, the truth is that superficially both hypotheses can be supported equally well. Minor pieces of evidence cast some doubt on certain aspects of the hypotheses, but never enough to dismiss either of them outright. Chapter IV serves to affirm the textual closeness of La and Cp, but provides no substantive or firm priority for either hypothesis. It does, however, provide some insight into the nature of the *c* archetype. Likewise, Chapter V regarding the unique La links, cannot conclusively indicate priority of either hypotheses, although, it does highlight one of the major

disparities between La and Cp. The inclusion of these links provides cohesion between tales and they are evidence of a desire to present an unfinished work in as complete a form as possible, both textually and artistically. The dismissal of La's unique links as irrelevant by scholars has been at best naïve. Whilst not authorial, unique material contained in La represents a further stage in the development of the *Canterbury Tales* and should be viewed as a valuable contemporary record of how the text was received and interpreted by at least one member of its earliest audience.

Since the publication of the hypotheses regarding La proposed by Blake and by Manly and Rickert, there has been great activity in the study of the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales*, not least of which in the technological approach of the *Canterbury Tales* Project. This coupled with my exhaustive study of the La manuscript allows an authoritative assessment of each hypothesis in detail as follows. The review of minor variants, glosses, and dialect and spelling in Chapter VI presents evidence at a far greater level of detail than the major omissions and additions of Chapter IV and it is only at this point that a firm test of the hypotheses can be undertaken. Significantly, the content of Chapter VI greatly reduces the priority of Blake's hypothesis, and it is useful at this stage to reiterate the key points that it raises. La includes 8 authorial lines not found in Cp. These lines may of course have been among the additional material available to the La scribe which Blake alludes to. However, the close textual comparison that reinstating these lines would have necessitated does not tally with the large number of other missed authorial lines. Similarly, Blake's hypothesis is not fully supported by the evidence following the analysis of glosses, specifically the small number of glosses shared by La and Cp, compared to what could reasonably be expected if La was a copy of Cp, especially given that the La glosses were planned prior to the commencement of production. Further to this, both La and Cp contain South-West Midlands and Northern layers of dialect, but these layers are not coincidental in each manuscript and must consequently be independent scribal layers. It is apparent that both scribes are

comfortable with the inclusion of Northern forms, but as these are mutually exclusive it follows that La did not copy Cp otherwise the Northern forms would be replicated at the same textual positions. Following close and intimate study of the La manuscript it is clear that this new evidence does not support Blake's hypothesis, and it is now possible to dismiss this argument from any future discussion concerning the genesis of La and its relationship to Cp. The dismissal of Blake's hypothesis leaves the Manly and Rickert hypothesis as the only valid proposal to test and in order to do this it is necessary to broaden the scope of study from textual evidence alone to decoration, provenance, and other historical features.

Manly and Rickert are pre-disposed towards shop production as a vehicle for conveniently explaining manuscript genesis and it is a recurring theme in their work. Manly and Rickert consider the closeness of the La and Cp tale order, textual affiliation, the similarity of illumination, and close early provenance to be indicative of shop production. However, commercial shop production, as Manly and Rickert envisage it, has been discredited as discussed in Chapter VII, and as a result the foundations of their hypothesis regarding the genesis and relationship of La and Cp are less firm. It is therefore necessary to consider each aspect of Manly and Rickert's theory on an individual basis in order to establish to what extent the manuscript evidence of La supports their hypothesis. As discussed in Chapter VII, research into the prolific work of Scribe D, who also produced the Cp manuscript, localises his place of work to Westminster. There is no such evidence to link La with the Westminster area or, in fact, any other specific location. The decoration of the two manuscripts must then be the next area of consideration as Manly and Rickert claim La and Cp were decorated in the same shop. Although both manuscripts are decorated in the New English Style, the decoration of La and Cp cannot be attributed to the same artist. The style of artwork was the prevalent fashion at the time and to claim that both manuscripts were decorated in the same shop is not a satisfactory conjecture. In fact, there is nothing to indicate that their artwork is the

product of the same limner's shop. Likewise, the historiated initial in La, containing a full-length portrait of Chaucer, cannot be conclusively identified as the work of a specific artist or atelier, and consequently, cannot be located in any specific area of production. The inconclusive nature of each of Manly and Rickert's theories regarding the genesis of La greatly weakens their hypothesis of a shared exemplar(s).

It can be stated with certainty that the La manuscript is the work of a professional scribe and limner, and as such was commissioned by a wealthy patron. The illustration of La is similar to that of El and, whilst not to the same standard, is of the same ilk and also of high quality. La was clearly a de luxe manuscript. Despite the evidence for its professional production I have, as discussed in Chapter VII, found no conclusive evidence to tie La to the Westminster area. Although Westminster cannot be shown to have been the area where La was produced, neither can it be conclusively discounted. It is at this point in the development of my conclusion that the Manly and Rickert hypothesis fails and is no longer water-tight, being too reliant on supposition. However, the evidence regarding the early provenance of La, as presented in Chapter III, offers a very feasible alternative and compelling scenario, which encompasses all the observed evidence discussed and can be summarised as follows. A wealthy land owning community of several families and friends is known to have existed within the South-West Midlands region of the country at the end of the fourteenth century. It is well documented that certain members of this community were close acquaintances of Chaucer and his circle of friends. Research has shown that direct descendants of this community were the probable early owners of the La and Cp manuscripts. Cp was almost certainly produced in London, but if an intermediate manuscript existed between the *c* archetype and La, there is absolutely no reason why La could not be the result of provincial production in the South-West Midlands at the request of a wealthy patron residing in that area.

Introducing manuscripts, which are no longer extant, to bridge gaps in our comprehension of the genesis of *Canterbury Tales* witnesses should not be invoked unless

absolutely necessary. A proliferation of phantom manuscripts padding out individual hypotheses does not develop or enhance the tradition of *Canterbury Tales* scholarship and critical analysis. However, if after a close study of the complexity presented in this thesis, all conclusions that are drawn point to a lost exemplar, then on the basis of the facts alone, the supposition is acceptable and does extend our knowledge of the *Canterbury Tales* tradition. I have developed this argument carefully throughout this thesis; and in all aspects it can be supported by textual and other evidence. Blake's theory that La is a copy of Cp is so unlikely as to be discounted from any future consideration of the genesis of La and its relationship to Cp, and the evidence for La and Cp sharing exemplars or sets of exemplars is not conclusive. It is equally viable, if not more so, to propose that La and Cp shared a common ancestor. The development of La from this ancestor necessitates there having been an additional and now unknown witness in between.

Manly and Rickert's hypothesis can be neither categorically affirmed nor rejected, although the reliance on shop production as a 'catch all' explanation of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts genesis is problematic and has been shown not to apply for all manuscripts. It is the case then that the proposal that a now unknown exemplar acted as the La copytext fits all the manuscript evidence equally, if not more closely, and with less anomalies than Manly and Rickert's hypothesis.

Working closely with the actual La manuscript over a substantial period of time, has afforded the opportunity to view La on a far more detailed level than a textual basis alone can allow. Whilst Hg clearly represents an early attempt to produce a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, the interest being the text, the intentions of the La scribe are more diverse. A single glance at almost any page of La is sufficient to discern that the primary concern of the La scribe was with creating an attractive overall visual imagery. Every page of La contains a splash of colour and decorative feature; at the most complex level a foliate bar border or gilded capital, and at the simplest level a running head executed in red ink.

Even the catchwords are an integral feature of the overall design. This is not to suggest that textual accuracy was a secondary concern of the scribe; indeed, La is the product of an early attempt at presenting the *Canterbury Tales* in as complete a form as possible, an intention, which on the whole succeeds laudably.

Although one of the eight earliest *Canterbury Tales* witnesses, the text of La is considered to be mediocre. Whilst the text of La is some distance removed from that which Chaucer may actually have written, which is better preserved in witnesses like Hg or Ch, it is certainly important as an early attempt to turn an incomplete poem into a complete text, an effect later editors also tried to achieve.

The advantages of a study based essentially on a single manuscript are great. The close analysis of a single witness allows all aspects of the manuscript evidence to be presented in detail, and in preparing this thesis the meticulous analysis of the La manuscript has now been made available to the wider scholarly community. It would not have been possible to thoroughly test the previous hypotheses regarding La's genesis and its relationship to Cp unless an holistic approach had been taken. As a direct result it can be stated with conviction that Cp can no longer be viewed as the head of the *c* group, equal status must now be afforded to both La and Cp. Likewise, analysis regarding the nature of the *c* archetype can only be assessed by consideration of both La and Cp in conjunction. It should also be noted that although both manuscripts are given the same dating, Cp is traditionally believed to have been produced slightly earlier than La, and although the more ordered nature of the La manuscript suggests that this belief is correct it cannot be proven. On this basis Cp cannot be viewed exclusively as the primary descendant of the *c* archetype.

The results of this thesis have furthered the scholarly debate on the textual transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* by firmly establishing La's importance in the tradition. La is an early manuscript and as such is one of the ten witnesses used in the *Variorum* edition, but the research presented in this thesis establishes it as more than just

an early manuscript, it must now be considered of at least equal value to Cp, in whose shadow it has remained for too long. La cannot be generalised or compartmentalised in the way it has previously been. It is an individual manuscript with an important part to play in the *Canterbury Tales* tradition and is thoroughly deserving of complete recognition as an accomplished early witness. While there are many similarities and textual affiliations the intentions of the scribes/editors of La and Cp are very different and consequently the two manuscripts should in future be treated independently.

### **Further Research**

The exact nature of the *c* archetype has not been a primary concern of this thesis as such an appraisal is reliant upon the priority and status bestowed upon the Cp manuscript and Scribe D. The status of Cp, with regard to the *c* archetype, has only been fully established through the results of this study. Following the transcription of the S1<sup>2</sup> manuscript by the *Canterbury Tales* Project a close textual comparison across all of the *c* group witnesses will be possible. By placing particular emphasis on textual variants within lines the nature of the *c* archetype will be more thoroughly understood. Once this has been accomplished, and the *d* group manuscripts have also been transcribed into electronic form, it will be possible to consider the close relationship between the *c* and *d* groups, which are sometimes considered inseparable.

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## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix I

### Contents of Lansdowne by Folio

The following catalogue provides details of the text on each folio of the La manuscript. Line numbers which are given as '0' represent the rubrics at the beginning of a tale or link. Line numbers followed by a '/' mark and then a further number, for example, '/1' represent an additional line. In most cases these are rubrics to denote the completion of a tale or link, or on some occasions rubrics to mark divisions within a tale. In any instances where the '/' number refers to an additional line of text other than a rubric it is noted. Where the line number is followed by '/a' the line is a variant of that found in the base text. A catalogue of all variant lines in La is provided in Appendix V. The lineation corresponds to that used by the *Canterbury Tales* Project.

	<u>Quire</u>	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Line Number</u>
<b><u>GP</u></b>	1	2 <sup>r</sup>	1 - 42
		2 <sup>v</sup>	43 - 84
		3 <sup>r</sup>	85 - 126
		3 <sup>v</sup>	127 - 168
		4 <sup>r</sup>	169 - 210
		4 <sup>v</sup>	211 - 252 (Lines 253 and 254 are omitted)
		5 <sup>r</sup>	255 - 296
		5 <sup>v</sup>	297 - 338
		6 <sup>r</sup>	339 - 380
		6 <sup>v</sup>	381 - 422
		7 <sup>r</sup>	423 - 464
		7 <sup>v</sup>	465 - 506
		8 <sup>r</sup>	507 - 548
		8 <sup>v</sup>	549 - 590
		9 <sup>r</sup>	591 - 632
9 <sup>v</sup>	633 - 672		

2	10 <sup>r</sup>	673 - 714
	10 <sup>v</sup>	715 - 756
	11 <sup>r</sup>	757 - 798
	11 <sup>v</sup>	799 - 840
	12 <sup>r</sup>	841 - 858/2

**KN**

	12 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 22
	12 <sup>v</sup>	23 - 66
	13 <sup>r</sup>	67 - 108
	13 <sup>v</sup>	109 - 150
	14 <sup>r</sup>	151 - 192
	14 <sup>v</sup>	193 - 234
	15 <sup>r</sup>	235 - 276
	15 <sup>v</sup>	277 - 318
	16 <sup>r</sup>	319 - 360
	16 <sup>v</sup>	361 - 404
	17 <sup>r</sup>	405 - 446
	17 <sup>v</sup>	447 - 488
3	18 <sup>r</sup>	489 - 532
	18 <sup>v</sup>	533 - 574
	19 <sup>r</sup>	575 - 616
	19 <sup>v</sup>	617 - 658
	20 <sup>r</sup>	659 - 702
	20 <sup>v</sup>	703 - 744
	21 <sup>r</sup>	745 - 786
	21 <sup>v</sup>	787 - 828
	22 <sup>r</sup>	829 - 870
	22 <sup>v</sup>	871 - 912
	23 <sup>r</sup>	913 - 954
	23 <sup>v</sup>	955 - 996
	24 <sup>r</sup>	997 - 1038
	24 <sup>v</sup>	1039 - 1080
	25 <sup>r</sup>	1081 - 1122
	25 <sup>v</sup>	1123 - 1164
4	26 <sup>r</sup>	1165 - 1206
	26 <sup>v</sup>	1207 - 1248
	27 <sup>r</sup>	1249 - 1290
	27 <sup>v</sup>	1291 - 1332

	28 <sup>r</sup>	1333 - 1374
	28 <sup>v</sup>	1375 - 1416
	29 <sup>r</sup>	1417 - 1460
	29 <sup>v</sup>	1461 - 1502
	30 <sup>r</sup>	1503 - 1544
	30 <sup>v</sup>	1545 - 1586
	31 <sup>r</sup>	1587 - 1628
	31 <sup>v</sup>	1629 - 1670
	32 <sup>r</sup>	1671 - 1712
	32 <sup>v</sup>	1713 - 1756
	33 <sup>r</sup>	1757 - 1797/a (Lines 1797/a and 1798 are reversed)
	33 <sup>v</sup>	1799 - 1838
5	34 <sup>r</sup>	1839 - 1880
	34 <sup>v</sup>	1881 - 1918/4 (Line 1918/4 is the fourth consecutive additional line of text at this point)
	35 <sup>r</sup>	1919 - 1960
	35 <sup>v</sup>	1961 - 2002
	36 <sup>r</sup>	2003 - 2044
	36 <sup>v</sup>	2045 - 2086
	37 <sup>r</sup>	2087 - 2128
	37 <sup>v</sup>	2129 - 2170
	38 <sup>r</sup>	2171 - 2212
	38 <sup>v</sup>	2213 - 2244/1
<u>L1</u>	38 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 8
	39 <sup>r</sup>	9 - 50
	39 <sup>v</sup>	51 - 76/1
<u>MI</u>	39 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 16
	40 <sup>r</sup>	17 - 60
	40 <sup>v</sup>	61 - 102
	41 <sup>r</sup>	103 - 144
	41 <sup>v</sup>	145 - 186
6	42 <sup>r</sup>	187 - 228
	42 <sup>v</sup>	229 - 270
	43 <sup>r</sup>	271 - 312
	43 <sup>v</sup>	313 - 354

	44 <sup>r</sup>	355 - 396
	44 <sup>v</sup>	397 - 438
	45 <sup>r</sup>	439 - 480
	45 <sup>v</sup>	481 - 522
	46 <sup>r</sup>	523 - 564
	46 <sup>v</sup>	565 - 606
	47 <sup>r</sup>	607 - 648
	47 <sup>v</sup>	649 - 666/1
<b><u>L2</u></b>	47 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 22
	48 <sup>r</sup>	23 - 66 (L2 ends at the bottom of the folio)
<b><u>RE</u></b>	48 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 42 (RE commences at the top of the folio)
	49 <sup>r</sup>	43 - 84
	49 <sup>v</sup>	85 - 126
7	50 <sup>r</sup>	127 - 168
	50 <sup>v</sup>	169 - 210
	51 <sup>r</sup>	211 - 252
	51 <sup>v</sup>	253 - 294
	52 <sup>r</sup>	295 - 336
	52 <sup>v</sup>	337 - 378
	53 <sup>r</sup>	379 - 404/1
<b><u>L3</u></b>	53 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 14
	53 <sup>v</sup>	16 - 40/1 (Lines 15 and 16 have been reversed)
<b><u>CO</u></b>	53 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 16
	54 <sup>r</sup>	17 - 58
<b><u>L6</u></b>	54 <sup>v</sup>	1 - 4 (The unique CO-TG link commences at the top of the folio)
<b><u>TG</u></b>	54 <sup>v</sup>	1 - 38
	55 <sup>r</sup>	39 - 80
	55 <sup>v</sup>	81 - 122
	56 <sup>r</sup>	123 - 164
	56 <sup>v</sup>	165 - 206
	57 <sup>r</sup>	207 - 248

		57 <sup>v</sup>	249 - 294
	8	58 <sup>r</sup>	295 - 336
		58 <sup>v</sup>	337 - 382
		59 <sup>r</sup>	383 - 424
		59 <sup>v</sup>	425 - 466
		60 <sup>r</sup>	467 - 508
		60 <sup>v</sup>	509 - 550
		61 <sup>r</sup>	551 - 594
		61 <sup>v</sup>	595 - 636
		62 <sup>r</sup>	637 - 678
		62 <sup>v</sup>	679 - 720
		63 <sup>r</sup>	721 - 764
		63 <sup>v</sup>	765 - 808
		64 <sup>r</sup>	809 - 850
		64 <sup>v</sup>	851 - 892
		65 <sup>r</sup>	893 - 902/1
<b><u>L7</u></b>		65 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 30
		65 <sup>v</sup>	31 - 72
	9	66 <sup>r</sup>	73 - 98
<b><u>ML</u></b>		66 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 15
		66 <sup>v</sup>	16 - 57
		67 <sup>r</sup>	58 - 100
		67 <sup>v</sup>	101 - 142
		68 <sup>r</sup>	143 - 184
		68 <sup>v</sup>	185 - 219
		69 <sup>r</sup>	220 - 261
		69 <sup>v</sup>	262 - 303
		70 <sup>r</sup>	304 - 345
		70 <sup>v</sup>	346 - 387
		71 <sup>r</sup>	388 - 420
		71 <sup>v</sup>	430 - 471
		72 <sup>r</sup>	472 - 514
		72 <sup>v</sup>	515 - 556
		73 <sup>r</sup>	557 - 598
		73 <sup>v</sup>	599 - 640
	10	74 <sup>r</sup>	641 - 682
		74 <sup>v</sup>	683 - 724

75 <sup>r</sup>	725 - 766
75 <sup>v</sup>	767 - 809
76 <sup>r</sup>	810 - 851
76 <sup>v</sup>	852 - 893
77 <sup>r</sup>	894 - 935
77 <sup>v</sup>	936 - 977
78 <sup>r</sup>	978 - 1019
78 <sup>v</sup>	1020 - 1061
79 <sup>r</sup>	1062 - 1064/1

**L8**

79 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 28/1
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**SQ**

11

79 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 8
79 <sup>v</sup>	9 - 50
80 <sup>r</sup>	51 - 92
80 <sup>v</sup>	93 - 134
81 <sup>r</sup>	135 - 176
81 <sup>v</sup>	177 - 218
82 <sup>r</sup>	219 - 260
82 <sup>v</sup>	261 - 302
83 <sup>r</sup>	303 - 343
83 <sup>v</sup>	344 - 386
84 <sup>r</sup>	387 - 430
84 <sup>v</sup>	431 - 472
85 <sup>r</sup>	473 - 514
85 <sup>v</sup>	515 - 556
86 <sup>r</sup>	557 - 598
86 <sup>v</sup>	599 - 640
87 <sup>r</sup>	641 - 662

**L19**

87 <sup>r</sup>	1 - 8/1
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**L9**

87 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 4
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**WB**

87 <sup>r</sup>	1 - 8
87 <sup>v</sup>	9 - 50
88 <sup>r</sup>	51 - 92
88 <sup>v</sup>	93 - 134
89 <sup>r</sup>	135 - 176

	89 <sup>v</sup>	177 - 218
12	90 <sup>r</sup>	219 - 260/a
	90 <sup>v</sup>	261 - 302
	91 <sup>r</sup>	303 - 344
	91 <sup>v</sup>	345 - 386
	92 <sup>r</sup>	387 - 428
	92 <sup>v</sup>	429 - 470
	93 <sup>r</sup>	471 - 512
	93 <sup>v</sup>	513 - 554
	94 <sup>r</sup>	555 - 596
	94 <sup>v</sup>	597 - 638
	95 <sup>r</sup>	639 - 680
	95 <sup>v</sup>	681 - 722
	96 <sup>r</sup>	723 - 764
	96 <sup>v</sup>	765 - 806
	97 <sup>r</sup>	806/1 - 830 (Line 806/1 is a repetition of line 806)
	97 <sup>r</sup>	830/1 - 846
	97 <sup>v</sup>	847 - 887
13	98 <sup>r</sup>	888 - 929
	98 <sup>v</sup>	930 - 971
	99 <sup>r</sup>	972 - 1013
	99 <sup>v</sup>	1014 - 1055
	100 <sup>r</sup>	1056 - 1097
	100 <sup>v</sup>	1098 - 1139
	101 <sup>r</sup>	1140 - 1181
	101 <sup>v</sup>	1182 - 1223
	102 <sup>r</sup>	1224 - 1237/1
<b><u>L10</u></b>	102 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 28
	102 <sup>v</sup>	29 - 36/1
<b><u>FR</u></b>	102 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 33
	103 <sup>r</sup>	34 - 76
	103 <sup>v</sup>	77 - 118
	104 <sup>r</sup>	119 - 160
	104 <sup>v</sup>	161 - 202
	105 <sup>r</sup>	203 - 244
	105 <sup>v</sup>	245 - 287

	14	106 <sup>r</sup>	288 - 329
		106 <sup>v</sup>	330 - 365/1
<b><u>L11</u></b>		106 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 6
		107 <sup>r</sup>	7 - 44/1
<b><u>SU</u></b>		107 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 3
		107 <sup>v</sup>	4 - 45
		108 <sup>r</sup>	46 - 87
		108 <sup>v</sup>	88 - 129
		109 <sup>r</sup>	130 - 173
		109 <sup>v</sup>	174 - 215
		110 <sup>r</sup>	216 - 257
		110 <sup>v</sup>	258 - 300
		111 <sup>r</sup>	301 - 342
		111 <sup>v</sup>	343 - 384
		112 <sup>r</sup>	385 - 426
		112 <sup>v</sup>	427 - 468
		113 <sup>r</sup>	469 - 510
		113 <sup>v</sup>	511 - 552
	15	114 <sup>r</sup>	553 - 586/1
<b><u>CL</u></b>		114 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 8
		114 <sup>v</sup>	9 - 50
		115 <sup>r</sup>	51 - 94
		115 <sup>v</sup>	95 - 137
		116 <sup>r</sup>	138 - 181
		116 <sup>v</sup>	182 - 222
		117 <sup>r</sup>	223 - 264
		117 <sup>v</sup>	265 - 306
		118 <sup>r</sup>	307 - 348
		118 <sup>v</sup>	349 - 390
		119 <sup>r</sup>	391 - 432
		119 <sup>v</sup>	433 - 473
		120 <sup>r</sup>	474 - 515
		120 <sup>v</sup>	516 - 557
		121 <sup>r</sup>	558 - 599
		121 <sup>v</sup>	600 - 640
	16	122 <sup>r</sup>	641 - 682

122 <sup>v</sup>	683 - 724
123 <sup>r</sup>	725 - 766
123 <sup>v</sup>	768 - 807 (Line 768 is followed by line 767/a and then 769)
124 <sup>r</sup>	808 - 849
124 <sup>v</sup>	850 - 891
125 <sup>r</sup>	892 - 933
125 <sup>v</sup>	934 - 975
126 <sup>r</sup>	976 - 1018
126 <sup>v</sup>	1019 - 1060
127 <sup>r</sup>	1060/1 - 1101 (Line 1060/1 is a repetition of line 1060)
127 <sup>v</sup>	1102 - 1143
128 <sup>r</sup>	1144 - 1176

**L13**

128 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 8
128 <sup>v</sup>	9 - 36/1

**ME**

128 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 13
129 <sup>r</sup>	13/1 - 53 (Lines 12 and 13 have been repeated at the start of the folio and are numbered 13/1 and 13/2 respectively)

17

129 <sup>v</sup>	54 - 97
130 <sup>r</sup>	98 - 139
130 <sup>v</sup>	140 - 181
131 <sup>r</sup>	182 - 223
131 <sup>v</sup>	224 - 266
132 <sup>r</sup>	267 - 308
132 <sup>v</sup>	309 - 350
133 <sup>r</sup>	351 - 392
133 <sup>v</sup>	393 - 436
134 <sup>r</sup>	437 - 478
134 <sup>v</sup>	479 - 520
135 <sup>r</sup>	521 - 562
135 <sup>v</sup>	563 - 606
136 <sup>r</sup>	607 - 648
136 <sup>v</sup>	649 - 692
137 <sup>r</sup>	693 - 734
137 <sup>v</sup>	735 - 776

18	138 <sup>r</sup>	777 - 818
	138 <sup>v</sup>	819 - 860
	139 <sup>r</sup>	861 - 902
	139 <sup>v</sup>	903 - 944
	140 <sup>r</sup>	945 - 986/a
	140 <sup>v</sup>	987 - 1028
	141 <sup>r</sup>	1029 - 1074/1

**FK**

	141 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 4
	141 <sup>v</sup>	5 - 45
	142 <sup>r</sup>	46 - 88
	142 <sup>v</sup>	89 - 130
	143 <sup>r</sup>	131 - 172
	143 <sup>v</sup>	173 - 214
	144 <sup>r</sup>	215 - 256
	144 <sup>v</sup>	257- 298
	145 <sup>r</sup>	299- 340
	145 <sup>v</sup>	341- 382
19	146 <sup>r</sup>	383- 424
	146 <sup>v</sup>	425 - 468
	147 <sup>r</sup>	469 - 516
	147 <sup>v</sup>	517- 557 (Lines 557 and 558 have been reversed)
	148 <sup>r</sup>	559 - 600
	148 <sup>v</sup>	601 - 643
	149 <sup>r</sup>	643/1 - 684 (Line 643/1 is a repetition of line 643)
	149 <sup>v</sup>	685 - 730
	150 <sup>r</sup>	731- 772
	150 <sup>v</sup>	773 - 813/a (Lines 813 and 814 have been reversed and 813 appears as a variant of the base text)
	151 <sup>r</sup>	815 - 858
	151 <sup>v</sup>	859 - 907
	152 <sup>r</sup>	907/1 - 907/1 (This rubric marks the end of FK and the beginning of the NU. There is no link between the two tales)

**NU**

	152 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 40 (Lines 40 and 41 have been reversed)
	152 <sup>v</sup>	42 - 85

	153 <sup>r</sup>	86 - 127
	153 <sup>v</sup>	128 - 173
20	154 <sup>r</sup>	174 - 216
	154 <sup>v</sup>	217 - 258
	155 <sup>r</sup>	259 - 300
	155 <sup>v</sup>	301 - 354
	156 <sup>r</sup>	355 - 396
	156 <sup>v</sup>	397 - 439
	157 <sup>r</sup>	440 - 481
	157 <sup>v</sup>	482 - 523
	158 <sup>r</sup>	524 - 553/1

**L33**

	158 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 11
	158 <sup>v</sup>	12 - 53
	159 <sup>r</sup>	54 - 95
	159 <sup>v</sup>	96 - 137
	160 <sup>r</sup>	138 - 166/1

**CY**

	160 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 12
	160 <sup>v</sup>	13 - 54
	161 <sup>r</sup>	55 - 96
	161 <sup>v</sup>	97 - 138
21	162 <sup>r</sup>	139 - 180
	162 <sup>v</sup>	181 - 223
	163 <sup>r</sup>	224 - 265
	163 <sup>v</sup>	266 - 307
	164 <sup>r</sup>	308 - 349
	164 <sup>v</sup>	350 - 391
	165 <sup>r</sup>	392 - 433
	165 <sup>v</sup>	434 - 475
	166 <sup>r</sup>	476 - 517
	166 <sup>v</sup>	518 - 559
	167 <sup>r</sup>	560 - 601
	167 <sup>v</sup>	602 - 643
	168 <sup>r</sup>	644 - 685
	168 <sup>v</sup>	686 - 727
	169 <sup>r</sup>	728 - 761/1

**L35**

	169 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 6
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		169 <sup>v</sup>	7 - 16/1
<b><u>PH</u></b>	22	169 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 31
		170 <sup>r</sup>	32 - 73
		170 <sup>v</sup>	74 - 115
		171 <sup>r</sup>	116 - 157
		171 <sup>v</sup>	158 - 199
		172 <sup>r</sup>	200 - 241
		172 <sup>v</sup>	242 - 284
		173 <sup>r</sup>	285 - 286/1
<b><u>L21</u></b>		173 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 36
		173 <sup>v</sup>	37 - 40/1
<b><u>PD</u></b>		173 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 37
		174 <sup>r</sup>	38 - 80 (Lines 81-99 are omitted)
		174 <sup>v</sup>	100 - 142
		175 <sup>r</sup>	143 - 182
		175 <sup>v</sup>	183 - 224
		176 <sup>r</sup>	225 - 266
		176 <sup>v</sup>	267 - 310
		177 <sup>r</sup>	311 - 353
		177 <sup>v</sup>	354 - 395
	23	178 <sup>r</sup>	396 - 437
		178 <sup>v</sup>	438 - 479
		179 <sup>r</sup>	480 - 521
		179 <sup>v</sup>	522 - 563
		180 <sup>r</sup>	564 - 606
		180 <sup>v</sup>	607 - 640/1
<b><u>L23</u></b>		180 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 6/1 (L23 concludes at the bottom of the folio)
<b><u>SH</u></b>		180 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 0 (The rubrics to commence the SH are on the last line of the folio)
		181 <sup>r</sup>	1 - 42 (The SH commences at the top of the folio)
		181 <sup>v</sup>	43 - 84
		182 <sup>r</sup>	85 - 126
		182 <sup>v</sup>	127 - 168

		183 <sup>r</sup>	169 - 210
		183 <sup>v</sup>	211 - 253
		184 <sup>r</sup>	254 - 296
		184 <sup>v</sup>	297 - 338
		185 <sup>r</sup>	339 - 380
		185 <sup>v</sup>	381 - 422
	24	186 <sup>r</sup>	423 - 434/1
<b><u>L24</u></b>		186 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 18
<b><u>PR</u></b>		186 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 10
		186 <sup>v</sup>	11 - 52
		187 <sup>r</sup>	53 - 94
		187 <sup>v</sup>	95 - 136
		188 <sup>r</sup>	137 - 179
		188 <sup>v</sup>	180 - 221
		189 <sup>r</sup>	222 - 238/1
<b><u>L25</u></b>		189 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 21/1
<b><u>TT</u></b>		189 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 3
		189 <sup>v</sup>	4 - 45
		190 <sup>r</sup>	46 - 88
		190 <sup>v</sup>	89 - 135
		191 <sup>r</sup>	136 - 181
		191 <sup>v</sup>	182 - 202
<b><u>L28</u></b>		191 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 21
		192 <sup>r</sup>	22 - 48
<b><u>TM</u></b>		192 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 8
		192 <sup>v</sup>	8 - 33
		193 <sup>r</sup>	33 - 58
		193 <sup>v</sup>	58 - 79
	25	194 <sup>r</sup>	79 - 100
		194 <sup>v</sup>	100 - 122
		195 <sup>r</sup>	122 - 148
		195 <sup>v</sup>	148 - 213
		196 <sup>r</sup>	213 - 240

	196 <sup>v</sup>	240 - 270
	197 <sup>r</sup>	270 - 301
	197 <sup>v</sup>	301 - 338
	198 <sup>r</sup>	338 - 369
	198 <sup>v</sup>	369 - 403
	199 <sup>r</sup>	403 - 436
	199 <sup>v</sup>	436 - 471
	200 <sup>r</sup>	471 - 505
	200 <sup>v</sup>	505 - 536
	201 <sup>r</sup>	536 - 569
	201 <sup>v</sup>	569 - 598
26	202 <sup>r</sup>	598 - 631
	202 <sup>v</sup>	632 - 669
	203 <sup>r</sup>	669 - 699
	203 <sup>v</sup>	699 - 737
	204 <sup>r</sup>	737 - 774
	204 <sup>v</sup>	774 - 812
	205 <sup>r</sup>	812 - 850
	205 <sup>v</sup>	851 - 889
	206 <sup>r</sup>	889 - 918/1

**L29**

	206 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 12
	206 <sup>v</sup>	13 - 54
	207 <sup>r</sup>	55 - 96
	207 <sup>v</sup>	97 - 102/1

**MO**

	207 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 24/1
	208 <sup>r</sup>	25 - 62
	208 <sup>v</sup>	63 - 100
	209 <sup>r</sup>	100/1 - 136/1 (Line 100/1 is a repetition of line 100)
	209 <sup>v</sup>	137 - 174
27	210 <sup>r</sup>	175 - 211
	210 <sup>v</sup>	212 - 248/1
	211 <sup>r</sup>	249 - 286
	211 <sup>v</sup>	287 - 328
	212 <sup>r</sup>	329 - 370
	212 <sup>v</sup>	371 - 712 (Lines 681- 768 inclusive are positioned between lines 376 - 377)

		213 <sup>r</sup>	712/1 - 754
		213 <sup>v</sup>	755 - 403
		214 <sup>r</sup>	404 - 445
		214 <sup>v</sup>	446 - 486
		215 <sup>r</sup>	487 - 528
		215 <sup>v</sup>	529 - 569
		216 <sup>r</sup>	570 - 610
		216 <sup>v</sup>	611 - 651
		217 <sup>r</sup>	652 - 680/1
<b><u>L30</u></b>		217 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 4/8 (Lines 4/1 - 4/20 are the extra lines included in some witnesses to form the long version of the NPP [L30])
		217 <sup>v</sup>	4/9 - 34
<b><u>NP</u></b>	28	218 <sup>r</sup>	1 - 41 (Lines 41 and 42 have been reversed)
		218 <sup>v</sup>	43 - 84
		219 <sup>r</sup>	85 - 128
		219 <sup>v</sup>	129 - 171
		220 <sup>r</sup>	172 - 214
		220 <sup>v</sup>	215 - 264
		221 <sup>r</sup>	265 - 306
		221 <sup>v</sup>	307 - 348
		222 <sup>r</sup>	349 - 390
		222 <sup>v</sup>	391 - 432
		223 <sup>r</sup>	433 - 474
		223 <sup>v</sup>	475 - 517
		224 <sup>r</sup>	517/1 - 558 (Line 517/1 is a repetition of line 517).
		224 <sup>v</sup>	559 - 600
		225 <sup>r</sup>	601 - 627/1
<b><u>L36</u></b>		225 <sup>r</sup>	0 - 14
		225 <sup>v</sup>	15 - 56
	29	226 <sup>r</sup>	57 - 98
		226 <sup>v</sup>	99 - 104/1
<b><u>MA</u></b>		226 <sup>v</sup>	0 - 35
		227 <sup>r</sup>	36 - 77

227<sup>v</sup> 78 - 119  
 228<sup>r</sup> 120 - 161  
 228<sup>v</sup> 162 - 203  
 229<sup>r</sup> 204 - 245  
 229<sup>v</sup> 246 - 258/1

**L37**

229<sup>v</sup> 0 - 28  
 230<sup>r</sup> 29 - 70  
 230<sup>v</sup> 71 - 74/1

**PA**

30 230<sup>v</sup> 0 - 19  
 231<sup>r</sup> 19 - 45  
 231<sup>v</sup> 45 - 68  
 232<sup>r</sup> 68 - 95  
 232<sup>v</sup> 95 - 117  
 233<sup>r</sup> 117 - 137  
 233<sup>v</sup> 137 - 161  
 234<sup>r</sup> 161 - 183  
 234<sup>v</sup> 183 - 203  
 235<sup>r</sup> 203 - 222  
 235<sup>v</sup> 222 - 243  
 236<sup>r</sup> 243 - 261  
 236<sup>v</sup> 261 - 280  
 237<sup>r</sup> 280 - 294  
 237<sup>v</sup> 294 - 312/1  
 238<sup>r</sup> 313 - 335  
 238<sup>v</sup> 335 - 355  
 239<sup>r</sup> 355 - 374  
 239<sup>v</sup> 374 - 396 (Lost folio at this point which would have contained lines 397 - 436. The first few words of line 437 would also have been on this lost folio and are consequently missing)  
 31 240<sup>r</sup> 437 - 455  
 240<sup>v</sup> 456 - 478  
 241<sup>r</sup> 478 - 501  
 241<sup>v</sup> 501 - 518  
 242<sup>r</sup> 518 - 536  
 242<sup>v</sup> 536 - 555

	243 <sup>r</sup>	555 - 574
	243 <sup>v</sup>	574 - 593
	244 <sup>r</sup>	594 - 613
	244 <sup>v</sup>	613 - 634
	245 <sup>r</sup>	634 - 656
	245 <sup>v</sup>	656 - 676
	246 <sup>r</sup>	676 - 696
	246 <sup>v</sup>	696 - 714
	247 <sup>r</sup>	714 - 732
	247 <sup>v</sup>	732 - 751
	248 <sup>r</sup>	751 - 770
	248 <sup>v</sup>	770 - 790
32	249 <sup>r</sup>	790 - 809
	249 <sup>v</sup>	809 - 825
	250 <sup>r</sup>	825 - 841
	250 <sup>v</sup>	841 - 858
	251 <sup>r</sup>	858 - 877
	251 <sup>v</sup>	877 - 896
	252 <sup>r</sup>	897 - 915
	252 <sup>v</sup>	915 - 932
	253 <sup>r</sup>	932 - 951
	253 <sup>v</sup>	951 - 969
	254 <sup>r</sup>	969 - 987
	254 <sup>v</sup>	987 - 1006/2
<b><u>RT</u></b>	255 <sup>r</sup>	1006/3 - 1018/2

## Appendix II

### Catalogue of Rubrics in Lansdowne

The following is a comprehensive list of all incipits, explicits and divisions within tales contained in La. The information has been catalogued individually for each link and tale and arranged in the order followed in La. In La the explicit of one tale or prologue generally appears on the same line as the incipit for the next tale or prologue. For the ease of separating the rubrics into tales and links it has not been feasible to present the rubrics as they actually appear in the manuscript. The folio number on which a rubric is found is given first and where the rubric is situated as either the first or last line of a folio this is noted. Line numbers which are given as '0' represent the rubrics at the beginning of a tale or link. Line numbers followed by a '/' mark and then a further number, for example, '/1' represent an additional line. In most cases these are rubrics to denote the completion of a tale or link, or on some occasions rubrics to mark divisions within a tale. Spellings are recorded as they appear in the manuscript but, abbreviations have been expanded and are presented in italics. Where the scribe has written 'ff' at the start of a word it has been transcribed here as 'F'. All headings, endings and divisions are rubricated and appear within the main body of the text unless otherwise stated.

	<u>Folio</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Rubric</u>
<u>GP</u>	2 <sup>r</sup>	0	Incipit prologus fabularum Cantuariensium (Rubric appears above the foliate bar border)
	12 <sup>r</sup>	858	GP concludes. No rubrics
<u>KN</u>	12 <sup>r</sup>	0	Incipit fabula Militis (Incipit appears on the same line as the gloss which precedes it)
	38 <sup>v</sup>	2244/1	Explicit fabula mylit is

<b><u>L1</u></b>	38 <sup>v</sup>	0	Incipit <i>prologus Melendenarij</i>
	39 <sup>v</sup>	76/1	Explicit <i>prologus</i> .
	(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)		
<b><u>MI</u></b>	39 <sup>v</sup>	0	Incipit <i>fabula</i> .
	(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)		
	47 <sup>v</sup>	666/1	Explicit <i>fabula Molendeinarii</i> .
<b><u>L2</u></b>	47 <sup>v</sup>	0	Incipit <i>prologus</i> .
	48 <sup>r</sup>	66	L2 concludes. No rubrics
	(L2 concludes on the last line of fol.48 <sup>r</sup> )		
<b><u>RE</u></b>	48 <sup>v</sup>	0	þe revese tale begyrrneþ here
	(The rubric is the first line of fol.48 <sup>v</sup> )		
	53 <sup>r</sup>	404/1	Explicit <i>fabula</i>
<b><u>L3</u></b>	53 <sup>r</sup>	0	Incipit <i>fabula Prologus Coce</i> .
	53 <sup>v</sup>	40/1	Explicit <i>prologus</i> .
	(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)		
<b><u>CO</u></b>	53 <sup>v</sup>	0	Incipit <i>fabula</i>
	(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)		
	54 <sup>r</sup>	58	CO concludes. No rubrics
	(CO concludes on the last line of fol.54 <sup>r</sup> )		
<b><u>L6</u></b>	54 <sup>v</sup>	1	L6 commences . No rubrics
	(L6 commences on the first line of fol.54 <sup>v</sup> )		
	54 <sup>v</sup>	4	L6 concludes. No rubrics
<b><u>TG</u></b>	54 <sup>v</sup>	1	TG commences. No rubrics
	(TG commences after the four lines of L6 on fol.54 <sup>v</sup> )		
	65 <sup>r</sup>	902/1	Explicit <i>fabula Coci</i>
<b><u>L7</u></b>	65 <sup>r</sup>	0	Incipit <i>prologus Legis periti</i> .
	66 <sup>r</sup>	98	L7 concludes. No rubrics
<b><u>ML</u></b>	66 <sup>r</sup>	0	Hic incipit <i>fabula legis periti</i> .
	79 <sup>r</sup>	1064/1	Explicit <i>fabula legis periti</i> .
<b><u>L8</u></b>	79 <sup>r</sup>	0	Incipit <i>prologus Armigeri</i> .
	79 <sup>r</sup>	28/1	Explicit <i>prologus</i> .

(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

- SQ** 79<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit fabula .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
83<sup>r</sup> One line gap between lines 338 and 339 presumably for rubrics to be included as this is the division for Parts I and II of SQ. No rubrics were executed.  
87<sup>r</sup> 662 SQ concludes. No rubrics  
(SQ is immediately followed by L19 and the rubrics for the end of the SQ appear after this link)
- L19** 87<sup>r</sup> 1 L19 commences. No rubrics  
87<sup>r</sup> 8/1 Explicit fabula *Armigeri* .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L9** 87<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus . vxoris de Bath .*  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
87<sup>r</sup> 4 L9 concludes. No rubrics.
- WB** 87<sup>r</sup> 1 WB commences. No rubrics.  
(This section of text is traditionally titled the Wife of Bath's Prologue.)  
97<sup>r</sup> 830 The section of text traditionally known as the Wife of Bath's Prologue concludes. No Rubrics.  
97<sup>r</sup> 830/1 Incipit fabula *vxoris de Bathonia .*  
102<sup>r</sup> 1237/1 Explicit fabula *Matrone vxoris de Bathonia .*  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L10** 102<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus fratris*  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
102<sup>v</sup> 36/1 Explicit *prologus .*  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- FR** 102<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit fabula .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
106<sup>v</sup> 365/1 Explicit fabula :  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L11** 106<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus aparitoris*  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
107<sup>r</sup> 44/1 Explicit *prologus .*  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- SU** 107<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit fabula *aparitoris*

(Incipit appears on the same line as explicit given above)  
114<sup>r</sup> 586/1 Explicit fabula Aparitoris ⁊  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**CL** 114<sup>r</sup> 0 † Incipit prologus clerici .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as explicit given above)  
115<sup>r</sup> 56/1 Explicit prologus ⁊  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)  
115<sup>r</sup> 56/2 Hic incipit fabula  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
116<sup>v</sup> 196/1 Prima pars fabule  
(Rubric appears at the end of Part I and marks the beginning of Part II)  
119<sup>v</sup> 448/1 Secunda pars Fabule .  
(Rubric appears at the end of Part II and marks the beginning of Part III)  
121<sup>v</sup> 609/1 Tercia pars fabule .  
(Rubric appears at the end of Part III and marks the beginning of Part IV)  
123<sup>v</sup> 784/1 Quarta pars fabule .  
(Rubric appears at the end of Part IV and marks the beginning of Part V)  
128<sup>r</sup> 1176 CL concludes. No rubrics.

**L13** 128<sup>r</sup> 0 Lenvoye de Chaucer  
128<sup>v</sup> 36/1 Explicit connedacio  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**ME** 128<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit Fabula  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
141<sup>r</sup> 1074/1 Explicit fabula Mercatoris .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**FK** 141<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit prologus de le Frankeleyne .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
141<sup>v</sup> 20/1 Explicit prologus  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)  
141<sup>v</sup> 20/2 Incipit fabula .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
152<sup>r</sup> 908/1 Explicit liber ⁊  
(Rubric is the first line of fol.152<sup>r</sup>)  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**NU** 152<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit prologus .2<sup>e</sup>. Monyalys  
(Rubric is the first line of fol.152<sup>r</sup>)  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)

- 153<sup>r</sup> 119/1 Explicit *prologus*  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- 153<sup>r</sup> 119/2 Incipit *fabula* .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)
- 158<sup>r</sup> 553/1 Explicit *vita sancte Cecilie* .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L33** 158<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus* . *Canonice* .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)
- 160<sup>r</sup> 166/1 Explicit *prologus* .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- CY** 160<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *Fabula* .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)
- 163<sup>r</sup> 253 .ij<sup>r</sup>. *pars*  
(Rubricated 'Secunda Part' in the right-hand margin marks the beginning of Part II)
- 169<sup>r</sup> 762/1 Explicit *fabula* .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L35** 169<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus Magistri Phisici* .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)
- 169<sup>v</sup> 16/1 Explicit *prologus* .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- PH** 169<sup>v</sup> 0 † Incipit *fabua*  
(Paraph mark is executed in blue ink)  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)
- 173<sup>r</sup> 286/1 Explicit *fabula Magistri Phisorum*
- L21** 173<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus questoris*  
173<sup>v</sup> 40/1 Expli[xx]cit *Prologus questoris*  
([xx] indicates a tear in the manuscript which the scribe has written either side of)
- PD** 173<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit *fabula questoris* .  
180<sup>v</sup> 640/1 Explicit *fabula questoris* †  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L23** 180<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus*  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)
- 180<sup>v</sup> 6/1 Explicit *prologus* .  
(The rubric is the last line of fol.180<sup>v</sup>)  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

- SH** 180<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit fabula flaute  
 (Rubric is the last line of fol.180<sup>v</sup>)  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 186<sup>r</sup> 434/1 Explicit fabula flaute  
 (Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L24** 186<sup>r</sup> 0 = Incipit prologus Priorisse  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 (The '=' mark denotes that a paraph should have appeared here)  
 186<sup>r</sup> 18 L24 concludes. No rubrics
- PR** 186<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit Priorisse Fabula  
 189<sup>r</sup> 238/1 Explicit fabula priorisse .  
 (Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- L25** 189<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit prologus de Thopas  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 189<sup>r</sup> 21/1 Explicit prologus .  
 (Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- TT** 189<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit fabula .  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 191<sup>v</sup> 202 TT concludes. No rubrics.
- L28** 191<sup>v</sup> 0 † Incipit prologus .  
 (Incipit appears immediately after line 202 of TT on the same line)  
 192<sup>r</sup> 48 L28 concludes. No rubrics.
- TM** 192<sup>r</sup> 0 Hic incipit fabula de Mellybeo per Chaucer  
 206<sup>r</sup> 918/1 Explicit Fabula Galfridi Chaucer de Mellibeo . Milite  
 (Explicit appears as one line of text)
- L29** 206<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit prologus de Monacho .  
 207<sup>v</sup> 102/1 Explicit Prologus .  
 (Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)
- MO** 207<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit fabula de Casibus virorum .  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 207<sup>v</sup> 8/1 Primo de Lucifero  
 207<sup>v</sup> 16/1 De Adame . primo homine .  
 207<sup>v</sup> 16/10 De Sampsonē

(Rubric appears after the nine lines which form the passage traditionally known as the Adam Stanza. Under the *Canterbury Tales* Project lineation scheme the Adam Stanza is numbered as additional lines. The rubric is therefore numbered as '/10')

207<sup>v</sup> 24/1 De Eodem .

(Rubric is the last line of fol.207<sup>v</sup>)

208<sup>r</sup> 32/1 De Monacho Eod .

('Monacho' is underdotted indicating that it was written in error)

208<sup>r</sup> 40/1 De Eode

208<sup>r</sup> 48/1 De Eodem

208<sup>r</sup> 56/1 DE Eod

208<sup>v</sup> 72/1 De eodem .

208<sup>v</sup> 80/1 De eodem .

208<sup>v</sup> 88/1 De Eodem

208<sup>v</sup> 96/1 De Ercule[del]s[/del] .

(The final 's' has been deleted by a vertical stroke executed in the same dark ink used a later hand to write 'Hercules' in the right-hand margin next to the rubric)

209<sup>r</sup> 104/1 De eodem .

209<sup>r</sup> 112/1 De Eod

209<sup>r</sup> 120/1 De Eodem

209<sup>r</sup> 128/1 De eodem

209<sup>r</sup> 136/1 De Eodem

(Rubric is the last line of fol. 209<sup>r</sup>)

209<sup>v</sup> 144/1 De Rege flabugodonosor

209<sup>v</sup> 152/1 De Eodem

209<sup>v</sup> 160/1 De Eodem

209<sup>v</sup> 168/1 De eod

210<sup>r</sup> 176/1 De eodem

210<sup>r</sup> 184/1 De Baltazar dicti Regis flabugodonosor filio

210<sup>r</sup> 192/1 De eodem

210<sup>r</sup> 200/1 De eodem

210<sup>r</sup> 208/1 De eod

210<sup>v</sup> 216/1 De Eodem .

210<sup>v</sup> 224/1 De eodem

210<sup>v</sup> 232/1 De eodem

210<sup>v</sup> 240/1 De Eodem .

210<sup>v</sup> 248/1 De Cenobia Palmere Regina .

(Rubric is the last line of fol. 210<sup>v</sup>)

211<sup>r</sup> 256/1 De ead

211<sup>r</sup> 264/1 De eadem

211 <sup>r</sup>	272/1	De eadem
211 <sup>r</sup>	280/1	De Eadem
212 <sup>v</sup>	376/1	De Petro hispanye Rege .
212 <sup>v</sup>	688/1	Betelmewe Claykeynne . Oliuer Mawrye
212 <sup>v</sup>	696/1	De Petro Rege Cipri
212 <sup>v</sup>	704/1	De Barnabo vicecomite Mediolano .
213 <sup>r</sup>	712/1	☛ De Hugiline Comyte Pisano .

(Rubric is the first line of fol. 213<sup>r</sup>)

213<sup>v</sup> 768/1 = De Nero Imperatore .

(The '=' mark denotes that a paraph should have appeared here. However, this mark was probably placed at the start of the rubric incorrectly as a paraph is actually executed at the start of the following line)

214<sup>v</sup> 464/1 De Oliferno principe .

215<sup>r</sup> 487/1 De Antiochio illustri .

215<sup>v</sup> 544/1 De Alexandro Magno Philippi Regis Macidonie filio

(Rubric appears as one line of text)

216<sup>r</sup> 584/1 De Iulio Cesare

216<sup>v</sup> 640/1 = De Creso Rege

(The '=' mark denotes that a paraph should have appeared here. However, this mark was probably placed at the start of the rubric incorrectly as a paraph is actually executed at the start of the following line)

217<sup>r</sup> 680/1 Explicit fabula .

(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**L30** 217<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *Prologus*  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 217<sup>v</sup> 34 L30 concludes. No rubrics.  
 (L30 conclude on the last line of fol.217<sup>v</sup>)

**NP** 218<sup>r</sup> 1 NP commences. No rubrics  
 (NP commences on the first line of fol.218<sup>r</sup>)  
 225<sup>r</sup> 627/1 Explicit fabula Capellani .  
 (Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**L36** 225<sup>r</sup> 0 Incipit *prologus* . Mancipij  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
 226<sup>v</sup> 104/1 Explicit *prologus* .  
 (Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**MA** 226<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit fabula Mancipij .  
 (Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)

229<sup>v</sup> 258/1 Explicit Fabula Mancipij .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**L37** 229<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit prologus Rectoris .  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
230<sup>v</sup> 74/1 Explicit prohemium .  
(Explicit appears on the same line as the incipit given below)

**PA** 230<sup>v</sup> 0 Incipit Sermo  
(Incipit appears on the same line as the explicit given above)  
235<sup>v</sup> 241/1 Explicit prima pars penitencie  
(Rubric appears on the same line as the main body of text)  
235<sup>v</sup> 241/2 Incipit secunda pars . eiusdem  
(Rubric appears on a separate line)  
237<sup>r</sup> 312/1 De .7. peccatis mortalibus .  
(Rubric appears at the end of the last line of text on fol.237<sup>r</sup>)  
238<sup>r</sup> 313/1 = De superbia .  
(The '=' mark denotes that a paraph should have appeared here)  
(Rubric appears at the end of the first line of text on fol.238<sup>r</sup>; part-way through line 313)

240<sup>v</sup> 459 de Ira  
(This text is not rubricated)  
(*'de Ira'* is written in the left-hand margin at the start of line 459. The text is not rubricated and although in the scribe's hand is a smaller script than usual. It is possible that it was originally the guide for a rubric that was never executed. Three-quarters of the line above 459 is blank and a rubric could have been positioned there. See the notes regarding fols.245<sup>v</sup> and 253<sup>v</sup> detailed below)

244<sup>r</sup> 602/1 De Accidia .  
(Rubric appears at the end of a line of text)

245<sup>v</sup> 664/1 De Auaricia .  
(Rubric appears at the end of a line of text)  
(The scribe has also written *'de avaricia'* in the left-hand margin at the start of line 665. The text is not rubricated and is a much smaller script than usual. This is probably the guide for rubrication which was never erased. See the notes regarding fols.240<sup>v</sup> and 253<sup>v</sup>)

247<sup>v</sup> 743/1 † De gula .  
(Rubric appears at the end of a line of text)  
(The '†' mark represents a paraph)

248<sup>r</sup> 761/1 † De luxuria .  
(Rubric appears at the end of a line of text)  
(The '†' mark represents a paraph)

251<sup>v</sup> 883/1 De .2<sup>a</sup>. part penitencie

(Rubric appears at the end of a line of text and denotes the beginning of the second part of PA)

253<sup>v</sup> 953/1 De Sa=tisfaccio<sup>ne</sup> .

(Rubric is written in the main body of the text but is separated over two lines. 'De Sa' appears at the end of line 953 and '=tisfaccio<sup>ne</sup> .' appears at the end of the line below which is part-way through line 954. There is no hyphen to denote that 'Sa=tisfaccio<sup>ne</sup>' is divided. The '=' mark is the instruction by the scribe to denote that a paraph should be placed here)

(The scribe has also written what looks like 'de satifacoun' in the left-hand margin at the start of line 953. The text is not rubricated and is a much smaller script than usual. This is probably the guide for rubrication which was never erased. See the notes regarding fols.240<sup>v</sup> and 245<sup>v</sup> above)

254<sup>v</sup> 1006/2 Explicit Fabula . Rectoris

(Rubric appears as the last line of fol.254<sup>v</sup>)

**RT** 255<sup>r</sup> 1006/3 Composito huius libri hic capit licenciam . suam ?

(Rubric appears as one line of text)

(Rubric is the first line of fol.255<sup>r</sup>)

255<sup>r</sup> 1018/2 Explicit

(Rubric is the last line of text on fol.255<sup>r</sup>)

### Appendix III

#### Ornamental Capitals , Decorated Initials and Foliate Bar Borders in Lansdowne

The following is a comprehensive catalogue of all ornamental capitals, decorated initials and foliate bar borders in La. The line of text which contains the ornamental capital or decorated initial is quoted as it appears in the manuscript and all abbreviations have been preserved. The character which appears before the square brackets is the letter which is decorated in the manuscript. The number given in square brackets denotes how many lines of text are included in the decoration. Explicits and incipits are sometimes included in the number of lines over which an ornamental capital extends. As noted in the previous appendix, rubricated text to mark the end of one link/tale and the commencement of the following section of text regularly appear on the same writing line. Unless otherwise stated the explicits and incipits appear on the same line of text. A brief note accompanies each entry to clarify the purpose of the ornamental capital, for example, to state where a capital introduces a change of speaker or theme. All capitals are gilded unless otherwise stated. Details regarding the colouration of the decoration in La can be found under Illumination and Decoration in Chapter II of this thesis and the artwork of La is discussed fully in Chapter VII.

	<u>Line</u>	<u>Description of Ornamental Capital/Decoration</u>
<u>GP</u>	2 <sup>r</sup>	1 W[10 ]Han þat Aprif wyþe his schoures soote . The letter 'W' is an historiated initial containing a full length portrait of Chaucer. The text on this folio is surrounded with a full foliate bar border.

- 5<sup>v</sup> 311 A[1] Seriant of þe lawe war 7 wyse  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work marks the introduction of a pilgrim.
- 6<sup>r</sup> 363 A[1]n haberdassher and a Carpenterere  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work marks the introduction of a pilgrim.
- 11<sup>r</sup> 788 L[2]ordynges qo<sup>ð</sup> he now herkenep for þe beste  
Denotes the point where the Host declares that every pilgrim will tell a tale during the pilgrimage to Canterbury.
- KN** 12<sup>r</sup> 1 W[6]hilome was as holde stories tellen vs  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the KN.
- L1** 38<sup>v</sup> 1 W[2]han þat þe knyht had þus . his tale y tolde  
Marks the beginning of L1.
- MI** 39<sup>v</sup> 1 W[6]hilom þere was [del]þe was[/del] dweylng att Oxenford  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the MI.
- L2** 47<sup>v</sup> 1 W[2]han folke han lawhen att þis nyce caas  
Marks the beginning of L2.
- 48<sup>r</sup> 55 n[1]owe sires qo<sup>ð</sup> Oswalde þe reue  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work denotes a change of speaker from Host to Reeve.
- RE** 48<sup>v</sup> 1 A[7]t Trumpyngton nouht fe<sup>r</sup> fro Canibrugge  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the RE.  
The seven-line ornamental capital includes the rubric.
- L3** 53<sup>r</sup> 1 T[2]he coke of london while þe reue spakke  
Marks the beginning of L3.
- CO** 53<sup>v</sup> 1 A[5] prentis whilom duelled in oure Cite  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the CO.  
The explicit for L3 appears on the same line as the incipit for the CO and both are included as the first line of the ornamental capital which introduces the CO.

- TG** 54<sup>v</sup> 1 A[6]nd pere fore listeneþ . 7 herkeneþ þis tale ariht.  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the TG.
- 56<sup>v</sup> 169 L[1]ysten 7 lypes 7 holdeþ 3oure tonge .  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work denotes the traditional introduction by a minstrel which marks a thematic change from Gamelyn and his brother talking of their inheritance to an announcement of a wrestling match which Gamelyn wishes to attend.
- L7** 65<sup>r</sup> 1 O[2]wre Oste sauhe wele þat þe briht sonne  
Marks the beginning of L7.
- 65<sup>v</sup> 39 O[1]st qo<sup>þ</sup> he de pdeux iche assent  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work denotes the change of speaker from the Host to the Man of Law.
- ML** 66<sup>r</sup> 1 O[7] hateful harme condicione of pouert  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the ML. The seven-line ornamental initial includes the incipit and marks the beginning of the passage traditionally known as the 'Prologue to the Man of Law's Tale'.
- 66<sup>v</sup> 36 I[1]n Surre some while dweled a company .  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work introduces the passage traditionally known as the 'Man of Law's Tale'.
- L8** 79<sup>r</sup> 1 O[2]wre ost vpon his stereps stode anone  
Marks the beginning of L8.
- SQ** 79<sup>r</sup> 1 A[7]tt Sarray in þe londe o Tartary .  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the beginning of the SQ. The ornamental capital incorporates the explicit to L8 and the incipit for the SQ.
- 83<sup>r</sup> 339 T[5]he norice of digestion is slepe  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of Part II of the SQ. Immediately above the gilded initial a one-line gap has been left, presumably for rubrics to denote the end of Part I and the beginning of Part II.

- L9** 87<sup>r</sup> 1 T[3]han schortly ansewarde þe wife of Bathe  
Marks the beginning of the unique La link [L9]; the Wife of Bath's Headlink.
- WBP** 89<sup>r</sup> 163 U[2]p stert þe pdoner 7 þat anone  
Marks the Pardoner's interruption and denotes the change of speaker from the Wife of Bath to the Pardoner.
- 89<sup>v</sup> 193 Π[2]owe sires þan schal I tel 3owe my tale  
Marks the point where the Wife of Bath continues with her Prologue following the Pardoner's interruption.
- 92<sup>v</sup> 453 m[1]y ferþe husbonde was a reueloure  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work marks the point where the Wife of Bath begins to talk of her fourth husband.
- 96<sup>v</sup> 803 T[2]he frere lowhe whan he had herd al þis  
Marks the change of speaker from the Wife of Bath to the Friar and the beginning of the passage traditionally known as the 'words between the Summoner and the Friar'.
- WBT** 97<sup>r</sup> 831 l[7]n þe olde daies of þe kinge Arthoure  
Three-quarter foliate bar border to mark the start of the WBT. The ornamental capital includes the 'T' of 'In' at line 1 and also the 'T' of the incipit at line 830/1 which is incorporated in the count of 7.
- L10** 102<sup>r</sup> 1 T[2]his worþi lymitoʀ þis noble frere  
Marks the beginning of L10.
- FR** 102<sup>v</sup> 1 w[7]hilom þe was dwelinge ī myne contre  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the FR. The seven-line ornamental capital incorporates the explicit for L10 and the incipit for the FR.
- L11** 106<sup>v</sup> 1 T[3]his Somnoʀ in his stirep hie stode  
Marks the beginning of L11. The three-line ornamental capital includes the explicit for the FR and the incipit for L11.

- SU** 107<sup>r</sup> 1 L[4]Ordeynges þeis in 3orke schire as .i. gesse  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the SU.  
The four-line ornamental capital includes the explicit for L11 and  
the incipit for the SU.
- CL** 114<sup>r</sup> 1 S[2]ir Clerc of Oxenforde owre Oste seide  
Marks the beginning of the passage traditionally known as the  
'Clerk's Prologue'.  
115<sup>r</sup> 57 T[6]her is riht att þe west side of Itaile  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the text  
traditionally known as the 'Clerk's Tale'.  
116<sup>v</sup> 197 Π[3]owht fer fro þe paleis honorable  
Marks the beginning of Part II of the CL.  
119<sup>v</sup> 449 T[3]here fel att befallēþ times mo  
Marks the beginning of Part III of the CL.  
121<sup>v</sup> 610 l[3]n þis . astate þere ben passed foure 3ere  
Marks the beginning of Part IV of the CL.  
123<sup>v</sup> 785 A[3]monge al þis after his wikked vsage  
Marks the beginning of Part V of the CL.
- L13** 128<sup>r</sup> 1 G[2]riselde is dede 7 hir pacience  
Marks the beginning of [L13], the 'Lenvoye de Chaucer'.
- ME** 128<sup>v</sup> 1 W[6]hilome þer was dwellinge in lumbardie  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the ME.
- FK** 141<sup>r</sup> 1 T[2]his olde gentil bretons in hi<sup>r</sup> daies  
Marks the beginning of the passage traditionally known as the  
'Franklin's Prologue'.  
141<sup>v</sup> 22 T[6]her was a knyht þat loued 7 dide his peyne  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the text  
traditionally known as the 'Franklin's Tale'.
- NU** 152<sup>r</sup> 1 T[2]he Ministre of þe flouice vnto vices  
Marks the beginning of the passage traditionally known as the  
'Second Nun's Prologue'.  
153<sup>r</sup> 120 T[6]his maiden hiht Cecile as hi<sup>r</sup> lif seiþe  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the text  
traditionally known as the 'Second Nun's Tale'.

- L33** 158<sup>r</sup> 1 W[2]han ended was þe lif of seint Cecile  
Marks the beginning of L33.
- CY** 160<sup>r</sup> 1 W[6]ythe þis chanon dwelled haue .i. seuen ȝere ,  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the CY.  
163<sup>r</sup> 253 T[2]her is a chanon of religion  
Marks the beginning of Part II of the CY.  
163<sup>v</sup> 293 I[10]n londen was a preste an annuellere  
The Canon's Yeoman presents a lengthy preamble to his actual tale  
and the ornamental capital at line 293 marks the start of the story  
itself.
- L35** 169<sup>v</sup> 1 n[2]Owe trewly qð oure Oste þis is a prati tale  
Marks the beginning of the unique La link [L35].
- PH** 169<sup>v</sup> 1 T[6]her was as telleþ vs titus liueus  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the PH.
- L21** 173<sup>r</sup> 1 O[2]wre Oste gan swere as he war wode  
Marks the beginning of L21.
- PD** 173<sup>v</sup> 1 L[6]Ordynge qð he in cherches whan .i. preche  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the passage  
traditionally known as the 'Pardoner's Prologue'.  
174<sup>v</sup> 135 I[7]n flaundes whilom was a compaignie  
Marks the beginning of the text traditionally known as the  
'Pardoner's Tale'.  
176<sup>r</sup> 261 A[2] now þat .i. haue spoke of glotonye  
Marks a change of theme from the Pardoner talking of gluttony to  
condemning gambling.  
176<sup>v</sup> 301 n[2]owe wol .i. speke of othes fals 7 grete  
Marks a change of theme from the Pardoner talking of gambling to  
the evils of swearing and oaths.
- L23** 180<sup>v</sup> 1 B[2]Ot þan spak oure Oste vnto maister schipmaū  
Marks the beginning of the unique La link [L23].

- SH** 181<sup>r</sup> 1 A[6] Marchant whilom dwelled att sein Denys  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the SH.
- L24** 186<sup>r</sup> 1 W[2]ele saide be corpus dampnus seide oure Oste  
Marks the beginning of L24.
- PR** 186<sup>r</sup> 1 O[6] lorde oure lorde pi name howe mvelouse  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the passage  
traditionally known as the 'Prioress's Prologue'.  
186<sup>v</sup> 36 T[2]her was a Ce in a grete Cite  
Marks the beginning of the text traditionally known as the  
'Prioress's Tale'.
- L25** 189<sup>r</sup> 1 W[2]han seide was pis tale euŷy man  
Marks the beginning of L25.
- TT** 189<sup>r</sup> 1 L[3]Estenepe lordes in goo entent  
Three-quarter bar border marks the beginning of the TT.
- L28** 191<sup>v</sup> 1 n[2]o mor of pis for goddes dignite  
Marks the beginning of L28.
- TM** 192<sup>r</sup> 1 A[6] zonge man whilom called Mellibe . mihte  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the TM.  
195<sup>v</sup> 204 † flow haue .i. tolde zowe of whiche folke ze scholde be counseled  
[2orncp]n[/2orncp]owe wil .i. teche zowe whiche couset ze owe to  
eschewe  
Marks a change of theme from the 'sort of folk by whom you  
should be counseled' to 'the sort of counsel you ought to eschew'.
- L29** 206<sup>r</sup> 1 W[2]han endede was pe tale of Mellibe  
Marks the beginning of L29.
- MO** 207<sup>v</sup> 1 Y[24] Wil be weile in maner of tregedrie  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the MO.

- 210<sup>v</sup> 241 L[1]ordinges here by ensamples maie 3e take  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work marks a thematic change warning of how Fortune can give you friends and just as easily turn them into your enemies.
- 211<sup>r</sup> 249 C[1]Enobia of Palimfe þe quene  
A blue pen initial with red flourished pen work marks the beginning of the tragedy of Cenobia.
- L30** 217<sup>r</sup> 1 H[2]oo qoþ þe knyght good ƒ no more of þis  
Marks the beginning of L30.
- NP** 218<sup>r</sup> 1 A[7] Pouer wedowe sumdel stoupe in age  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the NP.
- L36** 225<sup>r</sup> 1 W[2]Ete 3e nouht where þere stant a litel toune  
Marks the beginning L36.
- MA** 226<sup>v</sup> 1 W[6]han phebz dwelled heP in þis erþe adoune  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the MA.
- L37** 229<sup>v</sup> 1 B[2]E þat þe manciple hadde his tale endede  
Marks the beginning of L37.
- PA** 230<sup>v</sup> 1 O[7]wre swete lord god of heuene . þ' no man wil pisshe ƒ but wil  
þat we cōme al to the knowleche of him ƒ 7 to þe blisful lyf þ' is  
pðurable ƒ  
Three-quarter foliate bar border marks the beginning of the PA.
- 235<sup>v</sup> 242 T[2]he secunde parte of penitence ƒ is confession þat is signe of  
cont'cione ƒ  
Marks the beginning of the second part of Penance.
- 238<sup>r</sup> 313 Π[4]Owe is it be houely þinges to tellen whiche [emph]De supbia  
.[/emph] buen . þe . vij . dely sinne ƒ þat is to sey chaytynesse of  
sinnes Bot al þei renne in Coles ƒ Bot in diuerse manre nowe bue þei  
cleped kaytifs ƒ for also muche as þe bu chef 7 springen of al oþe  
sinnes  
Marks the beginning of the section on the seven deadly sins.

- 240<sup>v</sup> 459 A[3]fter Ennevie wil .i. declare þe sinne of Ire ⁊ For sobely who þ' habe envy vpon his neyhbo<sup>r</sup> ⁊ anone comunly he wil finde him matier of wreppe in worde or in dede azeines him to whome he hap envie ⁊  
Marks the beginning of the section on Anger.
- 244<sup>r</sup> 603 A[3]fter þ<sup>e</sup> sinnes of Enevy .i. wil speke of þe sinnes of accide ⁊ For Enevy blindeþ þe herte of a man ⁊ ⁊ ire troubleþ a man ⁊ And Accide Makeþ him hevye pouhtful ⁊ wrawe ⁊  
Marks the beginning of the section on Sloth.
- 245<sup>v</sup> 665 A[3]fter Accide wil .i. speke of avarice ⁊ ⁊ of Couetyse Off whiche sinne seip seint [ul]Paule[/ul] ⁊ þat þe rote of al sinnes is Couetise ⁊ Ad Thimoth . 6 °  
Marks the beginning of the section on Avarice.
- 247<sup>v</sup> 744 A[3]fter Auarice cōmeþ glotonye whiche is exp̄sse eke azeines þe cōmandement of god ⁊ Glotonye is vnmesurable appetit to ette or to drinke or elles to done ynouhe to þe vnmesurable ⁊ discorde couetise to ete ⁊ to drinke  
Marks the beginning of the section on Gluttony.
- 248<sup>r</sup> 762 A[3]fter glotony . þan cōmeþ lycherye for þes tuo sinnes bien so nyhe cosines þat often tim þei wil not departe ⁊  
Marks the beginning of the section on Lechery.
- 251<sup>v</sup> 884 ¶[2]ow for as muche as þe secunde pte of penite ⁊ stant in confession of mouþe ⁊ as .i. began in þe chapetre ⁊ I. seye seint Austine seiþe ⁊  
Marks the beginning of the second part of Penance.
- 253<sup>v</sup> 954 [3orncp]¶[3orncp]Ow haue .i. tolde of verrey confession þat is þe secunde pte of penitence  
Marks the beginning of the third part of Penance. In La the ornamental capital actually appears at the start of the final sentence of the second part of Penance.
- RT** 255<sup>r</sup> 1007 ¶[4]Ow preye .i. to hem all þat herken þis litel tretis or rede ⁊ þ'  
Marks the beginning of the RT. The four-line ornamental capital includes the rubric which introduces the RT.

## Appendix IV

### Emphatic and Abstract Capitals in Lansdowne

There are many instances in the La manuscript where initial characters at the start of a line or throughout the first line of a folio have been elongated and elaborated. However, this list catalogues only those instances where letters have been elaborated into abstract designs or faces. This form of decoration is executed in dark brown/black ink. The majority of these elaborate and emphatic characters are tinted with a yellow wash and occasionally with red. Any instance where anything other than a yellow wash has been applied is noted. Many of the emphatic characters have been damaged as a result of trimming. The character which has been elaborated is presented here in square brackets. All lines listed are the first line of a folio unless otherwise stated. A brief description of each character details the nature of the decoration. For example, the term 'emphatic face' is used to denote that the character is accompanied by a face, these are generally positioned on the stem of the letter. Where a character is elaborated in an abstract design or decorated with foliage the term 'abstract' is used.

	<u>Line</u>	<u>Description</u>
<u>GP</u>		
2 <sup>v</sup>	43	[A] knyght þe was 7 þat a worþi manne (Abstract)
3 <sup>r</sup>	85	[A]nd he had be some tittle in cheualrie (Abstract)
3 <sup>r</sup>	101	[A] 3oman had he and seruantes no moo (Abstract. Situated part-way down the folio)

5<sup>r</sup> 272 † [A] marchant was þe w<sup>t</sup> a forked berde  
(Emphatic face. Situated part-way down the folio)

6<sup>v</sup> 381 † [A] cooke þei had wiþ hem for þe nones  
(Abstract)

### KN

12<sup>v</sup> 23 [A]nd how asseged was ypolyta  
(Two or possibly three emphatic faces with foliage in their mouths)

14<sup>r</sup> 151 [A]nd so be fel þat in þe caas þei founde  
(Two emphatic faces)

14<sup>v</sup> 193 [A]nd in þe Gardine att þe sonne vpriste  
(Abstract)

17<sup>v</sup> 447 [A]nd wreten in þe table of Arthamaunt  
(Two emphatic faces)

19<sup>v</sup> 617 [A]nd þus he fliep as fast as euþe he maie  
(Abstract)

20<sup>r</sup> 659 [W]as in a busshe þat no man miht him see  
(Abstract)

24<sup>v</sup> 1039 [F]or in þe londe þere nas no craftiman  
(Abstract)

31<sup>v</sup> 1629 [A]nd spende it in hihe venus þuise  
(Emphatic face)

33<sup>r</sup> 1757 [H]e foyneþ on his fote wiþ his tronchon  
(Abstract)

33<sup>v</sup> 1799 [I.] wiþ be trewe lugge 7 not þtie  
(Abstract)

34<sup>r</sup> 1839 [A]nd alweie cryeinge After Emelye  
(Abstract)

**MI**

- 41<sup>v</sup> 145 [A]nd pleyen songes in a sma~~t~~ rebibe  
(Two emphatic faces)
- 42<sup>r</sup> 187 [H]e wakeþ al þe nyght 7 al þe daie  
(Emphatic face)
- 46<sup>v</sup> 565 [A]las qo<sup>n</sup> he alas .i. ne hadde yblente  
(Abstract)
- 47<sup>v</sup> 649 [A]nd had hem hongede in þe roofe aboue  
(Abstract tinted with a red wash)

**RE**

- 49<sup>v</sup> 85 [A]nd oonely for her mirþe 7 reuelrie  
(Three emphatic faces)
- 50<sup>r</sup> 127 [A]nd pouht al þis nys done bot for a wyle  
(Abstract)
- 51<sup>r</sup> 211 [B]ot specialy .i. praie þe ooste dere  
(Emphatic face)

**CO**

- 54<sup>r</sup> 17 [A]nd gaderd him a meyne of his sorte  
(Two emphatic faces)

**TG**

- 59<sup>v</sup> 425 [A]nd set him to soper riht in a p'ue stede  
(Abstract)
- 60<sup>v</sup> 509 [A]bbot or priour Monke or Chanoune  
(Abstract)

**L7**

- 65<sup>v</sup> 31 [W]han sche haþe lostit in hire wantounes  
(Abstract)

**ML**

- 73<sup>r</sup> 557 [A]n Empo<sup>r</sup> douhter stant alone  
(Abstract)
- 73<sup>v</sup> 599 [H]i<sup>r</sup> pouht hir cursed hert braste a two  
(Emphatic face)
- 74<sup>r</sup> 641 [I]. am zoure seruant bope niht 7 daie  
(Emphatic face)
- 74<sup>v</sup> 683 [L]at him endite pi traitery  
(Abstract)

**SQ**

- 79<sup>v</sup> 9 [A]s of þe sette of whiche þat he was borne  
(Two emphatic faces tinted with a red wash)
- 81<sup>v</sup> 177 [A]nd cause whi for þei can nou3t þe craft  
(Abstract)
- 84<sup>v</sup> 431 [A]nd to þe tre sche gope ful hastely  
(Abstract tinted with red wash)

**WB**

- 98<sup>r</sup> 888 [A]nd att þe last he chase him for to wende  
(Two emphatic faces)

**FR**

- 105<sup>v</sup> 245 [A]s ferforþly as euer were 3e folde  
(Emphatic face)

**SU**

- 110<sup>r</sup> 216 [A]nd so forþe al þe gospel maie 3e seen  
(Abstract tinted with red wash)

**CL**

- 116<sup>r</sup> 138 [A]nd þat a stronge successoure scholde take  
(Two emphatic faces)

117<sup>r</sup> 223 [A] fewe schepe spyngyng on þe felde sche kepped  
(Emphatic face tinted with both a red and yellow wash)

119<sup>v</sup> 433 [I]n al þat londe þat sche coupe apese  
(Abstract)

### ME

130<sup>v</sup> 140 [L]oue wele þi wif as crist louep his chirche  
(Abstract)

### NU

154<sup>r</sup> 174 [A]nd to þe pouer folkes þat þ'e duelle  
(Two emphatic faces)

### SH

185<sup>v</sup> 381 [A]nd wantonly a3eine wip him sche pleide  
(Two emphatic faces)

### L30

217<sup>v</sup> 4/9 [A]nd þouhe suche were goodely for to telle  
(Abstract)

### NP

219<sup>r</sup> 85 [H]is snowte smal wip gloweinge eyen tweye  
(Two emphatic faces)

224<sup>r</sup> 517/1 [A]nd on his bakke toward þe wode him bare  
(Abstract)

### L36

225<sup>v</sup> 15 [A]wake þou koce qd<sup>h</sup> he qd<sup>h</sup> 3if þe sorowe  
(Abstract)

### PA

242<sup>v</sup> 536 [A]nop<sup>e</sup> leseinge cōmep of delite for to lye . In whiche delite þei wil forgen  
alonge-  
(Emphatic face. Line 536 actually comences half-way through the last  
written line of fol.242<sup>r</sup>)

## Appendix V

### Textual Comparison of Lansdowne and Corpus

#### Additional Lines in Lansdowne and Corpus

The following catalogue lists all lines recorded as additional in La and Cp. Additional lines are denoted by a '/' and then a number; '/1' indicates an additional line '/2' marks a consecutive additional line, and so forth. Additional lines in La are presented first and then those in Cp. This list only records actual lines of text, not rubrics, divisions within tales, or glosses, all of which are presented in separate appendices. In La some lines which are recorded as additional are in fact repetitions of lines, these have been noted in each case. Additional text in the prose tales frequently consists of only short sections of a line and are consequently not recorded here.

	<u>Line</u>	<u>Additional Line of Text</u>
<u>GP</u>		
La	638/1	And whan þat he wele drongen had þe wyne
Cp	638/1	And whan þat he wel dronken hadde þe wyn
La	638/2	þan wold he speke no worde bot latyne
Cp	638/2	Than wold he speke no word but latyn /
<u>KN</u>		
La	1822/1	For wemmen as to speken in comune
Cp	1822/1	For wōmen as to speken in comune
La	1822/2	The folowen al þe fauoure of fortune
Cp	1822/2	Thei folwen al þe fauour of fortune /
La	1918/1	Alon wiþ owten any compaignie
Cp	1918/1	Allone wiþouten eny companye
La	1918/2	Fare wele my swete foo myne Emylye
Cp	1918/2	Far wel my sweete foo myn Emelye

La 1918/3 And soft take me in 3oure armes tweye  
 Cp 1918/3 And softe take me in 3oure armes tweye

La 1918/4 For þe loue of god 7 herken what .i. seye  
 Cp 1918/4 For loue of7 god and herkneb what7 I seye

**TG**

La 858/1 He þouht for to make hem riht sore adrede

**WB**

La 806/1 And whan þe Someno7 herd þe frere gale  
 (806/1 is the first line of fol.97<sup>r</sup> and is a repetition of 806 which concludes the previous folio)

La 872/1 The queen þonked þe kinge wip al here myht  
 Cp 872/1 The queen þankeþ þe king7 wip al hire might7

**CL**

La 908/1 To wedde one of so poure a lignage  
 Cp 908/1 To wedde oon of7 so pore alynage

La 1060/1 Sche ferd as sche had start oute of hir slepe  
 (1060/1 is the first line of fol.127<sup>r</sup> and is a repetition of 1060 which concludes the previous folio)

**ME**

La 13/1 pat daie 7 nyht he doþe al þat he can  
 13/2 To aspie where he myht wedded be  
 (13/1 and 13/2 are the first lines of fol.129<sup>r</sup> and are a repetition of lines 12 and 13 which conclude the previous folio)

La 574/1 So hasted lanuarie it most be done  
 Cp 574/1 So hastede lanuer it moste be doon

**FK**

La 643/1 For oute of toune was gone Arueragus  
 (643/1 is the first line of fol.149<sup>r</sup> and is a repetition of 643 which concludes the previous folio)

La 842/1 For certes he seip .i. am forlorne  
 Cp 842/1 For certes he seip I am forlorrn

**NU**

**Cp** 482/1 Bope for to sleen and for to quyke a wight  
 (482/1 appears six lines from the bottom of fol.176<sup>v</sup> and is a repetition of line 481. Line 482/1 has been deleted by a single horizontal pen stroke through the entire line. The order of lines in Cp at this point is as follows: 481. 482. 482/1. 483)

**L21**

**La** 10/1 Hire beute was hir depe[ud]p[/ud] .i. dare wele seine  
**Cp** 10/1 Hire beaute was hire dep I dar wel sayn

**La** 10/2 Alas how pitously as sche was sleine  
**Cp** 10/2 Allas so pitously as sche was slayn

**PD**

**La** 159/1 And þfore sore repent him ouhte  
**Cp** 159/1 And þfore sore repente him oughte

**La** 160/1 pere maie 3e leren 7 be ensample teche  
**Cp** 160/1 per may 3e lerne and by ensample teche

**MO**

**La** 16/2 Lo Adam in þe felde of Damasene  
 16/3 Wip goddes owen finger<sup>r</sup> wrouht was he  
 16/4 And nouht be geten of mannes sperme vnclene  
 16/5 And wele al paradise saueinge o tre  
 16/6 Hadd neu<sup>r</sup> worldly man so hihe degre  
 16/7 As Adam til he for his gou<sup>r</sup>nance  
 16/8 Was dreven oute of his hihe pspite  
 16/9 To labure 7 to hel 7 to muschance .

(Lines 16/2 - 16/9 inclusive are the passage known as the Adam Stanza. This passage is not included in Cp and was not originally included in Hg although it has been added in the right margin by a later hand)

**La** 100/1 ☩ He slouhe 7 raft þe skynne fro þe lyon  
 (100/1 is the first line of fol.209<sup>r</sup> and is a repetition of 100 which concludes the previous folio)

**L30**

**La** 4/1 .i. seie for me it is a grete diseise  
 4/2 Where as men hap buen in gre welpe 7 ese  
 4/3 To heren of her<sup>r</sup> sodan fal alas

4/4 And þe contrarie is loye 7 grete solace  
 4/5 As whan haþe bue in pouer<sup>p</sup> astate  
 4/6 And climbeþ vp 7 waxeþ fortunate  
 4/7 And þare abideþ in þspite  
 4/8 Suche þinge is gladsome as it þenkeþ me .  
 4/9 And þouhe suche were goodely for to telle  
 4/10 3e qd oure Ost be seint poules belle  
 4/11 3e seie riht soþe þis monke he clappeþ loude  
 4/12 He spake howe fortune couerd was wip a cloude  
 4/13 .I. note neu<sup>r</sup> what 7 also of a tregedrye  
 4/14 Riht nowe 3e herde 7 pde no Remedye  
 4/15 It is to be weile ne to compleyne  
 4/16 That þat is done and als it is a peine  
 4/17 As 3e haue seide to hire of heuenesse  
 4/18 Sir monke no more of þis so god 3ow blysse  
 4/19 3oure tale anoyeþ al þis Compaignye  
 4/20 Suche talkeinge is nouht worþe a botterflye

(Lines 4/1 - 4/20 inclusive are the additional twenty lines of L30 [NPP] which create the long version of the link. These extra lines are not included in Hg or Cp)

## NP

La 517/1 And on his bakke toward þe wode him bare  
 (517/1 is the first line of fol.224<sup>r</sup> and is a repetition of 517 which concludes the previous folio)

## Lines Omitted from Lansdowne and Corpus

The following list is a comprehensive catalogue of all lines which appear in the base-text, but not in La or Cp. The line(s) which have been omitted from either, or both La and Cp have been supplied from the base-text which is Hg unless otherwise stated. This allows a review of the content of the lines to establish if any reason other than eyeskip, or that the text was lacking in the exemplar(s) can be identified for their omission. Cp has lost a number of folios which have been noted below. The prose tales present many problems when classifying lines as additional and as a consequence only complete lines have been listed below.

## Lines Omitted

### GP

Cp	1 - 72	Lost folio
La / Cp	253	And yaf a c'teyn ferme , for the graunt
La / Cp	254	flood of his bretheren , cam ther in his haunt

### KN

La	392	Farwel my lyf , my lust and my gladnesse
Cp	2181	And who so gruccheth oght he dooth folye

### TG (base-text Cp)

La	263	Gamelyn in þe place stood stille as a stoof
La	265	Ther was non with Gamelyr wolde wrastle more
La	341	Litheth and lesteneth and holdep 3ou <sup>r</sup> tonge
La	342	And 3e schul heere gamen of Gamelyn þe 3onge
La	343	Herkeneth lordynges and listeneth aright
La	344	Whan al gastes were goon how Gamelyn was dight
La	731	Anon as sire Oote herde how Gamelyn was dight
La	733	And leet sadle a steede and þe way he nam
La	769	¢ Litheth and lesteneth and holdep 3ou stille
La	770	And 3e schulle heere how Gamelyr hadde his wille
La	857	Whan Gamelyn was sette in þe Iustices sete ,

### ML

La	68	She is Mirour , of al curteisye
La	481	That was ful wys , and worthy of his hond <sup>s</sup>
La	775	For wynd and weder , almyghty god purchase

### SQ

La	406	Ybeten hadde she hir self , so pitously
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### WB

Cp	10	That sith þ' Crist ne wente neu <sup>e</sup> but onys
Cp	146 - 217	Lost folio

### FR

La	356	So kepe vs , fro the temptour Sathanas
----	-----	--

**SU**

La / Cp 165 We lyue in pouerte / and in abstinence  
 La / Cp 166 And buret folk<sup>7</sup> in richesse and dispence

**CL**

Cp 33 - 107 Lost folio  
 La 65 As were / his worthy eldres hym bifore  
 La 74 And ful of hono<sup>r</sup> / and of curteisye  
 La 81 As for to hauke / and hunte on euery syde  
 La 117 How þ' oure dayes passe / in sondry wyse  
 La / Cp 143 Ye wol quod he / myn owene peple deere  
 Cp 173 Ther as myn herte is set<sup>7</sup> ther wol I wyue  
 La / Cp 905 Was euere / in suspect<sup>7</sup> of hir mariage

**L13**

Cp 13 - 36 Lost folio

**ME**

Cp 1 - 48 Lost folio  
 La / Cp 61 And if thow take a wyf / she wole destroye  
 La / Cp 62 Thy good substance / and thy body annoye  
 Cp 64 Writeth this man / ther god his bones curse  
 La / Cp 402 So delicat<sup>7</sup> with outen wo and stryf  
 La / Cp 403 That I shal han myn heuene / in erthe heere  
 La / Cp 572 And they han doon / right as he wol deuuse  
 La 575 And whan the bed / was with the preest yblessed  
 La / Cp 683 And spede yow faste / for I wol abide  
 La / Cp 684 Til that ye slepe / faste by my syde  
 La 1037 Wommen ful trewe / ful goode and v<sup>t</sup>uous  
 La 1038 Witnesse on hem / that dwelle in Cristes hous  
 La 1039 With martirdom / they proued hir constaunce  
 La 1040 The Romayn geestes / eek maken remembraunce  
 La 1041 Of many a verray / trewe wyf also  
 La 1042 But sire ne be nat wrooth / al be it so  
 La 1043 Thogh þ' he seyde / he foond no good womman  
 La 1044 I pray yow / taak the sentence of the man  
 La / Cp 1075-1174 Inclusive

**FK**

La 66 For it venquysseth / as thise clerkes seyn  
 La / Cp 439 And som tyme floures sprynge / as in a mede  
 La / Cp 440 Som tyme a vyne / and grapes white and rede

La / Cp	483	Ther saw he hertes / with hir hornes hye
La / Cp	484	The gretteste / þ' euē were seyn w' eye
La / Cp	485	He say of hem / an hundred slayn w' houndes
La / Cp	486	And sōme with arwes blede / of bittre woundes
La / Cp	487	¢ He saw / whan voyded were thise wilde deer
La / Cp	488	Thise Fawconers / vp on a fair Ryuer
La	616	flaþ þ' I chalange / any thyng of right?
La / Cp	715	To sleen my self? than ben defouled thus
La / Cp	716	I wol be trewe / vn to Arueragus
La / Cp	725	Hir seluen slow / right for swich manere wo
La / Cp	726	¢ Another Theban mayden / dide right so
La	796	Vn to the gardyn / as myn housbond bad
La / Cp	840	Of thise two folk / ye gete of me namoore
La / Cp	851	But nathelees / I wol of hym assaye
La / Cp	852	At c'teyn dayes / yeer by yeer to paye
La	878	It nedeth nat? to yow reherce it moore
La	879	¢ He seyde / Arueragus / of gentillesse
La	880	Hadde leuē dye / in sorwe and in distresse
La	881	Than þ' his wyf? were of hir trouthe fals
La	882	The sorwe of Dorigen / he tolde hym als
La	883	How looth hir was / to ben a wikked wyf?
La	884	And þ' she leuē had lost? that day hir lyf?
La	885	And þ' hir trouthe / she swoor thurgh Innocence
Cp	868 - 908	Lost folio

## NU

Cp	1 - 36	Lost folio
La / Cp	73	Of my body / and also by the wighte
La / Cp	74	Of erthely lust? and fals affecciou
La	103	Of heuene and leos comth / for which by right?
La / Cp	156	That ye me touche / or loue in vileynye
La / Cp	157	He right anon / wol sleen yow with the dede
La / Cp	158	And in youre youthe / thus ye shullen dye
La / Cp	159	And if that ye / in clere loue me gye
La / Cp	214	For sother thyng than this / I dar wel say
La / Cp	326	That fadres sone / hath alle thynges wroght?
La / Cp	327	And al that wroght is / with a skilful thoght?
La / Cp	328	The goost that fro the fader / gan procede
La / Cp	329	Hath souled hem / with outen any drede
La / Cp	330	¢ By word and by myracle / he goddes sone
La / Cp	331	Whan he was / in this world / declared heere
La / Cp	332	That ther was oother lyf / ther men may wone
La / Cp	333	To whom answerde Tiburce / o suster deere
La / Cp	334	He seydestow right now / in this manere
La / Cp	335	Ther nys but o god / lord in sothfastnesse
La / Cp	336	And now of thre / how maystow bere witnessse

La / Cp	337	¢ That shal I telle quod she , er I go
Cp	390	Shal yeue it yow , as ye han it disserued
La / Cp	432	Of wherries comth , thyn answeryng so rude

**PD**

La	30	Of pokkes , and of Scabbe , and eufy soor
La	81	¢ Som for plesance of folk7 and flaterye
La	82	To been auanced , by ypocrisie
La	83	And som for veyne glorie , and som for hate
La	84	For whan I dar , noon oother weyes debate
La	85	Thanne wol I styng7e hym , w' my tonge smfte
La	86	In p'chyngr so þ' he shal nat asterte
La	87	To been diffamed falsly , if þ' he
La	88	Hath trespassed , to my bretheren , or to me
La	89	For though I telle nocht7 his ppre name
La	90	Men shal wel knowe , that it is the same
La	91	By signes , and by othere circumstances
La	92	Thus quyte I folk7 that doon vs displeances
La	93	Thus spete I out7 my venym vnder hewe
La	94	Of holynesse , to seme holy and trewe
La	95	But shortly , myn entente I wol deuuse
La	96	I p'che of no thyng7 but for coueitise
La	97	Ther fore my theme is yet7 and eu'e was
La	98	Radix malorum , est Cupiditas
La	99	¢ Thus kan I p'che , agayn that same vice
La	138	This knoweth , that hise hestes vnderstandeth
La / Cp	275	¢ Stilbon , that was a wys Embassadour
La / Cp	276	Was sent to Corynthe , in ful gret honour
La	318	This knoweth , that hise hestes vnderstandeth

**SH**

La	250	And doun he goth , no lenger wolde he lette
La	278	For yet to nyght7 thise bestes moot I beye

(In Cp 278 is a variant line and numbered 278/a)

**PR**

La	150	To telle hir7 , if hir child , wente oght forby
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**L25**

La	14	For vn to no wight7 dooth he no daliance
----	----	--

**TT**

La / Cp	140	And mede eek <sup>7</sup> in a Maselyn
La / Cp	141	And real Spicerye
La / Cp	142	Of gyngebred , that was ful fyn

**TM**

La / Cp	170 - 203	
La / Cp	318	And therefore , .o. vengeance ~ is nat warissed , by another vengeance , ne .o. wrong <sup>7</sup> by another wrong <sup>7</sup> the fer cause , is almyghty god that is cause of alle thynges ¶
La / Cp	428	the neer cause , is thy thre enemys ,
La / Cp	429	¶ Forther moore , ye sholde enforce yow to haue pacience ,
La / Cp	537	this is to seyn , that nature defendeth 7 forbedeth by right <sup>7</sup> þ' no man make hym self riche , vn to the harm of another pson
La / Cp	614	that is to seyn , oure lord god , Conscience , and good name
La / Cp	655	¶ First <sup>7</sup> ye shul haue god in ~ youre herte ,
La / Cp	656	ne yeue thow neuere myght <sup>7</sup> ne maistrie of thy body , whil þowlyuest <sup>7</sup> ¶
La / Cp	786	now , sithen he defendeth , þ' man sholde nat yeue to his brother <sup>7</sup> ne to his freend , the myght of his body :
La / Cp	787	but knowelicheth 7 repenteth hym , axinge Indulgence
La / Cp	804	

**MO**

La / Cp	7	Lat no man triste , on blynd pseritee
Cp	281	¶ Saue o thyng <sup>7</sup> that she wolde neu <sup>e</sup> assente
Cp	313	¶ And shortly , of this storie for to trete
Cp	345	¶ In kynges habit <sup>7</sup> wenten hir <sup>e</sup> sones two
La / Cp	727	So smal , that <sup>7</sup> wel vnnethe it may suffise
La / Cp	488	And with his heed , vn to hir toun she wente

**NP**

La / Cp	102	No thyng god woot <sup>7</sup> but vanytee in sweuene is
La / Cp	104	And ofte , of fume , and of cōplexions
Cp	223	And in this Cart heere , he lyth gapyng vp right <sup>7</sup>
La / Cp	224	I crye , on the Mynystres , quod he
La / Cp	225	That sholde kepe , and rulen this Citee
La / Cp	226	Harrow , alas , heere lyth my felawe slayn
La / Cp	227	What sholde I moore , vn to this tale sayn
La / Cp	228	The peple vp sterte , and caste the Cart to grounde

**L37**

Cp	62 - 74	Lost folio
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**PA** (base-text Ha<sup>4</sup>)

Cp	1 - 30	Lost folio (only the beginning of line 30 is missing)
La	397 - 437	Lost folio (only the first few words of line 437 are missing)
Cp	217 - 1018	The manuscript is defective from line 217 onwards.

**Variant Lines in Lansdowne and Corpus**

The following catalogue lists all lines in La and Cp which show considerable variation from the base-text. The base-text line is presented first followed by the altered lines as found in La and Cp. Line numbers refer to the *Canterbury Tales* Project lineation scheme; the 'a' identifies a line as a variant. On several occasions variant lines are also transposed, these are indicated by the abbreviation {T}. A comprehensive list of transposed lines in La and Cp is presented as a subsection of this appendix. The prose tales have not been included in this catalogue due to the problems of identifying variant lines.

**Variant Lines****KN**

Hg	1797	Vn to the folk <sup>r</sup> , that foghten thus echon	
La	1797/a	Ne none schal longer to his felowe gone .	{T}
Cp	1797/a	Ne non schal lenger to his felaw gon	{T}

**WB**

Hg	222	They were ful glad , whan I spak to hem feyre	
La	222/a	Knyves ringes 7 purces wel fayre	

(Line 222 in Cp agrees with the base-text and appears in the main body of the text although it may be in a different hand from that of the Cp scribe)

Hg	260	And sōme , for gentillesse , and dalyaunce	
La	260/a	pus seyse þou wernard god 3eue þe meschaunce	
Cp	260/a	pus saistow wernard god 3iue þe meschaūce	

Hg	937	She nolde nat telle it7 for hir owene shame	
La	937/a	For reproveinge of him 7 fowle schame	
Cp	937/a	for reproeuynge of him and foule schame	
<b><u>SU</u></b>			
Hg	23	To been y clawed / or to brenne / or bake	
La	23/a	To kepe 3owe fro þe peines of þe fendes blake	{T}
Cp	23/a	to kepe 3ou fro peynes of7 feendes blake	{T}
Hg	164	Than buret7 folk7 al thogh þ' they were kynges	
La	164/a	Than burel folke in riches 7 wynnynges	
Cp	164/a	Than burel folk7 in richesse and wynnynges	
Hg	290	For stryuyng7 with hir lemmans and hir wyues	
La	290/a	For þat þei haue bu spitous to her7 wifes	
Cp	290/a	For þat7 þei han ben spitous to here wyues	
Hg	439	And whan this sike man / felte this frere	
La	439/a	And þan ful besi was þis frere	
Cp	439/a	And þanne ful besy was þis frere	
<b><u>CL</u></b>			
Hg	381	A coroune on hir heed / they han ydressed	
La	381/a	Thei tirede hir hede þat longe rudely laie dressed	{T}
Cp	381/a	þay tyred hire heed þat7 longe rudely lay dressed	
Hg	382	And sette hi7 ful flowches grete and smale	
La	382/a	Sche is nowe faire of hewe þat arst was pale	{T}
Cp	382/a	Sche is now fair of7 hew þat7 arst7 was pale	{T}
Hg	740	As to his cruel purpos / may suffise	
La	740/a	In þis manere 7 in þis same gise	
Cp	740/a	In þis maner and in þis same gyse	
Hg	767	In honorable estat7 al openly	
La	767/a	Wip a7 his hert ful affectuously	{T}
Cp	767/a	With a7 his herte ful affectuously	{T}
<b><u>ME</u></b>			
Hg	70	Or moebles / alle been yiftes of fortune	
La	70/a	Op7 eyber 3iftes þat bien mebles of fortune	
Cp	70/a	Oper oper 3iftes þat7 moebles of7 fortune	

Hg	233	Iustinus soothly / called was that oother	
La	233/a	To zou tel .i. þis tale 7 to none opere	{T}
Cp	233/a	To zou telle I þis tale and to non oper	{T}
Hg	533	So sore hath Venus / hurt hym with hir brond	
La	533/a	So fressche sche was 7 þ <sup>o</sup> to so likeande	{T}
Cp	533/a	So freisshe sche was and þ <sup>o</sup> to so likand	{T}
Hg	828	He wepeth / and he wailleth pitously	
La	828/a	His dep þ <sup>e</sup> for desireþ he vtterly	
Cp	828/a	His dep þ <sup>f</sup> ore desireþ he outrely	
Hg	986	Whos answer <sup>e</sup> hath doon many a man pyne	
		(In Hg this line appears in the main body of the text but in a different hand from that of the Hg scribe)	
La	986/a	Whiche þat he rauesched oute of pserpina .	
Cp	986/a	Which þat <sup>7</sup> he rauyssched out <sup>7</sup> of <sup>7</sup> pserpyna	
<b><u>FK</u></b>			
Hg	728	She w <sup>t</sup> hir owene deeth / hir maydenhed redressed	
La	728/a	Hire had wedded 7 dressed	{T}
Cp	728/a	Hire hadde wedded and y dressed	{T}
Hg	813	That hym were leuþe han shame / and that were routhe	
La	813/a	Certes me pinkep it were riht grete roupe	{T}
Cp	813/a	Certes me pinkep it <sup>7</sup> were right <sup>7</sup> gret <sup>7</sup> roupe	{T}
<b><u>PH</u></b>			
Hg	82	To teche hem v <sup>t</sup> u / looke þ <sup>t</sup> ye ne slake	
La	82/a	Kepeþ wel þo þat 3e vndertak	
Cp	82/a	Kepeþ wel þo þat <sup>7</sup> 3e vndertake	
<b><u>L21</u></b>			
Hg	5	Come to thise luges / and hir Aduocatz	
La	5/a	So fal vpon his body 7 his bones	
Cp	5/a	So falle vpon his body and his bones	
Hg	6	Algate this sely mayde / is slayn allas	
La	6/a	þe deucl .i. be ken him al att ones	
Cp	6/a	þe deuyl I bekenne him al at ones	

Hg 11 Of bothe yiftes / þ' I speke of now  
 La 11/a Bot here of wil .I. nouht procede as now  
 Cp 11/a But7 her of7 wil I not7 pcede as now

**PD**

Hg 28 Taak water of that welle / and wasst his tonge  
 La 28/a Touche he þis bone anone he schal be sounde  
 Cp 28/a Touche he þis boon anon he schal be sounde

Hg 33 † If þ' the goode man / þ' the bestes oweth  
 La 33/a And doþe þinge þat him oweþe {T}  
 Cp 33/a And do þing7 þat7 him oweþ {T}

Hg 294 The kyng of Parthes / as the book seith vs  
 La 294/a Looke þou vse no pleie of dees in þin house {T}  
 Cp 294/a Loke þou vse no pley of7 dees in þin hous {T}

Hg 332 But sires / now wol I / telle forth my tale  
 La 332/a And wipe good entent herkenþ my tale  
 Cp 332/a For cristes sake and herkne to my tale

Hg 458 For wel ye woot7 that al this gold is oures  
 La 458/a þan myht we seie þat it were al oures  
 Cp 458/a þanne mighte we seye þat7 it7 were al oures

Hg 598 And mekely / receyueth my pardoun  
 La 598/a And 3e schal haue my pdon þat is dere  
 Cp 598/a And 3e schuln haue my pardoū þat7 is deere

**SH**

Hg 278 For yet to nyght7 these bestes moot I beye  
 Cp 278/a 3e schulle be payed wher þat7 I lyue or deye  
 (Line 278 is omitted from La)

**TT**

Hg 72 And yaf hym / good forage  
 La 72/a For he was so sauage  
 Cp 72/a For he was so sauage

**MO**

Hg 55 Had thou nat toold / to wommen thy secree  
 La 55/a þat stronge 7 noble hap þue  
 Cp 55/a That7 strong7 and noble hap be /

Hg 447 For drede of this , hym thoughte þ' he dyed  
 La 447/a Tho wist he wele he had him self be giled  
 Cp 447/a Tho wiste he wel he hadde himself begyled

**NP**

Hg 154 Thogh þ' he bad , no dremes for to drede  
 La 154/a One of þe grettest Auctor oute of drede {T}  
 Cp 154/a Oon of þe grettest auctour out of drede {T}

(Line 154/a, as found in both La and Cp, is very similar to line 165 in both manuscripts. Line 165 in La reads as follows: One of þe grettest auctor þat men rede)

Hg 387 God woot þ' worldly ioye , is soone ago  
 La 387/a And comūly oft time it falleþ so  
 Cp 387/a And comunly often tyme it falleþ so

Hg 467 Now certes , I were worse than a feend  
 La 467/a Certes sir þat bien 3e vnhende  
 Cp 467/a Certes sire þen be 3e vnheende

**L37**

Hg 18 I trowe , þ' we han herd of ech degree  
 La 18/a Who wil nowe tel a tale latt see  
 Cp 18/a Who wile now telle a tale let se

**Transposed Lines in Lansdowne and Corpus**

The following catalogue lists all lines in La and Cp which have been transposed. On several occasions where a pair of lines have been transposed, one of the pair has been altered and consequently renumbered as a variant. (denoted by 'a') Any variant lines are denoted by {A} and are also recorded as a subsection of this appendix. On six occasions transposed lines in La have been marked by an 'a' and 'b' in the margin as noted below.

**Transposed Lines**

**KN**

La 1350 - 1349 (Marked with an 'a' and 'b' in the left margin)  
 La / Cp 1798 - 1797/a {A}

<b><u>RE</u></b>		
La	34 - 33	(Marked with an 'a' and 'b' in the left margin)
<b><u>L3</u></b>		
La / Cp	16 - 15	
<b><u>TG</u></b>		
La	556 - 555	(Marked with an 'a' and 'b' in left margin)
La	590 - 589	
<b><u>SQ</u></b>		
La	502 - 501	
La	510 - 509	(Marked with an 'a' and 'b' in left margin)
<b><u>WB</u></b>		
La / Cp	1005 - 1004	
<b><u>SU</u></b>		
La / Cp	24 - 23/a	{A}
La / Cp	394 - 393	
<b><u>CL</u></b>		
La	73 - 72	(Missing from Cp due to lost leaf)
La / Cp	164 - 163	(In La marked with an 'a' and a 'b' in left margin)
La	381/a - 380	{A} (The order in Cp is 380 and 381/a)
La / Cp	383 - 382/a	{A}
La / Cp	460 - 459	
La / Cp	768 - 767/a	{A}
La / Cp	907 - 906	
<b><u>ME</u></b>		
La / Cp	234 - 233/a	{A}
La / Cp	534 - 533/a	{A}
Cp	846 - 845	
<b><u>FK</u></b>		
La / Cp	22 - 21	
La / Cp	210 - 209	

La / Cp	280 - 279	
La / Cp	558 - 557	
La / Cp	638 - 637	
La / Cp	646 - 645	
La / Cp	728/a - 727	{A}
La / Cp	814 - 813/a	{A}
La	887 - 886	

**NU**  
La 41 - 40

**PD**  
La / Cp 34 - 33/a {A}  
La / Cp 294/a - 293 {A}  
La / Cp 352 - 351

**SH**  
La 158 - 157 (Marked with an 'a' and 'b' in the left margin)

**NP**  
La / Cp 42 - 41  
La / Cp 155 - 154/a {A}  
La 571 - 570  
La / Cp 573 - 572

## Appendix VI

### Glosses and Marginal Annotations in Lansdowne and Corpus

The following is a comprehensive catalogue of all interlinear and marginal glosses included in La. Glosses found in Cp are also recorded to enable a comparison of the two witnesses. It is noted throughout this catalogue when glosses included in La and/or Cp are also found in Hg and/or El. Those occasions where La contains glosses which, as a result of lost folios, are not found in Cp are noted. All Latin abbreviations have been expanded for ease of comparison and because these could easily be scribal/editorial emendations to the exemplar and consequently of little value for a comparison of the glosses. Minor spelling variants between La and Cp have not been recorded. All glosses found in La are recorded from the manuscript. Where a gloss or marginal annotation is not included in La but found in Cp, it has been transcribed from the latter witnesses. Glosses in the prose tales generally take the form of names and as these could have been copied from the text there is little value in any comparison of such glosses between manuscripts. All glosses in the TM and PA as found in La have been transcribed, but those in Cp have only been transcribed if in agreement with the La glosses or more than just simple names or brief source references. Tale divisions and headings are not recorded here but those included in La have been recorded as rubrics and can be found in Appendix II. The running order has been presented as that followed in La and line numbering refers to that followed by the *Canterbury Tales* Project.

## Gloss and Details of Positioning

<b><u>GP</u></b>	The names of the pilgrims next to their respective descriptions.
<b>La</b>	No glosses. (A later hand has added the name of each pilgrim in the margin at the beginning of their respective description. For further details see Chapter II of this thesis).
<b>Cp</b>	1 - 72 are missing from Cp due to lost leaves. (The names of pilgrims are not given in the extant portion of the GP).
<b>Hg</b>	Hg gives the names of the pilgrims next to their descriptions in the GP.
<b>El</b>	El gives the names of the pilgrims next to their descriptions in the GP.

### GP / KN

		<i>Iam que domos patrias scitice post aspera gentis Prelia Lauigero, 7c.</i>	
<b>La</b>	12 <sup>v</sup>	(GP 858/1 and 858/2)	Main body of the text .
<b>Cp</b>	12 <sup>v</sup>	(GP 858/1 and 858/2)	Main body of the text .
<b>Hg / El</b>			

### KN

		<i>Quis legem dat amantiibus</i>	
<b>La</b>	15 <sup>v</sup>	305/306	Right margin between lines 305 and 306.
<b>Cp</b>	17 <sup>r</sup>	305/306	Right margin with a paraph at the beginning .
<b>Hg / El</b>			

		<i>Vrsa maior</i>	
<b>La</b>	26 <sup>r</sup>	1200	Right margin .
<b>Cp</b>	29 <sup>v</sup>	1200	Right margin with a paraph at the beginning .

### MI

		<i>Vnde Ouidius Ictibus agrestis</i>	
<b>La</b>	42 <sup>r</sup>	194	Right margin .
<b>Hg / El</b>			

### L3

		<i>pe koce.</i>	
<b>La</b>	53 <sup>r</sup>	4	Right margin in red ink .

ML

‡ Europa est tertia pars mundi.  
La 67<sup>r</sup> 63 Right margin, the gloss is underlined.  
Cp 76<sup>r</sup> 63-64 Right margin, no paraph.  
Hg / El

‡ Ceptra pharonei furtum discordia thebe  
‡ Flammam phetontis deu-calionis aque  
‡ In stellis priami r species audacia turri  
‡ Sensus vlixus herculeus que vigor.  
La 67<sup>r</sup> 97-100 4-line Latin gloss in right margin.  
All 4 lines are bracketed together at the right  
side.  
Cp 76<sup>v</sup> 100-106 8-line Latin gloss in left margin. One paraph  
at beginning of gloss.  
Hg / El

‡ Vnde Tholomeus. libro primo capitulo 8. Primi motus Celi duo sunt quorum  
vnus est qui mouet totum semper ab oriente in occidentem r vno modo super  
orbes 7c. Alter vero motus est qui mouet orbem stellarum currencium contra  
motum primum videlicet . ab occidente in orientem super alios duos polos 7c.

Omnes enim sunt concordati quod elecciones sint debiles nisi in diuitibus Habent  
enim isti licet debilitentur eorum elecciones radicem .i. natiuitates eorum que  
confortant omnem planetam debilem in itinere Huc. philosophus.

La 68<sup>v</sup> between 203 and 204 7 lines of Latin text in the main body of the  
text. Appears as one single gloss.  
Cp 78<sup>r</sup> 196-206 Right margin, a paraph marks the beginning.  
Appears as one single gloss.  
Hg / El Two separate glosses.

‡ Semper mundane leticie tristicia repentina succedit. Mundana ergo felicitus  
multis amaritudinibus est respersa. Extrema gaudij luctus occupat audi ergo  
salubre consilium in die bonorum ne immemor sis malorum.  
Cp 79<sup>v</sup> 323-330 Right margin.  
Hg / El

‡ Quid turpius ebrioso cui fetor in ore tremor in corpore qui promit stulta prodit  
occulta cui mens alienatur facies transformatur nullum enim latet secretum vbi  
regnat ebrietas.  
Cp 84<sup>v</sup> 673-677 Right margin.  
Hg / El

‡ O extrema libidinis turpitudine que non solum mentem effeminat sed etiam corpus eneruat semper sequitur dolor ⁊ penitencia post ⁊ cetera.

Cp 86<sup>v</sup> 827-831 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ A mane vsque ad vesperam mutabitur tempus tenent tympanum ⁊ gaudent ad sonum organi.

Cp 89<sup>v</sup> 1028-1030 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ Quis vnquam vnicam diem totam duxit in sua delectacione iocundam quem in aliqua parte diei reatus consciencie vel impetus ire vel motus concupiscencie inde non turbauerit quem liuor inuidie vel ardor auaricie vel tumor superbie non vexauerit vel quem aliqua iactura vel offensa vel passio non commo<sup>a</sup>uerit.

Cp 89<sup>v</sup> 1037-1045 Right margin .  
Hg / El

## SQ

.i. centrum celi .

La 79<sup>v</sup> 14 Right margin. The gloss is written very close to the text .

Cp 90<sup>v</sup> 14 Right margin .  
Hg / El

.i. equus pegasus

La 81<sup>v</sup> 198 Right margin, corrected by erasure from 'pedasdus' to 'Pegasus'

Cp 93<sup>r</sup> 198 Right margin - .i. eq[emph]us[/emph]  
pedasdus  
Hg / El .i. equus Pegaseus

Piscis

Cp 94<sup>r</sup> 265 Right margin .

‡ The Stag of an hert

CP 95<sup>r</sup> 338/2 Main body of text between lines 338 and 339. Line 338/1 are the rubrics to denote the first part - ‡ Explicit ⁊ p<sup>l</sup>ma ps

‡ Reditui suo singula gaudent/.

Cp 98<sup>v</sup> 599-600 Right margin .  
HG / EI

Apollo i. sol.  
Cp 99<sup>v</sup> 663 Left margin .

### WBP

‡ Relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adhaerebit et cetera  
Cp 100<sup>r</sup> 31-32 Right margin .

‡ Genesis ij<sup>o</sup> . Quamobrem  
Cp 100<sup>r</sup> 36 Right margin .

Melius est nubere quam vri  
La 88<sup>r</sup> 51 Right margin .  
Cp 100<sup>v</sup> 51 Right margin, a paraph marks the beginning.  
EI

‡ Mathei xix<sup>o</sup> . Dixit autem Iesus vade et vende omnia que habes et da  
pauperibus  
Cp 101<sup>v</sup> 111-113 Right margin .

Ad Corinthios . vij<sup>o</sup> . Vir sui corporis potestatem non habet set  
La 89<sup>r</sup> 156 -157 Right margin .  
Cp 102<sup>r</sup> Missing leaf .

Argus habuit C oculos  
La 91<sup>v</sup> 358-359 Left margin .  
Cp 108<sup>v</sup> 358 Right margin .

‡ ffallere flere nere dedit deus in muliere .  
La 92<sup>r</sup> 401-2 Right margin. The 2 lines are bracketed  
together in the right side.  
Cp 109<sup>v</sup> 402-3 Right margin .

V  
Cp 110<sup>v</sup> 503  
El  
Left margin .  
Of the fifthe housbonde of this wyf and hou  
she bar hire ayens hym

Nota  
La 94<sup>v</sup> 633  
Cp 112<sup>v</sup> 633  
Hg/El  
Right margin .  
Left margin .

¢ Solo melius est habitare  
Cp 114<sup>r</sup> 748  
Right margin .

### WBT

¢ Nota bene de Nobilitate  
Cp 105<sup>r</sup> 1082  
Hg  
El  
Right margin .  
¢ Nota Bene  
¢ De generositate

Nota de paupertate  
Cp 106<sup>r</sup> 1152  
El  
Right margin .

¢ No<sup>a</sup> d<sup>i</sup> Senectute  
La 101<sup>r</sup> 1178-1179  
El  
Right margin, the gloss is underlined.

### CL

¢ Pausacio  
Cp 129<sup>v</sup> 6  
El  
Right margin .

¢ Pausacio  
Cp 129<sup>v</sup> 14  
El  
Right margin .

‡ Pausacio  
Cp 129<sup>v</sup> 20 Right margin.  
El

‡ Pausacio  
Cp 129<sup>v</sup> 30 Right margin.  
El

**FK**

.i. luna lucyna .  
Cp 163<sup>v</sup> 337 Right margin, possibly in a different hand.  
Hg / El (interlinear gloss)

**NU**

.i. latitans  
Cp 172<sup>v</sup> 186 Right margin .  
Hg / El Interlinear gloss .

Et lamentatꝝ  
Cp 173<sup>r</sup> 207-208 Main body of text between lines 207 and 208 .

**PD**

‡ Nolite inebriari vino in  
‡ quo est luxuria  
Cp 197<sup>v</sup> 155-156 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ Ieronimus contra Iouinianum quamdiu ieiunauit in paradiso fuit commedit et  
eiectus est statium duxit vxorem  
Cp 197<sup>v</sup> 177-180 Right margin, paraph mark which extends for  
3 lines.  
Hg / El

‡ Esca ve tibi ꝛ venter escis deus  
auxtem ꝛ hune in illam destre.  
Cp 198<sup>r</sup> 195-197 Right margin .  
Hg / El

**PR**

‡ Domine dominus noster

Cp 211<sup>v</sup> 0/1  
Hg/ElMain body of the text .  
Main body of the text .**L25**.i. Chaucer<sup>r</sup>La 189<sup>r</sup> 4  
Cp 214<sup>v</sup> 4  
Hg  
ElRight margin .  
Right margin .  
Interlinear gloss - .i. Chaucer  
Interlinear gloss - .s.Chaucer**TM**

‡ Senec

La 192<sup>v</sup> 18  
Cp 218<sup>r</sup> 18  
HgLeft margin .  
Right margin .

‡ Salomon

La 194<sup>r</sup> 91  
Cp 219<sup>v</sup> 91Right margin .  
Right margin .**MO**

The following stanza titles all appear in La, but are incorporated into the main body of the text and have consequently been transcribed as divisions within the tale and catalogued under Appendix II.

‡ Primo de Lucifero

Cp 236<sup>r</sup> 9  
Hg/El

Right margin .

De Ad<sup>m</sup>Cp 236<sup>v</sup> 16  
El

After line 16 in the left margin. An eight-line gap has also been left.

De Hercule

Cp 237<sup>v</sup> 97  
Hg/El

Right margin .

‡ De Rege Nabugodonosore  
Cp 238<sup>r</sup> 145 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De Baltazar dicti Regis Nabugodonosore filio  
Cp 283<sup>v</sup> 185 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De Cenobia Palmyrene regina  
Cp 239<sup>v</sup> 249 Right margin .  
El  
Hg Corner of folio torn in Hg so if the gloss was  
included it is no longer visible.

‡ De Petro Spayne  
‡ rege  
Cp 241<sup>v</sup> 681-682 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ Betelmewe Claykeyrre  
‡ Olyuer Mawnye  
Cp 241<sup>v</sup> 689-690 Right margin .

‡ De Petro regis  
‡ Cypru  
Cp 241<sup>v</sup> 697-698 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De Barnabo vicecomite  
‡ Mediolano  
Cp 241<sup>v</sup> 705-706 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De Huglyne Comite Pisano  
Cp 242<sup>r</sup> 713 Right margin .  
Hg / El

De nero  
Cp 242<sup>v</sup> 377 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De Olipherno  
Cp 244<sup>v</sup> 465 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De antiochio illustri  
Cp 244<sup>v</sup> 489 Right margin .  
El

‡ De alexandro magno philippi Regis Macedonie filio  
Cp 245<sup>r</sup> 545 Right margin .  
Hg / El

‡ De Iulio Cesare  
Cp 245<sup>v</sup> 585 Right margin .  
Hg / El

Cresus  
Cp 246<sup>r</sup> 641 Right margin .  
Hg / El

## NP

‡ Nota bene  
Cp 254<sup>r</sup> 505 Right margin .

## PA

Ieremie vj<sup>o</sup>. State super vias. ⁊ videte ⁊ interrogate de semitis antiquis que sit  
via bona ⁊ ⁊ ambulate in ea ⁊ inuenietis refrigerium animabus vestris.  
La 230<sup>v</sup> 0/1 Main body of text immediately below rubrics  
to denote the beginning of the PA .  
Cp Lost folio.  
Hg / El Main body of text .

† Nota bene de qui sit amor dei  
 La 235<sup>v</sup> 233                      Left margin over 2 lines of text.  
 Cp                                      Lost folio.  
 Hg                                      Nota

† Exemplum  
 La 237<sup>r</sup> 289                      Right margin.  
 Cp                                      Lost folio.  
 El                                      † exemplum

### **Summary Tables**

The following tables summarise the analysis of the study of glosses based on the catalogue of glosses presented above. The data illustrates the commonality of glosses across witnesses. A full discussion of this data has been presented in Chapter VI of this thesis and as stated at that point, the TM, the MO and PA glosses have not been analysed. As such, La has been considered to contain a total of 17 glosses and Cp, a total of 42 glosses. These glosses appear in the other witnesses that this analysis has concerned itself with as follows:

#### **The 17 La glosses**

<b><u>Permutation</u></b>	<b><u>Occurrences</u></b>
La only	1
La and Cp	3
La and Hg	0
La and El	1
La, Hg and El	1
La, Cp and Hg	0
La, Cp and El	1
La, Cp, Hg and El	10

#### **The 42 Cp glosses**

<b><u>Permutation</u></b>	<b><u>Occurrences</u></b>
Cp only	9
Cp and La	3
Cp and Hg	1
Cp and El	6
Cp, Hg and El	12
Cp, La and Hg	0
Cp, la and El	1
Cp, La, Hg and El	10

From the above table it can be seen that there are 14 glosses which occur in both La and Cp. This data is summarised as follows:

**The 14 glosses common to La and Cp**

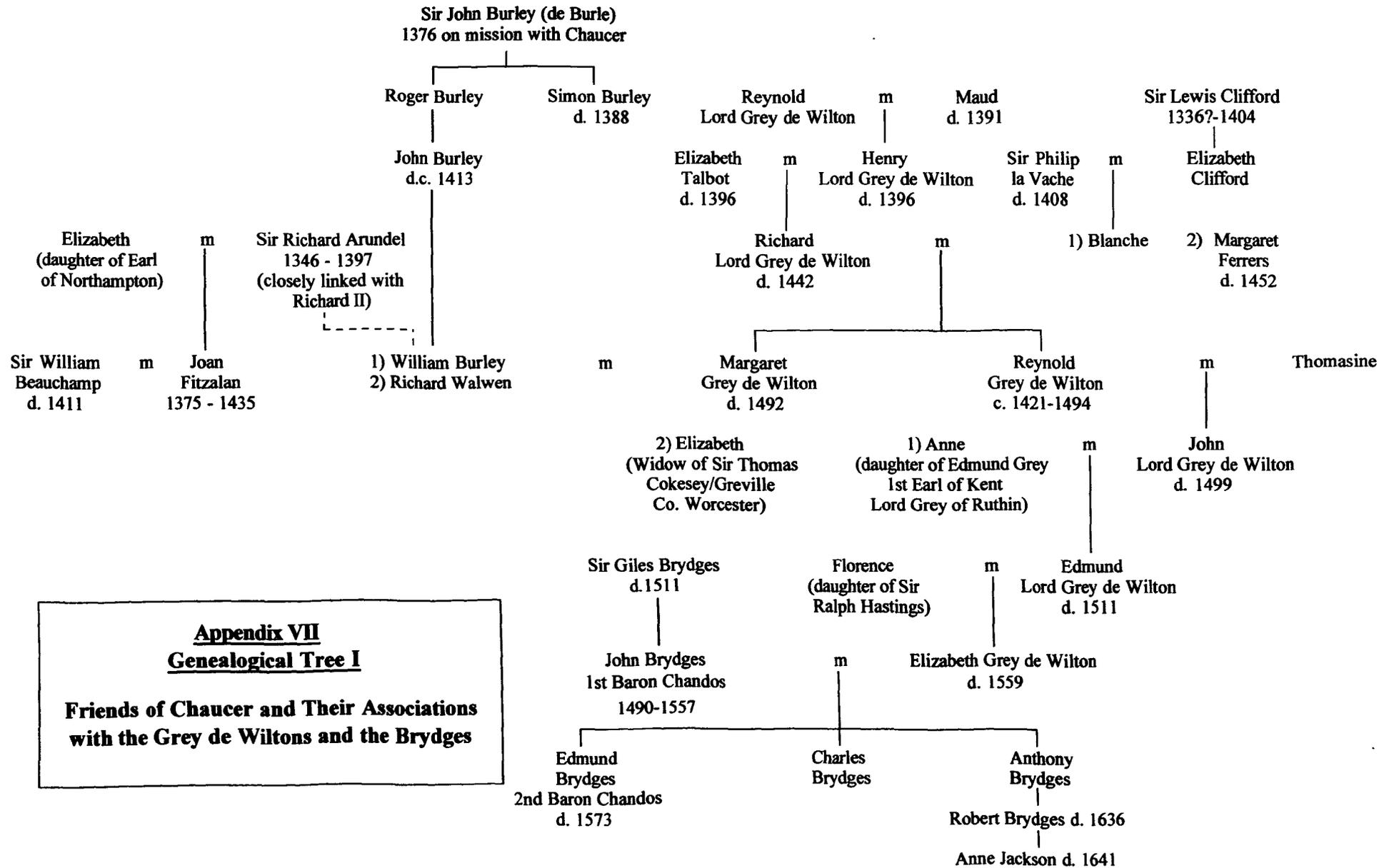
<b><u>Permutation</u></b>	<b><u>Occurrences</u></b>
La and Cp	3
La, Cp and El	1
La, Cp, Hg and El	10

The WBP glosses are specifically discussed in Chapter VI and for clarity the data which has been considered there is presented below in tabular form. This more clearly shows the commonality of glosses across the witnesses discussed.

**The WBP glosses**

<b><u>Permutation</u></b>	<b><u>Occurrences</u></b>
Cp Total	9
La Total	4 (+1 gloss on a Cp lost leaf)
Cp only	4
La only	0
Cp and La	2
Cp and El	1
Cp and Hg	0
Cp, La, Hg and El	1
Cp, La and El	1
Cp and Pw	4
Cp, La and Pw	1
La and Pw	1
Cp, La, El, Pw	1
Cp, La, Hg, El and Pw	1

**Additional permutations of the above manuscripts do not show commonality of glosses within the WBP and as such have not been listed.**

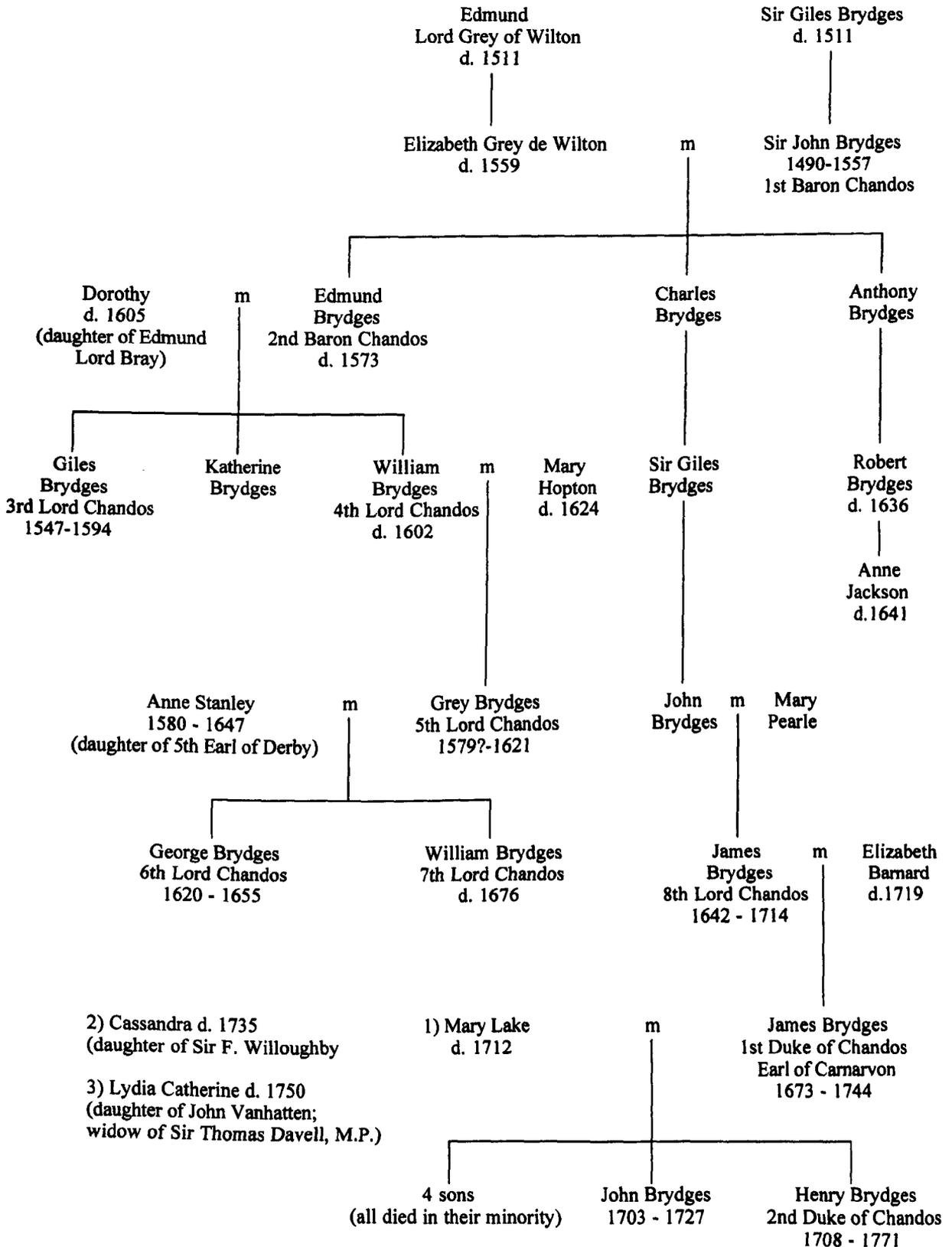


**Appendix VII**  
**Genealogical Tree I**

**Friends of Chaucer and Their Associations  
with the Grey de Wiltons and the Brydges**

## Appendix VII

### Genealogical Tree II - The Brydges Family



## Appendix VIII

### Introduction to the Electronic Transcription of British Library MS Lansdowne 851

Diplomatic transcriptions of all sections of text contained in the La manuscript have been transcribed for the purposes of this study. Text files have been labeled according to the section of text they contain and in accordance with the abbreviations devised by the *Canterbury Tales* Project and which have been used throughout this thesis. The electronic transcriptions have been copied on two disks which have been enclosed with this thesis.

The text files are arranged alphabetically so the attached disks contain the following text files which have been saved in Microsoft Word version 5.0:

**Disk A**        Introduction (a copy of Appendix VIII)  
                  The font file 'Canterbury.bmap'  
                  32 text files (CL - MI inclusive)

**Disk B**        17 text files (ML - WBT inclusive)

#### **Instructions for Use**

The font 'Canterbury.bmap', provided on Disk A, is necessary for the accurate reproduction of special Middle English characters and abbreviative marks within the transcription of La. The Canterbury Font is only compatible with the Apple Macintosh computer format. The 'Canterbury.bmap' should be copied into the 'Fonts' folder which is a subfolder of the 'System' folder on the hard drive. The text may be viewed on a Windows based PC, but special characters will not be accurately reproduced.

## **Transcription**

Each text file commences with the folio reference in the format: 1F 2r1. This initial folio reference does not indicate that each new link/tale is commenced at the top of a folio in the La manuscript, but is presented as a guide to where the passage appears in the witness. Each line of text is preceded by its *Canterbury Tales* Project lineation reference in the form: <L 1>.

Where 'ff' occurs at the start of a word it has been transcribed as 'F'. The La scribe has used a very decorative script and tails or light downward strokes or virgules appear consistently on *c, e, f, k, r, s,* and *t* when they are the final letters of words. Since these tails and virgules appear to serve no purpose for metre, pronunciation or grammar, and must therefore be assumed to be purely decorative, they are not replicated within the transcription. However, this has no effect upon the accurate textual content and wording of the manuscript.

## **Special Characters, Abbreviative Forms and Punctuation**

The transcription of La is graphemic and has preserved all original spellings and abbreviations as enabled by the Canterbury Font. The following special characters, abbreviations, and punctuation forms have been used:

### **Special Characters/Abbreviative Forms**

þ	lower case thorn
ƿ	upper case thorn
ȝ	lower case yogh
ȝ	upper case yogh
oʒ	tailed-d (used mainly with <i>q</i> to act as an abbreviation of 'quod')
ſ	abbreviation for ser- or sir(e)
ƿ	abbreviation for -per- or -par-

P	upper case abbreviation for Per- or Par-	
p	abbreviation for -pro-	
P	upper case abbreviation for Pro-	
h	crossed h	
l	double crossed l	
l	single crossed l	
L	upper case crossed L	
f	abbreviation for -es, -is	
q	abbreviation for quod	
7	Tironian note	
<sup>a</sup>	superscript a	abbreviation for -ra-
<sup>e</sup>	superscript e	commonly used with thorn, þ <sup>e</sup>
<sup>i</sup>	superscript i	abbreviation for -ri-
<sup>m</sup>	superscript m	
<sup>n</sup>	superscript n	
<sup>o</sup>	superscript o	
<sup>r</sup>	superscript r	abbreviation for -ur-
<sup>t</sup>	superscript t	commonly used with thorn as an abbreviation of þat, þ <sup>t</sup>
<sup>u</sup>	superscript u	commonly used with thorn as an abbreviation of þou, þ <sup>u</sup>
<sub>9</sub>	superscript 9	abbreviation for -is, -es, -us
<sub>9</sub>	subscript 9	
7	tail	commonly found on final letters, for example, ʀ, gʀ
~	flourish	commonly used on final <i>u</i> probably as an abbreviation, for example <i>Londoʀ</i> - <i>Londoun</i> . Also commonly used for purely decorative purposes

		usually on the final minim of <i>n</i> and the head-stroke of <i>r</i> , <i>r̄</i> , <i>ƿ</i>
-	macron	a single horizontal stroke regularly appears over <i>n</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>m</i> , and <i>o</i> , to denote a missing letter. For example, 'Londoū - Londour'.
°	superscript hook	abbreviation for -er, -re. Commonly used with thorn as an abbreviation for per, þ <sup>o</sup>

### **Punctuation**

¢	paraph mark
.	punctus
/	virgule
;	semi-colon
∕	wedge shape mark
~	filler (most commonly used at the end of prose lines)
-/	hyphen at line end in a word break (only found in the prose tales)
ø/	word break at the end of a line in prose tales but no hyphen where expected
-	hyphen within a line of text

### **Tagging System**

When the Canterbury Font has been unable to express clearly a given feature of the manuscript, especially the decoration and presentation, the following tagging system has been used. This system is based upon the 'Standard Generalised Markup Language' (SGML). In all instances the tags are placed around the text in question.

<b><u>Tag</u></b>	<b><u>Explanation</u></b>
<b>[add] . . . [/add]</b>	text has been added by the scribe
<b>[del] . . . [/del]</b>	text has been deleted by the scribe other than by underdotting, for example, by a pen strike
<b>[dub] . . . [/dub]</b>	transcriber is not certain as to the accuracy of the reading of the text within the tag
<b>[emph] . . . [/emph]</b>	indicates emphasis of a letter or word which is not an ornamental capital, or highlighted by underlining. The number of lines over which emphatic letters extend is prefixed to both the start- and end-tag. For example, [2emph]A[/2emph] represents an emphatic capital 'A' which extends over two lines of texts.
<b>[exp] . . . [/exp]</b>	expansion of an abbreviation. This tag is only used where an abbreviation occurs which cannot be represented by one of the special characters within the Canterbury Font
<b>[orncp] . . . [/orncp]</b>	ornamental capital. The number of lines over which a capital extends is prefixed to both the start- and end-tag. For example, [6orncp]A[/6orncp] represents an ornamental capital 'A' which extends over six lines of text
<b>[sp]xxx[/sp]</b>	indicates a blank space left for a letter or word. Each 'x' is an estimated single character, so the example given represents blank space estimated to be large enough for three letters
<b>[sup] . . . [/sup]</b>	denotes characters or words which are superscript but which are not represented by one of the special characters within the Canterbury Font
<b>[ud] . . . [/ud]</b>	text is underdotted by the scribe
<b>[ul] . . . [/ul]</b>	text is underlined

[unr]xxx[/unr]

text is unreadable. Each 'x' represents a letter which is unreadable. Such tags are generally prompted by physical damage to the manuscript, for example, smudged ink, or a hole/tear. The example given represents an estimated three unreadable characters

For further details of the transcription policy of the *Canterbury Tales* Project see, Robinson and Solopova 1993. The principles detailed in this article have been followed for the purposes of the production of the electronic transcription of *La*.