# The Manuscript Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales and Its Place in the Textual Tradition of the Tales 

Barbara Bordalejo

A thesis submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of PhD

De Montfort University

October 2002

A Juan Bordalejo, que siempre pregunta cómo va 'la otra' tesis... A Irma dos Santos, que me leyó tantas veces 'El caballo alado'... Con formas distintas de amor, para los dos.

# The Manuscript Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales and Its Place in the Textual Tradition of the Tales 

Barbara Bordalejo


#### Abstract

For many years, scholars have thought that the manuscript source used by William Caxton to correct his first edition of the Canterbury Tales was a manuscript probably of the very best quality. In 1939, Thomas Dunn wrote a doctoral thesis on the subject, and for his research he used the Manly and Rickert collation cards. Technological advances made in the last decade of the twentieth century have made it possible to collate the witnesses of the Tales using computerised tools.

This work presents an analysis of the stemmatically significant variants found in Cx 2 and attempts to offer a plausible hypothesis concerning the position of the manuscript source of Cx 2 in the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales. This thesis is organised in eight chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the scholarly work surrounding Caxton's second edition and his editorial practices; chapter 2 contains the bibliographical description of one of the copies of Cx 2 ; chapter 3 studies the question of the order of the tales; chapter 4 offers a synthesis of what, for the purposes of this particular research, is understood as a textual variant; in chapters 5, 6 and 7 the analyses of the data and some partial conclusions can be found. The findings of this work appear in the conclusions (chapter 8). There is an electronic appendix to this work in which data that were not deemed essential to its understanding can be found. The electronic appendix includes the complete collation of Cx 2 against Cx 1 , collations of all the available witnesses and variants which were considered repetitive or uninformative.

This work shows that witnesses of the text which have remained unclassified up to this point might be genetically related. Especially evident is the relationship between Ad3 Ch Ha4 and the manuscript source of Cx2. It also appears that Cx2 shares with El and Gg variants which originated below the archetype. This thesis suggests that more work is required in order to clarify the stemmatic relations in the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales.


## Table of Contents

List of Figures ..... XII
List of Tables ..... XIII
Acknowledgements ..... XIV
Abbreviations ..... XVII
Witness Sigils. ..... xvii
Manuscripts ..... xvii
Pre-1500 Printed Editions ..... xix
Abbreviations for Tales and Links ..... $x x$
INTRODUCTION ..... XXII

1. Scholarly Perspectives on the Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales ..... XXIII
1.1 The Printed Editions Before 1775 ..... xxiii
1.2 Scholarly Editions ..... xxvi
1.2.1 The Return to the Manuscripts after 1775 ..... $x x v i$
1.2.2 The Search for the Best Manuscript ..... xxvii
1.2.3 Studying the Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales ..... xxxv
2. The Alpha Exemplar, Its Position in the Textual Tradition, and the Relationship with Cx2 ..... XXXVII
3. AbOUT THIS WORK. ..... XL
CHAPTER I: A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP OF CX2, ESPECIALLY FOCUSED ON THE PROBLEM OF ITS SOURCE ..... 1
4. The Story and the History of the Production of Cx2 ..... 1
5. Approaches to Caxton and His Work .....  2
6. The Composition of Cx2 .....  6
7. The Different Tale-Orders .....  9
8. Tracing the Affiliations of $\omega$ ..... 12
9. The Alpha Exemplar ..... 22
10. The Role of Analytical Bibliographers. ..... 26
11. Caxton's Treatment of his Copy-texts ..... 28
12. Synthesis and Current Issues ..... 32
CHAPTER II: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION ..... 35
13. Bibliographical Description of the St. John's College Copy of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales ..... 36
14. Bibliographical Analysis ..... 47
2.1 The Collational Formula ..... 47
2.1.1 The Ideal Collational Formula ..... 47
2.1.2 The Collational Formula of the St. John's Copy ..... 48
2.2 Decoration and Illumination ..... 49
2.3 Number of Compositors ..... 50
2.3.1 The Running Titles ..... 53
2.3.2 The Type Distribution .....  .56
2.3.2.1 The 'sh' Ligature ..... 57
2.3.2.1 The 'd' at the End of the Word 'And' in Initial Position .....  .59
2.3.2.3 How Many Compositors? ..... 61
CHAPTER III: THE ORDER OF THE TALES ..... 62
15. Temporal Consistency ..... 63
16. Geographical Realism ..... 65
17. The 'Bradshaw Shift' .....  .69
18. Authorial Intention ..... 71
19. The Unfinished State of the Text. ..... 75
20. The Order of Caxton's Editions ..... 78
CHAPTER IV: THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF TEXTUAL VARIATION ..... 87
21. The Scholarly Perspectives on the Concept of Textual Variant ..... 87
1.1 Classic Approaches to Textual Variation ..... 87
1.2 The Neo-Lachmannian Approach and the New Stemmatics ..... 94
22. The Process of Collation ..... 103
2.1 Discerning Stemmatically Significant Variants ..... 103
2.2 Classification of Variants ..... 105
2.2.1 Cx2-O Variants ..... 106
2.2.2 Cx2-Unique Variants ..... 109
2.2.3 $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ Variants and the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ Variants ..... 111
2.3 Division of the Text ..... 112
2.4 The Method of Collation and the Genetic Groups ..... 113
2.4.1 Manly and Rickert's Groups ..... 114
2.4.2 Robinson's Groups ..... 115
CHAPTER V: VARIANTS: SINGLE LOWER CASE SIGNATURES (a TO v) ..... 117
Chapter Summary ..... 117
23. Set 1: The General Prologue, the Knight's Tale, link 1, the Miller's Tale, link 2, the Reeve's Tale, link 3, and the Cook's Tale ..... 120
1.1 Set Summary ..... 120
1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 121
1.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 121
1.2.2 Line Additions ..... 127
1.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 137
1.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 138
1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 140
1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 141
1.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 141
1.3.1.1.1 Agreements of Cx 2 and Hg against El and Gg ..... 142
1.3.1.1.2 Likely Archetypal Variants and Ambiguous Variants ..... 150
1.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 152
1.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Variants in which Cx2 Agrees with Ad3 Ch and Ha4 ..... 153
1.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 155
1.3.1.2.3 Agreements with El below the Archetype ..... 159
1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 159
1.3.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with Ha4 ..... 160
1.3.2.2 Agreements with Ad3 Ch or Ha4 below the Archetype ..... 161
1.3.2.3 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 165
1.3.2.4 Other Examples ..... 171
24. Set 2: Link 7 and the Man of Law's Tale ..... 173
2.1 Set Summary ..... 173
2.2.Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 174
2.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 174
2.2.2 Line Additions ..... 174
2.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 174
2.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 174
2.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 175
2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 175
2.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 175
2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants ..... 176
2.3.1.1.2 Ambiguous Variant. ..... 177
2.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 178
2.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Variants ..... 178
2.3.1.2.2 Ambiguous Variants ..... 179
2.3.1.2.3 Non-Archetypal Variants ..... 180
2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 181
2.3.2.1 Ambiguous Variants in which Cx2 Agrees with Ha4 ..... 182
2.3.2.2 Ambiguous Variants in which Cx2 Agrees with Ht ..... 183
25. Set 3: Link 15 ..... 184
3.1 Set Summary ..... 184
3.1 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 185
3.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 185
3.2.2 Line Additions ..... 185
3.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 185
3.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 185
3.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 185
3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 186
3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 186
26. Set 4: The Merchant's Tale ..... 186
4.1 Set Summary ..... 186
4.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 187
4.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 187
4.2.2 Line Additions ..... 189
4.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 191
4.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 192
4.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 192
4.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 192
4.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 193
4.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 193
4.3.1.2.1 Agreements with El and Gg likely to Originate below the Archetype ..... 193
4.3.1.2.2. Archetypal Variant ..... 194
4.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 195
4.3.2.1 Archetypal Variants ..... 196
4.3.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character and Likely Agreements by Coincidence ..... 196
4.3.2.3 Non-Archetypal Agreements with Witnesses of the a Group ..... 197
4.3.2.4 Non-Archetypal Agreements with Ad3 and Ha4 ..... 199
27. Set 5: Link 8 ..... 199
5.1 Set Summary ..... 199
5.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 201
5.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 201
5.2.2 Line Additions ..... 201
5.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 201
5.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 201
28. 3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 201
5.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 202
5.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 202
5.3.2.1 Agreements by Coincidence or Memorial Contamination ..... 202
5.3.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 203
29. Set 6: The Squire's Tale ..... 204
6.1 Set Summary ..... 204
6.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 205
6.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 205
6.2.2 Line Additions ..... 206
6.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 206
6.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 206
6.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 206
6.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 207
6.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 207
6.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants ..... 207
6.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 209
6.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 210
6.3.1.2.1 Agreements of Cx 2 with El and Gg Indicating an Ancestor below the Archetype. ..... 211
6.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 214
6.3.2.1 Agreements of Cx2 with Dd Ds1 or En1 (a Group Manuscripts) ..... 214
6.3.2.2 Agreements of Cx 2 and Ha 4 ..... 217
30. SET 7: LINK 20 ..... 218
7.1 Set Summary ..... 218
7.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 218
7.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 219
7.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 219
7.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 219
7.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements of Cx 2 and El. ..... 219
7.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 221
7.3.2.1 Agreements of Cx2 with Ad3 in Variants below the Archetype ..... 221
7.3.2.2 Ambigous Variant ..... 222
31. Set 8: The Franklin's Tale ..... 223
8.1 Set Summary ..... 223
3.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 224
8.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 224
8.2.2. Line Additions. ..... 225
8.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 227
8.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 227
8.3 Analysis of Word Additions Deletions and Substitutions ..... 228
8.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 228
8.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 229
8.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 229
8.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 229
8.3.2.1 Ambiguous Variant ..... 230
8.3.2.2 Likely Agreements by Coincidence ..... 230
32. Set 9: The Wife of Bath's Prologue, the Wife of Bath's Tale, link 10, the Friar's Tale, Link 11, and the Summoner's Tale ..... 232
9.1 Set Summary ..... 232
9.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 232
9.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 232
9.2.2 Line Additions ..... 233
9.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 235
9.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 235
9.3. Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 235
9.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 236
9.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 236
9.3.1.1.1 Likely Archetypal Variants ..... 237
9.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 240
9.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 242
9.3.1.2.1 Likely Archetypal Variants ..... 242
9.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 243
9.3.1.2.3 Variants Likely to Have Originated below the Archetype ..... 243
9.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El V ariants ..... 245
9.3.2.1 Likely Archetypal Variants ..... 245
9.3.2.2 Likely Non-Archetypal Variants ..... 248
CHAPTER VI: VARIANTS: DOUBLE LOWER CASE SIGNATURES (aa TO ii) ..... 254
CHAPTER SUMMARY ..... 254
33. SET 10: The Clerk's TAle, Link 13 AND Link 14 ..... 256
1.1 Set Summary ..... 256
1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 257
1.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 257
1.2.2 Line Additions ..... 258
1.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 258
1.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 258
1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 259
1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 55
1.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 259
1.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements with Hg ..... 260
1.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 261
1.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 263
1.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El ..... 263
1.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character and Likely Agreements by Coincidence ..... 266
1.3.1.2.3 Agreement with El and Ha 4 below the Archetype ..... 267
1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 268
1.3.2.1 Archetypal Variants (Hg and El agree in Error) ..... 268
1.3.2.2 Agreements with Ad3 Ch or Ha4 Probably Introduced below the Archetype ..... 269
1.3.2.3 Agreements with Ht Possibly Introduced below the Archetype ..... 271
1.3.2.4 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 273
34. Set 11: The Nun's Tale, link 33 and the Canon's Yeoman's Tale ..... 274
2.1 Set Summary ..... 274
2.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 274
2.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 274
2.2.2 Line Additions ..... 276
2.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 277
2.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 277
35. 3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 278
2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 279
2.3 .1 .1 Hg against El ..... 279
2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants ..... 279
2.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 280
2.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El ..... 280
2.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 281
2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 282
2.3.2.1 Archetypal Variant ..... 283
2.3.2.2 Agreement with a Group Witnesses below the Archeytpe ..... 283
2.3.2.3 Likely Agreements by Coincidence ..... 285
36. Set 12: The Physician's Tale, Link 21 and the Pardoner's Tale ..... 287
3.1 Set Summary ..... 287
3.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 287
3.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 287
3.2.2 Line Additions ..... 290
3.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 290
3.2.3 Line Misplacements ..... 290
3.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 290
3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 291
3.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 291
3.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants ..... 291
3.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 293
3.3.1.2.1 Likely Agreement below the Archetype ..... 293
3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 294
3.3.2.1 Agreements with Ad3 Ch Ha4 or Ht Likely to Originate below the Archetype ..... 294
3.3.2.2 Likely Agreement by Coincidence ..... 296
37. Set 13: The Shipman's tale, Link 24, the Prioress's Tale, Link 25, the Tale of Thopas, Link 28 ..... 297
4.1 Set Summary ..... 297
4.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 298
4.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 298
4.2.2 Line Additions ..... 298
4.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 299
4.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 300
4.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 300
4.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 301
4.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 301
4.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements ..... 301
4.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 302
4.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El ..... 303
4.3.1.2.2 Agreement with Ch and El below the Archetype. ..... 304
4.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 305
4.3.2.1 Agreements with Ad3 Ch Ha4 and Ct Likely to Originate below the Archetype ..... 305
4.3.2.2 Variant of Ambiguous Character ..... 309
CHAPTER VII: VARIANTS: SINGLE UPPER CASE SIGNATURES (A TO L) ..... 310
Chapter Summary ..... 310
38. Set 13b: The Tale of Melibee, link 29, the Monk's Tale, link 30, The Nun's Priest's Tale AND LINK 31 ..... 311
1.1 Set Summary ..... 311
1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 312
1.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 312
1.2.2 Line Additions ..... 318
1.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 328
1.2.4 Line Misplacements ..... 329
1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 330
1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 330
1.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 331
1.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements with Hg ..... 331
1.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 333
1.3.1.2.1 Agreements with El below the Archetype ..... 334
1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 335
1.3.2.1 Agreements below the Archetype with $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ Witnesses ..... 335
1.3.2.2 Agreements below the Archetype with Ha4 or a Group Witnesses ..... 338
1.3.2.3 Agreements below the Archetype with Ch ..... 339
1.3.2.4 Variants of Ambiguous Character (Agreements with Ht) ..... 340
39. Set 14: Link 36 and the Manciple's Tale ..... 342
2.1 Set Summary ..... 342
2.2 Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 342
2.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 342
2.2.2 Line Additions ..... 342
2.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 342
2.2.3 Line Misplacements ..... 346
2.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 343
2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 343
2.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 344
2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variant ..... 344
2.3.1.1.2 Variant of Ambiguous Character ..... 344
2.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 345
2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 345
2.3.2.1 Agreement with Ad3 and Ht below the Archetype ..... 345
2.3.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character ..... 346
40. Set 15: Link 37, the Parson's Tale and the Retraction. ..... 347
3.1 Set Summary ..... 347
41. 2.Analysis of Variant Lines ..... 348
3.2.1 Line Substitutions ..... 348
3.2.2 Line Additions ..... 348
3.2.3 Line Deletions ..... 349
3.2.3 Line Misplacements ..... 349
3.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ..... 350
3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants ..... 350
3.3.1.1 Hg against El ..... 350
3.3.1.1.1 Variant of Ambiguous Character ..... 351
3.3.1.2 El against Hg ..... 351
3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants ..... 352
3.3.2.1 Likely Agreements by Coincidence ..... 352
CONCLUSIONS ..... 355
42. A Synthesis of the Variant Distribution in Cx2 ..... 355
43. Differences between Partial and Overall Analyses ..... 358
44. Critical Perspectives on the Source of Cx2 Revisited ..... 360
45. Hypothesising Stemmata of the Relationships of $\omega$ ..... 364
46. The Position of $\omega$ in the Textual Tradition and its Relationship to other Manuscripts ..... 369
47. Unanswered Questions and Further Research ..... 371
WORKS CITED ..... 373
APPENDIX ..... 384
48. Restoration Work on the St John's Copy ..... 384
49. Quires and Watermarks: St. John's Oxford ..... 385
50. St. John's Copy Running Titles ..... 390
51. Some Watermarks in the St. John's Copy ..... 400
52. Table 1 ..... 405
53. Table 2 ..... 409
54. Table 3 ..... 412

## List of Figures

FIGURE 1 (ROAD TO CANTERBURY) ..... 409
Figure 2 (From Table 1)414
Figure 3 (FROM TABLE
2). ..... 417

## List of Tables

Table 1 (Modified Manly and Rickert Table)
TABLE 2 (With CTP
Sigils). ..... 414
Table 3 (Divisions of the CanterburyTALES)417

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Years ago, when I finished my licenciature, I had to write the acknowledgements for my final work, and I found that had only a handful of people to thank. Many things have changed and now there are so many who deserve to be recognised that I fear I might leave someone out.

I would like to thank the librarians at the St. John's College Library, Oxford for allowing me to examine their copy of Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales, Paul Thomas and the Canterbury Tales Project team at Brigham Young University for giving me access to their transcriptions of fragment VII, and to the Bibliographical Society for awarding me a grant to purchase microfilms. The support I have received from my professors at New York University has been invaluable and I would like to thank especially Professor David Hoover, who now faces the arduous task of seeing me through to the end of my NYU PhD.

I am grateful to my family, Juan, Irma, Bego, Celi and Leandro, for their support and encouragement; and to Benita, who reportedly said that 'Barbara speaks like a book,' a comment I believe was meant to be flattering. During the most difficult moments, they have been there for me to give me advice or to push me harder. My friends Alyssa Leal and Mindy Hung have stoically stood everything (life is more difficult when one of your friends is trying to complete two doctorates). Andrew West has always been there, not to help with my computer (he does not know about Macs), but to listen and give me sound advice.

I would like to thank Phyllis Petel, who has read this work and made many enlightened suggestions. Valerie, Marina, Emma, James and Sinead have given me support beyond anything one could expect and, for this, I am truly grateful. I thank
them for caring and for making sure that I had a wonderful Christmas every year, even when they were having a hard time; and for so many meals and so many discussions (about the number of species of penguins or the size of bushes).

These years at the Canterbury Tales Project have been a privilege, and probably the best opportunity of my life to do the things I really wanted (and want) to do. I lack the words to describe the influence Doctor Peter Robinson, my supervisor, has had in my work. My own attempt at thanking him would be clumsy, and for this reason I use the words W. W. Skeat wrote to Henry Bradshaw:

And now let me say what I wanted to say before, but could not so well as now.... it is for $m e$ to know what you have been for me, \& what you have done for me. In my beginning to study, I was with the best of intentions, all abroad. I could not read a MS., I did not know what a MS. was. I wanted to read books, but did not know what books.... And in hundreds of ways I wanted to know... all sorts of things more or less connected with MSS. \& literature. Well, it is the merest truth that it is, practically, to you that I owe all my best ideas. You have set me thinking where I was before thoughtless, you have helped me to read MSS., you have told me of this or that book or edition, over and over again \& thrown out hints... \& told me of points, and in fact helped me, in \& out, in hundreds of ways \& thousands of times. Your remarks have always been treasured: some have seemed wrong to me at first, but they generally came right.... It is merely and perfectly hopeless to say how much more I owe to you than to anyone else. ${ }^{*}$

[^0]As Skeat, I might one day have the right words, but, for the time being, these shall suffice.

## Abbreviations

## Witness Sigils

## Manuscripts

Ad1 London, British Library, MS. Add. 5140
Ad2 London, British Library, MS. Add. 25718
Ad3 London, British Library, MS. Add. 35286
Ad4 London, British Library, MS. Add. 10340
Bo1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 414
Bo2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 686
Bw Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Barlow 20
Ch Oxford, Christ Church College, MS. 152
Cn Austin, University of Texas, Humanities Research Center, MS. 143 (ex Cardigan)

Cp Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 198
Ct Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS. 6709
Dd Cambridge, University Library, MS. Dd.4.24
Dl Tokyo, Takamiya MS 24 (ex Delamere)
Ds1 Tokyo, Takamiya MS 32 (ex Devonshire)
El California, San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. El. 26 C 9 (Ellesmere)
En1 London, British Library, MS. Eg. 2726
En2 London, British Library, MS. Eg. 2863
En3 London, British Library, MS. Eg. 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)
Ha1 London, British Library, MS. Harley 1239
Ha2 London, British Library, MS. Harley 1758
Ha3 London, British Library, MS. Harley 7333
Ha4 London, British Library, MS. Harley 7334
Ha5 London, British Library, MS. Harley 7335
He New Jersey, Princeton University Library, MS. 100 (Helmingham)

Hg Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt)
Hk Norfolk, Holkham Hall, MS. 667
Hl1 London, British Library, MS. Harley 1704
H12 London, British Library, MS. Harley 2551
HI3 London, British Library, MS. Harley 2382
H14 London, British Library, MS. Harley 5908
Hn California, San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. HM 144
Ht Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton Donat. 1
Ii Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ii.3.26
La London, British Library, MS. Lansdowne 851
Lc Lichfield Cathedral, MS. 29
Ld1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 600
Ld2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 739
L11 Wiltshire, Longleat House, MS. Longleat 257
L12 Wiltshire, Longleat House, MS. Longleat 29
Ln Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS. 110
Ma University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS. English 113
Mc Chicago, University of Chicago Library, MS. 564 (McCormick)
Me Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 21972 D (Merthyr)
Mg New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 249
Mm Cambridge, University Library, MS. Mm.2.5
Ne Oxford, New College, D. 314
N1 Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, MS. 455
Np Naples, Royal Library, MS. XIII.B. 29
Ox1 University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS. English 63 (Oxford)
Ox2 Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS. 1084/2 (Oxford)
Ph1 Austin, University of Texas, Humanities Research Center MS. 46 (Phillipps 6570)

Ph2 Geneva, Bodmer Library, MS. 48 (Phillipps 8136)
Ph3 Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS. 1084/1 (Phillipps 8137)
Ph4 California, San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. HM 140 (Phillipps 8299)
Pl New York, Columbia University Library, MS. Plimpton 253 (Phillipps 9970)
Pp Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS. Pepys 2006
Ps Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Fonds Anglais 39
Pw Sussex, Petworth House, MS. 7
Py London, Royal College of Physicians, MS. 388
Ra1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. poet. 141
Ra2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. poet. 149
Ra3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. poet. 223
Ra4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. poet C. 86
Ry1 London, British Library, MS. Royal 17 D.XV
Ry2 London, British Library, MS. Royal 18 C.II
Se Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Arch. Selden B. 14
Si Tokyo, Takamiya 22 (Sion College)
Sl1 London, British Library, MS. Sloane 1685
S12 London, British Library, MS. Sloane 1686
Tc1 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.3.3
Tc2 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.3.15
Tc3 Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.3.19
To1 Oxford, Trinity College, MS. 49
To2 Oxford, Trinity College, MS. 29

## Pre-1500 Printed Editions

Cx1 Caxton, first edition (c. 1476)
Cx2 Caxton, second edition (c. 1482)
Pn Pynson (1492)
Wy Wynkyn de Worde (1498)

## Abbreviations for Tales and Links*

| General Prologue | GP |
| :--- | :--- |
| The Knight's Tale | $\mathrm{KT}^{* *}$ |
| Link 1(The Miller's Prologue ) | L 1 |
| The Miller's Tale | MI |
| Link 2 (The Reeve's Prologue ) | L2 |
| The Reeve's Tale | RE |
| Link 3 (The Cook's Prologue) | L3 |
| The Cook's Tale | CO |
| Link 7 (The Man of Law's Prologue) | L7 |
| The Man of Law's Tale | ML |
| Link 15 (The Merchant's Prologue) | L15 |
| The Merchant's Tale | ME |
| Link 8 (The Man of Law's Endlink) | L8 |
| The Squire's Tale | SQ |
| Link 20 (The Squire-Franklin Link) | L20 |
| The Franklin's Tale | FK |
| The Wife of Bath's Prologue | WBP |
| The Wife of Bath's Tale | WBT |
| Link 10 (The Friar's Prologue) | L10 |
| The Friar's Tale | FR |
| Link 11 (The Summoner's Prologue) | L11 |
| The Summoner's Tale | SU |
| The Clerk's Tale | CL |
| Link 13 (Lenvoy de Chaucer) | L13 |
| Link 14 (The Host Stanza) | L14 |
| The Nun's Tale | NU |
| Link 33 (The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue) | CY |
| The Canon's Yeoman's Tale |  |

[^1]The Physician's Tale ..... PH
Link 21 (The Physician/Pardoner Link) ..... L21
The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale ..... PD
The Shipman's Tale ..... SH
Link 24 (The Shipman/Prioress Link) ..... L13
The Prioress' Tale ..... PR
Link 25 (Prologue to Sir Thopas) ..... L25
The Tale of Sir Thopas ..... TT
Link 28 (Thopas/ Melibee Link) ..... L28
The Tale of Melibee ..... TM
Link 29 (The Monk's Prologue) ..... L29
The Monk's Tale ..... MO
Link 30 (The Nun's Priest's Prologue) ..... L30
The Nun's Priest's Tale ..... NP
Link 31 (The Nun's Priest's Endlink) ..... L31
Link 36 (The Manciple's Prologue) ..... L36
The Manciple's Tale ..... MA
Link 37 (The Parson's Prologue) ..... L37
The Parson's Tale ..... PA
Chaucer's Retraction ..... RT

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this work is to establish, as far as possible, the affiliations of the manuscript source of William Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales -henceforth $\omega^{1}$ and Cx 2 . This research sprang from recent developments in studies of the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales in which it became increasingly evident that $\omega$ might have been an important witness to the text. Determining the affiliations and nature of $\omega$ will therefore help us to understand more clearly the development of the text and might provide new evidence to assess the rest of the tradition.

In order to judge correctly the importance of this work, it is necessary to understand some aspects of the textual history of the Tales, including the reasons why editors have preferred one manuscript over another at any given time. This introduction presents a brief survey of the most important editions of the Canterbury Tales --including Cx2 itself-- in order to show the changing attitudes towards the text of the Tales over the six hundred years since it was written. I also discuss here scholarly works which deal with Cx2, its manuscript source, its position in the textual tradition and relationships with other witnesses of the text.

[^2]
## 1. Scholarly Perspectives on the Textual Tradition of the Canterbury TaLES

### 1.1 The Printed Editions Before 1775

The Canterbury Tales is preserved in eighty-four manuscripts and four incunabula, which exhibit different tale-orders and present, to a greater or lesser degree, variation in their texts. ${ }^{2}$ The Tales were very popular from the moment they were published --as attested by the number of manuscripts and the frequency of the printed editions-- but the text has always created difficulties for scribes, printers and scholars. In fact, as early as Cx2, we find that there was concern with the accuracy of the text being published.

It is well known that Caxton provided a prologue to his second edition of the Tales (Cx2). The account given by Caxton in this prologue, independently of whether we take it literally or question Caxton's truthfulness, shows that around 1482 it was already acknowledged that the Canterbury Tales circulated in different versions. Again, according to the prologue, some could be more accurate than others:


#### Abstract

For I fynde many of the sayd bookes । whyche wryters haue abrydgyo it and many thynges left out / And in some place haue sette certayn versys, that he neuer made ne sette in his booke । of whyche bokkes so incorrecte was one brought to me vj yere passyd , whyche I supposed had ben veray true 7 correcte । And accordyng to the same I dyde do enprynte a certayn nombre of them / whyche anon were sold to many and dyuerse gentyl men , of whome one gentylman cam to me । and said that this book was not accordyng in many places vnto the book that Gefferey chaucer


[^3]hadr made , To whom I answerd that I had made it accordyng to my copye , and by me was nothyng added ne mynusshyd (Caxton c. 1482 , aij)

Caxton emphasises that there are indeed books which are written either carelessly or with intentional modifications. Both of these he calls 'incorrecte.' He also makes it clear that he did not introduce any changes into his first edition, but instead he produced an accurate copy of the manuscript he was using as copy text. About this, it is likely that he is telling the truth because the collations of his first edition (Cx1) show it consistently as being part of the $\mathbf{b}$ group, and so it is probable that it follows closely a single b-group manuscript. ${ }^{3}$ Caxton's prologue functions as an explanation of the mistakes in his first edition, but clearly, he did not think that the mistakes were so many or so important since, instead of setting up his second edition directly from the 'very trewe' manuscript he later obtained, he wrote corrections from it in an offprint of Cx1, as suggested by W.W. Greg (1924, 740 and ff.) and shown by Thomas Dunn (1939, 74). ${ }^{4}$ After Cx2, when the Canterbury Tales was printed each new edition used a previous one as its copy text and one or more manuscripts to improve or correct the text (Greg 1924, 740). A firm statement about this can be found in Greg's article "The Early Printed Editions of the 'Canterbury Tales'":
[ N ]o print after the first was set up from manuscript; each successive printer, whatever alterations or corrections he may have introduced, se up his edition from one or other of his predecessors.... But it still remains to determine what particular copy the later editions used, and to inquire what

[^4]were the affinities of the manuscripts, if any, which were consulted for corrections. (1924, 740-1)

Greg analysed the six earliest printed editions: Caxton's editions, Pynson 1492, de Worde 1498, Pynson 1526 and Godfray 1532. The method Greg discovered in the early printed editions continued to be used and research has been carried out concerning later prints in order to discover which edition was the base of another. In the case of Thynne, it is still unclear which edition was used as its copy text, but scholars agree that it was one of the previous editions (Blodgett 1984, 46-7). Stow used the "most recent version of Thynne's edition" (Hudson 1984, 60). Speght used Stow's edition (Pearsall 1984, 79). This means that Cx1 is the ultimate source of all the early printed editions and that these grew by the accretion of variants drawn from various other sources.

John Urry's 1721 edition appears to be different. It was announced as "[c]ompared with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS," (Alderson 1984, 93) but Urry had died without finishing it and "with the apparatus for his edition still in his head" (Alderson 1984, 98). But even though Urry had collated manuscripts and printed editions, he had "selected the readings which satisfied him, perhaps transferring them along with his own emendations to a single printed copy (conceivably a 1602 Speght, since Speght's 'arguments' and headnotes are frequently reproduced without change in the 1721 edition)" (Alderson 1984, 99). In the end, Urry's edition had also used as its base-text a previous print to which changes had been introduced to improve the text.

Every edition after Cx1 up to 1775, with only the possible exception of Urry's, was produced following the model created by Caxton when he printed Cx2: a
previous edition was used as copy-text and changes were introduced from a manuscript or manuscripts. Although in some cases the source of the printed editions is not readily identifiable, e.g. Thynne, there is agreement in the fact that this was the procedure followed by editors. Because each edition was based on a previous one, it may be assumed that the text of the Canterbury Tales read up to 1775 was a modified version of the text of Caxton's first edition. From this situation, one can presume that editors were not interested in the development of the text. Instead they tried to 'improve' previous editions, but without giving too much importance to the text itself. Up to 1775, editions of the Canterbury Tales were mainly products to be sold and there was little interest in its textual history.

### 1.2 Scholarly Editions

1.2.1 The Return to the Manuscripts after 1775

As we have seen, before 1775, the editions of the Canterbury Tales were not scholarly works, but were the product of the work of printers. Although these printers could present themselves as concerned about the texts they were printing, this concern was not sufficient to make them search actively for good witnesses or to try to understand the reasons why one text might be different from another. However, one editor was about to change all this and to present a new perspective for the study of Chaucer.

In 1775, Thomas Tyrwhitt published an edition of the Canterbury Tales in which he discussed previous attempts at editing the Tales and attempted to produce a
new text directly from the manuscripts. ${ }^{5}$ Tyrwhitt realised that there was a need to consult the manuscripts and Caxton's editions --to which he gave the same authority as to that of the manuscripts-- in order to produce a reliable text of Chaucer's poem (See Windeatt 1984, 123). ${ }^{6}$ The result was a conflated edition, but probably the best printed text up to that point. The importance of this edition is that Tyrwhitt used the manuscripts, not just to improve a previous edition, but to attempt to establish the best readings. He used his knowledge of the different witnesses to assess each variant and determine which ones were likely to have been produced by Chaucer and, for this, Tyrwhitt relied largely on metrical regularity. ${ }^{7}$ As a consequence of Tyrwhitt's edition there was a newly awakened interest in the use of manuscripts to establish the text of the Canterbury Tales. However, at this point, Tyrwhitt still relied on variants found in previous printed editions, but the perspective was soon to change and with this the interest in Cx 1 and Cx 2 .

### 1.2.2 The Search for the Best Manuscript

After a period in which several manuscripts were consulted to produce an eclectic text, another change in editorial perspective transformed the way in which the textual history of the Tales was perceived. Thomas Wright published his edition of

[^5]the Tales between 1847 and 1851. He decided to use a single text in what seems to be a reaction against the eclectic text produced by Tyrwhitt. Wright decided to edit the best manuscript that he could find. In this, his method presents a clear contrast with those of the printers before 1775 and with Tywhitt's edition. The best available manuscript, according to Wright, was Ha4: ${ }^{8}$
[W]hile Wright's choice of base-text was very unfortunate and while his execution had a number of flaws, he chose a method which was not only sound but which influenced those who followed. (Ramsey 1994, 12)

Although Vance Ramsey labels the decision as 'unfortunate', he also explains that both method and choice influenced those who followed Wright. However, Wright's influence as shown in the choice of copytext for the Canterbury Tales did not last for very long, as Windeatt states:

Wright's younger contemporaries eventually lost their original enthusiasm for Ha4 and ultimately rejected it as inauthoritative, though its importance as an early version of the Tales continues to be recognized. As the nineteenth century drew to its close, El emerged as editors' choice of best text, and it is the basis for Skeat's Canterbury Tales that appeared as part of his great edition of the Works in 1894. Oddly enough, the appearance of Wright's edition and its reviews may have been responsible for the ultimate recognition of the superiority of El , which had been ignored by Tyrwhitt and by Wright himself. (Windeatt 1984, 149)

[^6]It seems clear that Ha4, used as a base-text by Wright but also favoured by Tyrwhitt, lost priority in favour of El. This shift towards El was the result of the comparison of the texts of Ha 4 and El as pointed out by Blake:

In its early period of discussion, interest focused on Ha7334 and its relation to El. This was because Ha7334 was the manuscript that had been used as a base text in many nineteenth-century editions and because it contained unusual readings. $(1985,33)$

Ha4 had been regarded as a very good witness of the text of the Canterbury Tales, but doubts appeared following Furnivall's comparison of the metre with that of $\mathrm{El}^{9}$ (Cf. Furnivall 1868-77). By the time Furnivall produced his "Six-text edition " he had decided that El was the best manuscript of the Tales. Scholars have expressed surprise at the fact that Furnivall had identified $\mathrm{Hg}^{10}$ and El as the most important manuscripts:

Although Hengwrt receives very little discussion, Furnivall recognizes it, in spite of its poor condition, as a manuscript of the first importance, the "second best" to Ellesmere. While Furnivall is still impressed by Harleian 7334, that manuscript's weaknesses are exposed by the detailed comparisons provided by Morris (pp. 78-80), and Furnivall did not include it in the Six-Text edition. (Baker 1984, 159)

When Skeat's edition appeared, between 1894 and 1895, the text of El started to become the canonical text of the Tales. From this point on, up to Manly and Rickert's

[^7]edition, El became the base for editions of the Canterbury Tales and, following Furnivall's Six-Text Edition, there was also a tendency to follow the El tale-order. ${ }^{11}$ Even after Manly and Rickert, El was favoured by the majority of the editors who think that the manuscript's metre and readings are better than those found in the rest of the witnesses. In his 'Introduction' to The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, F. N. Robinson made an important case about how few variants in Ha4 could be taken into account (1957, xxxvii-xxxvix). Moreover, he suggested that these are the result of either emendation or contamination, and he clearly emphasises his preference for El (Robinson 1957, xxxix).

Until Manly and Rickert's ${ }^{12}$ thorough analysis of the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales, preferences for certain manuscripts over certain others were coloured by personal impressions. Manly and Rickert are the only scholars to have carried out a complete and systematic analysis of the whole textual tradition of the Tales; a labour that took them some twenty years and probably led to their deaths. The results of their work were published in 1940 in eight volumes, of which the first two are dedicated to the descriptions of the witnesses and the analysis of their findings and the resulting genetic groups.

The two most important and enduring conclusions reached by Manly and Rickert concern the status of the text of Hg and the general grouping of the witnesses. They showed that Hg , not El, has probably the best extant text of the Tales and used this manuscript as their base-text. Further, although their groupings present

[^8]considerable problems, their structure has been retained and used by every scholar after them. Ramsey points out that, before Manly and Rickert, the majority of the studies carried out --with limited amounts of data-- ended up by concluding a binary classification of the manuscripts, a fact that did not recur on this occasion $(1994,153)$. This fact takes us to another important contribution Manly and Rickert made to textual scholarship: the refinement of the stemmatic method. They proposed that not only do errors have to be taken into account when establishing a stemma, but also agreements in correct readings. ${ }^{13}$ From this it follows that all agreements are indicative of what they call a 'variational group,' but only those that are 'persistent' and 'consistent' can show the relationships between genetic groups (Manly and Rickert 1940, 20). Aside from the prominent importance given to Hg by Manly and Rickert, they also showed that certain manuscripts are of special relevance. Manly and Rickert proposed four groups and an agglomeration of unclassified manuscripts, and this classification has been in use since the publication of their work. Only very recently have there been some suggestions about changes to their original groupings, but these are more refinements of these groupings, not rejections of them (Robinson 1996b 2000b). Manly and Rickert could have exerted a bigger influence in later research if their work had been presented in a more accessible way. As put by Kane "no Chaucer edition before it [Manly and Rickert's] had been supported by such an elaborate apparatus: six volumes to accompany two of text" (1984, 207), and although his interpretation of the vastness of their work is that it was "evidently important," it might also be inferred that the sheer volume could have been enough to keep away even the most daring textual critics. Another factor that influenced the reception of Manly and Rickert's work is that this has often been misinterpreted and attacked:

[^9]Manly and Rickert were aware that agreement in original readings is "non-classificatory" (2.24), but the edition does not show that they were troubled by the indeterminate originality of their base for collation, "Skeat's 'Student's Edition'" (2.5). What seems to have preoccupied them was the second difficulty of classification, that created by convergent variation (2.20-27). To counter this they made an independent venture into the rationale of textual criticism with the postulate that "The law of probability is so steady in its working that only groupings of classificatory value have the requisite persistence and consistency to be taken as genetic groups" (2.22). That postulate is a fallacy, for it assumes that manual transmission is uniformly erratic (all texts are equally corrupt), that there will always be relatively abundant agreement in error between genetically related manuscripts. Scribes copying Middle English manuscripts were not generating "mass phenomena" in respect of which "the regularity of the operations of chance " (2.23) can be invoked, but operating as highly specialized individuals in sets of highly individualized situations. Of course the editors knew that the assumption was baseless; they appear not to have seen how it affected their postulate. (Kane 1984, 209)

Kane's criticism of Manly and Rickert's choice of base text is valid in the sense that their base does not occur at any point in the manuscript textual tradition. However, his censure of the idea of the persistency and consistency of the genetic groups is not correct since it is based on his own preconceived idea about stemmatics. Kane's understanding of stemmatics is that the method relies on errors introduced in copies made from the original, that is, only errors can help to determine textual relations.

However, Manly and Rickert clearly state that not only errors should be taken into account, but also agreements, no matter of which kind, should be considered (Manly and Rickert 1940, 20). ${ }^{14}$ The weakness in Manly and Rickert's argument is not that they do not rely solely on errors to establish genetic affiliations, but that often they fail to recognise an archetypal variant as such and attempt to classify and group texts based on such readings. ${ }^{15}$

In this way, even though scholars use Manly and Rickert's groupings and sigils, very few have dedicated careful analysis to their text and apparatus. Instead, because of the influence that Furnivall and Skeat had on later scholarship, El became the most common text of the Tales --and it still is, since the most popular reading edition, the Riverside Chaucer, is closely based on Robinson's edition.

However, the work of Manly and Rickert influenced some later scholars who followed their choice of Hg as the best witness of the text of the Tales. Ruggiers published a facsimile of Hg with transcriptions and collations from El in 1979. This facsimile of Hg was printed as part of a series to accompany the Variorum Chaucer:

The facsimile series, the prime support for the various texts provided by the Variorum Chaucer, was inaugurated in 1979 with the publication of the facsimile of the Hengwrt manuscript (Peniarth 392D) of The Canterbury Tales. The series was begun with this particular manuscript on the obvious ground that it was our base manuscript for The Canterbury Tales and that the treatment of The Canterbury Tales was the part of the project that initially commanded our greatest attention. (Andrew et al. 1993, xi)

[^10]The influence of a project such as the Variorum Chaucer persuaded other scholars of the importance of Hg , and shifted the balance in its favour.

The following year, Blake published his edition of the Canterbury Tales with a text which is a very lightly emended Hg with added punctuation and capitalisation and in which CY appears in the appendix, since this tale is not included in Hg and Blake had doubts about its authenticity. ${ }^{16}$ Later in the same decade, in 1985, Blake published The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales, a book that shook, once more, the perception of the textual history of Chaucer's poem. In The Textual Tradition, Blake hypothesises how the text of the Tales developed through the years. According to him, Hg is the earliest stage of the text, followed by Cp . Scribes later produced other developments of the text such as Dd, Gg, El, Ha4 and others. Blake's position about the text of the Canterbury Tales can be summarised in two main statements. The first is that he thinks that the text of Hg is the most reliable manuscript and that its spelling system is very close to Chaucer's own. The second has to do with the lack of in depth studies of individual manuscripts of the Tales and of the textual tradition in general:

The effect [of the preponderance of El ] has been to prevent the evidence of the manuscripts being organized in a coherent textual tradition, for the manuscripts have not been allowed to speak for themselves. The assumption that what is in El is genuine has dictated the way in which many textual scholars have tried to recreate the textual tradition. Unless we are prepared to approach the evidence of the manuscripts without prior

[^11]assumptions, we will never be able to make sense of the textual tradition.
(Blake 1985: 187)

The idea of going back to the manuscript evidence proved to be of great importance for the future development of research about the Canterbury Tales. Under this perspective the manuscripts gain new importance and can be studied individually in order to understand their place in the textual tradition. In the same way, the importance of incunabula and their sources can be reassessed.

### 1.2.3 Studying the Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales

The situation concerning textual studies of the Canterbury Tales started to change thanks to the renewed interest promoted by scholars such as Derek Pearsall, Ian Doyle and others, who, as Blake, wanted to return to the study of the manuscript tradition. ${ }^{17}$ The editors of the Variorum Chaucer, specifically referring to the Hg facsimile, state:
[W]ith the reliance upon the Hengwrt manuscript as the base text for The Canterbury Tales and with the provision of a running comparison between the transcribed Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts, the Variorum Chaucer returns to the sources from which virtually all modern editions of The Canterbury Tales have emanated. (Andrew et al. 1993, xi)

[^12]Evidently, the path was set for studies that included more than a few manuscripts. The interest had shifted towards the study of the whole textual tradition.

But it was not until Blake's interest in the matter prompted him to join Peter Robinson and Elizabeth Solopova that the Canterbury Tales Project was officially started in 1993 and a complete assessment of the textual tradition and the relationships between all the fifteenth century witnesses of the Tales began. In the preface to the Occasional Papers I, Blake and Robinson wrote:

The Project aims to make available, in computer-readable form, transcripts, images, collations and analyses of all eighty-four extant manuscripts and four pre-1500 printed editions of the Canterbury Tales.

The Canterbury Tales Project has ambitious aims, even more ambitious than those of Manly and Rickert: not only all witnesses have to be transcribed and collated, but new tools, such as Vbase, ${ }^{18}$ have been developed to help scholars make sense of the vast amount of variation found in the manuscripts. A major contribution of the Canterbury Tales Project has been the study of new methods for analysis ${ }^{19}$ and Robinson's development of new software for publication of electronic editions. ${ }^{20}$ Since the beginning of the 1990s, the Canterbury Tales Project has been transcribing and collating fifteenth-century witnesses of the Tales. Based on these materials, the

[^13]Project has published three CD-ROMs, two of which contain, as explained in the previous quotation from the Occasional Papers, transcriptions, collations, images, etc, of particular sections of the Canterbury Tales, more specifically, WBP and GP. The General Prologue on CD-ROM (Solopova 2000) contains even more detailed analysis than The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM (Robinson 1996b), since it includes the 'Analysis Workshop' (Robinson 2000a) and the 'Stemmatic Commentary' (Robinson 2000b). The analyses of these sections have shown that Manly and Rickert's manuscript groupings can be developed further. Robinson proposes that Manly and Rickert's c and d groups are actually a single one, and that there are, at least, two further groups: $\mathbf{E}$ and $\mathbf{F}$. Robinson's $\mathbf{E}$ group is formed by Bo1 Ph2 Gg and Si, while his $\mathbf{F}$ group is Bw Ln Ld2 and Ry2.

The research carried out at the Canterbury Tales Project is helping scholars to reassess previous ideas about the textual tradition and the relationships between the different witnesses of the Tales. Scholarship is shifting again and studies of individual witnesses and their relationships are acquiring more importance. Robinson's analysis of WBP indicates that there are areas in the textual tradition which require further study. Further, the revaluation of the tradition suggests that areas such as the incunabula need to be closely studied, since these books could contain evidence of manuscripts which are no longer extant.

## 2. The Alpha Exemplar, Its Position in the Textual Tradition, and the Relationship with Cx2

The reassessment of the textual tradition carried out under the sponsorship of the Canterbury Tales Project has helped to shift the attention from a group of
traditionally important early manuscripts ( El Hg Cp ) to the study of the whole tradition. This has had very important consequences for the study of the incunabula, since these are now considered, once more, as important as witnesses as the manuscripts.

From the perspective of the research on $\omega$, the most important hypothesis put forward by Robinson's analyses of the Canterbury Tales is about a lost manuscript which he calls $\alpha$. Robinson also defines an $\alpha$ group, which contains manuscripts derived from the $\alpha$ exemplar, these are Ad1 Ad3 En3 and Tc1 for WBP. The $\alpha$ manuscript, according to Robinson, was of the very best quality. He suggested that $\alpha$ or a manuscript close to it could have been the origin for the new readings in Cx2. Robinson's groupings for GP are as follows:
[T]he manuscripts of The General Prologue may be grouped in the following lines of descent from O :

- From the alpha ancestor (the alpha, ab a and b groups): 22 manuscripts -
- alpha subgroup: Ad1 Ad3 En3 Tc1; ab subgroup within alpha: Ht Py Ra2 Ry1; a subgroup within the ab subgroup: Cn Dd Ds1 En1 Ma; b subgroup; within the ab subgroup: Cx1 Cx2 Ii Ld1 Ne Nl Pn Tc2 Wy
- From the cd ancestor: 17 manuscripts -- $\quad \mathrm{Bw} \mathrm{Cp}$ Dl Fi Gl Ha2 Ha3 La

Lc Ld2 Mg Mm Pw Ry2 Se Sl1 Sl2

- From the $\underline{\mathrm{e}}$ ancestor: 2 manuscripts -- Bo 1 Ph 2
- El
- Hg (probably with Ch Ha4)
- A further six manuscripts appear to descend directly from $O$, and represent an uncertain number of lines of descent: Bo2 Gg Ln Ps Ra3 To1
(Robinson 2000b) ${ }^{21}$

Some of the relationships that have been discovered during the present work can be seen in Robinson's groupings. However, these are not entirely consistent with his groups. The most important feature in Robinson's stemmatic analysis is that he refined the groupings proposed by Manly and Rickert and that his groupings show some witnesses in a different light. For example, his statement of the closeness of Hg Ch and Ha4 in GP represents a break with previous interpretations of the quality of these particular witnesses. This is especially interesting in the case of Ch , usually seen just as a late manuscript, but which might contain a very early version of the text. This work, together with analysis of individual manuscripts is currently reshaping our perception of the textual tradition while opening new lines of research into some of the most controversial witnesses of Chaucer's text. Robinson has refined his hypothesis about the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts, he now proposes that there are approximately ten such manuscripts that descend directly from the archetype and that these represent -in GP-- six different and independent lines of descent. These lines of descent are represented by are four pairs of manuscripts --Ad1/ En3, Ad3/Ha5, Ra3/Tc1, Bo2/Ht-- and two singletons --Hg and Ch. They "represent a further six independent lines of descent. For convenience, the witnesses of this group are referred to as 'O,' but they

[^14]xxxix
should not be seen as constituting a genetic group in the same sense as do the other groups..." (Robinson 1997, 80). ${ }^{22}$

The manuscripts classified by Robinson as belonging to the $\alpha$ group --Ad1 Ad3 En3 and Tc1-- in GP, had been classified as $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts for WBP. This might represent a change in the nature of the text of the $\alpha$ exemplar or it could just be due to the fact that the variation in certain parts of the text differs from that of others. ${ }^{23}$ The importance of the present study resides in the fact that Cx 2 is the only source for the variants of a manuscript that appears to have had a text of the Canterbury Tales which was extremely close to the text of O . The understanding of relationships and affiliations of this manuscript might be determinant in shaping our comprehension of this textual tradition.

## 3. AbOUT THIS WORK

The present work has been produced under the sponsorship of the Canterbury Tales Project. The transcriptions of Cx 1 and $\mathrm{Cx} 2^{24}$ (first two readings) were done by myself for the whole of the Canterbury Tales with the exception of SH, L24, PR, L25, TT, L28, TM, L29, MO, L30, NP and L31; these were carried out by the Brigham Young University Canterbury Tales Project team, lead by Paul Thomas. All

[^15]checks after the second reading have been carried out by the De Montfort Canterbury Tales Project team.

All the materials produced by the Project up to this date have been made available for this research, ${ }^{25}$ which is based on the first complete collation of all available Canterbury Tales Project's transcriptions. ${ }^{26}$ Since Manly and Rickert's edition no one had actually produced new collations of the Tales, and the collation results alone represent a vast sea of new data that can be assessed to further our understanding of the textual history of Chaucer's text.

The objective of the present work, however, is not so ambitious: it does not attempt to draw conclusions about the whole textual history of the Canterbury Tales. Instead, I have chosen to focus on a very specific aspect of the textual tradition, the study of the source of the corrections of Cx2. There are several differences between my work and the single manuscript studies previously produced by doctoral candidates attached to the Canterbury Tales Project. The first one is that this research has its focus on textual matters. The second is that my work does not centre upon an actual manuscript, but upon one that is no longer extant. In many ways, my work has been that of a detective of the text. I have had to isolate those variants which could have potentially come from the source of the corrections of Cx 2 , and have later classified and analysed them all in order to answer the question of what place this manuscript occupied in the textual tradition of the Tales. The main question that this research attempts to answer therefore is: what are the textual affiliations of the manuscript source of Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales?

[^16]This work is organised in eight chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the scholarly work surrounding Caxton's second edition and his editorial practices; chapter 2 contains the bibliographical description of one of the copies of Cx2; chapter 3 studies the question of the order of the tales; chapter 4 offers a synthesis of what, for the purposes of this particular research, is understood as a textual variant; in chapters 5, 6 and 7 the analyses of the data and some partial conclusions can be found. The findings of this work appear in the conclusions in chapter 8. Data that were not deemed essential to the understanding of this work have been put into the electronic appendices, in which all the data produced during this research can be found.

## CHAPTER I

## A Historical Survey of Scholarship of Cx2, Especially Focused on the Problem of its Source

This chapter offers a survey of the scholarship related to Cx2, focusing on the different conclusions critics have reached during the twentieth century. Especial attention has been dedicated to studies which concentrate on the text of Cx 2 and on $\omega$. Remarks which are not strictly related to textual matters made by analytical bibliographers have also been included, since these might reveal evidence that could help to clarify the nature of this lost manuscript. A section of this chapter has been dedicated to Caxton as an editor, since this could give some insight on his treatment of $\omega$. A synthesis of the conclusions reached by different scholars can be found at the end of this chapter. Each of them is addressed in the conclusions of this work.

## 1. The Story and the History of the Production of Cx2

The story behind Cx 2 is widely known: in the preface to this book, Caxton wrote that a "gentylman" came to him and said that the text of Cx1 was not accurate, that it was not what Chaucer had written, and that his father had a better manuscript which he could lend to Caxton. ${ }^{1}$ This preface, with all its implications, has drawn

[^17]critics' attention to Cx2, because several issues emerge from it. Some of these issues are obvious, some others less so:

1. The textual differences between Cx 1 and Cx 2 . This is important because the differences between both editions might help us to understand how Caxton worked and what were his aims. ${ }^{2}$
2. The textual affiliations of both editions. The affiliation of Cx 1 with Manly and Rickert's b group was established by them as part of their edition (Manly and Rickert 1940, 2: 57 and ff.). However, the affiliations of Cx 2 are not so clear and need further study.
3. The process through which Caxton arrived at the text of Cx2. This has implications concerning Caxton's idea of what a good text should be and about his knowledge of and interest in textual matters (See Dunn, 1939).

These and other problems have preoccupied generations of critics and stimulated learned discussions and scholarly articles during the past hundred years.

## 2. Approaches to Caxton and His Work

The most comprehensive single set of studies about Caxton and his editions was carried out by William Blades in the second half of the nineteenth-century. ${ }^{3}$ No later scholar has attempted, in a single book, what Blades did in The Life and Typography of William Caxton (1861-3). Both this and his other book, The Biography and Typography of William Caxton (1877), are, as the names suggest, heavily centred

[^18]on biographical and bibliographical aspects. A point directly related to textual issues concerns Blades' opinion of Caxton's editorial practices, commenting directly on his Prologue to Cx2:


#### Abstract

The Prologue of his [Caxton's] second edition of the "Canterbury Tales" proves how anxious he was to be correct, and, at the same time, the difficulty he had in obtaining manuscripts free from corruption. The poetical reverence with which Caxton speaks of Chaucer, "the first founder of ornate eloquence in our English," and the pains he took to reprint the "Canterbury Tales," when a purer text than that of his first edition was offered him, shows his high appreciation of England's first great Poet. (Blades 1861, 80)


In this quotation, it appears that Blades trusted Caxton's prologues and epilogues as historical, unbiased sources, and that these lead Blades to conclude that he was a careful printer with deep concerns about the accuracy of the texts he was publishing. However, recent critics, such as Blake $(1969,103)$ and Boyd $(1984,13)$, have a very different understanding of Caxton that makes him only a businessman, trying to maximise the financial income rendered by his business. ${ }^{4}$ These critics are reluctant to assume that Caxton was writing the unvarnished truth when he wrote the prologues and epilogues, and do not, necessarily, assume that he was telling the truth about his reasons to print a second edition of the Canterbury Tales. Even if we read Cx2's prologue literally, some other questions would arise, formulated here by Blake:

He [Caxton] agreed to print a second edition from another manuscript before he had seen it. He cannot have formed for himself any reasonable
idea as to its quality; he merely accepted the word of his gentleman-client that it contained a better text. It is doubtful, therefore, whether his primary motive in printing the second edition was to produce a good text; his motive may have been a desire to oblige a noble customer, or simply a publisher's realization that a new, revised edition might sell well. (1969, 103)

Blake's views differ radically from those of Blades, because he focuses on the interpretation of what is being said without necessarily believing it literally. While Blades makes an effort to present Caxton as a reliable source, Blake is much more sceptical about the methods employed by the printer. This scepticism is characteristic of $20^{\text {th }}$ century scholars, and Beverly Boyd, for example, seems to agree with Blake's assessment:

His [Caxton's] knowledge of the texts of Chaucer's works was not that of an exegete of his own time, much less that of a present-day editor of Chaucer, though the printer himself never claimed such skill. In no case do we have copies or precise records of Caxton's sources for these books. Within these limitations the evidence is strong that he followed his texts closely except in the second edition of The Canterbury Tales, where he can be faulted for a serious mistake in judgement when he tried to correct the first edition from a manuscript obviously of a different textual tradition, though the circumstances were not altogether his fault. Having followed his sources elsewhere may not, however, be entirely to his credit, for the evidence is that in most of the Chaucers he did little or

[^19]nothing in the way of editing but turned over the exemplars to his staff for copy editing and printing. In that case his staff is mainly responsible for what actually appears on the printed pages, all of which contain routine modernization of the grammar, syntax, vocabulary, and orthography. Definite evidence of his own editing resides only in his second edition of The Canterbury Tales and in his House of Fame (1984, 33-34)

At the beginning of this quotation, Boyd seems to be defending Caxton from accusations of lack of knowledge of the text, and she seems to relieve him of any blame when she points out that Caxton never claimed to be a scholar. However, when she refers to Cx 2 she states that "the evidence is strong that he [Caxton] followed his texts closely except in the second edition of The Canterbury Tales, where he can be faulted for a serious mistake in judgement when he tried to correct the first edition from a manuscript obviously of a different textual tradition." Boyd is not correct in saying that Caxton can be 'faulted' for conflating texts from different recensions, and much less for not recognising this fact, since genetic groups for the witnesses of the text have been widely accepted as accurate only after Manly and Rickert's edition. It is rather unfair to suggest that Caxton should have had such knowledge.

Boyd also brings up the contrast in treatment which different texts received in Caxton's workshop. Caxton's influence on the texts he edited has also been the focus of the critics' discussions. ${ }^{5}$ For example Paul Needham, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of Caxton's Le Morte Darthur, explains that its text, as we read it today, owes a great deal to Caxton's editing (Needham 1976). Needham suggests that Caxton took extreme liberties with this text in the form of adding or deleting sections

[^20]and passages or completing the text from the French Arthurian tradition, even censoring it when he felt that it did not accommodate his expectations of what an Arthurian romance should be (Needham 1976, no pagination). According to Boyd, because of Caxton's attitude towards the text of Malory, his editions of Chaucer have been approached with suspicion $(1984,16)$. One could suspect that changes similar to those found in Le Morte Darthur could also be present in the Canterbury Tales. However, Manly and Rickert have shown that Caxton followed closely a b manuscript for this first edition of the Tales (1940). The question of the process of composition of Cx 2 has been studied by several scholars, each of whom appears to have reached different conclusions.

## 3. The Composition of Cx2

In 1924 in an article concerning the Canterbury Tales incunabula, Greg stated, for the first time, what will become another well-known fact about Cx 2 : that it was not set directly from the new manuscript, that Caxton probably took a copy of his first edition and made the corrections directly on it:
...although the treasured manuscript was offered him [Caxton] 'for a copye', all Caxton claims to have done is to have 'corrected my book' by it, which, of course, is just what we should expect a printer to do, but which is not the same as setting up a new edition afresh from a manuscript copy. (740)

This conclusion is the result of the analysis of Caxton's prologue and of the first 116 lines of KT as they appear in the first six printed editions. ${ }^{6}$ It might seem that the analysis of 116 lines is not sufficient to draw any long-lasting conclusions. However, Dunn, who analysed the complete text of Cx2, agreed with Greg and refined his conclusions about the composition process in Cx2. According to Dunn, what Caxton probably did was to write the corrections from the second manuscript in an unbound copy of his first edition; as a consequence of this, besides the fact that we have a conflated text, it seems that in many circumstances the typesetters misunderstood Caxton's instructions and made the wrong corrections (Dunn, 1939, 74). On some occasions the compositors added a word that was meant to replace another; on some others they added the correction at the beginning of the line, where Caxton had written the new word, instead of in its proper place somewhere else in the line. This can be seen, for example, in MI 113 and NU 301: ${ }^{7}$

```
ml 113
BASE }\mp@subsup{}{}{8}\mathrm{ A clerc hadde lutherly, biset his while
Cx1 A clerk hadde lowdly beset his whyle
Cx2 Lythyrly a clerk haor beset hys whyle
El A clerkz hadde lutherly, biset his whyle
Hg A clerc> hadde lutherly, biset his while
```

```
A clerc hadde lutherly ]
    Lytherly a clerk hadde ] Cx2 Wy
    Lytherly a clerk hath ] Pn
```

[^21]```
lutherly ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl
Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 Hg Hk La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Ps Pw Py Ra3
Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
lyghtly ] Ad2 Bw Ii Ra1
litle ] Bo1
lowdly ] Cx1 He Mm ne Tc2
ful evel ] Ht nl
simply ] Ph2
nU 301
Base The Aungeles face , of which thy brother tolde
Cx1 That angelis face whiche thy brothir tolde
Cx2 The aungelis face whiche thy brother of tolde
El The Angeles face, of which thy brother tolde
Hg The Aungeles face, of which thy brother tolde
of which thy brother ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3
which thy brother ] Cx1 whiche thy brother of ] Cx2
```

These examples show that although the corrections here given as introduced in Cx 2 agree with the readings found in the vast majority of the witnesses, they have been introduced in the wrong place. The evidence supports Dunn's suggestion about Caxton's marginal corrections in Cx 1 being misinterpreted by the compositors of Cx 2 . Dunn's conclusions about the composition process of Cx 2 have been accepted by later scholars such as Blake. ${ }^{9}$ After Dunn's work, no other study as detailed as his has been

[^22]carried out concerning the source of Cx2. But even if no further effort was dedicated to the study of $\omega$, scholars such as Blake, Needham and Hellinga have remained interested in studying Caxton's printhouse, his methods, and the dating of his editions. ${ }^{10}$

The way in which the text was handled by Caxton does not make it easy to determine the textual affiliations of $\omega$. What we have is a collection of variants of unclear origin among which we can potentially find some that came from that second manuscript. These issues have troubled textual critics for a long time, since it is a difficult task to identify the variants that were in $\omega$. It requires us to isolate variants that could potentially have weight in tracing the affiliations of this manuscript.

## 4. The Different Tale-Orders

In his analysis of the relationships between the early printed editions of the Tales, Greg emphasised that differences in tale order between them could be useful in establishing the relationships among these books. Caxton's two editions, which Greg refers to as C 7 and C 8 , are central in the essay. Greg suggests that the manuscript used by Caxton as the source of his corrections was a very good manuscript, and also that the order of the tales in Cx2 is not necessarily that of the manuscript, and that it might have been the result of Caxton's interpretation of what the right order could have been originally: "The order of C 8 [Cx2] does not appear to be that of any known

[^23]manuscript, and most likely Caxton merely took a hint from this source toward an improved order" $(1924,760) .{ }^{11}$

It seems possible that Caxton did not completely revise the order of the tales in Cx 2 , but instead followed $\omega$ for some changes he felt he needed to introduce. There is no extant manuscript with the same order as that of Cx2, thus supporting the idea of an editorial order. Blake has written extensively about the order of the tales and he has suggested that indeed all the orders are editorial rather than Chaucerian. For example, in "The Debate on the Order of the Canterbury Tales" he states:

Most, probably all, the orders are the result of some consideration and they cannot just be dismissed out of hand as aberrant or wrong. If, as it is widely accepted, all orders are scribal, then the order proposed by one scribe has as much validity as that followed by any other. (1985a: 36)

Because there is no authoritative order, any possible order is as good as any other, at least theoretically. In this way all the manuscripts, no matter how late they were produced, have to be placed at the same level. If we accept this idea as true, we have also to take into account that probably some scribes and editors were more careful and worried about what they were doing than others, and that should have some weight when we consider the different possible orders of the tales. This contradicts Blake's statement: not all scribal orders have the same validity. It is a question of focus: all scribal orders have a theoretically little value in the sense that these are not Chaucerian, but once one has accepted that there is no Chaucerian order then scribal orders acquire new interest and have to be differentiated from one another. Some scribes and their supervisors are likely to have been more interested and careful than

[^24]others, and thus one has to weigh the tale-orders since some might be of more interest than others.

In any case, Blake's view differs from the ideas about Chaucer embedded in many earlier essays. For example, Eleanor Hammond, writing at the beginning of the twentieth-century states:

It has long been recognized that the original form in which the Canterbury Tales were circulated, perhaps that in which they were worked upon by Chaucer himself, was fascicular, booklike, and in several or many parts. Only in this way can we explain the systematic confusion which we find in the manuscripts, and only in this way can we imagine Chaucer as working over an unfinished poem of such character and scope. (1905-6, 162)

Undoubtedly, this generalised assumption influenced the way in which Hammond interprets the textual differences in the order of the tales. On one hand, when Blake suggests that the unfinished work was put together by the Hengwrt scribe, we could assume that there could have been some hints in Chaucer's working copy as to how he wanted his text to be ordered. On the other hand, if we accept the theory of fascicular circulation then the problem of the order of the tales becomes much more related to chance and to the good (or bad) sense of the different scribes and their editors. Even though the evident differences in tale-order between Cx 1 and Cx 2 are a good place to start comparing these books, as Hammond's work suggests, my own research shows that these differences --in isolation-- are unlikely to present enough evidence to sustain long-lasting conclusions about the textual status of $\omega$.

## 5. Tracing the Affiliations of $\boldsymbol{\omega}$

Besides attempts to approach the differences between Cx 1 and Cx 2 using taleorder variation, previous attempts at collating the texts of both editions have been carried out by other scholars such as Koch (1902), who produced a critical edition of PD. ${ }^{12}$ For his edition of PD, Koch collated 63 witnesses of the text (1902, XXXXXXIII), including both of Caxton's editions:

Cax. ${ }^{2}$ is, on the whole, a revised and corrected edition of Cax. ${ }^{1}$, with which, however, it shares a good many mistakes, mostly together with the other MSS. of this subdivision, and only few that do not occur anywhere else... For his corrections, however, Caxton evidently made use of a MS. of the A-Type, in which alterations he is frequently followed by Thynne. (1902, LII)

Evidently, Koch was aware of the fact that the text of $\omega$ had a very different affiliation from that of Cx1, but his dual division of the witnesses of the Canterbury Tales gave him only one alternative group in which to place the variants of Cx 2 .

In the case of Greg's 1924 essay, he produced a detailed comparison of 116 lines of the beginning of KT in the six earliest editions. His general conclusion about the early printed editions of the Canterbury Tales makes evident the frustration he felt when unable to identify with certainty the sources for Caxton's corrections:

[^25]While Caxton's first edition was the only one set up from a manuscript, the printers of the next five editions all had recourse more or less extensively to manuscript sources in the hope of improving their texts. It follows that Caxton's first edition alone ranks with the manuscripts as a textual authority. In no case can the readings of the manuscripts used in later editions be recovered with anything approaching completeness; the editions themselves are merely reprints of the first more or less seriously conflated, and their only textual value lies in the fact that they may possibly preserve individual readings derived from manuscripts but not found in any now extant. Lastly, the utter failure to identify the affinities of the manuscripts used in Caxton's second edition and in Thynne's, unless it be due to a plurality of sources, raises some doubt as to whether conflation may not be so wide spread as seriously to interfere with any useful classification of the manuscripts. This, however, is clearly a problem requiring more extensive investigation before any considered opinion can be expressed. (761)

The quotation from Greg is extensive because it delineates succinctly the challenge of identifying the affiliations of $\omega$. All of Greg's conclusions remain mostly true. Even if the texts were conflated it is possible to isolate the variants as Greg did. After this process he was still unable to trace the affiliations of $\omega$. The only way to isolate such variants is by comparing each line in Cx 1 and Cx 2 and deciding about which of the differences can be considered significant, in this concept therefore what is significant is where the origin of Greg's results is explained. ${ }^{13}$

[^26]According to Greg only Cx1 "ranks with the manuscripts as a textual authority" but it has no more textual authority than any other text belonging to the $\mathbf{b}$ group, which does not say very much since the text of the $\mathbf{b}$ recension is believed to be distant from the origin of the tradition. In fact, Manly and Rickert state: "The MS from which Caxton printed was a very corrupt text" (1940, 57).

Although it is true that conflation could make it very difficult to classify the different texts into families, this task seems less daunting after Manly and Rickert's publication of their work. Manly and Rickert, recorded by hand, the variants they found in collation cards. This system has been described by Ramsey:
[T]he very process of registering the variants in all of the manuscripts by means of the very efficient collation cards became in effect the whole of the collation procedure because it performed what is ordinarily the second step after the registration of the variant readings, namely the discovery of the "variational groups" in the various loci. Still, if the cards changed two steps into one and made collation a mechanical enough procedure for students to perform, only Manly and Rickert could then use the cards for the far from mechanical process of classifying the groupings within the "variational groups" in terms of whether their relations were genetic or coincidental. (Ramsey 1994, 154)

The collation cards were probably the best system available at the time. As Dunn pointed out, before the 'Chicago collations' were available the task of assessing the relationships between manuscripts was much more arduous. ${ }^{14}$ They have the advantage of being easily corrected if a mistake is found in one of them. However,
they are not very effective to retrieve information --Manly and Rickert produced some 60,000 cards with more than 600,000 entries (Ramsey 1994, 81)--, no matter how systematically arranged.

Once it has been established that the starting point of research about $\omega$ is the collation of Cx1 and Cx2, Boyd's observation that the source for Cx2 belongs to a different textual group from that of the source of Cx1 becomes truly interesting (See Boyd 1984, 33-34). The fact that Cx1 and $\omega$ belong to different textual groups should facilitate the separation and classification of their variants.

In the past, textual critics have produced inconclusive results when trying to pinpoint the affiliations of $\omega$. They relied on visual comparison of Cx 1 and Cx 2 , as Greg and Hammond did, or on collation cards --it is likely that Dunn used Manly and Rickert's collation cards. Greg concluded that Cx2's manuscript source was not clearly defined $(1924,761)$. At least for the opening of KT, he thought that Koch was wrong in his assertion that the manuscript probably belonged to the Ellesmere-Dd group (Koch 1902). Later, in 1929, Margaret Kilgour attempted to articulate an answer to the problem identified by Greg. Kilgour limits her analysis to a comparison of the variants between Cx1 and Cx2 in PD, as Koch had done. She wrote that "Dr. Greg finds that none of the MSS of this group is consistently more successful than others in the Petworth or Corpus groups..." (Kilgour 1929, 186). Kilgour obtained results that are in conflict with those of Greg. She stated that Ad3 is closely related to Cx2 in PD and in GP. Greg, on the other hand, had concluded that in KT, Cx2 was related to a different manuscript, namely Ha3 --although he emphasised the fact that the affiliations of Cx2 for the opening of KT could not be determined (Greg 1924, 761).

[^27]The contradictory results of the two analyses could point towards a possible shift of exemplar in $\omega$ and not necessarily to the fact that Caxton might have used several different manuscripts to correct his first edition. It seems that there is no real point of disagreement between Greg and Kilgour, since they are focusing on different parts of the text. That fact alone should be enough to justify the different conclusions that they reached. Kilgour's own analysis points towards Ad3, which she considers very close to the manuscript source of Cx 2 . However, later she states that $\operatorname{Ad} 3$ is identical to the mysterious manuscript. Greg was invited to answer Kilgour's statements and he published an essay, "The MS Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales." In this essay he affirms:

When...she (Kilgour) writes in respect to $\mathrm{A}^{3}[\mathrm{Ad} 3]$ that "the evidence strongly suggests that Caxton used either this very manuscript or one remarkably like it," she is stating no more than the fact. But later she argues that it was indeed $\mathrm{A}^{3}$ and not a closely similar manuscript that was the source. (Greg 1929, 1251)

The implication is, of course, that Greg did not consider the latter a fact, but mere speculation on Kilgour's part. The criticism seems valid, since it shows that she is inconsistent in her arguments. However, the conceptual problems embedded in Kilgour's essay are deeper than that, and are problems that tend to invalidate this early and apparent solution to the enigma of Cx 2 , in contrast to Greg's careful reservations. They are present at very basic levels of the text. She states: "In my anxiety not to overlook any variant which might have possible significance I may have included some which Dr. Greg would regard as of no consequence; these, however, will not affect the result" (Kilgour 1929, 187). In the first place Kilgour is including some
variants that Greg himself would have dismissed, which is brave. But then, she positively affirms that those same variants will not affect the result, which is simply misguided. If we acknowledge a priori that the variants are not going to affect the result, it seems unwise to include them in the first place. If the statement is some kind of conclusion, obtained after collating the variants, it is misleading to present it in the way Kilgour does. This problem with the data affects the solidity of Kilgour's general argument because it makes her appear as unreliable. However, the reason for the different conclusions reached by Kilgour and Greg might be due to the choice of analysed variants, which might unwittingly have led one of them to the wrong conclusion. The alternative explanation is that both Kilgour and Greg are right in the interpretation of their data, and that $\omega$ shifted its exemplar at some point, which would produce different results if we analyse isolated parts of the Tales. There is yet a third possibility, that in the data analysed by Kilgour and Greg the variants being analysed are archetypal and so cannot help place $\omega$ in a group with witnesses below the archetype. This would mean that, although both of them might have been right in their conclusions about the sections of the text they analysed, if the variants they isolated were not below the archetype of the tradition, all that was found was a series of archetypal readings which tell us nothing about the affiliations of $\omega$ below the archetype.

In 1940, Manly and Rickert had already dismissed any possible textual authority that Cx 2 could have had:

Photostats of the Grenville copy of Caxton's second edition at the British Museum were collated in full and recorded in our collation cards, but the results are not included in our Corpus of Variants, as it became clear that
they could not aid in establishing Chaucer's text. Caxton collated his first edition with a MS lent him by a patron, but his collation was so hasty and imperfect that the readings of $\mathrm{Cx}^{2}$, though interesting, are of no textual authority. (1940, 1: 81)

This statement is surprising given that they suggested the investigation of the source for the corrections in Cx2 as the dissertation topic for their student Thomas Dunn. If Manly and Rickert were so convinced of the lack of authority and importance of Cx 2 , there must have been another reason for them to suggest that Dunn should carry out research on the manuscript source of Cx 2 . The explanation for this might be that they thought this inquiry might offer an insight into Caxton's printing methods. However, the possibility remains open that they were doubtful about their own assessment of Cx2.

Dunn's dissertation was supposed to be centred on the editorial methodology used by Caxton in his second edition and it had to explain the textual affiliations of Cx2. Because Dunn was carrying out such a detailed study of Cx2, Manly and Rickert not only gave no details about textual matters referring to this edition, but also decided to suppress its bibliographical description. As a result, it is Dunn who has written most extensively on the text of Cx 2 . He even seems to offer a possible answer to the Greg-Kilgour dilemma when he states:

No existing manuscript could have been the source of the Knight's Tale, but El seems to be the closest. Ad3 would probably appear equally close had we the more than 600 lines which are lost from it. But even with the lost portions of Dd, that manuscript would probably not appear close. The
evidence is only that $\mathrm{Y}[\omega]$ was close to the best extant texts." (Dunn, 1939, 50)

The statement is of extreme importance because Dunn's analysis is the most thorough that we have on the text of Cx2, and it seems to contradict Greg's conclusion that "...it does not appear possible to determine the affinities of Caxton's second manuscript for the opening of the Knight's Tale" (1924, 754). Greg had thought that no affiliation could be determined for the source of Cx 2 , but the data he analysed was different from that studied by Dunn. ${ }^{15}$ The different approach to the concept of textual variation is enough to explain the apparently different results achieved by Greg and Dunn. Although Dunn did not succeed in presenting a firm hypothesis about the relationships of $\omega$, he was able to show some of these relationships for parts of the text. Using Manly and Rickert's concept of a variant, Dunn concluded that no extant manuscript could be the source for Caxton's corrections, but he failed to determine the affiliations of $\omega$.

One of the problems with Dunn's work has to do with the fact that he offers detailed statistics of only a very limited number of manuscripts (Ad3, Ch, Dd, El, En1, En3), in which the absence of Hg is noteworthy. Although he states that he has used the collations of all manuscripts and of both of Caxton's editions (1939, 2), his detailed analysis covers only the manuscripts mentioned before. Dunn justifies this as follows:

I shall... take only representative manuscripts of the sub-groups that are nearest to Y. I shall list Ad3 Ch Dd El En1 En3 and not concern myself

[^28]with the multitudinous and shifting agreements that are to be found among all the manuscripts of every group from time to time. $(1939,43)$

Choosing certain manuscripts because they appear to be closest to $\omega$ is not an issue in itself, but the process employed might allow doubts: Dunn decided about the closeness of these manuscripts to $\omega$ based on shared lines among those added in Cx2. Dunn's work presents this decision as a choice a priori, made before analysing the complete corpus of variants. Dunn explains that he based the decision of the closeness of certain manuscripts to $\omega$ on the presence or absence of major variants, that is, he assumes that if a manuscript lacks lines which were added in Cx 2 it cannot be the source for its corrections. As a first approach, this must be deemed valid, especially if we take into account that when Dunn carried out his research it had not been confirmed yet that no extant manuscript could have been the source for the corrections found in Cx2. It is interesting to observe, however, that although Dunn took into account the complete corpus of variants for his collation of lines, he presented only a partial corpus for the word by word collation. It is conceivable that the word by word collation could shed light on the affiliations of $\omega$ and, for this reason, the present work includes a word by word collation which takes into account all available transcribed witnesses.

A problem, highlighted out by Dunn, is the difficulty of deciding which changes in Cx 2 are editorial, i.e. did not come from $\omega$ but were introduced by Caxton himself. Although studying Caxton's editorial practices was one of the main objectives of Dunn's thesis he found this difficult to solve (1939, 6). In his conclusion Dunn states:

[^29]Of editing there appears to be very little in Cx2. Five instances of it are mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter III; yet it is barely possible that Y contained these readings. But the possibility is remote in these instances. There is perhaps one other instance of it in B 4652 where the word man is inserted to adapt the line to introduce the narrator [the Manciple] of the following tale. Here are just enough instances to enable one to say the text is edited. $(1939,75)$

Dunn does not make completely clear how these five instances mentioned in his chapter 3 and the example given in the conclusion provide evidence that Caxton edited the text of Cx2. If anything, it would seem that the evidence is thin and that Dunn seems to be relying on unstated criteria to reach conclusions which do not appear to be justified in his work. Some of what will become Dunn's conclusions about the quality of $\omega$ 's text appear very early in his work:

From the study of the unique readings of $\mathrm{Cx}^{2}$ in their relationship to the readings of $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$ and to those in the manuscripts one can postulate fairly safely the readings that Caxton found in Y. These readings are uniformly superior to those in Ne and $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$. In general, they are the readings of the best manuscripts. The source of corrections in $\mathrm{Cx}^{2}$ was, therefore, a good manuscript. $(1939,29)$

This is, perhaps, the most important outcome of Dunn's research. Indeed, his conclusion contradicts Manly and Rickert's statement about the lack of any authority in the readings present in Cx 2 , since variants shared by 'the best manuscripts' should, by definition, have some textual interest.

## 6. The Alpha Exemplar

Dunn did not carry on further research on the textual affiliations of $\omega$. However, his suggestion about the quality of this manuscript source of Cx 2 was further supported years later by Peter Robinson's conclusions in his essay "A Stemmatic Analysis of the Fifteenth-Century Witnesses to the Wife of Bath's Prologue," (1997, 108-110) that there was a manuscript -- $\alpha$--and that this manuscript, or one very similar to it, was the one used by Caxton to correct Cx1. Robinson's assessment of $\alpha$ being a very good text leads to precise conclusions about its textual status when he affirms that "...it is likely that $\alpha$ is a direct copy of $O$, Chaucer's original." (1997, 124)

However, this contradicts one of Dunn's most interesting conclusions, that "... the shifting family relationships in the tales, is strong evidence that Y was a conflated text" $(1939,55)$. It is difficult to reconcile the idea of $\omega$ being a very good manuscript with the fact that it seems to have been a conflated text itself. One has to wonder if, in Dunn's view, this might mean that the $\omega$ was, somehow, a conflation of the very best manuscripts. But this would present a bigger problem when we try to explain how this might have occurred. Perhaps a scribe had access to several good but fragmentary manuscripts and decided to put them together, which might be an indication of independent circulation of the tales. The explanation, however, could be much simpler. Perhaps $\omega$ was the origin of several traditions or was close to this hyparchetype. In this case, Dunn's interpretation might have the same flaw as that of Kilgour and Greg, that is, because $\omega$ was so near the origin of the tradition, many of the variants which Dunn interpreted to be indicative of a genetic relationship might be archetypal readings. This error, if it is indeed one, might not have been entirely

Dunn's fault, it could have had its origin in a problem that Manly and Rickert had while grouping certain basic manuscripts. Their fundamental method made no attempt to distinguish archetypal readings, relying instead purely on 'persistent' and 'consistent' agreement to indicate groupings. As a result, there is a danger that they will see manuscripts as related when in fact they only share variants descended from the archetype. These readings are not useful for the classification because they indicate only that the manuscripts are descended from the archetype rather than from a copy below the archetype, which they must be if they are related as members of a distinct family. ${ }^{16}$

As explained above, Dunn also points out that there are no major changes in the prose passages of Cx 2 , and that the changes in the prose could be the result of Caxton's own editing or simply typographical errors. The main problem here would be to establish why Caxton decided not to correct the prose passages, and whether it was, in fact, his decision and not the direct result of a gap in his copy-text. Some critics believe that Wynkyn de Worde, who inherited Caxton's workshop, used the same manuscript to correct the prose of his edition of the Canterbury Tales. ${ }^{17}$ If this were true we should have to ask about Caxton's criterion to decide which parts of the text needed to be improved and which did not. These are complicated issues because they imply the necessity of careful analysis of Caxton's printing practices: his treatment of the texts, his degree of care, and his idea of what a good text should be. Blake has pointed out that the manuscript used by Wynkyn de Worde for section ten could have been the same as the one used for Caxton's second edition: "The manuscript was a good one, closely related to Hg , and it is interesting to speculate

[^30]whether this manuscript was the same one used by Caxton to revise Cx2" (Blake 1985b: 5). Indeed, these are important observations which, if confirmed, could not only shed light on the nature of $\omega$, but also on the printing practices of early printers.

Daniel Ransom, in his 'Critical Commentary' to volume 2, part 1A of the Chaucer Variorum, suggests that, for GP, the closest manuscripts to the corrections in Cx2 are Ch Dd and El. He states:

And though Dd shows many divergences from Cx 2 's alterations of Cx 1 , since those divergences are for the most part trivial, it is not impossible that a twin of Dd served as Caxton's correction text.

The mss closest to the correction text are El and Ch . El could not have supplied $\mathrm{CX}^{21}$ s corrections of $\mathrm{CX}^{1}$ at lines $57,70,217,252 \mathrm{~b}-\mathrm{c}, 430$ (2), 604; Ch could not at lines 179 and 408. If a twin of El were used by Caxton, it must have had lines 252 b -c; this difference from El is possible given that the presence of these lines is not always consistent with other evidence for manuscript affiliation (see MR 2.78-96). The extraordinary correlation of Ch and $\mathrm{CX}^{21} \mathrm{~s}$ alterations of $\mathrm{CX}^{1}$ and the high quality of Ch's text generally (see MR $1.87-88$ ) suggest that the relationship of Ch and $\mathrm{CX}^{2}$ deserves further attention. (Andrew et al. 1993, 84)

Indeed, although Dunn studied Ch in the group of manuscripts he deemed closest to $\omega$, his research did not show an especially significant number of agreements in reference to the other witnesses. Ch is a manuscript that was classified as anomalous

[^31]by Manly and Rickert and that Robinson has called an $\mathbf{O}$ manuscript, ${ }^{18}$ and it remains to be seen if a more tuned classification can be offered.

One of the most interesting textual problems in Cx2 is the fact that, even if $\omega$ appears to be related to Manly and Rickert's a group, ${ }^{19}$ it lacks some significant features that usually occur in this group:
...all known manuscripts of group $a$ contain other links between tales and other characteristic features of order not found in Caxton's second edition. If the second manuscript belonged to group $a$ and contained these additional links, why did he not take all the links to be found in the manuscript he was using? The answer is that he worked too quickly.
(Blake 1969, 104-5)

But if what Garbáty says (and Blake seems to support) is true, and the manuscript used by Caxton to correct his first edition was kept in the workshop, we would have to find an explanation, other than that he had to return the manuscript, for the speed with which he finished his second edition. ${ }^{20}$ It is possible that he was trying to keep his presses busy so the business would be profitable. To have the presses stopped would have been very costly, which explains why, even if Caxton had been the owner of the manuscript, he had decided to work as fast as possible. However, there is yet an alternative explanation which might explain the fact that the prose was not altered in Cx2. On the one hand, to calculate the new pagination of the verse tales and links in Cx 2 would have been a relatively easy task because it would have required merely to

[^32]count the added or suppressed lines and allow more or less space for them. On the other hand, alterations to the prose would have been much more complicated to deal with as it would have been much more difficult to calculate the space the altered text would have occupied. ${ }^{21}$

## 7. The Role of Analytical Bibliographers.

In 1975, Lotte Hellinga made an amazing discovery. She found traces of Caxton's types in printing ink on the Winchester manuscript of Malory's Le Morte Darthur. This discovery could offer further support for Blake's hypothesis about $\omega$ remaining in Caxton's workshop for a while, if we assume that the ink traces are an indication of how long the manuscript was there: ${ }^{22}$
... there are traces that could indicate that the manuscript had been in Caxton's printing house: a fragment of an indulgence printed by Caxton was used to repair a leaf; and more intriguingly, there were smudges of printing ink, and some very faint offsets of printing types which only Caxton possessed. (Hellinga 1982, 90)

The marks made by the types in the Winchester manuscript suggest that it was at Caxton's workshop and that it had been left open and lying near the presses. Since we know that Caxton's edition of Le Morte Darthur was not set up directly from this manuscript, we could assume that it was there for some other reason and that perhaps the manuscript was in Caxton's workshop for some time. If he treated $\omega$ in the same

[^33]way, there is a possibility that it remained in the workshop for a number of years, up to the time the workshop was inherited by de Worde.

Analytical bibliographers have tried to establish the date of publication of both editions of the Canterbury Tales, and have also studied the different types used in Caxton's workshop. The conventional wisdom can be summed up as follows:

The book [Cx1] is undated, but scholarly opinion has long placed this first printing of Chaucer in 1478. Caxton returned to England in 1476 and established his press in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, at a house with the sign of the "Red Pale" in the "almonesrye." His first dated book issued in England is Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres, finished 18 of November of 1477. Paul Needham's recent research on watermarks in paper used by Caxton is showing that the Canterbury Tales was Caxton's first publication on his return to England in 1476. The book is consequently dated [1476]... (Anderson n.d., 9-10)

The implication is that the date of the second edition, if we accept 1476 for the first, would be 1482 . This early date for the first edition would account for some of the features of Cx1: it lacks signatures and running titles, traits that could be attributed to Caxton's inexperience as a printer (Blake 2000). It would also point to a more adventurous, or more knowledgeable --depending on the point of view-- idea of Caxton as a printer. But mainly it would suggest that the printing of the Canterbury Tales was a risk since it was published towards the beginning of the venture and could not be guaranteed to be a success. On the other hand, the more polished layout of Cx2 suggests that Caxton might have been confident in the fact that the book would sell, and took care to make it more appealing by adding a preface and woodcuts.

## 8. Caxton's Treatment of his Copy-texts

Debates about Caxton's treatment of his copy-texts usually centre on his edition of Malory's Le Morte Darthur. Discussions about this book have continued since the Winchester manuscript was discovered in 1934. ${ }^{23}$ In 1947 Eugene Vinaver published an edition based on the Winchester manuscript. Although for years it was considered the authoritative edition of Malory, later reception --that is, after 1975, when William Matthews questioned the authority of the text-- of this new text has been controversial. On the one hand, Vinaver claimed that he had edited the real Malory, and he did it under the name of The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, to reinforce the fact that he was rejecting Caxton's title Le Morte Darthur, and also rejecting any ideas about the unity of the text that might derive from it. And on the other hand, William Matthews, defender of the version printed by Caxton (1997, 12930), appeared and with him a group of scholars, such as Moorman $(1987,1995)$ and Spisak (1982) who contend that it is a second authorial version and therefore has the authority of a text that carries the author's final intention. Other scholars such as P. J. C. Field (1995) and Shunichi Noguchi (1995), think that Caxton heavily edited Malory's text to produce his edition, and therefore the Winchester manuscript is the best copy-text for an edition. The editorial policies of William Caxton have been the subject of more than one controversy because the many divergences between the newly-discovered manuscript and the traditional text handed down by England's first printer called into question Caxton's role as an editor. The complex debates

[^34]surrounding Caxton's edition of the Le Morte were complicated further by Hellinga's discovery of offsets of Caxton's types on the Winchester manuscript:
...offsets of printing ink in many places in the Malory manuscript show that it has been used intensively in close contact with damp pages of books printed by William Caxton between 1480 and the end of 1483 . The presence of a fragment of an indulgence printed by William Caxton agrees with the evidence for the presence of the manuscript in or near the workshop in Westminster, and forces us to assume that if it was there it remained there at least as late as 1489 . $(1981,134)$

This could have shifted the balance in favour of those who believe that Caxton heavily edited the text of Winchester since it shows that the manuscript was in Caxton's workshop, but Hellinga's own analysis suggests that the manuscript was not used as a copy-text in the workshop. ${ }^{24}$ Blake has explained the offsets of Caxton's types in Winchester by suggesting that the manuscript was produced by Caxton's request and modified to produce a more moral text than that of the Winchester manuscript (2000). ${ }^{25}$ It is clear that the problems generated by the differences between Winchester and Caxton's Malory present more difficulties than they can solve. The

[^35]only conclusion that can be drawn from the Malory debate is that we do not have Caxton's copy-text for Le Morte Darthur and so are not in a position to judge exactly what changes he might have made as an editor.

Blake has also studied Caxton's edition of Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon, in the translation finished in $1387(1969,114)$ :

Trevisa's book is then printed much as it appeared in the manuscript Caxton was using, except that he modernized the language. Trevisa's prologue and colophon are given as well as Higden's own prologues. After Trevisa's colophon, Caxton added the epilogue which introduces the final book, often referred to as the Liber Ultimus, that he had decided to include with the Polychronicon. Trevisa's translation had ended in 1357; Caxton's continuation carried it down to 1461 . However, in the epilogue which precedes the Liber Ultimus Caxton mentions that his own addition is not to be compared with Trevisa's work and that he has therefore separated the two parts of the volume. (1969, 114-5)

Blake clearly states that although Caxton added the Liber Ultimus to Trevisa's translation he printed the text as it was in the manuscript, and that he went to great length to ensure that his own production was clearly distinguished from Trevisa's text. Blake makes no mention of possible copy-texts for this book. In an article entitled "William Caxton: His Choice of Texts," Blake mentions that Caxton used three different manuscripts for his edition of Gower's Confessio Amantis (1965, 304). Later however, Blake carried out his own analysis and concluded that:

Although one can easily accept that one manuscript may have got lost, it becomes less probable that one of two or three such manuscripts would
not have survived, when one considers that 49 manuscripts of Confessio Amantis are extant. (1965, 292)

Blake finishes the article by stating that there is nothing in Caxton's prologue to the book to indicate the use of more than one manuscript. Blake takes Caxton literally and concludes that the arguments he puts forward indicate that only one manuscript was used, even though no extant manuscript contains all the features of the text found in Caxton's edition of Confessio Amantis $(1965,289)$.

The main problem in establishing Caxton's attitude as an editor is that we do not have the copy-texts he used for his editions. As Boyd has put it: "Since the source-manuscripts from which Caxton prepared his editions are not available, his books not only stand at the head of the printed traditions in each case, but, as records of his sources, they are themselves part of manuscript tradition in the study of the texts" (Boyd 1978, xix). Although this fact grants Caxton's texts a more important role in textual studies, it also makes it very difficult to assess how accurate or free these editions are and allows for speculation about Caxton's editorial methods. There is one case, however, in which we have Caxton's copy-text and which could help us clarify his attitude towards the texts he edited. Dunn demonstrated that Caxton did not make changes in the prose texts of Cx 2 , which means that these were printed directly from Cx1:

In the preceding pages I have examined carefully every indication that
Caxton might have had a manuscript for his second edition of the Canterbury Tales in the prose. Other than for one phrase in the 'Retractions' I find no evidence that he used one. Instead I find agreement with $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$ all the way through. Caxton (or his compositor) could certainly
follow an exemplar closely, as well, in fact, as a modern printer. The changes that he made, save for the last two possibly, were intended to improve the readability of $\mathrm{Cx}^{2}$ over $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$. His only aim apparently was to produce a text that made sense. $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$ in general did that. Therefore he accepted $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$ for his text, and changed it deliberately where it was obviously incorrect. Only a small number of errors crept in. His criterion of a good text in prose, then, I surmise to be readableness. (Dunn 1939, 11-12)

Dunn concludes, based on the low rate of corrections found in the prose, that the only changes made to TM and PA are related to errors in Cx1 which were corrected in Cx2 without the use of any external sources. The collation of the texts of Cx1 and Cx2 shows that the rate of variation in the prose is very low and this supports Dunn's conclusions. ${ }^{26}$ The closeness of Cx 1 and Cx 2 in the prose shows that Caxton could produce a printed text which followed its source extremely closely.

## 9. Synthesis and Current Issues

As this chapter shows, few critical discussions focus on the textual problems of Cx2. However, the critics share some seemingly recurrent ideas. Most of them agree in saying that Cx 2 is a conflated text resulting from the correction of an exemplar of Cx1, which itself was based on a poor manuscript, and that this manuscript belonged to a different textual group. Critics also seem to agree in

[^36]pointing out that the Cx2 manuscript source ( $\omega$ ) would have been among the best texts, and that it would be of the greatest importance to establish its affiliation.

In synthesis, what critics have said specifically about Cx 2 is as follows:

1. No extant manuscript can be identified with $\omega$ (Greg, Dunn).
2. The affiliation of $\omega$ is clearly different from that of Cx 1 (Greg).
3. It is possible that more than one manuscript was used to correct Cx 1 (Greg).
4. It is impossible to determine the precise affiliations of $\omega$ (Greg).
5. Ad3 is the closest manuscript to $\omega$ (Kilgour).
6. Variants from Cx2 are of no textual authority (Manly and Rickert).
7. Of the extant manuscripts, Ad3 Ch Dd El En1 and En3 are the closest manuscripts to $\omega$ (Dunn).
8. $\omega$ is a conflated text (Dunn).
9. Caxton made marginal corrections that were, occasionally, misinterpreted by the compositors (Dunn).
10. The $\alpha$ exemplar was very similar to $\omega$. It could have been identical to it (Robinson).

The present work addresses these issues in order to validate or deny them, or find evidence that could open new perspectives and generate different problems. Specific statements about each of these issues, based on the new collation of the variants in Cx2, can be found in the conclusions where they are individually discussed. In the conclusion, I shall return to these specific questions and present the answer to each question suggested by the research of this thesis.

## Chapter II

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION:

## THE ST. JOHN's COLLEGE, OXFORD COPY

This chapter presents a bibliographical description of Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales. Since I have not seen all the exemplars of this edition, I describe the only known 'perfect ${ }^{11}$ copy available, which is in St. John's College Library, Oxford. ${ }^{2}$ After describing the St. John's Copy of Cx2, I examine the evidence, analyse the data and conclude by putting forward a hypothesis concerning the number of compositors who worked on the printing of Cx 2 .

Although the following description is, as far as it is possible, based on bibliographical standards, some clarification of the nomenclature used may be required for a clear understanding of this chapter. Caxton was very consistent, in his second edition of the Canterbury Tales, in placing signatures only in the first half of the quire, i.e. on the first three leaves of the quires of six bifolia (v, ii, and L), and on the four first leaves of the quires of eight bifolia. To make explicit that the numbers in

[^37]the second part of the quires are not present in the book square brackets are used, as indicated by Bowers for inferred signatures (1949, 201 and ff .). ${ }^{3}$ For example, the second quire of Cx 2 has been numbered $\mathrm{b} j, \mathrm{~b} \mathrm{ij}, \mathrm{b}$ iij, b iiij, followed by four folios which do not have explicit numbering. The first four are represented in the traditional way as b1, b2, b3, b4. Folios in the second half of the quire have been numbered as [b5], [b6], [b7], and [b8]. To avoid confusion, recto and verso are referred to by superscript 'a' and 'b' respectively.

## 1. Bibliographical Description of the St. John's College Copy of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales

Chaucer, Geoffrey THE CANTERBURY TALES Westminster, 1482
Edited by WILLIAM CAXTON, with a 'Prohemye'
Title Page:
Without extant title-page.

## Collation:

Format: fol.: $\mathrm{a}^{(8-1)} \mathrm{b}-\mathrm{t}^{8} \mathrm{v}^{6}$ aa- $\mathrm{hh}^{8} \mathrm{ii}^{6} \mathrm{~A}-\mathrm{K}^{8} \mathrm{~L}^{(6-1)}, 312$ leaves (f. 312 blank).
The first folio (a1) has been cut out, perhaps to repair other leaves. ${ }^{4}$ [L6] has also been cut out.

Colophon:
No extant colophon.

## Contents:

[^38]No extant table of contents.

## Signatures:

$\$ 4$ signed (except g4); \$3 v ii L (except i2)

## Foliation:

The book has 312 folios, the final one blank. The foliation has been added in pencil. It originally had 314 folios, as the collational formula will confirm. The first and the last folios were cut out. ${ }^{5}$ The last extant folio --[L5]-- is blank so we may conclude that the final one (which has be cut out) was also blank. If the first folio --a1-- had been used to repair the other leaves we should know it was blank. ${ }^{6}$

Twenty-six woodcuts. ${ }^{7}$

## Running titles:

There are running titles for all the tales, as well as for GP and the introduction by Caxton. Usually they appear on both the recto and the verso of every folio.

RT] (on recto) a2 Prohemye; a3-[c5] Prologue; [c6]-g3 The knyghtis tale; [g4] The Myllers prologe; [g5] The Mylleres tale; [g6]-[h5] i4 The Myllers tale; [h6] The Reues prologe; [h7]-i3 The Reues tale; [i5] The Cokis tale; [i6] [i7] The man of Lawys Prologe; k1-k4 14 The man of lawys tale; [i8] [k5] [k6] The man Lawys tale; 11-13 The man of lawes tale; [k7] [k8] [15]-[17] The man of Lawes tale; [18] The marchauntes Prologe; m1-[n7] The marchauntes tale; [n8] The squyer Prologe; o1-o4 The Squyers tale; [o5] The squyers Prologe; [o6]-p1 The squyers Tale; p2 The Frankeleyns Prologe; p3-p4 q1-q4 The Frankeleyns tale; [p5]-[p8] [q5] [q6] The

[^39]Frankeleyns Tale; [q7] [q8] [r5]-[r8] The Wyf of Bathe Prologe; r1-r4 The Wyf of Bathe prologe; s1 s2 The Wyf of Bathes prologe; s3-[s7] The Wyf of Bathes Tale; [s8] The Freris Prologe; t1-t4 The Freris Tale; [t5] The Freris tale; [t6] The Sompnours Prologe; [t7]-[v6] The Sompnours Tale; aa1 cc4 [cc5] [dd5]-[dd7] [ff6][ff8] [hh6] ii2 F4 [F5] G1-G2 The Prologue; aa2 bb1 bb4 The clerkis tale of oxenford; [aa5]-[aa8] [bb5]-[bb8] cc1-cc3 The clerkis tale of Oxenford; aa3 aa4 bb2 bb3 The clerkis Tale of Oxenford; [cc6]-dd4 The Tale of the Nonne; [dd8] [ee8]-ff1 ${ }^{8}$ The tale of the chanons yeman; ee1-[ee7] The Tale of the chanons yeman; ff2-[ff5] The tale of the doctour of physyk; gg1-gg4 The tale of the Pardoner; ${ }^{9}$ [gg5]-[gg7] The tale of the Pardoner; ${ }^{10}$ [gg8] [hh5] The Tale of the Shypman; hh1-hh4 The tale of the Shypman; [hh7] [hh8] The Tale of the Prioresse; ii1 The tale of the Pryoresse; ii3 [ii5] Of Syr Topas ${ }^{11}$; ii4 Of Syr Topas ${ }^{12}$; [ii6] ${ }^{13}$ The Wordes of the hoost; A1-C4 The Tale of Chaucer; [A5]-[A7] The Tale of Chawcer; [C6]-[C8] The Tale Of the Monke; D1[D8] The Tale of The Monke; E1 The Tale of the Monke; E2 The prologue; E3 E4 The Tale of The Nonnys preest; [E5]-F3 The Tale Of the Nonnys preest; [F6]-[F8] The Tale of the Mauncipyl; G3-H1 [H5]-[H8] I4-[I8] K2-L4 The Tale of the Parson; H2-H4 I1-I3 K1 The Tale Of the Parson.
(on verso) a2 Prohemye; a3-[c5] Prologue; [c6]-g2 The knyghtis tale; g3 g4 The Mylleres prologe; [g5]-[h5] The Myllers tale; [h6] The Reues Prologe; [h7] [h8] i5

[^40]The Reues Tale; i1-i3 The Reues tale; i4 The Cokis Prologe; [i6] The man of lawys prologe; [i7] [i8] k3-[k8] [15] The man of lawys tale; k1 k2 11-14 [16] The man of lawes tale; [17] The marchauntes prologe; [18] [m5]-[m8] [n5]-[n7] The marchauntes tale; m1-m4 n1-n4 The marchauutes tale; [n8]-p1 The Squyers tale; p2 The Frankeleynstale; p3-[q6] The Frankeleyns tale; [q7] [q8] [r5]-[r8] The Wyf of Bathe Prologe; r1-r4 The Wyf of Bathe prologe; s1 ${ }^{14}$ The Wyf of Bathes prologe; s2-s4 The Wyf of Bathes tale; s5-s7 The Wyf of Bathes Tale; [s8]-t4 The Freris Tale; [t5] The Sompnours prologe; [t6]-[t8] v4-[v6] The Sompnours tale; v1-v3 The Sompnours Tale; aa1 cc4 [cc5] [dd5] [dd6] [ff6] [ff7] C4 [C5] E2 F3 F4 G1 The Prologue; [aa5] [aa6] The clerkis tale of oxenford; aa2-aa4 bb1-bb4 cc1-cc3 The clerkis tale of Oxenford; [aa7] [aa8] [bb5] [bb8] The clerkis Tale of Oxenford; [bb6] [bb7] The clerkistale of oxenford; [cc6]-dd4 The Tale of the Nonne; [dd7] [dd8] ee2-[ee8] The tale of the chanons yeman; ee1 ff1 The Tale of the chanons yeman; ff2-[ff5] ${ }^{15}$ The Tale of the doctour of physyk; [ff8] [gg5]-[gg7] The tale of the Pardoner; ${ }^{16}$ gg1-gg4 The Tale of the Pardoner; ${ }^{17}$ hh1-hh4 The Tale of the Shypman; [gg8] [hh5] The tale of the Shypman; [hh6]- ii1 The tale of the Prioresse; ii2 Of Syr Topas; ${ }^{18}$ ii3 ii4 Of Syr Topas; ${ }^{19}$ [ii5] The Wordes of the hoost; A1 [A5]-C3 The Tale of Chaucer; A2-A4 The Tale of Chawcer; D1-D4 The Tale Of the Monke; [C6]-[C8] [D5]-[D8] The Tale of the monke; E1 The Tale of the Monke; E3 E4 F1 F2 The Tale of The Nonnys preest; [E5]-[E8] The Tale of the Nonnys preest; [F5]- [F8] The Tale of the Mauncipyl; G2G4 H1-[H7] I1-I4 [I6]-K4 [K8]-L3 The Tale of the Parson; [G5]-[G8] [H8] [I5] [K5]-[K7] The Tale Of the Parson.

[^41]
## Paper:

Sheets: at least $392 \times 267 \mathrm{~mm}$. yellowish-white rough laid with watermarks (bull's head, unicorn, shield with fleur-de-lis) thickness 0.155 mm . ([D7]) ${ }^{20}$ yellowish white.

Leaves: at least $267 \times 196 \mathrm{~mm} .(\mathrm{k})$, chainlines vertical, total bulk $51.2 \mathrm{~mm} .^{21}$

## Binding:

Dark brown leather --perhaps calf, as pointed out by Mosser-- over boards. The binding shows signs of having had two clasps to close it, and also three small holes that mark the place where it was chained to one of the library's bookshelves. The binding is likely to be $17^{\text {th }}$ century, and shows a series of stamps engraved on the leather one within the other. These consist of rectangles fitting into each other like Chinese boxes, and have some ornamentation in the corners. The biggest has three lines and has no ornaments. Some 23 mm inside this, we can see the second one. It also has three lines and ornaments in the corners ( $17 \times 17 \mathrm{~mm}$ ). The smallest one is some 20 mm inside the second one, it also has similar ornaments. In the centre of the rectangles there is a rhomboid figure with flourishes which ends in two fleur-de-lis. The front and back covers have the same design.

The spine bears an ink stamped rectangle and inside which are the stamped and then gilded letters that read 'CHAUCERIBYICAXTON. Four cords are visible.

In the inside of the front cover part of a leaf of a Latin manuscript, which was used in the binding, can be seen. The dating of this manuscript would offer a terminus a quo for the binding; the library does not have any records of attempts to date it. A St. John's plate has been pasted on top of the manuscript leaf.

[^42]
## Typography:

38 11. + running title 193.5 (206) x $129 \mathrm{~mm}^{22}\left(\mathrm{c} 3^{\mathrm{a}}-[\mathrm{b} 8]^{\mathrm{a}}\right)$. Verse measure, 92.5 $\mathrm{mm}\left(\mathrm{dd} 1^{a}\right)$ prose measure, $125 \mathrm{~mm}\left(\mathrm{~K}^{2}\right)$ woodcut measure, $129 \mathrm{~mm}\left([\mathrm{~b} 8]^{a}\right)$ Caxton's Types 2* and 4* (Blades 1863) 100.5 mm . For 20 ll. ([E6] ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ) illuminated capitals that alternate blue and red backgrounds with brown letters and flourishes in gold ink. Most of the illuminated capitals fit into a square, of which some are bigger than the space left for them and spread beyond the left margin (cf. $\left.[a 6]^{b}[a 7]^{b}\right)$.

## Woodcuts and minor illumination:

There are twenty-six different woodcuts in this book, but some have been used more than once. In this copy they have been carefully illuminated. As well as colour, details have been added, such as irises and trees in the background. Some of the trees have shields hanging from their branches, perhaps intended to have had names written on them. The pilgrims have been coloured to be made more easily recognisable.
$a 3^{b}$ The Knight: hand-painted with details of trees added. A bush and a tall tree with a shield added on the left. A small forest and a tall tree on the right.
$\mathrm{a} 4{ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ The Squire: One tree added on the left. The squire has blond hair.
[a5] ${ }^{\text {a }: ~ T h e ~ K n i g h t ' s ~ Y e o m a n: ~ A ~ t r e e ~ a d d e d ~ o n ~ t h e ~ l e f t . ~}$
[a5] ${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Prioress: One tree added on the left.
[a6] ${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Monk: one tree added on the left and a small bush on the right.
[a7] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Friar : a bush added on the left.
[a8]: The Merchant: The merchant wears a pinkish shirt and two trees have been added.

[^43]b1 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Clerk: Dressed in bright red with a bow in his hand. Two trees have been added on the sides.
$\mathrm{b} 1^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Man of Law: with a gown in pinkish-red and a tall tree added on the right. Some flowers, perhaps irises, have been added on the right.
$\mathrm{b} 2^{\mathrm{a}}$ : The Franklin: this is the same woodcut as is used for the Merchant. The colours are different and his shirt is bright red. One tree has been added on each side. On the right bottom corner there are some irises.
b3 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Carpenter: ${ }^{23}$ a small bush added on the left and a tree on the right.
b3 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Cook: one tree added on each side.
b4 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Shipman: The Shipman is dressed with a grey shirt and yellow pants. One tree added on each side.
b4 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Physician: Dressed in a pinkish red gown. A tree has been added on the left.
$[\mathrm{b} 5]^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Wife of Bath: Dressed in pinkish red. Some bushes have been added on the right.
$[\mathrm{b}]^{\text {a }}$ : The Parson: The woodcut is the one used for the Physician. The Parson is dressed in bright red. A tree has been added on the left, but has deliberately been drawn differently from that in the Physician's illustration.
[b7]: The Plowman: three trees have been added. Two on the right and one on the left.
$[b 7]^{\text {b }}$ : The Miller: a tree added on the left and a bush on the right.
[b8] ${ }^{\text {a }}$ The Manciple: a bush with irises has been added on the left, and a tree on the right.
[b8] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Reeve: a tree added on the left and a bush on the right.
$c^{\text {b }}$ : The Summoner: it is the same woodcut as that used for the Merchant and Franklin. The colours are different again. The shirt is purple. One tree has been added on each side. There are some irises but they appear on the left, near the tree.
c2 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Pardoner: red hat and yellow boots. Irises have been added on the left and a tree on the right.
c4 ${ }^{\text {a. }}$ The Pilgrims at the tabard: Only colour has been added. No new details.
c4 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Knight: the colours have changed and only one tree has been added on each side.
[g4]: The Miller: The same woodcut, but the colours are different. Bushes have been added on the bottom of the frame.
$[\mathrm{h} 5]^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Reeve: Same woodcut as in GP, but different colours. It seems that a different technique may have been used to colour the sky. A tree has been added on the left and a bush on the right. More bushes on the bottom corners.
[i5] ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Cook: same woodcut as in GP. The colours are very similar but the details are different. A tree added on the left and a bush on the right. Grass at the bottom of the frame.
[i7]': The Man of Law: same woodcut as in GP, but different colours. He is dressed in a purple gown. A tree has been added on the right and some bushes on the left. Grass at the bottom of the frame.
[18] ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Merchant: same woodcut as in GP with different colours. The shirt is pink. One tree has been added on each side, and grass in the bottom corners.
$[\mathrm{n} 8]^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Squire: same woodcut as in GP with different colours. No additions were made. The colouring seems rougher.

[^44]$\mathrm{p} 2^{\mathrm{b}}$ : The Franklin: The woodcut is different from the one assigned to him in GP. It corresponds to that for the Manciple in GP. There are variations in colour. A bush has been added on the left and a tree on the side.
[q6]: The Wife of Bath: Same woodcut as in GP, similar colouring and additions and some grass at the bottom of the frame.
[s8] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Friar: Same woodcut as in GP. Very similar colours and additions.
$[t 5]^{\text {b }}$ : The Summoner: Same woodcut as in GP. The colours are different. The shirt is pink. A tree has been added on the left, a small bush on the right, and some grass near the bottom corners.
$\mathrm{aa}^{2}$ : The Clerk: same woodcut as in GP. The colours are different --pink coat. A tall tree has been added on the left and a smaller one on the right.
[cc6]: The Nun: This woodcut appears here for the first time. A tree has been added on the right and grass on the bottom corners.
[dd7]: The Canon's Yeoman: The woodcut is the same one as that which illustrates the Shipman in GP. Colours are different --orange shirt and brown pants--, and the additions have changed --a tree on the left and bushes on the right.
ff2 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Physician: same woodcut as the one used in GP --also the same used for the Parson. The additions remain the same but the colours --bright red gown-resemble those used for the Parson more than those used for the Physician.
[ff8] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Pardoner: same woodcut as in GP. The colours vary --rougher colouring. A small tree added on the left and a tall one on the right.
[gg7]: The Shipman: same woodcut as in GP. The colours are different, now the Shipman has blond hair. A tall tree added on the left and a small one on the right.
[hh5] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Prioress: same woodcut as in GP with similar colouring and additions.
ii2 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : A bearded man --presumably Chaucer, but perhaps Sir Thopas: This woodcut appears here for the first time. Bushes have been added on the left, a tree on the right, and grass at the bottom.

A1 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : A bearded man: same as the one at the beginning of TT. The colours are different. A small tree added on the left, a tall one on the right, and grass at the bottom.
[C6] ${ }^{\text {a }}$ : The Monk: same woodcut as in GP. The colours are similar as are the additions. The quality of the painting, however, is surprisingly different. The same can be said about the quality of the drawing which looks poorer, as if whoever added the colours was in a hurry.

E3 ${ }^{\text {a. }}$ The Nun's Priest: this woodcut appears here for the first time in this book. A small bush has been added on the left, and a tree on the right.
[F5]: The Manciple: same woodcut as in GP. The colours are different, and so is the quality of the painting and of the drawing. One tree has been added on each side.

G2 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ : The Parson: same woodcut as in GP. The colours are different. Again, one can see a very different --poorer-- quality in the drawing and paint.

It seems that there is a clear change of quality of the work of illumination done to the woodcuts. There might be several reasons for this. Time may have been a factor: more care was taken on the first images than on the later ones. Another possible explanation might be that different artists illustrated different parts of the book. This would account for the disappearance of the irises and the changes in the treatment of leaves on the trees.

The book has illuminated capitals, which alternate gold on blue, and silver and gold on red. The first letter of Caxton's preface is, as described by Mosser, '...a
painted red and gold initial ' $G$ ' on a blue field' (2000); ${ }^{24}$ he does not describe the golden flourishes, the snail and flowers inside the letter. The paraphs alternate red and blue, as it is commonly found in manuscripts.

The whole book has been ruled by hand in red. ${ }^{25}$

## Annotations:

There are very few notes in the St. John's copy of the Canterbury Tales. Some more can be found in the other books bound with it:
$a 4^{a}$ pen trials
[b7] ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Constat Wyllm ${ }^{\text {i }}$ I Myddelton
c3 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ 'tabard' in a very small handwriting, at the same height and glossing the word 'Taberd'
[q6] ${ }^{\text {b }}$ Constat Wyllam ${ }^{\text {i }}$ I Myddelton
s2 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ Constat Wyllm ${ }^{\text {i }}$ I Myddelton
F2 ${ }^{\text {a }}$ There is a symbol on the left of the line that starts 'O Gaufryde.' On the right margin, there are two lines written: Gaufride [x]me[x]al[xx] |Richard the first

This is the same handwriting of 'tabard' in $\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{a}}$.
Copy examined: MS. $266 .{ }^{26}$
Held by: St. John's College Library. ${ }^{27}$

[^45]
## 2. Bibliographical Analysis

### 2.1 The Collational Formula

Although there are two pages missing from the St. John's copy, it has nevertheless been described as perfect by Dan Mosser $(1996,2000)$ who probably based this part of his description on De Ricci (1909) who in turn might have taken it from Blades (1861).

### 2.1.1 The Ideal Collational Formula

Mosser gives the collation for Cx2 as follows: " 312 leaves ( 1 is blank): $a-t^{8} \mathrm{v}^{6}$ aa$\mathrm{hh}^{8} \mathrm{ii}^{6}$ A- $\mathrm{K}^{8} \mathrm{~L}^{6}$ (following Needham's revision of previous collations, which posit a gathering of four)" (2000). Needham's collational formula is: " $F^{0} a-t^{8} v^{6} a a-h h^{8} i i^{6} A-$ $\mathrm{K}^{8} \mathrm{~L}^{6}: 312$ leaves" $(1986,87)$, where he corrects the last gathering from four leaves, as proposed by De Ricci, to six. In A Census of Caxtons, De Ricci had proposed the following collational formula: " 312 leaves ( 1 is blank): $a-t^{8} v^{6} a a-h h^{8} i i^{6} A-K^{8} L^{4 "}$ (1909, 27), with a final gathering of four leaves and a total of 312 leaves for the complete book. It should be kept in mind that all the previous collational formulae reflect thestate of the book at the time of publication, when, by definition, should have been complete. Another important aspect to take into consideration is that, after Needham's revision of the number of folios in the last quire, he did not change the total number of leaves for the book. The result of this is that, on one hand, De Ricci's collational formula is consistent in the sense that the number of leaves and the formula correspond with one another. On the other hand, Needham presents a
collational formula which adds up to 314 leaves, by asserting that the final quire has six leaves, not four while stating that the book has 312 leaves. It is likely that Mosser copied the formula from Needham without realising the inconsistency in the numbers given. The main problem posited by Needham's updated collational formula is that if this is correct, the book should have 314 folios; if what is correct is the number of leaves, this collational formula has two extra leaves and does not show the correct quiring.

### 2.1.2 The Collational Formula of the St. John's Copy

The St. John's copy has 312 leaves and it is evident that the first and last leaves have been cut out from the Canterbury Tales (a1, [L6]). ${ }^{28}$ The quires can be easily checked and show that the Needham collational formula for an ideal copy of Cx2 is correct, which confirms that the book originally had 314 leaves. When Mosser comes to the description of the St. John's copy his unusual collational formula reads 'perfect' (2000). ${ }^{29}$ However, Mosser is not the only one who uses this term when referring to this particular book. In the facsimile we also find it: 'Only thirteen copies of the book are extant, and all are imperfect save for that in the Library of St. John's College' (Bennet 1972). Probably, both Mosser and Bennet have taken the term and their idea of the completeness of the St. John's copy from de Ricci, who also describes the book as perfect (De Ricci 1909, 28). However, a collation of the St. John's copy will show that it has 312 pages and so must be imperfect.

[^46]De Ricci also describes leaves which are now missing in Troilus and Criseyde, but because of this mistake in the description of the Canterbury Tales one might feel inclined to doubt the correctness of this. If the St. John's copy of the Tales had been complete in 1909, not only would De Ricci's collational formula be wrong, but also the actual number of leaves found in the St. John's copy would have been different, that is he would have said there were 314 leaves and would have provided a different collation formula.

The librarians at St. John's Library could not provide any further information about any restoration attempts on this copy. However, there is evidence of different restoration techniques on the lower part of some leaves. ${ }^{30}$

### 2.2 Decoration and Illumination

As with many other early printed books, a great deal of effort was made to make this book look more like a manuscript. It has been decorated in such a way as to resemble a handmade production. However, unlike other incunabula, the author of these modifications has taken it to extremes, as we can see in the many elements added to the woodcuts. All the capitals have been illuminated, some of them with very delicate golden flourishes and the paraphs alternate blue and red.

The rulings are the most remarkable addition made to the book. From these, we learn that the person in charge of the changes made to this book had a real commitment to the idea of making it look as similar to a manuscript as possible. The rulings --present in the three printed texts in the St. John's volume-- were presumably

[^47]made at the same time, since they present a similar colour throughout the books, and this suggests that the printed texts were bound together from the beginning. ${ }^{31}$

### 2.3 Number of Compositors

The variants in the running titles seem to indicate that the compositors did not reset them. They were probably resetting the rest of the text without paying too much attention to the running titles. This means that when a particular bifolium had been printed, the types were taken out from the forme, but the running titles were not changed unless there was a change of tale. This would explain the appearance of 'The Myllers tale' in $14^{\text {a }}$, a page that should read 'The Reues tale;' and that of 'The Reues Tale' in $i 6^{\text {b }}$, which should have read 'The Cokis tale.'

Blake has suggested -although he has recently changed his mind-that the three sets of signatures might indicate three compositors:

Since the compositors of the second edition were working from the first printed edition and since the text was a poetic one which could easily be broken down into the requisite pages of type, the most reasonable explanation of the collation of the second edition is that there were three presses working on at the same time. Each press with its own compositors was given a section of text and a different kind of signature letter to use. If this did happen, it is the only direct evidence we have that Caxton used more than one press, though by this date they need not all have been in his

[^48]own shop. This example shows how detailed study of Caxton's texts may help us to understand the organisation of his shop and the methods he used. $(1976,63)$

In 1976, Blake's interpretation of the three sets of signatures was literal: he thought it meant that three presses and three separate groups of compositors were working simultaneously on the production of the second edition of the Canterbury Tales. Blake's own counter argument is as follows:

Although I have previously suggested that the three sets of signatures probably indicate three separate compositors, we now know that Caxton had only two compositors to start with during his early years at Westminster. $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$ was set up by two compositors working on two presses. There is nothing to suggest that this workshop staffing had changed by the time $\mathrm{Cx}^{2}$ was printed. Consequently we need to look more closely at the question of the number of compositors used in $\mathrm{Cx}^{2} .(2000,143)$

This new argument about the number of compositors is, in the first instance, based on evidence provided by Lotte Hellinga in her book Caxton in Focus. Hellinga suggests that the work of two compositors can be distinguished by analysing the use and distribution of two types of 'a':
[T]his is the most convenient way to distinguish the work of at least two compositors. One of them gave the double $a$ the status of a kind of capital, of somewhat less importance than A . He used it in names as in the name arcite in the Canterbury Tales, or in peculiar and obscure words, such as the titles of the learned books of the scholar Nicholas in the Miller's Tale... $(1982,61)$

Hellinga makes it clear, at this point, that the evidence indicates at least two compositors, but here she does not dismiss the possibility of the workshop having more than two compositors. In fact, she later keeps this alternative open when she states:
[T]he evidence provided us also with some insight into Caxton's rapidly expanding printing business. At first this consisted of one press, with one compositor working on it, using one typeface; soon one, possibly even two larger presses were added (working concurrently on the two halves of the Canterbury Tales... $(1982,84)$

Hellinga leaves open the possibility of a third press and, perhaps, a third compositor, but Blake has interpreted her text as if she had put forward a much more forceful statement about there being only two compositors in Caxton's workshop. It seems that Hellinga left clear the way for further research into the number of compositors working in Caxton's workshop. Blake, on the other hand, has offered two distinct hypotheses about the staff at the Westminster press.

In order to find out whether Blake was correct when he wrote in 1976, mentioning three compositors or in 2000 , when he stated that there were only two, we need not only to analyse the signatures, but to analyse them in conjunction with other features of the text, for example, the running titles and the type distribution throughout the book --as suggested by Hellinga's study.

### 2.3.1 The Running Titles

The single lower case signatures go from a to v , this last quire having only three bifolia. The running titles in this first part are long and read, for example, 'The squyers Prologe,' as opposed to just 'The Prologue' as in the other two sets of signatures. ${ }^{32}$ In the first set of signatures, containing only GP, the word 'prologue' is spelt with a 'u.' On every other occasion we find it spelled 'prologe. ${ }^{133}$ In the double lower case signatures (aa-ii) the spelling is always 'Prologue,' and the running titles in the different prologues are not specific to the tale. In other words, in the double lower case signatures, all the prologues have running titles that read 'Prologue.' The same happens in the upper case signatures (A-L). This seems to indicate that the person that set up the first set of signatures usually spelt 'prologe,' while the compositor of the second and third sets spelt the word as 'prologue.' The different spelling in the GP --in the first set of signatures-- could be the result of someone --perhaps Caxton himself ${ }^{34}$ -- giving an example to the first compositor on how to set the text. The running titles for this part of the book --GP-- were not altered. This was not necessary because the running titles did not need resetting each time the forme changed. Instead, they were altered only when it was required because the text was that of a different tale. Once the compositor reached 'The Miller's Prologue' he changed the spelling to what then became his standard one: 'prologe.'

It is conceivable that the compositors were working simultaneously, that they had divided the text and that the amount of work each received was miscalculated. The

[^49]third set of signatures starts at TM, the first tale in prose. Blake assumes that the compositor of this part of the book could have started to compose it even before the single lower case signatures were set up:

Apart from the matter of the woodcuts, another reason for setting part III before part II is that part II begins in prose for which the manuscript Y was not needed, because the prose is not corrected against Y. $(2000,151)$

Here Blake is following Dunn, who pointed out that the prose was hardly altered from Cx1 to Cx2. Because the prose was to be set up directly from the off-print of Cx1 and had not been altered, we know that $\omega$ was not necessary to make any changes to this part of the text. Blake seems to imply that it is possible that the rest of the copy-text for Cx 2 was being prepared while the third part of the book was being set up. If this is true, then the third part of the book, corresponding to the upper case signatures, would have been the very first one to be ready. Unfortunately, this undermines his best argument: that the text was started at TM to prevent an overlap in the use of the Clerk's woodcut (Blake 2000, 143).

Blake's argument for two compositors appears plausible, but one could also hypothesise a different explanation: the compositor or supervisor --perhaps Caxton himself-- who divided the text, possibly misjudged the amount of time needed to set up the prose, and decided to start with what was at the time the second part of the book, with TM. The same number of pages might not have had the same weight in the division of the text as the amount of text itself. The prose tales were probably deemed to be a much longer task than those in verse. The compositor who set the text that is signed A-L, however, finished sooner than expected, and the text therefore was divided again and he was assigned the parts that bear the signatures aa-ii, i.e. he
started with 'The Clerk's Prologue,' although he used a running title which reads 'Prologue.' This could explain why the spelling of 'prologue' changes in both the second and third parts. Blake also points out the overall change in the running titles of the double lower case signatures and upper case signatures: "...each tale has the pattern 'The Tale of X' rather than 'The X's Tale" (Blake 2000, 146). This element in combination with the changes in the position of the woodcuts with reference to the rubrics, led Blake to the conclusion that the same person set up the second and third parts of the book, and that there were only two compositors working on Cx2. Although Blake's argument seems feasible, it fails to explore alternative interpretations of the case. For example, even if the running titles in the leaves signed with double lower case and their counterparts in the single upper case signatures are consistent with each other, this does not have to be interpreted as one person having set both of them. Instead, this similarity might suggest that two compositors had a similar style or that one of them was imitating the other.

The position of the three quires of six folios, all of them at the end of a particular group of signatures, is perhaps a sign that there was no more text to set since it had been already been assigned, and had been set by the other compositor. The last page of SU ends the last quire with the first set of signatures (v), and has only two lines of verse, and three that are the final rubric. After the second double lower case signatures, we have 'The Wordes of the hoost' that actually finish in $[\mathrm{i}]^{2}$, leaving more than a page and a half of blank space. [L5] is blank, as pointed out before, which suggests that it is likely that [L6] was also blank. The fact that the last two pages were not printed with the text of the Canterbury Tales suggests, once more, that the person supervising the book and the compositors were allowing for extra pages to print the text if these were needed. Because there was no need for extra leaves, they
used quires of six at the end of each set of signatures and this, in turn, might be a sign that three different compositors were working on the book at the same time.

In the running titles of the book the pattern of the book's composition can be traced. The bifolia were first printed on one side and subsequently the other side was printed. An example of this are quires $m$ and $n$. In these there is a mistake that occurs in the verso of the first half of both quires, the word 'marchauutes. ${ }^{135}$ From this we know that the compositors kept the running titles when they were composing the text, and also that the inner formes of both quires were printed in a continuum. This fact is not so evident in any other place of the book. In quire A the running title in the inner forme reads 'The Tale of Chawcer' in $\mathrm{A} 2^{\mathrm{b}} \mathrm{A} 3^{\mathrm{b}} \mathrm{A} 4^{\mathrm{b}}$ [A5] $^{\mathrm{a}}$ [A6] ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ [A7] ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$, but this was corrected in quires B and C , and we do not have any way of knowing if the inner formes on the three quires were printed consecutively. In other words, further research on the typographical aspects of the book is required before further conclusions concerning this area can be drawn.

### 2.3.2 The Type Distribution

Although the different pattern in the running titles appears to suggest that only two compositors were involved in the setting up of Cx 2 , with the second compositor setting the double lower case signatures and the single upper case signatures, this needs to be investigated further by taking into account the distribution of individual types.

[^50]
### 2.3.2.1 The 'sh' Ligature

The compositor of the single lower case signatures --from a to $\mathbf{v}$-- most commonly uses two separate types for the letters ' $s$ ' and ' $h$ ' when they appear in a cluster --for example, in words such as 'she' or 'shall' --in line $28, \mathrm{i}^{2}{ }^{3},{ }^{36}$ even though he has available a typeface with a ligature for 'sh.' This type can be distinguished by the bar in the crossed ' $h$ ' which is attached to the long 's.' An example of the use by the compositor of two separate types for the 'sh' cluster can be seen towards the middle of line 6 of $12^{2}$ :

## loas fie tgat

In the above example, two separate types can be clearly seen, but even in cases in which the compositor is using the ' $\hbar$ ' it is possible to distinguish two different types.

The following example is from $\left[b 6^{\mathrm{b}}\right]$, line 14 :


[^51]The word 'paris $\hbar$ ' shows two distinct types used for the long 's' and the crossed ' $\hbar$.' The bar of the ' h ' is at a completely different height from that in the typeface with the 'sh' ligature. The compositor of the single lower case signatures regularly uses two separate types for the 'sh' cluster even when he uses an ' $\hbar$ ' instead of an 'h.'

The importance of this usage resides in the fact that the compositor of the double lower case signatures --from aa to ii-- gives preference to the use of a single typeface which has the ligature of both 's' and ' $h$ '. This type can be distinguished because it has a crossed ' h ' -- $\hbar--$ and this letter and the long 's' appear interlocked. An example of this can be found in line 24 of $b b 4^{a}$ :


Here the single type for the 'sћ' ligature can be seen. The bar of the ' $\hbar$ ' runs from the long 's' uniting both characters: a single type has been used to in the word 'sћewde.' In line 18 of the same folio we can find the word 'she' for which the compositor has used two separate characters, and a normal 'h' instead of 'h.'

In the single upper case signatures --from $\mathbf{A}$ to $\mathbf{L}-$--, the compositor uses most commonly the 'sћ' ligature. The following example can be found in line 5 of [C7a]:


Once more, the single type is clearly visible. Moreover, in this particular folio all instances of these letters --appearing as a cluster-- have been set up using the single type. ${ }^{37}$ This appears to support the suggestion that the parts that are signed in double lower case and single upper case might have been set by the same compositor.

### 2.3.2.1 The 'd' at the End of the Word 'And' in Initial Position

The compositor of the single lower case signatures, always uses a ' 8 ' at the end of the word 'Anor' when this word is at the beginning of the line. An example of this can be seen at the beginning of line 10 in folio $i 2 r$ :

# Znor lbony tfat 

This is the most common type choice for this word in the single lower case signatures. The proportion of the use of the ' $\delta$ ' ' is overwhelming. There are 1656 instances of the word spelt 'And,', but only 55 of 'And.' Clearly, this compositor has a strong preference for the use of 'And.'

In the double lower case signatures, given the same conditions, we find the 'd', without the tail. An example of this can be found in bb4 ${ }^{a}$, line 6 :

[^52]
## Ans fo contenuyng

These signatures have 245 instances of 'And,', while 'And' can be found in 413 occasions. The different behaviour from that found in the single lower case signatures suggests, once more, that this part of the text might have been set up by a different compositor.

In the single upper case signatures, the 'd' reappears at the end of the word. The following example has been taken from line 20 of $D 4^{\text {a }}$ :


In this part of the text the distribution becomes clearer than in the double lower case signatures. There are 548 instances of 'Andr,' and 148 of 'And.' Although it is possible to see a pattern in these distributions, this requires some further investigation before it can be considered as a serious hypothesis. The different treatment of the final ' $d$ ' in the word 'And' in initial position indicates a different typesetting style being used for the double lower case signatures from that of the single upper case signatures, and suggests that, in all likelihood, these were set by two different compositors.

### 2.3.2.3 How Many Compositors?

The combination of these two elements --the final 'd' in the word 'And' in initial position, and the 'sh' ligature -- suggests that there are three different idiosyncrasies in the composition of Cx 2 . In the single lower case signatures there is an overwhelming majority of 'Andr' combined with the use of two separate typefaces for the 'sh' ligature, even where a crossed ' $\hbar$ ' is used. In the double lower case signatures 'And' is most commonly found: the compositor shows a clear preference for the 'sћ' ligature. In the single upper case signatures, the compositor uses 'And' in an overwhelming proportion, but does so in combination with the 's $\hbar$ ' ligature. It is unlikely that any compositor might have changed his habits from one part of the book to the next. For this reason we have to be open to the possibility of Cx 2 having had three different compositors. However, further study of the type distribution is needed in order to confirm this hypothesis and to try to establish whether there is any difference in the accuracy of the compositors working at Caxton's workshop at the time of the printing of Cx2, around 1482.

My analysis of the textual variants will preserve the three part division found in the signatures, to assess whether the text has been treated differently in each of these parts.

## Chapter III

## The Order of the Tales

This chapter focuses on the problem of tale-order in the witnesses of the Canterbury Tales and pays special attention to the differences in the order of the tales in Cx 1 and Cx 2 . A brief history of the problem of tale-order is offered first, since it is likely that that was what prompted Caxton to change the order of Cx 1 was that $\omega$ presented a different tale-order. Although the tale-order in Cx 2 is unique and probably conflated, this new order should partly reflect the order of the lost manuscript, and might offer new information about it.

The three main points which have interested scholars concerning the problem of the order of the Canterbury Tales are: the lack of geographical realism; the lack of temporal consistency; and the uncertainty regarding Chaucer's intention. ${ }^{1}$ These three aspects are closely interrelated: Chaucer left the work unfinished thereby giving rise to inconsistencies in the text as a whole, and obscuring his intentions. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the Man of Law offers a tale in prose or that the Shipman tells a tale which scholars assume was first assigned to a woman, or that the Second Nun refers to herself as if she were a man (Hammond 1905-6). These elements, in

[^53]conjunction with others, raised difficulties for editors who have attempted to find solutions to what might seem insolvable problems. ${ }^{2}$

## 1. Temporal Consistency

Lack of temporal consistency is one of the most evident aspects of the incompleteness of Chaucer's work. During the nineteenth century, scholars frequently started editing the Canterbury Tales by asking themselves how long it would have taken to go to Canterbury in the Middle Ages. ${ }^{3}$ For example, in the appendix to $A$ Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition, Furnivall printed a series of medieval documents which describe journeys to Canterbury, and he also describes a journey of more than forty miles that was completed in a single day in 1331 (1868, 39). Furnivall's research showed interesting results: during the Middle Ages a trip to Canterbury could have lasted between one and four days, depending on the speed of the means of transport, the number of stops, and if one was travelling alone or in a group. ${ }^{4}$ This has been considered a very important factor in regard to the "realism" in the Canterbury Tales. The 'Six-text edition' presented the tales in the following order: GP KT MI RE CO ML SH PR TT TM MO NP PH PD WB FR SU CL ME SQ FK

[^54]NU CY MA PA RT. The movement of the so-called fragment VII (SH PR TT TM MO NP) to immediately after ML is what is known as the 'Bradshaw shift.' The shift is named after Henry Bradshaw who suggested in a letter to Furnivall that SH should follow ML. ${ }^{5}$ Although this order, with ML followed by fragment VII, cannot be found in any manuscript, Furnivall adopted it for his edition. He went further and also changed the place of PH and PD and put these tales immediately after fragment VII. The reasoning behind this change was the Pardoner's allusion to his intention to eat a cake and this in combination with the his research on the duration of the journey, made Furnivall think that this was the right position for PH and PD. Although the Bradshaw shift is still discussed, the change in position of PH and PD was not accepted by later Chaucer editors (Baker 1984, 161). ${ }^{6}$

Robert Kase called into question the validity of Furnivall's arrangement of the tales by pointing out that it relied partly on his speculations about the duration of the journey. Kase synthesises the critical positions on this issue as follows:

On this point [the duration of the journey] scholars have failed to agree.
Professor Koch argued for a pilgrimage of three days. Henry Morley spoke of the journey as of one day. Professor Skeat seemed to admit the one-day theory in his notes to Group B,... Both Tyrwhitt and ten Brink suggested that some of the tales were intended for a return journey. So long as the duration of the pilgrimage itself continues to be an unsettled matter, the determination of the position of any group on the basis of a

[^55]decidedly vague allusion to time must be even more a matter of speculation. (1932, 11-2)

Conjectures derived from speculation concerning the duration of the journey, as pointed out by Kase, are no more than guesses which should not influence the manner in which the text should be presented. ${ }^{7}$ One example of Furnivall's speculation is what Kase calls the "decidedly vague allusion" --which he referred to in the preceding paragraph-- to the Pardoner's mention of his willingness to eat and drink before starting his tale. Furnivall interpreted this as a sign that it was early morning, before breakfast. Such an ambiguous statement, however, might indicate anything from afternoon tea to the Pardoner's gluttony and his wanting to eat at any time. It seems, indeed, a weak reference on which to base a temporal scheme.

## 2. Geographical Realism

The second factor which has been widely discussed by critics and editors is the lack of realism in the geographical references. The concrete references are the mention of Rochester, Sittingbourne and Boughton-under-Blee, ${ }^{8}$ which are geographically in that order on the way from London to Canterbury, but are not found in that order in the manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales. Figure 1 shows a map of the route from London to Canterbury. It is curious that scholars have been so worried about the references made in the text and not about those which have been left out

[^56]since as shown in figure 1, all the references are to places situated in the second half of the journey.


Figure $1^{9}$

Furnivall's research on the length of the journey also led him to attempt an explanation of the number of stops the pilgrims had to make and where these might have been. ${ }^{10}$

Evidently, Furnivall's proposals were not accepted. Skeat's edition of 1894 follows Furnivall's order, but by 1907 Skeat had changed his mind about it and his later editions have a different arrangement. He presents the development of the order of the tales as follows:

[^57]I shall proceed to show that the chronological order of the types of the seven chief MSS., with reference, that is to say, to their contents and arrangement, but without regard to the actual dates when these individual MSS. were written, is as follows: -- Hengwrt, an archetype; Petworth, showing the first scheme of arrangement; Corpus and Landsowne, the second, Harleian, the third; Ellesmere and Cambridge, the fourth and last. In the first three schemes, we find Chaucer himself, at work, making various experiments. In the last scheme, we find the work of a careful editor. It follows that the authoritative type, the only one which arranges the Tales as Chaucer at last left them, is the Harleian. It is anything but final, and even some obvious mistakes remain. But we have no authority for proceeding further. (1907, 9-10)

Skeat leaves aside the problem of geographical realism to adopt codicological studies as a basis for the understanding of the development of the different tale-orders. However, because he suggested that Ha4 was the manuscript with the most developed tale-order, at a moment in which this manuscript had started to fall into disrepute, Skeat's ideas about the matter were not successful among scholars. Instead, the geographical references still remained the centre in of tale-order discussions and were used as an argument against the Bradshaw shift. An example of this is found in Germaine Dempster's 1949 article, where she argues as follows:

The [geographical] references which concern us are three: 1) Rochester ( $B^{2} 3116$ ), situated about thirty miles from London, i.e., midway between London and Canterbury, and in sight when the Host calls upon the Monk;
2) Sittingbourne (D 847), twelve miles East of Rochester, ahead but
apparently not far when the Wife of Bath ends her prolog [sic]; 3) Boughton-under-Blee ( G 556), six miles from Canterbury, where the pilgrims are overtaken by the Canon and his Yeomen. If $\mathrm{B}^{2}$ is placed immediately before H-I, four-fifths of what we have of the $C T$ precede the mention of Rochester; worse, neither Block D with its Sittingbourne nor G with its Boughton-under-Blee can be placed after $\mathrm{B}^{2}$. No internal evidence of any kind opposes the geographically correct order Rochester-Sittingbourne-Boughton. Why then should this awkward $\mathrm{B}^{2}-\mathrm{H}$ sequence be present in Hg ? And why in $\sqrt{ } \mathrm{c}$ ? $(1949,1131)$

Dempster's concern resides in the fact that the allusion to Rochester, halfway from London to Canterbury in the Monk's prologue (L29), if placed before NP CY and MA in $\mathrm{Hg},{ }^{11}$ would leave only four tales to be told in the second half of the route, an imbalance she is reluctant to accept as Chaucer's. As we cannot know the number of tales that would have been part of the final work, and we cannot speculate how many should have been told before the middle of the journey, Dempster's opinion relies on the fact that she assumes that the tales that have reached us equal the total number of tales that were meant to be told before arriving at Canterbury. It is also possible that the reference was put there temporarily and that it would have been revised before the publication of the work.

[^58]
## 3. The 'Bradshaw Shift'

Scholars have wanted the geographical references to appear in the order presented by Dempster; however, the actual order of the tales found in the different manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales does not support this hypothesis. The manuscripts present orders that differ from the ideal of such critics as Furnivall, Bradshaw and Dempster. In the first place, MO appears only before WBP and WBT in five manuscripts --if we follow Manly and Rickert's table, now the modified table 1. Two of these manuscripts belong to the $\mathbf{b}$ group (Mc and Ra1), and the other three to the $\mathbf{d}$ group ( $\mathrm{Mm}, \mathrm{Gl}$ and Ph 3 ). If we follow the El order and move $\mathrm{SH}, \mathrm{PR}, \mathrm{TT}$, TM, MO, NP to follow ML, we would be following the suggestion that Bradshaw made to Furnivall. The implications of the 'Bradshaw shift' are many, and apparently scholars have thought that the shift solves the question of the Man of Law's Endlink (L8), which links the ML to SQ and SH tales in different manuscripts, but presents three variant readings --Squire, Summoner and Shipman. Hammond suggested that the archetype of the tradition had the name in L8 either purposely erased or accidentally deleted and that the only trace of the word left was the initial 'S'. ${ }^{12}$ Hammond continues her argument by suggesting that the scribes felt compelled to choose between the three possible candidates whose names would have started with an 'S' and could have been metrically acceptable: squyer, sompnour, and shipman ${ }^{13}$. This, if true, would explain the differences that can be found in the witnesses, since some of them have the variant 'squyer' while others read 'sompnour'. However,

[^59]because there are no witnesses in which SU follows L8, we have to treat Hammond's theory with care. Furnivall $(1868,1868-77)$ and Pratt (1951) have both made a case for the shift of fragment VII (SH PR TT TM MO NP), but this change of position is often rejected by modern editors, since they think that there is a case to be made for the Wife of Bath being the next speaker. Dempster's argument is again based on the fact that she believes that the number of tales should be more or less equally divided between the two halves of the journey --marked by the allusion to Rochester.

However, there are other implications in the Bradshaw shift, one of them is related to the question of authorial intention: that Chaucer had written all the tales he intended, and we could therefore decide the percentage to be told before the middle of the journey. Helen Cooper, in her article on the order of the tales in El, describes the Bradshaw shift as follows:
...it assumes that the detail of Chaucer's text is in final form despite the work's being unfinished --that the literal geographical journey so dominated the structure of the work that minutiae relating to it could never be changed. $(1995,255)$

Cooper's observation against the shift is reasonable: if the work was unfinished, any part of it was susceptible to be changed. Talbot Donaldson (1970) has also rejected the Bradshaw shift. For him, the shift, no matter how geographically accurate it might be, does not reflect Chaucer's authorial intention. Donaldson does not correlate geographical realism with authorial intention.

[^60]
## 4. Authorial Intention

The Bradshaw shift proposes a tale order based on what Chaucer might have wanted. However, scholars such as Donaldson, who reject the shift, do so in favour of authorial intention. Donaldson's reasons are as follows:

My own conjecture concerning the Man of Law's endlink is the very old one, that it was cancelled by Chaucer, or at least laid aside until he could find a fitting place for it --which he never did. And I imagine he laid it aside as much because it no longer related to the Man of Law's Tale as because of his uncertainty as to whom he would nominate as the next taleteller... In a less austere edition, I should do what I already have done: adopt Jones' conjecture and read Wif of Bathe as probably the character whom Chaucer once had in mind as the speaker of the next tale. But it seems to me, on the basis of the MS evidence, that all treatment of the Man of Law's endlink must be conjectural, and that its status is too uncertain to affect the matter of order. (1970, 202-3)

The above quotation shows that, while Dempster defends the movement of B2 based on her belief about what Chaucer wanted, Donaldson rejects it on the same grounds. He admits uncertainty as to which one of the pilgrims the next speaker could be, but also already has an answer which is based on the authority of El and the manuscripts of the a group. A detailed comparison of the arguments put forward by Donaldson and Dempster shows that their ideas are clearly opposed, even though based on the same premise. The reference to Sittingbourne --in D, fragment III--, has to come after the one to Rochester --B2, fragment VII--, therefore it specifically contradicts Donaldson's proposal of placing WBT immediately after ML. Both decisions are
explicitly based on Chaucer's authorial intention. Supporters of the 'Bradshaw shift' use the evidence in the Selden manuscript --a very erratic one-- and are convinced that Chaucer intended to follow the geographical allusions as they have reached us. Donaldson, however, subscribes to the theory that Chaucer had given the tale originally assigned to the Wife of Bath to the Shipman, and that this implies that he was planning to move WBT to follow immediately ML.

All this complicated entanglement and speculation is just part of the vast number of conjectures which arise when we attempt to determine Chaucer's authorial intention. This, however, has not kept other scholars from arguing for their own point of view regarding the matter. For example, Larry Benson makes a case for the El order, but he bases it on his idea that Chaucer himself was responsible for this order $(1981,117)$ and considered the Canterbury Tales finished, since he had written RT. The basis for the argument that Chaucer is the author of the El order is that:

The creator of the Type a order had an intimate knowledge of the contents of the tales, by which he knew that $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{E}$ and F came in that order. Moreover, he had a sophisticated literary sense that enabled him to get the right order even when there were no clear signals: he knew that $B^{1}$ followed A, that C followed F, and that G came before H. This is not the sort of accomplishment that one associates with scribes or their directors. $(1981,111)$

Benson has attempted to show how the a order is the best possible one, and then dismisses the idea of this order being scribal. His reason is clear: he does not associate this "sort of accomplishment" with scribal behaviour. He argues --and concludes--
that both orders, that found in El and that seen by him as an alternative, are Chaucerian:

The mss show that from the very beginning the work circulated in but two orders, both of which can be attributed to Chaucer; one may be an early version, in which case the Type a-Ellesmere order is the final arrangement, or it might be derived from the Type a by scribal error, the accidental misplacement of the leaves containing $G$, in which case Type a is the only order attested by the mss... $(1981,117)$

Benson presents half a dozen hypotheses, some of them contradictory, that attempt to cover all possible explanations:
a) Chaucer is responsible for both orders.
b) Chaucer might be responsible for both orders.
c) Chaucer is responsible only for the Type a order.
d) The Type a order is a later version of the order and, therefore the final arrangement.
e) The Type a order is an earlier version and the other types derive from it.
f) There is only one order in the manuscripts: Type a.

This set of conclusions gives some idea of the character of Benson's article; the only possibility he has not included is that the order found in manuscripts of the a group might be scribal. But even though Benson is not convincing in his conclusion, he makes an interesting analysis of scribal behaviour:

The scribes, as we have seen, were willing to tamper with the order, but the mss show no instance of a scribe changing the order of the tales on the basis of anything other than the most obvious clues in the links --"seyde the Squyer" and such. Most scribes were apparently interested only in smooth transitions from one tale to the another, and they were not above making such transitions by adding spurious links or changing readings when this seemed necessary. No scribe was ever influenced by internal evidence within the tales --allusions by one speaker to another tale, or geographical allusions to the Canterbury Road, which apparently no one ever noticed until the nineteenth century. $(1981,111)$

While attempting to show the valuable aspects of Benson's thought, we should first take notice of the language he uses. Phrases such as 'willing to tamper,' 'interested only in,' 'adding spurious links,' are all demeaning and tend to present the scribes as irresponsible workers who wanted to change the text, to 'corrupt' it. The last sentence strongly affirms that no one 'noticed' the internal references until the nineteenth century, which could be interpreted as a consequence of the vogue of Realism in literature. We should keep in mind that perhaps before Realism was in fashion readers did not find the lack of geographical accuracy as disturbing as we might find it now. Perhaps they did not think about the length of the journey either. It is conceivable that scribes were compelled only to keep the links between the tales and were trying to get the right tale and link together.

## 5. The Unfinished State of the Text

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the realist geographical interpretation of the Canterbury Tales was superseded by a different interpretation as expressed by Blake: "The places mentioned are best understood as provisional and without significance as far as a final tale-order is concerned" $(1981,51)$. The change resides in the fact that Blake is not concerned with the accuracy of the references in the text. Instead, he proposes to understand the circumstances of this particular work, that is, to take into account that Chaucer died without finishing the Tales. Thus, Blake does not try to justify or explain the situation, but accepts it as a reality, at the same time that he recognises the fact that originated it.

In essays on tale-order, words such as 'Chaucerian', 'unChaucerian', 'Chaucer's intention', 'positive artistic advantages' etc, are frequently found. Furnivall, Skeat, Pratt, Benson, Kase, Hammond, Moore, Dempster, in one way or another, call upon authorial intention as the ideal by which the order of the Canterbury Tales should be measured. This 'authorial order' however must have been very obscure, since there is considerable disagreement as to what Chaucer really wanted. Furnivall, Skeat ${ }^{14}$ and Pratt accepted Bradshaw's proposal of moving group B2 to follow B1. Manly thought that Chaucer might have been moving away from this shift rather than towards it. ${ }^{15}$ Benson, as quoted above, considers the a order to be Chaucer's intentions. On the

[^61]other hand, Samuel Moore, however, rejects the Bradshaw shift, the Se order, the Chaucer Society order, and concludes:


#### Abstract

If we accept this internal evidence as supplementary to the external evidence of the MSS., we must conclude that the best arrangement of the Canterbury Tales is A B1 C B2 D E F G H I. Tho [sic] it is not known to exist in any MS., it expresses better than any other Chaucer's intentions, so far at least as his intentions were ever expressed in literary form. (1915, 122-3)


After several pages in which Moore cites the evidence found in manuscripts, he reaches the conclusion that he cannot only come up with a better order for the tales, but also the one that Chaucer intended.

The problems that arise in the pursuit of authorial intention are intensified by the fact that the Canterbury Tales was never finished, or rather, that its different parts were finished to varying degrees. To determine the intentions of someone who could not, or would not, complete his work is an impossible task, no matter how many clues are provided the manuscripts and the texts that they hold. Moreover, perhaps, medieval readers did not grant the same degree of importance as nineteenth and twentieth century ones to the apparent lack of internal coherence. ${ }^{16}$ Even if Chaucer was concerned about what we see as inconsistencies, he certainly did not have time -or did not want-- to revise the text.

These elements, which have given so much ground for speculation, are evidence of the incomplete state of the work. Chaucer would have noticed them in the revision process and would have made the appropriate changes --if he had
acknowledged them as inconsistencies. Moreover, there is no way to tell that he would not have changed his mind once more and would have modified again the tale assignment or any other features. When we put all of these issues together we would see that it is pointless to speculate about what the possible order of the tales as Chaucer intended it. As Blake presents it:

Many critics allude to the possibility that Chaucer may not have had a final order, though few, if any, discuss the matter in detail. But if Chaucer had no final order, there is little point in discussing what his order might have been. By the same token there is no point in claiming that the scribe of El had access to a Chaucerian order if Chaucer never had an order.

I agree with Blake about the aridity of discussing Chaucer's final order since he did not complete his work. Instead it might prove more fruitful to examine the differences in tale-order and the possible relationships between the various witnesses of the Tales. An important characteristic of the text of the Canterbury Tales is that it presents different degrees of completion in different parts. For example, Fragment I, up to the CO appears to be more finished than other sections: all scholars and editions agree that GP is meant to be first, followed by the KN. Then we have the interruption of the drunken Miller whose tale is a parody of the Knight's, and offends the Reeve by making fun of a carpenter. Then, naturally, the Reeve wants --and has-- a chance to answer by telling a tale about a tricked Miller. It would seem hardly justifiable to describe this, since the sequence is very well known (Cooper 1995, 247). However, it serves to illustrate the intricate complexity of Chaucer's plan, which cannot be

[^62]compared to that of any other Fragment. The Fragments are finished to various degrees. Scholars have not taken into account their own observations, i.e. that Chaucer worked separately on the different tales and on their group distribution so that some would be more complete than others.

## 6. The Order of Caxton's Editions

In theory it should be possible to trace the relationship between the different texts considering the placing of the tales in combination with the changes introduced into the links to make them agree with the following tale. Even if this proved to be impossible, we could, at least, learn about the reception of the text and the issues that were considered important by medieval readers.

Earlier I have shown how we should not interpret the order of the tales, now I indicate a more practical and effective method to study the different orders.

Hammond's essay "On the Order of the Canterbury Tales: Caxton's Two Editions" showed the evident differences in order between Cx 1 and Cx 2 . She decided that the only way to understand how these arose was to have both texts printed in parallel (1905-6, 159). She was able to point out obvious layout differences, such as signatures, running titles and divisions between the tales, as well as the obvious difference in the tale order, as shown in the following figure:

# Cx1 L-ML-sq-Sq L-Me WB-L-Fr-L-Su L-Cl-b Fk SN-L-CY Ph (...) NP L-Mc 

Cx2 L-ML L-Me sq-Sq-L-Fk WB-L-Fr-L-Su L-Cl-b SN-L-CYPh (...) NP-L L-Mc

El L-ML WB-L-Fr-L-Su L-Cl-b-Me-L-L-Sq-L-Fk Ph (...) NP SN-L-CY L-Mc

Hg WB-L-Fr-L-Su L-ML Sq-2-Me-4-L-Fk SN L-Cl-b Ph (...) L-NP L-Mc ${ }^{17}$

Figure 2 (Taken from Manly and Rickert, volume 2).

There is a change of position of SQ and FK. These were separated in the first edition but joined in the second. SQ and ME have been interchanged, and FK was moved from its position to follow SQ, not CL. This is immediately noticeable just by comparing the two texts. Hammond points this difference out in her article. Less evident is the fact that the change brought with it a new link that appears between SQ and FK (Blake 1985, 4), constituting, possibly, the most interesting difference between the order of the tales in Caxton's editions. In table 1 the link is not present in any of the $\mathbf{b}$ group manuscripts, and we know that Cx 1 was set up from a manuscript that belonged to this group. However, this same link --L20-- is present in El, as well as in the other a group manuscripts. Since the link was not present in the first edition --or any other $\mathbf{b}$ manuscript--, we must assume that it comes from $\omega$. Manly and Rickert pointed out that L20 is not present in either groups $\mathbf{b}$ and $\mathbf{c}$, or in several manuscripts that do not include SQ or that have lost the leaves which might have included it (1940, 2: 298). They consider that L20 is normally used to link the Squire and the Franklin, so any other function is thought of as abnormal. ${ }^{18}$

[^63]Some changes are not so obvious in table 1, but become more evident if we compare Cx 1 and Cx 2 side by side:

The Nun's Priest's endlink is also included. What is today known as the Man of Law's endlink was clearly regarded as the Squire's headlink and goes with SqT when that is put later in the order. Many of the additions within the tales in Cx 76 have been eliminated, though the two editions are alike in which tales have divisions into books. The rubrics are in English, though a few are in Latin. The printing of the lines as stanzas in those tales which have them, the spacing out of the rubrics and the introduction of woodcuts set a standard of excellence in the presentation of this edition which was not to be matched for some time. (Blake 1985, 4)

The movement of L8 is interesting because it shows that it was not perceived by Caxton as it is today (Blake 1985, 4). Caxton saw it as the prologue to SQ, whereas it is now often referred to as the Man of Law's Endlink. The inclusion of the L31 (the Nun's Priest's Epilogue) is of greater interest, since this, along with L20 (the SquireFranklin link), must come directly from the second manuscript. L31 shares with L20 the fact that it appears only in the a group, En 3 Ch and Ry1, which makes it a perfect candidate to have had its origin in $\omega$ (Manly and Rickert 1940, 2: 422). Robinson, in his article "Can we Trust the Hengwrt Manuscript?," refers to the change of position on ME, SQ and ME in Hg and El , and states:

We find this order in the $a$ manuscripts and (most striking of all) in Caxton's second edition, which introduces this [ME SQ FK] order rather than that found in his first edition [SQ ME WB FR SU CL FK],
presumably on the model of the 'better' manuscript he used in preparing this second edition... $(1999,206)$

This order, the one in El , is the one he considers 'correct,' and in this Robinson agrees with many other critics, but the prevalence of the El order is due to its presence in the exemplar that gave origin to the tradition --O. As many other scholars before, however, he finally concludes that this order is the one that best represents "Chaucer's conception. ${ }^{19}$ Manly and Rickert have pointed out, concerning NP that:

The ancestor of the a group is shown by several facts to have had an independent origin and descent in NPT. There are a number of instances in which its descendants and their adherents seem to have the correct reading as against the testimony of the other MSS... In a number of other instances the reading of the group seems to be a first effort later rejected for a better. There are two lines found only in members of this group which it is certainly unsafe to reject as not by Chaucer. (1940, 2: 423)

The independent line of descent could account for the presence or absence of L31. This passage appears mainly in manuscripts belonging to the a group, but is also present in Ch Ry1 and Wy, and although we can assume that in Cx 2 it came from $\omega$, only further research could explain how it came to be included in this manuscript. Undoubtedly many other passages will share these characteristics, but these can become evident only in the word by word collation. The testing of Manly and Rickert's theory about the "independent origin and descent" of NP and L31 might yield interesting results.

[^64]Table 2 has been obtained by changing the nomenclatures in table 1 to those of the Canterbury Tales Project, and by making some of the names of the links more specific. If we look at table two, it is much easier to see the differences between the texts. On it, not only the differences between Cx 1 and Cx 2 are evident, but also, a whole set of subtle agreements with other manuscripts can be perceived. Especially interesting are the relationships with El and Hg :

Cx1 ML L8-SQ L15-ME WB-L10-FR-L11-SU CL-L13-L14 FK NU-L33-CY PH (...) NP L36
Cx2 ML L15-ME L8-SQ-L20-FK WB-L10-FR-L11-SU CL-L13-L14 NU-L33-CY PH (...) NP-L31 L36
El MLWB-L10-FR-L11-SU CL-L13-L14-L15-ME L17-SQ-L20-FK PH (...) NP NU-L33-CY L36
Hg WB-L10-FR-L11-SU L7-ML SQ-L20-ME-L17-FK NU CL-L13-L14 PH (...) NP L36 ${ }^{20}$
Figure 3 (From the modified Manly and Rickert table)

For example, the form of L 20 present in Cx 2 is not that in Hg (as the link in Hg was modified to link ME and FK rather than SQ and FK), but the one in El. ${ }^{21}$ As I have said, L 20 is definitely the same link found in El and other a manuscripts in which it is used to unite SQ and the FK. However, there is more to it, since the same link is present in Hg but it links different tales:

One problem that faces textual critics of The Canterbury Tales is that what in Hengwrt appear as the Squire-Merchant and the MerchantFranklin links appear in Ellesmere (and hence in most modern editions) as the Squire-Franklin and the Merchant-Squire links respectively. (Blake 1985, 39)

[^65]Other scholars have addressed this problem and showed that the difference between Hg and El can be accounted for if we assume that the Hg scribe received the tales without the links and when he received them he had to change the names, so making some lines metrically irregular (Robinson 1999, 204-5). El's L20 (SQ-FK) corresponding to Hg's L20 which links SQ and ME, was the one that Caxton added from his second manuscript source. However, the other link, L17, that is, El's ME-SQ, and Hg's L17, which links ME and FK, is replaced in Cx2 by L8, the Man of Law's endlink, which is present in the $\mathbf{b}$ group ${ }^{22}$ with the readings "summoner" or "squire". ${ }^{23}$ Cx2 has no endlink for the ML, or rather, it has been moved together with SQ, making it evident that Caxton thought of them as a block, not necessarily related to ML. ${ }^{24}$

Interestingly enough, when Dunn makes the assessment of the line agreements between Cx1 and Cx2 he takes into account L20 --F 673 to F 708-- but he does not explicitly acknowledge these lines as coming directly from $\omega$. All Dunn points out concerning L32 ${ }^{25}$--which is not present in Cx2-- is that probably $\omega$ did not have it, since "Had Caxton seen these lines it is likely... that he would have adopted them" (1939, 38). Later in his chapter about the agreements of Cx 2 and other manuscripts he shows some interest in what he calls the Squire's Epilogue. He then proceeds to point out the variants and their agreements with other manuscripts. He does not emphasise that a new link has been introduced to Cx 2 , and that it could come from its manuscript source. Something similar happens with L31, which he only mentions (Dunn, 1939:72) to point out its agreements with other texts. His only significant

[^66]comment is that: "Dd and Ma are... sufficiently close to be considered as possible sources of this link in Cx2, but other evidence makes it appear that the actual source was a closely related manuscript" (Dunn 1939, 72). If Dunn had looked at Cx1 and Cx 2 side by side he would have seen that L31 clearly had its origin in Cx2's manuscript source. If he noticed its importance, he does not say so. This fact suggests that he never looked at both editions side by side, but that he was using Manly and Rickert's collation cards only. It would only be fair to point out, however, that he mentions Hammond's article in his bibliography, even if he does not draw any conclusion from it.

But even if Dunn overlooks these links, Manly and Rickert have given some attention to L20. They think of it as differing from its normal use when it links the Squire and the Merchant's tales, as is the case of Hg. They also conclude that all the manuscripts which have the variant "Marchant" must descend from Hg. And, as many critics accept today, they think that the Hg scribe wrote the tales leaving the space for the links that he had not yet received, and that he did not copy the tales in their proper order:

At some later date (at the end of his work?) he [the Hg scribe] did find a link beginning "In feith Squier thow hast thee wel yquyt", and naturally enough he inserted it on f.137b to follow SqT although he had to change "Frankeleyn" to "Marchaunt" in three lines to adapt the link to introducing MeT. At the same time apparently (for he wrote with the same yellow ink) he found a link beginning with the Host's comment on MeT ("Ey goddes mercy seyde oure hoost thoo") which clearly should follow MeT,

[^67]although some tinkering of the text was necessary to adapt the link to the following tale. (Manly and Rickert 1940, 1: 272)

These assumptions --and some others-- are based on the colour of the ink in which the text is written, which is the same as that used to make a few corrections and to add L30, NP, L36, MA, L20, L17, etc. However, Robinson has pointed out that, because the order of ME, SQ, FK and their altered links as are found in Hg , appear in the same order in manuscripts that belong to Manly and Rickert's d group, and that because this group cannot descend directly from Hg then, as Manly and Rickert thought, we must conclude that:

The only possible explanation is that the text of the links was not altered just in Hengwrt. It was altered, probably by the scribe's supervisor, in the exemplar, that is, in $O$ itself. The three tales were then placed in the exemplar in the same order as they are copied in Hengwrt, with the nowaltered text of the links connecting them. This newly reshuffled $O$, then, in turn became the exemplar not only of the type $d$ copies but also of Manly and Rickert's $c$ group, and the additional group I label $f$. (Robinson 1999, 207)

This hypothesis seems reasonable, and would explain the apparent relationship between the Hg order and the $\mathbf{d}$ group order; it also shows that, if this was the case, there must have been another manuscript earlier than Hg , which would not have had the changes in these tales, that originated the remaining orders --including that of El (Robinson 1999, 207 and ff.).

From all the changes and shifts between the two Caxton editions, a few inferences can be safely drawn. Firstly, L20 in Cx2 has to come directly from its
manuscript source, and that this was firmly related to the a group, the only group in which L20 is present linking SQ with FK. Secondly, L31, also found only in the a group, but not present in El, must have had a similar origin in Cx 2 , and probably comes from $\omega$. An important clue to unlock the source of Caxton's second edition might lie in passages such as L20 or L31 which are not present in the first edition and therefore one can presume have their origin in $\omega$. The collation of L20 and L31 could confirm characteristics of $\omega$ and, because of the theoretical lack of conflation, the textual affiliations should be more evident.

## Chapter VI: Variants <br> Double Lower Case Signatures (aa TO ii)

## Chapter Summary

The variant distribution for the sets with the lower double case signatures shows that $\omega$ was a manuscript of the very best quality; the variants found in sets 10 to 13a indicate that the high quality of $\omega$ is sustained throughout these sets.

More than $78 \%$ of the variants for the sets analysed in this chapter are Cx2-O variants. These are witness to the archetypal quality of the source used to correct Cx 1 , by way of the readings introduced in Cx 2 . The fact that the variants that show this archetypal character of $\omega$ account for three-quarters of the total amount of variants in Cx2 is a strong proof of its high quality. All these variants can be seen in the electronic appendix b, double lower case signatures.

Some $11.5 \%$ of the variants are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. Many of these variants are just the result of compositorial mistakes, some others might turn out to be present in other witnesses --especially the printed editions-- when these are fully transcribed. ${ }^{1}$

The $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants account for almost $4 \%$ of the variants. These show that on most occasions when Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , Cx 2 has archetypal readings. On the other hand, when Cx 2 agrees with El , sometimes it does so in variants which might be archetypal, but more often their agreement is in variants that present a

[^68]variant distribution such that their character is difficult to establish. The general tendency in these variants is for the agreements of Cx 2 to be, more or less, evenly divided between Hg and El .

In some $6.5 \%$ of the cases, Cx 2 agrees with other witnesses against Hg and El . There are three witnesses that agree with Cx2 more consistently than any others: Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 . There are a total of $41 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, of which Ch is in agreement with Cx 2 on 8 occasions; Ha4 on 11, and Ad3 on 15. Of course, these witnesses also agree with Cx 2 in variants other than the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, a fact that must also be taken into account when determining the nature of $\omega$. A variant of great importance to establish a genetic relationship between Cx 2 and Ad 3 is PR 193. The reading on this line, that cannot be the result of a coincidence, confirms a common origin for Ad3 and $\omega$ which is supported throughout by less dramatic variants.

A very interesting finding in this chapter is that Ht agrees with Cx 2 in 15 occasions, that is, as many as Ad3 --which is the witness with most $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. The reason why Ht appears more predominantly in this chapter is because it has been transcribed for all the sets analysed here.

This chapter is also remarkable because it includes texts that are not included in Hg --L33 CY L31. One could have expected to find that these showed very different textual affiliations from texts that are found in Hg , and although the constant affiliations of Cx2 with Ad3 Ch and Ha4 are confirmed once more, there are some strong links with manuscripts of the a group which are not completely consistent with other sets.

Some of the agreements between Cx 2 and El within the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are archetypal readings in places where Hg has a non-archetypal reading. ${ }^{2}$

## 1. Set 10: The Clerk's Tale, link 13 and link $14{ }^{3}$

### 1.1 Set Summary

This set presents several of the same characteristics which can be seen in previous sets. There are agreements of Cx 2 with Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 that point towards a genetic relationship. However, set 10 also presents other important features that set it apart from previous sets. Among the minor variants, a vast number of them agree with Ht . It is not only that Cx2 agrees with this manuscript, but that it agrees with it in many more occasions than any other witness --even those which have been shown previously as closely related to $\omega$. This is something that has not happened in any other set. The reason for this is very simple: it is due to the fact that Ht has only been partially transcribed, so it was not always collated. In fact, Ht has only been collated in set 1 , because for GP L1 and MI all witnesses have been transcribed, but any agreements with Cx2 in set 1 might have been buried among other variants, since the set also included KN L2 RE L3 and CO. ${ }^{4}$ Ht was also transcribed for set 4, but again the set showed nothing unexpected.

[^69]Apart from the agreement between Cx 2 and Ht , there are no other features in this set that could be considered unusual. As mentioned above, the most common agreements are those with Ad 3 and Ch , and manuscripts belonging to the a group. Among the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants the division is very even and does not seem to point towards anything that the previous sets have not shown before. As in other cases, the variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg tend to be archetypal. But in this set, when Cx 2 agrees with El, usually there is a non-archetypal reading in Hg , that is, the variants shared by Cx 2 and El are ancestral to the tradition. Examples of this can be found in CL 49, CL 251, CL 308 and CL 685.

### 1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 1.2.1 Line Substitutions

Seven lines in Cx 1 were replaced in Cx 2 . All the substitutions are given below. As in previous sets, non-archetypal lines in Cx1 have been substituted by archetypal lines in Cx 2 .

CL 217a Cx1 Hit was hir lust and hir most ese
CL 217 Cx2 She knewe wel labour but none ydle ese

CL 455 Cx2 Redeles godr wote he thought her taffraye
CL 455a Cx1 Forbere , wherfore he purposid' on a day

CL 702a Cx1 And so wilful suche assayes to make
CL 702 Cx2 That whan they han a certeyn purpoos take

CL 774-1 Cx1 And forth he rood hastly and that anoon
CL 775a Cx1 Towaro Saluce this mayde forto gyde
CL 775 Cx2 Towaro Saluces and lordes many oon
CL 776 Cx2 In riche araye this mayde for to gyde
CL 997a Cx1 Here may ye se the peple how newe
CL 999-1 Cx1 And changeable be right as the mane

CL 997 Cx2 Delityng euer in rombel that is newe
CL 998 Cx2 For like the mone ay wax ye and wane

The collation of these lines indicates that in only one of them do we find a variant within the line which is not simply archetypal: CL 455 . However, the variant in CL 455 is the omission of a word and, as such, it might not be significant.

CL 455
Out: Cx1
Base nedelees god woot he thoghte hire for tafraye
Cx2 nedeles goor wote he thought her taffraye
Hg nedelees god woot he thoghte hir for tafraye
El nedelees god woot, he thoghte, hir for taffraye
for to ] Ch Dd Ds1 El Gg Hg Ra3
to ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx2 En1 Ha4 Ht La

In this case the agreement in omission between Ad3 Cx2 Bo2 Cp En1 Ha4 Ht and La could be seen as the result of a coincidence. However, because in previous sets we have seen that Ad3 Cx2 Ha4 and Ht are likely to be genetically related, the variant in CL 455 is interpreted as another indication of this relationship.

### 1.2.2 Line Additions:

There are no major additions in this set.

### 1.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no major deletions in this set.

### 1.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ${ }^{5}$

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

149 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 145 in CL, 3 in L13, 1 in L14.

20 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 19 in CL, 1 in L13, 0 in L14.
$12 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 12 in CL, none in L13, none in L14.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:

Hg against El: 5

El against Hg: 7
$11 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El . These are distributed as 11 in CL , none in L13, none in L14.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:

### 1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

### 1.3.1.1 Hg against El

There are five variants in this set in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El, three of which --CL 233, CL 589 and CL 594-- suggest the proximity of $\omega$ to the archetype of the tradition. However, two of the variants discussed below, are of ambiguous character --CL 165 and CL 300.

### 1.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements with Hg

```
CL 233
Base Ful ofte sithe , this Markys sette his eye
Cx1 Ful of this Markis he cast his ye
Cx2 Ful ofte sithys this markys sette his eye
Hg Ful ofte sithe , this Markys sette his eye
El Ful ofte sithe , this Markys caste his eye
sette ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 Gg Ha4 Hg La LI1 Ra3
    caste ] Cx1 El
```

In CL 233 we find that Cx 2 agrees with Hg Ad 3 Bo 2 Ch Cp Cx 2 Dd Ds1 Gg Ha 4 Hg La L11 and Ra3. Only El and Cx1 have the reading 'caste.' The variant distribution indicates that the Cx 2 reading is archetypal, but because it is so widely distributed it is not very helpful to trace $\omega$.

```
CL 589
Base $ But at Boloigne , he to his suster deere
Cx1 But at boleyn to his sustir dere
Cx2 But at boleyn he to his suster dere
Hg $ But at Boloigne, he to his suster deere
El But at Boloigne , to his suster deere
he ] Bo2 Ch Cx2 Gg Hg
    not present ] Dd Ds1 El En1Ha4 Ra3
    it ] Ad3 Cp Ht
```

CL 589 is another case of dubious metre. The personal pronoun 'he' is found in Cx2 Hg Bo 2 Ch and Gg . Other witnesses --Ad3 Cp Ht-- have 'it' instead. Cx1 El Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 and Ra3 do not have 'he,' and L11 has a deletion in the place in which the personal pronoun could have been. The agreement of Cx 2 Hg and Ch is not unusual, but the fact that this agreement is also shared by Bo 2 and Gg makes it relatively uncommon, and could indicate --through the variety of witnesses sharing the same
reading-- that some otherwise good textual witnesses, such as El, might have left it out by accident.

CL 594
Base And whos child that it was, he bad hire hyde
$\mathrm{C} \times 1$ And whoos child that it is he bad hym hyde
$\mathrm{C} \times 2$ And whoos chyld that it is he bad her hyde
Hg And whos child $\mathrm{b}^{+}$it was, he bad hir hyde
El And whos child that it was, he bad hym hyde
hire ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La LI1 Ra3 him ] Ds1 El En1

By the context of the line one immediately realises that the Cx 1 reading is a mistake, that the oblique pronoun should be a feminine one, not masculine. El and En1 agree with Cx 1 in this mistake. Cx 2 Hg Ad 3 Bo 2 Ch Cp Dd Gg Ha4 Ht La Ll1 and Ra3 have the feminine pronoun instead. Although in this case the variant distribution indicates that the Cx2 reading is the archetypal one, it is important to remember that variants that can easily be inferred by a contextual interpretation are to be considered with caution, since they might not necessarily be the result of the copying process and instead might be the consequences of scribal intervention.

### 1.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

```
CL }16
CL }165\mathrm{ after CL 163: Cp La
Base That what wyf that I take , ye me assure
Cx1 What wyf that y take that ye me ensure
```

| Cx2 | That what wyf that I take ye | massure |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Hg | That what wyf $\mathrm{p}^{\dagger}$ I take , ye me | assure |  |
| El | What | wyf that I take , ye me | assure |

Cx 2 is in agreement with Hg in having 'That what' at the beginning of this line. El , as Cx1, has 'What.' The rest of the witnesses are divided in their agreements. Bo2 Ch Ds1 En1 and Gg agree with El and Cx1; while Ad3 Dd Ha4 Ht Ll1 and Ra3 share the variant with Cx2 and El. Although this variant clearly changes the line's metre, it is difficult to know if the Cx 2 line is hypermetrical. It all depends on the pronunciation of the final 'e' of 'take.' It is possible that the variant in Hg and Cx 2 might have had its origin in an anticipation of the word 'that' after 'wyf.' It is interesting to find Ad3 in agreement with Cx 2 Ha 4 and Hg against El and Ch . The usual situation when the variants are so divided is to find Ad 3 in agreement with El --independently of any agreement or disagreement with Cx 2 . This seems to show that, putting aside the issue of this variant being archetypal or not, this variant has been genetically transmitted.


The presence or absence of the preposition 'in' could potentially affect the metre of CL 300. Any doubt arises due to the final 'e' in 'lette,' if this is to be pronounced the line
in Cx 1 and El is hypermetrical, if not, the presence of the preposition allows a regular iambic pentameter. Hg agrees with Cx 2 in not having the preposition, but the majority of the witnesses disagree with them. Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La L11 and Ra3 all have it. This variant distribution could point towards an agreement by coincidence between Cx 2 and Hg , in which both have left out a word. However, it is important to remember that in many cases Cx 2 and Hg are in agreement on very small matters and that this could be one of such cases.

### 1.3.1.2 El against Hg

In this set, Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg in seven occasions. What is peculiar about these agreements is the fact that four of them --CL 49, CL 251, CL 308 and CL 685-- are readings that are either archetypal or an improvement over the Hg reading. The Hg reading in the other two variants could be the archetypal one, but is not necessarily so.

### 1.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

```
CL 49
CL 49 out: Dd
```

Base Taketh his firste spryngyng / and his cours
Cx1 Takyngr his first spryngynge and his cours
Cx2 Takyng his first spryngyng and his sours
Hg Taketh his firste spryngyng , and his cours
El Taketh his firste spryngyng , and his sours

```
cours ] Bo2 Cx1 Hg
    sours Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ds1 El Ha4 Ht La Ra3
    shoours En1
```

The variant in CL 49 is the result of a mistake in the copying of the text. In this case it is possible to assess which variant is archetypal with relative ease. What happened here is that CL 50 has 'cours' as its rhyme word and a scribe miscopied this reading into the previous line, where the reading should be 'sours' as in Cx 2 El and many other witnesses. ${ }^{6} \mathrm{Hg}$ could have been the source of the mistake or have copied it from the exemplar he was working from, but undoubtedly, the archetypal reading is the one found in Cx2 El Ad3 Ch Ds1 Ha4 Ht La and Ra3.
CL 251
Base Wol he nat wedde, allas the while
Cx1 Wol he not wedde allas the whyle
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ Wol he not wedde allas allas the whyle
Hg Wol he nat wedde, allas the while
El Wol he nat wedde, allas allas the while :
allas ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Hg
allas allas ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd El Ht La LI1 Ra3

Cx 2 has the word 'allas' repeated, a reading that is supported by El Ad 3 Ch Cp Dd Ha4 Ht La Ll1 and Ra3. This repetition makes the metre of the line regular and because of its distribution among the witnesses one could assume that this is the archetypal version of the line. Hg agrees with Cx 1 Bo 2 Ds 1 En 1 and Gg in having a single 'allas.'

[^70]```
CL 308
Base As for my wyf vnto my lyues ende
Cx1 As to my wyf vnto our lyuys ende
Cx2 As to my wyf vnto her lyuys ende
Hg As formy wyfr vn to my lyues ende
El As for my wyf vn to hir lyues ende
my ] Bo2 Gg Hg Ht LI1
    hir ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1La Ra3
    our ] Cx1
```

Cx2 agrees with El and the majority of the collated witnesses --Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 La Ra3-- in the reading 'hir' (pronoun possessive feminine), against the Hg reading 'my,' supported by Bo2 and Ht. Cx1 has 'our.' The variant distribution seems to indicate that the Cx 2 reading is archetypal since several $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts --Ad3 Ch El and Ra3-- share it. CL 308 presents a variant that has a great interest from an interpretative perspective, since the variant readings present the character of Walter in a different light. This variant would contribute to study of the scribal reception of the text.

```
CL 685
```

Base He wente his wey / as hym no thyng roghte
Cx1 He wente his wey as he no thing thoughte

Cx2 He went his wey as he no thyng ne roughte
Hg He wente his wey , as hym no thyng roghte
El He wente his wey , as hym no thyng ne rogћte
thyng ] Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Hg Ht La LI1 Ra3 thyng ne ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd El Ha4

Once more we have a variant in which the decision about its effect on the metre has to do with the interpretation about a final ' -e ', in this case the one in 'roghte.' Cx 2 and

El have added the adverb 'ne' just before 'roghte,' and in this, they are supported by Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd El and Ha4. Hg, on the other hand, agrees with Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Ht La Ll1 and Ra3, in not having the adverb. Independently of whether the presence or absence of this adverb might belong to the origin of the tradition, we find that here Cx 2 is in agreement with Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 , which again may indicate a genetic relationship between these witnesses.
1.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character and Likely Agreements by Coincidence

```
CL 530
Base They mowe wel been, biwailled , or compleyned
Cx1 They may weel be bewaylid}\mathrm{ or compleyned
Cx2 They may wel be bewaylid and` compleyned
Hg They mowe wel been , biwailled / or compleyned
El They mowe wel been , biwailled and compleyned
or ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ha4 Hg La
    and Ad3 Ds1 El En1 Gg Ht Ra3
```

CL 530 has a change in the conjunction: Cx2 has 'and' and Cx 1 has 'or.' The Cx2 reading is supported by El Ad 3 Ds 1 En 1 Gg Ht and Ra 3 , while the Cx 1 reading is found in Hg Bo 2 Ch Cp Dd Ha 4 and La . This is a perfectly even distribution of the witnesses numerically, half of them agreeing with one reading and the other half with the other. It is unusual that Cx 2 is in agreement with Ad 3 but not with Ch and Ha 4 , which raises the possibility of it being the result of an agreement by coincidence.


El O many a teere , on many a pitous face
o ] Bo2 Ch Ha4 Hg Ht not present ] Ds1 Dd En1 and ] Ad3 Ra3 on ] Cp Cx2 El Gg La of ] Cx 1

In this line we find that Cx 2 agrees with El in the reading 'on' instead of 'o,' which is the Hg reading. Although the Cx 2 reading is also found in Cp Gg and La , it seems unlikely that it could be archetypal. On this occasion Hg probably has the archetypal reading. The only problem with this is that it does not explain the agreement of Cx 2 with $\mathbf{c}$ group manuscripts, which are unlikely to be genetically related to $\omega$. At this point, I will assume that this agreement is an agreement by coincidence in a substitution that seems easy to make.
1.3.1.2.3 Agreement with El and Ha 4 below the Archetype

```
    CL }114
    CL 1148 after CL 1146: LI1
    Base This storie, which he with heigh stile enditeth ,
    Cx1 This story whiche with hig\hbar stile enditit\hbar
    Cx2 This story whiche with high style he endytith
    Hg This storie, which he with heigh stile enditeth ,
    El This storie , which w
    he with heigh stile enditeth] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Ds1 Gg Hg La LI1 Ra3
    with heigh stile he enditeth ] Cx2 Dd El En1 Ha4 Ht
```

In CL 1148, Cx2 has the personal pronoun 'he' before 'enditeth.' Only four other witnesses share the Cx 2 reading: El Dd Ha 4 and Ht . The line in Hg has the pronoun before 'with,' in a position also found in Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Ds1 Gg La L11 and Ra3.

This variant distribution suggest that the Hg version of the line is likely to be the one that is archetypal, while the Cx2 version is a derivative one. However, the most important fact is that Ha 4 is, once more, in agreement with Cx 2 .

### 1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Some of the variants in this section show the consistent agreement of Cx 2 with Ha4 and Ch. There are a few variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Ht , and in one of these the agreement is against all other witnesses --CL 807. Perhaps the most interesting variant is the one in CL 1067, where Hg and El agree in error and Cx2 has what is probably the ancestral reading. In CL 1063 we find another variant of possible archetypal origin preserved in Cx2.

### 1.3.2.1 Archetypal Variants (Hg and El agree in Error)



Here Cx2 has added the adverb 'ne' after 'wyf,' a reading which is supported by the majority of the witnesses. This addition alters the metre of the line, but its wide distribution indicates that this was widely accepted by the scribes. It is interesting
that this variant appears in $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts even if these are of independent descent. One could assume that this variant in likely to be archetypal, that is, because the variant is present in manuscripts that share no other relationship than being descended from the archetype, it is likely that the reading comes directly from it.

CL 1067

Base \begin{tabular}{l}
Shal be myn heir , as I haue ay <br>
$\mathrm{Cx1}$

 Shal be myn heir as I haue 

supposed <br>
disposior
\end{tabular}

The variant in CL 1067 is one of the most interesting in this set. Cx2 has substituted the Cx1 reading, 'disposid' with 'purposed.' However, both Hg and El have 'supposed' --also found in Bo2 and Gg. This is an instance in which Hg and El agree in error. The mistake came from CL 1065, which ends with the word 'supposed,' both Hg and El miscopied CL 1067 adding the rhyme word of CL 1065. The archetypal reading is the lectio difficilior, the reading in Cx2 'purposed' which some witnesses Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1-- have changed for an easier reading 'disposed.'
1.3.2.2 Agreements with Ad3 Ch or Ha4 Probably Introduced below the Archetype

CL 6
Base But Salomon seith , euery thyng hath tyme
Cx1 But Salamon sayde euery thing hath tyme
Cx2 But Salamon sayd that al thyng hath tyme

```
Hg But Salomon seith , euery thyng hath tyme
El But Salomon seith, euery thyng hath tyme
euery ] Cp Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg La Ra3
        that euery ] Ad3 Ch Dd
        that al ] Cx2
        al ] H\dagger
```

There are two variants in CL 6 . The first one is the agreement of Cx 2 with Ad3 Ch and Dd in having the word 'that,' which makes the line in the three manuscripts hypermetrical. The line in Cx 2 is the metrical equivalent of that in El and Hg because Cx2 has 'al' instead of 'euery,' as Ad3 Ch and Dd have. There is a witness that supports the reading 'al', Ht , although this manuscript does not have the 'that' present in the other witnesses. One could argue that the agreement with Ad3 Ch and Dd is likely to be genetic, but it is more difficult to make a firm statement about Cx2's relationship with Ht , because this manuscript has not been collated throughout.

## CL 56

Base But this his tale, which that ye shal heere
Cx1 But thus he begynneth his tale as ye mow here
Cx2 But this is his tale as ye mow here
Hg But this his tale , which $p^{+}$ye shal heere
El But this his tale , which that ye may heere

But this his tale ] Ad3 Bo2 Dd El Hg
But this is his ] Ch Cx2 Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La Ra3
But thus he begynneth ] Cx 1

The Cx1 reading 'he begynneth' has been replaced in Cx2 by 'is.' A few witnesses support the Cx2 reading, Ch Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La and Ra3. We have seen before that in many cases Cx2 agrees with a group manuscripts but, in this case, Dd does not share the variant. The agreement with Ch and Ha 4 is consistent with other sets and
keeps confirming that there is a genetic relationship between these manuscripts and Cx2.

CL 866
Base But feith , and nakednesse / and maydenhede
Cx1 But feith and nakidnes and my maydenhede
Cx2 But feyth nakydnes and my maydenhede
Hg But feith , and nakednesse, and maydenhede
El But feith and nakednesse, and maydenhede
and] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Hg La not present ] Cx2 HI4 Ha4 LI1

Cx2 has suppressed the conjunction 'and' before 'nakednesse' and H14 Ha4 and L11 support this reading. All the other witnesses are in agreement with Cx 1 in this case.
1.3.2.3 Agreements with Ht Possibly Introduced below the Archetype

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CL } 154 \\
& \text { Base That choys, and pray yow of that profre cesse } \\
& \text { Cx1 That chois and pray you of your profir sece } \\
& \text { Cx2 That chois I pray you of that profir sece } \\
& \mathrm{Hg} \text { That choys / and pray yow of that pfre cesse } \\
& \mathrm{El} \text { That choys / and prey of that profre cesse } \\
& \text { and] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Dp Dd Ds1 En1 El Gg Ha4 Hg La LI1 Ra3 } \\
& \text { I ] Cx2 Ht }
\end{aligned}
$$

In CL 154 , Cx2 substitutes the conduction 'and' with the personal pronoun 'I.' This reading is supported only by Ht , while the remaining witnesses agree with Cx 1 and Hg. L11 has the same reading as Cx 2 and Ht , but it has it in a different position.

Although the agreement with Ht might not seem very informative, this set consistently presents variants which are shared by Cx 2 and Ht .

```
CL 807
Base And thilke dowere , that ye broghten me
Cx1 Andr that dower that ye broughte me
Cx2 And that dower that ye broughte to me
Hg And thilke dower , b}\mp@subsup{}{}{+}\mathrm{ ye broghten me
El And thilke dower , that ye broghten me
broghten ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La LI1
    broghten to ] Cx2 Ht
```

As in CL 154, this line presents an agreement between Cx2 and Ht, which is the addition of the preposition 'to' before 'me.' The rest of the collated witnesses agree in not having this preposition which indicates that the addition is probably nonarchetypal.

CL 870
Base Inwith youre chambre , dar I saufly sayn
Cx1 With ynne your chamber I dar it safly seyn
Cx2 With yune your chambyr I dar safly seyn
Hg Inwith your chambre , dar I saufly sayn
El In with your chambre , dar I saufly sayn

## I ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp El Gg Hg La LI1 it ] Cx1 Dd En1 <br> not present ] Cx2 Ds 1 HI 4 Ht

CL 870 is another case of Cx 2 suppressing a reading present in Cx 1 . In this case, it is the suppression of the personal pronoun 'it.' The Cx1 reading was present in Dd and

En1 --a group manuscripts.

### 1.3.2.4 Variants of Ambiguous Character

CL 193
Base Swich charge yaf, as hym liste on hem leye Cx1 Suche charge yaf as hym list on hem leye
Cx2 Suche charge yaf as he lyst on hem leye
Hg Swich charge yaf, as hym liste on hem leye
El Swich charge yaf , as hym liste on hem leye
hym ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ll1 Ra3 he ] Cx2 Ds1

Once more we have an agreement of Cx 2 with a single other witness. In this case it is the a group manuscript Ds1 . They share the reading 'he' instead of the Cx1 'hym,' which is supported by the majority of the witnesses.

CL 513

| Base But yet he feyned, as he were nat so |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | But yet he semyd, as he were not | so |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ But yet it semed, as he were not so |  |  |
| Hg | But yet he feyned, as he were nat so |  |
| El | But yet he feyned, as he were nat so |  |

he ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Hg Ha4 Ht La Ra3
it ] Cx2 Ds1

In CL 513, Cx2 has substituted the personal pronoun 'he' with 'it.' The majority of the witnesses agree with the Cx 1 reading, which is the Hg and El reading. Only two a group manuscripts --Ds and En1-- are in agreement with Cx2.

## 2. Set 11: The Nun's Tale, link 33 and the Canon's Yeoman's Tale ${ }^{7}$

### 2.1 Set Summary

Just as set 3 , set 11 presents an interesting feature that is determinant for the interpretation of its data: L33 and CY are not present in Hg. For this reason, some adjustments have to be made to the way in which the text is approached. Although Blake indicates in his lineation system that the base text for L33 and CY should be Cp , I have decided to have El as the base for collations involving more witnesses than just Caxton's editions. One could have expected that because L33 and CY are not present in Hg that this set might have shown different textual affiliations than those present in other sets. Leaving aside the fact that there are no agreements with Hg --for obvious reasons-- in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, the set shows some of the general characteristics of other sets. However, there are some inconsistencies in the agreements of Cx 2 in this set and, even though, it is difficult to point out the cause of these, they must be taken into account in the overall analysis of the variants. Here we find that there are some persistent agreements with En1 and Ds1, but these do not seem to fit with Cx2 usual affiliations. On other occasions, Cx2 resumes its agreements with Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 . There are also agreements with other a group manuscripts.

### 2.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 2.2.1 Line Substitutions

[^71]Among the line substitutions we can find some variants within the line that are not simply archetypal. These can be found in lines NU 84 and CY 300a. The variant in CY 300a is a singleton, but the one in NU 84 is stemmatically significant and deserves especial attention. The case of CY 300a is one of the very rare cases in which an ancestral line is substituted by a non-ancestral one.

A complete list of substituted lines follows:
nU 84a Cx1 As ferforth as goor wyl me grace [dub]sende[/dub]
nU 84 Cx2 And pray you that ye wil my werke amende
nU 245a Cx1 He spak vnto his brother in gret haste
nu 245 Cx 2 Within his herte [] he gan to wonder faste
nU 544a Cx1 To perfourme that I before haue do
nU 544 Cx2 To recomende to you or that I goo
CY 300 Cx1 Wherof no force I wol procede as now
CY 300a Cx2 Therof no force in plesaunce went his plow

As I mentioned above, NU 84 has a variant within the line that is stemmatically significant.

```
MU }8
nu 84 out: Cx1
Base And pray yow, that ye wol my werk amende
Cx2 And pray you that ye wil my werke amende
Hg And pray yow , that ye wol my werk amende
El I pray yow, that ye wole my werkr amende
And ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Hg Ht La Ra3
    I ] Ad3 El Ha4
```

The majority of the witnesses agree with Cx 2 and Hg in the reading 'And.' It is remarkable, however, that Ad3 and Ha4 support the El reading 'I.' The change of the conjunction for the pronoun does not affect the metre of the line. The variant
distribution indicates that the Cx2 reading is likely to be archetypal. It is difficult to explain how the reading in El Ha 4 and Ad3 arose, but it is highly unlikely that the agreement between these manuscript could be the result of a coincidence and, for this reason one has to conclude that the variant was introduced by a witness that may have well been the ultimate ancestor of these manuscripts.

### 2.2.2 Line Additions

Most of the major additions are archetypal. There are only three lines that present different kinds of variation. One of the added lines (L33 155) has a singleton variant, and L33 151 and 153 present variants that are stemmatically significant.

L33 151 Cx2 Al that I can anon I wyl you telle
L33 152 Cx2 Syn he is goon the foule fende hym quelle
L33 153 Cx2 For neuer here after wyl I with hym mete
L33 154 Cx2 For peny ne for pound I you byhete
L33 155 Cx2 He that me first brought to that game
L33 156 Cx2 Or that he dye sorowe haue he and stame

CY 68 Cx 2 By cause that I am a lewor man
CY 69 Cx2 Yet wil I telle hem as they come to mynde
CY 70 Cx2 Though I ne can not sette them in her kynde

Although there are two lines in which we find variants within the line that might be potentially stemmatically significant, their analysis shows that these are not as important as expected. L33 151 exhibits an alteration in word order, while L33 153 shows that the El scribe left a word out of the line and the rest of the collated witnesses agree with it.

| L33 151 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| L33 | $151 \ldots$ L33 156 out: Cx1 |  |  |
| Base Al that I kan , |  |  |  |
| anon now wol I | telle |  |  |
| Cx2 Al that I can | anon I wyl you | telle |  |
| El Al that I kan , | anon now wol I | telle |  |

```
now wol I ] Ad3 El Gg Ha4
    I wol you ] Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1
    right wol I ] Cp
    none wol I ] Ht La
```

In L33 151, Cx2 has the phrase 'I wol you' where El has 'now wol I.' The manuscripts that share the Cx 2 reading are those that belong to the a group --Dd Ds1 and En1. Usually, variations in the order of a phrase are of doubtful origin and are difficult to use to show any stemmatic relations. However, in the case of L33 151, because Cx2 agrees with manuscripts of the a group we cannot dismiss this particular variant as non-genetic. In fact, because it is found in three a manuscripts it seems possible that this variant might have been in the hyparchetype of the group.

```
L33 153
Out: Cx1 Gg
Base For neuer her after wol l with him mete
Cx2 For neuer here after wyl I with hym mete
El For neưe heer wol I with hym meete
her wol ] El
    her after wol ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La
```

In L33 153, Cx2 agrees with the majority of the collated witnesses in the reading 'after,' which is not present in El. It seems quite clear that the El scribe made a mistake when copying this line.

### 2.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no major deletions in this set.

### 2.2.4 Line Misplacements

L33 31 Cx2 Fast haue I pricked quod he for your sake

## L33 32 Cx2 By cause that I wolde you ouer take

These lines are placed after line 34 in Cx 1 and their regular place in Cx 2 .

## 2. 3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

116 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 34 in $\mathrm{NU}, 12$ in L33, and 70 in CY.

22 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 5 in NU, 1 in L33, and 16 in CY.
$4 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 4 in NU.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:

Hg against El: 2

El against Hg: 2

7 Cx 2 -El variants, these occur in texts that are not present in Hg. These are distributed as 1 in L33, and 6 in CY. ${ }^{8}$
$7 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against Hg and El. These are distributed as 2 in NU, 1 in L33, and 4 in CY. ${ }^{9}$

[^72]
### 2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Of the eleven variants in this category, eight are discussed below. Because there are only two Hg against El variants both of them are being taken into account. Of the eight El against Hg variants, six are discussed below. The other two --L33 16 and CY 296-- can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 2.3.1.1 because they are likely to be the result of agreements by coincidence.

### 2.3.1.1 Hg against El

In this set there are two variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El and both of them appear to be archetypal readings.

### 2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants

| nu 178 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | For secree | nedes | and for | good entent |
| Cx1 | For secretnes |  | and for | good entent |
| Cx2 | For secret | nedes | and for | good entent |
| Hg | For secree | nedes | / and for | good entente |
| El | For secree | thynge | , and for | good entente |
| nedes ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3 secretnes ] Cx1 <br> thynges ] El |  |  |  |  |

In this line Cx 2 agrees with the Hg reading 'nedes' which is supported by the majority of the witnesses. In the current collation, El is alone in the reading 'thynges.' Not even Gg , which is often in agreement with El , shares this reading.
nu 182
Base Thanne shal ye seen that Aungel / er we twynne
Cx1 Than shal ye se that aungel or ye twynne
Cx2 Than shal ye se the aungel or we twynne
Hg Thanne shal ye seen that Aungel / er we twynne
El Thanne shul ye se, that Angel er ye twynne

```
we ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Hg
    ye ] Bo2 Cp Cx1 El Ht La Ra3
```

In NU 182, Cx 2 agrees with Hg and other witnesses in the reading 'we' before 'twynne.' Other witnesses in agreement with Cx2 are Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 and En1. The El reading is 'ye,' which probably is a mistake caused by the previous appearance of the personal pronoun in this line. This reading is also found in Cp Cx 1 Gg Ha 4 Ht La and Ra3.

### 2.3.1.2 El against Hg

There are two variants in which Cx2 agrees with El. In two of those the agreement is against the Hg reading. ${ }^{10}$

### 2.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

| nu 512 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | \$ Thise | and | swiche othere , | seyde she |
| Cx1 | This | and ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | suche other | sayde she |
| Cx2 | This | and ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | suche other wordes | sayde she |
| $\mathrm{Hg} \quad \Phi$ | \$ Thise | 1 and | swiche othere | seyde she |
| El $\Phi$ | ¢ Thise w | wordes / and | swiche othere | seyde she |
| Thise and swiche othere ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ra3 |  |  |  |  |
| Thise and swiche othere wordes ] Cx2 Cp Ht |  |  |  |  |
| Thise wordes and swiche othere ] El Gg Ha4 |  |  |  |  |
| Thus and swiche othere wordes ] La |  |  |  |  |

NU 512 presents an unusual case, Cx2 has added the word 'wordes' after 'other.' El has the same addition but in a different position, just after 'Thise.' The line as it appears in Hg is clearly not a iambic pentameter, but is supported by Ad 3 Bo 2 Ch Dd

[^73]Ds1 En1 and Ra3. The addition of 'wordes' in the position in which Cx 2 has it, is also found in Cp Ht and La , three of the manuscripts that were in agreement with Cx 2 in NU 51.

It also seems important to point out that there are two manuscripts that have this addition in the same position as El: Gg and Ha4. The consistency of this agreement with those found in other sets, and of the agreement of Cx 2 within this set, indicate that this variant might be of great importance to establish textual relationships among these witnesses.

### 2.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character



In this line we find that both Cx 2 and El have added the preposition 'wyth' before 'suche.' Other witnesses that agree with this reading are $\mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{La} \mathrm{--all} \mathrm{these}$ witnesses also agree with the El variant in NU 182, in which El agrees with Cx2. The addition of 'wyth' in this line appears to make a regular iambic pentameter. However, it does not seem possible to tell which of these variants is archetypal.

### 2.3.2 Cx2-El Variants

This particular set, as I have said before, has a link and tale that are not present in Hg , L33 and CY. Two variants --L33 16 and CY 296-- have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 2.3.1.2.

### 2.3.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

```
CY 604
Base And wonder pryuely , took vp also
Cx1 And` wondir priuely took it vp also
Cx2 And wonder pryuely he took vp also
El And wonder pryuely, took vp also
took vp ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El En1 Gg Ha4
    took it vp ] Cp Cx1 Ds1 Ht La
```

CY 604 has the pronoun 'it' in Cx1, which is not present in Cx2. The presence or absence of this word results in the alteration of the metre of the line. El Ad3 Ch En1 Gg and Ha4, as well as Cx2, lack this word. On the other hand Cp Ds1 Ht and La support the Cx 1 reading. It seems possible that the version of the line in El and Cx 2 is archetypal since its distribution seems not to be linked to a genetic group --as is the case for the $\mathbf{c}$ group which supports the Cx 1 reading.

CY 630
Base Than hadde this preest this soory craft to leere
Cx1 Than hadde this preest this craft forto lere
Cx2 Than had this preest this sory craft to lere El Than hadde this preestr this soory craft to leere soory ] Ad3 Cx2 Ds1 El En1 Gg not present ] Ch Cp Cx1 Ha4 Ht La

Several of the collated witnesses have the reading 'soory' before 'craft.' But the reading has been omitted from Ch Cp Cx1 Ha4 and La. Cx2 agrees with Ad3, but also with manuscripts of the a group --Ds En1-- and with Gg and El. The second variant in this line is 'to' in which the majority of the witnesses agree with Cx 2 . Only Ch is in agreement with Cx1; an agreement which can be explained as the result of a coincidence.

### 2.3.2.1 Agreements with El or a Group Witnesses below the Archetype

```
CY 253
CY 253 after CY 252: Cx1 Cx2 Ad3 Ch Cp Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
Base Ther was , a Chanoun of Religioun
Cx1 Ther is a chauon of Religion
Cx2 There was a chanon of relygyon
El Ther was , a Chanoū of Religioun
was ] Cx2 Ds1 El En1
    is ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
```

In this line Cx 2 agrees with El against the majority of the collated witnesses. Only Ds1 and En1, manuscripts from the a group, agree with Cx2 and El. Witnesses that usually agree with Cx 2 such as Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 have the reading 'is.' Gg , which, often agrees with El in variant readings, also reads 'is.' It is likely that the reading in Cx 2 and El is not archetypal.

CY 584
Base But he was feendly , bothe in herte and thoght Cx1 But he was fendly bothe in work and thought Cx2 But he was fendly bothe in herte and thought El But he was feendly , bothe in herte and thoghtr

```
herte] Cx2 Ds1 El En1
    werke ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
```

As in CY 253, this line shows an agreement between Cx2 El Ds1 and En1. All of them have the reading 'herte' instead of 'werke,' which is found in the rest of the collated witnesses.

### 2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of the seven variants that comprise this set, I discuss four here. For the discussion of CY 274, CY 604 and CY 714 see the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 2.3.2. All of these seem to be the result of agreement by coincidence.

### 2.3.2.1 Archetypal Variant

L33 10
Base So swatte, that vnnethe myghte it gon
Cx1 So swatte that vnnethis mighte it goon
Cx2 So swette that vnnethys myght he goon
El So swatte, that vnnethe myghte it gon
it ] Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg he ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La

The variant in L33 10 is very interesting, since Cx 2 and El disagree. El has the reading 'it', while Cx2, supported by Ad 3 Ha 4 Ht Cp and La , the last two belonging to the $\mathbf{c}$ group, reads 'he.' This is the only instance in L33 in which Cx2 disagrees with El in a stemmatically significant variant. What is important about it is that Ad3 and Ha4 support the Cx 2 reading, which indicates a genetic relationship.
2.3.2.2 Agreement with a Group Witnesses below the Archetype
CY 246
Base nis nat good, what so men clappe or crye
Cx1 nys not good what so euer men
Cx2 nys not good what so
El ne clappe or crye
nis nat good, what so men clappe or crye
men ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Ht La
we ] Cx2 Ds1 En1

Line CY 246 presents an agreement between Cx2 Ds1 and En1, all of which have the reading 'we' instead of 'men,' as has the majority of the witnesses --El Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Ha 4 Ht and La. This would have seem an unlikely occurrence, perhaps the result of agreement by coincidence, if it were not for the fact that En1 and Ds1 have shown some consistency with Cx 2 in CY . At this time, the possibility of a genetic relationship between Cx2 Ds1 and En1 has to remain open. If this is the case, it would not be that surprising for, after all, En1 and Ds1 belong to the a group.

### 2.3.2.3 Likely Agreements by Coincidence

nU 175
Base Sey hem right thus, as that I shal yow tellen
$\mathrm{Cx1}$ Sey hem right thus as I shal you tellyn
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ Sey hem right
Hg Sey hem right thus, as that I shal you tellyn
El Sey hem right thus, as that I shal yow tellen
right thus as that ] Cp El Hg La
right as that ] Ad3 Ch Cx1 Do Ds1 En1 Ra3
right as ] Gg
right thus as ] Ht

The suppression of 'thus' in Cx2 --supported by Ad3 Ch Dd En1 and Gg-- alters the metre of the line. The fact that this word is not present in Ad3 Ch and manuscripts belonging to the a group suggests that the suppression was transmitted from witness to witness. It is not clear, at this point, if the variant in Gg is genetic or if it might be the result of an agreement by coincidence

```
nU 330
Base \$ By word and by myracle , he goddes sone
Cx1 By worde anor by mirakil lo goddis son̄
Cx2 By worde and by myrakyl be goddys sone
El By word and by myracle, goddes sone
\(\mathrm{Hg} \Phi \mathrm{By}\) word and by myracle, he goddes sone
he ] Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Hg Ht Ra3
        be ] Bo2 Cx2
        lo ] Cx1
        not present ] El
```

In NU 330 we find that Hg reads 'he' before 'goddes,' and the majority of the collated witnesses agree with this reading. Cx2, on the other hand, has the reading 'be' only supported by Bo2. It is likely that 'be' is a mistaken product of the structure of the line which repeats 'be' twice before this. If this were a mistake, its origin could be explained by a scribe misunderstanding the shape of the ' h ' and copying it as ' b '.

## 3. Set 12: The Physician's Tale, Link 21 and the Pardoner's Tale ${ }^{11}$

### 3.1 Set Summary

In this set the manuscript which is most consistently in agreement with Cx 2 is Ad3. It agrees with Cx 2 in three of the four occasions in which this agrees with Hg ; and in one of two agreements with El. Ad3 also has the highest percentage of agreement with Cx 2 in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, where it supports the Cx 2 readings five times out of eleven.

### 3.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 3.2.1 Line Substitutions

Among the line substitutions we can find some variants within the line that are not simply archetypal.

A complete list of substituted lines follows:

PH 82a Cx1 Kepe wel tho that ye haue vndertake
PH 82 Cx2 To teche hem vertu loke that ye not slake
L21 5a Cx1 So falle on his body and on his bonys
L21 6a Cx1 To the deuyl I betake hym attonys
L21 5 Cx2 Come to thise fals luges 7 her aduocats
L21 6 Cx 2 Allas this sely mayde is sleyn allas

PD 28a Cx1 Touche he this boon anone he shal be sounde
PD 29a Cx1 And yet also more ferthirmore
PD 28 Cx2 Take water of this welle 7 wasshe his tunge
PD 29 Cx2 And it is hool anon / and ferthermore
PD 33a Cx1 Andr wold do ony thing that hym oweth
PD 33 Cx 2 Yf that the good man that the bestys oweth

[^74]PD 138a Cx1 And pleye the harlottis in many hernys
PD 138 Cx2 Where as wyth harpes lutes and gyternes
PD 294a Cx1 Loke thou vse no pley of dyse in thy hous
PD 294 Cx2 The kyng of parthes as the boke sayth vs
PD 542a Cx1 Andr swithe in to the strete vnto a man
PD 541a Cx1 As faste as euer he mighte he ran
PD 541 Cx2 This poyson in a boxe 7 sith he ran
PD 542 Cx2 In to the nexte strete vnto a man

This set presents several variants within the lines in the substitutions included in Cx 2 . Some of the lines in this set are not merely archetypal. For example, we have PH 246:

PH 246
Out: Cx1
Base And after , whan hir swownyng is agon
Cx2 And after whan her swouuyng was a goon
Hg And after , whan hir swownyng is agon
El And after whan hir swownyng is agon
is ] Ch Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg
was ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La

In PH 246 we find that Cx2 has the preterit 'was' where Hg and El have 'is.' The Cx2 variant is supported by Ad 3 Bo 2 Cp Ha 4 Ht and La . The key witnesses in this agreement are Ad 3 Ha 4 and Ht , but clearly Ch agrees with Hg and El. Because the readings are metrically equivalent and both of them are contextually acceptable, there is no way to decide which of them is archetypal. Not even the variant distribution can give any suggestion in this case. The weight of editorial tradition is the only pointer towards the Hg and El variant.

## L21 5

Out: Cp Cx1 Ha4 La
Base Come to thise luges , and hir Aduocatz
Cx2 Come to thise fals luges 7 her aduocats
Hg Come to thise luges , and hir Aduocatz
El Come to thise false luges , and hir Aduocatz
thise ] Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ht thise fals ] Bo2 Cx2 El

In L21 5 we have a variant that clearly affects the metre of the line. Cx 2 has added 'false' before judges, a reading that is also present in El and Bo2. All the other collated witnesses agree with Hg in a version of the line that is metrically more regular.

```
L21 }
L21 6 after L21 5: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg Ht
Out: Cp Cx1 Ha4 La
Base Algate this selymayde , is slayn allas
Cx2 Allas this sely mayde is sleyn allas
Hg Algate this sely mayde , is slayn allas
El Algate, this sely mayde , is slayn allas
Ds Algate this seli maade is slain algates
En1 Allas this sely maio is slayr algates
Algate ] Bo2 Ch Dd Ds1 El Hg
        Alwey ] Ad3
        Allas ] Cx2 En1
        Algates ] H\dagger
```

L21 6 presents what it is likely to be an agreement by coincidence between Cx 2 and En1. It appears that the rhyme word of the line was reproduced also at the beginning of it in Cx2 --in En1 the words have been shifted.

Besides the peculiarities outlined above, all the line substitutions are changes of non-archetypal lines for archetypal ones.

### 3.2.2 Line Additions

All of the line additions in this set are archetypal, that is, they do not have variants within the line.

PH 246 Cx2 And after whan her swouuyng was a goon

PD 120 Cx2 I wyl haue money, wulle chese anor whete

PD 265 Cx2 Blasphemye of crist manslaughtre 7 waste also

### 3.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no deletions in this set.

### 3.2.3 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 3.3. Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

113 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 44 in PH, 3 in L21, 66 in PD.

17 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 5 in $\mathrm{PH}, 0$ in L21, 12 in PD.
$6 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 1 in $\mathrm{PH}, 0$ in L21, 5 in PD.

Hg against El: 4

El against Hg : 2
$11 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El. These are distributed as 3 in $\mathrm{PH}, 1$ in L21, 7 in PD.

### 3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Of a total of $6 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, four are discussed below. Only one variant has been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 3.3.1: PD 22. This is an agreement of Cx 2 and El against Hg , but is possibly an agreement by coincidence.

### 3.3.1.1 Hg against El

Of the Hg against El variants we find that only one of them --PD 465-- has a variant distribution that does not show a clear archetypal character. Its variant distribution suggests that Cx 2 and Hg agree in a non-archetypal reading.
3.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants

```
PD 293
PD 293 after PD 294a: Cx1 Cp
PD 293 after PD 294-a: La
Base \(\Phi\) Looke eek , that to the kyng Demetrius
Cx1 Loke eke how the kynge Emetrus
Cx2 Loke eke how to the kynge demetryus
Hg \Phi Looke eek / that to the kyng Demetrius
El $ Looke eekz that the kyng Demetrius
to ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1Gg Hg Ht
    not present ] Cx1 El Ha4 La
```

In PD 293 Cx 2 has added the preposition 'to,' a reading also found in Hg and other witnesses -- Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ht.

El, in which the preposition is not present, is supported by Cx1 Ha4 and La. It seems likely that the Cx 2 reading is archetypal and that some manuscripts have omitted it.

| Base But ech of hem, so glad | was of the sighte |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | But ech of theym, so glad | was of that sighte |  |
| Cx2 | But eche of theym | so glad | was of the sighte |
| Hg | But ech of hem, | so glad | was of the sighte |
| El | But ech of hem, | so glad | was of that sigћte | that ] Bo2 Cx1 El Ha4 Ht

In this line Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El in the having 'the' instead of 'that.' The Cx2 reading is supported also by Ad 3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg and La, and it is likely to be archetypal.

```
PD 475
Base And bad hem drawe, and looke wher it wol falle
Cx1 And bad him drawe 7 loke on whom it wold fatt
Cx2 And bad hē drawe 7 loke on whō it wold falle
Hg And bad hem drawe, and looke wher it wol falle
El And bad hym drawe, and looke wher it wol falle
hem ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 Hg La
        hym ] Ch Cx1 El Ht
```

In this line we find a personal pronoun in its oblique form, Cx 2 and Hg have a plural form, while Cx 1 and El have a singular. The Cx 2 reading is found in the majority of the witnesses -- Ad3 Bo2 Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 and La-- and it is likely to be archetypal. Moreover in the context of the previous and following line the plural makes more sense than a singular.

PD 465

| Base | Therfore I rede, | that cut | amonges | vs alle |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | Wherfore I rede leet loke |  | among | vs alle |  |
| Cx2 | Therfore I rede let | loke |  | amonge | vs alle |
| Hg | Ther fore I rede, | that cut amonges | vs alle |  |  |
| El | Wherfore I rede , | $\mathrm{b}^{\dagger}$ | Cut among | vs alle |  |

Therfore ] Bo2 Cx2 Hg Gg
Wherfore ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Ht La

In PD 465 Cx 2 and Hg agree with Bo 2 and Gg in the reading 'Therfore' while Cx 1 El Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht and La have 'Wherfore.' Although this variant has no impact in metre or meaning and seems quite difficult to analyse, its distribution seems to point towards the El reading being the archetypal one.

### 3.3.1.2 El against Hg

### 3.3.1.2.1 Likely Agreement below the Archetype

PH 132

| Base | This mayden, to his | purpos | wynne myghte |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | This mayden | to his purpos | wynne he mighte |  |  |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | The mayden | to | his | purpos | wynne he myghte |
| Hg | This mayden , to his purpos | wynne myghte |  |  |  |
| El | The mayden , to his purpos wynne mygnte |  |  |  |  |

This ] Ad3 Cx1 En1 Ha4 Hg The ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 El Ht La

The variant in PH 132 does not alter the metre of the line. Cx2 and El have the reading 'The,' also supported by Bo 2 Ch Cp Dd Ds 1 Ht and $\mathrm{La} . \mathrm{Hg}$ in this case agrees
with Cx1 in the reading 'This' which is also found in Ad3 En1 and Ha4. It seems interesting that two of the manuscripts that frequently agree with Cx 2 here support the Hg reading instead. Because of this agreement between Ad 3 Ha 4 and Hg -manuscripts that are supposed to represent independent lines of descent from the archetype-- one could think that their reading is the archetypal variant, while the one shared by El and Cx 2 was introduced into the tradition as a later stage.

### 3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of a total of $11 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not-Hg/El variants, six --PH 118, L21 7, PD 42, PD 51, PD 149 and PD 190-- have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 3.3.2. These are likely to be the restult of an agreement by coincidence and offer very little help to establish the affiliations of $\omega$.

### 3.3.2.1 Agreements with Ad3 Ch Ha4 or Ht Likely to Originate below the Archetype

PH 125
Base As she cam forby , ther as this luge stood
Cx1 As she cam forth by there as the luge stood
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ As she cam forth by there the luge stood
Hg As she cam forby , ther as this luge stood
El As she cam forby , ther as this luge stood
as ] Bo2 Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg
not present ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La

Cx2 has suppressed the conjunction 'as' from before 'the luge.' Other witnesses that do not have this conjunction are $\mathrm{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{La}$. doubts about this omission being genetic, the fact that both Ad3 and Ha4, often
related to Cx 2 , and Cp and La --c group manuscripts -- support the reading provides grounds to suppose a genetic relationship for the variant.

PH 168
Base And if that he wol seyn , it is nat thus Cx1 Andry that he wil sey it is not thus Cx2 And yf he wyl sey it is not thus Hg And if $\mathrm{p}^{+}$he wol seyn, it is nat thus El And if $b^{+}$he wol seyn, it is nat thus that ] Ad3 Cx1Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg La not present ] Bo2 Ch Cx2 Gg Ha4 Ht

As in PH 125, in PH 168 we have the suppression of a word in Cx2. The witnesses that share the Cx 2 reading are $\mathrm{Bo} 2 \mathrm{Ch} \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{Ht}$, while Hg El and the rest of the collated witnesses have it. The Cx2 variant alters the metre of the line and leaves it wanting one syllable. It is likely that this variant was introduced later and that the origin of the tradition had the line as it appears in Hg and El .

| PD 290 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | Shal | nat | allye yow | 1 | with hasardours |
| Cx1 | Shal | not | a lye you | to | hasardouris |
| Cx2 | Shal | not | a lye you | to | no hasardouris |
| Hg | Shal | nat | allye yow | / | with hasardours |
| El | Shul | nat | allyen yow | 1 | with hasardours |
| with | ```] Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La to ] Cx1 to no ] Ad3 Cx2``` |  |  |  |  |

The addition of the adjective 'no' in Cx2 is in agreement with the Ad3's reading. All the other collated witnesses, with the only exception of Cx1, have the preposition
'with' in this place. Although the variant in Ad3 and Cx2 is non-archetypal, because of the consistent agreements between these two witnesses, we can assume that it is genetic.

PD 470

| Base | And two of | vs , | shal | kepen | subtilly |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | And two | of | vs |  | shal | kepe |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | And two | of | vs |  | shal | kepe ful |
| subtilly |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hg | And two | of | vs | , shal | kepen | subtilly |
| El | And two of | vs | shul | kepen | subtilly |  |

subtilly ] Ad3 Bo2 Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Hg ful subtilly ] Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ht La

In this line we have a clear case of an addition in Cx 2 that makes the line hypermetrical. The variant 'ful subtilly,' replacing 'subtilly,' is found in Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Ht and La. On the other hand, the metrical line, as found in Hg and El , is supported by Ad3 and Ha4, which suggests that this form of the line was probably the one that was found in the archetype.

### 3.3.2.2 Likely Agreement by Coincidence

$$
\text { PD } 360
$$

Base Bothe man and womman, child and hyne and page Cx1 Bothe man ano woman child and page
Cx2 Bothe man 7 woman child hyne and page
Hg Bothe man and womman, child and hyne 7 page
El Bothe man and wōman , child 7 hyne , 7 page
and ] Ad3 Ch Cp Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht
not present ] Bo2 Cx2 Dd

PD 360 presents a very similar case to that of PD 190. What we have here is the suppression of the second conjunction 'and' in a line that has three of them. However, in this case only Bo2 and Dd agree with Cx2 which makes it even more unlikely than in the case of PD190 that the variant might be of genetic origin. This seems a clear case of agreement by coincidence.

## 4. Set 13: The Shipman's tale, Link 24, the Prioress's Tale, Link 25, the Tale of Thopas, Link 28. ${ }^{12}$

### 4.1 Set Summary

Probably the most striking characteristic of this set is the vast amount of agreements between Cx 2 and Ct . Of the eleven variants in which Cx 2 disagrees with Hg and $\mathrm{El}, \mathrm{Ct}$ agrees with Cx 2 in six. Manly and Rickert pointed out that probably Ct was copied from Cx2, an idea which has been confirmed by the results of my research, which shows a large number of agreements between these witnesses, even in variants which are unique to them.

Besides this confirmation, the variants in this set keep pointing in the same direction as previous ones. However, there is one other peculiarity in this set. Ch , a manuscript that is usually in agreement with Cx 2 , does not share any of the Cx2-not$\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, although, on the other hand, in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, Ch is always

[^75]in agreement with Cx 2 . Overall in this set, Ad3 is the manuscript which most consistently agrees with Cx 2 .

### 4.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 4.2.1 Line Substitutions

L28 2a Cx1 For thou so werry makist me L28 3a Cx1 Of thy verry lewdnesse
L28 2 Cx2 For thou qd our hoost makist me
L28 3 Cx2 So wery of thy verry lewdnesse
TT 109-1 Cx1 Or it be fully pryme of the day
TT 109 Cx2 That thou shalt with this lauucegay

### 4.2.2 Line Additions

SH 47 Cx2 In al that hous but after his degree
SH 48 Cx2 He yaf the lord and also his meynee

TT 31 Cx2 Ful many a mayde bright in bour
TT 110 Cx2 Abyen it ful soure / Thy maw
TT 112 Cx2 Shal I perce yf I may
TT 113 Cx2 Or it be fully pryme of day

Of the additions found in this set, there are three that present minor variants.

SH 47
Out: Cx1 Bo2 Re Ph1 Tc2
Base In al that hous but after hir degree
Cx2 In al that hous but after his degree
Hg In al that hous but after hir degree
El In al the hous but after hir degree
that ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd DI Ds1 En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha2
Ha4 Hg Hk La Ma Mc Mm nl Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se To1 the ] El

[^76]SH 47 has an agreement between Cx 2 and Hg against El. Their reading is 'that' which is supported by all of collated witnesses with the only exception of El which has 'the.' It is evident that the scribe made a mistake in El and that the Cx 2 variant is the archetypal one.

SH 48
Base He yaf the lord and sith al his meynee Cx2 He yaf the lord and also his meynee Hg He yaf the lord and sith al his meynee El He yaf the lord and sitthe al his meynee
sith al ] Ad1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd Ds1 El En1En3 Hg Hk La Ma Ps Ry1 Se To1
sithens ] Ad3 Bo1 DI Fi Ha2 Ha4 mm Ry2 Mm Ph2 Ry2
after al ] Gl Mc nl

Here we find the other extreme of the spectrum with a Cx2 reading which is unique and therefore irrelevant for tracing the affiliations of $\omega$.

### 4.2.3 Line Deletions

The following lines found in Cx 1 were deleted from Cx 2 . All the deleted lines are additional lines unlikely to have been present in the ancestor of the tradition.

SH 316-1 Cx1 With her leggis al so brode and so wyde
SH 316-2 Cx1 As of lengthe she may her self stryde
SH 318-1 Cx1 Dan lonn fidelio' on the Ribibil
SH 318-2 Cx1 His mynstralsie is swetter than the quynybil

TT 94-1 Cx1 That he hadr of ony drede

### 4.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 4.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

102 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 47 in SH, 0 in L24, 28 in PR, 2 in L25, 19 in TT, 6 in L28.

12 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 6 in $\mathrm{SH}, 1$ in L24, 3 in PR, 0 in L25, 2 in TT, 0 in L28.
$8 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with both El and Hg against the other. These are distributed as 2 in $\mathrm{SH}, 1$ in L24, 3 in PR, 0 in L25, 2 in TT, 0 in L28.

Hg against El: 5
El against Hg: 3
$12 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El . These are distributed as 2 in $\mathrm{SH}, 1$ in L24, 7 in PR, 0 in L25, 0 in TT, 2 in L28.

### 4.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

There are a total of eight $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set. Three of these - -L24 8, PR 214, TT 106--, all of them agreements with Hg against El, have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 4.3.1, where a discussion can also be found.

The variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg are of great interest. Two of these --SH 212 and PR 116-- are agreements in archetypal variants.

### 4.3.1.1 Hg against El

In this group we find that all of the variants shared by Hg and Cx 2 against El are archetypal.

### 4.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements

```
SH }42
Base And for to chide it nere but folye
Cx1 And` forto chide it were but a foly
Cx2 Anor for to chyde it were but foly
Hg And for to chide it nere but folye
El And for to chide it nere but greet folie
folye ] Ad1 Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl
Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk li La ma mc mm nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry2 Se Tc2 To1
    sely ] Ds1
    vilany ] Ry1
    a folye ] Cx1 ne
    hey folye ] DI
    greet folye ] El Ii
```

In SH 428, Cx2 has suppressed the indefinite article found in Cx1. In having the reading 'folye' as Hg does, Cx 2 disagrees with El and a few other manuscripts. The only manuscript that agrees with El is $\mathrm{I}^{13}$ while a couple of other witnesses have other variant readings.

```
PR 27
PR 27...PR 28 out: Ry2
Base And getest vs the light of thy prayere
Cx1 And` getist vs light of thy praiere
Cx2 And getist vs the light of thy prayere
Hg And getestr vs the light of thy prayere
El And getest vs thurgh lyg\hbart of thy prayere
the light of] Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Ct Cx2 Dl Ds1 En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha2
Hg Hk Hl3 Kk Ma Nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Se
    light of ] Cx1 Ha3 He li
    thurgh light ] El
    the light thurgh ] Ha4 Ht La Mc Ra4 Ry1 To1
    to light thurgh ] Cp HI2 Lc Mm
    light of ] ne
```

In PR 27 Cx 2 agrees with Hg and the vast majority of the witnesses. El , on the other hand, has a very peculiar variant in which the word order has been changed and the definite article has been suppressed. The El variant is clearly the result of a scribal mistake and, for this reason it is possible to say that the Cx 2 variant is archetypal.

### 4.3.1.2 El against Hg

Of the three variants of El against Hg in this set, there are two in which Hg has made

[^77]a mistake. These two lines are SH 212 and PR 116, in both cases we find that the Hg reading is acceptable, but the variant distribution indicates that the Hg readings are unlikely to be archetypal.

### 4.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

```
SH }21
Base Vp to hir housbonde is his wyf ygon
Cx1 Vp to her husbonde is s\hbare goon
Cx2 Vp to hir husbonor is this wyf goon
Hg Vp to hir housbonde is his wyf ygon
El Vp to hir housbonde is this wyf ygon
his ] Bw Hg
    this ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 DI El En1
    En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 La Ma Mc Mm le Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2
    Se Tc2 To1
    the ] nl
    she ] Cx1 Ii
```

SH 212 is one of those unusual cases in which Hg has made a mistake and this is only supported by Bw. The vast majority of the witnesses agree with the Cx 2 - El reading 'this.' This variant distribution suggests that this is a mistake in Hg and that the archetypal reading is the one found in Cx 2 El and the vast majority of the witnesses.

PR 116
PR 116 out: Ra4

| Base | That in an | Aleye | at | a priuee | place |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | Right | at | an | aley | at | a pryue | place |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | Right | at | an | aley | had | a pryue | place |
| Hg | That | in | an | Aleye at | a piuee | place |  |
| El | That | in | an | Aleye hadde | a piuee | place |  |

at ] Bo2 Cx1 En2 Gg Ha3 He Hg Ht Kk Re Ph1 Ps hadde ] Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cn Cx2 Cp Ct DI Ds1 En1 El En1 En3 Fi Ha2 Ha4 Hk HI3 La Ma Mc Mm nl Ph2 Ps Ry2 Se To1

```
in ] li LC
waite ] Gl
hath ] Ry1
```

In PR 116 Cx 2 and El agree in the reading 'had.' In the same position, Hg has the preposition 'at.' In this case we can see that most manuscripts, including Ad3 Ch and Ha4, agree with El and Cx 2 against Hg . This variant distribution might be a sign pointing towards this variant as the archetypal one.
4.3.1.2.2 Agreement with Ch and El below the Archetype

TT 192
Base And forth vpon his wey he glood
Cx1 And forth vp on his wey he ryde
Cx2 And forth vpon his wey he rode
Hg And forth vp on his wey he glood
El And forth vpon his wey he rood
glood ] Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Cp En2 Gl Ha4 Hg La Mm Ph1 Ry1 Se To1 rood ] Ad1Ch Cn Cx2 Ds1 DI El En1 En3 Ha2 Ha3 Ii Ma nl
Ry2
ride ] Cx1 ne wold ] [add]rod[/add] Dd

The variant in TT 192 is a very interesting one. It is likely to be not the product of a misunderstanding in the copying process. Instead a scribe might have wilfully altered the lectio difficilior 'glood' to a more common word that probably made better sense to him, 'rode.' Ad3 and Ha 4 are in agreement with Hg against Cx 2 and, of the manuscripts that usually agree with Cx 2 , only Ch supports the Cx 2 reading. It is likely that the variant shared by Cx 2 and El originated below the archetype.

### 4.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

There are a total of twelve Cx2-not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set, of which four --SH 154, L24 8, PR 129, L28 17-- can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 4.3.2. These are all likely to be agreements by coincidence.

The most interesting of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants is PR 193 , where we have a reading that clearly shows the relationship between Cx2 and Ad3.

### 4.3.2.1 Agreements with Ad3 Ch Ha4 and Ct Likely to Originate below the Archetype

| SH 9 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base Passen | as dooth a | shadwe | vpon | the wal |
| Cx1 Passin | as doth a | shadow | vp on | a wal |
| Cx2 Passyn | as doth a | shadow | on | a walle |
| Hg Passen | as dooth a | shadwe | vp on | the wal |
| El Passen | as dooth a | shadwe | vp on | the wal |
| vpon ] Ad1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 En3 Gl Hg Ma Me Ph1 |  |  |  |  |
| Ry2 Tc2 To1 |  |  |  |  |
| of ] Bo1 |  |  |  |  |
| on ] Ad3 | Cp Cx2 DI F | 4 Hk La | nl Ps | 1 Se |

Cx2 has changed the preposition 'vpon' to 'on,' which alters the metre of the line, a reading in which it agrees with Ad 3 Ha 4 and the $\mathbf{c}$ group manuscripts La and $\mathrm{Cp} . \mathrm{Hg}$ and El seem to have the archetypal reading, which is also the most regular from a metrical perspective, and among the manuscripts that support this we find Ch .

PR 3
Out: Ad3

| Base | For nat | oonly thy | laude | precious |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | For nat | only thy | laude | precious |  |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | For not al | only | thy | laude | precious |
| Hg | For nat | oonly thy | laude | precious |  |

El For noght oonly thy laude p'cious
nat oonly ] Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Hk HI2 HI3 Ht li Kk La Ma Mc Mm ne nl Ph1 Ph2 Ry1 Ry2 Se Tol
not al only ] C $\dagger$ Cx2
only ] Ra4
nought only ] Ps

PR 68
Base And as he dorste he drow hym ner and ner Cx1 And as he durste he drew hym nere and nere Cx2 And as he durste he drewe ay nere 7 nere Hg And as he dorste he drow hym ner and ner El And as he dorste he drough hym ner and ner hym] Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha3 He Hg Hk HI2 HI3 Ht li Kk La Ma Mc Mm ne nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 Se To1
ay ] C +Cx 2
hem ] Ha4

PR 132
PR 132 after PR 130: DI
Base Biforn this lamb and synge a song al newe Cx1 Beforn this lamb 7 synge a song al newe
Cx2 Beforn this lambe 7 synge a songr ay newe Hg Biforn this lamb and synge a song al newe El Biforn this lamb and synge a song al newe
al ] Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 DI Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Hk HI2 HI3 Ht li Kk Lc Ma Mc Mm Re nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se
ay ] $\mathrm{C}+\mathrm{Cx} 2$

PR 223
Base And gruf he fil al flat vpon the grounde Cx1 And groueling he fyl to the grounde Cx2 And grouelyng plat he fyl to the grounde

```
Hg And gruf he fil al flat vp on the grounde
El And gruf he fil al plat vp on the grounde
flat ] Bo1 Bo2 Gg Hg Kk Ph1 Ph2 Ps
    plat ] Ad3 Ch Cn Cp Ct Cx2 Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Gl Ha2
    Hk HI2 HI3 Ht La Ma Mc Mm nl Ry1 Ry2 Se To1
    a doun ] Ha4
    not present ] Cx1 He Ha3 li Me
```

Lines PR 3, 68, 132 and 223 have a single common characteristic. In all of them we have a variant in Cx2 witnessed by a single other witness: Ct. Manly and Rickert point out that this manuscript is dated March, 1490, which makes it later than the Caxton edition. The nature of the variants and their uniqueness seem to confirm Manly and Rickert's statement that it was "almost certainly copied from Cx2" (1940, 1: 83). Their argument is mainly based on spelling features in the manuscript, and these are not of interest for my research since they do not follow my definition of stemmatically significant variants.

Ct has also the text of NU, but this has not yet been transcribed by the CTP. For this reason it is not possible to confirm Manly and Rickert's statement with certainty at this stage.

PR 193
Base And seyde o deere child I halsen thee
Cx1 And sayde o dere child I halouse the
Cx2 And sayde o dere chyld I coniure the
Hg And seyde o deere child I halsen thee
El And seyde o deere child I halsen thee
halsen ] Bo1 Bo2 Cp DI Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4
Hg Hk Hl2 HI3 Ht li Kk La Lc Ma Mc Mm nl Ph1 Ph2 Ry1 Ry2 Se
coniure ] Ad3 C† Cx2
halouse ] Cx1 Re
haylse ] Ps

Of all the variants in which Cx2 agrees with Ct, PR 193 is probably the most interesting. Here there is another witness in agreement: Ad3. This is important because the Cx 2 variant 'coniure' instead of the Hg one, 'halsen,' cannot be the result of a misunderstanding of the copy text and it confirms, once more, the genetic relationship between Cx2 and Ad3.

PR 125

| Base | And namely ther as thonour of | god shal | sprede |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | And namely as the honour of | god shal sprede |  |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | And namely ther the honour of | god shal | sprede |
| Hg | And namely ther as thonour of god shal | sprede |  |
| El | And namely ther thonour of god shal | sprede |  | ther as] Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn DI Ds1 En1 En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Hg Hk Hl3 Ht Kk Ma Ph1 Ph2 Ps Se

as ] Cx1 He le
there] Ad3 Cp Cx2 El En2 Ha4 HI2 Gl La Lc Mc Mm nl Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 there and ] $\mathrm{C} \dagger$
where ] To1
not present ] Ha3 Ii

In PR 125 we have Cx 2 agreeing with $\mathrm{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Ha} 4 \mathrm{Gl} \mathrm{Lc} \mathrm{Mc} \mathrm{Ra4} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{Ry1} \mathrm{in} \mathrm{the} \mathrm{reading}$ 'ther the' instead of the Hg version 'ther as.' Because it is likely that the Hg reading is archetypal, the fact that Ad3 and Ha4 support the Cx2 variant confirms their genetic relationship.

### 4.3.2.2 Variant of Ambiguous Character

L28 20

| Base | That oghte | like yow | as | I | suppose |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | That oughte | like you | as | I | suppose |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | That oughte to | lyke you | as | I | suppose |
| Hg | That oghte | like yow | as | I | suppose |
| El | That oghte | liken yow | as | I | suppose |

like yow ] Bw Ch Cp El Fi Ha3 Ha4 Hg La Re Ph1Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To1 to like yow ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Cn Cx2 DI Ds1 En1En3 Gl Ii Ma mm Ph2 Ps

The addition that Cx2 has made to L28 20 is a common one, where given a solitary infinitive, the adverbial particle 'to' is added. In this case, however, the addition makes the line a iambic pentameter. Although the witnesses are divided and it is not possible to tell with certainty which one of the versions is archetypal, Ad3 and Ha4 support the Cx 2 reading once more.

## Chapter V: Variants ${ }^{1}$ <br> Single Lower Case Signatures (a TO v)

## Chapter Summary

The variants present in the pages with single lower case signatures ${ }^{2}$ show that most of the readings that Caxton took from $\omega$ are good: most of them are archetypal readings. Approximately $80 \%$ of the introduced variants are Cx2-O variants, that is, those archetypal or very likely to be archetypal. So the general tendency of Cx2 is to reintroduce variants that probably were present in O . This means that $\omega$ tended to preserve the archetypal reading. Unfortunately, such variants are of no use to determine the affiliations of this manuscript. ${ }^{3}$

Around $10 \%$ of the variation in Cx 2 are singletons in the current collation. Many of these variants are likely to be due to compositorial mistakes or misinterpretations of Caxton's notes. It is possible that when all the fifteen-century witnesses of the Canterbury Tales are transcribed, we might find that some of these variants are present in some other texts. However, at present these variants are not useful to trace the textual affiliations of $\omega$.

The other $10 \%$ of the variants is more or less evenly divided between Cx2$\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants --around $4.5 \%--$ and $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants --around $5.5 \%$. What is interesting about the latter is that Cx 2 agrees on as many occasions with Hg against

[^78]El , as it agrees with El against Hg . The nature of these agreements, however, is very different. ${ }^{4}$

When Cx2 agrees with Hg against El the reading is usually archetypal. In the agreements between Cx 2 and El we have quite a different situation. In two of the sets --sets 1 and 6 -- we find that when Cx 2 is in agreement with El against Hg , very often the agreement is supported by Gg , frequently with no support of any other witnesses. This is relevant since it has been shown that the affiliation in El seems to shift after line 400 of WBP (Robinson 1997, 110-1). This affiliation of El is close to $\omega$ before WBP 400, where El shows a relationship with Robinson's E group. This relationship appears to be similar to the one shown in sets 1 and 6 . This can be confirmed only when the rest of the witnesses are fully transcribed. At present, however, it is valid to assume that further research in this area is required to explain the oddity of this textual relationship. Another important set of agreements is that found in set 7 --L20-in which Cx2 agrees with El in archetypal readings against the modified version of this link present in Hg . Since these variants in L20 are determinant for the order of the tales and, as has been argued, the versions and order found in Hg are not archetypal, they are further proof of the closeness of $\omega$ to the origin of the tradition. WBP 484 is also of great interest, since it shows an agreement in error of Cx2 and Hg. This agreement, however, was probably present in the archetype (Robinson 1997, 104). In a very general way we could say that when Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , the readings these share are archetypal, even if they are errors. When Cx2 agrees with El against Hg , we sometimes find that they have the correct reading where Hg has a

[^79]mistake, while in other occasions they agree with Gg in readings that point towards Robinson's E group.

FR 33, FR 78, SU 156 and SU 388 are good examples of variants that show very clearly the textual affiliation of $\omega$ with Ad3 and Ch, while FR 186 shows Ad3 and Ha 4 in agreement with Cx 2 .

There are two variants in this chapter that show most dramatically both the textual affiliations of $\omega$ and the good quality of its text. These are KT 1179 and RE 9, two lines in which Hg and El agree in error. The former clearly shows the textual relationship between Ad3 Ch Ha4 and Cx2, where these witnesses have the reading 'sterres' in place of Hg and El's 'Sertres.'

In RE 9, where Hg and El agree in the reading 'And,' Cx 2 and the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts have the lectio difficilior 'Ay,' which, again supports the conclusion that the text of $\omega$ is the very best quality and very close to the archetype.

These two examples are important because they provide clear evidence about the nature of $\omega$ but also that they make evident that occasionally the archetypal reading can be found in witnesses other than Hg or El , and that these two can sometimes present a text that is not the archetypal text of the Tales.

## 1. Set 1: The General Prologue, the Knight's Tale, link 1, the Miller's Tale, link 2, the Reeve's Tale, link 3, and the Cook's Tale ${ }^{5}$

### 1.1 Set Summary

The variant distribution in this section indicates that Cx 2 has a strong tendency to re-introduce variants which are archetypal to the tradition.

The peculiarities of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants can be summarised as follows: when Cx 2 agrees with Hg , the reading is usually archetypal. In this circumstance the tendency of El is to group with Gg in readings that seem to be characteristic, and which are perhaps related to Robinson's $\mathbf{E}$ group. When Cx2 agrees with El against Hg , some of the variants seem to be much more informative of the affiliations of $\omega$. Of the 15 readings in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , on 6 occasions the agreement is supported by Gg , however, in readings that are likely to be nonarchetypal.

Another striking example, which also points towards the textual affiliations of Ad3 Ch Ha 4 and Cx 2 is KT 1179, is where these witnesses have the reading 'sterres' in place of Hg and El's 'Sertres.'

In the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ Variants we find the most important part of our information. Of these, Cx2 often agrees with Ad3 and Ch, followed by Ha4. Very

[^80]rarely we find a random group of manuscripts agreeing with Cx 2 --agreement by coincidence. In this group of variants, it is remarkable that only on three occasions is Gg in agreement with Cx2 --KT 1461, MI 6, RE 9-- since this manuscript often supports readings --mostly non-archetypal-- shared by Cx 2 and El against Hg , it is interesting to note that agreements between Cx 2 and Gg , without the support of El occur infrequently.

### 1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

The analysis of variant lines includes line substitutions --when Cx2 replaces a complete line in Cx1--, line additions --when Cx2 includes lines which were not in Cx1-- and line deletions --when lines that were present in Cx 1 are excluded from the text but are not replaced by anything else.

The lines introduced in Cx2 --to replace or complete the text-- generally agree with the archetypal readings and are present in the majority of the witnesses. Occasionally, there are variants within the line that require further analysis. Because of the amount of variation in this particular set, some lines have been set apart and included in the electronic appendix d , chapter 5, 1.2.

### 1.2.1 Line Substitutions

In this part of the text, all the line substitutions in which a single line is replaced appear to be the result of the re-introduction of archetypal lines in place of non-archetypal ones present in Cx1. All the line substitutions for this set have been retained to serve as examples of the introduction of archetypal lines. Variants within the lines are analysed below.

GP 222a Cx1 To them that hadr grete contricion
GP 221 Cx2 Ful swetly herdr he confession
GP 402-1 Cx1 At ful many abataylle in that lonor
GP 402 Cx 2 By water he sent hem hom to euery lond

KT 604a Cx1 I wylle not taire yow alle the day
KT 604 Cx2 Hyt fyll in that seuenth yere in may

KT 1186a Cx1 Lyke vnto the figure of virgynys
KT 1186 Cx2 Of sterres that ben called in scripturis

KT 1354 Cx2 Yet songe the larke 7 palamon ryght tho KT 1354a Cx1 Vnto the temple purposeth he to go

KT 1715a Cx1 And aftir hem comunes eche aftir his degre KT 1715 Cx2 Of one and other aftyr her degre

KT 1797a Cx1 ne noñ shal lenger vnto his felaw gone ${ }^{6}$
KT 1797 Cx2 Vnto the folke that foughten thus echone
KT 1950a Cx1 Though $y$ write mighte $y$ note where they dwelle
KT 1952-1 Cx1 That soroweth and cryeth I wyl not lye
KT 1952-2 Cx1 now wepith Emelye 7 waylith Palamon
KT 1950 Cx2 Of the though $p^{\dagger}$ they writen where they dwell
KT 1951 Cx2 Arcyte is cold there mars hys soule guye
mi 47a Cx1 And therto her kyrtil pynchid with att
mi 47 Cx2 Fayr was this yong wyf and there wyth all
mi 416-1 Cx1 And to noman wold he hit be wreye
mI 416 Cx2 Ful oft he sayd alas 7 weleaweye
ml 465-1 Cx1 Eche gan other in armes plye
ml 465 Cx 2 Ther as the carpenter was wont to lye

RE 96a Cx1 They makyn redy al hir owen gere
RE 96 Cx2 Thys Aleyn maketh redy alle hys gere
RE 167a Cx1 Be cockis herte he shal not a scape vs bathe
RE 167 Cx2 By godis sale he shal not ascape vs bathe

RE 348a Cx1 Ye false harlot hast thou so hast

[^81]
## RE 348 Cx2 Ye false harlot quod the myllar haste

There are fifteen line substitutions in this set, of which only one is not entirely straight forward. In the case of Cx1 KT 1950 to 1952a presents a problem because the three lines present in Cx 1 have been replaced by two in Cx 2 .

KT 1950a Cx1 Though $y$ write mighte $y$ note where they dwelle
KT 1952-1 Cx1 That soroweth and cryeth I wyl not lye
KT 1952-2 Cx1 Now wepith Emelye 7 waylith Palamon
KT 1950 Cx2 Of thē though $p^{\dagger}$ they writen where they dwell
KT 1951 Cx2 Arcyte is cold there mars hys soule guye

Here we can see that Cx1 KT 1950a corresponds to Cx2 KT 1950, that is, the line in Cx1 is a variant line of KT 1950. Cx1 KT 1952-1 appears to correspond to Cx2 1951, since both have the same rhyme word. Technically, Cx1 KT 1952-2 is a deleted line; it has been kept in among the substitutions because it seems to form part of a change in a whole passage.

The discussion that follows focuses on the variants within substituted lines.

KT 604
Out: Cx1
Base $\mathbb{\Phi}$ It fil, that , in that seuenthe yeer of May
Cx2 Hyt fyll in that seuenth yere in may
Hg \$ It fil , $\mathrm{b}^{+}$, in that seuenthe yeer of may
El $\Phi$ It fel , that in the Seuenthe yer in May
that in ] Cp Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La in ] Ch Cx2
that seuenthe ] Ch Cx2 Hg the seuenthe ] Cp Dd El Gg Ha4 La
of ] Ch Cp Hg La

```
in ] Cx2 Dd El Gg Ha4
```

There are three variants in KT 604. The first one is that Cx 2 , only supported by Ch , has suppressed the first 'that.' The second is the 'that' before 'seuenthe' where Ch agrees not only with Cx 2 , but also with Hg . These three witnesses stand together against all the other collated witnesses which read 'the', and although this particular variant could have been the result of an agreement by coincidence, the consistency of agreements between Cx 2 and Ch --especially if it is supported by Hg -- suggests that this might be an archetypal reading.

The third variant in KT 604 is the preposition before 'may,' where Cx2 El Dd Gg and Ha4 have 'in,' while Hg Ch Cp and La have 'of.' In this case, because the reading 'in' can be found not only in Hg and Ch --manuscripts that probably represent two different lines of descent--, but also in c group manuscripts --Cp and La--, one can presume that this is the archetypal variant. Cx 2 supported by El and Gg is more likely to have a derivative reading.

KT 1186
Out: Cx1

| Base | Of |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hg |  | Scrip |
| El | Of | in scriptur |

```
clepyd ] Ad3 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg
        closed ] Cp La
        called ] Cx2
        clept ] Ch
```

In KT 1186, Cx2 is the only collated witness to have the reading 'called' instead of 'cleped.' The Cx2 reading is likely to have originated when either Caxton or one of his compositors attempted to modernise the text. It is very unlikely that this variant might have been present in $\omega$.

KT 1354
Out: Cx1
Base Yet soong the larke , and Palamon right tho
Cx2 Yet songe the larke 7 palamon ryght tho
Hg Yet soong the larke , and Palamon right tho
El Yet song the larke , and Palamon also
right tho ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Hg La also ] El Gg Ha4

Cx2 agrees with Hg Ad3 Ch Cp Dd and La in the reading 'right tho.' El, supported by Gg and Ha4, has 'also.' The readings are metrically equivalent, so this cannot be used as a tool to decide which variant one should prefer. The variant distribution suggests, however, that 'right tho' is the archetypal reading. As I have explained above, when El and Gg disagree with Hg , there is a tendency of the former to present derivative readings.
mi 416
Out: Cx1 Tc2
Base Ful ofte he seyde, allas and weylawey
Cx2 Ful oft he sayd alas 7 weleaweye
Hg Ful ofte he seyde , allas and weylawey
El Ful ofte , he seith allas and weylawey

```
seyde ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Dl Ds En1 En2 En3 Fi
Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 Hg La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm Ph2 Pn Ps
Pw Py Ra1 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1 Wy
seith ] El Ht Ii nl
```

In Cx2, MI 416 has the reading 'seyde' which is shared by Hg and the vast majority of the witnesses. El has 'seith,' a variant supported only by Ht Ii and Nl. The variant distribution suggests that 'seyde' is likely to be the archetypal reading, while 'seith' is obviously derivative. It is possible that the variant in El Ht Ii and Nl had its origin in MI 415 which also has a present tense (gooth).

## mi 465

Out: Cx1 ne Tc2

| BASE Ther as the Carpenter, | is wont to lye |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | Ther as the carpenter | was | wont | to lye |
| Hg | Ther as the Carpenter, | is | wont | to lye |
| El | Ther as the Carpenter , is wont | to lye |  |  |

is ] Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cp Dd El En1 En2 Fi Gg Ha2 Ha5 He Hg Ht
La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Mg nl Ph2 Pw Ra1 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1 was ] Ad1 Cx2 Ds En3 Gl Ha3 Ha4 Ii Ln Ma Mm Pn Ps Py Wy

In this line several manuscripts agree with Cx 2 , and of those that regularly agree with it, only Ha4 is present; Ad1 and En3 both of which have been grouped by Robinson in the $\alpha$ group, are also in agreement with Cx 2 . Other manuscripts have the tendency to agree with Cx 2 ; Ad 3 and Ch , have the same reading as Hg and El . This variant could easily have been caused by the tendency to substitute the historical present by the narrative preterit. It is likely that the manuscripts that have the reading 'was' do so because of agreement by coincidence.

Out: Cx 1

| Base | By god | hert he sal | nat | scape vs bathe |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx2 | By godis | sale he shal not | ascape vs bathe |  |
| Hg | By god | hert he sal | nat | scape vs bathe |
| El | By god | herte, he sal nat | scape vs bathe |  |

god ] El Hg godis ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Dd Gg Ha4 La
hert ] Ad3 Cp Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La sale ] Cx2

Cx 2 has two variants in RE 167 . In the first Hg and El agree in the reading 'god,' against that of Cx 2 and all the other collated witnesses, 'godis.' The latter alters the metre of the line and gives it an extra syllable. In this line we also find a reading 'sale' that is present only in Cx 2 in the current collation. The variant distribution suggests that the archetypal reading is the genitive 'godis' which can be found in manuscripts that clearly represent independent lines of descent. But it must kept in mind that this is a variant that could easily be inferred by a scribe, and for this reason it is difficult to be certain about which variant is archetypal.

The second variant is a singleton in Cx2, 'sale,' against the rest of the witnesses that have 'hert.'

### 1.2.2 Line Additions

Caxton did not only replace non-archetypal lines by archetypal ones, but he also added lines directly from $\omega$. In this set he included several long passages --most of which are in KN . The additional lines and passages are:

GP 197-198

GP 253-254
GP 307
KT 290-303
KT 335-342
KT 362-366
KT 735-744
KT 1154-1158

KT 1186

KT 1643-1644
KT 1691
KT 1745-1746
KT 1852

KT 1881

KT 1923-1928

KT 1953
KT 2035-2036

MI 577-584

L3 27-28
The majority of these additions are quite long and all represent text that appears to come directly from $\omega$. Most of the readings on these lines show that $\omega$ was a manuscript which tends to agree with the archetypal readings of the text. In a few of the lines we can find variants that might shed some light on the nature of $\omega$. Lines that show one or more variants and are clearly non-archetypal are analysed in the following paragraphs. No further mention of lines which are evidently archetypal will
be made here. ${ }^{7}$

GP 253
Out: Cx1 El
Base And yaf a certeyn ferme , for the graunt Cx2 And yaf a certayn ferme for the graunt Hg And yaf a c'teyn ferme , for the grauntr

GP 254
Out: Cx1 El

| Base loon of his bretheren , cam ther in his haunt |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | noon | of hys brethern | cam | in hys haunt |
| Hg | noon | of his bretheren, cam ther in his hauntr |  |  |

ther ] Hg Ld2 Tc1 not present ] Ch Cx2 Pn Py Wy

GP 253 and 254 are present only in Cx2 Hg Ch Ld2 Pn Py Tc1 Wy. We can disregard the printed editions --Pn and Wy-- since they simply follow Cx2, leaving us with a total of six witnesses. There are no variants in GP 253 in any of the witnesses, but there is at least one in GP 254. In Cx2 the word 'there' is not present, and this is supported by Ch Py and the incunabula. Py appears to have another variant, the addition of 'that' at the beginning of the line. This variant may be scribal and introduced to smooth the metre since, with the suppression of 'there,' the line becomes metrically inconsistent. About the general character of these lines, Robinson wrote:

Hg and Ch probably both have these lines from their (presumed) shared ancestor. Their distribution otherwise is striking: Cx 2 and its dependants

[^82](another sign of the closeness of the 'better manuscript' used by Caxton to manuscripts very near the head of the tradition), Py Tc1 (alpha) and Ld2 (usually cd, but with many readings from outside cd ). This distribution can be explained in the same way I explained that of the so-called 'added passages' in The Wife of Bath's Prologue: the lines were present in O, but were marked either for deletion or addition. Different scribes interpreted these marks differently, and hence their distribution does not follow the normal lines of descent. (Robinson 2000b)

The explanation offered by Robinson seems reasonable and accounts for the presence of the lines in some of the witnesses. These lines are different, however, from the socalled 'added passages' in WBP, and are present in Hg , while none of the 'added passages' are found in this manuscript. It is interesting that Cx 2 and Ch both have GP 253 and 254, the 'added passages' and L31.

```
GP 307
Out: Cx1
Base And that was spoke / in forme / and reuerence
Cx2 And that was sayd in fourme andr reuerence
Hg And that was spoke, in forme , and reuerence
El And that was seyd , in forme and reuerence
spoke ] Ha4 Hg Py
    seyde ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd DI Do Ds1 El En1
    En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Ha3 Ht La Lc Ld2 Ma Mg Mm Ph2 Pn Ps Pw
    Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI2 Tc1 To1 Wy
```

Only two manuscripts, in GP 307, share the reading of Hg, Py and Ha4. All the other witnesses, including Cx2 and El, have the reading 'seyde.' Although the substitution
of one word for the other is an easy one to make, the variant distribution suggests that the reading preserved in Cx 2 might be archetypal.

KT 291
Out: Cx 1

| Base For which , thow art ybounden , as a knyght |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ For whyche thou art bounden as a knyght |  |
| Hg | For which , thow art ybounden , as a knyght |
| El | For which , thou art ybounden as a knyght |

ybounden ] $\mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{El} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Hg}$ bounden ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Gg La

Hg and El , supported by Cp and Ha 4 , have the reading 'ybounden.' The remaining witnesses support Cx2 and have 'bounden.' This variant, however, might be the product of training or linguistic preference on the part of the scribe and does not really inform us about the nature of $\omega$.

KT 296
Out: Cx1
Base And thow art fals , I telle thee outrely
Cx2 But thou art fals I telle the vtterly
Hg And thow art fals , I telle thee outrely
El And thou art fals , I telle thee outrely

And ] El Hg
But ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Gg Ha4 La

KT 296 has a change in the conjunction at the beginning of the line: Cx 2 has the reading 'But,' which is supported by the majority of the collated manuscripts. Hg and El are on their own in sharing the reading 'And.' It is likely that Cx 2 here preserves the archetypal reading while Hg and El have a derivative one.

KT 298
Out: Cx1 Dd

| Base | What wiltow seyn | thow woost nat yet now |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx2 | What wilt thou seyn | , thou wistest not yet now |
| Hg | What wiltow seyn | thow woost nat yet now |
| El | What wiltow seyn | thou wistest nat yet now |

woost ] Ad3 Ha 4 Hg
worest ] Ch
wistest ] Cx2 El
wist ] Cp Gg La

Here Hg reads 'woost' with Ad3 and $\mathrm{Ha4}$; Cp Gg and La all have 'wist;' and only Cx2 and El have 'wistest,' a reading that seems more consistent, metrically, than the monosyllabic alternatives. This may be an unusual case in which an agreement between Cx2 and El preserve the archetypal reading.

KT 299
Out: Cx1
Base Wheither she be a womman, or goddesse
Cx2 Whether she be a woman or a goddesse
Hg Wheither she be a womman, or goddesse
El Wheither she be । a wōman or goddesse
goddesse ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 El Gg Ha4 Hg La
a goddesse ] Cx2 La

Cx2 has the article 'a' before 'goddesse,' a variant that is shared by La. This seems the product of a mistake, since it imitates the structure of the first part of the line. The addition affects the metre of the line and creates a difficult rhythm.

KT 735
Out: Cx1
Base I drede noght that outher thow shalt dye
Cx2 I drede not outher thou shalt dye

Hg I drede noghtr $\mathrm{b}^{+}$outher thow shalt dye
El I drede nog $\dagger$, $\mathrm{p}^{+}$outher thow shalt dye

```
that ] Ch Cp El Gg Ha4 Hg La
not present ] Cx2
```

Cx2 is the only collated witness to have left out the word 'that.' More likely than $\omega$ not having this word would be to suppose that either Caxton when he was correcting the off-print of Cx1, or by one of his compositors when setting up the text, omitted it.

KT 737
Out: Cx1
Base Chees which thow wolt or thow shalt noght asterte
Cx2 Chees whyche thou wilt , thou shalt not astert
Hg Chees which thow wolt or thow shalt noght asterte
El Chees which thou wolt or thou shalt nat asterte
or ] Ch Cp El Gg Ha4 Hg La
not present ] Cx2

Cx 2 is the only collated witness to have left out the conjunction 'or', possibly for the same reasons as those in KT 735.

KT 1085
Out: Cx1

| Base | he yet the grete | strengthe | of Ercules |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | ne yet the | strengthe | of hercules |  |
| Hg | ne yet | the grete | strengthe | of Ercules |
| El | $\Phi$ And eek7 the grete | strengthe | of Ercules |  |

Me yet ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Hg La
And eek ] El Gg
Me eek ] Ha4
grete] Ch Cp El Gg Hg La

```
not present ] Cx2 Ha4
```

There are two variants in KT 1085. The most obvious one is the omission of the word 'grete' which has been left out in both Cx 2 and Ha4, and alters the metre of the line and, so, is likely to be a derivative reading. In the second variant Cx 2 agrees with Hg and the majority of the witnesses --Ad3 Ch Cp Dd La-- in having 'he yet' where El and Gg have 'And eek.' As in previous examples, El and Gg agree in a derivative reading against Cx 2 Hg and the majority of the witnesses. Ha4 has a combination of both variants, 'lle eek.'

KT 1924
Out: Cx1
Base With circumstaunces alle , trewely
Cx2 Wyth circumstaunces alle truly
Hg With circumstaunces alle, trewely
El With alle circumstances trewely
circumstaunces alle ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Hg La alle circumstaunces ] El Gg Ha4

In KT 1924, again, Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El. The variant is a change in order. Cx 2 Hg Ad3 Ch Cp Dd and La have 'circumstaunces alle,' while El Gg and Ha4 have 'alle circumstaunces.'

KT 1925
Out: Cx1
Base That is to seyn , trouthe, honour , knyghthede
Cx2 That is to sayn trouth honour 7 knygthede
Hg That is to seyn , trouthe , honour , knyghthede
El That is to seyn , trouthe, honor , knygћthede

```
knyghthede ] Ad3 Ch Cp Dd El Gg Hg La
    and knyghthede ] Cx2 Ha4
```

Both Cx 2 and Ha 4 have added a conjunction before the end of the enumeration. The additional syllable makes the line hypermetrical and it was probably added by the scribe of Ha4 and the one that wrote the exemplar used for Cx2.

KT 2036
Out: Cx1
Base Vpon hir shuldres , carieden the beere
Cx2 Vpon theyr backes caryden the bere
Hg Vp on hir shuldres , carieden the beere
El Vp on hir shuldres , caryeden the beere

```
shuldres ] Ad3 Ch Cp Dd El Ha4 Hg La
    schulderyn ] Gg
    backes ] Cx2
```

In KT 2036, Cx2 is the only collated witness to have the reading 'backes' instead of 'shuldres.'
mi 578
Out: Cx1

| Base $\Phi$ What who artow , | it am | I | Absolon |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | What who art thou, | it | am | I | Absolon |
| Hg | $\Phi$ What who artow $:$, | it | am | I | Absolon |
| El | $\Phi$ What who artow $:$, | I | am | heere Absolon |  |

it am I ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Dl Ds En1 En2 En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 Hg Hk Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm nl Ph2 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI2 Tc1 To1 Wy I am heere ] El
I it am ] Fi

In MI 578, Cx2 agrees with the vast majority of manuscripts against the singleton variant in El, 'heere.'
mi 579
Out: Cx1
Base What Absolon , what Cristes swete tree
Cx2 What absalon , what crystes swete tree Hg What Absolon , what Cristes swete tree El What Absolon , for cristes sweete tree
what ] Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cx2 Dd Ds En1 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 Hg Hk La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Mg Mm Pn Ps Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Wy for ] Ad1 Bo1 Cn Cp El En2 En3 Ht li Ma Ph2 Ra1 To1 what now DI

Here, Cx2 agrees with Hg against El. The reading in Cx2, 'what' is supported by the majority of the witnesses, including Ad3 Ch and Ha4. The El reading, 'for,' is shared by several manuscripts, most importantly, by Bo1 and Ph2, Robinson's $\mathbf{E}$ group.
mi 583
Out: Cx1
Base By Seinte note , ye woot wel what I mene
Cx2 By seynt hote , ye wote what I mene
Hg By Seinte note , ye woot wel what I mene
El By seinte note , ye woot wel what I mene
wel ] Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd DI El En2 En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Ha3 Ha4
Ha5 Hg Hk Ht li La Lc Ld1 Ld2 ma mg Mm nl Ph2 Ps Pw Ra1 Ra3
Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1 not present ] Ad1 Cx2 Ds En1 Gl Ln Pn Py Wy

The omission of 'wel' in Cx2 MI 583, might have been a mistake as are many other omissions. The witnesses that left out 'wel' --Ad1 Ds En1 Gl Ln Pn Py Wy-- belong to
different groups; this suggests that the agreement in this omission might be an agreement by coincidence.

L3 27
Out: Cx1
Base That they han eten , with thy stubbul goos Cx2 That they haue eten wyth the stubled ghoos
Hg That they han eten , with thy stubbul goos
El That they han eten , with thy stubbel goos
thy ] Ad3 Ch Dd Gg El Hg the ] $\mathrm{Cn} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Cx2} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{La}$

Cx2 has the reading 'the' instead of 'thy' and Cn Cp Ha4 and La support it. The rest of the witnesses --Ad3 Ch Dd Gg El Hg agree with Hg and El

### 1.2.3 Line Deletions

GP 163-1 Cx1Ful fair of hewe and bright of faas

GP 165-1 Cx1 Whiche afore that tyme hadde be
GP 310-1 Cx1And ther with ful softe was his speche

GP 406-1 Cx1For wyse he was though he were ful of corage
KT 360-1 Cx1 Hit were a gret thing to te[unr]x[/unr]e and to wite
CO 38-1 Cx1 Where he his vnthriftynes sore aboughte

All the lines deleted from Cx1 correspond to variant lines or to extra-lines in the Canterbury Tales Project lineation system (Blake 1997). This means that they are 'variant lines' of those in Hg or 'extra-lines' if they are not present in Hg at all. In many cases, we find that Caxton replaced a variant or extra-line with the corresponding line as found in Hg , as shown in 1.2.1 where I discuss the substitutions.

In some other cases, particularly in KN, we find that whole passages were not present in Cx1 and were added in Cx2 -- again the discussion can be found in 1.2.1. The variant lines in Cx1 have the tendency not to be archetypal, whereas lines added or replaced in Cx 2 , using $\omega$ as a source for them, mostly are.

### 1.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are several misplacements in this set which have been corrected in Cx 2 ; the lines have been reordered so as to follow the order in Hg and El. Once more, the importance of the following examples resides in the fact that Cx 2 shows a clear tendency to restore the archetypal order of the lines, while Cx1 presents the lines in alternative orders.

Cx1 has line KT 1000 followed by KT 999 . This has been corrected in Cx2.

GP 218 Cx1 For he hadde power of confession
GP 222 Cx1 Andr plesaunt was his absolucion
GP 222-1 Cx1 To them that had grete contricion
GP 219 Cx1 And sayde hym self more than a curat
GP 220 Cx1 Andr of his ordre he was licenciat
GP 218 Cx2 For he had power of confession
GP 219 Cx2 As sayd hym self more than a curat
GP 220 Cx2 And of hys ordre he was licenciat
GP 221 Cx2 Ful swetly herdr he confession
GP 222 Cx2 Anơ plesaunt was hys absolucion

Cx1 presents GP 222 after GP 218, that is, the line is out of place in comparison with Hg , and Cx 1 is that GP 222 is followed by GP 222-1 --an extra-line. In Cx2 lines from GP 218 to GP 222 follow the Hg line-order. Cx2 has suppressed

GP 222-1 and added GP 221 in its archetypal position. These changes suggest that $\omega$ had a lineation similar to that of Hg .

GP 402-1 Cx1At ful many abataylle in that lond
GP 401 Cx 1 He faught and hadde the higher hond
GP 403 Cx1 But of his craft to reken wel his tyde
GP 404 Cx 1 His stremys and his daungeres hym be side
GP 406 Cx1 Ther was non suche from hul in to Cartage
GP 406-1 Cx1 For wyse he was though he were ful of corage
GP 401 Cx2 Yf that he faught and had the hygher hond
GP 402 Cx 2 By water he sent hem hom to euery lond
GP 403 Cx2 But of hys craft to reken wel hys tydes
GP 404 Cx2 Hys stremys andr hys daungers hym besides
GP 405 Cx2 Hys herberugh hys mone and hys lodemanage
GP 406 Cx2 Ther was none suche from hulle to Cartage

In lines GP 401 to GP 406 of Cx2, we have the addition of line GP 405, and the substitution of two extra-lines of Cx1. These changes altered the line-order which now, in Cx 2 , follows that of Hg .

GP 520 Cx1 But in his speche discreet and benigne
GP 519 Cx1 he of his techyng daungerous ne digne
GP 519 Cx2ne of hys techyng daungerous ne dygne
GP 520 Cx2 But in hys speche dyscrete and benygne

GP 686 Cx1 His walet beforn hym had he in his lappe
GP 685 Cx1 A vernacle hadde he sowior vp on his cappe
GP 685 Cx2 A vernacle hadde he sowyd vp on hys cappe
GP 686 Cx2 Hys walet beforn hym had he in hys lappe

KT 38 Cx 1 He was ware as he cast his ye a syde
KT 37 Cx 1 In al his welthe and his most pryde
KT 37 Cx 2 In al hys welthe and hys most pryde
KT 38 Cx2 He was ware as he cast hys eye a syde

Lines GP 519 and 520, GP 685 and 686 and KT 37 and 38 were inverted in Cx1 and restored to the archetypal order in Cx 2 .

KT 1086a Cx1 The enchauntement of Medea and hardynesse
KT 1085-1 Cx1 Of lason I wil not now expresse
KT 1087 Cx1 he of turnus with his hard' fyre corage
KT 1086a Cx2 The enchauntement of medea and hardynesse
KT 1085-1 Cx2 Of lason I wyl not now expresse
KT 1085 Cx2 he yet the strengthe of hercules
KT 1086 Cx2 Thenchauntement of Medea and Circes

In these groups, Cx2 has both lines, KT 1086a and 1085-1, but also has the archetypal lines KT 1085 and 1086, so that even where variant lines are kept, they may be complemented with lines that are unlikely to have been of scribal origin.

### 1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$668 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 127 in GP, 382 in KN, 11 in L1, 60 in MI, 11 in L2, 69 in RE, 2 in L3, 6 in CO.

75 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 14 in GP, 41 in $\mathrm{KN}, 0$ in L1, 7 in MI, 2 in L2, 9 in RE, 2 in L3, 0 in CO.
$41 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 3 in GP, 19 in $\mathrm{KN}, 0$ in L1, 8 in MI, 0 in L2, 10 in RE, 0 in L3, 1 in CO.

Hg against El: 25
El against Hg: 16
$35 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El. These are distributed as 6 in GP, 18 in KN, 1 in L1, 4 in MI, 1 in L2, 5 in RE, 0 in L3, 0 in CO.

### 1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants all but fifteen are discussed below. These fifteen variants can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5. Nine of the Hg against El variants can be found in section 1.3.1.1 of the appendix. The six of the El against Hg variants are in section 1.3.1.2.

### 1.3.1.1 Hg against El

There are 25 variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El in this set. Some variants are of little help in establishing the textual relationships among the witnesses, some of them are likely to be the product of agreement by coincidence, while in others El appears alone against the collated witnesses. There are nine variants in this category which have been put into the electronic appendix d , chapter 5, 1.3.1.1, these are: GP 432, KT 73, KT 1689, MI 474, MI 590, RE 134, RE 178, RE 310 and CO 10.

Generally, when Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , the variants have a tendency to be archetypal and provide very little information about the nature of $\omega$. An interesting characteristic of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set is that frequently Cx 2 agrees with Hg , while Gg shares the El reading. This agreement between El and Gg occurs in 11 of the 25 variants, in lines GP 161, GP 217, KT 1034, KT 1687, KT 1816, KT 2107, KT 2154, MI 468, RE 82, RE 150 and RE 326. The variant in GP 161 is ambiguous, inasmuch as it is difficult to assert which is the archetypal reading, but has been included with the others since it follows the pattern of Cx 2 and Hg against Gg and El. In, for example, KT 2056 the variants in El and Gg, although different, seem to be genetically related. These variants are discussed in section 1.3.1.1.1; they suggest that El and Gg share an ancestor below the archetype. These 12 variants --13 if 2056 is taken into account-- are few however in comparison with the three thousand or so isolated for this research, even though they open a path for further research.

The other four variants --MI 65, MI 188, MI 194 and RE 99-- are probably archetypal readings.

### 1.3.1.1.1 Agreements of Cx 2 and Hg against El and Gg

The variants discussed below are agreements of Cx 2 and Hg , usually in archetypal or likely to be archetypal readings, against El and Gg .

| GP 161 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | On | which | 1 |  | first writen |  | crowned | A |
| C | On | whiche | that | first | was wryte | a | cronned ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | A |
|  | On | n whyche |  | first | was wryte | a | cronned ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | A |
| Hg | On | which | 1 | was | first writen | a | crowned | A |
| El | On | which | , ther | was | first write | a | crowned | A |

```
was] Bo2 Ch Cn Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ld2 Ma nl Py
        ther was ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Cp El En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Ht Ii La Lc Mg
        mm Ph2 Pw Ry1 Ry2 SI2 Tc1 To1
        first was] Cx2 Ld1 Pn Ps Wy
        that ] Cx1 Tc2
        ther ] Se
        was graven ] Ha3
```

GP 217
Base And eek with worthy wommen , of the town
Cx1 And with worthy yemen of the toun
Cx2 And eke wyth worthy yemen of the toun
Hg And eek7 with worthy wommen , of the town
El And with worthy wō of the toun
eek ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ha4 Hg Ld2 Pn Py Tc1 To1
not present ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Cn Cp Cx1 DI Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gg
Ha2 Ha3 li La Lc Ld1 Ma Mg mm nl Ph2 Ps Pw Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se
SI2 Tc2 Wy

All the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in GP are agreements with Hg against El. In GP 161 we find that the manuscripts that agree with Cx 2 and Hg in the absence of 'that' or 'ther' before 'was first' or 'first was' are Bo2 Ch Cn Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ld2 Ma Nl Py. Manuscripts suspected of having an independent line of descent --O manuscripts--, such as Ch and Ha4, support a line without the word 'ther' --the El reading-- as do manuscripts from Manly and Rickert's a group --Cn Ds1 En1 Ma N1. Robinson points out that the manuscripts which support this reading are those aligned with the $\alpha$ exemplar. He describes the status of the reading as follows:

If the reading ther was in the alpha exemplar were altered to was in manuscripts within the alpha line, then the same alteration could have
occurred in the Hg ancestor and Bo2. It is likely that the El reading stood in O. (Robinson 2000b)

Since the line is metrically consistent in both Hg and El , it makes sense to attempt to argue for one of them to be the archetypal reading. Robinson suggests that if one considers the reading in El as archetypal, one should also accept that for the verb 'Write,' a past participle should also follow El. If we accept that the El reading is archetypal then Cx 2 and Hg here agree in error. It seems, however, that it is likely that the variant in Hg might be archetypal.

In GP 217 we again have a line in which Cx 2 and Hg are supported by Ch and Ha4. Robinson again points out that manuscripts belonging to the alpha line confirm the reading that includes 'eek' From his perspective, " ...the metrical superiority of the Hg reading, and the common scribal carelessness with 'small words'... suggest that Hg here preserves the O reading" (Robinson 2000b).

```
KT 1034
Out: Ad3
Base He letted noght his felawe for to see
Cx1 He letteth not his felow forto se
Cx2 He letted not hys felow for to se
Hg He letted noghtr his felawe for to see
El He lette natr his felawe for to see
letted ] Ch Cp Cx2 Ha4 Hg
        letteth ] Cx1 Gg
        lette ] El La
```

KT 1034 has a change in the tense of the verb. Cx 2 agrees with $\mathrm{Hg}, \mathrm{Cp}$ and Ha 4 in the past tense 'letted.' El and La have 'lette,' which might be the equivalent of
'letteth' the reading in Cx 1 and Gg , which if true, would show a textual affiliation between Gg and El . The variant distribution of 'letted' suggests that this is probably the archetypal reading.

KT 1687
Base In to the lystes sende , or thider brynge
Cx1 Vnto the listis brynge ne thider sende
Cx2 In the lystis sende or thedyr brynge
Hg In to the lystes sende , or thider brynge
El In to the lystes sende , ne thider brynge
or ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ha4 Hg
ne ] Cx1 El Gg La

This line has a change in the conjunction, there is 'or' in Cx2 Ad3 Cp Dd Ha4 and Hg , and 'ne' in El Cx1 Gg and La. This last reading seems to be an interesting one since it links El with Robinson's $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$.

| KT 1816 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | But herkneth me , | and | stynteth | noyse |
| Cx1 | But herkeneth me | and ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | styntith |  |
| Cx2 | But herkeneth me | 7 | stynte | noyse |
| Hg | But herkneth me , | and | stynteth | noyse |
| El | But herkneth me / | and | stynteth | now |
| noyse | ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Hg |  |  |  |
|  | now ] El Gg |  |  |  |
|  | noy ] La |  |  |  |
|  | not present ] Cx1 |  |  |  |
|  | but ] Ha4 |  |  |  |

In KT 1816 both Cx 2 and Hg present the reading 'noyse.' This is supported by the majority of the collated manuscripts: Ad3 Ch Cp Dd. La has 'noy,' perhaps an
abbreviated form of the word. El shares the reading 'now' with Gg , a manuscript that Robinson has often grouped as $\mathbf{E}$ (Robinson 1997). Cx2 and the majority of the manuscripts seem to have what is the archetypal reading.

| KT 2107 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Base | At | Atthenes, vpon a certeyn point | and caas |  |  |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | At | attenes | vpon | certeyn poynt | and caas |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | At | athenes | vpon a certeyn poynt | and caas |  |
| Hg | At | Atthenes, vp on a certeyn pointr | and caas |  |  |
| El | At | Atthenes, | vp on | certein pointz | and caas |

a ] $\mathrm{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Ch} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Cx2} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{La}$ not present ] Cx1 El Gg

RE 326
Base Which that I heelp / my sire for to stele
Cx1 Whiche that I halp my fader forto stele
Cx2 Whych that I halp my syre forto stele
Hg Which $\mathrm{p}^{+}$I heelp , my sire for to stele
El Which that I heel $\bar{p}$, my fader for to stele
sire ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Dd Hg La
fader ] Cx1 El Gg owen self ] Ha4

KT 2107 and RE 326 both have variants in which Cx1 El and Gg agree against the rest of the collated witnesses. KT 2107 is another example of Hg and Cx 2 agreeing with the majority of the manuscripts against Cx 1 El and Gg . El and Gg group together once more. The variant 'fader'/ 'sire' is very interesting. Of the collated manuscripts only Cx 1 and El have the reading 'fader,' which is also the reading of Gg . This might be an indication of an E affiliation for $\mathrm{El} . \mathrm{Cx} 2$ and Hg share with the other witnesses the archetypal reading, ' sire.'

These two readings are examples of variants shared by El and Gg which originated below the archetype. Their importance becomes evident when El and Gg agree with Cx 2 in such variants, as is explained below.

KT 2107 is another example of Hg and Cx 2 agreeing with the majority of the manuscripts against Cx 1 El and Gg . El and Gg group together once more.
KT 2154
Base Fro the tyme, that it first gynneth sprynge
$\mathrm{Cx1}$ Fro the tyme that he begynneth to sprynge
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ Fro the tyme that it first gynneth to sprynge
Hg Fro the tyme, that it first gynneth sprynge
El From tyme, $\mathrm{p}^{\dagger}$ it first bigynneth sprynge
gynneth ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ha4 Hg
bigynneth ] Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg La

The change in the verb 'gynneth'/ 'bigynneth' has a clear effect on the metre of the line. In fact, El has to suppress the article to avoid adding an extra-syllable to it --only El and Ha 4 lack the article. Although Cx 2 has made the change in the verb, it has kept the preposition 'to' before the infinitive 'sprynge.' The variant 'gynneth' is in Ad3 Ch Cx 2 Ha 4 and Hg ; the other manuscripts --Cx1 Dd El Gg and La-- have 'bigynneth.' One should think, however, that 'gynneth' is the archetypal reading since this, in combination with the presence of the article 'the,' seems more appropriate for the rhythm of the line.
mi 468
Base In busynesse of myrthe । and in solas
Cx1 In besines of myrthe and solas
Cx2 In besynes of myrthe and in solas
Hg In busynesse of myrthe / and in solas
El In bisynesse, of myrthe and of solas
in ] Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds En1 Ha2 Ha3 Ha5 Hg Lc Ln Ma Mg Pn Ra3
Se Tc1 To1 Wy

```
of ] Ad1 Bw Cp Dl El En2 En3 Gg Ha4 li La Ld1 Ld2 Ph2 Pw
Py Ra1 Ry2
not present ] Cx1
```

The witnesses are evenly divided at this point. Cx 2 and Hg have the preposition 'in' instead of 'of' the reading of El and 17 other witnesses. They are supported by the a group --Dd Ds En1 Ma-- and some of the O manuscripts --Bo2 Ch Ha5 Ra3 Tc1. The reading 'of' seems to be a mechanical mistake in reproducing the first part of the line, but the same can be said about the Hg reading. 'In' seems to be the archetypal reading, another indication that was very near the beginning of the tradition. This variant differs in character from the others in which El and Gg agree against Cx 2 , the ambiguity of this case arises from the presence of other witnesses supporting these manuscripts.

RE 82

| Base | Thanne were ther, yonge poure scolers two |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | Than were ther | pore clerkis two |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | Than were there, yonge | scolers two |
| Hg | Thanne were ther, | yonge poure scolers two |
| $\mathrm{El} \Phi$ Thanne were ther, | yonge poure clerkes two |  |

yonge poure scolers ] Ad3 Dd Hg La
yonge scolers ] Cp Cx2 La
yonge poure clerkes ] El
poure clerkes ] Cx1 Gg
poure scolers ] Ha4

Cx 2 agrees with Hg in the reading 'scolers' against that of El, 'clerkes,' also supported by Gg ; this suggests that, once more, El is related to the $\mathbf{E}$ exemplar, as indicated by Robinson in his analysis of WBP (1997 110-1). However, Cx2 had deleted the word 'pore' which appears in Cx1. It is possible that lacked this reading, as do Cp and La , but it is more likely that Caxton or one his compositors
made a mistake and deleted a word that appeared in $\omega$. In any case, the variant shared by Cx 2 and Hg --'scolers'-- is likely to be the archetypal one.

```
RE }15
Base And whan the mele । was sakked and ybounde
Cx1 Andr whan the mele is sackior and bounde
Cx2 Andr whan the mele was sackid 7 bounde
Hg And whan the mele , was sakked and ybounde
El And whan the mele / is sakked and ybounde
was ] Cx2 Hg Ad3 Ha4
    is ] Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg La
```

RE 150 has a change in the tense of the verb. The preterit, found in Cx 2 Hg Ad 3 and Ha4, is less disruptive in the context of the next line --in which we find another preterit-- which suggests that this variant might be archetypal. The reading in El, the present 'is,' is supported by Dd , the c group manuscripts Cp and La and Gg .

```
KT 2056
Base ne eek the names , how the trees highte
Cx1 Andr as to telle you what the treys highte
Cx2 ne eke the names how the trees hyghte
Hg he eek the names , how the trees highte
El Me eek% the names , that the trees hig\hbarte
how ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ha4 Hg La
    that ] El
    what ] Cx1 Gg
```

Here again El has a reading that is unique in the current collation. Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Ha4 Cx 2 and Hg all have the word 'how' as the variant present in the archetypal text. Gg has the reading 'what' --in agreement with Cx1-- which is possibly a variant from 'that,' the reading in El.

### 1.3.1.1.2 Likely Archetypal Variants and Ambiguous Variants

The character of the variants that follow is difficult to determine, that is, whether the readings in Cx2 are archetypal or whether they indicate the presence of a hyparchetype.
mi 65
Base Tasseled with silk , and perled with latoun
Cx1 Tarselio with grene and perlio with laton
Cx2 Tarselyd wyth sylk and perlyd wyth laton
Hg Tasseled with silk , and perled with latoun
El Tasseled with grene, and pled $\mathrm{w}^{+}$latoun
silk ] Ad1 Ad2 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Ds En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl
Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 Hg Hk li La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln ma mg Mm Ph2 Pn Ps
Pw Py Ra1 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2 Tc1 Wy grene ] Cx1 DI El He Ht he Se Tc2

In MI 65 the variant reading is 'silk' / 'grene.' Cx 2 Hg and the vast majority of the manuscripts support the variant 'silk'. El, on the other hand, has 'grene,' a reading that is found in the b group --Cx1 He Ne and Tc2. It seems obvious that the archetypal reading is 'silk,' but it is difficult to explain why 'grene' was introduced.
mi 188
Base He kembed his lokkes brode । and made hym gay
Cx1 He kembith $\hbar$ is lockis brode 7 makith hym gay
Cx2 He kempte hys lockis brode 7 made hym gay
Hg He kembed his lokkes brode / and made hym gay
El He kembeth hise lokkes brode , and made hym gay
kembed ] Ad1 Cp Cx2 Dl En3 Gg Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk La Ld1 Pn Ry1 SI2 Tc1 Wy
kembeth ] Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cx1 Dd Ds El En1 En2 Fi Ha2 Ha5 He Ht Lc Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm ne nl Ph2 Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry2 Se SI1 Tc2 To1
kembeth al ] Gl
mi 194

| Base And for she was of towne, he profred meede |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | And for she was of toun he profrio her mede |  |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | And for she was of toun he proferyd | mede |
| Hg | And for she was of towne, he pfred | meede |
| El | And for she was of towne, he profreth | meede |

profred ] Ad1 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg li La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Mg Mm nl Pn Ps Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1 Wy
profred hir ] Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Cn Cx1 Dl Ha5 Hk Ht Ma ne Ph2 Ra1 Ra2 Tc2
profreth ] EI

Both lines MI 188 and 194 have a preterite in Cx 2 and Hg against a present tense in El. In MI 188 we have a change in the verbal tense. In Cx 2 and Hg --as well as in other manuscripts that support this reading -- the past tense 'kembed' has a narrative continuity in 'made.' This continuity breaks in manuscripts that have a combination of past and present tense, as is the case of El. For this reason, it seems that the preterit 'kembed' is more appropriate in this line, perhaps suggesting that this might be the archetypal reading, although, the evidence here is ambiguous.

The case of MI 194 is slightly different from that of MI 188. Here Hg Cx 2 and the vast majority of the witnesses have 'profred' in the same place as have Cx1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Cn Dl Ha5 Hk Ht Ma Ne Ph2 Ra1 Ra2 and Tc2. A single manuscript, El has 'profreth' instead of 'profred'. Since this is a singleton --in a tale in which all the manuscripts have been collated-- it can more or less safely be said that the El scribe made a mistake while he was copying. This variant distribution suggest that in all the likelihood, the reading in the archetype is that found in Cx 2 and Hg .


Although the reading 'his' is in $\mathrm{Cx} 2 \mathrm{Hg} \operatorname{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Cp}$ and La , the word appears to refer to both John and Alayn, and that should be a plural. It is likely that 'his' might have been present in the origin of the tradition, since it could be used for plural in Middle English. At some point, a scribe must have changed it to 'hir' in an attempt to make it less ambiguous, as in El and Ha 4 .

### 1.3.1.2 El against Hg

Many of the sixteen $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg are changes in prepositions --eg. KT 308, KT 204, KT 295, RE 99--, articles --eg. KT 210-- and pronouns --eg. KT 186, KT 488, KT 1022. These seem to be very minor, and are unreliable in tracing the textual affiliations of $\omega$. Six of these sixteen variants have been put into the electronic appendix $d$, chapter 5, 1.3.1.2. The variants in the appendix are mostly from KT --KT 210 , KT 308 , KT 390 , KT 488 , KT 1022-and only one comes from a different tale --RE 252. The problem with variants such as changes in prepositions or the addition or deletion of personal pronouns is that they are likely to be the result of agreement by coincidence. In this group, there are two variants which are not necessarily minor: KT 390 and RE 252 . KT 390, although an important variant, has manuscript distribution in the current collation making it very
difficult to decide its character. For RE 252 the situation is similar in as much as only a complete collation of the witnesses could help to elucidate. This ambiguity also occurs in the case of the other variants which have been put in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 1.3.1.2. However, seven of these have been retained as examples --KT 186, KT 204, KT 1594, KT 2168, MI 296, MI 355, RE 99--, and are discussed in 1.3.1.2.2.

Because some of the witnesses --Ad3 Ch and Ha4-- are consistently in agreement with Cx2 we can infer a common ancestor which these share with $\omega$, although, it is difficult to discern whether this ancestor is below the archetype or whether it is O itself. In the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , we find the lowest number of agreements with Ha 4 in the whole of the set. The proportion of agreements with Ad3 and Ch remains similar to that of other variants in the set. A few other interesting variants have more bearing on the structure and the metre of the line. An example of this is KT 173, where the witnesses offer different versions of the line. KT 1704 shows that Hg has a mistake whereas the archetypal reading has been transmitted to the rest of the tradition.
1.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Variants in which Cx2 Agrees with Ad3 Ch and Ha4

```
KT 173
Base Dwellen this Palamon, and eek Arcite
Cx1 Dwellit\hbar Palamon and 
Cx2 Dwellyth Palamon andr hys felow arcite
Hg Dwellen this Palamon , and eek Arcite
El This Palamon, and his felawe Arcite
eek ] Cp Hg La
his felawe ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El Gg Ha4
not present ] Cx1
```

Cx2 and El have the reading 'his felawe' instead of Hg's 'eek'. Most witnesses including Ad3 Ch Ha4 Gg-- support the variant 'his felawe.' Only Cx 1 Cp and La align with Hg in support of 'eek.' KT 173 makes perfect sense in Hg , which has a verb at the beginning of the line and that has been suppressed in El. The suppression of 'dwellen' makes it necessary to change other words for the line to remain metrically acceptable. But we could interpret it differently and say that the changes of 'his felawe' to 'eek' would require the introduction of another word to smooth the metre. It seems that $\omega$ might have had the line as it appears in El rather than as in Hg , or in the conflated version in Cx2, which is just the result of the combination of the readings in Cx 1 and $\omega$.
KT 1704
Base So loude cryde they, with
Cx1 So lowde cryde they with mylde steuene
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ So lowde cryde they wyth mery steuen
Hg So loude cryde they , with loude steuene
El So loude cride they , with murie steuene
loude ] Hg
murie ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd El Gg La
mylde ] Cx1Ha4

The majority of the collated manuscripts -- El Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Gg La-- support 'murie,' the reading in Cx2, while 'loude' in Hg appears to be the result of the repetition of the first part of the line. In this sense, the variant is not very useful to trace the affiliation of $\omega$. Instead it indicates that $\omega$ had the archetypal reading.

### 1.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

```
KT 186
Base And maketh it out of his sleep to sterte
Cx1 Andr maketh it out of his slepe to sterte
Cx2 And maketh hym out of hys slepe to sterte
Hg And maketh it out of his sleep to sterte
El And maketh hym , out of his slep̄ to sterte
it ] Cx 1 Cp Gg Hg La
    hym ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El Ha4
```

Both pronouns, 'it' and 'hym' are metrically equivalent and, for this reason, it is difficult to decide which one might be the reading in O . The variant in Hg , 'it,' is supported by Cp Cx 1 Gg and La . Cx 2 has the variant 'hym' which is found in Ad 3 Ch El and Ha4.

```
KT 204
Base Bright was the sonne , and cleer , in that mornyng
Cx 1 Bryght was the sonne 7 cleer in that mornyng
Cx2 Bryght was the sonne 7 cleer that mornyng
Hg Bright was the sonne , and cleer , in that mornyngr
El Brigћt was the sōne , 7 cleer that morwenynge
in ] Cp Cx1 Gg Hg La
        not present ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El Ha4
```

In KT 204 both Cx 2 and El lack the preposition 'in,' present in $\mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Cx1} \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{La}$. Other manuscripts lacking this reading are Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 . This group shares Cx2's readings consistently. This particular variant on its own does not seem enough to show textual affiliation --especially because in this case the variant is the lack of a
word--, but this, together with other variants, suggests a common origin for Ad3 Ch Ha4 and $\omega$.

Similar examples can be seen in lines KT 201, KT 308 and KT 390, all of which show Cx2 in agreement with two or more of El Ad3 and Ch. All these variants can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 1.3.1.2.

KT 1594
Base Of al this stryf he kan remedie fynde
Cx1 Of al this strif he can remedies fynde
Cx2 Of al thys stryf he gan remedyes fynde
Hg Of al this stryf he kan remedie fynde
El Of al this strif, he gan remedie fynde
kan ] Cx1 Dd Ha4 Hg
gan ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El Gg

Ad3 Ch and Gg agree with Cx 2 and El in the reading 'gan.' Hg reads 'kan' as do Cx 1

Dd and Ha4. However, this is a reading which, because of its character, might have easily arisen as an agreement by coincidence.

KT 2168

ye ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Hg La
men ] Cx2 El Gg Ha4

The variant 'men,' present in Cx 2 El Gg and Ha 4 , has no impact on the metre of the
line. Hg Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd and La read 'ye.' Again, it is remarkable that El and Gg present the same reading --also in Cx2-- which is likely to be non-archetypal, as indicated by its variant distribution, although, we cannot be sure concerning the nonarchetypal character of this variant.

```
ml 296
Base And on the thresshfold, on the dore withoute
Cx1 And on the thresshold }7\mathrm{ on the dore withoute
Cx2 Andr on the thresshold of the dore wythout
Hg And on the thresshfold, on the dore with oute
El And on the thress\hbarfold , of the dore with oute
on ] Ad1 Ad2 Cp Dl En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha2 Hg li La Ld1 Ld2 Ln Mg mm
Pw Ra1 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
    of ] Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cx2 Dd El En1 Ha3 Ha4 Hk Lc Ph2 Pn
        Ra2 Se Wy
        and on ] Cx1 He ne Tc2
        at ] Ad3 Ds
        and ] Ps
        not present ] Ma Py
```

This case is similar to that of KT $308 ;{ }^{8}$ the variant in the line is a change in the second preposition. The witnesses are divided, but most of them support the Hg reading, 'on.' It is difficult to know whether this is the result of a repeated mistake, perhaps generated by the scribes remembeing and repeating the structure of the first part of the line, or whether it has been genetically transmitted. The variant in Cx 2 and El is 'of,' which is present in $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts --Ch Bo2--, in a group manuscripts --Cn Dd and En1, and in E group manuscripts --Bo1 and Ph2-- and in Ch and Ha4. The

[^83]distribution of the Cx 2 variant makes it ambiguous, and although the Hg variant is widely distributed it is difficult to tell which one is the archetypal reading.

```
ml }35
ml 355 after Ml 353: Ch nl Se
Base Hym hadde leuere / I dar wel vndertake
Cx1 Hym hadde leuer I dar wel vndertake
Cx2 Hym hadde be leuer I dar wel vndertake
Hg Hym hadde leuere, I dar wel vndertake
El Hym hadde be leuere , I dar wel vndertake
hadde ] Cp Cx1 DI En2 Fi Gl Ha2 Hg Ht La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Mg Mm nl Pw
Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Tc2
hadde be ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cx2 Dd Ds El En1
En3 Gg Ha5 He Ln Ma Me Ox1 Ph2 Pn Ps Ra1 Ra3 To1 Wy
hadde wel ] Ha3 Ha4 Ii Py
```

Witnesses with the reading 'hadde' instead of 'hadde be' --as Cx2 has-- appear to be metrically smoother. The additional 'be' is present in manuscripts that belong to the a group --Cn Ma Ds En1 and Dd--, in Robinson's E group --Bo1 Ph2 and Gg-- and some of the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts --Ad1 Bo2 En3 Ha5 and Ra3. This is another example of a variant of ambiguous character.

RE 99
Base With good swerd , and with bokeler by his syde Cx1 With good swerd and with bokeler by her syde Cx2 With goodr swerd And bokeler by hys syde Hg With good swerd , and with bokeler by his syde El With good swerd, and bokeler by hir syde
with bokeler ] Cp Cx1 Ha4 Hg La bokeler ] Ad3 Cx2 Dd Gg El

Line RE 99 shows the witnesses to be divided: Cx2 El Ad3 Dd Gg do not have the
preposition 'with' before 'bokeler,' the other witnesses --Hg Cx1 Cp Ha4 and La-have repeated the structure of the first part of the line. It is difficult to determine which of these variants is archetypal.

### 1.3.1.2.3 Agreements with El below the Archetype

RE $22^{9}$
Base A wif he hadde, comen of noble kyn
Cx1 A wyf he hadde [] come of nobyl kyn
Cx2 A wyf he hadde $y$ comen of nobyl kyn
Hg A wif he hadde / comen of noble kyn
El A wyf he hadde, ycomen of noble kyn
comen ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ha4 Hg La ycomen ] Cx 2 El

This is an example of a variant in which Cx 2 and El agree in what is likely to be a non-archetypal reading. Even witnesses which are often in agreement with Cx2, such as Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 , support the Hg variant.

KT 1594, discussed above in 1.3.1.2.2, might have been included here but, as stated above, the partial collation of KT makes difficult the identifying of archetypal variants.

### 1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

This type of variants is the most useful one while trying to determine the affiliations of $\omega$, although, even within this type one can find variants that are
agreements by coincidence and offer no help to clarify the relationships of $\omega$. An example of this is GP 187, where we have a variant distribution so random that it indicates the agreement is probably due to coincidence.

Probably one of the most striking examples of the textual affiliations of Cx2 Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 is KT 1179, where Hg and El have the nonsensical reading 'Setres' in a context where the reading 'sterres' would make sense. Another interesting variant can be found in RE 9, where the vast majority of the witnesses, including Cx2 aupport the reading 'Ay,' but Hg and El have 'And.' This last example strongly signals that $\omega$ was a manuscript of the very best quality and very close to the archetype. Of a total of $35 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not-Hg/El variants, fifteen --GP 366, GP 379, GP 473, KT 1547, KT 701, KT 466, KT 429, KT 1461, L1 11, MI 6, MI 61, MI 646, RE 18, RE 144, RE 285--, have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 1.3.2. The following have been moved since they are either: omissions of articles, prepositions or pronouns --GP 366, KT 466, MI 6, RE 18--; or additions of such words --GP 379, KT 701, KT 1461, RE 144--; or changes and minor variation unlikely to shed light on the affiliations of $\omega$--GP 473, KT 429, L1 11, MI 61, MI 646, RE 285. The variant in KT 1547 is the suppression of a verb, but might be an agreement by coincidence.

The other 20 are analysed, individually or in groups, below. These variants show that there is a textual relationship between Cx2 Ad3 Ch and Ha4.

### 1.3.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with Ha4

[^84]RE 9
Out: Ad3
Base And by his belt he baar a long Panade
Cx1 And by his belt he baar a longr pauade
Cx2 Ay by hys belt he baar a long pauade
Hg And by his beltr he baar a long Panade
El And by his belt he baar a long panade
And ] Ch Cx 1 El Hg
Ay ] Cx2 Cp Dd Gg Ha4 La

Here Hg and El agree in a reading that is contradicted by the majority of the collated manuscripts. It seems possible that the Hg scribe changed the reading to 'And,' which would indicate that 'Ay' --which is in Cx 2 Cp Dd Gg Ha 4 and La-- is the archetypal reading. This may be an example of an unusual reading --lectio difficilior-- being substituted by a more common one by one of the scribes.

### 1.3.2.2 Agreements with Ad3 Ch or Ha4 below the Archetype

GP 769
Base $\Phi$ Ye goon to Caunterbury , god yow spede
Cx1 Ye go o Caunterbury god you spede
Cx2 Ye go to Caunterbury ward god you spede
Hg $\Phi$ Ye goon to Caunfbury , god yow spede
El $\$$ Ye goon to Caunterbury , god yow speede
Caunterbury ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Cn Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Ht li La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm ne hl Ph2 Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To1

Caunterburyward ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Pn Wy

KT 72

[^85]

GP 769, KT 72 and KT 279 show the same variant distribution. Only Ad3 and Ch support the readings in Cx2. In GP 769 the reading in Cx2 is clearly hypermetrical, and likely to have originated below the archetype. As this variant is also shared by Ad3 and Ch , one can consider that it might be relevant to establish the relationship among these manuscripts. ${ }^{10}$ This particular reading is significant because it is likely to be a non-archetypal reading, that is, it occurred for the first time below the archetype, and suggests that these witnesses ultimately descend from the same hyparchetype. As in the previous variant --GP 769--, of the collated witnesses, only Ad3 and Ch support the reading in Cx2. This also happens in KT 279, where both Ad3 and Ch agree with Cx 2 in having the conjunction 'And' at the beginning of the line. $\mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{El} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Cx1} \mathrm{Gg}$ Ha4 and La have 'But' as their initial conjunction, which seems to be the archetypal

[^86]reading.

KT 689
Out: Ad3 Dd

that ] Ch Cp Cx1 El Gg Hg La not present ] Cx2 Ha4

KT 1606
Base The fallyng of the toures , and of the walles
Cx1 The fallyng of the touris and of the wallis
Cx2 The fallyng of the touris and the walles
Hg The fallyng of the toures , and of the walles
El The fallynge , of the toures / and of the walles
of ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Hg La
not present ] Cx2 Ha4

KT 1949
Base he me ne lyst , thilke opynyons to telle
Cx1 Me mene list the oppinions to telle
Cx2 Me me lyst the opynyons to tell
Hg He me ne lyst , thilke opynyons to telle
El he me ne listr thilke opinions to telle
ne ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Hg La not present ] Cx2 Ha4

KT 2192
Base To dyen , whan he is best of name
Cx1 To dien whan he is best of name
Cx2 To dyen whan a man is best of name
Hg To dyen , whan he is best of name
El To dyen , whan $p^{\dagger}$ he is best of name

```
he ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Hg La
    a man ] Cx2 Ha4
```

KT 2207

| Base I rede we make , of | sorwes two |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | I rede | we make | of | sorowis two |
| Cx2 | I rede that we make | of | sorowys two |  |
| Hg | I rede | we make , | of | sorwes two |
| El | I rede | we make, | of | sorwes two |

rede ] Ad3 Cp Ch Cx1 Cx2 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La
rede that ] Cx2 Ha4

All of the preceding group is composed of variants shared by Cx2 and Ha4. KT 689, KT 1606, KT 1949 and KT 2207 are similar to KT 429. They might all have been originated just because the scribe made a mistake or the compositor was careless. KT 2192, however, presents a different case. The Cx2/Ha4 reading 'a man' cannot have arisen from a mistake while copying the word 'he.' Cx 2 and Ha 4 are the only witnesses in this collation that share the reading. KT 2192 thus gives more credibility to the other variants that Cx 2 shares only with Ha4.

```
KT }114
Base Al ful of chirkyng was that sory place
Cx1 Al ful of chirkyng was the sory place
Cx2 Anor ful of chyrkyngr was the sory place
Hg Al ful of chirkyng was that sory place
El Al ful of chirkyng was that sory place
```

Al ] Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La And ] Ad3 Cx2

In line 1146 Cx2 agrees with Ad3 --as in some of the most significant variants in this set. Both witnesses have 'and' instead of 'al.' Probably, 'al' is the archetypal reading
and, although it is possible that the variant 'and' could be the result of casual carelessness, must be taken into account since Cx2 shares it with one of the manuscripts with which it is often in agreement.

```
ml }55
Base A berd a berdr saydr hend Micholas
Cx1 A berd a beror quod hendr nicholas
Cx2 A berd a beror saydr heno nicholas
Hg $ A berd , a berd , quod hende nicholas
El $ A berd a berd , quod hende nicholas
quod ] Cx1 El Gg Ha4 He Hg li Ld1 Ln Me nl Py Ra1 Tc1 Tc2
    seyde ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Dl Ds En1
    En2 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha5 Hk Ht La Lc Ld2 Ma Mg Mm Ph2 Pn Ps
    Pw Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Wy
    quoth ] Fi
    thoug\hbart ] Ha3
    quoth tho ] To1
```

MI 554 presents very interesting variants. Here Cx 2 , supported by the majority of the manuscripts, has the reading 'seide' instead of 'quod' as in Hg and El. It is interesting to notice that Ha 4 here agrees with Hg and El , and Ch with Ad 3 and Cx 2 . Bo2 and Ra3, probably $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts, also support the reading in $\mathbf{C x} 2$. It seems difficult, in this particular case, to make a final decision as to which of these is the archetypal reading, since the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts appear to be divided evenly. The choice of reading for an edition, would probably depend more on editorial judgement and the weight of the editorial tradition than with any genetic method.

### 1.3.2.3 Variants of Ambiguous Character

KT 250
Out: Dd

| Base | And if so be / my | nee | be shape |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cx1 | And if it be my | destenye | so to hape |
| Cx2 | And yf it be our | destenye | so be shape |
| Hg | And if so be , my | destynee | be shape |
| El | And if so be / my | destynee | be shapen |

my ] Cp Cx1 El Gg Hg La
our ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ha4
KT 1179
Base As is depeynted , in the Sertres aboue
Cx1 As it is depaynted in the serelis aboue
Cx2 As it is depaynted in the sterris aboue
Hg As is depeynted, in the Sertres aboue
El As is depeynted , in the Certres aboue

```
Sertres ] Cp Dd El Gg Hg La
    sterres ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ha4
        serelis ] Cx1
```

Both KT 250 and KT 1179 have variants in which Cx2 agrees with Ad3 Ch and Ha4 against the other witnesses. Instead of 'my,' Cx2 Ad3 Ch and Ha4 have the plural 'oure.' All the other collated witnesses have the reading 'my.'

KT 1179 is another example in which the variant in Cx2 agrees with Ad3 Ch and Ha4. Hg El Cp Dd Gg and La share the reading 'sertres.' Only Cx1 has 'serelis.' It could be assumed since Ad3 Ch Ha4 and Cx2 have shown a consistent relationship in this part of the text, that their ancestor corrected a mistake in O . The first person specifically to call attention to this variant was Skeat, when he wrote:

That sterres, i.e. stars, is the right reading is certain; for there is a parallel passage in B 194 -"For the sterres, clearer than is glass, is written," etc.

Yet the scribe of the Hengwrt MS. very oddly spelt the word sertres,
making the $t$ the fourth letter instead of the second: and so producing a ghost-word. The remarkable point is, that Petworth has certres, with c for s; Corpus and Lansdowne have sertres; Ellesmere has certres;... so that all these practically follow suit. Only the Harleian, which is so often independent of the rest, has the right spelling sterres. (Skeat 1907, 37)

Skeat also advanced the theory that the archetype must have had an abbreviation for 'er' and that this was misinterpreted by hand b--the Hg scribe-- among others. If Skeat were right then the archetypal reading would have been 'sterres.' And, since he also points out that Ha4 might represent a different line of descent, his hypothesis would agree with the findings of this research. A different interpretation was put forward by Manly and Rickert when they wrote:

2037 [KT 1179]. This is an excellent example of the way in which a carelessly placed sign of abbreviation may give rise to trouble. There can be little doubt that O contained the letters "stres" with the common sign for "er" placed, not, as it should have been, between $\underline{t}$ and $\underline{\underline{r}}$, but carelessly, so that the scribes understood it to preceed t instead of following it. This blunder appears in every main line of descent; other readings are wild efforts to give meaning to the word. It is astonishing that none of the scribes recognized and corrected the error. Editors who read "sterres" are undoubtedly giving what Chaucer wrote. (1940, 3:432)

From this perspective, the archetype contained a mistake which made the text ambiguous and promoted mistakes in its copying. The reference made to the mistake not having been corrected would then be due to the supposition that no scribe
modified the text of the archetype of the tradition to modify its ambiguous reading. This interpretation is also found in Blake:

There are many textual features which can also best be explained on the hypothesis that the early scribes used the same copytext. The most intriguing is the misreading of sterres $(1: 2039)$ in KtT which is found in so many manuscripts. In Hg it appears as sertres, and other manuscripts have different readings. It has often been proposed that these misreadings come from the misplacement of an abbreviation for $e r$ so that scribes were confused as to what the correct reading was. Some tried to represent what was in the copytext and others interpreted it to make sense of the passage. The important point is that many of the early scribes were clearly responding to an identical stimulus, though the way in which they responded was different. The original copytext had a reading that was far from clear and the scribes made what they could of it; some, like that of Ha7334, managed to deduce what the right reading was. Since this ambiguous reading must have occurred in the original copytext, it is most sensible to assume that these scribes had access to that original. There is no need to assume intermediate exemplars in which this ambiguous reading was interpreted in diverse ways. (1985, 169-70)

This perspective on the mistake being in the archetype allows Manly and Rickert and Blake to maintain that Hg is nearer to the archetype than other witnesses, and to support the hypothesis that Hg is only one step removed from O . The view proposed by Blake could mean that other witnesses, showing the reading 'sterres,' could also have derived directly from the archetype.

KT 383
Base And art a knyght a worthy and an able
Cx1 And art a knyght worthy and able
Cx2 And art a knyght a worthy man and able
Hg And art a knyghtr a worthy and an able
El And art a knyg币tr a worthy and an able
and an ] Ad3 Cp Dd El Ha4 Hg La
man and ] Cx2 Ch
and ] Cx1 Gg

KT 854
Base Withouten luge , or oother officer
Cx1 Withoute luge or other officere
Cx2 Without ony luge or other offycere
Hg With outen luge , or oother officer
El With outen luge , or oother Officere

```
Iuge ] Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 El Gg Ha4 Hg
    luge any ] Ch Cx2
```

Lines KT 383 and KT 854 are lines in which Cx2 agrees with Ch against both Hg and El. In KT 383 we find the word 'man' added. This seems to make more sense than the indefinite article in Hg and El . The importance of these two variants is their suggestion that there might be a genetic relationship between Cx 2 and Ch which is probably below the archetype.

| KT 2164 |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Base | That nedeth, in oon of thise | termes | two |  |
| Cx1 | That nedith | in one of the | termys | two |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | That nedis | in one of thyse | termys | two |
| Hg | That nedeth, in oon of thise | tmes | two |  |
| El | That nedeth , in oon of thise | termes | two |  |

```
nedeth ] Cp Cx1 El Gg Hg La
    nedes ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Dd
    wendep ] Ha4
```

The variant distribution in this line clearly suggests a relationship between Cx2 Ad3 and Ch. Dd also supports their reading. These witnesses have 'nedes' instead of the $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ reading 'nedeth.' The nature of this variant makes it very difficult to determine which one is the archetypal reading.
L2 17
Base But if ik fare, as dooth an Openers
Cx1 But yf I fare as doth an open ers
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ But yet I fare as doth an open ers
Hg
El But if ik fare, as dooth an Openers
Ha 4 But if I fare, as dooth an Openers
And 3it I fare as doth an open ers
if ] Cp Cx1 Dd El Hg La
yet ] Cx2 Ha4

Although it is obvious that there is a relationship between Cx 2 and Ha4, this particular variant differs from the others. At first sight 'if' --the variant in Hg-- and 'yet' --in Cx2-- are very different, but the spelling in Cx1 'yf' may help to explain how the Cx 2 reading came into being. There is no indication that would allow one to drop this variant as irrelevant, but the Cx 1 spelling of 'yf' leaves open the possibility that the change might have been introduced by one of the compositors, and therefore that the origin of the Cx 2 reading might not necessarily have been its manuscript source.

```
RE 59
Base Bothe of his catel / and his Mesuage
Cx1 Bothe of his cateH and his mesuage
Cx2 Bothe of hys Catel and of hys mesuage
Hg Bothe of his catel / and his Mesuage
El Bothe of his catel I and his Mesuage
and his ]Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La
    and of hys ] Ad3 Cx2
```

Cx2 and Ad3 have added the preposition 'of' in RE 59, thus altering the syllabic count in the line and making it irregular. It seems an easy mistake to make, unconsciously reproducing the structure of the first part of the line. The agreement between Ad3 and Cx 2 could, however, be of genetic origin. It is difficult to determine adequately the character of this variant.

### 1.3.2.4 Other Examples

GP 187

| Base As Austyn | bit | how shal the world be serued |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | As austyn | dide but hou shal the worlde be serued |  |  |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | As Austyn | byddeth | how shold the world | be serued |
| Hg | As Austyn | bitr | how shal the world | be serued |
| El | As Austyn | bit , | how shal the world | be serued |

bit ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cp Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Gg Ha3 Ha4 Hg La Lc Ld1 mg Mm Ph2 Pw Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se haue bit ] Cn did ] Cx1 Ha2 Ht nl Tc 2 biddeth ] Cx2 Fi Ld2 Ma Pn Ps Py Wy not present ] Ad3

The variant in Cx2 in GP 187 seems to be the result of random variation --agreement by coincidence. Caxton obviously corrected the strange reading 'dide but' that was in Cx1, but the correction was not very successful, since he introduced 'biddeth,' a reading that clearly alters the metre of the line. This variant is present in all the incunabula and also in Ld2 --Robinson's $\mathbf{F}$ group-- Ma --a group-- Fi --d group-- Ps --an $\mathbf{O}$ manuscript-- and Pn --a b group witness. This variant distribution is sufficiently random for it to be disregarded when one attempts to determine the nature of $\omega$.
GP 238
Base His nekke whit was , as the flourdelys
Cx1 milk nithe was as the flour delyce
$\mathrm{C} \times 2$ Hys necke was whyt as the flour delys
Hg His nekke whit was , as the flour delys
El His nekke, whitr was as the flour delys
whit was] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cp DI El En3 Gg Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Ii La Lc mg Ph2 Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 SI2 Tc1 To1
was whit ] Cn Cx2 Ds1 En1 Fi Ht Ld2 Ma Mm Pn Ps Se Wy whit as ] Ha2 Ha3 Lc Mg Tc1

The variant in GP 238 'was whit' can be found in Cx2 and in some of the a group manuscripts, such as Cn Ds1 En1 and Ma. Interestingly enough, Ht, a manuscript that Robinson has associated with $\alpha$, also appears in this group. Clearly the original reading was 'whit was,' the alteration in word-order, however makes it is difficult to
decide whether its presence in Cx 2 is the result of a compositorial mistake or whether it has a genetic relationship to the reading in the a group manuscripts.

## 2. Set 2: Link 7 and the Man of Law's Tale ${ }^{11}$

### 2.1 Set Summary

Of the ten $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, on three occasions Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El, and only one of these variants might be considered to be ambiguous, since, based on the current collation, it is impossible to determine which variant is archetypal. When Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg in this set, it seems that the variants are supported by a fair number of manuscripts, although two of these lines are of an ambiguous character.

In this set, the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants show a consistency of agreement with Ha4 and occurs on five occasions. Ch and Ad3, the two manuscripts that most commonly agree with Cx 2 , do not support its readings in any of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. Ch and Ad 3 share the Cx 2 reading in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. An interesting point is that Bo2 shows up in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in support of Cx 2 and El when they disagree with Hg , and on one occasion Bo2 agrees with Cx 2 in the Cx2-not$\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. At this stage it is too soon to speculate about the possibility of a relationship between Cx 2 and Bo 2 .

[^87]All the line substitutions in this set are non-archetypal versions of the lines for archetypal ones.

### 2.2.Analysis of Variant Lines

### 2.2.1 Line Substitutions

In this set, all the line substitutions are replacements of non-archetypal lines in Cx1 for archetypal lines in Cx2. None of the lines in Cx2 has minor variants within. A list of all the substitutions in this set follows.

L7 42a Cx1 Plese yow , and therto wole I do my payne
L7 42 Cx2 Alle my behest I can no better sayn
ML 178a Cx1 That most you loueth with obeissaunce
mL 178 Cx2 And ye my moder my souerayn plesaunce
ML 548a Cx1 Of hym that hath be laor in a prees
ML 548 Cx2 Among a prees of hym that hath be ladde
ML 550a Cx1 Anor suche a colour in the knyghtis face chees
ML 550 Cx2 And suche a colour in hys face he had
ML 551a Cx1 men myghte knowe his face in alt the prees
ML 551 Cx2 men myht knowe hys face that was be stad
ML 887a Cx1 That had suche sorowe as I said before
mL 887 Cx2 For hys wyf wepyth and sigheth sore

### 2.2.2 Line Additions

There are no line additions in this set.

### 2.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no line deletions in this set.

### 2.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 2.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

163 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$.These are distributed as 17 in L7, 146 in ML.

29 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 3 in L7, 26 in ML.
$10 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 2 in L7, 8 in ML.

Hg against El: 3

El against Hg: 7
$8 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against Hg and El . These are distributed as 0 in L7, 8 in ML.

### 2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

There are $10 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set, but the distribution in the agreements of Cx 2 with one or the other differs from that of other sets. In set 2 , most of these variants are agreements of Cx 2 and El against Hg --this occurs seven times. Only on three occasions does Cx 2 agree with Hg against El.

### 2.3.1.1 Hg against El

All three variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , although similar at first sight, require individual attention. L7 51 and ML 20 and ML 555 are minor additions: an adverb, an article and a pronoun. However these changes might have arisen in a manuscript for very different reasons.

### 2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants

ML 20
Out: Ad3

| Base | Alle the dayes, of | pouere men been wikke |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | Al they that |  | poure men be wikk |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | That al the dayes of poure men ben wycke |  |  |
| Hg | Alle the dayes, of poue men been wikke |  |  |
| El | Alle | dayes of poure men been wikke |  |

the ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La
they ] Cx1
not present ] El

ML 20 shows the opposite of the example above. In this case the article 'the' is not present in El. All other witnesses, with the exception of Cx1, have included the article in the line. Even though if the addition of an article is a very minor change that could easily have been the result of scribal intervention, this is clearly more likely to be the archetypal reading.
ML 555
Base Duchesses , and ye ladies euerichoun
$\mathrm{Cx1}$ Duchesse and ladyes euerichone
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ Duchesses and ye ladyes euerichone
$\mathrm{Hg} \quad$ Duchesses , and ye ladies euerichor ${ }^{2}$
$\mathrm{El} \quad$ Duchesses , and ladyes euerichone

```
ye ] Ch Cp Cx2 Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 Hg
    pe ] Bo2
    eek ] Ad3
    not present ] Cx1 El Ht La
```

The addition of 'ye' to ML 555 has an impact on the metre of the line. Here Cx2 and Hg are supported in its inclusion by Ch Cp Ds1 En1 Gg and Ha4, which means that El is in the minority group with Ht La and Cx1. Ad3 has 'eek,' while Bo2 has ' pe,' suggesting that a scribe might have misinterpreted a 'y' for a later 'thorn.' The variant in Cx 2 and Hg appears to be archetypal.

### 2.3.1.1.2 Ambiguous Variant

```
L7 51
Base And if he ne haue nat seyd hem , leeue brother
Cx1 Anoryf he hath not sayor hem leue brother
Cx2 Andryf he ne hath not sayd hem leue brother
Hg And if he ne haue nat seyd hem , leeue brother
El And if he haue noght seyd hem leue brother
ne ] Cx2 Ds1 Hg
    not present ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
    Ra3
```

In this case we have an adverb, 'ne,' which has been added in Cx2. With this addition, Cx2 agrees with Hg against El. Among the collated manuscripts, only Cx2, Ds, and Hg have it. The adverb here seems unnecessary, since it is part of a double negative, and it makes the line break the iambic pentameter. It is very difficult to decide whether the presence of the adverb in the line is archetypal or not. One could argue that it is an easy mistake to make and that some witnesses have added an extra word
into the line, but the opposite can also be suggested: that it was an easy mistake to correct and that the scribes deleted it to smooth the metre of the line.

### 2.3.1.2 El against Hg

Of the seven variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , five are discussed below. The variants in ML 809 and ML 818, both of which could be the result of agreement by coincidence, can be found in electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 2.3.1.2. It is interesting to note that for these seven variants, only three times do Cx2 and El agree with Gg: in ML 818 --a likely agreement by coincidence--, ML 411 and ML 197. In both the latter cases, Hg is the minority, and the variant distribution suggests that Cx 2 and El have the archetypal reading.

### 2.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Variants

| ML 41 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | Dame Hermengyld | Constablesse of |  |
| Cx1 | Dame hermegilde | the Constablis wyf of | $p^{\text {e }}$ |
| Cx2 | Dame hermegild | the Cōstablesse of | that |
| Hg | Dame hermengyld , | Constablesse of | thilke |
| El | Dame Hermengyld | Constablesse of |  |

```
thilke ] Cp Hg La
the ] Cx1 Ha4 Ht
    that ] Bo2 Ch Cx2 Ds1 En1 Gg El
```

The variants 'that' and 'thilke' in this line are equivalent in their meaning, as is also 'of the.' But the weight of the distribution, in this case, seems to indicate that 'that' is probably the archetypal reading. This is shared, not only by Cx 2 and El , but also by

Bo2 Ch Ds1 En1 and Gg. The Hg reading has only three witnesses which include Cp and La, usually considered of little authority.

### 2.3.1.2.2 Ambiguous Variants

L7 20
Base Lordynges the tyme / it wasteth nyght and day
Cx1 Lordingis the tyme it wastith bothe nyght 7 day
Cx2 Lordyngis the tyme wastyth bothe nyght and day
Hg Lordynges the tyme , it wasteth nyght and day
El Lordynges, the tyme wasteth nyght and day
it ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Hg La
not present ] Bo2 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Ht Ra3

The addition of 'it' to L7 20 does not make a metrical difference in the line since the previous word ends with a vowel. The manuscript distribution is as follows: 'it' is present in Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Hg La and is not present in Bo2 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Ht Ra3. This even distribution makes it very difficult to decide which of these readings might have been present in the archetype.

ML 197
Out: Ad3
Base \$ O firste moeuer , cruel firmament
Cx1 O frosty mornynge cruel firmament
Cx2 O fyrst moeuyng cruel fyrmaruent
Hg $\Phi$ O firste moeuer , cruel firmament
El $\Phi$ O firste moeuyng , crueel firmament
firste moeuer ] Hg
firste moeuyng ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht
La
frosty mornynge ] Cx1

The variant 'moeuyng' for Hg's 'moeuer' is very consistent. All the collated witnesses agree with Cx2 and El. Such consistency is unusual and would indicate that Hg is in error, showing when we put the variant in context it seems evident that Hg possibly has a reading that seems to make better sense. This does not presuppose that the Hg reading was in the archetype of the tradition. If this had been the case, we should have to assume that the reading 'moeuyng' was introduced very early. The variant distribution however, with 'moeuyng' widely spread through the tradition, suggests that this --being a worse reading-- might have been the one that was present in the archetype. More support for this idea is the reading as it appears in Hg , which could have been a correction introduced by the scribe --since this reading makes much better sense. The ambiguity of character of this variant makes it impossible to tell which of them was present in the archetype.

### 2.3.1.2.3 Non-Archetypal Variants



ML 90 is a case of substitution. We have a group of manuscripts that start the line
with 'And' and another that uses the conjunction 'That.' As in the case of L7 20, the manuscript distribution is even -but not the same. Ch Cp Cx 1 Gg Ha 4 Hg Ht and La have the reading 'And'; while 'That' is supported by Bo2 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El and En1. This distribution is consistent with that of the variant for L7 20, with the only exception of Ha 4 which has moved from agreeing with Cx 2 and El to being aligned with Hg .

ML 849
Base Of lubaltare । and Septe /dryuyng ay
Cx1 Of lubalter and septe driuyng ay
Cx2 Of lubalter anor septe dryuyng alway
Hg Of lubaltar , and Septe , dryuyng ay
El Of lubaltar and Septe dryuynge always
ay ] $\mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{Cx} 1 \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{La}$
alway ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1

Here the variant 'alway' adds an extra syllable to the line. Cx2 agrees with El Ad3 Bo2 Ch Dd Ds1 En1, while the reading 'ay' is found in $\mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Cx} 1 \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{and}$ La. As in lines L7 20 and ML 90, Cx2 shares this variants with Bo2 Dd El and En1.

### 2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

A total of $8 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants can be found in this set. Three of the variants --ML 27, ML 435 and ML 487-- , which might have been the result of scribal mistakes or of carelessness on the part of the compositor, can be found in the
electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 2.3. Of the remaining five, three --ML 55, ML 456 and ML 962-- are agreements of Cx2 and Ha4.

When the variants in Cx2 for this set are grouped with El, they are in agreement with Bo2 and Dd. However, when the source of Cx 2 departs from Hg and El, it often agrees with Ha4, which is, in fact, the most consistent agreement for the set.
2.3.2.1 Ambiguous Variants in which Cx2 Agrees with Ha4

ML 55
Out: Ad3

|  | Vnto thise S Vnto thyse | antis in suche |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cx2 | $V$ nto thyse surr | archantis in suche wys |
| Hg | $V \mathrm{n}$ to thise Surryen | larchauntz , in swich |
| El | Vn to thise Surr | Marchantz 1 in swich a |

```
Surryen ] Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Hg La
    surriens ] Cx2 Ha4
    soueraigne ] Ht
    not present ] Cx1
```

ML 456
ML 456 after G ML 462: Ds
Base \$ Bright was the Sonne , as in that Someres day
$\mathrm{C} \times 1$ Bright was the sonne as n a somers day
Cx2 Bryght was the sonne as in somers day
Hg $\Phi$ Bright was the Sonne, as in that Somes day
El Bright was the sonne, as in that Somes day
that ] Bo2 Ch Cp Ds1 El En1 Gg Hg
a ] Cx1
the ] Ht La
not present ] Cx2 Ha4
ML 962
Base now god quod he । and his halwes brighte
Cx1 now god quod he and his halowis bright

```
Cx2 now godr quod he 7 al hys halowys bryght
Hg Now god quod he / and his halwes brighte
El now god quod he । and hise halwes brig\hbarte
and ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Ha4 Hg Ht
    and al ] Cx2 Ha4
```

Lines ML 55, ML 456 and ML 962 are examples of variants in which Cx2 agrees with Ha4 against all the collated witnesses.

In line 55 the added ' S ' in the word 'surriens' could be fortuitous, but since most of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are in agreement with Ha 4 , this has to be taken into account. The variant in ML 456 is an omitted 'that' which has an impact on the metre of the line. ML 962 has added the word 'al,' which appears to smooth the metre. All these variants could have been the result of an agreement by coincidence. Because agreements between Ha 4 and Cx 2 can also be found here as in other sections of the Tales, it seemed a good idea to keep these variants in a group.
2.3.2.2 Ambiguous Variants in which Cx2 Agrees with Ht

## ML 564

Out: Dd
Base now hastily , do fecche a book , quod he Cx1 now hastely do fet a book quod he Cx2 How hastely goo fet a book quod he Hg Now hastily , do fecche a book , quod he El now hastily , do fecche a bookr quod he
do ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Ds1 El En1Gg Ha4 Hg La go ] Cx2 $\mathrm{H}+$ not present ] Bo2

As an isolated variant, the substitution of 'do' for ' 90 ' in ML 564 is the most interesting reading in this set. Both verbs are imperatives and they have the same function in the sentence. The substitution does not affect the meter in any way. The only manuscript in agreement with Cx 2 is Ht --which also supports the reading in ML 659 (see below).

ML 659
Base \$ Wo was this kyng whan he this lettre hadde seyn
Cx1 Wo was this kyng whan he this lettre had seen
Cx2 Wo was the kyng whan he this lettre had seen
Hg \$ Wo was this kyng whan he this lettre hadde seyn
El \$ Wo was this kyng whan he this lettre had sayn
this ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch CP Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg La the ] Cx2 Ht

ML 659 shows a similar substitution to that of ML 564. The variant is 'this' for 'the,' and, again, Cx 2 is in agreement with Ht . The fact that Ht has also changed the second 'this' in the line for 'the' might led one to doubt the authority of the manuscript in this case, since it might imply that the change is scribal and not genetic, that it was the scribe who changed the first and second 'this' to 'the.'

## 3. SET 3: Link $15^{12}$

### 3.1 Set Summary

[^88]The 6 variants in this set belong to the Cx 2 -Unique variants and to the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which are of no help when trying to establish the affiliations of $\omega$. This set would have been of great importance had it shown any stemmatically significant variation since L15 is not present in Hg. This omission in such an important manuscript as Hg might have been the result of the re-ordering of the links related to ME, SQ and FK --L17 and L20, which could have resulted in the elimination of L15.

### 3.1 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 3.2.1 Line Substitutions:

There are no line substitutions in this set.

### 3.2.2 Line Additions

There are no line additions in this set.

### 3.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no deletions in this set.

### 3.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 3.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$4 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$.

2 Cx2-Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation.
$0 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other.
$0 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El .

### 3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

There are no $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set.

### 3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

There are no $\mathrm{Cx}-$ not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set.

## 4. Set 4: The Merchant's Tale ${ }^{13}$

### 4.1 Set Summary

In this set we find a surprising combination of additions, deletions and substitutions. Although in most cases lines which have been added in Cx 2 replace non-archetypal lines in Cx1, this set presents additions which have been introduced to supply text which was not there before.

The minor variants in this set are less informative than in others. Several of them are suppressions in which Cx2 agrees with one or two other witnesses and this

[^89]could very well be the result of agreement by coincidence rather than evidence of genetic relationships.

There are some variants in which Cx2 agrees with Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 as it usually does. But there are two occasions on which Cx2 agrees with Gg. These --as do the agreements with a group manuscripts-- seem to be accidental, but they could also indicate a textual relation and, for this reason, they need to be taken into account in the final analysis.

### 4.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 4.2.1 Line Substitutions

The majority of the lines which have been introduced in Cx2 are archetypal, while the lines found in Cx 1 are non-archetypal lines. Lines in Cx 2 that substitute non-archetypal lines present in Cx1 are: ME 70, 402 and 403, 533 and 534, 572, 742, 828, 1022.

ME 70a Cx1 Or othir yeftis meuable of fortune
ME 70 Cx 2 Or moeblis all ben yeftes of fortune
ME 234-1 Cx1To you telle I this tale and to non other ME 233 Cx2 Iustinus sothly called was that other

ME 533a Cx1 So fress $\hbar$ she was and therto so likano
ME 534a Cx1 When he saw her daunce with a ring on hir hand
ME 533 Cx 2 So sore hath venus hurt hym wyth her brono
ME 534 Cx 2 As that she bare it daunsyngr in her hond
mE 574-1 Cx1 So hastid lanuary it most be don
ME 572 Cx2 And they haue don ryght as he wold deuyse

ME 742a Cx1 And alle was pyte and tender herte
ME 742 Cx2 Lo pyte renneth sone in gentyl hert
ME 828a Cx1 His deth therfore desiritち he vttirly
me 828 Cx 2 He wepeth ano he wayleth pytously
ME 986-2 Cx1 Whiche that hir rauysshedr out of pina
TME 986-1 Cx2 Eche aftyr other ryght as ony lyne
ME 1022a Cx1 That she shal redily excusen her
mE 1022 Cx2 That I shal yeue her suffyciaunt answere

In one very interesting and unusual case --Cx2 ME 986-2-- we find that a variant line has been replaced by another variant line. The variant lines are:

ME 986 Hg Whos answere hath doon many a man pyne
ME 986-2 Cx1 Whiche that hir rauysshedr out of pina
mE 986-1 Cx2 Eche aftyr other ryght as ony lyne

ME 986 appears in Hg Bo2 En1 and Nl. ME 986-1, is present in El Cx2 Ch Dd Ds1 Gg and Ha4. ME 986-2 is in Cp Cx1 Ad3 La Ld1 Ld2 Ne Nl and Ra3. The fact that the line as it appears in Cx 2 is also in Ch and Ha 4 is consistent with the usual affiliations of $\omega$, but, these witnesses are also grouped with El and Gg . What seems clear when we analyse the three lines and their distribution among the different witnesses is that all three of them must have been introduced in the tradition at a very early stage. Cx2 has a variant in ME 986-1 which it shares with Gg against all the other witnesses. This variant is 'ony' instead of 'a', the latter supported by El Ch Ds1 and Ha4. It is difficult to know if a metrical difference has been triggered by the variants, since this depends on the final '-e' of the rhyme word, 'lyne.'

Another interesting major change is the substitution of ME Cx1 574-1 by ME

Cx2 572. Although the line in Cx2 is archetypal, and therefore requires no further analysis, it presents a peculiarity that seems worth pointing out. While most substitutions are made line by line, in the sense that the relative position of the lines is the same in both Cx 1 and Cx 2 , this substitution also required an alteration in the order of the lineation of Cx 2 and this was inserted in its archetypal place as line 572.

### 4.2.2. Line Additions

As in previous cases, additions made to Cx2 are archetypal lines. Of a total of twelve added lines in Cx 2 , three have word variants which might help in tracing the affiliations of $\omega$. A list of the added lines follows:

ME 63 Cx2 This sentence 7 an hundred thynges worse
ME 64 Cx2 Wryteth thys man there god his bones corse
ME 402 Cx2 So delycate wythout woo and stryf
ME 403 Cx2 That I shal haue my heuen in erthe here
mE 1036 Cx2 Yet haue ther founden many another man
ME 1037 Cx2 Wommen ful trewe ful good and vertuous
ME 1038 Cx2 Wytnes of hem that dwelle in crystes hous
ME 1039 Cx2 Wyth martirdom they preuyd theyr constaunce
ME 1040 Cx2 The Romayn gestes eke make remembraunce
mE 1041 Cx2 Of many a very trewe wyf also
ME 1042 Cx2 But sir ne be not wroth also
ME 1043 Cx2 Al though he said he fond no good womman

As I mentioned before, there are three lines which have word variants within, these are ME 1038, 1042 and 1043. Their analysis follows:

ME 1038
Base Witnesse on hem , that dwelle in Cristes hous
Cx2 Wytnes of hem that dwelle in crystes hous
Hg Witnesse on hem , that dwelle in Cristes hous
El Witnesse on hem / $\mathrm{b}^{\dagger}$ dwelle in Cristes hous
on ] Bo2 Ch Cp El Ha4 Hg Ht Ra3
of ] Ad3 Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1

Cx2 has the variant 'of' instead of 'on' --present in Hg El Bo2 Ch Cp Ha 4 Ht and Ra3. The variant distribution indicates that it is likely that 'on' is the archetypal variant. Manuscripts belonging to the a group share Cx2's reading, and Ad3 is also in agreement.

ME 1042
Out: Cx1
Base But sire ne be nat wrooth, al be it so
Cx2 But sir ne be not wroth also
Hg But sire ne be nat wrooth, al be it so
El But sire ne be nat wrooth, al be it so
al be it so ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht Ra3 also ] Cx2

ME 1043
Out: Cx1
Base Thogh that he seyde, he foond no good womman Cx2 Al though he said he fond no good womman
Hg Thogh $b^{+}$he seyde , he foond no good womman
El Though $p^{+}$he seyde , he foond no good wōman
Thogh ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht Ra3
Al thogh ] Cx2

The minor variants within lines 1042 and 1043 are singletons. In ME 1042, Cx2 has 'also' instead of 'al be it so' --as in all the other collated manuscripts-- and this could easily be the result of a mistake. The case of ME 1043 is similar, although this line has a double variant. In the first place, Cx2 has suppressed the word 'that' and perhaps because of the impact that this had on the metre of the line 'thogh' was substituted by 'although,' adding an extra syllable.

### 4.2.3 Line Deletions

The deletion of lines ME 1109-1 to 1109-8 and ME 1132-1 to 1132-4 are the most noticeable deletions in this set. It is important to note that they have not been substituted by anything in Cx2, they have just been suppressed. These lines are unique to Cx 1 in the current collation, but it is possible that they might be a characteristic of the $\mathbf{b}$ group.

ME 1120 and 1121 are not present in Cx 2 . There is not way of knowing if these lines were dropped accidentally or were not present in $\omega$.

| 1 Cx 1 | A grete tente a thrifty and a longr |
| :---: | :---: |
| me 1109-2 Cx1 | She sayde it was the meriest sy[dub]t[/dub]te |
| me 1109-3 Cx1 | That euer in her lif she was at yet |
| ME 1109-4 Cx1 | my lordis tente seruith me nothing thus |
| ME 1109-5 Cx1 | He foldith twifolde be swete Ihesus |
| me 1109-6 Cx1 | He may not swyue worth a leek |
| me 1109-7 Cx1 | And yet he is ful gentil and ful meek |
| me 1109-8 Cx1 | This is leuyr to me than an euynsongr |
| me 1132-1 Cx1 | Stif andr roundr as ony belle |
| me 1132-2 Cx1 | It was no wonderm though her bely swelle |
| me 1132-3 Cx1 | The smok on his brest lay so theche |
| ME 1132-4 Cx1 | And ${ }^{\text {d }}$ euer me thoughte he poyntio on the brech |

ME 1120 Cx 1 And vp he yaf a roringe and a cry
ME 1121 Cx 1 As doth the moder whan the child shal $d y$

### 4.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 4.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
184 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$.

24 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation.
$3 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other.

Hg against El: 0

El against Hg : 3
$14 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El .

### 4.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

This set is unusual since the totality of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are agreements with El against Hg , a characteristic that is not found in other sets. Other manuscripts
that support these agreements are also unusual, and we find agreements with the $\mathbf{E}$ group as well as with El.

### 4.3.1.1 Hg against El

There are no variants of Hg against El in this set.

### 4.3.1.2 El against Hg

4.3.1.2.1 Agreements with El and Gg likely to Originate below the Archetype
ME 548
Base God grante thee , thyn homly fo espye
Cx1 God graunte the thyn harm to aspye
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ God grante the thyn homly foo tespye
Hg God grante thee, thyn homly fo espye
El God graunte thee , thyn hoomly fo tespye
fo espye ] Ch Cp Ha4 Hg li Ld2 nl
fo tespie ] Ad3 Bo2 Cx2 Dd El En1 Gg Ht
to espye ] Cx1 li Nl
forto espye ] Ph3

In ME 548 the variant in Cx1 '†o aspye' has been substituted by 'fo tespye.' In the first place, Cx2 has the addition of 'fo,' which is found in the vast majority of the witnesses, excluding only manuscripts of the $\mathbf{b}$ group. Cx2 has also substituted 'to aspye' for 'tespye.' This contracted form of the preposition and of the infinitive of the verb, although not a metrical variant, is different from the form in Hg . Other manuscripts that agree with Cx 2 and El are: Ad 3 Bo 2 and Gg . Among the rest of the
witnesses, Ch Cp and Ha4 have 'fo espye.' The Cx2 reading is probably nonarchetypal.
ME 1096
Base For I am blynd, ye sire nofors quod she
Cx1 For I am blind
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ That I am blynd ye sire no force quod she
Hg ye sire no force quod she
El That I am blynd, ye sire nofors quod she
Thelynd, ye sir nofors quod she

## For ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht li Ld1 Ld2 hl Ph3 Ra3

 That ] Cx2 El Gg heIn this line we have a change in the initial conjunction. The majority of the manuscripts agree with the Hg reading 'For,' only Cx 2 El Gg and Ne read 'That.' As in ME 720, Cx2 is in agreement with manuscripts of the $\mathbf{E}$ group.

### 4.3.1.2.2. Archetypal Variant

ME 597

| Base | For we han | leue, to pleye vs by the lawe |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | now haue we | leue to pleye vs be the lawe |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | For we haue | leue to pleye vs by the lawe |
| Hg | [unr]xxx[/unr] we han leue, to pleye vs by the lawe |  |
| El | For we han | leue, to pleye vs by the lawe |

For ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht Ra3
now Cp La Ld1 Ld2 Ph3
[unr]xxx[/unr] ] Hg
now haue ] Cx1 Ii he nl

Although, in theory, the variant in ME 597 is an agreement of Cx 2 with El against Hg , we cannot be sure which reading the latter previously had at this point. Of the
collated manuscripts, those belonging to the $\mathbf{c}$ group --Cp and La-- and the $\mathbf{b}$ group -Cx1 Ii Ne Nl and $\mathrm{Ld} 1{ }^{14}--$ and Ld 2 and Ph 3 agree with the Cx 1 variant 'llow.' The rest of the collated witnesses, and among them notably, the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts --Ad3 Bo2 Ch Ht and Ra3-- support the Cx2 reading. This variant distribution strongly suggests that the reading is archetypal to the tradition.

### 4.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

The agreements within this group appear to be random: Cx2 sometimes agrees with Ad 3 Ch Ha 4 and Ht , at others it agrees with manuscripts from the a group. If these variants are put into the overall context of previous sets, however, they do not appear to be as random and seem to fit the general patterns of affiliation of Cx 2 , especially in the relationship with Ad3 Ha4 and Ch . Ra3 is a manuscript that shows a few agreements with Cx2 in this set. Such agreements between Cx2 and Ra3 had not become evident in previous sets.

There are fourteen Cx 2 -not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, only six of which are discussed here. The analysis of lines ME 24, ME 661, ME 469, ME 733, ME 823, ME 833, ME 885 and ME 835 can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 4.3.2. These variants tend to repeat the data presented below. Thus, ME 661 is very similar to ME 298. While ME 469, ME 733, ME 823, ME 833 and ME 885 are instances of a suppressed word in Cx2 and these agreements are probably the result agreements by coincidence. ME 835 has the addition of an article in Cx2 in which it agrees randomly with manuscripts of the $\mathbf{a}$ and $\mathbf{c}$ groups.

[^90]
### 4.3.2.1 Archetypal Variants

ME 720

| Base | Or wheither, it thoughte | Paradys, or helle |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | Or whether, he thoughte it paradyse or helle |  |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | Or whether, her thoughte it paradyse or helle |  |
| Hg | Or wheither, it thoughte | Paradys, or helle |
| El | Or wheither, $\mathrm{p}^{+}$hir thoughte it Paradys or helle |  |

it thoughte] Ad3 Bo2 Ds 1 Hg Ht
hir thoughte ] Ch Cx2 Dd En1 Gg
that hir thoughte ] $\mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{El}{ }^{15} \mathrm{La}$
it semed ] Ha4
he thoughte ] Cx1 li Ld2 ne nl Ph3

The amount of textual variation in ME 720 appears to indicate that the phrase was problematic for the scribes. Hg Ad3 Bo2 Ds1 and Ht read 'it thoughte,' while Ch Dd En1 and Gg agree with Cx 2 in the variant 'hir thoughte.' The Cx 2 version is metrically more regular, although the line in El has an extra word, 'that' which was deleted from Ch. The agreement of Cx2 with manuscripts of the a --Dd and En1-and $\mathbf{E}$--Gg-- groups and Ch is not unusual and indicates a common source.
4.3.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character and Likely Agreements by Coincidence

## ME 174

Base Old fissh, and yong flessh, wol I haue feyn
Cx1 Olor flessh wolde haue yong flessh fayn
Cx2 Old fyssh 7 yong flessh wil I haue ful fayn
Hg Old fissh, and yong fless市, wol I haue feyn
El Oold fissh and yong / fless / wolde I haue fayn

[^91]```
wol I haue feyn ] Ad3 Bo2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg Ht Ra3
    feyn ] Cx1
    wol I haue ful feyn ] Ch Cp Cx2 Gg Ha4 La
```

There are several variants in ME 174, which turn out to be archetypal. One, however has a different nature. Cx2 has added the adverb 'ful,' which is not present in Hg or El . This addition makes the line a regular iambic pentameter. The Cx 2 variant is supported by Ch Cp Ha 4 and La . Of these witnesses, Ch and Ha 4 are in regular agreement with Cx 2 , and indicates that the variant was probably in $\omega$. In the current collation it is not possible to tell whether this variant is archetypal or not.

ME 298
Base Mo goode thewes , than hir vices badde Cx1 moo good vertues than vicis badde Cx2 Moo thewes good than her vicis badde Hg Mo goode thewes , than hir vices badde El Mo goode thewes , than hir vices badde Gg Moo thewys goode , than [add]her[/add] vicis badde
goode thewes ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg La Ra3
goode vertues ] Cx1 Ii
thewes goode ] Cx2 Gg

In this line Cx 2 and Gg have 'thewes goode' where all the other collated witnesses have 'goode thewes.' This variant possibly arose by chance, since it is no more than the inversion of two words. However, given the fact that Cx 2 has shown a slight tendency to agree with the $\mathbf{E}$ group --Gg and El in parts--, this variant might prove more meaningful than appears at first sight, once the analysis is completed.

### 4.3.2.3 Non-Archetypal Agreements with Witnesses of the a Group

| Cx1 | Or | ellis |  | I | empeyre so my | name |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx2 | Or | ellis | that | I | empeyre so my | name |
| Hg | Or | ellis | , | I | empeyre so my | name |
| El | Or | elles | I | I | empeyre so my name |  |
| Dd | Or | ellis | if that I | enpeire so my | name |  |
| Ds | Or | ellis | if that | I | empeire so my | name |
| En1 | Or | els | yf pat | I | empeyre so my name |  |

I ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Hg Ht li La he Ra3 that I] Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1

Here Cx2 has added the word 'that,' which also appear in the a group manuscripts, Dd Ds1 and En1, although these have 'if that' instead. The manuscript distribution indicates that the variant is not archetypal, but the agreement with manuscripts belonging to the a group should not be dismissed.


In ME 1021, we again find that Cx2 agrees with a group manuscripts --Dd Ds1 En1. Here the variant is 'sires soule ' -- Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Hg Ht Ii La Ld1 Ld2 Ne N1 Ph3 Ra3-- versus 'soule sire' --Cx2 Dd Ds1 and En1. In fact, as in ME 1021, Dd Ds1 and En1 have added another word to the line, perhaps in an effort to make the metre smoother after the syllable loss in 'sire.'

### 4.3.2.4 Non-Archetypal Agreements with Ad3 and Ha4

| ME 560 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | And whan | they say | hir | tyme, | 90 | to reste |
| Cx1 | Andr when | they se | her | tyme | 90 | to reste |
| Cx2 | Andr when | they see | her | tyme they | 90 | to reste |
| Hg | And whan | they say | hir | tyme, | go | to |
| El | And whan | they sye | hir | tyme |  | to reste |

say hir tyme ] Bo2 Ch Cp El Hg Ht
se hir tyme ] Cx1
see hir tyme they ] Ad3 Cx2 Dd Ha4
saw hir tyme ] Ds1 En1 Gg Ph3 La Ra3

This line shows, once more agreement between Cx2 Ad3 and Ha4. These witnesses have added the personal pronoun 'they' before the verb 'goon.' The rest of the collated witnesses agree with Hg and El in not having this word, which alters the metre of the line.

## 5. Set 5: Link $\mathbf{8}^{16}$

### 5.1 Set Summary

The text of L8 is not present in all the witnesses to the text of the Canterbury Tales. In fact, this part of the text, also known as the Man of Law's Endlink, is present only in 35 witnesses (Blake 1996, 12). All the witnesses belonging to Manly and Rickert's b group have the link --He Ne Cx1 Tc2 Ha3 Ln Py Ra3 Tc1 Mc and Ra1--, all of the $\mathbf{c}$ group --Cp La and Sl2-- 17 of the $\mathbf{d}$ witnesses, only excluding Mg --Lc Ha2 Sl1 En2 Bw Ry2 Ld2 Dl Ry1 Fi Ii Ht Ra2 Pw Mm Gl and Ph3-- and three of the witnesses that do not fit into Manly and Rickert's major groups--Cx2 Ha4 and Wy.

This wide distribution across the tradition indicates that a major change was made to the text, either by addition or by deletion. Manly and Rickert suggested that the link represents an early stage of the work, when Chaucer was thinking of assigning TM to the Man of Law (1940, 2:189). In fact, they indicate which version of L8 has the earliest stage of composition:

The link with the reading "Somnour" in 1179 clearly belongs to an early stage in the composition of CT. The Host's comment, "This was a thrifty tale", is distinctly less appropriate to the tale of the "Banished Queen" than to Melibeus, the prose tale presumably promised by the Man of Law and first assigned to him. Equally inappropriate to the story of the Banished Queen are the subjects the new narrator declares he will avoid (1188-90). When Melibeus was transferred to Chaucer himself and the Summoner involved in the quarrel with the Friar, this endlink ceased to have any proper function and became a mere vestigial organ... It was, however, still in existence and accessible to the early scribes who were trying to collect and piece together the tales and fragments of the CT into a connected whole. (1940, 2:189-90)

According to this interpretation, L8 probably remained with the rest of the Canterbury Tales, and the best way to explain this would be that it was marked for deletion in the archetype of the tradition. Two $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts have L8 --Ha4 and Ra3-- and the variant distribution shows that Cx 2 is in agreement with them. It is important to note, however, that the text in Ha4 stops at line 23, i.e. in the middle of a

[^92]couplet that is completed by the final rubric. All the other collated witnesses have 28 lines and one wonders what happened to the rest of the text of Ha4.

There are seven variants in the text of L8 in Cx2, three of which are singletons and four of which are $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. Of this last group, two variants could be the result of agreements by coincidence or memorial contamination and the other two --L8 10, L8 27-- are of ambiguous character.

### 5.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 5.2.1 Line Substitutions:

There are no line substitutions in this set.

### 5.2.2 Line Additions

There are no line additions in this set.

### 5.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no line deletions in this set.

### 5.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no line misplacements in this set.

## 5. 3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$0 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$.
3 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation.
$4 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El.

### 5.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

There are no $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set, since the text is not present in Hg or El.

### 5.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

All the variants in this set show that the text as it appears in Cx 2 is a very early one. The most interesting variant is in L8 27, where we find the Cx2 reading 'physlias' instead of the Cx1 'physick.' The analysis of this variant can be found below in 5.3.2.2.

### 5.3.2.1 Agreements by Coincidence or Memorial Contamination

L8 21
Base Or springen Cokkel in oure clene corn
Cx1 Or speynh cokyl in our clene corn
Cx2 Or spryngen cokyl in our clene corn
springen ] Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La Ra3 speynh ] Cx1

The variant in Cx 1 , 'speynh' is unique. Other witnesses have the infinitive form, 'springen.' The variant in Cx1 might be explained as a misinterpretation of what the scribe wrote; this misinterpretation could have happened when the compositor was setting up the text, or when the manuscript source of Cx 1 was copied. Cx 2 agrees
with the rest of the witnesses in this reading, but this could be a compositorial correction.

```
L8 25
Out: Ha4 H+
Base That I schal waken al this compaignie
Cx1 That it shal wakyn al this company
Cx2 That I shal wakyn al thys company
I ] Cx2 Cp La
    it ] Cx1 Ra3
```

Here the variant in Cx1 is 'it,' which is substituted by 'l' in Cx2. The majority of the collated manuscripts are in agreement with Cx 2 , but this could be the result of a compositor correcting the line without using $\omega$.

### 5.3.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

| L8 10 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | Oure ost answerde O | lanekyn be ye | there |
| Cx1 | Oure oste answerde | lankyn be ye | there |
| Cx2 | Oure hoost answero o | lankyn be ye | there |
| Cp | Oure ostr answerde O | lanekyn be ye | pere |
| Ha4 | Our Ostr answerd O | lankyn be 3 e | pere |
| Ra3 | Oure oost answerid o | lankyn be ye | there |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { O ] Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ra3 } \\ & \text { bey ] Ht } \\ & \text { not present ] Cx1 } \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{La} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |

In L8 10 we find that Cx 2 has added an interjection that is missing from Cx 1 La and Ht. This addition alters the metre of the line and is present in Cx 2 Cp Ha 4 and Ra 3 . Both Ha4 and Ra3 are $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts, and all are indications that the interjection was
in the archetypal text. But even though the variant might be archetypal, it is difficult to tell whether it is the result of contamination or of a correction from $\omega$.

```
L8 }2
L8 }27\mathrm{ after L8 26: Cx1 Cx2 Cp La Ra3
Base ne Phislyas ne termes queinte of lawe
Cx1 ne of phisik ne termes queynte of lawe
Cx2 he of physlias ne termes queynte of lawe
Phislyas ] Cp Cx2 La Ra3
    phisik ] Cx1 Ht
```

L8 27 present an interesting variant. Cx1 reads 'phisik' and Ht agrees with it. The other witnesses --Cx2 Cp La and $\mathrm{Ra} 3--$ all read 'Phislyas.' It seems that the proper noun is more appropriate for this line, and the variant distribution suggests that Cx 1 has a mistake. Of all the variants in this set, this is the only one that might suggest that L8 was present in $\omega$.

## 6. Set 6: The Squire's Tale ${ }^{17}$

### 6.1 Set Summary

As is the case with other sets, the variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El appear to be archetypal. Of the $14 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, Cx 2 agrees with Hg on five occasions. This is unexpected, since in other sets it is clear that the majority of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are clearly agreements with Hg against El. This is one of the first indications of the unusual character of this set. On nine occasions, Cx2 agrees with El against Hg , and on eight of them the agreement is not only with El , but also

[^93]with Gg . The single variant in which this does not occur is SQ 15 , where Gg is missing part of the text. This persistent agreement between Cx 2 El and Gg is consistent with the $\mathbf{E}$ affiliation which Robinson points out for El in WBP, and is similar to what happens in set 1 .

One of the most interesting aspects of this agreement is that in the Cx2-not$\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, Cx 2 never agrees with Gg , wheras the majority of the agreements are with a group manuscripts, such as Dd En1 and Ds1.

### 6.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 6.2.1 Line Substitutions:

SQ 545 Cx2 Re couthe man by twenty thousand part
SQ 546 Cx2 Counterfete the sophyms of hys art
SQ 547 Cx2 he worthy to vnbokelen hys galoche
SQ 548 Cx2 There doublenes or faynyng shold ${ }^{\text {r }}$ approche
SQ 549 Cx2 lie so couthe thonke a wyght as he dyor me
SQ 550 Cx2 Hys maner was an heuen for to see
There is only one major addition in this set, which comprises lines 545 to 550.
Lines SQ 545, SQ 546, SQ 548 and SQ 550 are archetypal. Their readings are Cx2-O variants. SQ 547 has a suppressed word --'Were'-- which appear to be a mistake in Cx 2 , but not necessarily attributable to $\omega$. There is an added ' $\dagger \mathrm{o}$ ' in this line, a variant that is supported by Ad3 Cp Ds1 Ha4 Ht and La, against Hg El Bo2 Ch Dd En1 and Gg , i.e. it is a $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variant. Since the word after 'to' starts with a vowel --'vnbokele'-- its addition has no impact on the metre of the line.

The other line with a $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variant is SQ 549 in which the verb 'koude,' a reading supported by Hg El Ad3 Bo2 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 and Gg, is replaced by 'couthe' witnessed by Cx2 Cp Ha 4 Ht and La .

### 6.2.2 Line Additions

There are no line additions in this set.

### 6.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no major deletions in this set.

### 6.2.4 Line Misplacements

The only misplacement in the set is the inversion of lines SQ 175 and SQ 176 in Cx1. These were corrected in Cx 2 and follow the order commonly found in the manuscripts.

SQ 176 Cx1 For none engynys wyndas ne polyue
SQ 175 Cx1 They may hit out of the place dryue
SQ 175 Cx2 They may hyt not out of the place dryue
SQ 176 Cx2 For none engynys wyndas ne polyue

### 6.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$87 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega .^{18}$
15 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation.
$14 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other.
Hg against El: 5

El against Hg: 9
$7 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El .

### 6.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Among these variants there are five agreements with Hg against El , and 9 agreements with El against Hg . Three of the five variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg are archetypal --SQ 30, SQ 130, SQ 464. Of the nine variants in which Cx2 agrees with Cx2El, eight are readings in which Cx 2 and El agree with Gg . The other variant, SQ 15, appears to be the result of a misinterpretation of Caxton's correction mark on the part of the compositor.

### 6.3.1.1 Hg against El

### 6.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants

SQ 30, SQ 130 and SQ 464 have variants that are proof of the quality of $\omega$ : they are archetypal.

SQ 30

| Base It |  | moste been |  | Rethor excellent |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cx1 |  | muste be |  |  | lerk anor | a rethour excellent |
| Cx2 | It | muste be |  |  | clerk and | rethour excellent |
| Hg | It | moste been |  |  |  | a Rethor excellents |
| EI |  | moste bee |  |  |  | a Rethor excellen |

[^94]```
It ] Cx2 Cp Hg Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ht La
    l] Cx1 El Bo2
    He ] Ha4
```

The variant 'it,' shared by Hg and Cx2, is supported by the majority of the witnesses --
Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ht and La-- indicating that this is the archetypal reading.

SQ 130
Base Hath set hir herte , on any maner wight
Cx1 Hath set her herte in ony maner wight
Cx2 Haor set her herte on ony maner wyght
Hg Hath set hir herte , on any maner wight
El Hath set hir herte, in any maner wigћt
on ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La
in ] Cx1 El

In SQ 130 we find another example of a reading in Cx2 that has returned to what can be assumed to be the archetypal reading, supported by the majority of the witnesses.

Only Cx1 and El have the reading 'in.'

SQ 464
Base $\Phi$ Tho shrighte this Faukon , yet moore pitously
Cx1 [ Tho shright this faucon more pitously
Cx2 [ Tho shryght thys faucon yet more pytously
Hg $\Phi$ Tho shrighte this Faukon , yet moore pitously
El $\Phi$ Tho shrighte this Faucoư, moore yet pitously
yet moore ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ht
moore yet ] El Gg
moore ] Bo2 Cx1 Ha4 La

The variant here is the change in the order of the words 'yet moore,' and even though this seems a random change, the variant distribution clearly shows that this is
the archetypal reading. There are only two witnesses --El and $\mathrm{Gg}^{19}$-- that support 'moore yet'

### 6.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

SQ 30, SQ 130 and SQ 464 have variants that are proof of the quality of $\omega$ : they are archetypal. These are discussed below.

SQ 15
Gg : The line is out after the word 'Yong'
Base Yong fressh , and strong in armes desirous
Cx1 Yong fressh and strong 7 in armys desirous
Cx2 Yong fressh strong in armys desirous
Hg Yong fress $\hbar$, and strong in armes desirous
El Yong fressh , strong and in Armes desirous
and strong ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La not present ] Cx2 EI
in ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La and in ] Cx1 El

In line $15, \mathrm{Cx} 2$ agrees with Hg against El in omission of the second 'and,' and with El against Hg in the suppression of the word 'and' before 'strong,' since Cx 2 has no conjunctions in this line --it has suppressed both 'and's that appeared in Cx 1 . The lack of a conjunction after the word 'strong' in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , is supported by Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La, i.e. all the witnesses with the exception of El and Gg , for which this part of the text is missing. The case in which Cx2 agrees with El against Hg --the conjunction 'and' before the preposition 'in'--, is

[^95]supported only by Cx 2 and El , which makes it a very doubtful reading. Possibly Caxton made a deletion mark meant for the 'and' that appears in Cx 1 after the word 'strong,' and the compositor misunderstood the sign as an indication to delete both 'and's.

SQ 506
Base Right so, this god of loues ypocrite Cx1 Right so this goo of loue this Ipocryte Cx2 Ryght so this god of loues Ipocryte Hg Right so , this god of loues ypocrite El Right so this god of loue, this ypocryte
loues ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Hg Ht loue this ] Cx1 Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 loue ] La

There are two variants in this line. The first is the genitive 'loues' -- Cx 2 Hg Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ht -- against the nominative 'loue' --El Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 La. Some of the witnesses having the nominative form 'loue' also have the second variant of the line the extra word 'this.' Of these, only La omits it. This variant distribution makes it impossible to decide which of the two lines is archetypal. The line as it appears in El, however, could be the result of a repetition of the structure of the first part of the line, resulting in the removal of the lectio difficilior 'loues ypocrite' in favour of a more common expression.

### 6.3.1.2 El against Hg

Of the nine variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , eight are discussed below. The other --SQ 15-- can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 6.3.1.2. In this set, variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El have a common characteristic: on every occasion El and Cx 2 agree with $\mathrm{Gg} .{ }^{20}$ The agreement between El and Gg is consistent with Robinson's suggestion that El is affiliated to his $\mathbf{E}$ group for part of the WBP and indicates a common ancestor below the archetype for these three witnesses in this set.
6.3.1.2.1 Agreements of Cx 2 with El and Gg Indicating an Ancestor below the Archetype

SQ 194
Base Dyuerse folk dyuersely han demed
Cx1 Dyuerse folk diuersly demede
Cx2 Dyuerse folk dyuersly they demed
Hg Dyuerse folk dyưsely han demed
El Diu'se folk, diuersely they demed

```
han ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Hg La
        they ] Cx2 El Gg Ha4 Ht
        not present ] Ch Cx1
```

SQ 231
Base And of Achilles , for his queynte spere
Cx1 Andr of Achilles for his queynte spere
Cx2 And of Achylles wyth hys queynte spere
Hg And of Achilles , for his queynte spere
El And of Achilles , with his queynte spere
for ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La with ] Cx2 El Gg

[^96]SQ 290
Base What nedeth yow, rehercen hir array
Cx1 What nedith you to reherce here aray
Cx2 What nedyth me to reherce here aray
Hg What nedeth yow, rehercen hir array
El What nedeth me rehercen hir array
yow ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ht me ] Cx2 El Gg

SQ 419
Base Of shap , of al that myghte yrekened be
Cx1 Of shap of al that mighte rekened be
Cx2 Of shap and alle that myghte rekened be
Hg Of shap , of al that myghte yrekened be
El Of shap , and al that myghte yrekened be
of ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ha4 Hg Ht La
and ] Cx2 El
and of ] Gg
not present] Ds1 En1
SQ 447
Base Which proeueth wel , that outher Ire or drede
Cx1 Whiche that preuyth wel that other Ire or drede
Cx2 Whyche preuyth wel that othyr loue or drede
Hg Which proeueth wel / $\mathrm{p}^{\dagger}$ outher Ire or drede
El Which proueth wel , that outher loue or drede
Ire ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La
loue ] Cx2 El Gg
SQ 491
Base $\Phi$ Ther I was bred , allas that ilke day
Cx1 [ There y was bred allas that day
Cx2 [ There I was bred allas that haro day
Hg $\Phi$ Ther I was bred , allas that ilke day
El $\Phi$ That I was bred , allas that harde day
ilke ] Hg Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La
harde ] Cx2 El Gg
not present ] Cx1
SQ 502

```
SQ 502 after SQ 500: Hg
Out: La
Base That no wight wolde han wend , he koude feyne
Cx1 That no wight wolde haue wend he coude feyne
Cx2 That I ne coude haue wend he coude feyne
Hg That no wight wolde han wend / he koude feyne
El That I ne koude han wend , he koude feyne
no wight wolde ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ht
    I ne koude] Cx2 El Gg
    no wight wende ] Ha4
SQ 614
Out: Gg
Base Thogh he were gentil born, and fressh and gay
Cx1 Thoug\hbar he were gentil born and fres\hbar and gay
Cx2 Though he were gentyl born fressh and gay
Hg Thogh he were gentil born, and fress\hbar and gay
El Thoug\hbar he were gentil born , fress\hbar and gay
and ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx1 Dd En1 Hg Ht
    not present ] Cx2 El La
```

Among those collated El and Gg are the only witnesses to agree with Cx 2 for lines SQ 231, SQ 290, SQ 419, SQ 447, SQ 491 and SQ 502. In SQ 194, we also find Ht and Ha4 supporting the reading 'they,' but this variant could be explained as memorial contamination, since a very similar structure is found in L2 3 --'Diuerse folk / diuersely they seyde.'

All the variants in lines SQ 231, SQ 290, SQ 419, SQ 447, SQ 491 and SQ 502 are metrically equivalent. It would be impossible to determine which of these are archetypal but for the fact that the majority of the witnesses align with Hg , including manuscripts which clearly have different lines of descent, such as Ad3 Cp and En1.

In SQ 614, Cx2 suppressed the conjunction 'and.' Other witnesses have two conjunctions and read 'and freesh and' as does Hg. Only El and La lack the first 'and' as does Cx2.

Of all these variants, the most striking is the one found in SQ 502, involving the substitution of the Hg reading present in Cx1 --'no wight wolde'-- for 'I ne koude,' found in Cx 2 El and Gg . All the variants in which Cx 2 agree with El and Gg against Hg and the rest of the collated witnesses in this set, seem to indicate a shared ancestor below the archetype for these.

The $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are of great interest in this set. When Cx 2 agrees with Hg , the variants seem to be archetypal, even when there is no other evidence for them besides their manuscript distribution. On the other hand, El often appears related to Gg --Robinson's E group. In every instance in which Cx2 agrees with El, it shows this same $\mathbf{E}$ group affiliation.

### 6.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

The Cx2-not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants clearly show that the majority of the agreements relate Cx2 to Dd Ds1 and En1, i.e. these are obviously variants that can be found in witnesses belonging to the a group. Six of the seven $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are discussed below. SQ 363 has been placed in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 6.3.2 since its variant distribution --Cx2 and En1 in agreement against the rest of the collated witnesses-- makes it appear the product of an agreement by coincidence.

### 6.3.2.1 Agreements of Cx2 with Dd Ds1 or En1 (a Group Manuscripts)

SQ 186

| Base | Ther with so horsly, | and so quyk of | eye |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | Therwith so horsly, | and so quyk of | ye |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | Therwyth so horsly | and so quyk at | eye |
| Hg | Ther with so horsly, | and so quyk of | eye |
| El | Ther with so horsly, and so quyk of | eye |  |

```
of ] Cx1 Hg El Bo2 Ch Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Hg La
    at ] Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1
```

SQ 394
Base If it be taryed, til that lust be cold
Cx1 If it be tarieo til lust be colde

Cx2 If it be taried tyl the lust be colde
Hg If it be taryed, til $\mathrm{p}^{+}$lust be cold
El If it be taried, til that lust be coold
that ] Bo2 Ch El Gg Hg
the ] Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1
that the ] Ad3
not present ] Cx1 Cp Ha4 Ht La

SQ 410
Base And with hir beek hir seluen so she prighte
Cx1 And with her bek her self she pyght
Cx2 And wyth her bek her self to twyght
Hg And with hir beek hir seluen so she prighte
El And with hir beek, hir seluen so she prigћte
she prighte ] Bo2 Ch El Gg Ha4 Hg
she plighte ] Ad3
to twyght ] Cx2 Ds1 En1
so twyght ] Dd
she pyght ] Cx1 Cp Ha4 Ht La

In lines SQ 186, SQ 394 and SQ 410 we have the same situation, Cx2 agrees with Dd,

Ds1 and En1 against Hg and El. In SQ 186 we have a change of preposition 'at' for
'of,' and SQ 394 has 'the' for 'that.' Clearly, these variants have no metrical impact on the line and, because of their distribution, there is no reason to doubt that the archetypal readings are those present in Hg and El. SQ 410 has a very interesting variant: 'prighte' is supported by Hg El Ch Bo 2 and Gg , 'twight' is supported by Cx2 Dd Ds1 and En1. Two further variants are 'plighte' in Ad3 and 'pighte' Cx1 Cp Ha4 Ht and La.

SQ 285

| Base The vsshers, and the Squyers, been ygon |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | The vsshers, and the squiers ben gon |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ The vsshers and the squyerye ben gon |  |
| Hg The vsshers, and the Squyers, been ygon |  |

Squyers ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Ds1 El Gg Ha4 Hg La
squyery ] Cx2 Dd En1
pe quiers ] $\mathrm{H} \dagger$

The affiliation for the variant in this line, where Cx2 reads 'squyerye' is similar to the example in the previous group. Dd and En1 agree with Cx2, but in this case, Ds1 agrees with Cx 1 in reading 'squiers.'

SQ 363
Base And in hir sleep , right for impressioun
Cx1 And in her sleep for here impression
Cx2 And in her sleep ryght for the impression
Hg And in hir sleep̄ , right for imp'ssioū
El And in hir sleep̄ , rigћ̄t for impressioū
for ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La
for the ] Cx2 En1
not present ] Cx1

In SQ 363 Cx2 has an added article. Because of the nature of this variant and because it is supported by a single manuscript --En1-- it is difficult to say whether there is a
real genetic relationship between Cx2 and En1. However, En1 appears in most of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, so for this reason we cannot completely ignore the agreement in this line.

### 6.3.2.2 Agreements of Cx 2 and Ha4

The variants in SQ 263 and SQ 355 are ambiguous because they could have been the result of agreement by coincidence. They have been retained because they show agreements of Cx 2 and Ha 4 as these two witnesses might yet prove to be genetically related.

SQ 263

| Base | That it is lyk, an heuene for to heere |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | That it is lik an heuen for to here |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | That is lyk an heuen forto here |
| Hg | That it is lyk, an heuene for to heere |
| El | That it is, lyk an heuene for to heere |

it ] Cx1 Hg El Ad3 Bo2 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ht not present ] Cx2 Cp Ha4 La

SQ 355
Base For of hir fader , hadde she take leue Cx1 For of her fader hadde she take her leue Cx2 For of her fader hath she take her leue Hg For of hir fader , hadde she take leue El For of hir fader, hadde she take leue
hadde ] Ad3 Bo2Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Hg Ht La hath ] Cx2 Ha4

The suppression of the personal pronoun 'it' on SQ 263, could be the result of a simple mistake. Only Cp Ha 4 and La agree with Cx 2 . All the other manuscripts
include 'it.' The main interest here is that in SQ 355 Cx2 agrees again with Ha4, where both have the verbal tense 'hath' instead of 'hadde'.

## 7. Set 7: Link 20 ${ }^{21}$

### 7.1 Set Summary

Link 20 is determinant in the question of tale-order, since it names the next speaker and provides internal evidence which clarifies who is the speaker of the next tale. The link varies its function in the manuscripts by linking different tales, and Hg and El use it differently. In Hg , L20 is used to link SQ and the ME. In El it links SQ and the FK, as in Cx2. The link is present in 31 witnesses: Ad1 Ad3 Bw Cn Dl Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha5 Hg Ht Ii Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm Nl Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry2 and, of course, Cx2. The collation for L20 includes all the witnesses.

The variants in this part of the text are important, not only to the textual tradition in the sense that they provide information of affiliation and descent, but also because they are intrinsically related to issues affecting the order of the tales.

Because this link is not present in Cx1, one can safely assume that it was probably set up directly from $\omega$. This would mean, if proven to be true, that we have a non-conflated text that came directly from Cx2's manuscript source. For this reason there are no extra lines in this set.

[^97]
### 7.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The distribution of variants in L20 is as follows:
$26 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$.

4 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 .
$3 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. In this set all three variants are agreements between Cx 2 and El against Hg .

Hg against El: 0

El against Hg: 3
$4 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El .

### 7.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

### 7.3.1.1 Hg against El

There are no agreements of Cx 2 with Hg against El in this set.

## 7. 3.1.2 El against Hg

7.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements of Cx2 and El

L20 3

| Base | Quod the Marchant considerynge | thy youthe |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx2 | Quod pe frankeleyn cōsideryng | thy youthe |  |  |
| Hg | Quod | the Marchant | considerynge | thy youthe |
| El | Quod the Frankeleyn considerynge | thy yowthe |  |  |

Marchant ] Bw Dl En2 Fi Gl Hg Ht li Ld2 Ln Mg Mm nl Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry2


All of these variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , are in the reading 'Frankeleyn' as opposed to 'Marchant.' This probably indicates that the readings in Hg are scribal in origin. This has been suggested by Helen Cooper (1995) and by Robinson (1999), among others. Their articles make clear that the Hg order of this section of the tales and its variants in L20 are scribal. Robinson also puts forward the theory that after the scribe copied Hg and altered the links to fit the new order, L 20 itself was modified in O , thus giving rise to the appearance of these readings in the $\mathbf{d}$ group.

All the variants in Link 20 in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , are agreements in the reading 'Frankeleyn.' The Hg readings --Marchant' (L20 3),
'Marchaunt' (L20 24), 'Marchant certeyn' (L20 27)-- are of doubtful origin in Hg and probably, were the result of the scribe receiving the tales without the links and copying the tales in the order in which they appear in Hg --SQ, ME, FK. Later, the Hg scribe received the links and realised his mistake. At this point he decided to go ahead and changed the names in the links so they would agree with the tale order as he had copied it. The final result was the sequence SQ-L20-ME-L17-FK, as opposed to the El one ME-L17-SQ-L20-FK.

The variant 'Frankeleyn' in which Cx2 agrees with Hg against El appear to be very strong evidence that the order of the sequence ME-L17-SQ-L20-FK is archetypal to the tradition or, in other words, that it might have been the sequence in O --the origin of the tradition. I should also like to make it clear that this is not the sequence in Cx2, which instead has a doubtful L15-ME L8-SQ-L20-FK, with the Man of Law's Endlink as the Squire's Prologue.

### 7.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

7.3.2.1 Agreements of Cx2 with Ad3 in Variants below the Archetype

```
L20 5
Base As to my doom ther is noon that is heere
Cx2 As to my dome ther nys none that is here
Hg As to my doom ther is noon p+ is heere
El As to my doom ther is noon that is heere
is ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Cn Cx2 DI Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha5 Hg Ht li Ld1
Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm nl Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry2
    ne is ] Ad3 Cx2 Ps
```

In L20 we find an agreement of Cx2 and Ad3 with Ps. On its own, this might appear unimportant. But in the context of many other agreements with Ad3, supports a possible common origin for this manuscript and $\omega$.

```
L20 17
Base For he to vertu lusteth nat entende
Cx2 For he to vertu lysteth not tendende
Hg For he to vertu lusteth nat entende
El For he to vertu listneth nat entende
nat ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Cn Cx2 Dl Ds El En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha5 Hg Ht li Ld1
Ld2 Ma Mg Mm nl Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry2
    nat to ] Ad1 Ad3 Cn Cx2 Ds En1 En3 Ht Ma nl Ps Py Ra3
Ph3
```

Just as in L20 5, L20 17 has Cx2 in agreement with Ad3, but here we also find the reading supported by a group manuscripts. This addition might be the result of agreement by coincidence.

### 7.3.2.2 Ambiguous Variant



In this case, we have what might be interpreted as an $\alpha$ reading with Cx 2 sharing the omission of 'to' with Ht , the $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ manuscripts --Ad1 and En3--, and the a group manuscripts --Cn Ds En1 and Ma. The possible link between $\alpha$ and $\omega$ makes this variant potentially important. Its variant distribution suggests that it was transmitted from copy to copy, even though the presence or absence of 'to ' before an infinitive could easily have been the result of an accident, probably how it came to be omitted from Fi.

## 8. Set 8: The Franklin's Tale ${ }^{22}$

### 8.1 Set Summary

The major variants in this set follow the overall structure of previous sets in which Cx2 substitutes variant lines with their regular counterparts. But the two major groups of additions --FK 746-1 to 746-2 and FK 782-1 to 782-6-- are lines which Cx2 shares with El and Ad 3 , and are the only two other witnesses that have them. Once more, a strong genetic relationship between Cx 2 and Ad3 is suggested by their frequent agreements. This is an important agreement because these lines have all the characteristics of Chaucer's writing and might have been written by him.

The number of $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ and $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants is very small in this set. There is only one variant in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , and there are $10 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. Of these ten variants, three --FK 499, FK 506 and FK

663-- are words which have been omitted in Cx2, and their agreement with other witnesses seems to be an agreement by coincidence. The fact that a relatively long stretch of text presents so few variants in comparison with the text of the other sets remains to be explained. That there is only one $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variant, is especially interesting.

### 8.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 8.2.1 Line Substitutions:

All the line substitutions in this set are cases of variant or additional lines which have been replaced by their archetypal counterparts. A list of all substitutions follows. The variants within the line are analysed below.

> 133a FK Cx1 And thus they her sorowes for to slake 133 FK Cx2 Her frendes saw here sorowes gan for to slake
> 267 a FK Cx1 For as wisly as god my sowle saue
> 267 FK Cx2 For wyth a word ye may me sleen
> 274 a FK Cx1 ne neuer vnderstode I your entent 274 FK Cx2 But now Aurelye I knowe your entent
> 322 FK Cx1 And his prayer made first to the sonne
> 322 FK Cx2 Vnto the goddis and first vnto the sonne
> 328 a FK Cx1 Therfore my lord cast ye your ye
> 328 FK Cx2 Loro phebus cast thy mercyable eye
> 422a FK Cx1 And of many dyuers coniuracions

[^98]422 FK Cx2 Touchyng the eyght and twenty mancions

546a FK Cx1 And aftir this ale bothe good and fyn
546 FK Cx2 Byforn hym stant braun of $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{e}}$ tuskyd swyne

Lines FK 56, 267, 274, 328, 422, and 546, are archetypal, and their text is as good as that of any other witness. FK 133 is different in as much as it has the phrase 'for to slake,' where the majority of the witnesses have 'to slake.' Only three witnesses agree with Cx2: Dl Ii and Mm. But the construction 'for' plus the infinitive seems sufficiently common for this agreement to be and agreement by coincidence.

### 8.2.2. Line Additions

Among the line additions we find that FK 56, 291, 292, 549-554 and 754 are archetypal, and their text is as good as that in any of the very best witnesses. The variants within the line are discussed below:

56 FK Cx2 Loue wyl not be constreyned by maystrye
291FK Cx2 Is there none other grace in you quod he 292 FK Cx2 ho by that loro quod she that make me

549 FK Cx2 Doth to hys mayster chere andr reuerence
550 FK Cx2 And prayeth hym to doon hys dyligence
551 FK Cx2 To brynge hym out of hys peynes smert
552 FK Cx2 Or wyth a swerd that he wold slyt hys hert
553 FK Cx2 Thys subtil clerk / suche routhe had of this man

554 FK Cx2 That nyght 7 day he spedde hym that he can
746-1 FK Cx2 The same thyng I saye of belyea
746-2 FK Cx2 Of Rodogone and eke valeria

753 FK Cx2 Alas quod she that euer I was born
754 FK Cx2 Thus haue I said quod she thus haue I sworn
782-1 FK Cx2 Per auenture an heepe of you ywys
782-2 FK Cx2 Wyl holden hym a lewor man in thys

782-3 FK Cx2 That he wyl put hys wyf in leopardye

782-5 FK Cx2 She may haue better fortune than you semeth 782-6 FK Cx2 And whan that ye han hero the tale demeth

Line FK 753 is interesting in as much as the witnesses are divided as to the position of the words 'l' and 'was.'

## FK 753

Out: Cx1 Ha3 He he

| Base $\Phi$ Allas quod she that euere | was I | born |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx2 | Alas quod she that euer | I was | born |  |  |
| El | $\Phi$ Allas quod she that | eue | I was | born |  |
| Hg | $\Phi$ Allas quod she | $\mathrm{b}^{+}$ | eule | was I | born |

was I ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Cn Cp Dd En2 En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Ha4 Hg Ht La
Ld1 Ld2 Ma Mm nl Ph2 Pw Ry1 Ry2
I was ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 DI Ds El En1 Gl Hk Ii Lc Ln Mg Ps Py Ra3 I was I] Ha5

Cx2 agrees with El against Hg and are supported by Ad3 Ch Dl Ds En1 Gl Hk Ii Lc Ln Mg Ps Py Ra3, although this kind of variant, which is just an alteration in the word order, may have arisen by chance.

There are two passages in this set in which Cx2 agrees with only two manuscripts. These passages --FK 746-1 to 746-2 and FK 782-1 to 782-6-- are also found in El and Ad 3 . There are two lines in which the witnesses disagree.

FK 782-3
Base That he wol putte his wyf in luptie
Cx2 That he wyl put hys wyf in leopardye
El That he wol putte his wyf in luptie Ad3 That he wol put his wif in luptie

The variant 'luptie,' shared by El and Ad3, seems a less likely possibility than 'leopardye' which would make more sense in the context of the line. There are no more witnesses to this line making it difficult to know which variant is archetypal, but the fact that the line has a variant could indicate a close genetic relationship between these witnesses.

FK 782-4
Base Herkneth the tale er ye vp on hir crie
Cx2 Herkeneth the tale or ye on hym crye
El Herkneth the tale er ye vp on hir crie
Ad3 Herkeneth the tale er ye vpon hir crie

In FK 782-4 we find another variant, but this could be due to chance rather than to $\omega$. Cx2 has the reading 'on' where Ad3 and El have 'vpon.' Because prepositions are often changed by scribes, this might not be significant. The second variant in the line --Cx2's 'hym,' El and Ad3's 'hir'-- may be a mistake by the Cx2 compositor since here the text seems to require the feminine form. This could just be the result of following the masculine pronouns of the preceding lines.

### 8.2.3 Line Deletions

The only deletion in this set is FK 54-1, a non-archetypal line which formed a couplet with FK 55 a - a line retained in Cx2. The addition of FK 56 in Cx2 completes the couplet in this text.

54-1 FK Cx1 In loue and forbere eche other nedely

### 8.2.4 Line Misplacements

The misplacements in this set involve the inversion of a couplet. The lines have been restored to their archetypal order in Cx2 .

> 122 FK Cx1 Men mowe so longe graue in a stoon
> 121 FK Cx1 Be processe as ye knowen euerichon
> 121 FK Cx2 By processe as ye knowen euerychon
> 122 FK Cx2 Men mowe so longe graue in a stoon

268 FK Cx1 Here at your feet godr wolde I were begraue 267a FK Cx1 For as wisly as goor my sowle saue

267 FK Cx2 For wyth a word ye may me sleen or saue 268 FK Cx2 Here at your feet god wold I were begraue

419 FK Cx1 Al were he there to lerne another craft
420 FK Cx1 Haơ priuely vp on his deske laft

420 FKCx2 Haor pryuely vp on hys deske laft
419 FK Cx2 Al were he there to lerne another craft

### 8.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$179 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$.
7 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation.
$1 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other.
El against Hg: 1
$10 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El .

### 8.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

The only variant in this set is an agreement of Cx 2 and El against Hg . It is remarkable that Cx 2 and El are the only two witnesses to present it, and even more so since all the manuscripts have been collated for this set.

### 8.3.1.1 Hg against El

There are no variants of Hg against El in this set.

### 8.3.1.2 El against Hg

There is only one variant in this set in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg . This is likely to be a non-archetypal variant.

```
FK 576
FK 576 after FK 574: Cn
Out: Ha1
\begin{tabular}{lllll} 
Base & Ful subtilly he & kalkuled al & this \\
\(\mathrm{C} \times 1\) & Ful subtilly he & calked & al & this \\
\(\mathrm{C} x 2\) & Ful subtylly he had & calked & alle & thys \\
El & Ful subtilly he hadde kalkuled al & this \\
Hg & Ful subtilly he & kalkuled al & this
\end{tabular}
he] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd DI Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg
Gl Ha2 Ha4 Ha5 Hg Hk Ht li La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm nl Ph2 Ps
Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2
    he hadde ] Cx2 El
```

Only two witnesses have added the verb 'hadde' in FK 576: Cx2 and El, and not even Gg , a manuscript that has the tendency to follow El in this kind of agreement against Hg , supports this reading. This is an easy mistake to make, but one wonders whether this odd agreement could possibly have anything to do with a genetic relationship.

### 8.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

The ten $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are likely to be the result of an agreement by coincidence. Three of these --FK 315, FK 698, and FK 812-- have been retained here and analysed. The other seven --FK 158, FK 231, FK 499, FK 506, FK 632, FK 663 and FK 798-- can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 8.3.2.

### 8.3.2.1 Ambiguous Variant



Both Cx2 and Ch in FK 812 have added the adjective 'greet.' Although the variant is not present in any other witness, the frequent agreement between Cx 2 and Ch does not allow us discard the possibility of this being due to a genetic relationship.

### 8.3.2.2 Likely Agreements by Coincidence

FK 315
FK 315 after FK 316: li
Base Hym semed that he felte his herte colde

| Cx1 | He saith that he | felith | his herte | cold |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx2 | Hym semeth that he | felyth | hys herte | cold |
| Hg | Hym semed that he | felte | his herte | colde |
| El | Hym semed that he | felte | his herte | colde |

semed ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Dd El En1 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Hk Hg Ht La Ld1 Ln Ma ll Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra3 semeth ] Bw Bo1 Cp Cx2 DI Ds1 En2 Ha2 Ha5 La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Mg Ph2 Pw Ry1 Ry2 seith ] Cx1 Ha3 He li Re

FK 315 has an element in common with FK 231: Cx2's variant is the archetypal verb, but not in the tense of Hg and El . Cx 2 has 'semeth,' a reading supported by Bo1 Bw Cp Ds Dl En2 Ha2 Ha5 La Ld1 Ln Ph2 Pw and Ry1, that is basically cand and some others. Hg has the preterite 'semed' also found in Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cn Dd El En1 En3 Fi Gl Gg Ha1 Hk Hg Ht Ma Nl Ph3 Ps Py Ra3. Because this reading is found in Hg and El and also in witnesses that usually align with Cx 2 , one can assume that the preterite is the archetypal form.

FK 698
FK 698 after FK 696: Ha1

| Base | At | Rome | whan | she | oppressed was |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | At | Rome | for | she | oppressid was |
| Cx2 | At | Rome | for that | she | oppressid was |
| Hg | At | Rome | whan | she | opp'ssed was |
| El | At | Rome | whan | she | opp'ssed was |

whan ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Dd Ds El En1 En3 Gg Ha4 Ha5 Hg Ht Ma Py
there ] Bo1 Cp Dl En2 Fi Ha2 La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Mg Mm Ph3
Pw Ry2 Ra3 Ry1
for ] Cx1 Ha3 He li he
for that ] Cx2 Ha1 Hk
whan that ] Ha5

Three witnesses, Ha1 Ha5 and Hk, agree with Cx2 in adding a pleonastic 'that.' This might be an attempt to make the line metrically more regular and, if so, it could be the result of agreement by coincidence, since anyone could have added the word. Ha5, which usually forms a pair with Ad3, does not agree with it in this instance and might indicate of the non-genetic origin of the variant.

## 9. Set 9: The Wife of Bath's Prologue, the Wife of Bath's Tale, link 10, the Friar's Tale, link 11, and the Summoner's Tale ${ }^{23}$

### 9.1 Set Summary

In general, the variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El are additions that affect the metre of the line. When these variants do not have a metrical effect, they make evident their archetypal character. For example see WBP 484.

Among the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants a fairly consistent agreement exists between Cx 2 Ch and Ad3, sometimes joined with Ha4.

Two remarkable variants in this set are FR 268 and SU 388 in which Cx2 and other witnesses appear to preserve the archetypal reading against Hg and El.

[^99]
### 9.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 9.2.1 Line Substitutions

The line substitutions in this set are replacements of non-archetypal lines in Cx1 for archetypal lines in Cx2

WBP 381a Cx1 And of other thinges both more and lesse
WBP 381 Cx2 That thus they sayden in theyr dronkenesse
SU 310a Cx1 Whiche hasty was in lugement algate
SU 310 Cx2 As sayth seneke, that duryng his astate
SU 522-1 Cx1That a fart sholde be departio now
SU 521 Cx2 Who euer herd of such a thyng or now

SU 546a Cx1Right here before you sittyng in a chaire SU 546 Cx2 Wythout wynde or perturbyng of ayer

There are four line substitutions in set 9 . Of these, SU 310 and SU 546 are mere substitutions of non-archetypal for archetypal lines, but SU 521 is much more interesting; since, Cx 2 agrees with Hg and the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts against El.

### 9.2.2 Line Additions

WBP 197 Cx2 The thre men were good and riche and old
WBT 1165 Cx2 luuenal spekyth therof ful meryly
FR 227 Cx 2 my trouthe wyll I hold to the my brother
FR 228 Cx2 As I am sworn and eche of vs tyl other
FR 229 Cx2 For to be trewe brother in thys caas
FR 230 Cx2 And bothe we goon aboute our pourchas

Line WBP 197 is not present in Cx1, and it is also missing in $\mathrm{He}, \mathrm{Ne}$, and Tc 2 --the other $\mathbf{b}$ group manuscripts. The line in Cx 2 agrees with both Hg and El , and with the majority of the manuscripts. Its addition only confirms that $\omega$ had an archetypal line.

As was the case with line WBP 197, line WBP 381 is missing in $\mathrm{He}, \mathrm{Ne}, \mathrm{Tc} 2$, and in Se . It is present in the majority of the manuscripts and is also archetypal.

A very interesting line in this set is WBT 1165 , where Cx2 has a variant that differs from Hg and El :

```
WBT 1165
Out: Cx1
Base luuenal seith / of pouerte myrily
Cx2 luuenal spekyth therof ful meryly
Hg luuenal seith / of pouerte myrily
El luuenal, seith of pou`te myrily
seith ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp El Gg Hg Ht La
    spekyth ] Cx2 Dd
of pouerte ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp DdEl Gg Hg Ht La
    therof ful ] Cx2
```

None of the collated witnesses shares the variant in Cx2 --'threof ful' instead of 'of pouerte'-- and it would be interesting to know whether any other fifteenth century witness supports it.

The four lines that have been added in FR 227-230 are additions that were not present in Cx1. Presumably they must come directly from $\omega$, which makes them very interesting. In general, these lines are consistent with the majority of the early manuscripts. Cx 2 agrees with Hg and El and the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts. There is one variant,
however, in line FR 227 where Cx2 agrees with Hg against El. Lines FR 227 to FR 230 are the only example in this set where added lines do not replace other lines.

FR 227
Out: Cx1
Base My trouthe wol I holde, to thee my brother Cx2 my trouthe wyll I hold to the my brother Hg My trouthe wol I holde, to thee my brother
El My trouthe wol I holde, to my brother
to thee ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds En1 Ha4 Hg Ht Ra3 to ] Cp El Gg La

This is an example of four lines, in this set, that were taken directly from $\omega$. Here Cx2 and Hg agree against El. Only two manuscripts --Cp and La-- support El in suppressing 'thee', all other manuscripts agree with the Hg reading.

### 9.2.3 Line Deletions

There are only two deletions in this set. WBP 332-2 is present in Cx1 Ii Ld1 Ry1 Se Tc2. WBP 332-1 is present in Cx1 Ne He.

WBP 332-1 Cx1 Be thow neuyr wroth for myn instrument WBP 332-2 Cx1 Though it be somtyme to a good felaw lent

### 9.2.4 Line Misplacements

In Cx1 WBP 510 follows WBP 536. In Cx2 it follows WBP 509 and precedes WBP 511. There is another case of reordering in lines WBT 900 and WBT 901, which appear transposed in Cx1 --where WBT 901 immediately precedes WBT 900. In Cx 2 the order has been changed to follow that in Hg and El .

### 9.3. Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
277 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 108 in WBP, 48 in WBT, 1 in L10, 41 in FR, 12 in L11, 67 in SU.

40 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 13 in WBP, 8 in WBT, 1 in L10, 6 in FR, 2 in L11, 10 in SU.
$14 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 7 in WBP, 3 in WBT, none in L10, 1 in FR, none in L11, 3 in SU.

Hg against El: 10
El against Hg : 4
$27 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El. These are distributed as 12 in WBP, 3 in WBT, none in L10, 5 in FR, none in L11, 7 in SU.

### 9.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

The $14 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants require closer examination since they are of the utmost importance --as are the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants-- to determine the affiliation of $\omega$. In four of these fifteen variants Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , these are lines WBP 46, WBP 316, WBP 604-1, WBT 862, and SU 527. In the other ten, lines WBP 58, WBP 210, WBP 457, WBP 484, WBT 1002, WBT 1015, FR 140, FR 227, SU 473, and SU 532, it agrees with Hg against El.

Of the ten variants in which Hg agrees with Cx2 against El, two --SU 473 and SU 532-- have been placed in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 9.3.1.1 since they are likely to be archetypal. The rest of the variants --WBP 58, WBP 210, WBP 457, WBP 484, WBT 862, WBT 1002, WBT 1015 and FR 140-- are discussed below. As in other variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg , the majority of these seem to be archetypal, although, WBP 484 differs by showing an agreement with Ad3 Ch Ad1 and Hk. This is peculiar in as much as the reading 'troce' is clearly nonsensical, but was possibly present in O . See the discussion below.

Among all the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in the two, probably most important ones 'troce/ croce' and 'sith/ sothe,' Cx2 is divided in its agreement. In the former, Cx2 agrees with Hg ; in the latter with El. Robinson makes a detailed analysis of the origin of the added passages and suggests that these passages might have been in $\omega$ and that $\alpha$ and $\omega$ might be one and the same (1997, 124). Robinson's evidence lies in the number of corrections found in the 'added passages' indicating that $\omega$ probably contained them.

### 9.3.1.1.1 Likely Archetypal Variants

```
WBP 58
Base And many another holy man also
Cx1 Andr meny another man also
Cx2 Andr meny another holy man also
Hg And many another holy man also
El And many another man also
holy ] Ad1Ad3 Bo1Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Dl En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha2 Ha4
Hg Hk Ht La Lc Ld1 Ld2 ma mc mg Mm nl Ph2 Ph3 Pw Py Ra1 Ra2
Ry2 To Wy
```

not present ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds El Ii Ln le Ra3 Se Si SI2 Tc1 Tc2

```
WBP 210
Base To gete hir loue ye ther as she hath noon
Cx1 To gete her loue there she hath noon
Cx2 To gete her loue ye there she hath noon
Hg To gete hir loue ye ther as she hath noon
El To gete hir loue ther as she hath noon
ye ] Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cx2 Fi Ha2 Ha5 Hg Ht La Lc Ld2 Ln Mg Pw
Ra3 Ry2 Se SI2 Tc1 To Wy
    not present ] Ad1 Bo1 Cx1 Dd Dl Ds El En3 Gg Gl Ha4 Hk li
    Ld1 Ma Mc ne ll Ph2 Ph3 Ps Py Ra1 Ra2 Ry1 Si Tc2
```

These two variants follow the same pattern. In Hg there is a word that makes the line metrically longer. In line 58, Cx2 has added the word 'holy', agreeing with Hg against El. With the addition of this word the line becomes decasyllabic, and most of the early manuscripts agree with this reading. The $\mathbf{b}$ manuscripts lack this reading, as does Cx1. As does line 58, line 210 has a word --'ye'-- that makes a difference in the number of syllables in the line. Again, Cx 2 and Hg agree against El and other manuscripts -- Cx1 Dd Ds Ad1 Bo1 Dl En3 Gl Hk Ii Ne Ph2 Ph3 Ps Py Ra1 Ra2 Tc2--, which include the $\mathbf{b}$ group and some of the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts.

## WBP 457

Base How koude I daunce to an harpe smale Cx1 Welcoude he daunce and harpe smale Cx2 How coude I daunce vnto an harp smale Hg How koude I daunce to an harpe smale El Wel koude I daunce to an harpe smale

How ] Ad3 Bw Ch Cx2 Ha4 Ha5 Hg Ht Lc Ld2 Ln Mg Ry2 Wy Wel ] Bo1 Cn Cx1 Ds El En3 Gg He Hk Ma Me Ph2 Se Si Tc2 Tho ] Dd Ra2 I] Gl Tc1 Ra3 Lorde howe ] Cp En2 Ha2 Mm nl La Ld1 Ry1 SI2 To

This variant, 'Wel' for 'How,' seems much more meaningful than the two preceding it, since it is a substitution rather than an addition or deletion. In this line Hg and Cx 2 agree with Ad3 Bw Ch Ha4 Ha5 Ht Lc Ld2 Ln Mg Ry2 Wy. Some of the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts -- Ad3 Ch Ha4 Ha5-- and Robinson's F group --Bw Ld2 Ln Ry2-- agree with the reading, and more significant is the fact that Ch and Ha 4 are part of this agreement. The reading 'Wel' is shared by manuscripts belonging to different groups: Bo1 Ph2 and Gg --E group--, Cx1 He Ne Tc2 --b group--, Cn Ma Ds --a group--, and El and En 3 , the only $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts that share this reading.

```
WBT 1002
Base Assembled been , this answere for to here
Cx1 Assembliơ ben his answer for to here
Cx2 Assemblio been this answer for to here
Hg Assembled been , this answere for to here
El Assembled been , his answere for to heere
this ] Cx2 Hg Ht
    his ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 La
```

This variant might be a mistake shared by Hg and Cx 2 --and also found in Ht. All the other manuscripts collated for this reading agree with El. However, it is also notable that both readings --'his' or 'this'-- make equal sense and neither alters the metre of the line.

```
WBT }101
Base Dooth as yow list I am here at youre wille
Cx1 Dot\hbar as you list I am at your wylle
Cx2 Doth as you list I am here at your wylle
Hg Dooth as yow listr I am here at youre wille
El Dooth as yow list I am at youre wille
```

```
here ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Hg Ha4 Ht La
    not present ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds El En1 Gg
```

In contrast to WBT 1002, WBT 1015 has a variant that greatly affects the metre of the line. Cx2 has added the word 'here', in agreement with Hg Ad3 Ch Dd La Cp Ha4 and Ht . The word is not present in El, and this is supported only by Bo2 Ds En1 and Cx1. The absence of the word makes the line one syllable too short. Independently of the metre, the variant distribution suggests that the reading in Cx 2 and Hg is likely to be archetypal.

FR 140
Base le of swiche lapes, wol I nat be shryuen
Cx1 Of suche iapis wol I not be shryuyn
Cx2 he of suche lapis wol I not be shryuyn
Hg ne of swiche lapes, wol I nat be shryuen
El nor of swiche lapes/wol I nat be shryuen

```
ne ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht Ra3
    nor ] El
    Of ] Cp Cx1 La
```

In the current collation, El has a unique variant in FR 140. It is not surprising that the addition of 'he' at the beginning of the line in Cx2 agrees with Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht and Ra3.

### 9.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

WBP 484
Base I made hym of the same wode a troce
Cx1 I made hym of the same wode a croce
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ I made hym of the same wode a troce
Hg I made hym of the same wode a troce
El I made hym of the same wode a croce

```
troce ] Cx2 Hg Ad3 Ch Ad1 Hk Pn Wy
    croce ] Bo1 Bo2 Bw Cn Cp Cx1 Dd Ds Dl El En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2
    Ha4 Ha5 He Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln ma mg mm ne nl Ph2
    Ph3 Ps Py Ry1 Ry2 Si Se Tc1 Tc2 To
    hood ] Mc Ra1
    groce ] Ra3
    cote ] Ra2
```

The reading "troce" is nonsensical, but is shared by several witnesses -- Cx 2 Hg Ad 3 Ch Ad1 Hk Pn Wy- five of them belong to Robinson's $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts, the other three being the incunabula -all of them ultimately based on Cx2. This particular variant is of extreme importance for $\mathbf{C x} 2$, since it shows an obvious relation with the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts. Robinson (103) suggests that this reading originated in an error that was present in O itself, i.e. in the origin of the tradition. However, because of the character of this variant it is difficult to decide whether the reading is archetypal or was introduced below the archetype.

```
WBT }86
Base By verray force, he rafte hir maydenhed
Cx1 Be verry force byrefte her her maydenhed
Cx2 By verry force he byrefte her maydenhed
Hg By verray force, he rafte hir maydenhed
El By verray force , birafte hir maydenhed
he rafte hir ] Bo2 Cp Ds En1 Hg Ht
    by rafte [add]he[/add] hir ] Gg
    birafte hir ] Ad3 Ch Dd El Ha4
    he birafte hir ] Cx2
    he rafte hir hir ] La
    byrefte hir hir ] Cx1
```

Exceptionally both versions, that of Hg and that of El , are metrically equivalent. In Hg we have 'he rafte' which El substitutes by 'birafte.' There is an obvious variant in the verb: 'birafte' and 'rafte', which are synonymous. Cx2 has
added 'he' as in the Hg reading. Several manuscripts have agree with Hg and Cx 2 in having the reading 'he' Cp Ds En1 Ht and La, some of those same manuscripts --Ds En1 La Ht -- also agree with Hg in the reading 'rafte,' but Ad3 Ch Dd and Gg agree with El in the reading 'birafte.' Probably $\omega$ had 'he rafte' just as does Hg , but that either Caxton did not realise and did not add both corrections or that the compositor overlooked Caxton's instructions to include it. The result is that Cx 2 has a line that is not metrical, and it is very difficult to decide if whether or which of the variants was present in the archetype.

In general it seems that when Cx 2 agrees with Hg this is usually in lines where Hg seems to have a better reading than that in El. However, in the cases in which Cx 2 agrees with El we are confronted with more ambiguous readings.

### 9.3.1.2 El against Hg

The variants in which El agrees with Cx 2 against Hg are unusual in as much as they do not show the consistent affiliations with Gg found in previous sets.

### 9.3.1.2.1 Likely Archetypal Variants

```
WBP 604-1
after WBP 598-2: li
Out: Hg Ad3 Bw Cp Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Dl Ha4 Ht La Ra3 En3 Fi Gl Ha5 Hk
Lc Ld2 Ln Mc mg Mm hl Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ry2 SI2 Tc1
To
Base Yet haue I Martes Mark vp on my face
Cx1 Yet haue I a marke of Mars vp on my face
Cx2 Yet haue I Martis mark vp on my face
El Yet haue I martes mark vp on my face
```

```
Martes mark] Cx2 El Gg Pn Wy
    a mark of mars ] Ch Cx1 Ha2 Ii ne Tc2
    mars Mark] Cn Dd Ds1 En1 Ma
    mars is Mark ] Ld1 Ry1 Se
```

This variant occurs in one of the so-called added passages. Elizabeth Solopova points out that the reading shared by $\mathrm{Cx} 2 \mathrm{El} \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{Pn} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{Wy} \mathrm{--'martes} \mathrm{Mark} \mathrm{'--} \mathrm{is}$ metrically superior to the one found in the other manuscripts --'a marke of Mars'. ${ }^{24}$

### 9.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

```
WBP }31
Base What helpeth it of me enquere and spyen
Cx1 What nedith it of me to enquere or pryen
Cx2 What nedyth the of me to enquere or pryen
Hg What helpeth it of me enquere and spyen
El What nedeth thee of me to enquere or spyen
it ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Cx1 Ch Cp Dl En2 En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 Ha5 He Hg
Ht La li Lc Ld1 Ld2 Mg Mm ne nl Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 Se
Si SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To
    the ] Bw Cx2 Cn Dd Ds1 El Ln Ma Ra1 Wy
    not present ] Fi
```

Here, the reading 'it' is shared by most manuscripts, including Hg , while a few manuscripts have the definite article in its place. Cx 2 and El agree in the reading 'the' and so do Cn Dd Ds1 Ln Ma Ra1 and Wy. The Hg reading is likely to be archetypal, while the Cx2 reading seems to be related to Robinson's $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ manuscripts.
9.3.1.2.3 Variants Likely to Have Originated below the Archetype

```
WBP 46
```

Out: Cn He li Ma Me Se Tc2
Base For sith I wol nat kepe me chaast in al
Cx1 I wol hym not forsake no thing at al
Cx2 Forsoth I wyl not kepe me chast in al
Hg For sith I wol nat kepe me chaast in al
El For sothe I wol nat kepe me chaast in al
sith ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cp Dd En2 En3 Fi Ha2 Hg Ht Lc Ld1
mg hl Ph2 Ps Ra3 Ry1 Tc1
sothe ] Cx2 DI El GI Ha4 Hk La Ld2 Ln Mc Mm Ph3 Py Ra1 Ra2 Ry2 To Wy
sir ] Pw
siche ] SI2
not present ] Cx1 Ds Si

Here Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg , and, Robinson has suggested that the appearance of 'sothe' in Cx2 is the best indication that this is indeed a Chaucerian reading. My concern here is not so much whether Cx 2 points to a Chaucerian reading but whether it can say something about $\omega$. Here Cx2 differs from manuscripts with which it had agreed before, remarkably Hg and Ch . However, it is important to point out that this variant might have originated in a compositor's mistake, since the ' i ' and the ' o ' are next to each other in the type box. This variant possibly originated below the archetype.

```
SU 527
Base And ther it wasteth , lite and lite awey
Cx1 And there it wastith litil and litil awey
Cx2 And euer it wastyth lyte and lyte away
Hg And ther it wasteth, lite and lite awey
El And eu'e it wasteth, litel and litel awey
ther ] Bo2 Cp Cx1 Ds En1 Hg Ht La
        euer ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El Ha4
```

[^100]In SU 527, the Cx 2 variant is shared by Ad 3 Ch El and Ha 4 . This is a remarkable variant because it suggests a common ancestor for all of these witnesses. Because of the variant distribution (where manuscripts of the $\mathbf{c} \mathbf{b}$ a groups and $\mathbf{O}$ witnesses) indicates that the variant might have originated below the archetype, but only a complete collation of the witnesses could confirm this.

### 9.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

This type of variant is, at least as valuable as the previous type $--\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}--$ in determining the affiliations of $\omega$. Their significance depends on their distribution as well as on other factors, but they are of great importance and should be taken into account. Thirteen of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are discussed in the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 9.3.2. The variants in WBP 111, WBP 202, WBP 667, WBP 669, WBP 706, WBP 734, WBP 790, WBT 853, WBT 1023, SU 73, SU 89, SU 275 and SU 571 have been taken out because, in all likelihood, they are the result of agreements by coincidence. The rest of the variants are analysed below.

### 9.3.2.1 Likely Archetypal Variants

WBP 44-3
Out : Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Cp Dl El En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 Ha5
Hg Hk Ht La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Mc Mg Mm nl Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry2 SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
Base Dyuers scolis makyth parfight clerkis
Cx1 Diuers scolis makith diuers clerkis
Cx2 Dyuers scolis makyth parfight clerkis

```
Dd Diu'se scoles maken [add]pfyt[/add] [ud]diuerse[/ud]
[ud]werkes[/ud] clerkes
parfit ] Cx2 Pn Wy
        [add]pfyt[/add] [ud]diuerse[/u] ] Dd
        dyuerse ] Ch Cn Cx1 Ds1 En1 He li Ma ne Ry1 Si Tc2
        sotil ] Se
WBP 44-5
Base makyth the werkman parfyte sikerly
Cx1 Makith the parfiter man to be sikerly
Cx2 makyth the werkman parfyte sikerly
Dd maken the [add]werkman[/add] pfyt [ud]man[/ud] sekirly
werkman parfite ] Cx2 Pn Wy
    [add]werkman[/add] pfyt [ud]man[/ud] ] Dd
    parfite man ] Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Ma Ry1 Si
    parfite man full ] Cn
    parfiter man ] Cx1 He Ii Ne Se Tc2
```

Lines WBP 44-3 and WBP 44-5 belong to the first of the so-called 'added passages.' Some scholars believe these passages to be authentic, although the first one is often considered to be doubtful. The whole passage must have been present in $\omega$, and enabled Caxton to correct the lines as they appeared in Cx1. In these two lines Cx2 agrees only with Pn and Wy . This is normal since de Worde printed from a defective version of Cx2 and Pynson is likely to have based his edition on Caxton's. The only exception to this is Dd: the scribe copied the text as it appears in all the other witnesses and then corrected to agree with Cx2. There are two possible explanations for this: either the scribe was careless and made a series of mistakes in the passage which he had to correct later or, on the contrary, he was very conscientious and looked for a new manuscript from which to correct the passages. In any case, the corrected text in Dd is very close to that of the lines in Cx2, and these are the only two witnesses with 'parfight' and 'werkman.' It might seem odd to speak about
archetypal readings in the added passages, but those in Cx2 almost certainly reflect an early stage of that text.

FR 33

| Base | Quod the Somnour , yput | out | of | my | cure |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | Quod the sompnour | put | out | of | my | cure |
| Cx2 | Quod the sompnour put | out | of | our | cure |  |
| Hg | Quod the Somnour , yput | out | of | my | cure |  |
| El | Quod the Somonor | , yput | out | of | my | cure |

my ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds1 El En1 Hg
our ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Dd Gg Ha4 Ht La
not present ] Ra3

FR 33 shows a case in which Cx2 agrees with the majority of the witnesses against Hg and El . In fact only Bo2 Cx1 Ds1 En1 Hg and El have the reading 'my,' the rest of the witnesses have 'our.' The variant does not affect the metre of the line, and based only on variant distribution it seems that 'our' is the archetypal reading.

FR 64
Base Do stryke hire, out of oure lettres blake
Cx1 Do stryke her out of oure lettris blake
Cx2 Do stryke the out of our lettris blake
Hg Do stryke hir, out of oure lettres blake
El Do striken hir, out of oure lettres blake

```
hire ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds El En1 Hg Ht the ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Gg Ha4 La Ra3
```

Cx2 has the variant 'the' instead of 'hir.' The Cx2 reading is supported by Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Gg Ha4 La Ra3, while 'hir' is only in $\mathrm{Hg} \operatorname{El}$ and Cx 1 . Again, this variant does not affect the line's metre, but its distribution indicates that probably 'the' is archetypal.

FR 268
Base The Carl spak o thyng but he thoghte another
Cx1 The chorle spak o thing but he thoughte another
Cx2 The chorle spak o thyng 7 thoughte another
Hg The Carl spak o thyng but he thoghte another
El The carl spak oon , but he thoghte another
but ] Cx1 Dd Ds El En1 Hg La and ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Gg Ht

In this line, Hg and El have added the word 'he' to the conjunction 'but.' This addition alters the metre of the line. Cx2, on the other hand, has only the conjunction 'and,' a reading that is supported by the majority of the collated witnesses. It seems that in this particular line Hg and El probably do not have the archetypal reading.

SU 388

| Base I haue hym | toold, | hoolly al myn estat |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} x 1$ | I haue hym | tolde |  | al myn hert |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | I haue hym | told all | holy | myn astate |
| Hg | I haue hym | toold, | hoolly al myn estat |  |
| El | I haue hym | toold | hoolly al myn estatr |  |

hoolly al ] Bo2 Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg al hoolly ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Gg Ht La al ] Cx1

Here Cx2 has the reading 'al holy' where Hg and El have 'holy al.' Ad3 Ch Cp Gg Ht and La support the Cx2 reading, suggesting that this word-order might be archetypal to the tradition. The reading in Cx1 is 'al.'

### 9.3.2.2 Likely Non-Archetypal Variants

WBP 477

| Base | The | flour | is | goon | ther | is | re | to | telle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cx1 | The | floure | is | 90 | ther | is | nomore | to | le |
| Cx2 | The | flour | is | go | there |  | nomore | to | lle |
| Hg | The | flour | is | goon | her | is | namoore | to | lle |
| El | The | flour | is | goon | ther | is | namoor | to | ell |

is ] Cx1 Hg El Bw Ch Cp Dd Ds Gg Ad1 Bo1 Cn Dl Ha4 Ht La Ra3 En2 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha5 He Hk li Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Mg Re Il Ph2 Ps Py Ra1 Se Tc1 Tc2 To nys ] Cx2 Ad3 Wy Ld2 Ph3 Ra2 Ry2

In WBP 477, Cx2 has the reading 'nys' instead of 'is,' as in Hg and El . The variant in Cx2 is supported by Ad3 Wy Ld2 Ph3 Ra2 Ry2. Among these manuscripts, Ad3 is the only one that regularly joins Cx2. The variant distribution seems to indicate that 'is' is the archetypal reading.

```
WBP }49
Out: En2 Fi
Base Which that Appellus wroghte subtilly
Cx1 Whiche that appelles wrought subtilly
Cx2 Whyche that appelles wroughte so subtylly
Hg Which that Appellus wroghte subtilly
El Which that Appelles wrog\hbarte subtilly
not present ] Bo2 Bw Cn Cp Cx1 Dl Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha2 He Hg Ht li
La Lc Ld1 Ln ma mc mg mm ne nl Ph3 Ps Pw Ra1 Ry1 Se Si SI1
SI2 Tc2 To1
        so ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cx2 Dd En3 Gl Ha4 Ha5 Hk Ld2 Ph2 Pn
        Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry2 Tc1 Wy
```

Once more, we find that Cx2 has added an adverb where other witnesses have nothing. The adverb alters the metre of the line. Among the manuscripts that have added 'so' --Ad3 Ch Ha4 Wy Ad1 Dd En3 Gl Ha5 Ld2 Ra2 Ra3 Ry2 and Tc1-- we
find Ad3 Ch and Ha4, but we also find manuscripts that are probably completely unrelated to Cx2, such as Gl and Ry2. Ad1 Ad3 En3 and Tc1 --all in agreement with Cx2 -- are what Robinson has classified as the $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ group.

WBP 681
Out: En2 Py Ra3
Base And thus god woot Mercurie is desolat
Cx1 That thus god woot mercur is dissolate
Cx2 As thus goor woot Mercury is dyssolate
Hg And thus god woot Mercurie is desolat
El And thus god woot mercurie is desolat

And ] Hg El Bw Ds Gg Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Cn Ha4 Ht La Wy En3 Gl Hk li Lc Ld2 Ln Ma Mc Mg nl Ph2 Ra1 Ra2 Ry1 Si SI2 Tc1

As ] Cx2 Ad3 Ch Dd DI Fi Ha2 Ha5 Ph3 Pn Se To
That ] Cx1 He ne Tc2

Several witnesses agree with Cx2 in having the conjunction 'as' at the beginning of the line. Among these, we find Ad 3 and Ch which often support the Cx 2 readings. Hg and El have the conjunction 'And' instead of 'As' and many other witnesses share this reading. The repeated agreements of Cx 2 Ad 3 and Ch , make a genetic relationship between these very likely.

WBT 852
Base Wommen, may go saufly vp and down
Cx1 A woman may go sauely vp and doun
Cx2 Wommen may now go sauely vp and doun
Hg Wommen, may go saufly vp and down
El Wōmen , may go saufly vp and doun
may go ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La may now go ] Cx2
may go now ] Ad3 Ch Dd La

Cx2 has added the adverb 'now' in WBT 852. Other witnesses --Ad3 Ch Dd and La-also have the added word, but in a different position, after the verb, while Cx 2 has it before the verb. The compositor probably misunderstood the indication made by Caxton about the place in which the word had to be inserted.

## FR 78

Base Feynynge a cause , for he wolde brybe Cx1 Feynynge a cause for he wolde her bridil Cx2 Feynyng a cause for he wold haue a brybe Hg Feynynge a cause , for he wolde brybe El Feynynge a cause, for he wolde brybe
wolde ] Bo2 Cp Cx1Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La wolde haue ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ra3

In FR 78, Cx2 has added ' haue a ' which is supported by Ad3 Ch and Ra3. Once more a genetic relationship is suggested between Cx2 Ad3 and Ch. Ha4, the other manuscript that frequently agrees with the Cx 2 variants, does not support this.

```
FR 186
Base In diuers art and in diuerse figures
Cx1 In diuers arte and in diuers figuris
Cx2 In dyuers acte and in dyuers fyguris
Hg In diu's artr and in diu'se figures
El In diư's Artr and in diu'se figures
art ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx1 Ds El En1 Gg Hg Ra3
        acte ] Cp Cx2 Ha4
        actes ] Dd
        artes ] Ht
        attes ] La
```

The variant in FR 186 is 'art'/'acte .' Hg El Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx1 Ds En1 Gg and Ra3 read 'art,' while Cp Cx2 and Ha4 have 'acte.' It is likely that the 'r' and 'c' might have been confused by the scribes; the variant distribution seems to indicate that 'art' is the archetypal reading.

SU 156
Base With many a teere, triklyng on my cheke
Cx1 With many a teer trillyng on my cheek
Cx2 Wyth many a teer tryllyng on our cheek
Hg With many a teere, triklyng on my cheke
El With many a teere , triklyng on my cheke
my ] Bo2 Cp Cx1 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La our ] Ad3 Ch Cx2

As in FR 33, in SU 156 Cx2 has 'our' instead of 'my.' On this occasion, both Ch and Ad3 support the reading in Cx2; although this is unlikely to be the archetypal reading, it shows, again, a genetic relationship between Ad 3 Ch and $\omega$.
SU 453
Base He grynt with his teeth, so was he wrooth
$\mathrm{Cx1} \mathrm{He}$ grintith with the teth so was he wroth
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ And gryntyth wyth the teth so was he wroth
Hg He grynt with his teeth, so was he wrooth
El He grynte with his teeth, so was he wrooth
He ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Ds El Gg Hg Ht La
And ] Cx2 Dd En1 Ha4

In SU 453, Cx2 Dd En1 and Ha4 have the conjunction 'and' instead of the personal pronoun 'he.' The variant distribution indicates that 'he' is probably archetypal to the tradition, although 'and' should not be discarded without further analysis.

## Chapter VI: Variants <br> Double Lower Case Signatures (aa TO ii)

## Chapter Summary

The variant distribution for the sets with the lower double case signatures shows that $\omega$ was a manuscript of the very best quality; the variants found in sets 10 to 13a indicate that the high quality of $\omega$ is sustained throughout these sets.

More than $78 \%$ of the variants for the sets analysed in this chapter are Cx2-O variants. These are witness to the archetypal quality of the source used to correct Cx 1 , by way of the readings introduced in Cx 2 . The fact that the variants that show this archetypal character of $\omega$ account for three-quarters of the total amount of variants in Cx2 is a strong proof of its high quality. All these variants can be seen in the electronic appendix b, double lower case signatures.

Some $11.5 \%$ of the variants are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. Many of these variants are just the result of compositorial mistakes, some others might turn out to be present in other witnesses --especially the printed editions-- when these are fully transcribed. ${ }^{1}$

The $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants account for almost $4 \%$ of the variants. These show that on most occasions when Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , Cx 2 has archetypal readings. On the other hand, when Cx 2 agrees with El , sometimes it does so in variants which might be archetypal, but more often their agreement is in variants that present a

[^101]variant distribution such that their character is difficult to establish. The general tendency in these variants is for the agreements of Cx 2 to be, more or less, evenly divided between Hg and El .

In some $6.5 \%$ of the cases, Cx 2 agrees with other witnesses against Hg and El . There are three witnesses that agree with Cx2 more consistently than any others: Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 . There are a total of $41 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, of which Ch is in agreement with Cx 2 on 8 occasions; Ha4 on 11, and Ad3 on 15. Of course, these witnesses also agree with Cx 2 in variants other than the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, a fact that must also be taken into account when determining the nature of $\omega$. A variant of great importance to establish a genetic relationship between Cx 2 and Ad 3 is PR 193. The reading on this line, that cannot be the result of a coincidence, confirms a common origin for Ad3 and $\omega$ which is supported throughout by less dramatic variants.

A very interesting finding in this chapter is that Ht agrees with Cx 2 in 15 occasions, that is, as many as Ad3 --which is the witness with most $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. The reason why Ht appears more predominantly in this chapter is because it has been transcribed for all the sets analysed here.

This chapter is also remarkable because it includes texts that are not included in Hg --L33 CY L31. One could have expected to find that these showed very different textual affiliations from texts that are found in Hg , and although the constant affiliations of Cx2 with Ad3 Ch and Ha4 are confirmed once more, there are some strong links with manuscripts of the a group which are not completely consistent with other sets.

Some of the agreements between Cx 2 and El within the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants are archetypal readings in places where Hg has a non-archetypal reading. ${ }^{2}$

## 1. Set 10: The Clerk's Tale, link 13 and link $14{ }^{3}$

### 1.1 Set Summary

This set presents several of the same characteristics which can be seen in previous sets. There are agreements of Cx 2 with Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 that point towards a genetic relationship. However, set 10 also presents other important features that set it apart from previous sets. Among the minor variants, a vast number of them agree with Ht . It is not only that Cx2 agrees with this manuscript, but that it agrees with it in many more occasions than any other witness --even those which have been shown previously as closely related to $\omega$. This is something that has not happened in any other set. The reason for this is very simple: it is due to the fact that Ht has only been partially transcribed, so it was not always collated. In fact, Ht has only been collated in set 1 , because for GP L1 and MI all witnesses have been transcribed, but any agreements with Cx2 in set 1 might have been buried among other variants, since the set also included KN L2 RE L3 and CO. ${ }^{4}$ Ht was also transcribed for set 4, but again the set showed nothing unexpected.

[^102]Apart from the agreement between Cx 2 and Ht , there are no other features in this set that could be considered unusual. As mentioned above, the most common agreements are those with Ad 3 and Ch , and manuscripts belonging to the a group. Among the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants the division is very even and does not seem to point towards anything that the previous sets have not shown before. As in other cases, the variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg tend to be archetypal. But in this set, when Cx 2 agrees with El, usually there is a non-archetypal reading in Hg , that is, the variants shared by Cx 2 and El are ancestral to the tradition. Examples of this can be found in CL 49, CL 251, CL 308 and CL 685.

### 1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 1.2.1 Line Substitutions

Seven lines in Cx 1 were replaced in Cx 2 . All the substitutions are given below. As in previous sets, non-archetypal lines in Cx1 have been substituted by archetypal lines in Cx 2 .

CL 217a Cx1 Hit was hir lust and hir most ese
CL 217 Cx2 She knewe wel labour but none ydle ese

CL 455 Cx2 Redeles godr wote he thought her taffraye
CL 455a Cx1 Forbere , wherfore he purposid' on a day

CL 702a Cx1 And so wilful suche assayes to make
CL 702 Cx2 That whan they han a certeyn purpoos take

CL 774-1 Cx1 And forth he rood hastly and that anoon
CL 775a Cx1 Towaro Saluce this mayde forto gyde
CL 775 Cx2 Towaro Saluces and lordes many oon
CL 776 Cx2 In riche araye this mayde for to gyde
CL 997a Cx1 Here may ye se the peple how newe
CL 999-1 Cx1 And changeable be right as the mane

CL 997 Cx2 Delityng euer in rombel that is newe
CL 998 Cx2 For like the mone ay wax ye and wane

The collation of these lines indicates that in only one of them do we find a variant within the line which is not simply archetypal: CL 455 . However, the variant in CL 455 is the omission of a word and, as such, it might not be significant.

CL 455
Out: Cx1
Base nedelees god woot he thoghte hire for tafraye
Cx2 nedeles goor wote he thought her taffraye
Hg nedelees god woot he thoghte hir for tafraye
El nedelees god woot, he thoghte, hir for taffraye
for to ] Ch Dd Ds1 El Gg Hg Ra3
to ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx2 En1 Ha4 Ht La

In this case the agreement in omission between Ad3 Cx2 Bo2 Cp En1 Ha4 Ht and La could be seen as the result of a coincidence. However, because in previous sets we have seen that Ad3 Cx2 Ha4 and Ht are likely to be genetically related, the variant in CL 455 is interpreted as another indication of this relationship.

### 1.2.2 Line Additions:

There are no major additions in this set.

### 1.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no major deletions in this set.

### 1.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions ${ }^{5}$

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

149 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 145 in CL, 3 in L13, 1 in L14.

20 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 19 in CL, 1 in L13, 0 in L14.
$12 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 12 in CL, none in L13, none in L14.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:

Hg against El: 5

El against Hg: 7
$11 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El . These are distributed as 11 in CL , none in L13, none in L14.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:

### 1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

### 1.3.1.1 Hg against El

There are five variants in this set in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El, three of which --CL 233, CL 589 and CL 594-- suggest the proximity of $\omega$ to the archetype of the tradition. However, two of the variants discussed below, are of ambiguous character --CL 165 and CL 300.

### 1.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements with Hg

```
CL 233
Base Ful ofte sithe , this Markys sette his eye
Cx1 Ful of this Markis he cast his ye
Cx2 Ful ofte sithys this markys sette his eye
Hg Ful ofte sithe , this Markys sette his eye
El Ful ofte sithe , this Markys caste his eye
sette ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 Gg Ha4 Hg La LI1 Ra3
    caste ] Cx1 El
```

In CL 233 we find that Cx 2 agrees with Hg Ad 3 Bo 2 Ch Cp Cx 2 Dd Ds1 Gg Ha 4 Hg La L11 and Ra3. Only El and Cx1 have the reading 'caste.' The variant distribution indicates that the Cx 2 reading is archetypal, but because it is so widely distributed it is not very helpful to trace $\omega$.

```
CL 589
Base $ But at Boloigne , he to his suster deere
Cx1 But at boleyn to his sustir dere
Cx2 But at boleyn he to his suster dere
Hg $ But at Boloigne, he to his suster deere
El But at Boloigne , to his suster deere
he ] Bo2 Ch Cx2 Gg Hg
    not present ] Dd Ds1 El En1Ha4 Ra3
    it ] Ad3 Cp Ht
```

CL 589 is another case of dubious metre. The personal pronoun 'he' is found in Cx2 Hg Bo 2 Ch and Gg . Other witnesses --Ad3 Cp Ht-- have 'it' instead. Cx1 El Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 and Ra3 do not have 'he,' and L11 has a deletion in the place in which the personal pronoun could have been. The agreement of Cx 2 Hg and Ch is not unusual, but the fact that this agreement is also shared by Bo 2 and Gg makes it relatively uncommon, and could indicate --through the variety of witnesses sharing the same
reading-- that some otherwise good textual witnesses, such as El, might have left it out by accident.

CL 594
Base And whos child that it was, he bad hire hyde
$\mathrm{C} \times 1$ And whoos child that it is he bad hym hyde
$\mathrm{C} \times 2$ And whoos chyld that it is he bad her hyde
Hg And whos child $\mathrm{b}^{+}$it was, he bad hir hyde
El And whos child that it was, he bad hym hyde
hire ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La LI1 Ra3 him ] Ds1 El En1

By the context of the line one immediately realises that the Cx 1 reading is a mistake, that the oblique pronoun should be a feminine one, not masculine. El and En1 agree with Cx 1 in this mistake. Cx 2 Hg Ad 3 Bo 2 Ch Cp Dd Gg Ha4 Ht La Ll1 and Ra3 have the feminine pronoun instead. Although in this case the variant distribution indicates that the Cx2 reading is the archetypal one, it is important to remember that variants that can easily be inferred by a contextual interpretation are to be considered with caution, since they might not necessarily be the result of the copying process and instead might be the consequences of scribal intervention.

### 1.3.1.1.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

```
CL }16
CL }165\mathrm{ after CL 163: Cp La
Base That what wyf that I take , ye me assure
Cx1 What wyf that y take that ye me ensure
```

| Cx2 | That what wyf that I take ye | massure |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Hg | That what wyf $\mathrm{p}^{\dagger}$ I take , ye me | assure |  |
| El | What | wyf that I take , ye me | assure |

Cx 2 is in agreement with Hg in having 'That what' at the beginning of this line. El , as Cx1, has 'What.' The rest of the witnesses are divided in their agreements. Bo2 Ch Ds1 En1 and Gg agree with El and Cx1; while Ad3 Dd Ha4 Ht Ll1 and Ra3 share the variant with Cx2 and El. Although this variant clearly changes the line's metre, it is difficult to know if the Cx 2 line is hypermetrical. It all depends on the pronunciation of the final 'e' of 'take.' It is possible that the variant in Hg and Cx 2 might have had its origin in an anticipation of the word 'that' after 'wyf.' It is interesting to find Ad3 in agreement with Cx 2 Ha 4 and Hg against El and Ch . The usual situation when the variants are so divided is to find Ad 3 in agreement with El --independently of any agreement or disagreement with Cx 2 . This seems to show that, putting aside the issue of this variant being archetypal or not, this variant has been genetically transmitted.


The presence or absence of the preposition 'in' could potentially affect the metre of CL 300. Any doubt arises due to the final 'e' in 'lette,' if this is to be pronounced the line
in Cx 1 and El is hypermetrical, if not, the presence of the preposition allows a regular iambic pentameter. Hg agrees with Cx 2 in not having the preposition, but the majority of the witnesses disagree with them. Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La L11 and Ra3 all have it. This variant distribution could point towards an agreement by coincidence between Cx 2 and Hg , in which both have left out a word. However, it is important to remember that in many cases Cx 2 and Hg are in agreement on very small matters and that this could be one of such cases.

### 1.3.1.2 El against Hg

In this set, Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg in seven occasions. What is peculiar about these agreements is the fact that four of them --CL 49, CL 251, CL 308 and CL 685-- are readings that are either archetypal or an improvement over the Hg reading. The Hg reading in the other two variants could be the archetypal one, but is not necessarily so.

### 1.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

```
CL 49
CL 49 out: Dd
```

Base Taketh his firste spryngyng / and his cours
Cx1 Takyngr his first spryngynge and his cours
Cx2 Takyng his first spryngyng and his sours
Hg Taketh his firste spryngyng , and his cours
El Taketh his firste spryngyng , and his sours

```
cours ] Bo2 Cx1 Hg
    sours Ad3 Ch Cx2 Ds1 El Ha4 Ht La Ra3
    shoours En1
```

The variant in CL 49 is the result of a mistake in the copying of the text. In this case it is possible to assess which variant is archetypal with relative ease. What happened here is that CL 50 has 'cours' as its rhyme word and a scribe miscopied this reading into the previous line, where the reading should be 'sours' as in Cx 2 El and many other witnesses. ${ }^{6} \mathrm{Hg}$ could have been the source of the mistake or have copied it from the exemplar he was working from, but undoubtedly, the archetypal reading is the one found in Cx2 El Ad3 Ch Ds1 Ha4 Ht La and Ra3.
CL 251
Base Wol he nat wedde, allas the while
Cx1 Wol he not wedde allas the whyle
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ Wol he not wedde allas allas the whyle
Hg Wol he nat wedde, allas the while
El Wol he nat wedde, allas allas the while :
allas ] Bo2 Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Hg
allas allas ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd El Ht La LI1 Ra3

Cx 2 has the word 'allas' repeated, a reading that is supported by El Ad 3 Ch Cp Dd Ha4 Ht La Ll1 and Ra3. This repetition makes the metre of the line regular and because of its distribution among the witnesses one could assume that this is the archetypal version of the line. Hg agrees with Cx 1 Bo 2 Ds 1 En 1 and Gg in having a single 'allas.'

[^103]```
CL 308
Base As for my wyf vnto my lyues ende
Cx1 As to my wyf vnto our lyuys ende
Cx2 As to my wyf vnto her lyuys ende
Hg As formy wyfr vn to my lyues ende
El As for my wyf vn to hir lyues ende
my ] Bo2 Gg Hg Ht LI1
    hir ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1La Ra3
    our ] Cx1
```

Cx2 agrees with El and the majority of the collated witnesses --Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 La Ra3-- in the reading 'hir' (pronoun possessive feminine), against the Hg reading 'my,' supported by Bo2 and Ht. Cx1 has 'our.' The variant distribution seems to indicate that the Cx 2 reading is archetypal since several $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts --Ad3 Ch El and Ra3-- share it. CL 308 presents a variant that has a great interest from an interpretative perspective, since the variant readings present the character of Walter in a different light. This variant would contribute to study of the scribal reception of the text.

```
CL 685
```

Base He wente his wey / as hym no thyng roghte
Cx1 He wente his wey as he no thing thoughte

Cx2 He went his wey as he no thyng ne roughte
Hg He wente his wey , as hym no thyng roghte
El He wente his wey , as hym no thyng ne rogћte
thyng ] Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Hg Ht La LI1 Ra3 thyng ne ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd El Ha4

Once more we have a variant in which the decision about its effect on the metre has to do with the interpretation about a final ' -e ', in this case the one in 'roghte.' Cx 2 and

El have added the adverb 'ne' just before 'roghte,' and in this, they are supported by Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd El and Ha4. Hg, on the other hand, agrees with Cx1 Ds1 En1 Gg Ht La Ll1 and Ra3, in not having the adverb. Independently of whether the presence or absence of this adverb might belong to the origin of the tradition, we find that here Cx 2 is in agreement with Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 , which again may indicate a genetic relationship between these witnesses.
1.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character and Likely Agreements by Coincidence

```
CL 530
Base They mowe wel been, biwailled , or compleyned
Cx1 They may weel be bewaylid}\mathrm{ or compleyned
Cx2 They may wel be bewaylid and` compleyned
Hg They mowe wel been , biwailled / or compleyned
El They mowe wel been , biwailled and compleyned
or ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ha4 Hg La
    and Ad3 Ds1 El En1 Gg Ht Ra3
```

CL 530 has a change in the conjunction: Cx2 has 'and' and Cx 1 has 'or.' The Cx2 reading is supported by El Ad 3 Ds 1 En 1 Gg Ht and Ra 3 , while the Cx 1 reading is found in Hg Bo 2 Ch Cp Dd Ha 4 and La . This is a perfectly even distribution of the witnesses numerically, half of them agreeing with one reading and the other half with the other. It is unusual that Cx 2 is in agreement with Ad 3 but not with Ch and Ha 4 , which raises the possibility of it being the result of an agreement by coincidence.


El O many a teere , on many a pitous face
o ] Bo2 Ch Ha4 Hg Ht not present ] Ds1 Dd En1 and ] Ad3 Ra3 on ] Cp Cx2 El Gg La of ] Cx 1

In this line we find that Cx 2 agrees with El in the reading 'on' instead of 'o,' which is the Hg reading. Although the Cx 2 reading is also found in Cp Gg and La , it seems unlikely that it could be archetypal. On this occasion Hg probably has the archetypal reading. The only problem with this is that it does not explain the agreement of Cx 2 with $\mathbf{c}$ group manuscripts, which are unlikely to be genetically related to $\omega$. At this point, I will assume that this agreement is an agreement by coincidence in a substitution that seems easy to make.
1.3.1.2.3 Agreement with El and Ha 4 below the Archetype

```
    CL }114
    CL 1148 after CL 1146: LI1
    Base This storie, which he with heigh stile enditeth ,
    Cx1 This story whiche with hig\hbar stile enditit\hbar
    Cx2 This story whiche with high style he endytith
    Hg This storie, which he with heigh stile enditeth ,
    El This storie , which w
    he with heigh stile enditeth] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Ds1 Gg Hg La LI1 Ra3
    with heigh stile he enditeth ] Cx2 Dd El En1 Ha4 Ht
```

In CL 1148, Cx2 has the personal pronoun 'he' before 'enditeth.' Only four other witnesses share the Cx 2 reading: El Dd Ha 4 and Ht . The line in Hg has the pronoun before 'with,' in a position also found in Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Ds1 Gg La L11 and Ra3.

This variant distribution suggest that the Hg version of the line is likely to be the one that is archetypal, while the Cx2 version is a derivative one. However, the most important fact is that Ha 4 is, once more, in agreement with Cx 2 .

### 1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Some of the variants in this section show the consistent agreement of Cx 2 with Ha4 and Ch. There are a few variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Ht , and in one of these the agreement is against all other witnesses --CL 807. Perhaps the most interesting variant is the one in CL 1067, where Hg and El agree in error and Cx2 has what is probably the ancestral reading. In CL 1063 we find another variant of possible archetypal origin preserved in Cx2.

### 1.3.2.1 Archetypal Variants (Hg and El agree in Error)



Here Cx2 has added the adverb 'ne' after 'wyf,' a reading which is supported by the majority of the witnesses. This addition alters the metre of the line, but its wide distribution indicates that this was widely accepted by the scribes. It is interesting
that this variant appears in $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts even if these are of independent descent. One could assume that this variant in likely to be archetypal, that is, because the variant is present in manuscripts that share no other relationship than being descended from the archetype, it is likely that the reading comes directly from it.

CL 1067

Base \begin{tabular}{l}
Shal be myn heir , as I haue ay <br>
$\mathrm{Cx1}$

 Shal be myn heir as I haue 

supposed <br>
disposior
\end{tabular}

The variant in CL 1067 is one of the most interesting in this set. Cx2 has substituted the Cx1 reading, 'disposid' with 'purposed.' However, both Hg and El have 'supposed' --also found in Bo2 and Gg. This is an instance in which Hg and El agree in error. The mistake came from CL 1065, which ends with the word 'supposed,' both Hg and El miscopied CL 1067 adding the rhyme word of CL 1065. The archetypal reading is the lectio difficilior, the reading in Cx2 'purposed' which some witnesses Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1-- have changed for an easier reading 'disposed.'
1.3.2.2 Agreements with Ad3 Ch or Ha4 Probably Introduced below the Archetype

CL 6
Base But Salomon seith , euery thyng hath tyme
Cx1 But Salamon sayde euery thing hath tyme
Cx2 But Salamon sayd that al thyng hath tyme

```
Hg But Salomon seith , euery thyng hath tyme
El But Salomon seith, euery thyng hath tyme
euery ] Cp Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg La Ra3
        that euery ] Ad3 Ch Dd
        that al ] Cx2
        al ] H\dagger
```

There are two variants in CL 6 . The first one is the agreement of Cx 2 with Ad3 Ch and Dd in having the word 'that,' which makes the line in the three manuscripts hypermetrical. The line in Cx 2 is the metrical equivalent of that in El and Hg because Cx2 has 'al' instead of 'euery,' as Ad3 Ch and Dd have. There is a witness that supports the reading 'al', Ht , although this manuscript does not have the 'that' present in the other witnesses. One could argue that the agreement with Ad3 Ch and Dd is likely to be genetic, but it is more difficult to make a firm statement about Cx2's relationship with Ht , because this manuscript has not been collated throughout.

## CL 56

Base But this his tale, which that ye shal heere
Cx1 But thus he begynneth his tale as ye mow here
Cx2 But this is his tale as ye mow here
Hg But this his tale , which $p^{+}$ye shal heere
El But this his tale , which that ye may heere

But this his tale ] Ad3 Bo2 Dd El Hg
But this is his ] Ch Cx2 Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La Ra3
But thus he begynneth ] Cx 1

The Cx1 reading 'he begynneth' has been replaced in Cx2 by 'is.' A few witnesses support the Cx2 reading, Ch Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La and Ra3. We have seen before that in many cases Cx2 agrees with a group manuscripts but, in this case, Dd does not share the variant. The agreement with Ch and Ha 4 is consistent with other sets and
keeps confirming that there is a genetic relationship between these manuscripts and Cx2.

CL 866
Base But feith , and nakednesse / and maydenhede
Cx1 But feith and nakidnes and my maydenhede
Cx2 But feyth nakydnes and my maydenhede
Hg But feith , and nakednesse, and maydenhede
El But feith and nakednesse, and maydenhede
and] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Hg La not present ] Cx2 HI4 Ha4 LI1

Cx2 has suppressed the conjunction 'and' before 'nakednesse' and H14 Ha4 and L11 support this reading. All the other witnesses are in agreement with Cx 1 in this case.
1.3.2.3 Agreements with Ht Possibly Introduced below the Archetype

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { CL } 154 \\
& \text { Base That choys, and pray yow of that profre cesse } \\
& \text { Cx1 That chois and pray you of your profir sece } \\
& \text { Cx2 That chois I pray you of that profir sece } \\
& \mathrm{Hg} \text { That choys / and pray yow of that pfre cesse } \\
& \mathrm{El} \text { That choys / and prey of that profre cesse } \\
& \text { and] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Dp Dd Ds1 En1 El Gg Ha4 Hg La LI1 Ra3 } \\
& \text { I ] Cx2 Ht }
\end{aligned}
$$

In CL 154 , Cx2 substitutes the conduction 'and' with the personal pronoun 'I.' This reading is supported only by Ht , while the remaining witnesses agree with Cx 1 and Hg. L11 has the same reading as Cx 2 and Ht , but it has it in a different position.

Although the agreement with Ht might not seem very informative, this set consistently presents variants which are shared by Cx 2 and Ht .

```
CL 807
Base And thilke dowere , that ye broghten me
Cx1 Andr that dower that ye broughte me
Cx2 And that dower that ye broughte to me
Hg And thilke dower , b}\mp@subsup{}{}{+}\mathrm{ ye broghten me
El And thilke dower , that ye broghten me
broghten ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La LI1
    broghten to ] Cx2 Ht
```

As in CL 154, this line presents an agreement between Cx2 and Ht, which is the addition of the preposition 'to' before 'me.' The rest of the collated witnesses agree in not having this preposition which indicates that the addition is probably nonarchetypal.

CL 870
Base Inwith youre chambre , dar I saufly sayn
Cx1 With ynne your chamber I dar it safly seyn
Cx2 With yune your chambyr I dar safly seyn
Hg Inwith your chambre , dar I saufly sayn
El In with your chambre , dar I saufly sayn

## I ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp El Gg Hg La LI1 it ] Cx1 Dd En1 <br> not present ] Cx2 Ds 1 HI 4 Ht

CL 870 is another case of Cx 2 suppressing a reading present in Cx 1 . In this case, it is the suppression of the personal pronoun 'it.' The Cx1 reading was present in Dd and

En1 --a group manuscripts.

### 1.3.2.4 Variants of Ambiguous Character

CL 193
Base Swich charge yaf, as hym liste on hem leye Cx1 Suche charge yaf as hym list on hem leye
Cx2 Suche charge yaf as he lyst on hem leye
Hg Swich charge yaf, as hym liste on hem leye
El Swich charge yaf , as hym liste on hem leye
hym ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ll1 Ra3 he ] Cx2 Ds1

Once more we have an agreement of Cx 2 with a single other witness. In this case it is the a group manuscript Ds1 . They share the reading 'he' instead of the Cx1 'hym,' which is supported by the majority of the witnesses.

CL 513

| Base But yet he feyned, as he were nat so |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | But yet he semyd, as he were not | so |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ But yet it semed, as he were not so |  |  |
| Hg | But yet he feyned, as he were nat so |  |
| El | But yet he feyned, as he were nat so |  |

he ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El Gg Hg Ha4 Ht La Ra3
it ] Cx2 Ds1

In CL 513, Cx2 has substituted the personal pronoun 'he' with 'it.' The majority of the witnesses agree with the Cx 1 reading, which is the Hg and El reading. Only two a group manuscripts --Ds and En1-- are in agreement with Cx2.

## 2. Set 11: The Nun's Tale, link 33 and the Canon's Yeoman's Tale ${ }^{7}$

### 2.1 Set Summary

Just as set 3 , set 11 presents an interesting feature that is determinant for the interpretation of its data: L33 and CY are not present in Hg. For this reason, some adjustments have to be made to the way in which the text is approached. Although Blake indicates in his lineation system that the base text for L33 and CY should be Cp , I have decided to have El as the base for collations involving more witnesses than just Caxton's editions. One could have expected that because L33 and CY are not present in Hg that this set might have shown different textual affiliations than those present in other sets. Leaving aside the fact that there are no agreements with Hg --for obvious reasons-- in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, the set shows some of the general characteristics of other sets. However, there are some inconsistencies in the agreements of Cx 2 in this set and, even though, it is difficult to point out the cause of these, they must be taken into account in the overall analysis of the variants. Here we find that there are some persistent agreements with En1 and Ds1, but these do not seem to fit with Cx2 usual affiliations. On other occasions, Cx2 resumes its agreements with Ad3 Ch and Ha 4 . There are also agreements with other a group manuscripts.

### 2.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 2.2.1 Line Substitutions

[^104]Among the line substitutions we can find some variants within the line that are not simply archetypal. These can be found in lines NU 84 and CY 300a. The variant in CY 300a is a singleton, but the one in NU 84 is stemmatically significant and deserves especial attention. The case of CY 300a is one of the very rare cases in which an ancestral line is substituted by a non-ancestral one.

A complete list of substituted lines follows:
nU 84a Cx1 As ferforth as goor wyl me grace [dub]sende[/dub]
nU 84 Cx2 And pray you that ye wil my werke amende
nU 245a Cx1 He spak vnto his brother in gret haste
nu 245 Cx 2 Within his herte [] he gan to wonder faste
nU 544a Cx1 To perfourme that I before haue do
nU 544 Cx2 To recomende to you or that I goo
CY 300 Cx1 Wherof no force I wol procede as now
CY 300a Cx2 Therof no force in plesaunce went his plow

As I mentioned above, NU 84 has a variant within the line that is stemmatically significant.

```
MU }8
nu 84 out: Cx1
Base And pray yow, that ye wol my werk amende
Cx2 And pray you that ye wil my werke amende
Hg And pray yow , that ye wol my werk amende
El I pray yow, that ye wole my werkr amende
And ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Hg Ht La Ra3
    I ] Ad3 El Ha4
```

The majority of the witnesses agree with Cx 2 and Hg in the reading 'And.' It is remarkable, however, that Ad3 and Ha4 support the El reading 'I.' The change of the conjunction for the pronoun does not affect the metre of the line. The variant
distribution indicates that the Cx2 reading is likely to be archetypal. It is difficult to explain how the reading in El Ha 4 and Ad3 arose, but it is highly unlikely that the agreement between these manuscript could be the result of a coincidence and, for this reason one has to conclude that the variant was introduced by a witness that may have well been the ultimate ancestor of these manuscripts.

### 2.2.2 Line Additions

Most of the major additions are archetypal. There are only three lines that present different kinds of variation. One of the added lines (L33 155) has a singleton variant, and L33 151 and 153 present variants that are stemmatically significant.

L33 151 Cx2 Al that I can anon I wyl you telle
L33 152 Cx2 Syn he is goon the foule fende hym quelle
L33 153 Cx2 For neuer here after wyl I with hym mete
L33 154 Cx2 For peny ne for pound I you byhete
L33 155 Cx2 He that me first brought to that game
L33 156 Cx2 Or that he dye sorowe haue he and stame

CY 68 Cx 2 By cause that I am a lewor man
CY 69 Cx2 Yet wil I telle hem as they come to mynde
CY 70 Cx2 Though I ne can not sette them in her kynde

Although there are two lines in which we find variants within the line that might be potentially stemmatically significant, their analysis shows that these are not as important as expected. L33 151 exhibits an alteration in word order, while L33 153 shows that the El scribe left a word out of the line and the rest of the collated witnesses agree with it.

| L33 151 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| L33 | $151 \ldots$ L33 156 out: Cx1 |  |  |
| Base Al that I kan , |  |  |  |
| anon now wol I | telle |  |  |
| Cx2 Al that I can | anon I wyl you | telle |  |
| El Al that I kan , | anon now wol I | telle |  |

```
now wol I ] Ad3 El Gg Ha4
    I wol you ] Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1
    right wol I ] Cp
    none wol I ] Ht La
```

In L33 151, Cx2 has the phrase 'I wol you' where El has 'now wol I.' The manuscripts that share the Cx 2 reading are those that belong to the a group --Dd Ds1 and En1. Usually, variations in the order of a phrase are of doubtful origin and are difficult to use to show any stemmatic relations. However, in the case of L33 151, because Cx2 agrees with manuscripts of the a group we cannot dismiss this particular variant as non-genetic. In fact, because it is found in three a manuscripts it seems possible that this variant might have been in the hyparchetype of the group.

```
L33 153
Out: Cx1 Gg
Base For neuer her after wol l with him mete
Cx2 For neuer here after wyl I with hym mete
El For neưe heer wol I with hym meete
her wol ] El
    her after wol ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La
```

In L33 153, Cx2 agrees with the majority of the collated witnesses in the reading 'after,' which is not present in El. It seems quite clear that the El scribe made a mistake when copying this line.

### 2.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no major deletions in this set.

### 2.2.4 Line Misplacements

L33 31 Cx2 Fast haue I pricked quod he for your sake

## L33 32 Cx2 By cause that I wolde you ouer take

These lines are placed after line 34 in Cx 1 and their regular place in Cx 2 .

## 2. 3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

116 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 34 in $\mathrm{NU}, 12$ in L33, and 70 in CY.

22 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 5 in NU, 1 in L33, and 16 in CY.
$4 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 4 in NU.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:

Hg against El: 2

El against Hg: 2

7 Cx 2 -El variants, these occur in texts that are not present in Hg. These are distributed as 1 in L33, and 6 in CY. ${ }^{8}$
$7 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against Hg and El. These are distributed as 2 in NU, 1 in L33, and 4 in CY. ${ }^{9}$

[^105]
### 2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Of the eleven variants in this category, eight are discussed below. Because there are only two Hg against El variants both of them are being taken into account. Of the eight El against Hg variants, six are discussed below. The other two --L33 16 and CY 296-- can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 2.3.1.1 because they are likely to be the result of agreements by coincidence.

### 2.3.1.1 Hg against El

In this set there are two variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El and both of them appear to be archetypal readings.

### 2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants

| nu 178 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | For secree | nedes | and for | good entent |
| Cx1 | For secretnes |  | and for | good entent |
| Cx2 | For secret | nedes | and for | good entent |
| Hg | For secree | nedes | / and for | good entente |
| El | For secree | thynge | , and for | good entente |
| nedes ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3 secretnes ] Cx1 <br> thynges ] El |  |  |  |  |

In this line Cx 2 agrees with the Hg reading 'nedes' which is supported by the majority of the witnesses. In the current collation, El is alone in the reading 'thynges.' Not even Gg , which is often in agreement with El , shares this reading.
nu 182
Base Thanne shal ye seen that Aungel / er we twynne
Cx1 Than shal ye se that aungel or ye twynne
Cx2 Than shal ye se the aungel or we twynne
Hg Thanne shal ye seen that Aungel / er we twynne
El Thanne shul ye se, that Angel er ye twynne

```
we ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Hg
    ye ] Bo2 Cp Cx1 El Ht La Ra3
```

In NU 182, Cx 2 agrees with Hg and other witnesses in the reading 'we' before 'twynne.' Other witnesses in agreement with Cx2 are Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 and En1. The El reading is 'ye,' which probably is a mistake caused by the previous appearance of the personal pronoun in this line. This reading is also found in Cp Cx 1 Gg Ha 4 Ht La and Ra3.

### 2.3.1.2 El against Hg

There are two variants in which Cx2 agrees with El. In two of those the agreement is against the Hg reading. ${ }^{10}$

### 2.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

| nu 512 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | \$ Thise | and | swiche othere , | seyde she |
| Cx1 | This | and ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | suche other | sayde she |
| Cx2 | This | and ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | suche other wordes | sayde she |
| $\mathrm{Hg} \quad \Phi$ | \$ Thise | 1 and | swiche othere | seyde she |
| El $\Phi$ | ¢ Thise w | wordes / and | swiche othere | seyde she |
| Thise and swiche othere ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ra3 |  |  |  |  |
| Thise and swiche othere wordes ] Cx2 Cp Ht |  |  |  |  |
| Thise wordes and swiche othere ] El Gg Ha4 |  |  |  |  |
| Thus and swiche othere wordes ] La |  |  |  |  |

NU 512 presents an unusual case, Cx2 has added the word 'wordes' after 'other.' El has the same addition but in a different position, just after 'Thise.' The line as it appears in Hg is clearly not a iambic pentameter, but is supported by Ad 3 Bo 2 Ch Dd

[^106]Ds1 En1 and Ra3. The addition of 'wordes' in the position in which Cx 2 has it, is also found in Cp Ht and La , three of the manuscripts that were in agreement with Cx 2 in NU 51.

It also seems important to point out that there are two manuscripts that have this addition in the same position as El: Gg and Ha4. The consistency of this agreement with those found in other sets, and of the agreement of Cx 2 within this set, indicate that this variant might be of great importance to establish textual relationships among these witnesses.

### 2.3.1.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character



In this line we find that both Cx 2 and El have added the preposition 'wyth' before 'suche.' Other witnesses that agree with this reading are $\mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{La} \mathrm{--all} \mathrm{these}$ witnesses also agree with the El variant in NU 182, in which El agrees with Cx2. The addition of 'wyth' in this line appears to make a regular iambic pentameter. However, it does not seem possible to tell which of these variants is archetypal.

### 2.3.2 Cx2-El Variants

This particular set, as I have said before, has a link and tale that are not present in Hg , L33 and CY. Two variants --L33 16 and CY 296-- have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 2.3.1.2.

### 2.3.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

```
CY 604
Base And wonder pryuely , took vp also
Cx1 And` wondir priuely took it vp also
Cx2 And wonder pryuely he took vp also
El And wonder pryuely, took vp also
took vp ] Ad3 Ch Cx2 El En1 Gg Ha4
    took it vp ] Cp Cx1 Ds1 Ht La
```

CY 604 has the pronoun 'it' in Cx1, which is not present in Cx2. The presence or absence of this word results in the alteration of the metre of the line. El Ad3 Ch En1 Gg and Ha4, as well as Cx2, lack this word. On the other hand Cp Ds1 Ht and La support the Cx 1 reading. It seems possible that the version of the line in El and Cx 2 is archetypal since its distribution seems not to be linked to a genetic group --as is the case for the $\mathbf{c}$ group which supports the Cx 1 reading.

CY 630
Base Than hadde this preest this soory craft to leere
Cx1 Than hadde this preest this craft forto lere
Cx2 Than had this preest this sory craft to lere El Than hadde this preestr this soory craft to leere soory ] Ad3 Cx2 Ds1 El En1 Gg not present ] Ch Cp Cx1 Ha4 Ht La

Several of the collated witnesses have the reading 'soory' before 'craft.' But the reading has been omitted from Ch Cp Cx1 Ha4 and La. Cx2 agrees with Ad3, but also with manuscripts of the a group --Ds En1-- and with Gg and El. The second variant in this line is 'to' in which the majority of the witnesses agree with Cx 2 . Only Ch is in agreement with Cx1; an agreement which can be explained as the result of a coincidence.

### 2.3.2.1 Agreements with El or a Group Witnesses below the Archetype

```
CY 253
CY 253 after CY 252: Cx1 Cx2 Ad3 Ch Cp Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
Base Ther was , a Chanoun of Religioun
Cx1 Ther is a chauon of Religion
Cx2 There was a chanon of relygyon
El Ther was , a Chanoū of Religioun
was ] Cx2 Ds1 El En1
    is ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
```

In this line Cx 2 agrees with El against the majority of the collated witnesses. Only Ds1 and En1, manuscripts from the a group, agree with Cx2 and El. Witnesses that usually agree with Cx 2 such as Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 have the reading 'is.' Gg , which, often agrees with El in variant readings, also reads 'is.' It is likely that the reading in Cx 2 and El is not archetypal.

CY 584
Base But he was feendly , bothe in herte and thoght Cx1 But he was fendly bothe in work and thought Cx2 But he was fendly bothe in herte and thought El But he was feendly , bothe in herte and thoghtr

```
herte] Cx2 Ds1 El En1
    werke ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Ha4 Ht La
```

As in CY 253, this line shows an agreement between Cx2 El Ds1 and En1. All of them have the reading 'herte' instead of 'werke,' which is found in the rest of the collated witnesses.

### 2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of the seven variants that comprise this set, I discuss four here. For the discussion of CY 274, CY 604 and CY 714 see the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 2.3.2. All of these seem to be the result of agreement by coincidence.

### 2.3.2.1 Archetypal Variant

L33 10
Base So swatte, that vnnethe myghte it gon
Cx1 So swatte that vnnethis mighte it goon
Cx2 So swette that vnnethys myght he goon
El So swatte, that vnnethe myghte it gon
it ] Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg he ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La

The variant in L33 10 is very interesting, since Cx 2 and El disagree. El has the reading 'it', while Cx2, supported by Ad 3 Ha 4 Ht Cp and La , the last two belonging to the $\mathbf{c}$ group, reads 'he.' This is the only instance in L33 in which Cx2 disagrees with El in a stemmatically significant variant. What is important about it is that Ad3 and Ha4 support the Cx 2 reading, which indicates a genetic relationship.
2.3.2.2 Agreement with a Group Witnesses below the Archetype
CY 246
Base nis nat good, what so men clappe or crye
Cx1 nys not good what so euer men
Cx2 nys not good what so
El ne clappe or crye
nis nat good, what so men clappe or crye
men ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Ht La
we ] Cx2 Ds1 En1

Line CY 246 presents an agreement between Cx2 Ds1 and En1, all of which have the reading 'we' instead of 'men,' as has the majority of the witnesses --El Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Gg Ha 4 Ht and La. This would have seem an unlikely occurrence, perhaps the result of agreement by coincidence, if it were not for the fact that En1 and Ds1 have shown some consistency with Cx 2 in CY . At this time, the possibility of a genetic relationship between Cx2 Ds1 and En1 has to remain open. If this is the case, it would not be that surprising for, after all, En1 and Ds1 belong to the a group.

### 2.3.2.3 Likely Agreements by Coincidence

nU 175
Base Sey hem right thus, as that I shal yow tellen
$\mathrm{Cx1}$ Sey hem right thus as I shal you tellyn
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ Sey hem right
Hg Sey hem right thus, as that I shal you tellyn
El Sey hem right thus, as that I shal yow tellen
right thus as that ] Cp El Hg La
right as that ] Ad3 Ch Cx1 Do Ds1 En1 Ra3
right as ] Gg
right thus as ] Ht

The suppression of 'thus' in Cx2 --supported by Ad3 Ch Dd En1 and Gg-- alters the metre of the line. The fact that this word is not present in Ad3 Ch and manuscripts belonging to the a group suggests that the suppression was transmitted from witness to witness. It is not clear, at this point, if the variant in Gg is genetic or if it might be the result of an agreement by coincidence

```
nU 330
Base \$ By word and by myracle , he goddes sone
Cx1 By worde anor by mirakil lo goddis son̄
Cx2 By worde and by myrakyl be goddys sone
El By word and by myracle, goddes sone
\(\mathrm{Hg} \Phi \mathrm{By}\) word and by myracle, he goddes sone
he ] Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Hg Ht Ra3
        be ] Bo2 Cx2
        lo ] Cx1
        not present ] El
```

In NU 330 we find that Hg reads 'he' before 'goddes,' and the majority of the collated witnesses agree with this reading. Cx2, on the other hand, has the reading 'be' only supported by Bo2. It is likely that 'be' is a mistaken product of the structure of the line which repeats 'be' twice before this. If this were a mistake, its origin could be explained by a scribe misunderstanding the shape of the ' h ' and copying it as ' b '.

## 3. Set 12: The Physician's Tale, Link 21 and the Pardoner's Tale ${ }^{11}$

### 3.1 Set Summary

In this set the manuscript which is most consistently in agreement with Cx 2 is Ad3. It agrees with Cx 2 in three of the four occasions in which this agrees with Hg ; and in one of two agreements with El. Ad3 also has the highest percentage of agreement with Cx 2 in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, where it supports the Cx 2 readings five times out of eleven.

### 3.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 3.2.1 Line Substitutions

Among the line substitutions we can find some variants within the line that are not simply archetypal.

A complete list of substituted lines follows:

PH 82a Cx1 Kepe wel tho that ye haue vndertake
PH 82 Cx2 To teche hem vertu loke that ye not slake
L21 5a Cx1 So falle on his body and on his bonys
L21 6a Cx1 To the deuyl I betake hym attonys
L21 5 Cx2 Come to thise fals luges 7 her aduocats
L21 6 Cx 2 Allas this sely mayde is sleyn allas

PD 28a Cx1 Touche he this boon anone he shal be sounde
PD 29a Cx1 And yet also more ferthirmore
PD 28 Cx2 Take water of this welle 7 wasshe his tunge
PD 29 Cx2 And it is hool anon / and ferthermore
PD 33a Cx1 Andr wold do ony thing that hym oweth
PD 33 Cx 2 Yf that the good man that the bestys oweth

[^107]PD 138a Cx1 And pleye the harlottis in many hernys
PD 138 Cx2 Where as wyth harpes lutes and gyternes
PD 294a Cx1 Loke thou vse no pley of dyse in thy hous
PD 294 Cx2 The kyng of parthes as the boke sayth vs
PD 542a Cx1 Andr swithe in to the strete vnto a man
PD 541a Cx1 As faste as euer he mighte he ran
PD 541 Cx2 This poyson in a boxe 7 sith he ran
PD 542 Cx2 In to the nexte strete vnto a man

This set presents several variants within the lines in the substitutions included in Cx 2 . Some of the lines in this set are not merely archetypal. For example, we have PH 246:

PH 246
Out: Cx1
Base And after , whan hir swownyng is agon
Cx2 And after whan her swouuyng was a goon
Hg And after , whan hir swownyng is agon
El And after whan hir swownyng is agon
is ] Ch Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg
was ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La

In PH 246 we find that Cx2 has the preterit 'was' where Hg and El have 'is.' The Cx2 variant is supported by Ad 3 Bo 2 Cp Ha 4 Ht and La . The key witnesses in this agreement are Ad 3 Ha 4 and Ht , but clearly Ch agrees with Hg and El. Because the readings are metrically equivalent and both of them are contextually acceptable, there is no way to decide which of them is archetypal. Not even the variant distribution can give any suggestion in this case. The weight of editorial tradition is the only pointer towards the Hg and El variant.

## L21 5

Out: Cp Cx1 Ha4 La
Base Come to thise luges , and hir Aduocatz
Cx2 Come to thise fals luges 7 her aduocats
Hg Come to thise luges , and hir Aduocatz
El Come to thise false luges , and hir Aduocatz
thise ] Ad3 Ch Dd Ds1 En1 Hg Ht thise fals ] Bo2 Cx2 El

In L21 5 we have a variant that clearly affects the metre of the line. Cx 2 has added 'false' before judges, a reading that is also present in El and Bo2. All the other collated witnesses agree with Hg in a version of the line that is metrically more regular.

```
L21 }
L21 6 after L21 5: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg Ht
Out: Cp Cx1 Ha4 La
Base Algate this selymayde , is slayn allas
Cx2 Allas this sely mayde is sleyn allas
Hg Algate this sely mayde , is slayn allas
El Algate, this sely mayde , is slayn allas
Ds Algate this seli maade is slain algates
En1 Allas this sely maio is slayr algates
Algate ] Bo2 Ch Dd Ds1 El Hg
        Alwey ] Ad3
        Allas ] Cx2 En1
        Algates ] H\dagger
```

L21 6 presents what it is likely to be an agreement by coincidence between Cx 2 and En1. It appears that the rhyme word of the line was reproduced also at the beginning of it in Cx2 --in En1 the words have been shifted.

Besides the peculiarities outlined above, all the line substitutions are changes of non-archetypal lines for archetypal ones.

### 3.2.2 Line Additions

All of the line additions in this set are archetypal, that is, they do not have variants within the line.

PH 246 Cx2 And after whan her swouuyng was a goon

PD 120 Cx2 I wyl haue money, wulle chese anor whete

PD 265 Cx2 Blasphemye of crist manslaughtre 7 waste also

### 3.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no deletions in this set.

### 3.2.3 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 3.3. Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

113 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 44 in PH, 3 in L21, 66 in PD.

17 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 5 in $\mathrm{PH}, 0$ in L21, 12 in PD.
$6 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 1 in $\mathrm{PH}, 0$ in L21, 5 in PD.

Hg against El: 4

El against Hg : 2
$11 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El. These are distributed as 3 in $\mathrm{PH}, 1$ in L21, 7 in PD.

### 3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Of a total of $6 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, four are discussed below. Only one variant has been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 3.3.1: PD 22. This is an agreement of Cx 2 and El against Hg , but is possibly an agreement by coincidence.

### 3.3.1.1 Hg against El

Of the Hg against El variants we find that only one of them --PD 465-- has a variant distribution that does not show a clear archetypal character. Its variant distribution suggests that Cx 2 and Hg agree in a non-archetypal reading.
3.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variants

```
PD 293
PD 293 after PD 294a: Cx1 Cp
PD 293 after PD 294-a: La
Base \(\Phi\) Looke eek , that to the kyng Demetrius
Cx1 Loke eke how the kynge Emetrus
Cx2 Loke eke how to the kynge demetryus
Hg \Phi Looke eek / that to the kyng Demetrius
El $ Looke eekz that the kyng Demetrius
to ] Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1Gg Hg Ht
    not present ] Cx1 El Ha4 La
```

In PD 293 Cx 2 has added the preposition 'to,' a reading also found in Hg and other witnesses -- Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ht.

El, in which the preposition is not present, is supported by Cx1 Ha4 and La. It seems likely that the Cx 2 reading is archetypal and that some manuscripts have omitted it.

| Base But ech of hem, so glad | was of the sighte |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | But ech of theym, so glad | was of that sighte |  |
| Cx2 | But eche of theym | so glad | was of the sighte |
| Hg | But ech of hem, | so glad | was of the sighte |
| El | But ech of hem, | so glad | was of that sigћte | that ] Bo2 Cx1 El Ha4 Ht

In this line Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El in the having 'the' instead of 'that.' The Cx2 reading is supported also by Ad 3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg and La, and it is likely to be archetypal.

```
PD 475
Base And bad hem drawe, and looke wher it wol falle
Cx1 And bad him drawe 7 loke on whom it wold fatt
Cx2 And bad hē drawe 7 loke on whō it wold falle
Hg And bad hem drawe, and looke wher it wol falle
El And bad hym drawe, and looke wher it wol falle
hem ] Ad3 Bo2 Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 Hg La
        hym ] Ch Cx1 El Ht
```

In this line we find a personal pronoun in its oblique form, Cx 2 and Hg have a plural form, while Cx 1 and El have a singular. The Cx 2 reading is found in the majority of the witnesses -- Ad3 Bo2 Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Gg Ha4 and La-- and it is likely to be archetypal. Moreover in the context of the previous and following line the plural makes more sense than a singular.

PD 465

| Base | Therfore I rede, | that cut | amonges | vs alle |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | Wherfore I rede leet loke |  | among | vs alle |  |
| Cx2 | Therfore I rede let | loke |  | amonge | vs alle |
| Hg | Ther fore I rede, | that cut amonges | vs alle |  |  |
| El | Wherfore I rede , | $\mathrm{b}^{\dagger}$ | Cut among | vs alle |  |

Therfore ] Bo2 Cx2 Hg Gg
Wherfore ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Ht La

In PD 465 Cx 2 and Hg agree with Bo 2 and Gg in the reading 'Therfore' while Cx 1 El Ad3 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht and La have 'Wherfore.' Although this variant has no impact in metre or meaning and seems quite difficult to analyse, its distribution seems to point towards the El reading being the archetypal one.

### 3.3.1.2 El against Hg

### 3.3.1.2.1 Likely Agreement below the Archetype

PH 132

| Base | This mayden, to his | purpos | wynne myghte |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | This mayden | to his purpos | wynne he mighte |  |  |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | The mayden | to | his | purpos | wynne he myghte |
| Hg | This mayden , to his purpos | wynne myghte |  |  |  |
| El | The mayden , to his purpos wynne mygnte |  |  |  |  |

This ] Ad3 Cx1 En1 Ha4 Hg The ] Bo2 Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 El Ht La

The variant in PH 132 does not alter the metre of the line. Cx2 and El have the reading 'The,' also supported by Bo 2 Ch Cp Dd Ds 1 Ht and $\mathrm{La} . \mathrm{Hg}$ in this case agrees
with Cx1 in the reading 'This' which is also found in Ad3 En1 and Ha4. It seems interesting that two of the manuscripts that frequently agree with Cx 2 here support the Hg reading instead. Because of this agreement between Ad 3 Ha 4 and Hg -manuscripts that are supposed to represent independent lines of descent from the archetype-- one could think that their reading is the archetypal variant, while the one shared by El and Cx 2 was introduced into the tradition as a later stage.

### 3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of a total of $11 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not-Hg/El variants, six --PH 118, L21 7, PD 42, PD 51, PD 149 and PD 190-- have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 3.3.2. These are likely to be the restult of an agreement by coincidence and offer very little help to establish the affiliations of $\omega$.

### 3.3.2.1 Agreements with Ad3 Ch Ha4 or Ht Likely to Originate below the Archetype

PH 125
Base As she cam forby , ther as this luge stood
Cx1 As she cam forth by there as the luge stood
$\mathrm{Cx2}$ As she cam forth by there the luge stood
Hg As she cam forby , ther as this luge stood
El As she cam forby , ther as this luge stood
as ] Bo2 Ch Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg
not present ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La

Cx2 has suppressed the conjunction 'as' from before 'the luge.' Other witnesses that do not have this conjunction are $\mathrm{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Ht} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{La}$. doubts about this omission being genetic, the fact that both Ad3 and Ha4, often
related to Cx 2 , and Cp and La --c group manuscripts -- support the reading provides grounds to suppose a genetic relationship for the variant.

PH 168
Base And if that he wol seyn , it is nat thus Cx1 Andry that he wil sey it is not thus Cx2 And yf he wyl sey it is not thus Hg And if $\mathrm{p}^{+}$he wol seyn, it is nat thus El And if $b^{+}$he wol seyn, it is nat thus that ] Ad3 Cx1Cp Dd Ds1 El En1 Hg La not present ] Bo2 Ch Cx2 Gg Ha4 Ht

As in PH 125, in PH 168 we have the suppression of a word in Cx2. The witnesses that share the Cx 2 reading are $\mathrm{Bo} 2 \mathrm{Ch} \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{Ht}$, while Hg El and the rest of the collated witnesses have it. The Cx2 variant alters the metre of the line and leaves it wanting one syllable. It is likely that this variant was introduced later and that the origin of the tradition had the line as it appears in Hg and El .

| PD 290 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base | Shal | nat | allye yow | 1 | with hasardours |
| Cx1 | Shal | not | a lye you | to | hasardouris |
| Cx2 | Shal | not | a lye you | to | no hasardouris |
| Hg | Shal | nat | allye yow | / | with hasardours |
| El | Shul | nat | allyen yow | 1 | with hasardours |
| with | ```] Bo2 Ch Cp Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La to ] Cx1 to no ] Ad3 Cx2``` |  |  |  |  |

The addition of the adjective 'no' in Cx2 is in agreement with the Ad3's reading. All the other collated witnesses, with the only exception of Cx1, have the preposition
'with' in this place. Although the variant in Ad3 and Cx2 is non-archetypal, because of the consistent agreements between these two witnesses, we can assume that it is genetic.

PD 470

| Base | And two of | vs , | shal | kepen | subtilly |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | And two | of | vs |  | shal | kepe |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | And two | of | vs |  | shal | kepe ful |
| subtilly |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Hg | And two | of | vs | , shal | kepen | subtilly |
| El | And two of | vs | shul | kepen | subtilly |  |

subtilly ] Ad3 Bo2 Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Hg ful subtilly ] Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 Ht La

In this line we have a clear case of an addition in Cx 2 that makes the line hypermetrical. The variant 'ful subtilly,' replacing 'subtilly,' is found in Ch Cp Dd Ds1 En1 Ht and La. On the other hand, the metrical line, as found in Hg and El , is supported by Ad3 and Ha4, which suggests that this form of the line was probably the one that was found in the archetype.

### 3.3.2.2 Likely Agreement by Coincidence

$$
\text { PD } 360
$$

Base Bothe man and womman, child and hyne and page Cx1 Bothe man ano woman child and page
Cx2 Bothe man 7 woman child hyne and page
Hg Bothe man and womman, child and hyne 7 page
El Bothe man and wōman , child 7 hyne , 7 page
and ] Ad3 Ch Cp Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht
not present ] Bo2 Cx2 Dd

PD 360 presents a very similar case to that of PD 190. What we have here is the suppression of the second conjunction 'and' in a line that has three of them. However, in this case only Bo2 and Dd agree with Cx2 which makes it even more unlikely than in the case of PD190 that the variant might be of genetic origin. This seems a clear case of agreement by coincidence.

## 4. Set 13: The Shipman's tale, Link 24, the Prioress's Tale, Link 25, the Tale of Thopas, Link 28. ${ }^{12}$

### 4.1 Set Summary

Probably the most striking characteristic of this set is the vast amount of agreements between Cx 2 and Ct . Of the eleven variants in which Cx 2 disagrees with Hg and $\mathrm{El}, \mathrm{Ct}$ agrees with Cx 2 in six. Manly and Rickert pointed out that probably Ct was copied from Cx2, an idea which has been confirmed by the results of my research, which shows a large number of agreements between these witnesses, even in variants which are unique to them.

Besides this confirmation, the variants in this set keep pointing in the same direction as previous ones. However, there is one other peculiarity in this set. Ch , a manuscript that is usually in agreement with Cx 2 , does not share any of the Cx2-not$\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, although, on the other hand, in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, Ch is always

[^108]in agreement with Cx 2 . Overall in this set, Ad3 is the manuscript which most consistently agrees with Cx 2 .

### 4.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 4.2.1 Line Substitutions

L28 2a Cx1 For thou so werry makist me L28 3a Cx1 Of thy verry lewdnesse
L28 2 Cx2 For thou qd our hoost makist me
L28 3 Cx2 So wery of thy verry lewdnesse
TT 109-1 Cx1 Or it be fully pryme of the day
TT 109 Cx2 That thou shalt with this lauucegay

### 4.2.2 Line Additions

SH 47 Cx2 In al that hous but after his degree
SH 48 Cx2 He yaf the lord and also his meynee

TT 31 Cx2 Ful many a mayde bright in bour
TT 110 Cx2 Abyen it ful soure / Thy maw
TT 112 Cx2 Shal I perce yf I may
TT 113 Cx2 Or it be fully pryme of day

Of the additions found in this set, there are three that present minor variants.

SH 47
Out: Cx1 Bo2 Re Ph1 Tc2
Base In al that hous but after hir degree
Cx2 In al that hous but after his degree
Hg In al that hous but after hir degree
El In al the hous but after hir degree
that ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd DI Ds1 En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha2
Ha4 Hg Hk La Ma Mc Mm nl Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se To1 the ] El

[^109]SH 47 has an agreement between Cx 2 and Hg against El. Their reading is 'that' which is supported by all of collated witnesses with the only exception of El which has 'the.' It is evident that the scribe made a mistake in El and that the Cx 2 variant is the archetypal one.

SH 48
Base He yaf the lord and sith al his meynee Cx2 He yaf the lord and also his meynee Hg He yaf the lord and sith al his meynee El He yaf the lord and sitthe al his meynee
sith al ] Ad1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd Ds1 El En1En3 Hg Hk La Ma Ps Ry1 Se To1
sithens ] Ad3 Bo1 DI Fi Ha2 Ha4 mm Ry2 Mm Ph2 Ry2
after al ] Gl Mc nl

Here we find the other extreme of the spectrum with a Cx2 reading which is unique and therefore irrelevant for tracing the affiliations of $\omega$.

### 4.2.3 Line Deletions

The following lines found in Cx 1 were deleted from Cx 2 . All the deleted lines are additional lines unlikely to have been present in the ancestor of the tradition.

SH 316-1 Cx1 With her leggis al so brode and so wyde
SH 316-2 Cx1 As of lengthe she may her self stryde
SH 318-1 Cx1 Dan lonn fidelio' on the Ribibil
SH 318-2 Cx1 His mynstralsie is swetter than the quynybil

TT 94-1 Cx1 That he hadr of ony drede

### 4.2.4 Line Misplacements

There are no misplacements in this set.

### 4.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:

102 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 47 in SH, 0 in L24, 28 in PR, 2 in L25, 19 in TT, 6 in L28.

12 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 6 in $\mathrm{SH}, 1$ in L24, 3 in PR, 0 in L25, 2 in TT, 0 in L28.
$8 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with both El and Hg against the other. These are distributed as 2 in $\mathrm{SH}, 1$ in L24, 3 in PR, 0 in L25, 2 in TT, 0 in L28.

Hg against El: 5
El against Hg: 3
$12 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El . These are distributed as 2 in $\mathrm{SH}, 1$ in L24, 7 in PR, 0 in L25, 0 in TT, 2 in L28.

### 4.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

There are a total of eight $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set. Three of these - -L24 8, PR 214, TT 106--, all of them agreements with Hg against El, have been put into the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 4.3.1, where a discussion can also be found.

The variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg are of great interest. Two of these --SH 212 and PR 116-- are agreements in archetypal variants.

### 4.3.1.1 Hg against El

In this group we find that all of the variants shared by Hg and Cx 2 against El are archetypal.

### 4.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements

```
SH }42
Base And for to chide it nere but folye
Cx1 And` forto chide it were but a foly
Cx2 Anor for to chyde it were but foly
Hg And for to chide it nere but folye
El And for to chide it nere but greet folie
folye ] Ad1 Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl
Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk li La ma mc mm nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry2 Se Tc2 To1
    sely ] Ds1
    vilany ] Ry1
    a folye ] Cx1 ne
    hey folye ] DI
    greet folye ] El Ii
```

In SH 428, Cx2 has suppressed the indefinite article found in Cx1. In having the reading 'folye' as Hg does, Cx 2 disagrees with El and a few other manuscripts. The only manuscript that agrees with El is $\mathrm{I}^{13}$ while a couple of other witnesses have other variant readings.

```
PR 27
PR 27...PR 28 out: Ry2
Base And getest vs the light of thy prayere
Cx1 And` getist vs light of thy praiere
Cx2 And getist vs the light of thy prayere
Hg And getestr vs the light of thy prayere
El And getest vs thurgh lyg\hbart of thy prayere
the light of] Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Ct Cx2 Dl Ds1 En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha2
Hg Hk Hl3 Kk Ma Nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Se
    light of ] Cx1 Ha3 He li
    thurgh light ] El
    the light thurgh ] Ha4 Ht La Mc Ra4 Ry1 To1
    to light thurgh ] Cp HI2 Lc Mm
    light of ] ne
```

In PR 27 Cx 2 agrees with Hg and the vast majority of the witnesses. El , on the other hand, has a very peculiar variant in which the word order has been changed and the definite article has been suppressed. The El variant is clearly the result of a scribal mistake and, for this reason it is possible to say that the Cx 2 variant is archetypal.

### 4.3.1.2 El against Hg

Of the three variants of El against Hg in this set, there are two in which Hg has made

[^110]a mistake. These two lines are SH 212 and PR 116, in both cases we find that the Hg reading is acceptable, but the variant distribution indicates that the Hg readings are unlikely to be archetypal.

### 4.3.1.2.1 Archetypal Agreements with El

```
SH }21
Base Vp to hir housbonde is his wyf ygon
Cx1 Vp to her husbonde is s\hbare goon
Cx2 Vp to hir husbonor is this wyf goon
Hg Vp to hir housbonde is his wyf ygon
El Vp to hir housbonde is this wyf ygon
his ] Bw Hg
    this ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 DI El En1
    En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 La Ma Mc Mm le Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2
    Se Tc2 To1
    the ] nl
    she ] Cx1 Ii
```

SH 212 is one of those unusual cases in which Hg has made a mistake and this is only supported by Bw. The vast majority of the witnesses agree with the Cx 2 - El reading 'this.' This variant distribution suggests that this is a mistake in Hg and that the archetypal reading is the one found in Cx 2 El and the vast majority of the witnesses.

PR 116
PR 116 out: Ra4

| Base | That in an | Aleye | at | a priuee | place |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | Right | at | an | aley | at | a pryue | place |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | Right | at | an | aley | had | a pryue | place |
| Hg | That | in | an | Aleye at | a piuee | place |  |
| El | That | in | an | Aleye hadde | a piuee | place |  |

at ] Bo2 Cx1 En2 Gg Ha3 He Hg Ht Kk Re Ph1 Ps hadde ] Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cn Cx2 Cp Ct DI Ds1 En1 El En1 En3 Fi Ha2 Ha4 Hk HI3 La Ma Mc Mm nl Ph2 Ps Ry2 Se To1

```
in ] li LC
waite ] Gl
hath ] Ry1
```

In PR 116 Cx 2 and El agree in the reading 'had.' In the same position, Hg has the preposition 'at.' In this case we can see that most manuscripts, including Ad3 Ch and Ha4, agree with El and Cx 2 against Hg . This variant distribution might be a sign pointing towards this variant as the archetypal one.
4.3.1.2.2 Agreement with Ch and El below the Archetype

TT 192
Base And forth vpon his wey he glood
Cx1 And forth vp on his wey he ryde
Cx2 And forth vpon his wey he rode
Hg And forth vp on his wey he glood
El And forth vpon his wey he rood
glood ] Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Cp En2 Gl Ha4 Hg La Mm Ph1 Ry1 Se To1 rood ] Ad1Ch Cn Cx2 Ds1 DI El En1 En3 Ha2 Ha3 Ii Ma nl
Ry2
ride ] Cx1 ne wold ] [add]rod[/add] Dd

The variant in TT 192 is a very interesting one. It is likely to be not the product of a misunderstanding in the copying process. Instead a scribe might have wilfully altered the lectio difficilior 'glood' to a more common word that probably made better sense to him, 'rode.' Ad3 and Ha 4 are in agreement with Hg against Cx 2 and, of the manuscripts that usually agree with Cx 2 , only Ch supports the Cx 2 reading. It is likely that the variant shared by Cx 2 and El originated below the archetype.

### 4.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

There are a total of twelve Cx2-not- $\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants in this set, of which four --SH 154, L24 8, PR 129, L28 17-- can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 6, 4.3.2. These are all likely to be agreements by coincidence.

The most interesting of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants is PR 193 , where we have a reading that clearly shows the relationship between Cx2 and Ad3.

### 4.3.2.1 Agreements with Ad3 Ch Ha4 and Ct Likely to Originate below the Archetype

| SH 9 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Base Passen | as dooth a | shadwe | vpon | the wal |
| Cx1 Passin | as doth a | shadow | vp on | a wal |
| Cx2 Passyn | as doth a | shadow | on | a walle |
| Hg Passen | as dooth a | shadwe | vp on | the wal |
| El Passen | as dooth a | shadwe | vp on | the wal |
| vpon ] Ad1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cx1 Dd Ds1 El En1 En3 Gl Hg Ma Me Ph1 |  |  |  |  |
| Ry2 Tc2 To1 |  |  |  |  |
| of ] Bo1 |  |  |  |  |
| on ] Ad3 | Cp Cx2 DI F | 4 Hk La | nl Ps | 1 Se |

Cx2 has changed the preposition 'vpon' to 'on,' which alters the metre of the line, a reading in which it agrees with Ad 3 Ha 4 and the $\mathbf{c}$ group manuscripts La and $\mathrm{Cp} . \mathrm{Hg}$ and El seem to have the archetypal reading, which is also the most regular from a metrical perspective, and among the manuscripts that support this we find Ch .

PR 3
Out: Ad3

| Base | For nat | oonly thy | laude | precious |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | For nat | only thy | laude | precious |  |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | For not al | only | thy | laude | precious |
| Hg | For nat | oonly thy | laude | precious |  |

El For noght oonly thy laude p'cious
nat oonly ] Ad2 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Hk HI2 HI3 Ht li Kk La Ma Mc Mm ne nl Ph1 Ph2 Ry1 Ry2 Se Tol
not al only ] C $\dagger$ Cx2
only ] Ra4
nought only ] Ps

PR 68
Base And as he dorste he drow hym ner and ner Cx1 And as he durste he drew hym nere and nere Cx2 And as he durste he drewe ay nere 7 nere Hg And as he dorste he drow hym ner and ner El And as he dorste he drough hym ner and ner hym] Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha3 He Hg Hk HI2 HI3 Ht li Kk La Ma Mc Mm ne nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 Se To1
ay ] C +Cx 2
hem ] Ha4

PR 132
PR 132 after PR 130: DI
Base Biforn this lamb and synge a song al newe Cx1 Beforn this lamb 7 synge a song al newe
Cx2 Beforn this lambe 7 synge a songr ay newe Hg Biforn this lamb and synge a song al newe El Biforn this lamb and synge a song al newe
al ] Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 DI Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Hk HI2 HI3 Ht li Kk Lc Ma Mc Mm Re nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se
ay ] $\mathrm{C}+\mathrm{Cx} 2$

PR 223
Base And gruf he fil al flat vpon the grounde Cx1 And groueling he fyl to the grounde Cx2 And grouelyng plat he fyl to the grounde

```
Hg And gruf he fil al flat vp on the grounde
El And gruf he fil al plat vp on the grounde
flat ] Bo1 Bo2 Gg Hg Kk Ph1 Ph2 Ps
    plat ] Ad3 Ch Cn Cp Ct Cx2 Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Gl Ha2
    Hk HI2 HI3 Ht La Ma Mc Mm nl Ry1 Ry2 Se To1
    a doun ] Ha4
    not present ] Cx1 He Ha3 li Me
```

Lines PR 3, 68, 132 and 223 have a single common characteristic. In all of them we have a variant in Cx2 witnessed by a single other witness: Ct. Manly and Rickert point out that this manuscript is dated March, 1490, which makes it later than the Caxton edition. The nature of the variants and their uniqueness seem to confirm Manly and Rickert's statement that it was "almost certainly copied from Cx2" (1940, 1: 83). Their argument is mainly based on spelling features in the manuscript, and these are not of interest for my research since they do not follow my definition of stemmatically significant variants.

Ct has also the text of NU, but this has not yet been transcribed by the CTP. For this reason it is not possible to confirm Manly and Rickert's statement with certainty at this stage.

PR 193
Base And seyde o deere child I halsen thee
Cx1 And sayde o dere child I halouse the
Cx2 And sayde o dere chyld I coniure the
Hg And seyde o deere child I halsen thee
El And seyde o deere child I halsen thee
halsen ] Bo1 Bo2 Cp DI Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4
Hg Hk Hl2 HI3 Ht li Kk La Lc Ma Mc Mm nl Ph1 Ph2 Ry1 Ry2 Se
coniure ] Ad3 C† Cx2
halouse ] Cx1 Re
haylse ] Ps

Of all the variants in which Cx2 agrees with Ct, PR 193 is probably the most interesting. Here there is another witness in agreement: Ad3. This is important because the Cx 2 variant 'coniure' instead of the Hg one, 'halsen,' cannot be the result of a misunderstanding of the copy text and it confirms, once more, the genetic relationship between Cx2 and Ad3.

PR 125

| Base | And namely ther as thonour of | god shal | sprede |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{Cx1}$ | And namely as the honour of | god shal sprede |  |
| $\mathrm{Cx2}$ | And namely ther the honour of | god shal | sprede |
| Hg | And namely ther as thonour of god shal | sprede |  |
| El | And namely ther thonour of god shal | sprede |  | ther as] Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn DI Ds1 En1 En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Hg Hk Hl3 Ht Kk Ma Ph1 Ph2 Ps Se

as ] Cx1 He le
there] Ad3 Cp Cx2 El En2 Ha4 HI2 Gl La Lc Mc Mm nl Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 there and ] $\mathrm{C} \dagger$
where ] To1
not present ] Ha3 Ii

In PR 125 we have Cx 2 agreeing with $\mathrm{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Ha} 4 \mathrm{Gl} \mathrm{Lc} \mathrm{Mc} \mathrm{Ra4} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{Ry1} \mathrm{in} \mathrm{the} \mathrm{reading}$ 'ther the' instead of the Hg version 'ther as.' Because it is likely that the Hg reading is archetypal, the fact that Ad3 and Ha4 support the Cx2 variant confirms their genetic relationship.

### 4.3.2.2 Variant of Ambiguous Character

L28 20

| Base | That oghte | like yow | as | I | suppose |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 1$ | That oughte | like you | as | I | suppose |
| $\mathrm{C} \times 2$ | That oughte to | lyke you | as | I | suppose |
| Hg | That oghte | like yow | as | I | suppose |
| El | That oghte | liken yow | as | I | suppose |

like yow ] Bw Ch Cp El Fi Ha3 Ha4 Hg La Re Ph1Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To1 to like yow ] Ad1 Bo1 Bo2 Cn Cx2 DI Ds1 En1En3 Gl Ii Ma mm Ph2 Ps

The addition that Cx2 has made to L28 20 is a common one, where given a solitary infinitive, the adverbial particle 'to' is added. In this case, however, the addition makes the line a iambic pentameter. Although the witnesses are divided and it is not possible to tell with certainty which one of the versions is archetypal, Ad3 and Ha4 support the Cx 2 reading once more.

## Chapter VII: VARIANTS

## Single Upper Case Signatures (A to L)

## Chapter Summary

The variants present in the pages with single upper case signatures are different from those in chapters 5 and 6 . Both prose texts are included in this chapter and they confirm Dunn's suggestion that these had not been thoroughly corrected by Caxton (1939, 11-2). Because both prose texts are included in this chapter, the general tendency is towards a low rate of variation. This chapter also includes MO, one of the tales with the highest proportion of line additions and changes in Cx2.

Approximately $63.5 \%$ of the variants in this chapter are Cx2-O variants, a lower percentage than that found in previous chapters. The $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants represent roughly $2.5 \%$ of the total. This suggests that there is an increase in the percentages of $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ and $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ Unique variants. The variant distribution in this chapter is very different in as much as the Cx2-Unique variants have increased to double the usual percentage in previous chapters, here representing $22.5 \%$ of the total variation. Many of these appear to be the result of mistakes made by the compositors and so are not significant concerning the affiliations of the manuscript source. Examples of this can be found in TM 328, TM 333, PA 950 and PA 965.

The sets included in this chapter exhibit a relatively low frequency of agreement between Cx 2 Ad 3 Ch and Ha4, although these manuscripts are still more often in agreement with the variants introduced in Cx2 than are others. The tendency is towards a higher index of agreement between Cx2 Ad3 and Ch than with Ha4.

There is also a general tendency --very marked in set 13b-- these agreements with manuscripts belonging to the a group, especially Cn and Ma. There are also a few agreements with Cp and La , c group manuscripts, but these are very likely to be agreements by coincidence and not necessarily stemmatically significant.

However, a question remains about the affiliations in this part of Cx2. It is difficult to decide if the lower rate of variation could account for the changes in affiliation from Ad3 Ha4 and Ch to agreements with Ma and Cn, or if this could have its origin in a change of affiliation in $\omega$ itself. An alternative interpretation that should not be disregarded is the idea that Caxton could have changed the manuscript he was using to correct his second edition. Any conclusions must also take into account the fact that some manuscripts lack the end of PA and RT.

## 1. Set 13b: The Tale of Melibee, link 29, the Monk's Tale, link 30, The Nun's Priest's Tale and link 31 ${ }^{1}$

### 1.1 Set Summary

This set appears to be the one with the largest number of major changes, especially if we take into account the fact that TM was barely altered in Cx2. One of

[^111]the most evident conclusions that can be drawn from the collation is that the alterations in TM are not stemmatically significant. For instance, two of the fourteen Cx2-not-Hg/El variants --TM 781 and TM 854-- are corrections of compositorial mistakes in Cx1. This also occurs with the Cx2-Unique variant TM 47. Two other of the unique variants --TM 328 and TM 333-- also appear to be compositorial mistakes.

Although some of the readings within the major variants are interesting, many of them only concern words which Cx2 has left out. It is difficult to tell whether these were out in $\omega$ or whether the compositor made a mistake while setting up the text.

A remarkable feature in this set is the very low frequency of agreement between Cx2 Ad3 Ch and Ha4. The general tendency of the set points more towards an affiliation with manuscripts belonging to the a group, especially Cn and Ma.

### 1.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 1.2.1 Line Substitutions

As in previous sets, all line substitutions in set 13 b are replacements of nonarchetypal lines by archetypal ones. There are variants within the line in several of these additional lines. They are discussed below.
mo 6-1 Cx1 many a man ouerthrowen hath she mO 7 Cx2 Late no man truste on blynde prosperyte
mo 54-1 Cx1 That strong worthy and nobil hath be MO $55 \mathrm{Cx} 2 \mathrm{Ha}^{\aleph}$ thou not tolde to wymmen thy secre
mo 60-1 Cx1Of his strength he had neuer pere mo 61a Cx1 And . xx . yeer of ysrael he haor the gouernaunce
mo 61 Cx2 And fully twenty yere by yere
mo 62 Cx 2 Of ysrael he had the gouernaunce
mo 78-1 Cx1Yet neuer lyke to the I fynde
mO 79 Cx2 how mayst thou wepyn wyth thyn eyen blynde
mO 487-1 Cx1Andr to the cyte she hath it sente mo 488 Cx2 And wyth his hede vnto her toun she wente
mO 747-1 Cx1 For this payne no lenger suffre I may MO 748 Cx2 And kyssed his fader and deyde the same day
nP 57a Cx1 Hit was a melodye to here hem synge nP 57 Cx2 But suche a loye it was to here them synge
nP 104a Cx1And of synne and of complexioñ
nP 104 Cx2 And of fume and of complexions
nP 111-1 Cx1And alle as a lape not worth a myte nP 112 Cx2 Of contek and of waspes grete and lyte
nP 126 Cx2 That bothe of coler and of malencolye
nP 138a Cx1For yf ye do I dar ley a grote
nP 138 Cx2 For yf ye doo I dar wel ley a grote
nP 304a Cx1 In his book of the dremes of scipioun nP 304 Cx2 In affryke of the worthy scypyoun
nP 386a Cx1 And comynly often tyme it fallith so
nP 386 Cx2 God wote that worldly ioye is sone a goo
nP 466a Cx1 Certis sire than be ye vnkynor
nP 466 Cx2 how certes I were worse than a fende
nP 536a Cx1 has of ladies maad whenne llion was wonne nP 536 Cx2 has neuer of ladyes made when that llion

The variants within the line substitutions are as follows:
mo 61
mo 61 after mo 60-1: Tc2
Out: Cx1 He Re
Base And fully twenty wynter yeer by yere

| Cx2 | And fully twenty | yere | by yere |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hg | And fully xx | wynter yeer | by ye |
| El | And fully twenty | wynter yeer | by yere |
| twenty wynter ] Ad1 Ad3 Ch Cn Dd Ds 11 El En2 En3 Gg Hg |  |  |  |
| Hn Ln Ma Mc Ra1 Py Pw Se Tc 1 |  |  |  |
| twenty ] Bo1 Bw Cp Cx2 DI Fi Gl Hal Ha2 Ha3 Ht li La |  |  |  |
| Lc mg mm Ph2 Ph3 Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2 To1 |  |  |  |
| Lo ] |  |  |  |

In MO 61 Hg and El read 'twenty wynter' whereas Cx2 has only 'twenty.' The Cx2 reading is supported by the majority of the witnesses. However, almost all these are $\mathbf{c / d}$ witnesses representing a single line of descent, while almost all the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts support the reading with 'wynter'. The absence of the word 'wynter' affects the metre of the line, making it irregular. This agreement of Cx 2 and $\mathbf{c}$ and $\mathbf{d}$ witnesses is likely to be an agreement by coincidence.
mo 62
Out: Cx1 He ne
Base He hadde of Israel the gouernance
Cx2 Of ysrael he had the gouernaunce
Hg He hadde of Israel the gouernance
El He hadde of Israel the gouernaūce
He hadde of Israel ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd Dl Ds1 1
El En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Hg Ht La Lc Ln Ma Mc Mg
mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Ra1 Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
Of Israel he hadde ] Cx2 Ii Tc2
He hadde of Ierlm ] Ha4
He hadde of Ierusalem ] Hk

Here Cx 2 has altered the order of the line as it appears in Hg . Only two manuscripts agree with Cx2 on this: Ii and Tc2, while the rest of the collated witnesses are in
agreement with Hg and El. The agreement of Cx 2 Ii and Tc 2 , since it is not supported by other variants, is likely to be an agreement by coincidence.

```
nP 57
nP 57 after nP 58: Tc2
Out: Cx1 ne
Base But swich a ioye was it to here hem synge
Cx2 But suche a loye it was to here them synge
El And swich a ioye was it to here hem synge
Hg But swich a ioye was it to here hem synge
was it ] Ad3 Ch Cp Ds1 1 El En1 Ha2 Ha4 Hg Ld1 Ma Mm
Ph3 Ry1 SI2
        it was ] Bo1 Cx2 DI En2 Gg Gl Ha3 Ht La Ln Ph2 Pn Py
        Ra3 Ry2 Se SI1 To1 Wy
        as it was ] Bw Cp Ha2 Ph3 Pw Ry1
        was ] Ad1 En3 Ps Se SI2 Tc1
        there was ] He Ii
        Hit was a melody ] Tc2
```

The versions of this line show an alteration in its order from 'was it,' in Hg and El , to 'it was.' The witnesses are divided in these readings, but many of the agreements are likely to be coincidental and, therefore, uninformative from a stemmatic perspective.

```
nP 104
nP }104\mathrm{ after nP 102: Ra3
Out: Cx1 Bo1 Bw Cp La En2 En3 Lc Mg Ph2 Ry2 SI2
Base And ofte of fume and of complexions
Cx2 Andr of fume andr of complexions
El And ofte of fume and of compleccioūs
Hg And ofte of fume and of cōplexions
And ofte ] Ad1 Ad3 Ch Cn Dd Ds1 1El En1 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3
Ha4 He Hg Ht Ld1 Ln ma Mc Mm Ph3 Ps Py Pw Ra3 Ry1 Se
Sl1 Tc1
And ] Cx2 DI Ii Re Pn Tc2 To1 Wy
```

NP 104 is yet another case of a word which is not present in Cx2 making the line one syllable short of the iambic pentameter. The variant distribution does not show any consistent pattern since the omission is found in manuscripts belonging to the $\mathbf{b}$ group such as Ii Ne and Tc2 and also some belonging to the d group --To and Dl. As expected, the later printed editions also agree with Cx 2 .

```
nP 138
nP 138 after nP 152: Gg
Out: Cx1
Base And if it do I dar wel leye a grote
Cx2 For yf ye doo I dar welley a grote
Hg And if it do I dar wel leye a grote
El And if it do I dar wel leye a grote
And ] Bo1 Bw Cn Cp Dd DI Ds1 1 El En1 En2 Gl Ha2 Ha4 He
Hg Ht La Lc Ld1 Ln ma mc mg mm ne Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py
Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2Tc1 To1
    For ] Ad1 Ad3 Ch Cx2 En3 Gg Ha3 li Pn Se Tc2 Wy
it ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd DI Ds1 1 El En1 En2 En3
Ha2 Ha4 He Hg Ht La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm le Ph2 Ph3
Pw Ps Py Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2 To1
    he ] Gg Ha3 Ra3 Se
    ye ] Cx2 Tc2 Pn Wy
    not present ] He Re
        l ] Ii Tc1
```

There are two variants in Cx2 NP 138. The first one is the conjunction 'For' at the beginning of the line, where Hg and El have 'And.' Ha 4 and Ht agree with Hg and El , but Ad3 and Ch support the Cx 2 reading. Although it seems obvious that the Hg variant is more widely distributed among the collated witnesses, there is no way to determine which of the two is archetypal. The second variant is 'ye' in Cx 2 , where Hg El and the vast majority of the witnesses have 'it.'

```
nP 536
nP 536 out: Cx1
Base Was neuere of ladyes maad whan ylioun
Cx2 has neuer of ladyes made when that llion
Hg Was neuere of ladyes maad whan ylioū
El Was neu'e of ladyes maad whan yliou
Was ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd DI Ds1 1 El En1 En2 En3 Gg
Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht Ii La Lc Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm Me Ph3 Pw
Py Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
    nas ] Cx2 Pn Tc2 Wy
    ne ] was Bo1 Ph2
    As ] Gl Ps Ra3
ylioun ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Ch Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 1 El En1 En3 Gg Gl
Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht li Lc Ln Ma Mc Mg Ps Py Ra2 Ra3 SI2 Tc1
    that ylioun ] Bo1 Cn DI En2 Ha2 La Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pn
    Pw Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 To1 Wy
    ylioun was wonne ] ne Tc2
```

The variant in NP 536 does not appear to be very informative. Cx2 has 'has' where Hg and El have 'Was.' The printed editions agree with Cx2, but the only manuscript that supports this reading is Tc 2 . It is interesting, however, that both Bo1 and Ph 2 -group $\mathbf{E}$--have the unabbreviated form 'he was.' There is a second variant on this line: the presence or absence of the word 'that' before 'ylioun.'
mo 690
Base Caught with the lymrod, coloured as the glede
Cx2 Caught wyth the lymerodde colourd as a glede
Hg Caught with the lymrod, coloured as the glede
El Caught with the lymerod , coloured as the gleede
the ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Dd Dl Ds1 1 El En2 En3 Fi
Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Hg Ht li La Lc Ln ma Mc mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw
Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
is the ] Hn
a ] Cx 2

The variant present in Cx2 MO 690 is a singleton and does not provide any information about the affiliations of $\omega$.

### 1.2.2 Line Additions

This set probably has one of the highest concentration of major additions, even though TM does not have any. Three long passages have been added --MO 16-1 to $16-8$, MO 681 to 704 , and L30 4-1 to 5a-- and a whole link, L31 has also been introduced into the text.
mO 16-1 Cx2 Lo Adam in the felde of damascene
MO 16-2 Cx2 Wyth goddes owen fyngre wrought was
mo 16-3 Cx2 And not bygoten of mannes sperme vnclene
mo 16-4 Cx2 And welte al paradys sauyng one tree
mo 16-5 Cx2 Had neuer worldly man so hyghe degree
mo 16-6 Cx2 As Adam, til he for mysgouernaunce
mO 16-7 Cx2 Was dryuen out of his hye prosperyte
mO 16-8 Cx2 To labour and to helle and to myschaunce
mo 681 Cx2 0 noble o worthy petro glorye of spayne
MO 682 Cx 2 Whom fortune held so hye in mageste
MO 683 Cx 2 Wel oughten men thy pyetous deth compleyne
mo 684 Cx 2 Out of thy londe thy brother made the fle
mo 685 Cx2 Andr after at a siege by subtilte
MO 686 Cx2 Thou were betrayed 7 lad vp to his tente
mo 687 Cx2 Where as he wyth his own hond slowe the
mo 688 Cx Succeedyng in thy regne and in thy rente
mO 689 Cx 2 The felde of snowe wyth thegle of black therin
mo 690 Cx2 Caught wyth the lymerodde colourd as a glede
mo 691 Cx 2 He brewe thys cursydnes and al thys synne
MO 692 Cx2 The wyckedr nest was werker of thys nede
mO 693 Cx2 hot charles Olyuer that toke ay hede
mo 694 Cx2 Of trouth and honour, but of armoryke
mo 695 Cx2 Genelon Olyuer corrupte for mede
mO 696 Cx2 Brought thys worthy kynge in suche a bryke
mo 697 Cx2 0 Worthy petro kyng of Cypre also
mo 698 Cx2 That alysaunder wan by hye maystrye
mo 699 Cx2 Ful many an hethen wroughtest thou ful wo mo 700 Cx 2 Of whiche thyn owen lieges had enuye mo 701 Cx2 And for no thyng but for thy chyualrye mO 702 Cx2 They in thy bedde han slayn the by the morowe
MO 703 Cx 2 Thus can fortune wel gouerne anor gye mo 704 Cx2 And out of loye bryng men to sorowe

L30 4-1 Cx2 I seye for me it is a grete disease L30 4-2 Cx2 Where as men haue be in welthe and ease L30 4-3 Cx2 To here of her sodeyn fal allas
L30 4-4 Cx2 Ano the contrarye is loye and solas
L30 4-5 Cx2 As whan a man hath ben in pour estate
L30 4-6 Cx2 And clymbeth vp and wexyth fortunate
L30 4-7 Cx2 And ther abydeth in prosperite
L30 4-8 Cx2 Suche thynge is gladsom as thynketh me L30 4-9 Cx2 And of suche thyng were good for to telle L30 4-10 Cx2 Ye quod our hoost by seynt poulis belle L30 4-11 Cx2 Ye say right soth, this monke clappeth loude L30 4-12 Cx2 He spack how fortune couerd wyth a cloude L30 4-13 Cx2 I wote neuer what, 7 als of a tragedye L30 4-14 Cx2 Right now ye herde , 7 perde no remedye L30 4-15 Cx2 It is for to bewaylen ne compleyne L30 4-16 Cx2 That, that is don , and als it is a peyne L30 4-17 Cx2 As ye have seyd to here of heuynesse L30 4-18 Cx2 Syr monke no more of thys so god you blesse
L30 4-19 Cx2 Your tale anoyeth al thys companye
L30 4-20 Cx2 Suche talkyng is not worth a butterflye L30 5a Cx2 For there in is there no dysport ne game
nP 50-1 Cx2 He fethered her an hundred tyme a day
nP 50-2 Cx2 Anor she hym plesith al that euer she may
L31 1 Cx2 SYr nonnys preest our hoost sayd anon
L31 2 Cx2 Y blessyd be thy breche and euery stoon
L31 3 Cx2 This was a mery tale of chauntecleer
L31 4 Cx2 But by my trouth yf thou were seculer
L31 5 Cx2 Thou woldest ben a tredefoul a right
L31 6 Cx2 For yf thou haue corage । as thou hast myght
L31 7 Cx2 The were nede of hennys as I wene
L31 8 Cx 2 Ye more than seuen tymes seuentene
L31 9 Cx2 See whiche brawnes hath this gentil preest
L31 10 Cx2 So grete a necke and suche a large breest
L31 11 Cx2 He lokyth as a sperhauke wyth his eyen

L31 12 Cx2 Hym nedeth not his colours for to dyen
L31 13 Cx2 Wyth brasil ne with grayn of portyngale
L31 14 Cx2 But sir fayr falle you for your tale
L31 15 Cx2 And after that he with ful mery chere
L31 16 Cx2 Sayd to an other man , as ye shal here

The first major addition in MO is the so-called Adam Stanza. This is not present in Hg and is also missing from $\mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Cx} 1 \mathrm{He} \mathrm{Mc} \mathrm{Ne} \mathrm{Sl2} .\mathrm{Of} \mathrm{these} ,\mathrm{three} \mathrm{--Cp}$ Mc and S12-- have left the space for an amount equal to the length of the stanza and two --Cp and Mc--have indicated that the Adam Stanza should follow. The following witnesses all have the Adam Stanza: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 1 El En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hn Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ry2 Se Sl1 Sl2 Tc1 Tc2 To1. This seems to indicate that even though the lines were not present in Hg , not only were they part of the text of the Canterbury Tales, but were expected by the scribes, who thought the stanza should be included. It is possible that the Hg scribe made a mistake while copying the manuscript and accidentally left them out. Even when hand d wrote Cp, probably an early copy of the Tales, he knew that the text needed to be included. It is remarkable, however, that S12 --another c group manuscript-- also lacks the stanza. Most witnesses belonging to the $\mathbf{b}$ group, such as Cx 1 He and Ne , do not have the stanza. In some witnesses there is evidence that the scribes had a priori knowledge of this part of the text, so that one cannot discard the possibility that many more manuscripts had left the space for the Adam Stanza and later filled this in with a text coming from a different exemplar. In this sense, the data provided by lines MO 16-1 to 16-8 cannot be taken as determinant to establish textual affiliation. Another important feature in
the text of MO is the fact that the alteration in the order of the stanzas in Cx 2 is unique.

The 'Modern Instances' have been placed after MO 640 and before MO 641 -MO ends with line 680 in Cx2, just as it does in Cx1, which means that Cx 2 lines from 705 to 768 . There is no indication of misbinding and, although, the position of the 'Modern Instances' could be the result of a compositorial mistake, alternative explanations should not be discarded:

The change from "bastard brother" in 3568 [MO 684] would seem to have been made in consequence of the reconciliation of the claimants to the throne of Spain... to Henri, the grandson of the bastard Henri of Trastemare.... There has been much discussion of the position of these Modern Instances. The difficulties seem insuperable if we ascribe to Chaucer the placing of the Modern Instances at the end of the tale. All the MSS containing the earlier version of the Pedro of Spain story place the Modern Instances within the tale; all those containing the revised form place them at the end, where they interfere with the close connection between 3956 [MO 680] and the Host's reference to it in 3972 [L30 4-12]. An even more decisive indication that no tragedies should follow 3956 [MO 680] is the formal conclusion of the whole discussion expressed in 3951-56 [MO 675-80]. The solution is perhaps that the Modern Instances belonged to the pre-CT stage of the tale... If later, when he assigned the tale to the Monk, Chaucer omitted them but failed to destroy the two versions, those persons who were trying to bring together and arrange the
parts of the CT may easily have differed as to the proper position for them. (Manly and Rickert 1940, 4: 511)

As explained above, Cx2 places the 'Modern Instances,' not at the end the tale, but after MO 640. Although Manly and Rickert's explanation is of great interest, it does not explain what happened with the text of Hg , which has a different order than the one presented in their edition. According to the analysis presented by Manly and Rickert in the above quotation, it is possible to see that, although Cx 2 has what they consider the revised version of the Peter of Spain stanza, without the reference to the 'bastard brother,' the 'Modern Instances' have been included in the position they consider 'correct' and which does not interrupt the continuity with L30. The possibility of $\omega$ containing the revised version of the Peter of Spain stanza within the tale has to be considered.

The other set of line additions, the ones on L30, are those lines which make the longer version of the link. The short form of L30 has 34 lines and is that found in Hg . El has the long form --54 lines--, which is the same one as in Cx2. The witnesses which have the long form of the link are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Ha2 Ha4 Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mg Mm Nl Ph2 Ph3 Ry1 Ry2 S11 and To1 . It is possible that as suggested by Manly and Rickert (1940, 2: 410 and ff.) the link was rewritten by Chaucer, who changed the name of the character interrupting the tale from Host --in the short version-- to Knight -- in the long one.

The word-variants within the line additions are analysed below.

```
L30 4-2
Base Where as men han been in greet welthe and ese
Cx2 Where as men haue be in welthe and ease
El Where as men han been in greet welthe and ese
```

```
greet welthe] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Dd Dl Ds1 1 El En1
En2 En3 Ha2 Ha4 Ht La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mg nl Ph2 Ph3 Ry1
Ry2 SI1 To1
    welthe ] Cx2 Fi Ii
```

In L30 4-2 Cx2 does not have the adjective 'grete.' Only two other witnesses agree with Cx 2 Fi and Ii in which this is likely to be the result of an agreement by coincidence.

```
L30 4-4
Out: Bo1 En2 Ph2
Base And the contrarie is ioye and greet solas
Cx2 And the contrarye is loye and solas
El And the contrarie is ioye and greet solas
ioye and greet ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Ch Cn Dd El En3 Fi Ha2 Ha4
La Lc Ld ma Mg Ph3 Ry1 Ry2
    ioye and ] Cx2 Ds1 1 En1
    greet ioye and ] DI Ht li Nl SI1 To1
    and greet ] Ln
```

Here Cx2 lacks the word 'grete,' and two witnesses --Ds1 and En1-- agree with this. Other witnesses present the word in a different position before 'ioye,' as in Ht, which in other sets has appeared to be related to $\omega$. The variant in Cx2 might have originated by a compositor's eye skip, but there is no manuscript evidence that would permit us to build a strong case here. The agreement with Ds1 1 and En1 could be an agreement by coincidence.

```
Cx2 Suche thynge is gladsom as thynketh me
El Swich thyngr is gladsom as it thynketh me
as it ] Bw Dd El La Lc Ln ma Mg nl Ph3 Ry1 SI1
    as ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cn Cx2 DI Ds1 1 En1 En3 Fi
    Ha2 Ha4 Ht Ii Ld1 Ph2 Ry2 To1
```

In L30 4-8 we find that Cx2 does not have the pronoun 'it,' which is present in El. Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Ch Cn Cx2 Dl Ds1 1 En1 En3 Fi Ha2 Ha4 Ht Ii Ld1 Ph2 Ry2 and To1 support the reading in Cx 2 . This suppression, however, alters the iambic pentameter and leaves the line one syllable short. It is interesting that $\mathrm{Ad} 3 \mathrm{Ch} \mathrm{Ha4}$ and Ht are all in agreement with Cx 2 , but we cannot be sure that the omission of 'it' is relevant to establish textual affiliations.

```
L30 4-11
Base Ye seye rig\hbart sooth this monk he clappeth lowde
Cx2 Ye say right soth this monke clappeth loude
El Ye seye rig\hbart sooth this monk he clappeth lowde
monk he ] Bw Ch Dd DI Ds1 1 El En1 Ha2 La Lc Ln mg Ph3
Ry1 Ry2
    Monk hath ] Ad1 Cn En3 Ha4 Ld1 Ma To1
    Monk ] Cx2 Fi Ht li Ph2 SI1
    monk clappeth ] Bo1
    he ] nl
```

In L30 4-11, Fi Ht Ii Ph2 and S11 are in agreement with Cx2 in the omission of the personal pronoun 'he' or the verb 'hath.' On this occasion, however, they stand alone against the majority of the collated witnesses, which agree with El.

```
mo 703
Out: Cx1
Base Thus kan Fortune hire wheel gouerne and gye
Cx2 Thus can fortune wel gouerne anor gye
```

Hg Thus kan Fortune hire wheel gouerne and gye
El Thus kan Fortune hir wheel goủne and gye
hire ] Ad1 Ad3 Ch Cn Dd Ds1 1 El En3 Gg Hg Ht Ln Ma Mc Se Tc 1
the ] Hn
not present ] Bo1 Bw Cp Cx2 Dl En2 Fi Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Ii La Lc Mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2 To

In MO 703 Ad1 Ad3 Ch Cn Dd Ds1 1 El En3 Gg Hg Ht Ln Ma Mc Se and Tc1 agree with Hg and El in having the pronoun 'hir,' but Bo1 Bw Cp Cx 2 Dl En 2 Fi Gl Ha 1 Ha2 Ha3 Ii La Lc Mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Ry1 Ry2 S11 S12 and To1 agree with Cx2 and do not have it. Although a small number of witnesses agree with Cx 2 , none of the manuscripts that usually support its variants is among them. It is likely that the agreements on this reading are the result of chance and not an indication of stemmatic relationship.

```
nP 50-1
nP 50-1...nP 50-2
Out: Cx1 El Hg Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cp Gg Ha4 La Ht Ra3 Ad1 DI
En2 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha3 He li Lc Ld1 Mc Mg Mm ne Ph2 Ph3 Ps
Pw Py Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To1
Base He Federyd here a C tymys on a day
Cx2 He fethered her an hundred tyme a day
on a] Cn
    a ] Cx2 En1 Ds1 Ln ma Pn Wy
    in a ] ma
    of the ] Ry1
nP 50-2
Base Andr she hym plesyth att b b eu` she may
Cx2 Anor she hym plesith al that euer she may
```

NP 50-1 and 50-2 are present in a few of the witnesses only. These include Cn Ds1 1
En1 Ma -- a group -- Ry 1 -- d group -- and Ln --group $\mathbf{F}$.
Once more, in NP 50-1 we find the word 'in' not present in Cx2 and present in Cp. In this case it is the preposition 'on,' which, in fact, appears only in Cp. Ma has 'in' instead of 'on,' and Ry1 has 'of.' The rest of the witnesses agree with Cx2, which is not surprising, since they are a group manuscripts. The agreement in the case of Ln could be the result of an agreement by coincidence.

Probably one of the most interesting differences between Cx 2 and Cx 1 , together with the addition of L20, is the addition of L31, a sixteen-line link sometimes referred to as the Nun's Priest's Endlink. This text is present in only 11 witnesses -Ad1 Ch Cn Cx2 Dd Ds1 1 En1 En3 Ma Ry1 and Wy. Wy was probably set from Cx2 and, for this reason, it is not surprising to find that their texts share many variants. Most of the witnesses that include L31 are manuscripts of the a group --En1 Cn Ma. However, the text is also present in Ch , a manuscript, as I have said before, whose text is likely to be genetically related to that of $\omega$. Ry1 probably acquired the text through contamination.

However, L31 is textually less interesting than L20. There are very few variants in the sixteen lines and they are located in L31 2, 12, 14, and 16.
L31 2
Base I blissed be thy breche and euery ston
Cx2
Y blessyd be thy breche and euery stoon
Ad1 I blessid be thi breche and every stoon
Ch
Y blessed be thy breth 7 eưy stoone
Cn
Ddessyd be thy Breche and eury stone
Dd I blissed be thy breche and euery ston
Ds1 I blessed be thi breche and eueri ston
En1 Yblessed be thy breche and eưy stoor?
En3 I blissid be thi breeth and every stoon

```
Ma Blissed be bi breche and eưy stoon
Ry1 I blessid be thy breche and eu'y stoon
Wy Y blessyd be thy breche 7 euery stoon
```

In L31 2 we find the agreement of Cx2 with Ad1 Cn Ds1 1 En1 Ma Ry1 and Wy in the reading 'breche', against 'brethe' in Ch Dd and En3. This reading is likely to have been the one in the archetype of this part of the text.

```
L31 12
Base Him nedeth nat his colour for to dyghen
Ad1 Hym needith nat his colour for to dyen
Ch Hym nedeth nat his colour for to dyen
Cn Hym nedyth not his colour for to dyen
Cx2 Hym nedeth not his colours for to dyen
Dd Hi nedeth nat his colour for to dyg\hbaren
Ds1 Him nedeth nat his colour for to dyen
En1 Hym nedeth nat his color for to dyen
En3 Hym needith nat his colour for to deyen
Ma Hym nedith not his color for to dien
Ry1 Hym nedith nat his colours for to dyen
Wy Hym nedyth not his colours for to dyen
```

L31 12 presents the agreement of Cx 2 with Ry 2 in the plural reading 'colours', against the singular 'colour', which is in Ad1 Ch Cn Dd Ds1 1 En1 En3 Ma.

The variants in L31 14 and 16 are singletons. In line 14, Cx2 reads 'But,' where all the manuscripts have 'low.' In line 16 it replaces 'vnto' with 'to.' These are, of course, not relevant for tracing the affiliations of $\omega$.

The information in these variants is, obviously, too random and unrepresentative to lead to any conclusions. Manly and Rickert's explanation about L31 is not satisfactory:

Though Chaucer often repeats favorite lines, it seems unlikely that he would have represented the Host as speaking thus to the Nun's Priest after having addressed similar remarks to the Monk (B 3131-52)... It is therefore probable that the NP Link, though genuine, was rejected after the words to the Monk were written. This seems to be supported by the fact that the Host's words to the Priest after the tale suggest a different type of person from that suggested by his words in the Mk-NP Link (B 4000-10) -- a bit surely written after MkT was inserted in CT. Only the a ancestor failed to note the cancellation of the rejected lines (1940, 4: 517).

Manly and Rickert's statement fails to explain how the link came to be in Ch , a manuscript that has a descent that is independent of the a hyparchetype, and in Ry2 and Cx2, which they do not classify as belonging to the a group. In this way we find that there are three witnesses in total for which we lack a proper account of the reasons why they have included L 31 . The consistent agreement between Cx 2 and Ch and a theory of their genetic relationship could explain at least part of this puzzle.

### 1.2.3 Line Deletions

Tm 241Cx1 of what rote is engen-dryor the mater of thy counceyt And what fruyt it may concerne 7 engendryñ .

Tm 249 Cx1 And yf that thou be in doubte whether thou may p-forme hyt or not , Chese rather to suffre than to begynne.

Tm 874-r Cx1 And yet shal he not hooly besye hym in kepyng of his goodr name ।

The deletions from TM have not been replaced by anything in Cx2. From this one could assume that they could be accidental omissions, i.e. eyeskip, or have been removed from the page for composition purposes, for example, if the text did not fit the space on the page, part of it might have been suppressed by the compositor in order to fit the text into the page.

### 1.2.4 Line Misplacements

Cx2 presents several changes in the order of the stanzas in MO.

> mo 635 Cx1 That of this story writen word and ende mo 636 Cx1 How that thyse conquerours two
> mo 637 Cx1 Fortune was first frend 7 sithen foo mo 638 Cx1 noman truste vp on his fauour longe IF 314 ll
> mo $639 \mathrm{Cx1}$ But haue here in a wayte for euermo mo $640 \mathrm{Cx1}$ Witnes on alle the conquerours stronge mo $641 \mathrm{Cx1}$ THe riche Cresus whilom kyng of lyde mo $642 \mathrm{Cx1}$ Of whiche Cresus Citrins sore hym drad
mo 701 Cx2 And for no thyng but for thy chyualrye mO 702 Cx 2 They in thy bedde han slayn the by the morowe
mo 703 Cx2 Thus can fortune wel gouerne and gye
mo 704 Cx 2 And out of loye bryng men to sorowe
mo 641 Cx2 The riche cresus whylom kyng of lyde
mo 642 Cx2 Of whiche cresus, cirus sore hym dradde
mo 643 Cx 2 Yet was he caught amyd al his pryde mo 644 Cx2 And to brenne men to the fyre hym ladde

There is a single misplacement in this set. This is the only instance in which a major misplacement, lines Cx2 641 to Cx2 680 --moved after Cx2 704--, from Cx1 to Cx2 does not follow the line order of the most important manuscripts. This change in line order occurs in a single page and seems to indicate that it is possible that the change in the order of the stanzas was in $\omega$. The text of Cx1 stops at MO 680, so it is also possible that the extra text was introduced in a place that either Caxton or his compositors considered appropriate.

### 1.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
178 Cx2-O variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 14 in TM, 7 in L29, 71 in MO, 9 in L30, 77 in NP.

34 Cx2-Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 16 in TM, 0 in L29, 14 in MO, 1 in L30, 3 in NP.
$6 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 0 TM, 0 in L29, 2 in MO, 0 in L30, 4 in NP.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:
Hg against El: 4
El against Hg : 2
$30 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El . These are distributed as $5 \mathrm{TM}, 0$ in L29, 9 in MO, 0 in L30, 16 in NP.

### 1.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

These variants show, once more, that when Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , it usually does so in variants that are archetypal. The agreements of Cx 2 and El , on the other hand, are definitely non-archetypal readings.

### 1.3.1.1 Hg against El

### 1.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Agreements with Hg

There are four variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El. All of these seem to be archetypal. Only one of them --NP 362-- presents a reading that is not supported by Ad3 or Ch, the witnesses that most commonly agree with Cx2 .

```
mO }63
Base Fortune was first freend and siththe a foo
Cx1 Fortune was first frend }7\mathrm{ sithen foo
Cx2 Fortune was first a frende 7 sythen a foo
Hg Fortune was first freend and siththe a foo
El Fortune was first freend and sitthe foo
a ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd Ds1 1 En2 En3 Gg Gl Lc
Ln Ma Mg Mm Ph3 Pw Ry2 SI2 Tc2 To1
    not present ] Cx1 DI El Fi Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hn Ht li
    La
```

There are two very similar variants in MO 637. Cx 2 has added two indefinite articles. Cx 2 is in agreement with Hg against El in the addition before 'foo'. Most of the collated witnesses also agree with Cx2, including Ad3 and Ch, indicating that this variant is likely to be archetypal. However, El is supported by Ht and Ha 4 .

```
MP 111
Base Of rede bestes that they wol hem byte
Cx1 Of grete bestes that wole hem byte
Cx2 Of rede bestes that wol hem byte
Hg Of rede bestes that they wol hem byte
El Of grete beestes that they wol hem byte
rede ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx2 Dd DI Ds1 1 En1 En2
En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht li La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Mg
mm Ph2 Ph3 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1
Wy
grete ] Cx1 El Me Tc2
```

Cx 2 agrees with Hg and the vast majority of the witnesses in the reading 'rede' against the reading of Cx1 Ne Tc2 --b group-- and El. Once more, the reading in Cx2 is archetypal, while the one in Cx 1 is clearly related to the $\mathbf{b}$ group.

```
nP 362
Base And chukketh whan he hath a corn yfounde
Cx1 Ay he chuckid' whenne he hadde a corn}y found
Cx2 Anor chuckyd whan he had a corn y founde
Hg And chukketh whan he hath a corn yfounde
El He chukketh whan he hath a corn yfounde
And ] Cn Cx2 Dd Ds1 1 En1 Gl Ha4 Hg Ld1 Ln Ma Pn Ps Py
Ra3 Wy
He ] Ad1 Ad3 Ch El En3 Gg Ha3 He Ii Se
Ay ] Bo1 Bw Cp Dl En2 Ha2 Ht La Lc Mc Mg Mm Ph2
Ph3 Pw Ra1 Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 SI2 To1
Ay he ] Cx1 Me Tc2
Hey ] SI1
```

The reading of Cx1, 'Ay he,' has been replaced in Cx2 with 'And.' Hg Ha4 Ra3 Cn Dd Ds1 1 En1 Gl Ld1 Ln Ma Pn Ps Py and Wy support the Cx2 reading. The Cx1 reading is the one also found in Ne and Tc 2 , that is, a $\mathbf{b}$ group reading. El, on the other hand, has 'He' instead of 'And.' The El reading is supported by manuscripts that
are usually in agreement with Cx 2 , such as Ad 3 and Ch , a fact to be taken into account in the final assessment of this variant. It is likely, however, that the Hg reading is archetypal.

```
nP 584
Base The hope and pryde eek of hire enemy
Cx1 The hope and the pryde of her enuy
Cx2 The hope and the pryde eke of her enemye
Hg The hope and pryde eek of hire enemy
El The hope and pryde of hir enemy
pride eke] Ad1 Ad3 Ch Cn Cx2 Dd Ds1 1En1 En3 Gl Ha2 Ha3
Ha4 He Hg li Ln ma Mc mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Ra3 Ry1
    eke pride ] Bw Ha2 Ht Lc Mc Mm Ph3 Pw
    eke the pride ] Cp La Ph2 Pn Ps Se Tc1 To1
    pride ] Bo1 Cx1 El Re Tc2 Wy
    eke for pride ] Dl
    pride and eke ] Py
    eke ] Ra2 Ry2
```

In NP 584, Cx2 agrees with Hg against El in having the reading 'pride eke' instead of just 'eke.' In this, they are supported by the majority of the manuscripts, including Ad 3 Ch and Ra 3 . The El reading, on the other hand, is supported only by Bo 1 Cx 1 Ne Tc 2 and Wy . The suppression of 'eke' in El alters the metre of the line and breaks the pattern of the iambic pentameter.

### 1.3.1.2 El against Hg

In both MO 304 and NP 494 we find that Cx2 and El agree against the vast majority of the witnesses. Not even Gg , which in sets 1 and 6 often supports the $\mathrm{Cx} 2 / \mathrm{El}$ agreements, shares these readings. This raises questions wo whether they are
the result of agreement by coincidence or if there is trace of a genetic relationship between the witnesses.
1.3.1.2.1 Agreements with El below the Archetype

```
mO 304
Base Was noon thogh al this world men sholde seke
Cx1 Was non thoug\hbar al this worlde men shuld seche
Cx2 Was none though al this world men wolde seke
Hg Was noon thogh al this world men sholde seke
El Was noon thoug\hbar al this world men wolde seke
sholde ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dd DI Ds1 1 En2
En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 He Hg li La Lc Ma Mc Mg Mm ne
Ph2 Ph3 Pw Py1 Py2 Se SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To1
    wolde ] Cx2 El
        not present ] Ha4 Hn Ht SI1
```

In MO 304, Cx2 agrees with El in the reading 'wolde.' No other witness supports this reading. Instead, the vast majority of the witnesses have the Hg reading 'sholde.' Only Cx 2 and El agree in this reading, so we may assume that this is an agreement by coincidence, since it would have been very easy for a scribe or compositor to change 'sholde' into 'wolde.'

```
nP 494
Base For a preestes sone yaf hym a knok
Cx1 For a prestis sone yaf hym a knok
Cx2 For that a preestes sone yaf hym a knok
Hg For a preestes sone yaf hym a knokr
El For that a preestes sone yaf hym a knokr
For ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cp Cx1 En2 En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3
Ha4 He Hg Ht li La Lc Mc Mg Mm ne Ph2 Ph3 Pn Py Pw Ra2
Ra3 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2Tc1 Tc2 To1
```

```
That for ] Cn Dd Ds1 En1 Ln Ma Ps Ry1
And fore ] Dl
For that ] Cx2 El Wy
```

As in MO 304, in NP 494 Cx2 agrees with El against the majority of the other witnesses. In this case, Wy also agrees with Cx 2 , but this is of no importance since Wy was partially based on an off-print of Cx2 and for this reason shares many of its variants. The addition in Cx2 gives an extra syllable to the line and cancels the iambic pentameter by altering the structure the line's structure. Probably the word 'that' was not present in the archetype.

### 1.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of a total of $30 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, 21 are either non-stemmatically significant because either they are the product of agreement by coincidence -- TM 467, TM 665, MO 108, TM 792, TM 835, MO 49, MO 64, MO 133, MO 325, L30 6, NP 12, NP 32, NP 103, NP 347, NP 600 and NP 626-- or because they are agreements of Cx2 with later printed editions --as in lines NP 53, NP 140, NP 256, NP 375 and NP 107a, for example. All of these can be found in the electronic appendix d, chapter 7, 1.3.2.

The remaining nine variants could be of importance in tracing the affiliations of $\omega$ and, for this reason, are analysed below.
1.3.2.1 Agreements below the Archetype with $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ Witnesses

Tm 267
Base yow by oure conseillours that we
Cx1 yow be our counceyllours that we

```
    Cx2 yow be your counceyllours that we
    Hg yow by oure conseillours p b we
    El yow by oure conseillours that we
oure ] Ad3 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dd Dl Ds1 1 Gg El En1 Fi Gl Hg
Ha2 Ha4 li La Ma Se Tc1
        youre ] Ad1 Cx2 En3 Hk Mc Me To1
        not present ] nl
```

The variant in TM 267 is very interesting. Cx2 has the reading 'youre,' supported by Ad1 En3 Hk Mc Ne and To1, while $\mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{El} \mathrm{Cx1} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{all} \mathrm{the} \mathrm{other} \mathrm{witnesses} \mathrm{--with} \mathrm{the}$ exception of Nl-- have 'oure.' Ad1 and En3 belong to Robinson's $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ group, which could indicate a genetic affiliation. However, Tc1 and Ad3 also belong to $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ and both of them agree with the Hg reading.

```
mo 567
mo 567 out: Hn
Base For thogh I write or tolde yow euere mo
Cx1 For thoug\hbar I wrrote or tolde you euyr mo
Cx2 For though I wrote and tolde you euyr mo
Hg For thogh I write or tolde yow euere mo
El For though I write or tolde yow eu`emo
or ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Dd El En2 Gg Gl He Hg La le SI2 Tc2
    and ] Ad1 Bo1 Bw Cn Cx2 Dl Ds1 1 En3 Fi Ha1 Ha2
        Ha3 Ht li Lc Ln ma mc mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Ra1 Ry1
        Ry2 Se SI1 To1
```

In MO 567, Cx2 has replaced the conjunction 'or' with 'and,' which seems to make better sense in the context of this line. The fact that something makes better sense, however, is no indication that this is archetypal and, since none of the $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts is in agreement with Cx2, one can assume that 'or' is probably the archetypal reading.

```
nP 14
Base Of poynaunt sawce hir neded neuer a deel
Cx1 Of poynaunt sawce nedith her neuer a deel
Cx2 Of poynaunt sawce ne knewe s\hbare neuer adeel
Hg Of poynaūt sawce hir neded neư a deel
El Of poynaunt Sauce hir neded neư a deel
sawce ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Dl Ds1 1 El En1 En3
Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht li La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm ne
Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To1
sawce ne] Cx2 me Pn Wy
hir neded ] Ad1 Ad3 Bw Ch Cp DI Ds1 1 El Ha2 Ha4 Hg Ht La
Lc Mc Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Py Ry2 Tc1 To1
    she neded ] Bo1 Ha3 li SI2
    she nedith ] He
    knewe she ] Cn Cx2 En1 En3 Ln Ma Me Pn Wy
    nedith hir ] Cx1 ne
    hir nedith ] Gl Ld1 Mg Ps Ra3 Se SI1
    hir nedis ] Ry1
    nedith she ] Tc2
```

There are two variants in NP 14, one is the addition of the adverb 'ne' and the other the substitution of Cx1's 'nedith her' with 'knewe she.' The addition of 'ne' is supported by Me and the two printed editions. The reading 'knewe she' is found in Cn Ds1 1 En1 Ln Ma Me Pn and Wy. These two variants have the common element of Cx2 being supported by Me --as in NP 273. Although Me is a very short fragment, it has peculiarities that make it interesting. Concerning Me, Manly and Rickert comment: "Textually very close to Dd. But several small variants show that it was not the ancestor of the a group or any member of it" (1940, 1: 362). They date this fragment to the same time as Hg and El , between 1400 and 1410 (1940, 2: 46-7). It is interesting that in the variants above, Dd disagrees with Cx 2 and Me .
1.3.2.2 Agreements below the Archetype with Ha4 or a Group Witnesses

MO 677

| Base | But that Fortune | alwey wole assaille |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Cx1 | For | that fortune | alday wol assaylle |
| Cx2 | But for that fortune | alday wyl assaylle |  |
| Hg | But | $\mathrm{p}^{+}$Fortune | alwey wole assaille |
| El | But | that Fortune | alwey wole assaille |

But ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cp DI Ds1 1 El En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Hg Ht La Lc Mc Mg Mm Ph2 Ph3 Pw Ra1 Ry1 Ry2 SI1 SI2 Tc1 To1

For ] Cx1 He li he Tc2
But for ] Cx2 Cn Dd Gg Ha4 Hn Ln Ma Se

In MO 677, Cx2 has 'But for' at the beginning of the line, where Hg has 'But.' A few witnesses support the Cx2 reading: Cn Dd Gg Ha4 Hn Ln Ma and Se. This is the only reading in the minor variants in this set in which Cx 2 is in agreement with Ha4 but, surprisingly, neither Ad3 nor Ch support this reading.


And ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cp Cx1 DI El En3 Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3
Ha4 He Hg Ht li La Lc Ld1 Mg Mm Me Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc2 To1

And eke ] Cn Cx2 Ds 11 Dd En 1 Ln Ma Me Pn Wy

Here we again find the agreement of Cx 2 manuscripts of the a group, Pn Wy and Me : the addition of 'eke' after 'And.' This addition alters the metre of the line and could have been purposely inserted to make the line regular. It might explain why this reading is found in certain manuscripts and not in others.

```
nP }35
Base And trad as ofte er it was pryme
Cx1 And trade as ofte or it was pryme
Cx2 And trade her eke as ofte or it was pryme
Hg And trad as ofte er it was pryme
El And trad as ofte er it was pryme
trad ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cp Cx1 DI El En2 En3 Gg Gl Ha2
Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 mc Mg Mm ne Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw
Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To1
    trad als ] Mm Ps
    trad hire eke ] Cn Cx2 Dd Ds1 1 En1 Ln Ma Pn Wy
    trade hire ] li La
```

As in previous NP lines, we find here that there is an addition in Cx2 --'her eke'--, supported by manuscripts belonging to the a group, as well as Pn and Wy . Once more, the addition alters the metre of the line and makes this hypermetrical, but the consistent agreement of Cx2 and the a group in NP could be sign of a genetic relationship.

### 1.3.2.3 Agreements below the Archetype with Ch

```
nP 506
Base Is in youre court and many a losengeour
Cx1 Is in your court and meny a fals losingour
```



The variant in NP 506 is not a particularly evident one, but for the purposes of this research is of great importance because it involves a nonsensical reading present both in Cx2 and Ch. Both witnesses repeat the preposition 'In' at the beginning of the line. Even if this is an easy mistake to make and that the possibility of it arising independently in both witnesses remains possible, the fact that Ch and Cx 2 have a very consistent history of agreements makes it of great importance and of likely genetic origin.
1.3.2.4 Variants of Ambiguous Character (Agreements with Ht)


The addition of the word 'yet' makes the line hypermetrical and, because of its variant distribution, one may more or less safely assume that it was not present in the archetype. None of the witnesses which usually agree with Cx 2 supports its reading in MO 576. However, Ht is in agreement here, and, if proven consistent, could be an indication of a genetic relationship.

```
mo 637
Base Fortune was first freend and siththe a foo
Cx1 Fortune was first frend 7 sithen foo
Cx2 Fortune was first a frende 7 sythen a foo
Hg Fortune was first freend and siththe a foo
El Fortune was first freend and sitthe foo
freend ] Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cp Cx1 Dd Dl Ds1 El En2 En3
Gg Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hn li La Lc Ln Mc Mg Mm Me Ph2
Ph3 Pw Ra1 Ry2 Se SI1 SI2 Tc1 Tc2 To1
    a freend] Cx2 Ht
```

There are two variants in MO 637, and they are both very similar. Cx2 has added two indefinite articles. In the first case, when the article has been added before 'frende,' and Ht agrees with Cx 2 . In the second case, the addition of 'a' before 'foo,' the agreement is with Hg against El .

## 2. Set 14: Link 36 and the Manciple's Tale ${ }^{2}$

### 2.1 Set Summary

Set 14 is relatively short, but even so, the amount of variation, stated as a percentage, is low. There are only two major additions which have no variants within them.

The minor variants are unusual in so far as in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$, in three out of three instances Cx 2 agrees with the $\mathbf{c}$ group manuscripts La and Cp .

### 2.2 Analysis of Variant Lines

### 2.2.1 Line Substitutions

There are no line substitutions in this set.

### 2.2.2 Line Additions

The only addition in this set fills a gap left in Cx1, where the line was not included.
mA 212 Cx2 But as I sayd I am not textuel

### 2.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no line deletions in this set.

### 2.2.3 Line Misplacements

[^112]There are no misplacements in this set.

### 2.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$30 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 9 in L36, 21 in MA.

7 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 3 in L36, 4 in MA.
$2 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. These are distributed as 0 in L36, 2 in MA.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:
Hg against El: 2
El against Hg : 0
$3 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El . These are distributed as 2 in L36, 1 in MA.

### 2.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

In this group of variants we find two variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El , while there are no instances of agreements of Cx 2 and El against Hg . Of these two variants, MA 147 is an archetypal reading shared by Cx2 and Hg. MA 162, is a more difficult case, and it is difficult to determine the nature of its reading.

### 2.3.1.1 Hg against El

### 2.3.1.1.1 Archetypal Variant

MA 147
Base For al thy song and al thy mynstralcye Cx1 For al thy song and thy mynstralcye Cx2 For al thy song and al thy mynstralcye Hg For al thy song and al thy Mynstralcye El For al thy songr and thy Mynstralcye
and al ] Ad3 Ch Cp Cx2 Ds1 En1 Hg Ht La and ] Bo2 Cx1 El Gg Ha4 Ra3

Here Hg and Cx 2 agree in having the adjective 'al', which is not present in Cx 1 and El. Ad3 Ch Cp Ds1 1 En1 Ht and La agree with Cx2, while Gg El Ha4 and Ra3 agree with Cx1. The Cx2 version of the line is metrically regular, while the El version is one syllable short of an iambic pentameter.
2.3.1.1.2 Variant of Ambiguous Character

MA 162
Base This is theffect ther nys namoore to sayn
Cx1 This is the effect ther is nomore to sayn
Cx2 This is the effect ther nys namoore to sayn
Hg This is theffect ther nys namoore to sayn
El This is theffectr ther is namoore to sayn
nys ] Ad3 Bo2 Cx2 Hg
is ] Ch Cx1 Ds 1 El En 1 Gg Ha 4 Ht Ra 3

In MA 162 Cx 2 has the reading 'nys' as does Hg . This reading is supported by Ad3 and Bo2. The rest of the witnesses have 'is' as does El. In this case it is not possible to
decide which reading was present in the archetype, since they only differ in creating a double negative. None of these alters the meaning or metre of the line.

### 2.3.1.2 El against Hg

$$
\text { There are no variants in which } \mathrm{Cx} 2 \text { agrees with } \mathrm{El} \text { against } \mathrm{Hg} \text { in this set. }
$$

### 2.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of a total of 3 variants Ad3 and Cx2 are in agreement twice. Ch and Ht agree with Cx 2 only once. These agreements might seem to be few, but this is due to the length of the set and the amount of variation found on it.

None of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants is remarkable, these variants are meaningful in the context of the overall agreements of Cx 2 with other witnesses.
2.3.2.1 Agreement with Ad3 and Ht below the Archetype

```
L36 39
Base Thy cursed breeth / infecte wol vs alle
Cx1 Thy cursio bret\hbar enfectith vs alle
Cx2 Thy cursyor breth wyl enfecte vs alle
Hg Thy cursed breeth, infecte wol vs alle
El Thy cursed breet\hbar, infecte wole vs alle
infecte wol] Ch Ds1 El Ha4 Hg Se
    wol infecte ] Ad3 Cp Cx2 Ht La Ra3
    enfectith ] Cx1
```

L36 39 presents an alteration in word order in which Cx2 reads 'wyl enfecte' while Hg and El have 'infecte wol.' The majority of the collated witnesses --including Ad3 and $\mathrm{Ht}-\mathrm{agrees}$ with Cx 2 . Ch and Ha 4 support the Hg reading.

### 2.3.2.2 Variants of Ambiguous Character

```
L36 90
Base And whan he hadde, powped in this horn
Cx1 And` when he hadde poupid` in this horn
Cx2 And when he hadr poupyd in his horn
Hg And whan he hadde / powped in this horn
El And whan he hadde, pouped in this horn
this ] Ad3 Ch Cx1 El Hg Se
    his ] Cp Cx2 Ds1 En1 Ha4 Ht La
    the ] Ra3
```

In L36 90 Cx 2 has the possessive 'his' instead of 'this,' which is the Hg and El reading. On this occasion, Cx 2 agrees with Ht Ha 4 and the $\mathbf{c}$ group manuscripts Cp and La , while Ad 3 and Ch support the Hg reading. Again, the nature of this variant and the fact that it does not alter the metre of the line make it very difficult to judge which belongs to the archetype and which is derivative.

MA 39
Base Saue oonly, that the sothe, if I shal sayn
Cx1 Saue only the soth yf I shal sayn
Cx2 Saue only yf the soth yf I shal sayn
Hg Saue oonly, that the sothe, if I shal sayn
El Saue oonly, the sothe that I shal sayn
that ] Hg
if ] Bo2 Cx2 Cp Ds 11 Ha4 La
this is ] Ch
not present ] Ad3 Cx1 El Gg Ht Ra3

In MA 39, Cx2 has added the conjunction 'if' before 'the sothe.' In the same position Hg has 'that' while El has neither of these. Both the El and the Hg versions of the line are metrically equivalent. The Cx2 version, supported by Cp Ds1 1 En1 Ha4 and La, is one syllable too short. Neither Ch nor Ad3 agrees with Cx2. In fact, they do not agree with Hg either. The variant distribution is not easy to interpret because the available data is too limited.

## 3. Set 15: Link 37, the Parson's Tale and the Retraction ${ }^{3}$

### 3.1 Set Summary

The data for this set shows a very low rate of variation. The set comprises more than a thousand lines of PA, which is highly unusual and indicates that the tale was not corrected. This is consistent with TM and with Dunn's observations about the treatment of the prose by Caxton (1939, 11-2).

In PA we find other unusual characteristics, for example, of the nine $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, at least three --PA 190, 308 and 969-- are the result of the correction of an obvious mistake in Cx1. Both PA 190 and 969 had presented repeated words in Cx1, one of which was suppressed in Cx 2 . These corrections did not require a manuscript; they are changes that could be made without any external reference. One of the Cx2Unique variants, in PA 531, is also the result of one such correction of Cx1. Of a total of 34 Cx 2 -unique variants, nine are compositorial mistakes in Cx2 --PA 58, PA 80,

[^113]PA 316, PA 404, PA 422, PA 539, PA 937, PA 950 and PA 965. This indicates that, of thirty-four variants, ten did not require an external source to be introduced.

In this set, we find that there are a total of $1 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants and $6 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. However, all the latter are likely to be the results of agreements by coincidence.

## 3. 2.Analysis of Variant Lines

### 3.2.1 Line Substitutions

There are no line substitutions in this set.

### 3.2.2 Line Additions

There is one line addition in this set. In RT at the end of 1008, the ending of the line was added in Cx 2 .

```
RT 1008
Base defaute of myn vnkonnynge and nat
Cx1 defaute of myn vnconnyng
Cx2 faute of myn vnconnyng 7 not
En1 defaute of mylr vnkonnyng and nat
Ha4 defaute of my vncōnȳgr and no\
Ht defaute of myñ vnkōnyng 7 not
La defaute of myn vnkonynge : 7 n[sp]xxx[/sp]
Base to my wyl that wolde ful fayn haue seyd
Cx1
Cx2 to my wyl/ that Wold fayn haue sayd
En1 to my witt, pat wold fayr haue seid
Ha4 to my wille patr wolde fayn haue sayd
```



This is the only major change made to the prose in Cx2. Concerning this and the other variant found in RT, Dunn reports:

Caxton, like any other medieval reader, would have been impressed by Chaucer's retraction, and probably had already made the correction in the margin of the copy of $\mathrm{Cx}^{1}$ from which he printed... At any rate, this restoration does not enable one to single out a manuscript source for it, and this passage does not indicate that any other of the prose was collated with the new manuscript. $(1939,11)$

The fact that Caxton actively corrected RT when the rest of the prose was set up directly from Cx1 is remarkable. It suggests that Caxton gave great importance to this part of the text and that he thought it needed to be accurate, perhaps because here Chaucer addresses the reader directly.

### 3.2.3 Line Deletions

There are no line deletions in this set.

### 3.2.3 Line Misplacements

There are no line misplacements in this set.

### 3.3 Analysis of Word Additions, Deletions and Substitutions

The variant distribution for this group is as follows:
$17 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants, which confirm the excellence of $\omega$. These are distributed as 7 in L37, 9 in PA, 1 in RT.

39 Cx 2 -Unique variants, which are unique to Cx 2 in the current collation. These are distributed as 4 in L37, 35 in PA, 0 in RT.
$1 \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variant, in which Cx 2 agrees with El or Hg against the other. This is in PA.

The distribution of the agreements by manuscript is as follows:
Hg against El: 1
El against Hg : 0
$5 \mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, in which Cx 2 agrees with another manuscript against both Hg and El. These are distributed as 0 in L37, 5 in PA, 0 in RT.

### 3.3.1 Cx2-Hg/El Variants

Only one $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variant can be found in this set, bearing out the earlier the statement that no corrections had been made to the prose texts.

### 3.3.1.1 Hg against El

The only variant in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El can be found in PA 294.
3.3.1.1.1 Variant of Ambiguous Character

```
PA 294
Base $ Dedly synne / as seith Seynt Augustyn is । whan
man
Cx1 Dedely synne as saith saint Austyn is whan a man
Cx2 Dedely synne as sayth saynt Austyn is whan man
Hg $ Dedly synne / as seith Seyntr Augustyn is / whan man
El $ Deedly synne । as seith seint Augustyn / is whan a man,
man ] Cx2 Ha4 Ht Hg
a man ] Cx1 El Ds1 1 En1 Gg
not present ] La
```

The variant in PA 294 is the suppression of the indefinite article before 'man' in Cx2. The article is not present in Hg Ha 4 and Ht . The Cx 1 variant is supported by El Ds1 1 En1 and Gg. The variant slightly changes the meaning of the sentence, and the version in Cx 2 presents a text that appears to refer to humanity in a general way. The version in Cx 1 and El , however, suggests that a specific example is being referred to. The text of PA has examples of both uses, so that style is not helpful to determine which version is archetypal. In fact, to add or suppress an indefinite article is so common that the variant is likely to be the result of an agreement by coincidence.

### 3.3.1.2 El against Hg

There are no variants in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg in this set.

### 3.3.2 Cx2-not-Hg/El Variants

Of the five $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants three are suppressions of words that were present in Cx1 --PA 214, 369 and 305-- while the other two are an addition and an alteration in word order. The distribution of these variants is so random that they are probably the result of agreements by coincidence. Since there are so few variants in this set, I have retained them as proof of the low rate of correction in PA.
3.3.2.1 Likely Agreements by Coincidence

```
PA 214
Base $ nazarenus, is as muche for to seye
Cx1 nazarenus is as moche for to saye
Cx2 nazarenus is as muche to saye
Hg ¢ Mazarenus / is as muche for to seye
El Mazarenus, is as muche for to seye
for to] Cx1 Ds1 1 El Hg
to ] Cp Cx2 Ha4 Ht La
PA 269
Base and ones stooned almoost to the deth ,
Cx1 and ones stoned al-most to the deth ,
Cx2 anor ones stoned almost to deth ,
Hg 7 ones stooned almoost to the deth ,
El and ones stoned almoost to the deeth /,
the ] Cx1 Ds1 1 El En1 Hg La
not present ] Cx2 Ht
```

```
PA 305
Base thynges, that he ne may nat perfourne V eek
Cx1 thinges that he ne may not performe , eke
Cx2 thynges that he may not performe , eke
Hg thynges , b+ he ne may nat pfourne V eek7
El thynges, that he ne may natr pfourne $ Eke ,
ne ] Cx1 El Ha4 Hg
    not present ] Cx2 Ds1 1 En1 Ht
```

The suppression of one or more words in Cx 2 could be the result of the need to adjust the length of the line. It is also very easy for a compositor to leave out a word, especially when the suppressed words are prepositions and conjunctions. Of the three lines, the most interesting is PA 214, where the reading is supported by $\mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Ha4} \mathrm{Ht}$ and La. In fact, Ht is the only witness to support all the variants in which Cx 2 has suppressed a word.

```
PA 284
Base Ihus crist oure creatour , thanne is it ded-ly
Cx1 Ihesu Crist our creatour thenne is hit dedely
Cx2 Ihesu Cryst our creatour thenne it is dedely
Hg Ihū crist oure creatour , thanne is it ded-ly
El Ihū crist> oure creatour thāne is it deedly
is it ] Cx1 Ds1 1 El En1 Hg Ht La
    it is ] Cx2 Ha4
```

In PA 284, Cx2 has an alteration in the order of the words. The Cx1 reading 'is hit' has been changed to 'it is.' The Cx 2 reading is obviously an easier version than that found in Cx1. Although Ha4 supports Cx2, this reading probably arose by chance, that is, it is an agreement by coincidence.

```
PA }71
Base that is the blisse of heuene
Cx1 that is the blisse of heuen ,
Cx2 that is in the blisse of heuen /
El that is the blisse of heuene
is ] Ch Cx1 El En1 Ht
    is in ] Cx2 La
```

Here we find that Cx2 and La have added the preposition 'in.' This agreement is likely to have occurred by coincidence, and can be explained as being a change that could have easily been introduced by the compositor.

## Conclusions

## 1. A Synthesis of the Variant Distribution in Cx2

The aim of this work was to trace the textual affiliations of $\omega$--the manuscript source of the variants in Cx2--, and in order to do that a complete collation between Cx1 and Cx2 had to be produced and variants between the two editions isolated. Around three thousand variants which fitted the preliminary criteria and could have had their origin in $\omega$ were isolated in Cx2. Their distribution by groups is as follows: $77.2 \% \mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{O}$ variants
$11.6 \% \mathrm{Cx} 2$-Unique variants
4.5\% $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants
6.7\% Cx2-not-Hg/El variants

The vast majority of these variants were Cx2-O, which means that they are likely to be improvements on the text of Cx 1 and are in agreement with the majority of the witnesses. Some of these are very small changes, while others are more obviously meaningful and impress the reader as producing dramatic changes of meaning. Although this group of variants does not need --for this research-- a thorough analysis, and most of them have been confined to an appendix, they are determinant in order to establish the quality of $\omega$. In fact, because these good-quality variants represent approximately $77 \%$ of the total one can say that the text of $\omega$ contained a
good text of the Tales. In order to determine how good a text $\omega$ had, we need to assess the rest of the isolated variants.

It might seem that there is a relatively high number of Cx2-Unique variants; it is important, however, to take into account the fact that not all the witnesses have been fully transcribed. For this reason, variants which might be found in some other witnesses --including Wy and Pn-- might appear as singletons. ${ }^{1}$ This could explain the seemingly large number of this particular kind of variants. In theory, there should be only two kinds of singleton variants: those which were present in $\omega$ and those produced either by Caxton or his compositors. The second case, that of compositorial mistakes, could have been considered just as mistakes and not taken into consideration. Occasionally, it might be relatively easy to distinguish compositorial mistakes, for example in the case of inverted letters --'u' and ' n '. However, the difficulty in distinguishing the two kinds suggested that even those variants which were suspected of being the result of compositorial mistakes had to be retained. In doing this, material was added to the bulk, perhaps making it appear larger than it really is.

The $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants represent $4.5 \%$ of the total, and they have been shown to be useful to establish some of the most important relationships of $\omega$. Moreover, because, these variants represent points in which Hg and El disagree, they are helpful in supporting relationships established by the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{not}-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. For example, if in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants there were agreements with $\omega$ below the archetype, and these agreements were to occur with the same witnesses that are grouped with Cx 2 in the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, one could then expect to be in the presence of a genetic

[^114]group. If this were to occur often it would substantiate the existence of genetic relationships between $\omega$ and other witnesses. In fact, this research has found consistency of agreements below the archetype with Ad3 Ch and Ha4. In a different set of agreements, the variants from $\omega$ agree with $\mathbf{E}$ group manuscripts such as El and Gg in what are clearly non-archetypal readings. The agreements with $\mathbf{E}$ are not found throughout the text. Instead, in the current collation, these are localised to particular sections of the text --SQ and KT, for example.

The $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants can be divided into those in which $\omega$ agrees with Hg and those in which it agrees with El. The division is more or less even in these agreements, with some $51 \%$ agreeing with Hg and $49 \%$ with El. Although this could probably be explained, it is the nature of these variants which is apparently puzzling. On the one hand, when Cx 2 agrees with Hg the variant is usually archetypal: a very good example of this is WBP 484, where Cx 2 and Hg share the reading 'troce' against El's 'croce.' On the other hand, variants in which Cx2 agrees with El appear to be of greater importance to determine the nature and affiliations of $\omega$, since, in general, they are non-archetypal variants, e.g. those found in SQ 194 and 491. Some of Robinson's conclusions concerning WBP are related to El's apparent change of exemplar around line 400 of WBP. This together with the evidence of non-archetypal agreements with $\omega$ indicates that these manuscripts share a common ancestor below the archetype for at least part of the text of the Tales.

Perhaps the most interesting group of all are the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-$ not $-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants. These, with the support of the $\mathrm{Cx} 2-\mathrm{Hg} / \mathrm{El}$ variants, have shown that the closest affiliations of $\omega$ are Ad 3 Ch and $\mathrm{Ha} 4 . \mathrm{Ht}$ and Hk are also very close but, because transcriptions of them are incomplete, it is not possible to make a definite statement about these
manuscripts at the moment. The text present in Cx 2 and not present in Hg and El consistently seems to be a very early and very good text. ${ }^{2}$ The fact that Cx2 shares variants that are widely distributed in the tradition seems to point in this direction, but variants such as 'sterres' in KN 1179 witness a common origin --an opinion supported by Blake (1985: 56) for the origin of the text of $\omega$, Ad3, Ch and Ha4 in what could be an ancestor below the archetype.

## 2. Differences between Partial and Overall Analyses

Clearly, conclusions drawn from analysis of part of the text may differ from the overall analysis. In different sections, tales and links, analysis shows that their textual affiliations differ. This does not mean that the tales circulated independently before Chaucer's death. Instead it might be the result of differences in interest on the part of the scribes and supervisors who might have known certain tales better than others. ${ }^{3}$ If a special interest was developed for certain sections of the Tales, this might reflect on the changes or accuracy of the copied text. These can be, occasionally, explained because not all the manuscripts have been transcribed for the whole of the Canterbury Tales. Even manuscripts which have been completely transcribed could sometimes have lost leaves which makes it impossible to be sure what the affiliations for the missing parts could have been. ${ }^{4}$ However, even in the cases in which we have

[^115]complete transcriptions one can find that the affiliations they show vary from one section of the text to another. For example, in SQ, when Cx 2 and El agree, they do so in what seem to be non-archetypal readings, which indicates that they share a common ancestor below the archetype. This is consistent with the change of exemplar suggested by Robinson for El in the WBP, where El seems to be in agreement with manuscripts of the $\mathbf{E}$ group. This could explain the agreements in non-archetypal variants shared by $\omega \mathrm{El}$ and Gg , by suggesting that these witnesses share a common ancestor. However, the difference between analyses by sets and the overall analysis has nothing to do with independent circulation of tales, and it is more likely to be due to the fact that only a partial collation has been carried out for this work, or it might concern the different variation rates from text to text or from scribe to scribe. If, for example, El had more than one change of exemplar, then the results of the collation would become clearer if we had a complete collation, although this does not imply that such changes of affiliation could not appear in a collation with a limited number of witnesses. But the problem will remain and, with incomplete transcriptions, we might find a significant amount of singleton readings which could be erroneously interpreted as unique. In addition, if when we are able to discover, by collating all or nearly all available witnesses, that some of these witnesses share the same characteristics, then the overall collations for this work would appear to yield inconsistent results --since the result of a partial and that of a complete, or virtually complete, collation might appear as if these results were pointing in different directions. An example of this can be seen in the printed editions after Cx2: when Wy and Pn have been transcribed, these incunabula often agree with Cx2. It is

[^116]conceivable that readings which have been classified as Cx 2 -Unique variants might be supported by other witnesses which have yet to be transcribed. Admittedly, this has no importance for the purposes of this research but shows only that both Pn and Wy were based on Cx2, as suggested by Greg (1924). It is not possible to find other examples, at the moment, because of the current state of the transcriptions. But let us consider what would have happened if Ad3 had not been completed for FK. It would then have been impossible to observe that only Ad3 Cx2 and El share FK 746-1 to 746-2 and FK 782-1 to 782-6. These passages, which represent such a strong piece of evidence of genetic relationship between these witnesses, in the absence of the transcript of Ad3 would appear to be less significant than they really are. Only when all the witnesses have been collated will we be able to draw a more accurate picture of the fifteenth-century witnesses of the Canterbury Tales.

## 3. Critical Perspectives on the Source of Cx2 Revisited

In the first chapter of this work I produced a synthesis of the scholarly opinions on the manuscript source of Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales. Here I address each one of these opinions in order to make clear if the collation data answers, refines, confirms or denies them.

1. No extant manuscript can be identified with $\omega$ (Greg, Dunn).

Nothing has changed since Greg and Dunn pursued their respective enquiries on the subject. In the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales, as it exists today, no manuscript can be said to have been the source for the corrections in Cx 2 .
2. The affiliation of $\omega$ is clearly different from that of Cx 1 (Greg).

Manly and Rickert have shown that $\mathbf{C x} 1$ belongs to the $\mathbf{b}$ group. The affiliations of $\omega$ are very different from this. The manuscript source for Cx 2 has a marked tendency to agree with Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 , but Ht and Hk also seem to share a significant proportion of variants with $\omega$.
3. It is possible that more than one manuscript was used to correct Cx1 (Greg).

The possibility that more than one manuscript was used to make the corrections for Cx2 should be taken into consideration. However, this research has shown consistency in the variation throughout the text, that is, the agreements found in the different sets, if occasionally slightly different, do not appear to contradict each other. On the contrary, the variation in Cx2 points in a simgle direction. I have also shown that in the places in which the variants appear to differ from those in the greater part of the text this may be due to factors other than a change of exemplar, e.g. agreement by coincidence, contamination, or compositorial intervention.
4. It is impossible to determine the precise affiliations of $\omega$ (Greg).

The problem with this statement is that it depends on how one defines 'precise.' It is a fact that it would be very difficult to determine exactly the affiliations of $\omega$, but this is also true concerning the affiliations of the vast majority of the witnesses of the Canterbury Tales. However, this could also be said about the vast majority of the witnesses of the Tales, that their affiliations can be established with a relative degree of certainty, such as those of a group, Cn Ds En1 and Ma, or of the pair Ad1 and En3 -- $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ manuscripts. The same is true --and this research has shown it clearly-concerning the relationships of $\omega$ with the manuscripts and early printed editions of the Tales.
5. Ad3 is the closest manuscript to $\omega$ (Kilgour).

Kilgour was probably right, since Ad3 is clearly the manuscript that shares the highest number of stemmatically significant variants with $\omega$. Her statement was based on the data of KN only, and it is lucky that in this particular tale the affiliations of $\omega$ are clearer than in other parts of the Canterbury Tales. Had Kilgour analysed MO, she might have reached different conclusions. To establish with certainty the textual affiliations of any witness, a complete collation of the whole of the text should be carried out.
6. Variants from Cx2 are of no textual authority (Manly and Rickert).

Manly and Rickert did not themselves carry out any detailed textual analysis of the variants found in Cx2. Instead, they gave the task of tracing the affiliations of $\omega$ to Dunn. One has to assume that when Manly and Rickert reached this conclusion they were thinking about Cx 2 as a conflated text only, and this inclined them to regard the variants in this book as unimportant.

However, my research shows that variants from $\omega$ are of the very best quality. Some of these can help support the variants of Hg or El when these manuscripts are not in agreement. Occasionally, the variants from $\omega$ can help to make evident the cases in which Hg and El agree in error --as seems to be that of KN 1179 and CL 1067. In the worst case scenario, variants found in Cx 2 are very useful to understand a part of the development of the textual tradition of the Tales.
7. Of the extant manuscripts, Ad 3 Ch Dd El En 1 and En 3 are the closest manuscripts to $\omega$ (Dunn).

Basically, Dunn concludes that six manuscripts are very close to $\omega$. This research has shown that the manuscript that is consistently closest to $\omega$ is Ad3, followed very
closely by Ch. Ha4 is frequently in agreement with $\omega$, but not as often as Ad 3 and Ch . The fourth closest manuscript seems to be Ht .
8. $\omega$ is a conflated text (Dunn).

Once more, this conclusion depends on how one might interpret the data. It is true that at some point in Cx2, its manuscript source seems to change affiliation. This is especially obvious after TM where the most frequent agreements seem to be with manuscripts of the a group. This, however, does not mean that there are no shared variants with Ad 3 Ch or Ha 4 .

When facing the evidence, one could assume --as Dunn did-- that $\omega$ was a conflated manuscript, which would explain the change in affiliation. Or one could think that Cn and Ma --the a manuscripts that seem to agree with $\omega$ after TM-- are the ones that have had a shift of exemplar. Another interpretation could be that $\omega$ was not a single complete manuscript but two or more pieces which were used to correct Cx 1 .

I tend to think of $\omega$ as a single manuscript, from which the a hypearchetype probably ultimately originated, and also from which Ad 3 Ch and Ha 4 might have descended. This is not to say that these are the only manuscripts descended from $\omega$. It is also possible that the $\mathbf{E}$ hypearchetype and even El could be more distant descendants of this manuscript.
9. Caxton made marginal corrections that were occasionally misinterpreted by the compositors (Dunn).

This research has shown that now and again the compositors took literally a correction that Caxton had made in the margin but that was supposed to be inserted elsewhere in the line. The result is that the archetypal variant was reintroduced in

Cx2, but was put in the wrong position, therefore allowing for the creation of a new variant. Examples of this can be found in lines: MI 113, NU 301 and FK 905.
10. The $\alpha$ exemplar was very similar to $\omega$. It would have been identical to it (Robinson).

In point 8 , I have already stated what seems to be the most obvious result of this work: that $\omega$ was a very good manuscript, probably as good as the best manuscripts now in existence, perhaps only one step removed from the archetype, that is, likely to be a daughter of the archetype. It is also possible that $\omega$ was the ultimate parent of manuscripts that up to this point have been considered as representative of independent lines of descent in the textual tradition. These ideas seem to correspond to those of Robinson about the $\alpha$ exemplar. So in fact, $\omega$ and $\alpha$ could have been the same.

## 4. Hypothesising Stemmata of the Relationships of $\omega$

It is interesting to note that different interpretations depend, up to a certain degree, on which manuscript --hypothesised or actual-- is thought to be the archetype, or nearest to the archetype.

For example, one might explain the textual tradition as having O as the archetype --as Manly and Rickert proposed-- from which two manuscripts are descended: $\omega$ and Hg or Hg's mother --which we could call $\eta$. If one chooses to think that Hg is one step removed from the archetype, the sister of $\omega$ would be $\eta$. The tree would be as follows:


Figure 4
But one could also choose to shift the tree --as phylogenetic software allows and root it at $\eta$. This would mean that Hg is only one step removed from the archetype, that is, Hg would be a daughter of the archetype. In this case, a tree might look like this:


Figure 5

In this way, the same tree can be rooted at different points, but the relationships between the witnesses remain the same as shown by Robinson in the "Analysis Workshop" (Robinson 2000a). The problem with this proposed stemma is that the collations have shown that Hg is at least one step removed from the archetype. The second issue here is that there are two exemplars between Hg and $\omega$, when the variants seem to indicate that there should be only one exemplar. In fact, ME 61 and 62, and their variant lines, are a good example of the possibility of Hg and $\omega$ sharing the same common source. This hypothesis, however, should not be understood as
positive statement about a deeper relationship between the two manuscripts: even if it could be shown that they had been copied from the same exemplar they would represent two distinct lines of descent.

ME 61 to 65 are not present in Cx1, and Cx2 has added ME 63 and 64. The likely reason for this kind of correction is that the lines were either not present in $\omega$ or that they were defective in such a way that Caxton thought it might be best to leave them out. The witnesses which lack the lines are those that belong to the $\mathbf{b}$ and $\mathbf{c}$ groups and, since we know that the textual affiliations of $\omega$ are not with this group, we can dismiss the idea that it lacks the lines. However, the $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ group --Ad1 En3 and Tc1-also seems to lack the lines. We find, however, that the Hg scribe copied only half of line ME 61, and left the space for ME 62. The lines were later completed in Hg in a different hand. At this point of the text the rate of variation is very high: most early witnesses have improvised a solution, some of which have later been passed on in the copying process. An example of this are the variant lines in El and Gg , which show, once more, that there is more than a casual relationship between these manuscripts. In any case, if $\omega$ had had the lines and these had been clearly visible there would have been no reason for Caxton to leave them out --especially after he had added the lines that immediately follow the couplet. It would appear that $\omega$ might have had dubious readings at that point --as $\eta$ probably had.

What is important in this research is that it has shown that it is possible that there is a genetic relationship, below the archetype, between manuscripts that had previously been unclassified or labelled as $\mathbf{O}$ manuscripts, that is, direct and independent descendants of the archetype. This last idea could be still sustained if we believed that the archetype could be equated with $\omega$ :


Figure 6

The difficulty with this is that all the evidence points towards the archetype --a working copy-- as being a pile of papers, some of which might have been bound and often came loose, while some sections were not fastened to anything else. It would be difficult to prove whether $\omega$ was a pile of papers, but it would be as difficult to prove the opposite. Some of the text found in Cx2, and which I interpret as coming directly from $\omega$, has been the subject of controversy --the El passages in WBP or L31, the Nun's Priest's Endlink. It has been suggested, concerning the 'additional passages' in WBP, that these might have been marked for deletion in the archetype, or that they were added in the margins of the archetype. It seems conceivable, if we accept that parts of the text were marked for deletion in the archetype, to think that some parts were marked in a more obvious way than others. This could explain the case of L31 -found only in eight witnesses-- which might have been clearly marked for deletion so that some of the scribes decided to leave it out, while, at the same time, these marks
might have been ignored by a single scribe --who produced a text that later originated, for example, the a hyparchetype.

## 5. The Position of $\omega$ in the Textual Tradition and its Relationship to other Manuscripts

These three hypothesised stemmata are possible solutions --although, not the only possible solutions-- to the problem I set myself at the beginning of this research. One could also imagine that $\omega$ is a sister to Ad3 Ch and Ha4. If this had been the case, it would be much more difficult to explain why there are variants shared by $\omega$ Ad3 and Ha4, others shared by $\omega$ Ch and Ha4 and yet others shared by $\omega$ Ad3 and Ha4. In these groups, $\omega$ is the common element which suggests that this manuscript was probably higher than the others in the textual tradition. All of them show different interpretations of the same data. At present, I am more inclined towards the stemma in figure one. However, which one of these is the more accurate one is debatable, since the data can be understood in different ways. What seems much more important is that there are common elements in the stemmata. Even if the exact position of $\omega$ in the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales cannot be pinpointed with exactitude, the fact still remains that it is likely that it was the origin of manuscripts which have remained unclassified up to now. The common elements concerning $\omega$ in all stemmata would then be represented as follows:


Figure 7
To summarise, since only around three thousand variants have been collated for this research, the stemmata I have proposed are not the only ones possible. For example, for GP Robinson has found that Hg Ch and Ha 4 are very closely related, although he was taking into account the complete set of variants for this part of the text. For the same amount of text I have 150 variants only. Besides the matter of the number of variants, it is also possible that since the archetype of the tradition seems to have been unbound, there may have been some shifts of exemplar, if the part of the text the scribe was copying was unavailable for some reason. This would explain why in parts of the text some manuscripts may unexpectedly exhibit different affiliations which make them appear closer or farther from the archetype.

To identify correctly and without any doubts the position of any manuscript in the textual tradition of the Canterbury Tales is a very difficult task. This task becomes an intricate and perplexing experience when the manuscript one is trying to analyse
survives as a few variants in a printed edition probably modernised by its compositors. However, although laborious, the task is not impossible --as my research shows--, but it still presents the problems which I have explained above. If some determinant variants were to be found in those places where there is no preserved trace of the reading in $\omega$, then, naturally, we should find that the results of this work are not completely accurate. Although it is very unlikely that $\omega$ will ever be found, only then would we know the exact position in which this manuscript should be placed in relationship to other witnesses.

## 6. Unanswered Questions and Further Research

As I have said, the results of this work are as close as I can get towards clarifying the nature of $\omega$, and many other questions that need to be formulated and answered to gain a fuller comprehension about the textual tradition of the Tales. The main challenge arising from this research concerns the nature of the relationships between Ad3 Ch and Ha4 with each other. That is, although they seem to be grouped in reference to the variants which they share with $\omega$, how are they related in the rest of the text? They have often been labelled as independent and one wonders if this judgement is correct. The Canterbury Tales Project provides tools which are ideal for a study of these relationships and this should surely be part of any future research.

Another interesting finding concerns some isolated variants in El which appears to be related to Robinson's $\mathbf{E}$ group. These should also be studied in detail. Comparisons between Hg and El have already been made, but only once --by Manly and Rickert-- with the benefit of the use of the text of all the other witnesses of the Canterbury Tales. Now, not only are we approaching the stage in which all the
transcriptions of the main witnesses of the text could be easily compared, but we are also nearer to having all the witnesses transcribed. The work that Manly and Rickert did in the twentieth century will soon be revised with the use of new and better tools than they ever dreamed. Computers have opened the doors to research that can now be taken to new levels, not because it can intrinsically be more accurate, but because it can be carried out over and over again, each time with better transcriptions.

## Works Cited

Alderson, William L. 1984. John Urry. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Anderson, David, ed. n.d. Sixty Bokes Olde and Newe. Knoxville: New Chaucer Society.

Andrew, Malcolm, Daniel J. Ransom, Lynne Hunt Levy, and Charles Moorman, eds. 1993. The General Prologue: Part One A. Edited by P. G. Ruggiers and D. J. Ransom, Variorum edition of the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, v. 2. Canterbury tales; pt. la. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Baker, Donald C. 1984. Frederick J. Furnivall. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Baugh, Albert C. 1963. Chaucer's Major Poetry. London : Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bennet, J. A. W. 1972. "Note." In The Canterbury Tales, edited by William Caxton. Cambridge: Cornmarket Reprints in association with Magdalene College.

Benson, L. D. 1981. The Order of the Canterbury Tales. Studies in the Age of Chaucer 3:77-120.

Blades, William. 1861. The Life and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer, with Evidence of His Typographical Connection with Colard Mansion, the Printer at Bruges. 2 vols. Vol. 1. London: J. Lilly.

Blades, William. 1882. The Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer. 2nd ed. London: Trübner and Co.

Blake, Norman. 2000. A New Approach to the Witnesses and Text of the Canterbury Tales. In New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies, edited by D. Pearsall.

Blake, N. F. 1967. Caxton's Copytext of Gower's Confessio Amantis. Anglia 85:282291.

Blake, N. F. 1965. William Caxton: His Choice of Texts. Anglia 83:298-307.
Blake, N. F. 1969. Caxton and His World, The language library. London: Deutsch.
Blake, N. F. 1976. Caxton: England's First Publisher. London: Osprey Publishing.
Blake, Norman F. 1980. The Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from the Hengwrt Manuscript, York Medieval Texts, 2d ser. London: Arnold.

Blake, Norman F. 1981. Critics, Criticism and the Order of the Canterbury Tales. Archiv 218:47-58.

Blake, Norman F. 1983. The Editorial Assumptions in the Manly-Rickert Edition of the Canterbury Tales. English Studies 64:385-400.

Blake, N. F. 1985a. The Debate on the Order of The Canterbury Tales. Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses 10:31-42.

Blake, Norman F. 1985b. The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales. London and Baltimore: Edward Arnold.

Blake, Norman. 1996. The New Lineation System. In The Canterbury Tales Project: Occasional Papers Volume II, edited by N. Blake and P. Robinson. Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication.

Blake, Norman F. 2000. Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales. In The Medieval English Book: Essays in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths, edited by A. S. G. Edwards, Ralph Hanna III and V. Gillespie. London: The British Library.

Blake, Norman F., and Peter M. W. Robinson, eds. 1993. The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers. Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication.

Blodgett, James E. 1984. William Thynne. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Bowers, Fredson. 1949. Principles of Bibliographical Description. First ed. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Boyd, Beverly, ed. 1978. Chaucer According to William Caxton. Lawrence, Kansas: Allen Press.

Boyd, Beverley. 1984. William Caxton. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Cameron, H. Don. 1987. The Upside-down Cladogram, Problems in Manuscript Affiliation. In Biological Metaphor and Cladistic Classification, edited by H. M. Hoenisgwald. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Caxton, William. 1482. Prohemye. In Canterbury Tales, edited by W. Caxton. Westminster: William Caxton.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. 1911. The Ellesmere Chaucer Reproduced in Facsimile. Manchester: Manchester UP.

Cooper, Helen. 1995. The Order of Tales in the Ellesmere Manuscript. In The Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation, edited by M. Stevens and D. Woodward. San Marino, California: Huntington Library and Yushodo Co., Ltd. Cowen, Janet, and George Kane, eds. 1995. The Legend of Good Women. Edited by J. A. Alford, Medieval Texts and Studies No. 16. East Lansing, Mi.: Colleagues Press.

Darton, F. J. Harvey, ed. 1904. Tales of the Canterbury Pilgrims. 2nd ed. London: Wells Gardner.

De Ricci, Seymour. 1909. A Census of Caxtons, Illustrated monographs (Bibliographical Society); no.15. London: Bibliographical Society.

Dempster, Germaine. 1946. Manly's Conception of the Early History of the Canterbury Tales. PMLA 61:379-415.

Dempster, Germaine. 1949. The Fifteenth-Century Editions of the Canterbury Tales and the Problem of the Tale Order. PMLA 64:1123-42.

Donaldson, E.Talbot. 1970. Speaking of Chaucer. London: Athlone.
Donaldson, E. T. 1970. The Ordering of the Canterbury Tales. In Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies: Essays in Honor of Francis Lee Utley, edited by J. Mandel and B. A. Rosemberg. New Brunswick.

Doyle, A.I., and Malcolm B. Parkes. 1978. The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century. In Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker, edited by M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson. London: Scolar Press.

Dunn, Thomas F. 1939. The Manuscript Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales. PhD, English, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Edwards, A. S. G. 1984. Walter W. Skeat. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Field, P.J. C. 1995. Caxton's Roman War. Arthuriana:31-73.
Furnivall, F. J. 1868. A Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Part I. London: Chaucer Society.

Furnivall, Frederick J., ed. 1868-77. A Six-Text Print of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in Parallel Columns. 8 vols., Chaucer Society, 1st ser. London: Trübner.

Furnivall, Frederick J., ed. 1868-1879. The Hengwrt MS of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Chaucer Society, 1st ser. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

Furnivall, F. J., ed. 1868-1879. The Ellesmere MS of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Chaucer Society, 1st ser. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

Furnivall, Frederick J., ed. 1885. The Harleian MS 7334 of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Chaucer Society, 1st. ser. London: Trübner.

Furnivall, Frederick J., ed. 1902. The Cambridge MS. Dd. 4.24 of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Completed by the Egerton MS. 2726. 2 vols., Chaucer Society, 1 st ser. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

Garbáty, Thomas J. 1978. Wynkyn de Worde's 'Sir Topas' and Other Tales. Studies in Bibliography 31:57-67.

Gaskell, Philip. 1972. A New Introduction to Bibliography. New York: Oxford University Press.

Greg, Walter W. 1924. The Early Printed Editions of The Canterbury Tales. PMLA XXXIX:737-61.

Greg, Walter Wilson. 1927. The Calculus of Variants. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Greg, Walter W. 1929. The MS Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales. PMLA 44:1251-3.

Greg, W. W. 1966. The Rationale of Copy-Text. In Collected Papers, edited by J. C. Maxwell. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hammond, Eleanor. 1905-6. On the Order of the Canterbury Tales: Caxton's Two Editions. Modern Philology 3:159-78.

Hanna, Ralph, ed. 1989. The Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales: A Working Facsimile. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Hanna, Ralph. 1996. Pursuing History. Stanford: Stanford U P.

Harris, Kate. 1983. John Gower's Confessio Amantis: the Virtues of Bad Texts. In Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England, edited by D. Pearsall. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Hellinga, Lotte. 1981. The Malory Manuscript and Caxton. In Aspects of Malory, edited by Derek Brewer and Toshiyuki Takamiya. Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer. Rowman \& Littlefield.

Hellinga, Lotte. 1982. Caxton in Focus: The Beginning of Printing in England. London: British Library.

Hudson, Anne. 1984. John Stow. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Kane, George. 1984. John M. Manly and Edith Rickert. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Kane, George, ed. 1988. Piers Plowman: the A Version. Cambridge: U of California P.

Kane, George, and E. Talbot Donaldson, eds. 1975. Piers Plowman: The B Version. London: Athlone.

Kase, Robert C. 1932. Observations of the Shifting Positions of Groups G and DE in the Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales, English, New York University, New York.

Kenney, E.J. 1974. The Classical Text : Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kilgour, Margaret. 1929. The Manuscript Source of Caxton's Second Edition of the Canterbury Tales. PMLA 44:186-201.

Koch, John. 1902. The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale: A Critical Edition. London: The Chaucer Society.

Koch, John. 1967. A Detailed Comparison of the Eight Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as Completely Printed in the publications of the Chaucer Society. Amsterdam: Swets \& Zeitlinger N. V.

Maas, P. 1958. Textual Criticism. Translated by Barbara Flower. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Manly, John M., and E. Rickert, eds. 1940. The Text of the Canterbury Tales Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts. 8 vols. vols. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Matthews, William. 1997. A Question of Texts. Arturiana:93-133.
McKerrow, Ronald Brunless. 1928. An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Metzger, Bruce M. 1995. The Greek New Testament. In Scholarly Editing, edited by D. C. Greetham. New York: Modern Language Association.

Moore, Samuel. 1915. The Position of Group C in The Canterbury Tales. PMLA 30:116-23.

Moorman, Charles. 1987. Caxton's Morte Darthur: Malory's Second Edition? Fifteenth Century Studies:99-113.

Moorman, Charles. 1995. Desperately Defending Winchester: Arguments from the Edge. Arthuriana:24-30.

Mosser, Daniel W. 1996. Witness Descriptions. In The Wife of Bath's Prologue on $C D-R O M$, edited by P. M. W. Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mosser, Daniel W. 2000. Witness Descriptions. In The General Prologue on CDROM, edited by E. Solopova. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Needham, Paul, ed. 1976. Malory, Le Morte d'Arthur: facsimile of Caxton's 1485 edition. London: Scolar.

Needham, Paul. 1986. The Printer \& the Pardoner. Washington, D. C.: Library of the Congress.

Noguchi, Shunichi. 1995. The Winchester Malory. Arthuriana:15-23.
Oakenshott, Walter. 1963. The Finding of the Manuscript. In Essays on Malory, edited by J. A. W. Bennett. Oxford.

Pearsall, Derek. 1983. Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Pearsall, Derek. 1984. Thomas Speght. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books.

Platnick, Norman I., and H. Don Cameron. 1977. Cladistic Methods in Textual, Linguistic and Phylogenetic Analysis. Systematic Zoology 26:380-5.

Pratt, Robert. 1951. The Order of the Canterbury Tales. PMLA:1141-67.
Ramsey, Vance. 1994. The Manly and Rickert Text of the Canterbury Tales. First ed. Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press.

Reynolds, L. D. and N. G. Wilson. 1991. Scribes and Scholars. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Robinson, F. N., ed. 1957. The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Robinson, Peter M.W. 1991. An Edition of Svipdagsmál. D. Phil., Faculty of English, University of Oxford, Oxford.

Robinson, Peter M. W. 1996a. Computer-Assisted Stemmatic Analysis and 'BestText' Historical Editing. In Studies in Stemmatology, edited by P. Van Reenen and M. Van Mulken. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Robinson, Peter M. W., ed. 1996b. The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM. Edited by Norman Blake and P. M. W. Robinson. Vol. I, The Canterbury Tales Project. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, Peter M. W. 1997. A Stemmatic Analysis of the Fifteenth-Century Witnesses to the Wife of Bath's Prologue. In The Canterbury Tales Project: Occasional Papers, edited by N. F. Blake and P. M. W. Robinson. Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication.

Robinson, Peter. 1999. Can We Trust the Hengwrt Manuscript? In Chaucer in Perspective, edited by G. Lester. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Robinson, Peter M. W. 2000a. Analysis Workshop. In The General Prologue on CDROM, edited by E. Solopova. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, Peter M. W. 2000b. Stemmatic Commentary. In The General Prologue on CD-ROM, edited by E. Solopova. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, Peter M. W., and Robert J. O'Hara. 1993. Computer-Assisted Methods of Stemmatic Analysis. In The Canterbury Tales Project: Occasional Papers, edited by N. F. Blake and P. M. W. Robinson. Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication.

Robinson, Peter M. W., and Robert J. O'Hara. 1996. Cladistic Analysis of an Old Norse Manuscript Tradition. In Research in Humanities Computing 4, edited by S. Hockey and N. Ide. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ruggiers, Paul G., ed. 1979. The Canterbury Tales, Geoffrey Chaucer. A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript, A Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, vol. I. Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press.

Salemans, Ben. 2000. Building Stemmas with the Computer in a Cladistic, NeoLachmannian, way., Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.

Salemans, Ben J. P. 1996. Cladistics or the Resurrection of the Method of Lachmann. In Studies in Stemmatology, edited by P. van Reenen and M. van Mulken. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Skeat, Walter W. 1907. The Evolution of The Canterbury Tales. First ed. Vol. 38, Second Series. London: Trubner \& Co., Limited (for the Chaucer Society).

Smith, John. 1775. Printer's Grammar. London: W. Owen and M. Cooper.
Solopova, Elizabeth. 1997. Authorial Variants in The Wife of Bath's Prologue. In The Canterbury Tales Project: Occasional Papers, edited by N. F. Blake and P. M. W. Robinson. Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication.

Solopova, Elizabeth, ed. 2000. The General Prologue of The Canterbury Tales on CD-ROM. Edited by Norman Blake and Peter Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spisak, James W., and William Matthews. 1982. Caxton's Malory: a new edition of Sir Thomas Malory's Le morte Darthur based on the Pierpont Morgan copy of William Caxton's edition of 1485. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stubbs, Estelle, ed. 2000. The Hengwrt Chaucer Digital Facsimile. Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions.

Tanselle, G. Thomas. 1971. The Bibliographical Description of Paper. Studies in Bibliography 24:27-67.

Tatlock, J. S. P. 1909. The Harleian Manuscript 7334 and Revision of the Canterbury Tales, Chaucer Society 2nd. ser. 41. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

Vinaver, Eugene. 1976. Principles of Textual Emendation. In Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, edited by Christopher Kleinhenz. Chapel Hill: UNC

Windeatt, B. A. 1984. Thomas Tyrwhitt. In Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition, edited by P. G. Ruggiers. Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books.

Woodward, Daniel, and Martin Stevens, eds. 1997. The Canterbury Tales : The New Ellesmere Chaucer Monochromatic Facsimile (of Huntington Library MS EL 26 C 9). San Marino and Tokyo: Yushodo.


[^0]:    * Quoted by A. S. G. Edwards $(1984,178)$ from the original letter, italics are his.

[^1]:    *For a detailed account of the Canterbury Tales Project's sigils and lineation system see Blake (1997, 5-14).
    ${ }^{* *}$ KT is the only abbreviation in which I do not follow Blake's lineation system (1997, 5-14). In this case I follow the abbreviation used in The Hengwrt Chaucer Digital Facsimile (Stubbs 2000).
    ${ }^{* * *}$ WBP and WBT have been used at the Canterbury Tales Project instead of Blake's WB, as proposed in the lineation system (1997).

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ In this work, the manuscript source of Caxton's second edition of the Canterbury Tales is referred to as $\omega$, following the tradition of assigning Greek letters to lost hyparchetypes.

[^3]:    ${ }^{2}$ In volume II of the Manly-Rickert edition, we find that they list 82 manuscripts (1940, 2: 46-8). Since Manly and Rickert's classification the manuscript Ox has been divided, and has become Ox1-Ox2 (Blake 1996, 181), and another one has been discovered in Oxford: Trinity D 29, To2 (Harris 1983, 31). The early printed editions have been dated as follows: Cx1 1476-7; Hellinga thinks the likely date is the earlier one (1982, 67-8; 80-1), but Needham dates it 1477 (1986, 84), following Blake (1976, 127-8), who later changed his opinion and stated that the date for Cx1 was 'almost certainly' 1476 (Blake 1985, 1), Cx2 1482-3; the dating of Cx2 depends on that of Cx1, since the book was printed six years after Cx1. Needham dates Cx2 as 1483 (1986, 87). Hellinga dates it 1482 (1982). Blake accepts the dates proposed by Hellinga (1985), Pn 1495 and Wy 1498 (Blake 1985, 5).

[^4]:    ${ }^{3}$ See for example, Manly and Rickert (1940, 2:57-9), Boyd (1984, 22-23) and Blake $(1969,103)$.
    ${ }^{4}$ See chapter 1, where I discuss Dunn's work.

[^5]:    ${ }^{5}$ Although editors before 1775 used manuscripts to 'improve' the text of their editions, Tyrwhitt was the first to write specifically about his editorial principles and ideas about the Canterbury Tales. Tyrwhitt's work earned him a place in the history of editors of Chaucer. He has been referred as 'founder of modern Chaucer editing.' (Cf. Windeatt 1984, 118)
    ${ }^{6}$ Tyrwhitt consulted the following manuscripts: Bo2 Bw Dd En1 En2 En3 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 Ht Ii La Ld1 Ld2 Ry2 Ry1 Se Tc1 and Tc2. Windeatt points out that the most used in the group were Dd Ha4 Ha5 La and Tc1 (Windeatt 1984, 124).
    ${ }^{7}$ Tyrwhitt relies only on editorial judgement to choose the variants to appear in the text. Long before the Lachmann method was developed, scholars such as Richard Bentley advocated a return to the sources of the text, that is the manuscripts (Reynolds and Wilson 1991, 184-7, 209) and J. J Griesbach was persuaded by his own research to depart from the textus receptus of the Greek New Testament to adopt readings which he interpreted to be better (Metzger 1997, 67). Today, the method used by Tyrwhitt is known as emendatio, that is, the assessment of variants in different sources to emend the text using the one judged to be the better option.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ British Library, Harleian 7334 . This manuscript has been published by Furnivall (1885). See also Tatlock (1909).

[^7]:    ${ }^{9}$ Huntington Library MS 26 C 9. There are several facsimiles of this manuscript, for example, Chaucer, (1911); Hanna (1989); Woodward and Stevens (1997). Furnivall produced an edition based on the manuscript (1868-1879) and variants from its text can be found in Ruggiers' facsimile of Hg (1979).
    ${ }^{10}$ MS Peniarth 392 D, National Library of Wales. Furnivall produced an edition of Hg at the end of the nineteenth century (Furnivall 1868-1879). Later Manly and Rickert used Hg as their base-text (1940) and it has also been used as a base by the Variorum Chaucer (Andrew et al. 1993). Blake edited it in

[^8]:    1980. There are two facsimiles of the manuscript: the one produced by Ruggiers with variants from El (1979) and the Canterbury Tales Project digital facsimile edited by Estelle Stubbs (2000).
    ${ }^{11}$ This tendency to follow the El tale-order does not apply to Skeat's 1908 edition. Despite his part in the scholarly favour towards El, Skeat proposed that Ha4 was the manuscript that represented Chaucer's latest intentions (1907, 9-10).
    ${ }^{12}$ For scholarly opinions on Manly and Rickert's work see Dempster (1946); Kane (1984); Blake (1983) and Ramsey (1994).
[^9]:    ${ }^{13}$ See chapter 1, page 23 for further discussion about this point.

[^10]:    ${ }^{14}$ For further discussion see chapter 4, Theoretical Aspects of Textual Variation.

[^11]:    ${ }^{15}$ The phrase "archetypal variant" is used throughout this work. The use of "archetypal reading" implies a degree of certainty that is not always possible to achieve.

[^12]:    ${ }^{16}$ Regarding the status of CY, Blake wrote: "...there is evidence in Hg to suggest that CYT was a late piece and so spurious." $(1980,6)$
    ${ }^{17}$ See for example the proceedings for the 1981 conference at the University of York (Pearsall 1983) and the 1978 article, "The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century" (Doyle and Parkes 1978).

[^13]:    ${ }^{18}$ Vbase is part of the suit of programs used in The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM and The General Prologue on CD-ROM. This piece of software helps to isolate variants according to their distribution among the witnesses of a text.
    ${ }^{19}$ Especially the application of phylogenetic software, originally designed to hypothesise relationships between different species, applied to the study of manuscript traditions. These methods have been successfully applied by Robinson to the study of Old Norse texts (Robinson and O'Hara 1996) and to the Canterbury Tales (Robinson 1997 and 2000a). For other studies see Salemans (1996, 2000); Platnick and Cameron (1977); Cameron (1987); Robinson and O'Hara (1993); and Robinson (1996).
    ${ }^{20}$ The Anastasia Publishing System is currently being used for the Canterbury Tales Project editions as well as for other important editorial projects such as the Electronic Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament, and Linne Mooney' s Revised Index of Middle English Verse.

[^14]:    ${ }^{21}$ Although Manly and Rickert distinguish between Chaucer's original (O1), a text they believe to be recoverable, and (O2), the archetype of the tradition, which they believe to be recoverable (Manly and Rickert, 2:40); the Canterbury Tales Project does not make this same distinction. In this work, O is used to refer to the archetype of the tradition, that is, there is no distinction between two copies of the Tales as in Manly and Rickert's work. $\mathbf{O}$ is used to refer to the witnesses directly descended, through independent lines, from the archetype. The same principle applies to the other genetic groups (bold type) and their hyparchetypes (normal type).

[^15]:    ${ }^{22}$ For more details about these see (Robinson 1997, 80) and my discussion in chapter 4, "Theoretical Aspects of Textual Variation".
    ${ }^{23}$ It is possible that the rate of variation differs from one part of the text to another. Even the unfinished state of the Canterbury Tales could have had an influence in such variation. Another influential factor is the nature of the text, in this way WBP is subject to a larger number of scribal glosses than other prologues in the same manuscripts. The scribes had different attitudes towards different parts of the text.
    ${ }^{24}$ All the transcriptions follow the Canterbury Tales Project's guidelines. The original version of the guidelines can be found in The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM (Robinson 1996) and the Occasional Papers II (Blake and Robinson 1996).

[^16]:    ${ }^{25}$ These transcriptions were carried out by the Canterbury Tales Project teams at Oxford, Sheffield and De Montfort universities.
    ${ }^{26}$ For practical purposes, the variants are silently regularised in the discussions.

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the introduction for the quotation from Caxton's prologue.

[^18]:    ${ }^{2}$ Dunn is the only scholar to have undertaken a complete collation between Cx1 and Cx2 (1939). Greg only collated lines at the beginning of KT (1924), while Kilgour collated PD (1929). Each of these scholars offered his or her own perspective about the possible affiliations of the manuscript source of Cx2. See Kilgour 1929 and Greg 1924 and 1929.
    ${ }^{3}$ A biography of Caxton by John Lewis was published in London in 1737 and is quoted by Blake $(1969,207)$. For information about studies about Caxton in the eighteenth century see Hellinga (1982, 25-35).

[^19]:    ${ }^{4}$ See also Needham' s introduction to the facsimile of Caxton's edition of Le Morte Darthur (Needham

[^20]:    1976).
    ${ }^{5}$ See section 8 , later in this chapter.

[^21]:    ${ }^{6}$ These six editions are both of Caxton's editions, Pynson (1492), de Worde (1498), Pynson (1526), and Godfray (1532).
    ${ }^{7}$ Another example of this can be found in FK 905. The format for the collation is as follows: a lineated collation which includes a base text --Base--, $\mathrm{Cx} 1, \mathrm{Cx} 2, \mathrm{Hg}$ and El is given followed by a more traditional apparatus criticus which includes all the collated witnesses. The base text is included as a point of reference and it is as defined by the Canterbury Tales Project "a lightly edited version of Hg " in which all passages not present in this manuscript have been included. This is especially useful as a reference for lines, links --L8, L15, L31-- and CY, which are not present in Hg but are included in Cx2 . For the lineation system see Blake (1996).
    ${ }^{8}$ The base text, as used at the Canterbury Tales Project is a lightly edited version of Hg from which special characters have been removed and to which lines found in other manuscripts have been added (see Robinson 1996b and Solopova 2000).

[^22]:    ${ }^{9}$ In Caxton: England's First Publisher, Blake offers a couple of examples: "It has been proved that he took a copy of his own first edition and emended that against the new manuscript. The changes were haphazardly and irregularly made. The following types of mistake arose. In the first edition a line in 'The Miller's Tale' reads 'A clerk had lowdly biset his whyle'. But in the second edition the reading of this line is 'Lytherly a clerk had biset his whyle'. The reading arose through Caxton crossing our 'lowdly' and putting the correction for it, 'litherly' was to replace 'lowdly' and simply placed at the front of the line because it was in the left-hand margin. In other passages there has been conflation. In a line in 'The Pardoner's Tale' the first edition reads 'Thou my bel amy John Pardoner, he sayde', whereas most manuscripts read 'Thou beel amy thou pardoner, he sayde'. One may assume that 'John' was deleted and 'thou' added either above or in the margin. But in this case the compositor included both words so that the line became 'Thou beel amy, thou John Pardoner, he sayde'. The effect is disastrous in poetry." $(1976,99)$

[^23]:    ${ }^{10}$ The case of the source Caxton's Le Morte Darthur is very different from that of the one for Cx2. The Caxton Malory has been the focus of multiple essays and polemic discussions (See section 7 of this chapter).

[^24]:    ${ }^{11}$ For a thorough analysis of the order of the tales in Cx 1 and Cx 2 see chapter 3.

[^25]:    ${ }^{12}$ Koch also produced a book called A Detailed Comparison of the Eight Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as Completely Printed in the publications of the Chaucer Society. Koch did not only collate the manuscripts which the Chaucer Society had printed in full --El $\mathrm{Hg} \mathrm{Gg} \mathrm{Cp} \mathrm{Pw} \mathrm{La} \mathrm{(Furnivall}$ 1868-77) Dd (Furnivall 1902), Ha4 (Tatlock 1909)-- but also included manuscripts that have been partially published -Ha2 Ha3 Ha5 Ad2 Ht Ii Ld1 Lc Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl1 and Bw. Among Koch's conclusions we find that he separated two types of manuscripts, type A and type B, that he thought of El as the manuscript with the best text and that there is no evidence in these witnesses to support the theory of independent circulation of the tales (Koch 1967, 418-9).

[^26]:    ${ }^{13}$ Greg's concept of variant can be found in The Calculus of Variants (Greg 1927) and "The Rationale of Copy-Text" (Greg 1966).

[^27]:    14 "The handicap under which all of these previous scholars labored was the inadequacy of the evidence accessible to them" (Dunn 1939, 6).

[^28]:    ${ }^{15}$ Manly and Rickert revised the concept of variant to include more than just 'errors' as in the traditional Lachmann method. Instead they focused on the agreements and disagreements between the

[^29]:    witnesses (1940, 20). Greg, on the other hand, divided and classified variants according to his own method. For a discussion of the concept of textual variant see chapter 4.

[^30]:    ${ }^{16}$ See my discussion of Kane's critique of the method employed by Manly and Rickert in the introduction.

[^31]:    ${ }^{17}$ Cf. Garbáty (1978) and Blake (2000).

[^32]:    ${ }^{18}$ See the introduction and chapter four (especially note 4 ) about the definition of the $\mathbf{O}$ witnesses.
    ${ }^{19}$ In fact Robinson suggests that the " $\ldots[\alpha]$ variants, shared by El Dd AB and Cx2, serve to mark their shared descent from $\alpha^{\prime \prime}(1997,125)$
    ${ }^{20}$ About this possibility, Blake wrote: "...Garbáty has shown that de Worde had access to a good manuscript closely related to Hg and it is possible that this is the same manuscript used to correct Cx 1 for Cx 2 which remained in the workshop from 1482 to 1496. (2000, 7?)

[^33]:    ${ }^{21}$ This hypothesis was suggested to me by Dr Peter Robinson, in private conversation.
    ${ }^{22}$ Blades indicates that Le Morte Darthur was printed in type 4* (1882, 301 and ff.), while the traces found by Hellinga on the Winchester manuscript are types 2 and $4(1982,91)$.

[^34]:    ${ }^{23}$ For a full account of the discovery of the manuscript see Oakenshott (1963).

[^35]:    ${ }^{24}$ Hellinga offers the following explanation: "A first examination showed that the manuscript [Winchester] did not bear any trace of calculations made by a compositor to set his text by formes, or any other of the marks that compositors are known to make. These may merely consist of tiny dashes or dots, and could therefore hitherto have been easily overlooked. By the time of the first edition of Le Morte Darthur, which was completed on 31 July 1485, Caxton had his books set by forme (two pages in folio, or four pages in quarto at a time) as is proved, for example by the surviving printer's copy for the Nova Rethorica which was printed at Westminster, probably in 1479 " $(1982,127)$
    ${ }^{25}$ In 1969, before Hellinga's discovery, Blake had reached a different conclusion, that a scribe might have been responsible for the differences between Caxton's copy-text and the Winchester manuscript: "He [Caxton] used one manuscript (he mentions only one manuscript in his prologue), which included all the tales; and those tales appeared in his manuscript in the order in which he printed them... He did, on the other hand, frequently alter the language of his copy and add or delete episodes. As the Winchester manuscript is not the one that he used in setting up his text, it is not certain that the differences between the printed text and the manuscript should be attributed to Caxton rather to the scribe of the manuscript he was using; but this seems most probable and will be assumed here (1969, 108).

[^36]:    ${ }^{26}$ See chapters 6 and 7 for the analysis of the data from the prose texts.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ The St. John's College, Oxford, copy of Cx2 has been described as perfect by De Ricci (1909) and Dan Mosser (1996, 2000). The copy, although not bibliographically complete, has a complete text.
    ${ }^{2}$ There are practical reasons for choosing a single copy to be described. The main criterion for choosing the St. John's copy is that this was described as 'perfect' by Mosser and De Ricci (See previous footnote). It would also be extremely difficult to examine all the surviving copies of Cx2. According to Mosser, who renumbers the remaining copies and also offers De Ricci's numbering, there are fifteen, which are: (1) St. John's College, Oxford (De Ricci 23.1); (2) British Library (IB. 55095) (De Ricci 23.2); (3)British Library (De Ricci 23.3); (4) Yale Center for British Art (from the Paul Mellon Collection) (De Ricci 23.4); (5) Cambridge, Magdalene College (Pepysian Library) (De Ricci 23.5); (6) John Rylands Library (De Ricci 23.6); (7)Pierpont Morgan Library PML 693 (De Ricci 23.7); (8) Bibliothek Otto Schäfer (De Ricci 23.8); (9) Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Colgny-Genève, Switzerland (De Ricci 23.9); (10) Untraced? (De Ricci 23.10); (11)Untraced? (De Ricci 23.11); (12)Indiana University, Lilly Library (De Ricci 23.12); (13) Beinecke Library, Yale University (De Ricci 23.13); (14) Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales; (15) Takamiya Collection (See Mosser 1996).

[^38]:    ${ }^{3}$ However, these are not inferred signatures as Bowers would use them. The brackets just mark signatures which are not present in the copy, but with no implication that they should be present. Absent signatures are explicitly mentioned under 'Signatures.'
    ${ }^{4}$ See the printed appendix on the restoration work done to this exemplar (appendix 1).

[^39]:    ${ }^{5}$ These leaves might have been used to repair some damaged leaves. However, I have not found concrete proof of this use
    ${ }^{6}$ In order to prove this, we would need to find either the watermarked page --al must have had a watermark since its conjugate lacks it--, corresponding to those used by Caxton in one of the repaired leaves, or carry out a chemical analysis which would be destructive and, therefore, unlikely to be authorised by the library. For the position and kind of repairs see the appendix 'Restoration Work on the St. John's Copy' (See printed appendix 1).

[^40]:    ${ }^{7}$ These are described in detail below.
    ${ }^{8}$ The signature in this folio is ' i ' instead of ' j .'
    ${ }^{9}$ Blades presents the complete typecases of Caxton's types 2 and 4. Both 'r's are roman, that is the first lower case type presented by Blades 1863, vol II, plate XVIII.
    ${ }^{10}$ The first ' r ' --in bold-- in the word 'pardoner' is the second lower case presented by Blades, that is a 2 shaped 'r.' This 2-shaped ' $r$ ' has also been referred to as 'ragged r' by John Smith in his Printer's Grammar (Smith 1775, 117) a reference that I owe to Professor David L. Ganz. The second ' r ' in the same word is Blades' first case, that is a roman ' $r$ '. The 2 -shaped ' $r$ ' is represented in the running titles by $\mathbf{r}$.
    ${ }^{11}$ The ' $r$ ' at the end of 'syr' is a roman 'r.'
    ${ }^{12}$ The ' $r$ ' at the end of 'syr' is a 2 -shaped ' $r$.'
    ${ }^{13}$ The rest of ii 6 a, and the whole of $i i^{6}$ are blank.

[^41]:    ${ }^{14}$ Long 's' is used for the signatures.
    ${ }^{15}$ This running title has a 2-shaped ' $r$ ' for the word 'doctour.'
    ${ }^{16}$ Both 'r's in the word 'Pardoner' are 2-shaped 'r's.
    ${ }^{17}$ In the word 'Pardoner' the first ' r ' is a 2 -shaped ' r ,' the second ' r ' is a roman one.
    ${ }^{18}$ The 'r' at the end of 'syr' is a 2-shaped 'r.'

[^42]:    ${ }^{19}$ The 'r' at the end of 'syr' is a roman 'r.'
    ${ }^{20}$ The thickness as measured in other leaves is: $0.14 \mathrm{~mm} . \mathrm{dd} 7 ; 0.135 \mathrm{~mm} . \mathrm{p} 1 ; 0.170 . \mathrm{mm} \mathrm{h} 8 ; 0.155 \mathrm{~mm}$. D7; 0.135 mm . D6; 0.12 mm . K3; 0.15 mm . K5.
    ${ }^{21}$ The bulking thickness of the paper is 0.164 mm . Tanselle explains that the bulking thickness is usually larger than the thickness of leaves that have been measured individually. See Tanselle 1971, 59.

[^43]:    ${ }^{22}$ Since the measurements of the total of the type page are expected to cast light on the height and total opening of the chase, the width of the prose texts has also been measured.

[^44]:    ${ }^{23}$ This figure could represent the Carpenter, but there is no conclusive evidence of this.

[^45]:    ${ }^{24} \mathrm{He}$, however, tells us that this letter is found in $\mathrm{a} 2^{\mathrm{a}}$ of Troilus and Criseyde.
    ${ }^{25}$ Troilus and Criseyde and Quattor Sermones have been ruled with the same colour.
    ${ }^{26}$ The library has numbered this book as a manuscript because the three printed texts are bound with a manuscript of Lydgate's Siege of Thebes.
    ${ }^{27}$ The library records indicate that the book belonged successively to 'Roger Thorney, mercer of London (d. 1515), William Myddelton, John Stow (?), and Sir William Paddy, who gave it to St. John's College early in the $17^{\text {th }}$ century (See the St. John's College Library records, 20).

[^46]:    ${ }^{28}$ There is another leaf missing from Troilus and Criseyde.
    ${ }^{29}$ This term cannot be found on any standard manual of bibliography. Cf. Bowers (1949); McKerrow (1928); Gaskell (1972).

[^47]:    ${ }^{30}$ For details on the possible methods used to restore the book and for the positions of the restoration work, see the printed appendix 1 .

[^48]:    ${ }^{31}$ De Ricci has pointed out that the copy of Cx2 held at the John Rylands Library is also bound with Troilus and Criseyde. Although I have not had the opportunity to examine this copy, it seems curious that Troilus and the Canterbury Tales appear bound together in two separate copies of Caxton's printings.

[^49]:    ${ }^{32}$ See the printed appendix for the schematic distribution of the running titles.
    ${ }^{33}$ Blake observes that there is another instance of the spelling 'prologue' in the rubric at the end of the 'Man of Law's Prologue' $(1976,145)$.
    ${ }^{34}$ We must remember that the first two pages carry Caxton's 'Prohemye,' and it is possible that Caxton set the text for this part of the book himself, which might explain the different spellings found here. See Blades 1863, 163.

[^50]:    ${ }^{35}$ See the printed appendix on running titles.

[^51]:    ${ }^{36}$ The Canterbury font --used for all of the Canterbury Tales Project's transcriptions-- does not allow the distinction of the single type 'sh' ligature from the separate types for 's' and 'h.' For this reason, it is impossible to offer numbers such as the ones obtained for 'And' and ' And' --which were produced using automated searches.

[^52]:    ${ }^{37}$ These can be found in lines $5,21,22,25,27$ and 31.

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ Although it is difficult to know what exactly is their objective when critics refer to Chaucer's intentions, scholars seeking to discover them appear more or less consistently to be referring to his final intention, i.e. they attempt to reach the state of the text which they think Chaucer was moving towards. Examples of this can be found later in this chapter.

[^54]:    ${ }^{2}$ It seems a remarkable fact that these "inconsistencies" did not seem to trouble the scribes or their supervisors in the same degree as they irritate nineteenth and twentieth century scholars. Although, this did not prevent scribes and their supervisors from changing the position of the tales to make them agree with the links, and modifying the links to adapt them for use with different tales, their attitude towards the text appears to have been less inclined to the introduction of major changes than that of nineteenth and twentieth century editors.
    ${ }^{3}$ The documents in question include a journey made by John of France starting the $30^{\text {th }}$ of June and reaching Canterbury on the $4^{\text {th }}$ of July; also a diary showing Queen Isabella's expenses of her pilgrimage from London to Canterbury and back to Ospringe, which lasted from June $6^{\text {th }} 1358$, to June $12^{\text {th }}$ (she arrived in Canterbury on the $10^{\text {th }}$ ). A journey such as that would require a change of horses halfway (Rochester), a possibility which Furnivall dismisses because he thinks it unlikely that 30 fresh horses could have been hired since this would have implied the existence of an enormous business in one place (See Furnivall 1868, 42-3).

[^55]:    ${ }^{4}$ For example, a young man travelling alone on a fast horse --perhaps changing it for a fresh one on the way-- would been much quicker than a large group mounted on slower animals.
    ${ }^{5}$ This suggestion is based on L8 --the Man of Law's Endlink-- which names the pilgrim who would tell the next tale. There are several variants in the witnesses at this point and many of them have either the reading Squier or Summoner. Only one manuscript --Se-- has the reading Shipman, which might suggest that SH should follow ML. See the discussion of Eleanor Hammond's hypothesis below.

[^56]:    ${ }^{6} \mathrm{~A}$ discussion of this can be found later in this chapter.
    ${ }^{7}$ By the same token, we would not take seriously anyone who proposed to add the tales that are obviously missing. What we face, in cases like this, is a high degree of speculation which only leads to misrepresentation of the text. An example is J. F. Harvey Darton's children's version, in which not only do we have a complete version of the Tales until they reach Canterbury, but also tales told on the way back: John Lydgate's Tale, "The Destruction of Thebes", and the Merchant's Second Tale, "Beryn" (1904). A curious detail is that the introduction to Darton's book was written by Furnivall.

[^57]:    ${ }^{8}$ There are also references to Deptford and Greenwich in RE, but these have not been questioned since they comply with the realism sought by the critics, are mentioned early in the text, and correspond to the first part of the journey.
    ${ }^{9}$ This illustration has been taken from Baugh (1963).
    ${ }^{10}$ In pages 42-3, Furnivall printed a graphic which shows the distances, times and places in which he thinks the pilgrims stopped (1868). See footnote 3 in this chapter.

[^58]:    ${ }^{11}$ The most common arrangement is that MO is followed by NP, MA and PA. In a group manuscripts the order tends to be MO, NP, NU, CY, MA and PA. See table 2 in the printed appendix for a comparison.

[^59]:    ${ }^{12}$ "The question suggests itself whether the Man of Law's end-link could have been deleted by Chaucer in a working copy, the $S$ alone remaining legible, so that the word was read in various ways by later scribes." (Hammond 1905-6,159-78).
    ${ }^{13}$ The link is never used to introduce SU, even if 35 manuscripts have this reading, it links the ML with the SQ. The only exception happens with the reading "shipman," in Se , which is used indeed to link

[^60]:    with SH. In this sense, Hammond's argument is misleading because it suggests not only a variant in the reading of the link, but also a change in the tale that follows.

[^61]:    ${ }^{14}$ Skeat, at first, accepted Furnivall's order only to reject it in his later work (1907).
    ${ }^{15}$ "It is further quite certain that Block B2, with its allusions to Rochester, should precede Block D, with its allusions to Sittingbourne. Block B2 should not, however, be connected with Block B1, for it is clear that the ML Endlink belongs to an early stage of the development of Chaucer's plan and that he finally did not intend it for introducing and connecting the MLT with any tale now extant." (Manly and Rickert 1940, 2: 491).

[^62]:    ${ }^{16}$ See Edwards (1984, 180).

[^63]:    ${ }^{17}$ This figure illustrates the difference in tale-order between Cx 1 and Cx 2 , it does not show fragment I --GP, KN, MI, RE and CO or PA because there are no changes on these between the two editions. Figure 2 has been taken from table 1, which is based in Manly and Rickert's (1940, 2), with colors added to make clearer the different groups. Table 1 has deep limitations, that are overcome with a modified version of it --table 2. Please see the printed appendix for both tables 1 and 2.
    ${ }^{18}$ This is discussed below in reference to Hg.

[^64]:    ${ }^{19}$ In private conversation, Dr Robinson has clarified that the order that he refers to, is the one of the CL, SQ, ME, FK section only.

[^65]:    ${ }^{20}$ For a complete version of table 2 see the printed appendix.
    ${ }^{21}$ The manuscripts that have this use change the reading "Frankeleyn" to "Marchant" in several lines -675, 696, 699 (Manly and Rickert 1940, 2:298).

[^66]:    ${ }^{22}$ This link, with the readings "summoner" or "squire", is also present in the $\mathbf{d}$ group, but this is irrelevant since we know that the manuscript for $\mathbf{C x} 1$ belonged to $\mathbf{b}$.
    ${ }^{23}$ See the discussion about Hammond's hypothesis above.
    ${ }^{24}$ See figure 3 in this chapter.

[^67]:    ${ }^{25}$ This link is a five-lines addition to L31. It is found in some a manuscripts (Ad1 Cn En3 Ma).

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ When all the manuscripts are fully transcribed, it would be interesting to see if manuscripts such as Ht would show to be related to $\omega$ consistently throughout.

[^69]:    ${ }^{2}$ See lines CL 49, CL 251, CL 308, CL 685, SH 212 and PR 116.
    ${ }^{3}$ The witnesses collated for CL are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En 1 Gg Ha 4 Hg Hl 4 Ht La L11 Ra3. The witnesses collated for L13 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht La Lc Ld1 Ld2 L11 Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm Ne Nl Np Ph3 Ph4 Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 Se Si. The witnesses collated for L14 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En3 Gg Ha2 Ha3 He Hg Ht La Ln Ma Ne Np Py Ry2 Se.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ht has been transcribed for some of the tales and links in Set 13, so it might be possible, after analysing them, to draw further conclusions about the relationship between Ht and Cx 2 .

[^70]:    ${ }^{6}$ According to Manly and Rickert the variant distribution for this reading is: shours: Cn En1 Ln Si cours: Bw Dd (Dd1 corr) Ha3 Hg Hk Mc Ne Ps Py Ra1 Ry1 Ry2
    cources: He
    om: Gl
    out: Fi N1

[^71]:    ${ }^{7}$ The witnesses collated for NU are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht La Lc Ma Mc Me Mg Mm Ne Nl Ph2 Ph3 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl1 S12 Tc1 Tc2 To1 Wy. The witnesses collated for L33 are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La. The witnesses collated for CY are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Ha4 Ht La.

[^72]:    ${ }^{8}$ There are two variants in CY 630. It is important to point out that this set has two pieces of text that are not found in Hg . The agreements with El in L33 are CY are presented separately.
    ${ }^{9}$ These also include the variants in L33 and CY.

[^73]:    ${ }^{10}$ Variants that were of no especial significance --L33 16 and CY 584-- can be seen in the electronic appendix. d.

[^74]:    ${ }^{11}$ The witnesses collated for PH are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La. The witnesses collated for L21 are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La. The witnesses collated for PD are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La.

[^75]:    ${ }^{12}$ The witnesses collated for SH are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk Ht Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc2 To. The witnesses collated for L24 are: Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk Ht Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc2 To. The witnesses collated for PR are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Ct Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk Ht Ii Kk La Lc Ma Mc Mm Ne N1 Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 Se To. The witnesses collated for L25 are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To. The witnesses collated for TT are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne N1 Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To. The witnesses collated for L28 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn

[^76]:    Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To.

[^77]:    ${ }^{13}$ The text of SH in Gg goes from line 63 to 372.

[^78]:    ${ }^{1}$ In this and the following chapters, the variants have been silently regularised in the discussions. All the original spellings are retained.
    ${ }^{2}$ The tales and links signed with single lower case are: GP-KT-L1-MI-L2-RE-L3-CO, L7-ML, L15, ME, L8, SQ, L20, FK, and WB-L10-FR-L11-SU.
    ${ }^{3}$ See Manly and Rickert (1940, 23).

[^79]:    ${ }^{4}$ This difference arises from the fact that the variants in which Cx 2 agrees with Hg against El have the tendency to be archetypal, while thoese in which Cx 2 agrees with El against Hg are likely to have originated in a common hyparchetype.

[^80]:    ${ }^{5}$ The witnesses collated for GP are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Do Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ma Mg Mm N1 Ph2 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl2 Tc1 Tc2 To1 Wy. The witnesses collated for KT are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La. The witnesses collated for L1 are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 He Hg Hk Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm Ne Ox1 Ph2 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl1 Sl2 Tc1 Tc2 To1 Wy. The witnesses collated for MI are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 He Hk Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm Ne Nl Ox1Ph2 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl1S12 Tc 1 Tc 2 To 1 Wy . The witnesses collated for L2 are: Ad3 Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La. The witnesses collated for RE are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx 2 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La. The witnesses collated for L3 are: Ad3 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd El Gg HA4 Hg La. The witnesses collated for CO are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx 2 Dd El Gg Ha4 Hg La.

[^81]:    ${ }^{6}$ This line appears after KT 1798.

[^82]:    ${ }^{7}$. Please see archetypal additional lines in the electronic appendix d, chapter V, 1.2.1.

[^83]:    ${ }^{8}$ See the electronic appendix d, chapter 5, 1.3.1.2

[^84]:    ${ }^{9}$ Although this is a morphological variant, the Canterbury Tales Project policy is to distinguish the

[^85]:    variation in the past participle when Hg and El disagree, based on the fact that this type of variant could potentially affect the metre of the line.

[^86]:    ${ }^{10}$ Although Pn and Wy also agree in this reading, these used Cx 2 as their copy-text and are likely to have acquired the variant from it.

[^87]:    ${ }^{11}$ The witnesses collated for L7 are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La Ra3. The witnesses collated for ML are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3.

[^88]:    ${ }^{12}$ The witnesses collated for L15 are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3.

[^89]:    ${ }^{13}$ The witnesses collated for ME are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 He Hg Hk Ht Ii La Ln Ma Mg Mm Ne N1 Ph3 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 S11 S12 Tc1 Tc2 To1 Wy.

[^90]:    ${ }^{14}$ See Robinson's groupings in his stemmatic analysis of GP.

[^91]:    ${ }^{15}$. Ch has 'that hir thoughte' but the word 'that' has been deleted. Presumably the scribe corrected the reading because he found that it altered the metre of the line.

[^92]:    ${ }^{16}$ The witnesses collated for L 8 are: Cp Cx 1 Cx 2 Ha 4 Ht La Ra 3 .

[^93]:    ${ }^{17}$ The witnesses collated for SQ are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La.

[^94]:    ${ }^{18}$ The number given refers only to word variants and does not include those already discussed as part of the line additions or substitutions.

[^95]:    ${ }^{19}$ The agreements between El and Gg in this set are very consistent.

[^96]:    ${ }^{20}$. Unfortunately, Gg is incomplete at this point. In folio 277 r there are complete lines from 25 to 38 , and in 277 v from 67 to 76 . SQ stops at 606 . For this reason some lines cannot be collated and no conclusion can be drawn concerning Gg's affiliation.

[^97]:    ${ }^{21}$ The witnesses collated for L20 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bw Cn Cx2 Dl Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha5 Hg Ht Ii Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm N1 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ra2 Ra3 Ry2.

[^98]:    ${ }^{22}$ The witnesses collated for FK are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Ha5 He Hg Hk Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mg Mm Ne Nl Ph2 Ph3 Pl Pn Ps Pw Py Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl1 Sl2 Tc1 Tc2 To1 Wy.

[^99]:    ${ }^{23}$ The witnesses collated for WBP are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 Ha5 He Hg Hk Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ld2 Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm Ne N1 Ph2 Ph3 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Si Sl1 Sl2 Tc1 Tc2 To Wy. The witnesses collated for WBT are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La. The witnesses collated for L10 are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3. The witnesses collated for FR are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3. The witnesses collated for L11 are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3. The witnesses collated for SU are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La.

[^100]:    ${ }^{24}$ See Elizabeth Solopova $(1997,135)$.

[^101]:    ${ }^{1}$ When all the manuscripts are fully transcribed, it would be interesting to see if manuscripts such as Ht would show to be related to $\omega$ consistently throughout.

[^102]:    ${ }^{2}$ See lines CL 49, CL 251, CL 308, CL 685, SH 212 and PR 116.
    ${ }^{3}$ The witnesses collated for CL are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En 1 Gg Ha 4 Hg Hl 4 Ht La L11 Ra3. The witnesses collated for L13 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht La Lc Ld1 Ld2 L11 Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm Ne Nl Np Ph3 Ph4 Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 Se Si. The witnesses collated for L14 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En3 Gg Ha2 Ha3 He Hg Ht La Ln Ma Ne Np Py Ry2 Se.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ht has been transcribed for some of the tales and links in Set 13, so it might be possible, after analysing them, to draw further conclusions about the relationship between Ht and Cx 2 .

[^103]:    ${ }^{6}$ According to Manly and Rickert the variant distribution for this reading is: shours: Cn En1 Ln Si cours: Bw Dd (Dd1 corr) Ha3 Hg Hk Mc Ne Ps Py Ra1 Ry1 Ry2
    cources: He
    om: Gl
    out: Fi N1

[^104]:    ${ }^{7}$ The witnesses collated for NU are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht La Lc Ma Mc Me Mg Mm Ne Nl Ph2 Ph3 Pn Ps Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ra3 Ry1 Ry2 Se Sl1 S12 Tc1 Tc2 To1 Wy. The witnesses collated for L33 are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Ht La. The witnesses collated for CY are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1Gg Ha4 Ht La.

[^105]:    ${ }^{8}$ There are two variants in CY 630. It is important to point out that this set has two pieces of text that are not found in Hg . The agreements with El in L33 are CY are presented separately.
    ${ }^{9}$ These also include the variants in L33 and CY.

[^106]:    ${ }^{10}$ Variants that were of no especial significance --L33 16 and CY 584-- can be seen in the electronic appendix. d.

[^107]:    ${ }^{11}$ The witnesses collated for PH are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La. The witnesses collated for L21 are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Ha4 Hg Ht La. The witnesses collated for PD are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La.

[^108]:    ${ }^{12}$ The witnesses collated for SH are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk Ht Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc2 To. The witnesses collated for L24 are: Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gl Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk Ht Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc2 To. The witnesses collated for PR are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Ct Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk Ht Ii Kk La Lc Ma Mc Mm Ne N1 Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ra4 Ry1 Ry2 Se To. The witnesses collated for L25 are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To. The witnesses collated for TT are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 Hg Hk Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne N1 Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To. The witnesses collated for L28 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bo2 Bw Ch Cn

[^109]:    Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gl Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ii La Ma Mc Mm Ne Nl Ph1 Ph2 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 To.

[^110]:    ${ }^{13}$ The text of SH in Gg goes from line 63 to 372.

[^111]:    ${ }^{1}$ The witnesses collated for TM are: Ad1 Ad2 Ad3 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha2 Ha4 Hg Hk Hn Ii La Ma Mc Ne N1 Pp Se Tc1 To1 Wy. The witnesses collated for L29 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En1 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht Ii La Ln Ma Mc Mm Ne N1 Ph2 Ph3 Ps Ra1 Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 Se S11 Sl2 Tc1 Tc2 To1. The witnesses collated for MO are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Ds1 El En2 En3 Fi Gg Gl Ha1 Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Hn Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Mg Mm Ne Ph2 Ph3 Pw Py Ra1 Ra2 Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc1 Tc2 To1. The witnesses collated for L30 are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Me Mg Mm Ne N1 Ph2 Ph3 Ps Ry1 Ry2 Se Tc2 To1. The witnesses collated for NP are: Ad1 Ad3 Bo1 Bw Ch Cn Cp Cx1 Cx2 Dd Dl Ds1 El En1 En2 En3 Fi Ha2 Ha3 Ha4 He Hg Ht Ii La Lc Ld1 Ln Ma Mc Me Mg Mm Ne N1 Ph2 Ph3 Ps Pw Py Ry1 Ry2 Se S11 S12 Tc1 Tc2 To1. The witnesses collated for L30 are: Ad1 Ch Cn Cx2 Dd Ds1 En1 En3 Ma Ry1 Wy.

[^112]:    ${ }^{2}$ The witnesses collated for L36 are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Ds1 El Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3 Se. The witnesses collated for MA are: Ad3 Bo2 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Ds1 El Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3.

[^113]:    ${ }^{3}$ The witnesses collated for L37 are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Ds1 El En1 Gg Gl Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3. The witnesses collated for PA are: Ad3 Ch Cp Cx1 Cx2 Ds1 El En1 Gg Ha4 Hg Ht La Ra3. The witnesses collated for RT are: Cx1 Cx2 En1 Ha4 Ht La.

[^114]:    ${ }^{1}$ If a variant only appeared in $\mathrm{Cx} 2, \mathrm{Pn}$ and Wy , this would remain a singleton since both Pn and Wy are dependent on Cx2.

[^115]:    ${ }^{2}$ See, for example, the ambiguous variants in L8, L31 --12. Other good examples can be found in the variants in WBP in the first of the so-called added passages.
    ${ }^{3}$ An example of this can be found in the amount of glosses and commentary found in WBP and ML, in contrast with those found in MI. The interest of the scribes is also reflected in deliberate alterations made to the text.
    ${ }^{4}$ A good example of this is given by Ad3, quire 17, where the first folio is missing. This folio would have contained ME 61 and 62 or some variant of these lines, a potentially determinant factor to explain

[^116]:    the affiliations of this manuscript. In the same way, Ha4 lacks L20. If this had been available, the collation of the other witnesses could have been greatly enriched.

