FIVE HUNDRED YEARS
OF
CHAUCER CRITICISM AND ALLUSION
FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF CHAUCER CRITICISM AND ALLUSION (1357–1900)

BY

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INTRODUCTION

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FOREWORD.

The collection of this body of Chaucer references and allusions was begun nearly twenty-three years ago. For various reasons it has taken a long time to get the whole completed and printed (a six-years' interval, for example, during and after the war), and in any case it is clearly not, as Sir Thomas Browne would say, a work which a man, or a woman either, can do 'standing upon one legge.'

The idea of collecting a body of opinion on Chaucer was Dr. Furnivall's, and as early as 1888 he appealed in the Academy for a volunteer to undertake it. It was not, however, until 1901, when he met me, then an unwary as well as an eager student, that he succeeded in persuading anyone to undertake a task which was far heavier than either he or I then suspected.

It has now been done very much more fully than Dr. Furnivall at first suggested, and up to 1800 the references, as far as I have found them, are given fairly completely; from 1800 to 1867 the most important or interesting ones are selected, while from 1868, the date of the foundation of the Chaucer Society, to 1900, only the chief editions of the poet and a few notable or typical criticisms are included. This gradual thinning out was found necessary for reasons of sheer bulk of material.

An Appendix (A) contains additional English and Latin references, and two Appendices (B and C) give French and German ones. Further, a few copies of a "Supplement," containing some 900 additional allusions between 1868 and 1900, have been printed and placed in the chief public libraries.

The greatest care has been taken to guard against inaccuracies or misprints, as a compilation of this kind only justifies its existence in so far as it can approach to accuracy. But no large collection of detail is ever free from errors, and I
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can hardly hope that this is an exception. I shall be most grateful, therefore, if readers who discover mistakes will kindly tell me of them, and if those who know of important allusions to Chaucer not here included, will be so good as to send me the references.

No one can be more conscious than I am of how much better this work could be done, or indeed of how much better even I myself could do it were I to begin all over again. But faulty and incomplete as it is, I hope that in various ways it may be of use to students, and that it may perhaps serve as a humble but solid brick in the future building of a history of English poetics and poetical taste.

It only remains for me to thank all those who, throughout these years, have so generously helped me in sending me references, in searching for references and in copying and collating. To name them all individually would be too lengthy, but I must specially refer to Professor Churton Collins, who, during one fruitful evening, first started me on various lines of investigation, to Dr. Paget Toynbee, who has sent me many references, to Professor Hyder E. Rollins, who most generously handed over to me a valuable collection of Troilus allusions, and to M. J. J. Jusserand, who gave me several suggestions in connection with French criticism.

Among others who have helped in various ways, I desire to record, with much gratitude, the names of Miss Evelyn Fox, Major J. J. Munro, Mrs. H. C. Tait, and, above all, Mr. Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum, who is responsible for the Index, and without whose expert and invaluable help in recent years these volumes would, I fear, still be unfinished.

There is, however, one name and personality above all others to whom I owe, not only the suggestion of the work, but also for nine years constant stimulus, help and inspiration. All Chaucer students know Dr. Furnivall—I speak of him in the present, for his spirit still lives in the work which is being done—and they all owe him a debt. But no one of them owes him more than I do for encouragement, inspiration and generous and unsparing aid of every kind.

I cannot help wishing that in the Elysian Fields, or wherever
he may be, he could just have a look at the finished work which he initiated and so greatly desired to see accomplished; for, if he at all resembles what he was on earth, I know that these volumes, even with their many imperfections, would give him pleasure.

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**CAROLINE F. E. SPURGEON.**
INTRODUCTION.

This record of the changing attitude of Englishmen during five centuries towards one of their greatest poets furnishes food for thought of many kinds; literary, artistic and philosophical.

The aim of this Introduction is first to sum up, briefly and in a concise form, the actual results which the following documents furnish, and secondly to suggest, very tentatively, a few of the problems which these collected facts raise, and upon which they may help to throw some light.

Viewing the matter first of all from what is here our chief concern, namely, as a contribution towards the history of literary criticism, it will be discussed under the following headings:—

§ 1. An outline of the fluctuations of the literary reputation of Chaucer during the last five hundred years.
§ 2. An examination of the criticisms and allusions themselves, roughly grouped and sorted.
§ 3. The various classes of qualities ascribed to Chaucer.
§ 4. The evolution of Chaucer biography.
§ 5. A note on some Chaucer lovers and workers of whom we get glimpses throughout the centuries.

A few notes will then be made on more abstract or philosophical questions, and we shall consider our material to some extent as a contribution towards the history of poetics in England, more especially in connection with the following points:—

§ 6. The change or curve of literary taste and fashion.
§ 7. The birth and growth of criticism itself as an art.
§ 8. The gradual evolution of new senses in the race.
§ 1. AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHAUCER CRITICISM.

Broadly speaking, from 1400 to the present day, Chaucer’s reputation may be said to pass through six fairly well marked stages:—

(1) Enthusiastic and reverential praise by his contemporaries and immediate successors, which lasts to the end of the fifteenth century.

(2) The universal acknowledgment of his genius by the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, this admiration noticeably taking the form of imitation; whereas in England at this period Chaucer is admired rather more as a social reformer and as an expositor of vice and folly, than as a literary artist.

(3) The critical attitude, which begins towards the end of the sixteenth century with the Elizabethans. Chaucer still holds his place as prince of English poets; Sidney praises him, Spenser looks to him as master. Now, however, begins to creep in that general belief which clung so persistently to the minds of all writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; that Chaucer was obsolete, that his language was very difficult to understand, his style rough and unpolished, and his versification imperfect.

(4) During the seventeenth century this belief gains so much ground that Chaucer’s language is said to be an unknown tongue; the knowledge of his versification entirely disappears; for eighty-five years (1602–87) no edition of his works is published, and his reputation altogether touches its lowest point.

(5) Dryden’s *Fables* in 1700 inaugurate what may be called the period of ‘modernizations.’ This is a time of ever-increasing interest in and admiration for Chaucer, combined with the fixed belief that in order to make him intelligible or possible to modern readers his writings must be ‘refined’; that is, diluted and translated into current English. This phase may be said to have continued up to 1841, when the last ambitious ‘modernization’ was published, but it was co-existent with and largely overlapped the sixth and present period of—
§ 1. Period I. Contemporary Praise—Gower.

(6) Scholarly study and appreciation, dating from the publication of Tyrwhitt’s edition of the *Canterbury Tales* in 1775. Tyrwhitt made possible to the general reader the rational study of Chaucer’s own works by editing a careful and scholarly text of his Tales, and for the first time he definitely and clearly stated and proved the true theory of the poet’s versification, thus disposing of one of the most serious obstacles to the proper recognition of Chaucer’s greatness as a literary craftsman. This work was carried on and practically completed by the labours of the members of the Chaucer Society, founded in 1868, which prepared the way for the final scholarly complete edition of the poet’s works brought out by Professor Skeat in 1894.

Period I.—The early praise of the poet, and the estimation in which he was held, are more generally known than the tributes of later years, because portions of the eulogies by Gower, Lydgate, Hoccleve, Caxton, and others, are reprinted many times in various lives of Chaucer and editions of his works.

When we remember that Chaucer could only be read and praise of him be recorded in manuscript by a very limited public, the appreciation which he received from his contemporaries and which has come down to us, is remarkable. If we take into account the printing facilities and the growth of the reading public in Shakespeare’s time, and add to that the fact that the dramatist’s work could be seen and judged by the unliterary public, there is no comparison between the contemporary appreciation shown of the two poets. That given to Chaucer is undoubtedly greater, and the unquestioned recognition of his position as a great poet is as hearty as it is universal. The earliest literary reference, and it is only a possible one, occurs in one of Gower’s French poems, the *Mirour de l’homme* (1376–9), but there is considerable doubt as to whether Gower is here referring to Chaucer’s *Troilus* or not (see below, p. 4). The next reference is, curiously enough, also to *Troilus*,¹ but here

¹ For the early popularity of this poem, see pp. lxxvi–lxxvii below.
there is no doubt that Chaucer's work is meant. It occurs in the Testament of Love by Thomas Usk (c. 1387, see below, p. 8) and refers to a special passage in the poem (Troilus, IV, 953–1085). The discourse between the author and the fair lady who is Love (in imitation of that between Boethius and Philosophy) has been on divine foreknowledge and human freewill, and Love refers to Chaucer in the warmest terms as her own true servant who in wit and clear writing surpasses all other poets. Next, in point of time, comes the well-known message sent to Chaucer by Venus, in Gower's Confessio Amantis, which bears upon the margin of the manuscript the date 1390. Venus, in taking leave of Gower, sends a greeting to Chaucer, who, she says, is her 'disciple' and 'poete,' and to whom she is 'above alle othre' 'most holde,' and she bids him finish his work by making his 'testament of love' (see below, p. 10).

The next certain reference is by Lydgate, and it is from him and another contemporary and survivor, Hoccleve, that Chaucer receives the most constant and whole-hearted admiration in these earlier years. The praise and estimate of Chaucer left by these two comparatively obscure writers has a value for us which no other can have; for they alone—of all his critics save Gower—knew the poet personally; and we can gather from them not only the admiration he excited as an artist, but the personal devotion he inspired as a man. In the poems of Lydgate, during some forty years (c. 1400–1439), we find repeated allusion to and unstinted praise of his 'master Chaucer'; praise, which in spite of certain set phrases repeated more than once, we feel comes straight from the heart of the writer. Mingled with the praise are to be found little personal or characteristic descriptions, which are to many people the most precious things in Lydgate's voluminous writings; such, for instance, as that in the Troy Book (1412–1420), where he thus records his master's kindness, tolerance, and encouragement to younger writers, an amiable trait which from the literary point of view the hapless reader of Lydgate may often find occasion to deplore:—
For he pat was gronde of wel seyng
In al hys lyf hyndred no makyng
My maister Chaucer pat founde ful many spot
Hym liste not pinche nor gruche at euery blot
Nor meue hym sylf to perturbe his reste
I haue herde telle but seide alweie pe best
Suffring goodly of his gentilnes
Ful many ping embracid with rudnes.

It is in the translation of the *Fall of Princes*, written probably thirty years after Chaucer’s death, that there are most references to him, including the well-known passage giving a list of his writings (pp. 37–42 below). However, in the case of Lydgate—most garrulous of poets—the supreme proof of his admiration for Chaucer, greater than praise or than imitation itself, is the fact that he refrains from telling several stories or only tells them in the shortest possible way, because they have already been treated by the older poet. Thus, in translating Deguileville’s *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* ([1426]), Lydgate gives Chaucer’s version of the A.B.C.; and again in the *Fall of Princes* he says:—

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Myn Auctour here no lengere lyst soiourne,
Off this Emperours the Fallys for to wryte,
But in haste he doth his styel tourne
To Zenobia hire story for tendyte;
But, for chaunceer so wel did hym quyte
In this tragedyes hir pitous fal tentrete,
I wyl passe ovir Rehersyng but the grete.
```

Lydgate excels in frequency of reference to Chaucer, and Hoccleve perhaps in fervency. In his *Regement of Princes*, Hoccleve goes so far as to say that England can never again bring forth Chaucer’s equal: ‘Death myght have stayed her hand,’ he cries,

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She myghte han taried hir vengeance awhile,
Til that sum man had egal to the be.
Nay, lat be pat! sche knew wel pat pis yle
May neuer man forth bryngé lyk to the.
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§ 1. Period I. Caxton and the Book of Curtesye.

He calls him

The firste fyndere of our faire langage,

and again:—

O, maister deere, and fadir reuerent!
Mi maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence,
Mirour of fructuous entendemént.

And he goes on to liken him to Aristotle in philosophy, and to Virgil in poetry (below, pp. 21, 22).

So great and whole-hearted was the admiration and devotion given to Chaucer by these two men, his friends and followers, that we cannot doubt they would have been the first to acknowledge it fitting that the principal value of their writings to us—five centuries later—lies in their references to their ‘maister Chaucer.’

On the whole, amongst all Chaucer’s contemporaries and successors during the fifteenth century, the most discriminating appreciations are those given him by Caxton, and by the unknown author of the Book of Curtesye. The remarks of both writers sound curiously modern as to the qualities they specially single out for approval. Chaucer’s vivid powers of description, his felicitous use of words, his freedom from long-windedness—in which he differed so markedly from his contemporaries—all are noted by Caxton:—

He comprehended hys maters in short, quyck and hye sentences, eschewyng prolyxyte, castyng away the chaf of superfluyte, and shewyng the pyked grayn of sentence uttered by crafty and sugred eloquence. . . . [Prohemye to Canterbury Tales, 2nd edn. c. 1483, below, p. 62.]

He wrytteth no voyde wordes, but alle hys mater is ful of hye and quycke sentence. [Epilogue to the Book of Fame, below, p. 61.]

And in the Book of Curtesye (a. 1477), Chaucer’s works are recommended above all others:—

Redith his werkis / full of plesaunce
Clere in sentence / in langage excellent
Briefly to wryte / suche was his suffysaunce
Whateuer to saye / he toke in his entente
§ 1. Period II. The Scottish Chaucerians.

His langage was so fayr and pertynente
It seemeth vnto mannys heerynge
Not only the worde / but verely the thynge.

The imaginative power of the poet is here specially noted in a way which is not equalled until Sir Brian Tuke, fifty-five years later, wrote his introduction to Thynne's edition (1532).

One early piece of indirect praise must not pass unnoticed, more especially as it cannot find a place under the 'allusions'; and this is the charming poem of the Flower and the Leaf, so long attributed to Chaucer, now generally thought to have been written by a woman, probably about 1475. The authoress was evidently well acquainted with and an admirer of Chaucer's writings, more particularly the Prologue to and the Legend of Good Women. (See Skeat's Chaucer, vol. vii, pp. lxii-lxviii.)

Period II.—Next we come to the enthusiastic and reverent devotion expressed for Chaucer by the Scottish poets of the latter end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Henryson, Gawain Douglas, Dunbar and Lyndsay, all speak of him in terms of fervent admiration. Henryson, in 1475, wrote a continuation of Troilus and Cressida, called the Testament of Cresseid—for a long time included amongst Chaucer's works—in the beginning of which he says he made up the fire, took a drink to comfort his spirits and cut short the winter night, and then leaving all other amusement, he took down a book written by 'worthie Chaucer glorious, of fair Cresseid and worthie Troylus.' Gawain Douglas speaks of Chaucer in the Palace of Honour (1501) as 'a per se, sans peir in his vulgare,' and later as

Hevinlie trumpat, horleige and reguleir,
In eloquence balmy, condit, and diall,
Mylky fountane, cleir strand, and rose riall,
Of fresch endite, throw Albion iland braid.

When, later on, in this same Prologue (to the First Buik of Eneados, 1513), Douglas finds fault with Chaucer for not following Virgil accurately in his account of Dido (p. 72 below), he does so with great timidity, and a clear consciousness of his own inferiority:
§ 1. Period II. Dunbar and Lyndsay.

My master Chaucer greitlie Virgile offendit
All thocht I be to bald hyme to repreif.

Dunbar, in his *Lament, or the Makaris*, speaks of 'The noble Chaucer, of makaris flour'; and in the *Golden Targe* he surpasses all Chaucer's other Scottish followers in his enthusiasm:—

O reverend Chaucere, rose of rethoris all,
As in our tong ane flour imperiall
That raise in Britane ewir, quho redis rycht,
Thou beris of makaris the tryumph riall;
Thy fresch anamalit termes celicall
This mater coud illumynit haue full brycht:
Was thou noucht of our Inglish all the lycht,
Surmounting ewiry tong terrestriall
Alls fer as Mayes morow dois mydnycht?

Lyndsay, in the *Testament of the Papyngo*, also refers to Chaucer in the usual way. But a more remarkable testimony to the admiration felt, is the wholesale imitation of Chaucer by these Scottish writers. The ideas of their poems, the forms they assumed, whole passages, single lines, turns of phrase and words are borrowed from Chaucer, and suggested by him. James I, if he was the author of the *King's Quair*, was in 1423 the first Scottish imitator, and of all this group, this is perhaps the poem the most completely saturated with the master's spirit.

The Scottish view, then, was one of unstinted admiration, complete comprehension of Chaucer's writings, and hearty acknowledgment of his superiority as artist to every other English or Scottish poet.

In England, in the meantime, printing had been introduced, and we see by the books issued that Chaucer's popularity had not waned, for there was a continual demand for his works. Two editions of his *Canterbury Tales* were published by Caxton; and before the end of the fifteenth century two more followed from the presses of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson.

In 1532 William Thynne, the first real editor of Chaucer, brought out his edition of the poet's works, which must indeed have been a labour of love. Francis Thynne tells us that his
father had a commission from Henry VIII ‘to serche all the liberaries of Englane for Chaucers workes, so that oute of all the Abbies of this Realme . . . he was fully furnished with multitude of Bookes.’ This ‘multitude’ of copies, probably about twenty-five, Thynne collated to the best of his ability.

The dedication to Henry VIII, though signed by Thynne, was written by Sir Brian Tuke, and the following quotation may presumably be taken therefore as expressing the appreciation of both men:

I . . . haue taken great delectacyon . . . to rede and here the bokes of that noble & famous clerke Geffray Chaucer, in whose workes is so manyfest . . . suche frutefulnesse in wordes, wel accordyng to the mater and purpose, so swete and plesaunt sentences, suche perfectyon in metre, the composycion so adapted, suche fresshnesse of inuencion, compendyousnesse in narration, such sensible and open style . . . . . that it is moche to be marueyled, howe in his tyme . . . . . suche an excellent poete in our tonge, shulde . . . . . spryng and arye.

The literary influence of Chaucer in England in the sixteenth century can be clearly traced even before the publication of Pynson’s edition of the ‘Works’ in 1526. John Heywood owes a good deal to Chaucer in his Mery playe betwene the pardoner and the frere (written probably before 1521), and he incorporates in it two long speeches out of the mouth of Chaucer’s Pardoner. Later, in The Foure P’s, and in a ballad written in 1554, he shows further Chaucerian influence (see pp. 80–81 below).

The effect of Pynson’s Chaucer on the first English poet of the Renaissance was immediate, for Sir Thomas Wyatt’s debt to it between 1528 and 1532 is undoubted, and later his study of Thynne’s edition is equally clear (see below, App. A, a. 1542).

The general criticism of Chaucer in England in the early sixteenth century is, from a literary point of view, not quite so satisfactory as in Scotland. There are two things in especial which detract from the value of the remarks we find about him:

CHAUCER CRITICISM.
(1) That in the greater number of cases where he is praised, Chaucer is not, as he was by Hoccleve or Caxton, placed alone, but he is associated with Gower and Lydgate—sometimes with no apparent difference in the commendation bestowed—whilst one writer at least actually places Lydgate above him. This is Stephen Hawes, who, in his *Pastime of Pleasure* (below, p. 67), begins thus with the usual praise of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate:

> As moral Gower, whose sentences dewe
> Adowne reflareth with fayre golden beames,
> And after Chaucers, all abroade doth shewe,
> Our vyces to dense, his depared streams
> Kindlynge our hartes, wyth the fiery leames
> Of moral vertue, as is probable
> In all his bokes so sweete and profitable.

Hawes goes on to speak in warm terms of the *Book of Fame*, the *Legend of Good Women*, the *Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus*, and the reader is gratified with the discrimination shown, until he discovers that the writer is but leading up to a peroration on Lydgate, who receives a much larger share of praise, ending:

> O mayster Lydgate, the most dulcet sprynge
> Of famous rethoryke, wyth balade ryall,
> The chefe original of my lernyng.

This enthusiasm somewhat detracts from the value of his remarks on Chaucer.

Hawes, it is true, is in a minority of one in placing Lydgate above Chaucer, but the type of allusion which brackets the three early writers together on equal terms is very common,

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1 This habit began quite early, and he was first bracketed with Gower, Lydgate being later added to the list to make it complete, so that by the end of the 15th century it was a well-established formula. Such references are, for example, those by John Walton, 1410 (p. 20 below), James I, 1423 (p. 34), Bokenham, 1443-7 (p. 46), George Ashby, c. 1470 (p. 54), Thomas Feylde, 1509 (p. 70), John Rastell, 1520 (p. 73), Skelton, 1523 (p. 74), etc.

2 Until 1707, when an unknown writer in an essay on the old English poets and poetry, in the *Muses Mercury*, vol. i, No. 6, pp. 130–1, definitely states that Lydgate’s English and his ‘numbers’ are more polished than his master’s (see p. 295 below). This view reappears occasionally later, as in the article on Lydgate in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1780 (q. v. below), and in Sharon Turner’s *History of England*, 1815 (q. v. below).
§ 1. Period II. Chaucer annexed by the Reformers.

and shows a certain formalism and convention in the acknowledgment of the genius of the three ‘primier poetes of this nation,’ as Ashby calls them; and shows also, though not so markedly as in the case of Hawes, a lack of critical faculty. These shortcomings have to be borne in mind when we are estimating the early sixteenth century praise of Chaucer in England. We may compare, for instance, the difference in critical judgment shown by Douglas and Dunbar in their respective references to the three poets on pp. 65 and 66 below, and the supremacy unhesitatingly awarded by them to Chaucer, and the allusion by Hawes following next on p. 66, which, unlike his later one, is quite representative of the ordinary English attitude.

(2) The other point which lessens the value of Chaucer criticism at this time is also indicated in the verse quoted above, from Hawes’s *Pastime of Pleasure*, and that is that Chaucer is valued primarily as a reformer, as a moralist and satirist who exposes and rebukes vices and follies. This view is continually emphasised all through the sixteenth century, and for this characteristic Chaucer receives praise consistently from a curious assortment of critics.

He was annexed by the Reformers, not without reason, as a kind of forerunner and a sharer of their opinions with regard to Rome, as evidenced by his keen satirical exposure of the religious orders of his time. There is support for this view in the *Canterbury Tales* alone, and more especially in the *Prologue*, but when in addition Chaucer was credited with the authorship of *Jack Upland*, the *Pilgrim’s Tale*, and the *Plowman’s Tale* (all of them diatribes against the Church of Rome) one is not surprised to find him cited as a great religious reformer.

Foxe, writing in 1570, in his enlarged second edition of his ‘Book of Martyrs,’ expresses the views held on this point by a certain section of the serious thinkers of the sixteenth century, when he points out that the bishops, in condemning all English books that might lead the people to any light of knowledge, had yet allowed Chaucer to be read, takin’ his work ‘but for jests or toys,’ and not seeing or understanding that he ‘albeit . . .
in mirth and covertly 'was upholding the ends of true religion and was indeed a right Wicklifian. In this manner God—for the sake of his people—was pleased to blind the eyes of the adversary, that through the reading of the poet's books good might redound to the Church, which, says Foxe, has certainly been the case, for, 'I am partly informed of certain which knew the parties, which to them reported that by reading of Chaucer's works they were brought to the true knowledge of religion.' When we remember the popularity of Foxe's book, and the number of editions it went through, we realize he must have done a good deal to strengthen this conception of the poet. (See the whole passage, p. 106 below.)

This quaint view of Chaucer, as a theologian, reformer and moralist, is one which would, of all those here collected, perhaps have most surprised and amused the poet himself, yet it is held by certain writers with great persistence from the time that Leland (his first biographer, ante 1550) tells us that Chaucer 'left the University a devout theologian,' to the sketch of him prepared by Henry Wharton (c. 1687) as an addition to Cave's Ecclesiastical Writers, in which we are told that the poet was scarcely excelled by any theologian of his time in his zeal for a purer religion.¹

In addition to this conception of him as a reforming divine, he is much admired for the energy with which he scourges vice of all kinds, and he is referred to continually as an unquestioned authority in such matters. Thus Ascham, in speaking of gaming,

Whose horriblenes is so large that it passed the eloquence of our Englishe Homer to compass it: yet because I ever thought hys sayinges to have as much authoritye as eyther Sophocles or Euripedes in Greke, therefore gladly do I remembre these verses of hys [and he quotes from the Pardoner's Tale, see p. 85 below].

So also Thomas Lodge, in his Reply to Stephen Gosson (1579) says, 'Chaucer in pleasant vain can rebuke sin vncontrold, & though he be lauish in the letter, his sence is serious'; and Webbe notes that Chaucer,

¹ See also below, 1834, R. A. Willmott, Lives of Sacred Poets.
§ 1. **Period II. Chaucer condemned for 'flat scurrilitie.'**

by his delightsome vayne, so gulled the eares of men with his deuises, that . . . without controllment might hee gyrde at the vices and abuses of all states . . . which he did so learnedly and pleasantly, that none therefore would call him into question. For such was his bold spyrit, that what enormities he saw in any, he would not spare to pay them home, eyther in playne words, or els in some pretty and pleasant covert, that the simplest might espy him (p. 129, below).

Episodes or sayings in his poems are repeatedly quoted by divines and moralists, or even later by seventeenth-century Puritans, to point their remarks and support them in the denunciation of special sins,¹ so that one easily sees how it came to be generally believed, both by those who looked only to his moral teaching, and also by those who admired him as poet, but wished to justify their admiration by grounding it on morality, that—to quote Francis Beaumont—his 'drift was to touch all sorts of men, and to discover all vices of that Age.'

There were, however, a certain number of writers who held just the contrary opinion, and considered the poet's works to be anything but edifying literature. 'Canterbury Tale' seems very early to have been used as a term of contempt, meaning either a story with no truth in it, or a vain and scurrilous tale. We get three such references, curiously enough, in the same year, 1549, by Becke, Latimer and Cranmer; Wharton, in 1575, refers to the 'stale tales of Chaucer,' and Proctor (1578), and Fulke (1579), make similar allusions, while Thomas Drant (1567), and Sir John Harington (1591), openly condemn Chaucer, the latter for 'flat scurrilitie.' This is a view which, as we shall see later, gradually gained ground, although in the laxer days of the Restoration and earlier eighteenth century the poet was not condemned for it, and finally it completely ousted the aspect of Chaucer as a great moral reformer.

PERIOD III.—At the end of the sixteenth century the references to Chaucer become very numerous, and as a whole they are very appreciative. Among the most interesting are those by Sir Philip Sidney (1581?), by Gabriel Harvey (MS. notes c. 1585 and 1598), by Webbe and Puttenham in their discourses on poetry, by the unknown writers of Greene's Vision (1592) and of the Returne from Parnassus (1597), and by Francis Beaumont and Francis Thynne in their respective letters called forth by Speght's edition of Chaucer in 1598.

Francis Beaumont the judge (died 1598) was the father of the dramatist, and he prided himself on being one of those who first urged Speght to edit Chaucer. His letter (p. 145 below) is of particular interest, for in addition to his defence of the two faults of which Chaucer is most commonly accused—obsolete language and coarseness—he reminds Speght that when they were at Cambridge together (at Peterhouse, between 1560 and 1570) there were a group of older scholars there who were well read in Chaucer, and who commended him to the younger men, and it was they who first brought Speght as well as Beaumont himself to be 'in love' with the poet.

Francis Thynne, the son of William Thynne, the first editor of Chaucer (see 1598, below), was another Chaucer enthusiast. He had rather a chequered career, but ended finally by holding a post in the Herald's Office; he was a born antiquary, and, judging from his 'Animadversions,' a somewhat querulous and pedantic but kindly old man, much concerned with small points of detail, intensely proud of his family, of his father's good name and literary work, and of his own office as Lancaster Herald.

He evidently shared his father's love for Chaucer manuscripts, some five and twenty of which he inherited: some of them, he says, were stolen out of his house at Poplar, and some he gave to the parson. In any case he had made preparations for a new edition of the poet, when, in 1598, his acquaintance, Thomas Speght, brought out his new edition of Chaucer's works, and in his preface insinuated that no editor before then had collated manuscripts for his text. This, combined with the fact that he, the hereditary editor of Chaucer, had not been con-
sulted, enraged Thynne, and he at once produced the 'Animadversions,' in which he snubs Speght for his injustice to William Thynne, his lack of courtesy to himself, Francis Thynne, and his general ignorance, of which he gives detailed specimens.

The most interesting part of Thynne's treatise is the account he gives of his father's cancelled edition (pp. 151, 152 below). But the critical value of Thynne's comments is also considerable; only in four instances out of fifty is he wrong, and sometimes (as on the date of the Nonne Preestes Tale, 'Animadversions,' pp. 59–62) his notes are admirable, and always show great accuracy and scrupulous care in consulting authorities.

Altogether it would seem as if Francis Thynne, of all the Chaucer scholars up to Tyrwhitt, had been the best equipped to bring out a really correct and critical edition of the poet's text, and we can only regret that he did not carry out his intention to re-edit Chaucer (see below, p. 155), and more especially to try to distinguish between his genuine and spurious works; for, with the help of those twenty-five manuscript copies, especially the one inscribed 'examinatur Chaucer,' some invaluable evidence might have been supplied.

Among criticisms and appreciations of a more literary kind there is one writer at the end of the sixteenth century whose praise is more emphatic than any other, who of all his readers during these five hundred years has been most influenced by Chaucer's language and literary methods, and who, in his turn, has exerted so much influence over others, that he has justly been called the 'poet's poet.' Spenser's admiration for Chaucer began early, and continued to increase up to the time when he made his dying request to be laid near the master he loved and honoured. In the first great poem of the Elizabethan age, Chaucer is mentioned repeatedly, both in the introductory letter, the notes by 'E. K.,' and in the poem itself—where Spenser calls him 'Tityrus':—

The God of shepheards, Tityrus is dead,  
Who taught me homely, as I can, to make.  
He, whilst he lived, was the soueraigne head  
Of shepheards all that bene with loue y-take:
(O! why should death on hym such outrage showe?)
And all hys passing skil with him is fledde,
The fame whereof doth dayly greater growe.

This last line is interesting, and is probably quite true. Chaucer had as yet no rival in England. We know by Beau- mont's letter that at Cambridge twenty or twenty-five years earlier he was much read and discussed, and in the intellectual activity of the time, doubtless there was keen interest in the greatest and first English Poet.

The strong Chaucerian influence shown in the Shepheardes Calender and Mother Hubberd's Tale is well known, but the close resemblance of Spenser's Daphnaida to the Book of the Duchess, has not, until recently, been worked out, showing that Spenser, not only early, but also comparatively late in his career, is indebted to Chaucer for general subject-matter, form, incidents, words and phrases. ¹

Spenser has said some very graceful and beautiful things about

Dan Chaucer, well of Englishe vndefyled
On Fames eternall bead roll worthie to be fyled,

but his famous apology to his master when he was about to add an ending to the Squires Tale, in the fourth book of the Faerie Queene, is perhaps the finest tribute ever paid by one great poet to another.

Then pardon, O most sacred happie spirit,
That I thy labours lost may thus reuiue,
And steale from thee the meede of thy due merit,
That none durst euer whilst thou wast aliue,
And being dead in vaine yet many striue:
Ne dare I like, but through infusion sweete
Of thine owne spirit, which doth in me surviue,
I follow here the footing of thy feete,
That with thy meaning so I may the rather meete.

With Spenser as one of his strongest advocates and adherents, Chaucer now enters upon his period of storm and

§ 1. Period III. Chaucer's Versification is not understood.

stress; of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, buffettins of every description, and finally of obloquy and neglect.

We can see from all the references by critics and others at this time that it was already a matter of common opinion that Chaucer's style was rough and unpolished, his language obsolete, and his metre halting.\(^1\) As far as we can judge, his versification was not wholly understood by any one, the secret of it was lost when inflections were lost, no one seems to have been aware of the pronunciation of the final 'e'; with the result that there was a general agreement that the poet's verse was 'harsh' and 'irregular.' Spenser, his follower and admirer,—himself most musical of poets—when he thinks he is writing in Chaucer's manner produces this sort of verse:

But this I wot withall, that we shall ronne
Into great daunger, like to bee undone,
Thus wildly to wander in the world's eye
Withouten pasport or good warrantye.

or

His breeches were made after the new cut,
Al Portugese, loose like an emptie gut;
And his hose broken high above the heeling,
And his shoos beaten out with traveling,

thus showing plainly in his imitations of Chaucer's versification in Mother Hubberd's Tale and Colin Clouts come home again that he considers his aim best achieved when he writes irregular lines without the proper number of syllables, distinguished by a lack of harmony and rhythm such as we find nowhere else in Spenser's work.

This attitude both as to language and verse must have begun very early; for, little more than one hundred years after Chaucer's death, Skelton, in Philip Sparrow, feels it necessary to repudiate the idea that Chaucer is difficult to understand. His language, he says, was—

\(^1\) When we remember that Chaucer was known only through the blackletter texts which mangled his verse, this complete misconception of it is not extraordinary. See Wyatt's system of versification built on his reading of Chaucer in Pynson's 1526 edition (below, App. A., a. 1542).
At those days moch commended,
And now men wold haue amended
His english, where-at they barke,
And marre all they warke:
Chaucer, that famous Clarke,
His tearmes were not darcke,
But pleasaunt, easy, and playne;
No worde he wrote in vayne.

The various attitudes assumed by critics in discussing Chaucer's limitations are curious and interesting. There were those, who, like Spenser, felt something in themselves respond to Chaucer's touch, who knew he was a true poet and a great one, and looked upon his antique diction, and occasional ruggedness of versification—a fact which had to be conceded—as in themselves worthy of imitation, having proceeded from so great a master.

So we find Spenser not only deliberately composes rough and halting lines in the older poet's honour, but also goes so far in copying Chaucer's words (or rather what he thought were his words) in the Shepheardes Calender, that Ben Jonson was well justified in saying that in 'affecting the ancients, Spenser writ no language.'

This is the slavish imitation so strongly condemned by Ascham in The Scholemaster, when he says:—

Some that make Chaucer in Englishe and Petrarch in Italian, their Gods in verses, and yet be not able to make true difference, what is a fault, and what a iust prayse, in those two worthie wittes, will moch dislike this my writyng. But such men be even like followers of Chaucer & Petrarche as one here in England did follow Syr Tho. More: who, being most vnlike vnto him in wit and learning, nothertheles in wearing his gowne awrye vpon the one shoulder, as Syr Tho. More was wont to doe, would needes be counted like vnto hym.

Next there was the apologetic party—and this was largely in the majority—who, whilst honouring and revering Chaucer, yet deliberately avowed these great faults in him, the while excusing him on the score of his antiquity, and the barbaric age in which he lived. Such were Sidney and Webbe.
§ 1. Period III. Sidney, Webbe and Gascoigne. xxvii

Sidney, in his Apologie for Poetrie, says:

Chaucer, vndoubtedly did excellently in hys Troylus and Cresseid, of whom truly I know not, whether to meruaile more, either that he in that mystie time could see so clearely, or that wee in this cleare age walke so stumblingly after him. Yet had he great wants, fitte to be forgiuen in so reuerent antiquitie.

Webbe, in his Discourse of English Poetrie, says:

Though the manner of hys stile may seem blunt and course to many fine English eares at these dayes, yet in trueth if it be equally pondered, and with good judgment aduised, and confirmed with the time wherein he wrote, a man shall perceiue thereby even a true picture or perfect shape of a right Poet.

Again, there were those of the new classical school, the denouncers of ‘rude and beggarly riming,’ who actually praised Chaucer for the supposed irregularity of his metre, which they regarded as an approach to the classical method of quantitative verse. Gascoigne is one of these who gets curiously near the truth of Chaucerian versification without actually reaching it. For he maintains that some natural quality of the words, their sound, as he puts it, makes the short line right. They are not equal-syllabled and yet they scan. Thus, writing in 1575, he says:

Our father Chaucer hath vsed the same libertie in feete and measures that the Latinists do vse: and who so euer do peruse and well consider his workes, he shall finde that although his lines are not alwayes of one selfe same number of Syllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath vnderstanding, the longest verse and that which hath most Syllables in it, will fall (to the eare) correspondent vnto that whiche hath fewest sillables in it: and like wise that whiche hath in it fewest syllables, shalbe founde yet to consist of woorde that haue suche naturall sounde, as may seeme equall in length to a verse which hath many moe sillables of lighter accentes.

Lastly there were those—but they were woefully few—who would not allow these faults in Chaucer at all, and attributed
§ 1. Period IV. Chaucer considered antiquated.

them, when they did occur, either to lack of intelligence in the reader or to the negligence of the scribe.

Foremost amongst these was Thomas Speght, who stoutly upholds syllabic versification, and in his prefatory address to his second edition of Chaucer, writes:—

And for his verses, although, in divers places they may seeme to vs to stand of vnequall measures: yet a skilfull Reader, that can scan them in their nature, shall find it otherwise. And if a verse here and there fal out a sillable shorter or longer than another, I rather aret it to the negligence and rape of Adam Scriuener, that I may speake as Chaucer doth, than to any vnconning or ouersight in the Author.

PERIOD IV.—The edition of Chaucer's works in which the foregoing preface is to be found, was published in 1602, and there was no other edition brought out until 1687—an interval of eighty-five years. This speaks for itself.

Even the more hardy spirits who admired Chaucer foresaw this neglect, and were reconciled to it. They genuinely believed that he had had his day, and that he was too antiquated to endure. Daniel, in his Musophilus, as early as 1599, expresses this sentiment, and consoles himself by reflecting how long Chaucer's fame had already lasted:—

For what hy races hath there come to fall,  
With low disgrace, quite vanished and past,  
Since Chaucer liu'd who yet liues and yet shall,  
Though (which I grieue to say) but in his last.  
Yet what a time hath he wrested from time,  
And won vpon the mighty waste of daies,  
Vnto th' immortall honor of our clime,  
Vnto the sacred Relicks of whose rime  
We yet are bound in zeale to offer praise?

Even Chaucer's most ardent admirers at this time are forced to acknowledge that his language is obsolete, although they maintain that once that difficulty is surmounted, the reader is well rewarded.
§ 1. Period IV. Chaucer little read or understood. xxix

So Henry Peacham, the schoolmaster at Wymondham, says to his Compleat Gentleman in 1622:—

Of English poets of our owne Nation, esteeme Sir Geoffrey Chaucer the father; although the stile for the antiquitie, may distast you, yet as vnder a bitter and rough rinde, there lyeth a delicate kernell of conceit and sweet inuention. . . . In briefe, account him among the best of your English bookes in your librarie.

In spite of all the talk about Chaucer’s barbarous style, there was one writer, at least, who, even in the seventeenth century, maintained that he ought to be read easily, and that if not, the fault lay with his readers. This is Sir Aston Cockayne, who in 1658 writes:—

Our good old Chaucer some despise: and why?
Because say they he writeth barbarously.
Blame him not (Ignorants) but your selves, that do
Not at these years your native language know.

Notwithstanding the sound advice given by these two last-named writers, Chaucer was obviously little read and less understood, although his name continued to have great power. We find a curious illustration of this in John Earle’s remark in his Microcosmographie (1628), a collection of ‘Characters’ such as was dear to seventeenth-century writers, in which he defines the character of a Vulgar Spirited Man, as one ‘that cries Chaucer for his Money aboue all our English Poets, because the voice ha’s gone so, and he ha’s read none’; thus indicating that Chaucer was still called the greatest of English poets by those only who preferred to follow convention and tradition, rather than to use their own judgment.

By the end of the century Chaucer was frankly looked upon as antiquated and barbaric by the highest authorities in these matters. Waller, in his poem Of English Verse (first published 1668), says:—

Poets that lasting Marble seek,
Must carve in Latine or in Greek,
We write in Sand, our Language grows
And like the Tide, our work o’re flows.
§ 1. Period IV. Addison’s crushing estimate in 1694.

Chaucer, his Sense can only boast,
The glory of his numbers lost,
Years have defac’d his matchless strain,
And yet he did not sing in vain.

Crushing though this estimate may appear, it is complimentary compared with Addison’s judgment, delivered some twenty-six years later, to which, however, too much weight must not be given, as the critic was only twenty-one when he wrote it, and was obviously, as Pope remarked later (1728–30, see p. 370 below), ignorant of Chaucer. Still, taking it in conjunction with similar remarks by Waller, Howard (1689), Cobb (a. 1700), Wesley (1700), Bysshe (1702), Hughes (1707), and others, we may assume it to be the ordinary conventional view taken by most writers, though expressed with unusual force by Addison. These are his lines, in his Account of the Greatest English Poets (1694):

Long had our dull Fore-Fathers slept Supine,
Nor felt the Raptures of the Tuneful Nine;
Till Chaucer first, a merry Bard, arose;
And many a Story told in Rhime and Prose.
But Age has Rusted what the Poet writ,
Worn out his Language and obscur’d his Wit:
In vain he jests in his unpolish’d strain
And tries to make his Readers laugh in vain.¹

Other writers acknowledge Chaucer’s position in former times, but it is taken as understood that he is now quite superseded: so Edward Phillips (Milton’s nephew) in 1675 says:

True it is that the style of Poetry till Henry the 8th’s time, and partly also within his Reign, may very well appear uncouth, strange and unpleasant to those that are affected only with what is familiar and accustom’d to them, not but there were even before those times some that had their Poetical excellencies if well examin’d, and chiefly among the

¹ This is perhaps only equalled by the following judgment pronounced by Byron at the still more immature age of nineteen:

‘Chaucer, notwithstanding the praises bestowed upon him, I think obscene and contemptible; he owes his celebrity merely to his antiquity, which he does not deserve so well as Pierce Plowman or Thomas of Ercildoune.’ [Nov. 30, 1807.] Moore’s Life of Byron, 1875, p. 80.
§ 1. Period IV. Chaucer wins respect for his antiquity.

rest, Chaucer, who through all the neglect of former ag’d Poets still keeps a name, being by some few admir’d for his real worth, to others not unpleasing for his facetious way, which joyn’d with his old English entertains them with a kind of Drollery.

Later in the same work he speaks of him as ‘the Prince and Coryphaeus, generally so reputed, till this Age, of our English Poets, and as much as we triumph over his old fashion’d phrase and obsolete words, one of the first refiners of the English language.’

There are numerous other references of this description to Chaucer. Sir Thomas Pope Blount in his De Re Poetica (1694) says:

‘This is agreed upon by all hands, that he [Chaucer] was counted the chief of the English Poets, not only of his time, but continued to be so esteem’d till this Age,’ and so on. It is generally agreed, except by Waller, Cowley and Addison, that with all his shortcomings, Chaucer refined our English, and deserves respect and mention because of his antiquity. So Rymer in the Short View of Tragedy tells us:

They who attempted verse in English, down till Chaucers time, made an heavy pudder, and are always miserably put to’t for a word to clink. . . . Chaucer found an Herculean labour on his Hands; And did perform to Admiration. He seizes all Provencal, French or Latin that came in his way, gives them a new garb and livery, and mingles them amongst our English: turns out English, gowty, or super-annuated, to place in their room the foreigners, fit for service, train’d and accustomed to Poetical Discipline.

This, as Professor Ker points out,¹ is ‘the passage of literary history summed up in Rymer’s Table of Contents in the following remarkable terms: Chaucer refin’d our English, Which in perfection by Waller.’ ²

In addition to the recognition of his work as ‘refiner,’ Chaucer, although no longer looked upon as the greatest, is

² For a more detailed account of the attitude towards Chaucer as the refiner’ and remodeller of the English language, see pp. lxxiii, lxxiv below.
§ 1. Period IV. Drayton, Denham, Strafford and Milton.

the first or earliest English poet; priority in point of time is still granted him, and is by some considered his greatest title to fame. So Drayton, in his Epistle to Henry Reynolds (1627) alludes to him as:

That noble Chaucer, in those former times,
The first inrich’d our English with his rimes,
And was the first of ours, that euer brake,
Into the Muses treasure, and first spake
In weighty numbers,

And Sir John Denham begins his poem on the death of Cowley thus:

Old Chaucer, like the Morning Star,
To us discovers day from far,
His light those Mists and Clouds dissolv’d,
Which our dark Nation long involv’d;
But he, descending to the shades,
Darkness again the Age invades.

There are, however, a few bright spots in this somewhat gloomy outlook.

It is of interest to note that 'the great person' Strafford clearly knew the Canterbury Tales well and quoted them readily, as may be seen in his two letters of 1635 and 1637 (App. A. pp. 69, 70). Doubtless his liking for Chaucer was known to his friends, and so we find Lord Conway, when writing to Strafford, also referring to the poet (ibid., p. 70).

There is no doubt that Milton was well acquainted with Chaucer's writings, although he cannot be said to have left any record in praise of them, except the well-known invocation to Melancholy in Il Penseroso, to

... call up him that left half told
The story of Cambusean bold,

and he couples him in this connection with Musæus and Orpheus.

At the beginning of the poem, when he banishes the 'fancies fond'

'as thick and numberless
As the gay motes that people the Sun Beam'
there is a clear reminiscence of the twelfth line of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, and he refers to that Tale no less than three times in his *Common-place Book*, where he also quotes with special approval from the *Physiciens Tale* the condemnation of feasts and dances for the young (see below, a 1674).

About the same time that Milton was writing *Il Penseroso*, another great admirer of Chaucer was preparing a somewhat curious composition in his honour. This was Sir Francis Kynaston, who, in 1635, brought out the first two books of *Troilus and Cressida*, translated into Latin rimed verse. It is a quaint little volume, with the English on one side and the translation on the opposite page. In the preface, which is also in Latin, Kynaston tells us how he daily saw Chaucer coming to be more despised and less known, while clothed in the ancient English tongue; and so he determined to rescue him from this oblivion, and to secure his fame for all ages by turning him into Latin. Fifteen prefatory poems by various writers, ten of which are also in Latin, nearly all agree in saying that Chaucer's fame is almost dead, because few people can understand what he wrote; but that will now be changed, and he will live for ever, and be known throughout the world in the Latin of Kynaston.

This desire to translate Chaucer into Latin was one of the curious outcomes of the belief which was so general in the seventeenth century, and lasted on in many minds during the eighteenth century, that the English language being in a continual state of change had no stability, and that the writings of one age would be quite unintelligible to succeeding generations. (See Pope in his *Essay on Criticism*, pp. 310–11, below.) This was the belief which led Bacon to have his English works translated into Latin in order to secure their permanence, 'for,' as he writes in 1623, 'these modern languages will at one time or other play bankrupt with books.' We have seen Waller, in his lines on English verse (1668), expressing the same opinion (see also Edward Phillips, 1675), and one writer at any rate went so far as to wish that all our poets, including Shakespeare, had written in Latin instead of in their mother tongue.

**CHAUCER CRITICISM.**
This was Dr. William King (1663–1712), best known perhaps as the author of *A Journey to London in the Year 1698*, who remarks in his *Adversaria* :

It is pity, that the finest of our English poets, especially the divine Shakespeare, had not communicated their beauties to the world so as to be understood in Latin, whereby foreigners have sustained so great a loss to this day; when [sic] all of them were inexcusable but the most inimitable Shakespeare. I am so far from being envious, and desirous to keep those treasures to ourselves, that I could wish all our most excellent Poets translated into Latin that are not so already.

' This hint of the Doctor's,' continues his editor, John Nichols (writing in 1776), 'was not lost. Among other things, we have seen since not only a Latin translation of Prior's *Solomon* but even of Milton's *Paradise Lost* excellently performed in verse by Mr. Dobson, Fellow of New College, Oxford,' and he goes on to detail other essays of the same nature. (See *Adversaria*, in Original Works of . . . Dr. William King, 1776, vol. i, p. 241, also p. xxix.)

To return to other admirers of Chaucer in the seventeenth century. One of these is mentioned by Pepys in his *Diary*, when on the 14th of June, 1663, he notes an assembly at Sir William Penn's. 'Among the rest,' he writes, 'Sir John Minnes brought many fine expressions of Chaucer, which he doats on mightily, and without doubt he is a fine poet.'

Sir John Minnes was a retired vice-admiral and a controller of the navy, who in business matters was a continual thorn in the side of his subordinate, the Clerk of the Acts, who refers to him more than once as a 'doating fool,' and says he 'would do the king more hurt by his dotage and folly than all the rest can do by their knavery.' (*Diary*, March 2, 1667–8). Although apparently quite inefficient and tactless in his office, Minnes had an undoubted reputation as a lover of the fine arts and a wit, for we find Sir William Coventry swearing to Pepys that Minnes was so bad at his work, that he (Coventry) would henceforth be against a wit being employed in business. Minnes published
§ 1. Period IV. Samuel Pepys buys Chaucer’s Works. xxxv

several books (e.g. *Wit and Drollery*, 1656); Pepys quotes many of his stories with evident gusto (e.g. Oct. 30, 1662), he alludes to his judgment in pictures (Sept. 28, 1663), and he records another pleasant evening (Sept. 18, 1665), when having had news of the defeat of the Dutch, they made merry together, and Minnes and John Evelyn vied with one another in bouts of wit, Evelyn on this occasion surpassing Minnes in the latter’s ‘own manner of genius.’

Thus Minnes may be assumed to have had certain qualifications for judging of Chaucer, and he is an interesting example of the genuine admiration of and enthusiasm for the poet to be found in unexpected places, even when his fame was at its lowest.

Pepys himself had a fondness for Chaucer. In an entry of Dec. 10, 1663, he tells us he went to his booksellers, and names a number of books which he looked through before making his final choice. A Chaucer was among the number, and he was evidently sorely tempted; but he did not buy it on that occasion, although he must have done so later, for in July of the following year (1664) we find him going to the binder’s about ‘the doing of my Chaucer, though they were not full neat enough for me, but pretty well it is; and thence to the clasp-maker’s to have it clasped and bossed.’ The next day he takes the copy home, well pleased with it, and a month later he quotes Chaucer: so in addition to having the poet’s works bound and ‘clasped and bossed,’ he must also have read them. It was thirty-four years later, when Dryden one day was dining with him, that Pepys recommended to him the character of Chaucer’s ‘Good Parson,’ which led Dryden to put it into ‘his English.’ (See Dryden’s letter to Pepys, July 14, 1699, p. 270 below.)

Richard Brathwait, a north-country squire of literary tastes, who published in 1665 a comment upon two of Chaucer’s Tales, is forced to take a very curious position in order to defend his favourite. He contends that the substance of what Chaucer says is so good that the manner of saying it matters comparatively little. In a quaint little Appendix at the end of
that he could allow well of Chaucer, if his Language were Better. Whereto the Author of these Commentaries return'd him this Answer: "Sir, it appears, you prefer Speech before the Head piece; Language before Invention; whereas Weight of Judgment has ever given Invention Priority before Language. And not to leave you dissatisfied, As the Time wherein these Tales were writ, rendered him incapable of the one; so his Pregnancy of Fancy approv'd him incomparable for the other." Which Answer still'd this Censor, and justified the Author.

Brathwait is interesting as a survival—far into the seventeenth century—of the Elizabethan attitude towards Chaucer. As a matter of fact he had written his Comment in 1617, and, for some unknown reason, waited forty-eight years to publish it, by which time he was an old man of nearly eighty. In the Appendix, however, written at the time of publication, Brathwait shows that in spite of the change in public opinion as to Chaucer's merits, he clings faithfully to the tradition of his youth. He knew the poet's works well and loved them genuinely; could his life be renewed he tells us 'his Youthful genius could not bestow his Endeavour on any Author with more Pleasure nor Complacency to Fancy, than the Illustrations of Chaucer.' For him Chaucer is still 'the Ancient, Renowned and Ever Living Poet'; his teaching is sound and moral and his imagination and wit incomparable, although owing to the dark age in which he lived his style is often rude and rough. This view in the early years of the seventeenth century was common enough; but when Brathwait in 1665 published his little volume, containing a few whole-hearted words of praise of him who, so he never doubted, was the greatest of English Poets, the old man's opinions and literary tastes were quite behind the times, thoroughly old-fashioned and obsolete. They differed widely from those held by Waller and Cowley (see Dryden, Preface to Fables, 1700, below), and later by Addison; but they dated back to the days when Edmund Spenser counted
§ 1. Period V. Dryden compares Chaucer to Ovid. xxxvii

it his greatest honour to call 'Dan Chaucer' master, and his highest aspiration to follow in the 'footing' of his feet.

With Brathwait's little book we may end our account of the very few bright places of Chaucer criticism during the time of gloom and neglect encountered by the old poet in the seventeenth century, and Brathwait himself seems to help to bridge over this dreary interval, by reaching out a hand on the one side to Spenser, and on the other to Dryden, forming thus a link between one of the greatest of English poets and one of the greatest of English critics, who were each distinguished by their appreciation of Geoffrey Chaucer.

Period V.—In 1700 appeared Dryden's volume of Fables, which contained the modernized version of several Chaucerian poems, prefixed by Dryden's celebrated dissertation, which is the first detailed and careful criticism of Chaucer, as well as one of the most interesting literary discussions ever written.

He compares Chaucer to Ovid, and actually prefers the English poet, for which, he says, the vulgar judges 'will think me little less than mad.' He notes Chaucer's power of vivid description,—'I see,' he says, 'all the Pilgrims in the Canterbury Tales, their Humours, their Features, and the very Dress as distinctly as if I had supp'd with them at the Tabard in Southwark;'-his good sense: 'He is a perpetual Fountain of good Sense;'-his feeling of proportion: 'He . . . speaks properly on all Subjects: As he knew what to say, so he knows also when to leave off; a continence which is practised by few Writers, and scarcely by any of the Ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace;'-his truth to Nature: 'Chaucer follow'd Nature everywhere, but was never so bold to go beyond her;'-his power of characterization: 'He must have been a Man of a most wonderful comprehensive Nature, because, as it has been truly observ'd of him, he has taken into the Compass of his Canterbury Tales, the various Manners and Humours of the whole English Nation, in his age. Not a single Character has escap'd him. All his Pilgrims are severally distinguish'd from
§ 1. 

Dryden's appreciation and its influence.

each other; and not only in their Inclinations, but in their very Phisiognomies and Persons.'

Such a discerning criticism as this, coming from such a writer as Dryden, carried with it great weight, and all through the eighteenth century we can trace its influence. Those who knew something of Chaucer, and liked what they knew, had the authority of the great Mr. Dryden to support them in a judgment they might otherwise have hesitated to express. Thus one can feel Elizabeth Elstob \(^1\) (1715) is emboldened by her knowledge of Dryden; and Dart, and later Cibber, are strengthened in their apology for Chaucer's language by the argument that even Dryden did not in some places attempt to alter it (pp. 361, 406 below); while George Sewell (1720), who writes the most sensible and enlightened criticism of Chaucer between Dryden and Warton, is obviously well pleased that he has the greatest modern poet and critic on his side. Some of those who would be naturally inclined to depreciate Chaucer, are a little restrained and often not a little puzzled by Dryden's attitude in the affair. In a curious dialogue in a coffee-house in hell between Dryden and Chaucer, written by Thomas Brown (a. 1704) Chaucer is represented as thanking his successor for the honour he has done him in furbishing up some of his 'old musty Tales,' but he remonstrates strongly with him for his exaggeration in likening him to Ovid. To this Mr. Dryden, anticipating the methods of Dr. Johnson, thus makes reply: 'Why, sir, I maintain it, and who then dares be so saucy as to oppose me?' One feels in truth that the adverse, often contemptuous criticism of the earlier eighteenth century is very greatly weakened by the firm stand taken by Dryden.

With regard to Chaucer's verse, Dryden is not so happy. 'It is,' he says, I confess, 'not Harmonious to us; ... They who liv'd with him, and some time after him, thought it Musical. ... There is the rude Sweetness of a Scotch Tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect.' Then

\(^1\) 'It will not be taken amiss,' she says apologetically, 'by those who value the Judgment of Sir Philip Sydney and Mr. Dryden if I begin with Father Chaucer' (see p. 338 below).
follows Dryden's famous denunciation of Speght's theory, that the fault might possibly lie with the readers:

'Tis true, I cannot go so far as he who publish'd the last Edition of him; for he would make us believe the Fault is in our Ears, and that there were really Ten Syllables in a Verse where we could find but Nine: but this Opinion is not worth confuting; 'tis so gross and obvious an Error, that common Sense . . . must convince the Reader, that Equality of Numbers, in every Verse which we call Heroick, was either not known, or not always practis'd, in Chaucer's Age.

In addition to giving his own estimate, Dryden also shows in this preface the general attitude of the age towards Chaucer. There were two objections, he says, raised to this work of modernization, and raised by two parties or classes of people who took entirely opposed views of Chaucer. The first class objected that the subject was unworthy of his pains, because, says Dryden, 'they look on Chaucer as a dry old-fashioned wit—not worth reviving.' Doubtless Waller, had he still been alive, would have endorsed this view. Addison certainly did. Dryden himself cites Cowley:

I have often heard the late Earl of Leicester say, that Mr. Cowley himself was of that opinion; who, having read him over at my Lord's Request, declared he had no Taste of him. I dare not advance my Opinion against the Judgment of so great an Author: But I think it fair, however, to leave the Decision to the Publick. Mr. Cowley was too modest to set up for a Dictautour; and being shock'd perhaps with his old Style, never examin'd into the depth of his good Sense.

The other party considered Chaucer should not be modernized 'out of a quite contrary Notion,' says Dryden. 'They suppose there is a certain Veneration due to his old Language; and that it is little else than Profanation and Sacrilege to alter it.' Foremost amongst these, Dryden mentions the Earl of Leicester (who had persuaded Cowley to read Chaucer) 'who valued Chaucer as much as Mr. Cowley despis'd him.' He had indeed dissuaded Dryden from his intention to modernize the
§ 1. Period V. The first 'Modernizations.'

poet; and Dryden had refrained from doing so until after Lord Leicester's death.

Between these two extreme views Dryden himself takes up an intermediate one, of admiration and veneration for Chaucer, combined with a conviction, that in order to perpetuate his memory, he must be translated. 'Chaucer, I confess, is a rough Diamond, and must first be polish'd e'er he shines.'

This work of 'polishing' continued for nearly one hundred and fifty years; all sorts and conditions of writers, from the greatest poets down to the most obscure scribblers—from Dryden, Pope and Wordsworth, to Ogle, Betterton and Lipscomb—tried their hands in turn at it; and when we see the consensus of opinion in England, headed by Dryden himself, as to the complete obsoleteness of Chaucer's language, we are not surprised that so many attempts were made to 'improve' and modernize it.

There is no question but that the men of the eighteenth century were as firmly convinced as their forefathers that the continual change in the English language was destined to render unintelligible, within a comparatively short period, all writers who chose that medium.¹ Their suggested remedy, however, was not to write in Latin as urged by Bacon or Waller, but the introduction of a mysterious process, reminiscent of the photographic 'dark room,' which they called 'fixing the language.'

Swift's well-known letter to Lord Oxford in 1712 best expresses the views generally held at this time on the subject; he there says that every man can hope to be read with pleasure for a few years only. After that he will need an interpreter; and he urges on the Earl in his function as Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain to lose no time in establishing an academy to fix a standard of speech.²

This argument is based on the assumption that the further

¹ See, for instance, the last paragraph in the quotation from Cibber's Lives of the Poets, 1753, p. 407 below.

removed we are from a period in time, the less intelligible will become its words and grammar. In one sense this is true, particularly of uncultivated speech. But the formation of a great literature, and the spread of a general knowledge of reading, at once checks this tendency. The great authors are increasingly read and studied, until their words and turns of phrase become familiar, so that language, and more especially the cultured written language, instead of moving on in a straight line, away from its source, tends to revolve about its literature.1

One's natural inclination would be to think that Shakespeare, Spenser and Chaucer would have been more intelligible to the men of Queen Anne's time than they are to us, two hundred years later. But this was not the case. What collector of an English anthology would to-day think of excluding Shakespeare's poems on the ground that his language was obsolete? Yet in 1702, we find Bysshe, in his Preface to The Art of English Poetry, saying that the reason 'the Good Shakespeare' is not so frequently quoted in his book as he otherwise deserves to be, is because, like Chaucer and Spenser, the garb in which he is clothed is so out of fashion that readers of that age have no ear for him (see pp. 290-91 below). This is probably one of the works indignantly referred to by Charles Gildon in 1718 (Advertisement to Shakesperiana in The Complete Art of Poetry, p. 303) when he writes: 'Finding the inimitable Shakespear rejected by some Modern Collectors for his Obsolete Language, and having lately run over this great Poet, I could not but present the Reader with a Specimen of his Descriptions and Moral Reflections, to shew the Injustice of such an Obloquy.' 2

What poet of to-day would append a glossary to his verses to explain the following 'obsolete words':—' to appal,' ' to carol,' 'certes,' 'deftly,' 'fays,' ' glee,' ' lea,' ' lithe,' ' loathly,'

1 See Lounsbury, Studies in Chaucer, iii, p. 145-50.
2 Shakespeare's language being looked upon as obsolete, or at any rate difficult, naturally was a bar to his being read, and probably at no period was he so little known as in the first quarter of the 18th century. Thus we find the Duke of Buckingham, who refers to Falstaff in his poem called 'An Essay on Poetry' in 1721, adding the following doubtless necessary footnote: 'An admirable Character in a Play of Shakespeare's.'
§ 1. Period V. Chaucer's language considered unintelligible.

'sooth' and 'thrall'? Yet these words are all carefully expounded by Thomson in the glossary to his Castle of Indolence published in 1748; and Gay, in his notes to The Shepherd's Week, in 1714, explains such words as 'doff,' 'don,' 'token,' 'scant,' 'deft,' 'glen' and 'dumps.'

At this time (when imitations of Spenser were so much in vogue) one finds continually glossaries appended to poems explaining what to all readers to-day are perfectly familiar terms. Thus, in notes to 'The Salisbury Ballad' (see below, p. 329), published in 1714, we find 'lore,' 'bouncing,' 'twang,' 'bard,' and 'lyre' all carefully annotated and interpreted, and in a contemporary hand in a copy of this same book (in the British Museum), extra notes are made on some of the words not explained by the editor, among which is 'blithe,' an old word for cheerfull.' These details are cited to prove what really was the case, that the ignorance of our earlier literature was at this time so great, that words and phrases which are to us to-day perfectly familiar and in ordinary use, were then practically unknown.

No wonder, then, that the English of Chaucer was looked upon as to all intents and purposes a dead language, for the comprehension of which a special and an arduous course of study was necessary. Thus, in an essay on the old English poets, written in 1707, we are told that in order to understand Chaucer, his readers will need a knowledge of French and also of Dutch, because 'there is so much of the Saxon or German Tongue in his language' (below, p. 295).

On almost every page which deals in any way with English poetry at this time are to be found remarks of the nature of the following lines addressed by Elijah Fenton to Mr. Southerne, in which he says:—

Chaucer had all that Beauty cou'd inspire,
And Surry's Numbers glow'd with warm Desire:
Both now are priz'd by few, unknown to most,
Because the Thoughts are in the Language lost;
Ev'n Spencer's Pearls in muddy Waters lye,
Rarely discover'd by the Diver's Eye:
Rich was their Imag'ry, till Time defac'd
The curious Works, but Waller came at last. . . .
§ 1. *Period V.* Chaucer's name synonymous with decay. xliii

Then follows the usual glowing panegyric which the name of Waller invariably aroused. This extract is of interest, as showing that not only Chaucer, and, as we have already seen, Shakespeare, but Surrey and Spenser are looked upon as obsolete in the year 1711.

Thus we find Chaucer's language, and by degrees his very name becoming synonymous with decay. In some verses written on the great actress, Mrs. Oldfield (died 1730), the writer moralizes on the transitoriness of human fame and says:

In vain secure of deathless praise,
There poets' ashes come,
Since obsolete grows Chaucer's phrase,
And moulders with his tomb.

Pope, in his *Essay on Criticism*, is but carrying this gloomy belief to its melancholy but logical conclusion, when he asserts that the writers of his day would in their turn be as unintelligible to succeeding generations as Chaucer was to his.

Short is the date, alas! of modern rhymes,
And 'tis but just to let them live betimes.
No longer now that golden age appears,
When patriarch wits survived a thousand years.
Now length of fame (our second life) is lost,
And bare threescore is all ev'n that can boast;
Our sons their fathers' failing language see,
And such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be.

It is small wonder then, in view of this state of affairs, that those who cared for Chaucer should have done their utmost to translate him into intelligible language whilst yet there was time, and whilst they themselves had still some glimmering of his meaning. Dryden and Pope set the fashion,1 each in his turn clothing the poet anew, and it was in the dress provided by them that Chaucer was principally known to readers of the eighteenth century.

There is no need to say anything here about these modernizations; they are well known, and they have their own merits.

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1 There was one earlier attempt at a modernization, but it was never published; this was Sidnam's version of the first three books of *Troilus and Cressida*, c. 1630. (See p. 203 below.)
§ 1. Period V. Appreciation of the Modernizations.

They were hailed with delight, were universally praised, and for many years were held unquestioningly to be far superior to Chaucer's own poems; most of their admirers appear to think that the more they belittled the originals the greater was the honour which redounded to the modernizers. This is the kind of verse one meets with continually on the subject:

Revolving Time had injur'd Chaucer's Name,
And dimm'd the brilliant Lustre of his Fame;
Deform'd his Language, and his Wit depress'd,
His serious Sense oft sinking to a Jest;
Almost a Stranger ev'n to British Eyes,
We scarcely knew him in the rude Disguise:
But cloth'd by Thee, the banish'd Bard appears
In all his Glory, and new Honours wears.
Thus Ennius was by Virgil chang'd of old;
He found him Rubbish, and he left him Gold.

( Verses occasioned by reading Mr. Dryden's Fables,
by Jabez Hughes, c. 1707.)

These sentiments are expressed over and over again all through the eighteenth century. In the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1740 there is a little poem by 'Astrophil,' In Praise of Chaucer, which, though giving to Chaucer every recognition, yet ends in the usual way:

So true with life his characters agree,
What e'er is read we almost think we see.
Such Chaucer was, bright mirror of his age
Tho' length of years has quite obscur'd his page;
His stile grown obsolete, his numbers rude,
Scarce read, and but with labour understood.
Yet by fam'd modern bards new minted o'er,
His standard wit has oft enrich'd their store;
Whose Canterbury Tales could task impart
For Pope's and Dryden's choice refining art;
And in their graceful polish let us view
What wealth enrich'd the mind where first they grew.

Later still, in 1781, we find Walpole in a letter to Mason refusing the offer to procure a first edition of Chaucer for a guinea, saying, 'I am too, though a Goth, so modern a Goth
that I hate the black letter, and I love Chaucer better in Dryden and Baskerville than in his own language and dress.'

The tendency of the modernizations was to divert people from reading the originals. Chaucer's name became better known, but his actual works less and less known: only a kind of tradition about them was kept up.

The attitude of the great dictator of letters himself was not favourable to Chaucer, although he at one time contemplated bringing out a new edition of the poet; he rarely mentions him, and when he does, the utterance is not sympathetic, so that we cannot help suspecting him of the fault he imputes to Dryden, who, he says, 'in confidence of his abilities, ventured to write of what he had not examined, and ascribes to Chaucer the first refinement of our numbers.' But Johnson goes on to show that Gower's numbers are quite as smooth, and his rimes as easy as those of Chaucer. The works of Chaucer, he says, which Dryden has modernized, require little criticism. The tale of The Cock seems hardly worth revival; and the story of Palamon and Arcite, containing an action unsuitable to the times in which it is placed, can hardly be suffered to pass without censure of the hyperbolical commendation which Dryden has given it in the general Preface.

For Johnson, in short—and he well represents the dominant eighteenth-century critical attitude—English poetry began with Waller, and earlier writers (with a very qualified exception of Shakespeare) were not worthy serious attention; Chaucer was a Goth, and the greatest praise to which he was entitled was that he might perhaps, with great justice, be styled 'the first of our versifiers who wrote poetically.'

Those who wrote the modernizations at any rate were forced to read the originals, and from them occasionally we get a sensible criticism. We have heard Dryden; and Pope is reported by Spence to have said—

I read Chaucer still with as much pleasure as almost any of our poets. He is a master of manners, of description, and the first tale-teller in the true and enlivened natural way.
§ 1. Period V. The Modernizers appreciate Chaucer.

And again he writes—

Good sense shows itself in every line of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. . . . Addison's character of Chaucer is diametrically opposed to the truth, he blames him for want of humour.

In 1739, George Ogle, in his Letter to a Friend (p. 384 below), prefixed to his modernization of the Clerk of Oxford's tale, which he calls Gualtherus and Griselda, shows that he too, having read Chaucer, can appreciate his merit. He quotes Dryden's criticism with approval, and adds, 'As to the Point of Characterizing, at which CHAUCER was most singularly happy: You can name no Author even of Antiquity, whether in the Comic or in the Satiric Way, equal, at least superior, to Him.' Then he 'throws together' a few touches taken from his Descriptions of the Pilgrims. 'The Knight, an old soldier, who, though he was worthy (meaning a man of excessive Bravery) yet was wise . . . and the Serjeant at Law; Who seemed much busier than he was.' So he goes through twenty more of them, showing thorough sympathy and understanding. Yet it was this same Mr. Ogle, a sincere admirer of Chaucer's, who, when he brought out the whole of the Canterbury Tales 'modernized by several hands,' thus rendered the Prologue fit for modern ears:

When April, soft'ning sheds refreshing Show'rs And frees, from droughty March the springing Flow'rs, April, That bathes the teeming womb of Earth And gives to Vegetation, kindly Birth! When Zephyr breathes the Gale that favours Love, And Cherishes the Growth of ev'ry Grove; Zephyr! That ministers with genial Breeze, Bloom to the Shrub's and Verdure to the Trees. When youthful Phœbus half his course compleats Divides the Ram, and glows with temp'rate Heats; Phœbus! Our equal Good, the live-long year Or should he take or should he quit the Sphere; When Philomel injoys the Coming Spring, And feeling her approach, delights to sing. Sweet Philomel! Of all the Birds that fly, The Sole, to pass the Night with sleepless Eye.
One is tempted to linger over these modernizations 'by several hands.' They are very fascinating, though not in the way their authors intended; for they seem more curious to us than even the 'barbaric' relics of Chaucer himself, and their language is far stranger than his.

There is a beautiful and high-sounding poem by Henry Brooke, *Constantia*, or *The Man of Law's Tale*, the opening of which is especially worthy of note. In the original, Chaucer writes thirty-five lines descriptive of the ills of poverty, but Henry Brooke transmutes these into one hundred and sixty-eight lines on the same topic.

We must, however, leave Chaucer in the hands of his merciless interpreters, of whom there were many more (notably Lipscomb, 1792–5, and the last great attempt to modernize him in 1841, to which reference will be made later), and consider very briefly another form of appreciation which was rather popular in the eighteenth century. This consisted of imitation of Chaucer, that is poems or verses written in what was supposed to be his manner.

This 'imitation' of the older poets—Chaucer, Spenser and Milton—was one of the many ways in which eighteenth-century writers gave expression to their growing interest in the earlier literature of their country, and the number of Spenserian imitations published; good, bad, and worse than indifferent, from the *Castle of Indolence* to Mickle's *Sir Martyn*, is almost incredible until one collects a list of them.¹

The imitations of Chaucer were comparatively few in quantity, but they make up for this by being fearful and wonderful in quality. The earliest instance of this kind of imitation is in William Bullein's *Dialogue... against the fever Pestilence*, 1564. Chaucer is here introduced in person, and commends 'his deare Brigham' for the monument he has erected to him, at the same time he laments the rifling of tombs and spoiling of epitaphs which is so common, and he concludes these remarks in a stanza of what is apparently intended to be Chaucerian verse

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¹ See the list from 1700 to 1775 in *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, by William Lyon Phelps, 1893, Appendix I.
In the seventeenth century we find several imitations. There are some verses in Chaucer’s style among the dedicatory poems to Kynaston’s *Troilus* in 1635, and a similar poem by the same author, Francis James, in 1638. These, combined with the jargon Cartwright puts into the mouth of the antiquary, Moth, in his play of *The Ordinary* (c. 1634, see below, p. 206), are interesting as showing the strange conception of Chaucer’s language which was current among seventeenth-century scholars.

Two satiric pieces in Chaucer’s style, one of them probably by Sir John Minnes, were published in the *Musarum Deliciae* in 1655, and in the next year an imitation of the tale of Sir Thopas appeared in a collection called *Choyce Drollery*.

In the eighteenth century the recipe for this class of composition was, as Professor Lounsbury points out, quite simple, and consisted of three main ingredients; the story must be obscene, the language ungrammatical, and the verse rugged. The first was not always insisted on—though it made it more complete—but the last two were absolutely indispensable.

There is no doubt that Dryden’s modernizations and his praise of Chaucer gave a great impetus to this kind of poetic exercise, of which Prior’s two imitations are typical examples, published in 1712; about which time there seems to have been a curious outburst of interest in Chaucer. In 1711, Pope brought out his *Temple of Fame*, largely based on the elder poet’s work; in 1712, in addition to Prior’s imitations, Betterton and Cobb both published their modernizations, and a tract called the *Parliament of Birds* appeared; in 1713 Gay produced his comedy called *The Wife of Bath*, with Chaucer as the principal character; while all this time at Oxford, as we can tell from Hearne’s diaries, there was among scholars much interest in and talk about Chaucer, for Urry was working hard at his edition of the poet, and collecting all the manuscripts and printed copies on which he could lay hands.

The greater number of the ‘imitations’ are to be found in

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1 *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. iii, p. 121.
1. Period V. Revival of genuine Chaucer appreciation.

The first half of the eighteenth century; we may note Gay's Answer to the Somner's Prologue, Fenton's Tale devised in the pleasant manner of gentle Master Geoffrey Chaucer, both published in 1747, a less crude caricature of Chaucer's style than any of the above, in his paraphrase of some verses in Leviticus in the manner of the Parliament of Fowls; and in the same year Mason, the friend of Gray, shows perhaps all the peculiarities of bad grammar, unknown words, and halting verse which to the eighteenth century represented Chaucer's 'lonely rhyme,' here are some of the lines he puts into Chaucer's mouth when mourning the death of Pope, in the Museus (for the whole extract see p. 383 below):—

For syn the daies whereas my lyre benstrongen,
And defly many a mery lye I songen,
Gnawen with rusty tooth continually,
Gratting my lines, that they all cancel ben.

Yet at the last thou smoothen them fast again;
Sithence full semyly gliden my rymes rude.

Comment here seems needless, unless it be to remark that, if Chaucer's lines resembled these, they certainly required smoothing.

Now we may turn to the more grateful task of tracing the gradual revival in the eighteenth century of genuine appreciation of Chaucer, based on knowledge of his work. This change naturally was brought about by scholars, not by poets or men of letters, for the study and understanding of Chaucer in the original was in the eighteenth century confined to scholars and to extremely few of these. We can see the interest he aroused in Hearne, and we may regret that Dean Atterbury did not in Rowley's discussion at the end of the century were supposed to be in Chaucer's or in Rowley's language is not quite clear. See, for instance, pp. 465, 466 below, 1782, John Baynes and E. B. Greene.
fix on him instead of on Urry to edit the poet's works. Morell, in 1737, as a result of really reading and studying Chaucer, came to the conclusion that he had 'been wretchedly abused, miswrote and mismetred by all his editors,' and he shows that he had a glimmering, partly suggested to him by Urry, that to sound the final 'e' might make a great difference to the alleged roughness of his verse. Morell also incidentally gives us a clue to the reason why the rational study of Chaucer was so long delayed: which was that it was not thought quite a dignified or weighty subject worthy of the whole attention of scholars. It was suitable enough for an amusement or hobby, but not for a serious occupation. 'This then has been my amusement for some time,' he says at the end of the preface to his unfinished edition of the Canterbury Tales, 'and I hope with no great detriment to the more severe and decent studies required by my place and character. I believe many a leisure hour might have been spent worse.'

There are two writers, both scholars, and curiously enough, both women, who must be noted in the early eighteenth century as showing some real knowledge, and consequently genuine appreciation of Chaucer. Elizabeth Elstob, the earlier of these, was a born scholar and linguist, whose love for learning helped her to overcome incredible difficulties in the days when it was considered almost indecent for a woman to occupy her mind with such studies as Anglo-Saxon; in 1715 she published the first attempt at an Old English grammar, written in English, with the following significant title:

The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue, first given in English: with an Apology for the study of Northern Antiquities. Being very useful toward the understanding our ancient English Poets, and other Writers.

In her preface she takes occasion to point out more fully that a knowledge of the Saxon Tongue, by which she means Old

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1 The first Old English grammar was in Latin by George Hickes, Oxford, 1689, republished and enlarged later under the title Thesaurus Grammaticocriticus, 1705. Elizabeth Elstob was Hickes's niece.
and Middle English, is necessary or at least useful to the right understanding of the older English Poets, such as Chaucer.

Elizabeth Cooper was the second of these writers, and was one of the very earliest people to try to revive a knowledge of the older English poets, of whose work she in 1737 published Specimens,—'from the Saxons to the Reign of King Charles II,' so runs the title page. As a matter of fact the complete project of the 'Muses Library' was from lack of support not carried out, but the first volume, the only one published, has a number of well-chosen poetical extracts ranging from Piers Plowman to Daniel.

Her preface is very interesting, showing on the subject of the older literature a combination of accurate and first-hand knowledge with critical independence and judgment not to be met elsewhere at that time. 'Very Few,' she says, 'of these great Men [Chaucer, Barclay, Skelton, Surrey, Sackville, Spenser, Lord Brook, Donne, Corbet, Carew, etc.] are generally known to the present Age: And tho' Chaucer and Spencer are ever nam'd with much Respect, not many are intimately acquainted with their Beauties' (below, p. 379); and then, after praising Chaucer in terms which show that she, at any rate, has read him, she selects as a specimen of his work the unhackneyed and yet highly characteristic Prologue to the Pardoner's Tale.

The first writer, however, who really attacked the question with authority combined with knowledge and insight, was Thomas Warton. As early as 1754 he held a brief for Chaucer, and in his Observations on the Faerie Queene, wrote a most acute and discriminating account of him, in which he pointed out that it was the modernizations which had stood in the way of Chaucer himself being read, and had brought about a general ignorance of the original (see p. 409 below). 'Chaucer,' he says, 'seems to be regarded rather as an old poet, than as a good one, and that he wrote English verses four hundred years ago seems more frequently to be urged in his commendation, than that he wrote four hundred years ago with taste and judgment.\footnote{Compare Sewell's remarks in 1720: 'they who speak of him rather pay a blind Veneration to his Antiquity than his intrinsic Worth.'}
sate down to read Chaucer with the curiosity of knowing how the first English poet wrote, I left him with the satisfaction of having found what later and more refin'd ages could hardly equal in true humour, pathos, or sublimity.'

Warton's enlightened view of Chaucer is displayed very much more fully in his *History of English Poetry* in 1774, but by that time the tide of opinion was beginning to turn. Gray, in his notes on metre (c. 1760), repudiates the idea that Chaucer had no ear, and definitely asserts, what had been suggested first by Speght, and later by Urry and Morell, that if the poet's verse appeared irregular, the fault lay not with the writer but the reader. He instances the sounding of initial and final syllables, especially the genitive singular, and nominative plural of nouns, and he is the first, we believe, clearly to point out how much the change in the accentuation of words must affect our reading of the older poets: 'we undoubtedly destroy,' he says, 'a great part of the music of their versification by laying the accent of words where nobody then laid it.'

Gray's notes were not published till 1814, otherwise we might think that Tyrwhitt owed something to them.

Bishop Hurd, in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), again shows that Chaucer himself is being read, when he calls attention to what is evidently to him a surprising fact, that in so early an age when chivalry still flourished, Chaucer in *Sir Thopas* actually detected the absurdity of the old romances, and was making fun of them. In the same year (1762) Warton issued a second edition of his *Observations*, in which he slightly alters his remarks on Chaucer. In 1754 he had emphasized the fact that it was Chaucer who 'first gave the English nation in its own language an idea of Humour,' he now points out that the poet 'abounds not only in strokes of humour, which is commonly supposed to be his sole talent, but of pathos and sublimity.' This remark, perhaps more than anything else, shows that a new era is dawning for Chaucer.

That which is most surprising in looking back over the great mass of Chaucer criticism, up to this date, is that even his most ardent admirers do not seem to have had a complete conception
1. Period V. Chaucer regarded chiefly as a Comic Poet.

of what Chaucer really was, nor wherein lay his great strength as a poet.

The characteristics which most attract us to him to-day, in addition to his delightful humour, are his simplicity, his tenderness, his wisdom, toleration and broad-mindedness, his close knowledge of human nature, and his almost constant felicity of expression. Yet, with curiously few exceptions, from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, not one of these qualities seems to be remarked in Chaucer. All his early admirers understood and praised his verse, but, as we have seen, in later years that found no supporter. Spenser, Dryden and Pope, as well as Caxton, the author of the Book of Curtesye, and William Thynne, note Chaucer's true poetical strength, his imagination and power of expression. Otherwise, he is looked upon for the most part as a comic poet chiefly remarkable for the scurrility of his verses. This is a view which, as we have seen, began to creep in at the end of the sixteenth century; it was for this that men like Drant or Harrington openly condemned him, while others, less stern, merely laughed at his 'merie tales,' and looked on his outspokenness as sufficient reason that they should outvie him in this respect; so we find the unknown author of Greene's Vision making Chaucer cite his own practice in order to reassure Greene, who is reproaching himself for the wanton writings of his youth (see pp. 137–38 below). This attitude of tolerant amusement rapidly gained ground in the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries,¹ and if his coarseness is not insisted on, he is at best a good, jolly story teller; as Warton says, 'strokes of humour' are 'commonly supposd to be his sole talent.'

Old Chaucer shall, for his facetious style,
Be read, and prais'd by warlike Britains, while
The Sea enriches, and defends their Isle,

writes John Evelyn in 1685. Chaucer was a merry wit, but a rough one, for even his humour, the only quality granted him, was not recognized to be the most light and delicate ever

¹ See, for instance, Rowlands 1602, Smith 1656, Philips 1675, Evelyn 1685, Addison 1694, Cobb a. 1700, Gay 1712, Draper 1713 and Harte 1727.
Period VI. *Tyrwhitt’s edition of the ‘Canterbury Tales.’*

possessed by an Englishman, but rather quaint and coarse, fit only for a barbarous age. This point is emphasized here, for it must be remembered that it was the general and common attitude existing side by side with the new and intellectual interest which we have seen scholars were beginning to take in his work. Moreover it is one which, with a certain class of writers—men who did not read Chaucer, but yet thought it correct to refer to him—increases all through the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. It is well summed up in the following lines in an Elegy called *Woodstock Park*, published anonymously in 1761:

Old Chaucer, who in rough unequal verse,
Sung quaint allusion and facetious tale;
And ever as his jests he would rehearse,
Loud peals of laughter echoed through the vale.

What though succeeding poets, as they [their?] sire,
Revere his memory and approve his wit;
Though Spenser’s elegance and Dryden’s fire
His name to ages far remote transmit;
His tuneless numbers hardly now survive
As ruins of a dark and Gothic age;
And all his blithesome tales their praise derive
From Pope’s immortal song and Prior’s page.

This poem, which was published the year before the second edition of Warton’s *Observations*, illustrates better perhaps than could anything else the startling change in Chaucer criticism which was inaugurated immediately afterwards by the work of scholars like Warton and Tyrwhitt.

**Period VI.**—It is with the publication of Tyrwhitt’s edition of the *Canterbury Tales* in 1775, that we enter upon the sixth and present period of Chaucer criticism; it is entirely owing to the work of this great, but little known, scholar that the sane and rational study of the poet’s work was, for the first time since the early sixteenth century, made possible for Englishmen. Not only did Tyrwhitt edit the first good text of the *Canterbury Tales*, but in his prefatory essay he definitely and clearly disposed for ever of the persistently erroneous view which was held
§ 1. Period VI. Gradual disappearance of misconceptions. 

of Chaucer’s versification (see pp. 442–45 below). His text of the ‘Tales’ was almost immediately pirated by Bell for his edition of the English poets (1782); it was also used by Anderson in his English poets (1795), and other reprints of it in the nineteenth century were numerous, so it thus became easily accessible to every would-be reader.

With Tyrwhitt’s monumental work as a starting-point and basis, we can trace in this period very clearly the history, first of the gradual disappearance of certain persistent and long-cherished beliefs about Chaucer founded upon ignorance either of his language, or his work, or of both; and the substitution for these of sane, sound and scholarly appreciation, not only of the wisdom, the humour and the imagination of the poet, but also of his supreme technical and artistic skill.¹

The distinctly eighteenth-century ideas which gradually dispersed like mist before the sunlight, may for convenience be summarized as follows:—

As regards manner:—

(1) That Chaucer’s language was barbarous and difficult.
(2) That he had no ear for metre, and wrote rough and irregular lines.
(3) That these shortcomings were not wholly his fault, but a necessary result of the rude age in which he wrote, when poetry was in its infancy.
(4) That therefore the only possible way to read him was in a ‘modernization.’

As regards matter:—

(5) That he was principally a ‘facetious’ or roughly comic poet, chiefly delighting in coarse tales, and lacking seriousness and dignity.

These beliefs were not by any means swept away at one breath, as they might have been by a careful reading of Tyrwhitt’s text and preface. Convictions so firmly rooted in men’s minds cannot be disposed of in a moment. For example, we

¹ For an early example of the effect of Tyrwhitt’s work on the ordinary reviewer or hack writer, see below, p. 488, Philip Neve, 1789.
§ 1. Period VI. Belief in Chaucer's 'hobbling cadences'

find the idea that Chaucer's verse is rough and that he is difficult to read and understand is one that lasts on with curious persistence. In the article on Lydgate in the second edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1778–83) it is stated that Lydgate's versification is much more harmonious than Chaucer's. This assertion is repeated in subsequent editions of the Encyclopaedia up to 1842, and we hear echoes of this view from time to time in the nineteenth century, as in Sharon Turner's History of England (1815), or in Burrowes's Modern Encyclopaedia (1837).

Anna Seward, who in 1792 writes of Chaucer's 'obsolete, coarse and inharmonious diction,' maintains this attitude in her letters to Scott and others later on. She comments, in 1806, on the 'insane partiality' of Godwin for the poetic powers of Chaucer, whose compositions, she says, 'have so little good which is not translation, and so much that is tedious, unnatural, conceited and obscure.' Richard Wharton, in 1804, speaks of his 'hobbling cadences and obsolete phrases'; in 1807 'Peter Pindar' (Dr. John Wolcot) writes just as did Hughes and Cobb a century earlier.

Though obsolete, alas! thy line,
And doomed in cold neglect to shine,

and Byron, in Hints from Horace (1811), takes the usual eighteenth century view when he says that our forefathers, who did not trouble about the classics,

Were satisfied with Chaucer and old Ben;
The jokes and numbers suited to their taste
Were quaint and careless, anything but chaste.

Lord Thurlow, who, unlike Byron, much admired Chaucer, yet speaks of his 'homely rhyme' (1813); 'quaint and rough,' a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine (May 1818) calls it; 'antiquated' and 'outworn' says Horace Smith in 1825, and in the following year, Hazlitt, in reporting the conversation which took place at one of Lamb's Wednesdays on 'Persons one would wish to have seen,' says that all the company were in favour of Chaucer, except William Ayrton, the musician, 'who said something about the ruggedness of the metre.'
§ 1. Period VI. Opinions of Nott and D'Israeli.

Consequently, the idea tends to be developed about this time which is baldly stated by Berington in 1814 (below, Part II, p. 61), that the chief merit and interest of Chaucer is not as a poet but as a historian of manners, and that his works are not merely 'effusions of a poetical imagination' but 'they are pregnant with instruction of a higher order. They are an essential portion of the authentic history of his country' (see end of article in The Retrospective Review, 1824 below, Part II, p. 155).

Nott's views, in 1815, on Chaucer's versification are worth noting, for they are not careless remarks made on insufficient knowledge, but are the result of close study of the text. He examines Tyrwhitt's 'system respecting Chaucer's versification,' and objects to it. He does not believe in the sounding of the final 'e' feminine; he maintains that Chaucer's lines are not intended for iambic decasyllables, although unintentionally such lines occur, but that his principle of versification is rhythmical and not metrical, and that he 'designed his lines to be read with a caesura and rhythmical cadence.' Southey, in 1807, had partly anticipated this view, and later, in 1833, having been reinforced by the views of Farmer and Nott, he is more emphatic on the point and says he believes Chaucer to have written his verses on the same principle on which Coleridge wrote his Christabel.

Isaac D'Israeli, as late as 1841, completely routs Tyrwhitt's theory of Chaucer's versification and asserts, that the poet makes his words long or short, disyllabic or trisyllabic at his pleasure. 'It is evident,' he continues, 'that Chaucer trusted his cadences to his ear, and his verse is therefore usually rhythmical and accidentally metrical.' He also doubts if anything but the Canterbury Tales (made accessible by Tyrwhitt) will ever be read, for the difficulties are too great. Readers will be appalled by having to face 'a massive tome dark with the Gothic type, whose obsolete words and difficult phrases, and for us, uncadenced metre, are to be conned by a glossary as obsolete as the text, to be perpetually referred to, to the interruption of all poetry and all patience.'

It was in this same year (1841), just one hundred years after
1. Period VI. The 'Modernizations' of 1841.

Ogle's venture, that the last important attempt was made to modernize Chaucer. This was a small volume called 'The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer Modernized,' which is chiefly remarkable for the worthlessness of its contents and the eminence of its contributors, many of whom, one is tempted to think, ought to have known better.

It was edited by Richard Hengist Horne, who says he thinks the project was set on foot by Wordsworth, who promised to contribute, assisted by Leigh Hunt, Miss Barrett, Robert Bell, Monckton Milnes, Leonhard Schmitz and Horne himself. For the second volume (which, happily, never appeared), it was intended to ask for the help of Tennyson, Talfourd, Browning, Bulwer, Mr. and Mrs. Cowden Clarke, and Mary Howitt; and we are told that every one who was invited to take part in the project agreed cordially, with the sole exception of Landor, who at once saw the folly of the attempt, and expressed his views on it with great decision. His first reply to Mr. Horne's application was that he believed 'as many people read Chaucer (meaning in the original) as were fit to read him.' Horne misunderstood this remark, and so Landor wrote again to explain his views more fully, expressing himself very characteristically as follows:—'Indeed, I do admire him, or rather love him,' adding, 'Pardon me if I say I would rather see Chaucer quite alone, in the dew of his sunny morning, than with twenty clever gentlefolks about him, arranging his shoe-strings and buttoning his doublet. I like even his language. I will have no hand in breaking his dun but rich painted glass to put in (if clearer) much thinner panes.' 'And thus,' commented Horne,—when he published part of this correspondence in 1877—'with the true but narrow devotion of the best men on the black-letter side, and their resistance to all attempts to melt the obsolete language and form it into modern moulds . . . the Homer of English poetry continues unread except by very few.'

The introduction to the 'Modernizations' is interesting. We see that in 1841 the state of Chaucer's language was looked upon as being as hopelessly unintelligible as in the days of Pope; and that the reader must, among other qualifications,
§ 1. Period VI. Distaste for Chaucer persists in 19th century. lix

be 'learned in the black letter' (whatever that may be) in order to hope to understand him. We also learn that in 1841 everything had been done for Chaucer's works in the collation of texts and the writing of notes and glossaries that could be wished for; which causes us to wonder what the Chaucer Society has since found to do. Horne's criticisms of earlier translations, as well as some of his own renderings of Chaucer's text, are quite worth study, and indeed the whole book is a curiosity of literature.¹ Its chief interest from our point of view consists in the proof it gives of the growth during the past eighty years, not only of general knowledge of Chaucer and familiarity with his language, but of English scholarship generally. This is made clear at once when we reflect how impossible it would be for a group of writers of intelligence and even genius to-day, of the same standing as these contributors, to attempt a similar production.

We find also the distaste for Chaucer experienced by Cowley, lasting far on into the nineteenth century, especially in some of the Reviews. A reviewer of Godwin's 'Life,' in 1804, asserts that the idea that Chaucer in the 'uncouth and antiquated style of the original' could ever give the pleasure he does in the 'finely-turned versification' of Dryden and Pope, is one 'which could be entertained for a moment only by the blindest enthusiasm.'

A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine for October 1818, while giving Chaucer some appreciation, yet at the same time denounces the poet in all the old familiar terms, speaks of his 'rough phraseology,' the 'harshness and lameness of his numbers,' his ribaldry and coarseness, and concludes by saying

¹ See Lounsbury's Studies in Chaucer, vol. iii, pp. 213-29, where an amusing account of this book is given, and some of the most flagrant mistakes and blunders in it are noted. Such are, for instance, the ascription to Wordsworth of a quotation from Drayton which is printed on the title page; or the entire misunderstanding of many of Chaucer's words; or such grotesque renderings as that of Chaucer's description of the poor Clerk of Oxford:

'Full threadbare was his overest courtepy,' which in Horne's version becomes

'His uppermost short coat was a bare thread.'
that not 'all the hyperbolical praises of the illustrious Dryden [can] prove that he was gifted with one spark of the sublime spirit of the Grecian Bard.'

The view of Chaucer as a coarse and comic poet unfit for study by serious people also persists, and a delightful example of it is the case of the Rev. Henry Richman, who, in his youth, had written a sequel to the *Canterbury Tales*, of which his friends could never obtain a sight; for, says one of them, 'he always declined permitting . . . [them] to peruse it, upon this principle, that the levity of such compositions was inconsistent with the decorum of the clerical character' (see below, c. 1810). The severely moral view of Chaucer's sins is also taken by an anonymous writer, who, in 1841, published an abridgment of Dryden's version of the character of the good parson, as well as the Parson's Prologue and Tale. In alluding to the 'ribaldry and pollution' to be found in other parts of Chaucer's writings and to his [spurious?] Retraction at the end of the *Canterbury Tales*, the editor of this pamphlet concludes, 'an author should never forget, that . . . his works, if calculated to corrupt, may still be doing their mischief, and . . . his crimes may thus be extended . . . through centuries.' This forms a curious contrast to the estimate of Chaucer's outlook and influence as expressed later, for instance, by Ruskin and Alfred Austin. For what Ruskin says in *Fors Clavigera*, see p. lxiv below; and the then poet laureate, when speaking on the occasion of Chaucer's quincentenary, said that 'poets like Chaucer were themselves ministers of God,' and that 'he was an exponent of the purest and the most permanent elements of Christianity.'

The latest expression of the older view we meet with is in 1878, when in a *History of English Humour*, by A. G. K. L'Estrange, the surprising statement is made that although no doubt at the time he wrote he was thought witty, that 'scarcely any part of Chaucer's writings would raise a laugh at the present day, though they might a blush.'

But it is not only among unknown reviewers and odd writers that we find a distaste for Chaucer in the first half of the nineteenth century. Byron's condemnation is well known:
'Chaucer, notwithstanding the praises heaped upon him, I think obscene and contemptible' (1807), and John Galt, the novelist, writes in 1812: 'I have never been able to bring myself to entertain any feeling approximating to respect for Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and the other tribe of rhymers before Henry VIII,' for which remark we are glad to see he was severely chastised in the Quarterly of September of the same year. The poet Moore found Chaucer unreadable (1819), so did Lord Lansdowne, and Sir Kenelm Digby, in 1844, calls him 'impious and obscene.'

Cardinal Wiseman, who showed some appreciation of him as a poet, nevertheless regrets (1855) that in his work, as well as in that of Spenser's, 'every rich description of natural beauty is connected with wantonness, voluptuousness, and debauchery.'

It was this 'foul and false accusation' (Leigh Hunt's Correspondence, 1862, vol. ii., p. 264) which roused Leigh Hunt to write in defence of these two poets one of his last articles published in Fraser's Magazine four months after his death (December 1859).

A remnant of the survival of the predominating eighteenth century idea that Chaucer was a 'comic' poet, and thus undignified, may have affected Matthew Arnold's criticism of him in 1880.1 He classes Chaucer, quite rightly, below Homer, Dante and Shakespeare, but he does so not because he did not equal them in genius, but because he lacked seriousness.

The uncritical attitude towards Chaucer, and real ignorance about him, his life and work, is to be found in unexpected places long after ample materials were published which would have made, one would have thought, such mis-statements impossible. Emerson, who read Chaucer with delight in early youth (c. 1820), and continually refers to him with appreciation, yet reveals the vague knowledge of facts and dates which is reminiscent of sixteenth century writers. In his essay on Shakespeare (1848) he says, 'Chaucer is a huge borrower: [He] . . . drew con-

tinually, *through Lydgate and Caxton, from Guido di Colonna.*' Professor Minto, in his article (1876) on the poet in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, says that Chaucer's father was in the expedition of 1359 instead of that of 1338; he declares the *Court of Love* to be genuine, dating it about 100 years before it was written, and invents a statement that James I in the *Kingis Quhair* attributes it to Chaucer.

And in the *Cornhill* for March 1877, we find no less a critic than Leslie Stephen attributing to Chaucer a large number of spurious poems, and saying in a note on the *Court of Love*:—

'The Chaucer critics reject this poem, but as we are not writing a critical paper, we cannot afford to forgo so much good material.'

The main trend, however, of nineteenth-century opinion and knowledge has been very markedly in the contrary direction to these cases we have cited, which are really survivals. We find (with the exception of Byron) all the greatest men of letters of the early nineteenth century reading Chaucer and delighting in him.

Scott is very appreciative; he points out that Chaucer is sometimes much better than his modernizer Dryden; he has a charming reference to him in *Woodstock*; his mind is clearly stored with reminiscences of him, he quotes him in several of his novels, and (in 1817) he urges the intending reader not to be put off by apparent difficulties of obsolete spelling and the like.

Blake has left us a wonderful and luminous criticism of the *Canterbury Tales* (1809), in some ways anticipating Carlyle in thought. He points out that Chaucer has, in his pilgrims, pictured for all time the eternal classes of men, eternal principles, changing in outward details, but in essentials remaining the same, the Hero, the Knave, the Apostle, and so on, for 'every age is a Canterbury Pilgrimage, we all pass on, each sustaining one or other of these characters; nor can a child be born, who is not one of these characters of Chaucer.'

He was one of the few authors Wordsworth read constantly, and one of the still fewer to whom he felt and admitted himself inferior; that fine critic, Dorothy, read him with 'exquisite
§ 1. Period VI. Appreciation by Coleridge, Lamb and Landor. Ixiii
delight'; Southey repeatedly praises him, and speaks enthusiastically of 'his versatility of talents,' 'in which only Ariosto has approached, and only Shakespeare equalled him'; Thomas Campbell, in 1819, appreciates the 'pathetic beauty' of Troilus, 'a story of vast length and almost desolate simplicity,' and the vivid characterization of the Canterbury Tales, and Coleridge, as early as 1804, planned an Essay on his genius and writings, while thirty years later he says, 'I take increasing delight in Chaucer. His manly cheerfulness is especially delicious to me in my old age. How exquisitely tender he is, and yet how perfectly free from the least touch of sickly melancholy or morbid drooping.'

Lamb's references (13 in all, from 1797 to 1827) are slight, but sufficient to show his knowledge and love. He compares Coleridge's poem of 'The Raven' to Chaucer, and he points out the radiance of the 'almost Chaucer-like painting' in Keats's Eve of St. Agnes. He clearly revels and delights in his 'foolish stories,' the 'darling things . . . old Chaucer sings,' he treasures his 'black letter' Speght, he marvels at the 'comprehensiveness of genius' in the Pilgrims' portraits, and compares the thought underlying the poet's comedy with Hogarth's handling of his themes.

He suggests to Haydon for a picture the subject of Chaucer beating a Franciscan friar in Fleet Street, and we are not surprised that it was Lamb, sooner than any one else apparently, who appreciated to the full Blake's brilliant description of the Pilgrims, 'the finest criticism he had ever read of Chaucer's poem,' 'mystical and full of vision.' How entirely we can sympathise with his trouble over the review of Godwin's ill-proportioned and pompous 'Life' (1803); little wonder that although he sat down to it 'for three or four days successively' he could not produce anything which would satisfy both Godwin and himself.

Landor, as we have seen, thoroughly appreciated Chaucer, and in an unpublished prose fragment, written probably about 1861, he says: 'There is no poet excepting Homer whom I have studied so attentively as Chaucer. They are the ablest of their respective countries.' In other writings he places
§ 1. Period VI. Ruskin places Chaucer high as a theologian.

him next Shakespeare and Milton, and prefers him to Spenser. Shelley speaks of him with understanding and reverence, and Hazlitt, who writes on him the first appreciative literary criticism of any length since Dryden, ranks him with Spenser as one of the four greatest English poets. Miss Mitford, as early as 1815, writes: 'Two or three of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, and some select passages from his other productions, are worth all the age of Queen Anne . . . ever produced'; De Quincey says he is 'a poet worth five hundred of Homer,' and Mrs. Browning (despite the modernizations) has written of him some of the most charmingly discriminating praise ever penned: Peacock, Edward Fitzgerald and George Meredith have all recorded their admiration; we are told that Tennyson enjoyed reading Chaucer aloud more than any poet except Shakespeare and Milton; while the enthusiasm of the Pre-Raphaelite group for Chaucer was so great, that in addition to painting scenes from his life and poems, they saw a physical likeness to him in the people they admired. This resemblance they said was noticeable in Rossetti, Morris and R. W. Dixon.

Ruskin was reading and quoting Chaucer with appreciation for forty years (1849-1889); and he refers one hundred and eight times to the poet or his works (Index to the Complete Works, ed. Cook and Wedderburn). A few of these references are printed here, and a larger selection (between 1869 and 1889) in the Supplement to Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism (see Foreword, also footnote p. lxix below). His remarks, as one would expect, are acute and unusual, as when in The Harbours of England (1856), he notes Chaucer's aversion to the sea and everything connected with it.

Ruskin is among those who place Chaucer very high as a theologian and teacher; in Fors Clavigera (letter 61, January 1876) he says he is 'one of the men who have taught the purest theological truth,' and he chooses him together with Moses, David, Hesiod, Virgil, Dante and St. John as one of the seven authors of 'standard theological writings' whose lives and works are to be specially edited for the St. George's schools; a scheme which was, however, not carried out.
§ 1. Period VI. Leigh Hunt's love for Chaucer.

He is also one of the few people who express surprise or vexation at the pre-eminent position given to the Canterbury Tales (letter to Dr. Furnivall, December 15, 1873, unpublished), and he deliberately excludes them from his planned edition for St. George's library, while he includes, 'be they authentic or not, the Dream and the fragment of the translation of the Romance of the Rose.' (Fors, ut sup.) He was particularly attracted to the Dream (the Isle of Ladies), and, as he had told Dr. Furnivall (letter of Dec. 15, 1873), about the year 1869, he had prepared an edition of it for press ' (not at all as a fine example of Chaucer, but as one about which I had much to say) —with long notes, and hunting down of words—and no doubt at all expressed of the genuineness.' 'Had this come out,' he adds, 'I should never have got over it in literary dis-reputation.'

However, in spite of the demonstration that it was not Chaucer's, he remained constant in his predilection for the Dream as well as for the authentic minor poems, and he definitely set himself to work mainly on them and on the ethics and temper of them.

Perhaps, however, the most constant and enthusiastic lover of Chaucer in the early nineteenth century was Leigh Hunt. He came to him comparatively late ('Chaucer, who has since been one of my best friends, I was not acquainted with at school, nor till long afterwards,' Autobiography, 1860, p. 79), but for nearly half a century (1812–59) Hunt shows increasing knowledge of and admiration for Chaucer. So numerous are his references to him both in prose and verse that a large bundle of them has been put aside, and only a small selection (43) are here printed, as otherwise they would have thrown out of proportion the mass of nineteenth-century criticism.

Hunt genuinely loves Chaucer, he reads him constantly and carefully, and, in spite of Lockhart's scathing snub in Blackwood (see below, 1817, Z.) his praise is discriminating as well as enthusiastic.

He is as daring and independent in his judgment of Chaucer's poetic powers as he is of those of Keats. As early as 1816, he classes him with Dryden, Spenser, Milton, Ariosto and Shake-
speare as one of the great masters of modern versification, and some years later (1820) he maintains that Chaucer's verse is 'touched with a finer sense of music even than Dryden's.'

He constantly recurs to this theme in his critical writings and points out that Chaucer is scarcely known at all, that he is considered 'a rude sort of poet,' that his versification has never had justice done it, and that the 'sweet and delicate gravity of its music' is as 'unlike the crabbed and unintentional stuff it is supposed to be as possible.'

He considers Chaucer has 'the strongest imagination of real life, beyond any writers but Homer, Dante and Shakespeare, and in comic painting inferior to none.' Hunt's appreciation of Chaucer's 'comic genius' is given in full in *Wit and Humour* (1846) and the three characteristic qualities of it which he selects reveal his close understanding of it.

And through all these years, Hunt proves his admiration in the most practical way, by making every effort to get Chaucer better known, to bring his work to the notice of the ordinary reader and to induce him to go to the original for himself. He writes about him and quotes him constantly, he gives copious extracts from his poems in modern spelling in a series of numbers of the *London Journal* (1835), and he modernizes several of the Tales. His views on the function of modernizations are thoroughly sound (see specially the Preface to *Death and the Ruffians*, 1855). Modernizations, he says, should be little more than a change of spelling, 'for every alteration of Chaucer is an injury,' and their only excuse is that they 'may act as incitements towards acquaintance with the great original.'

Hunt's love of Chaucer deserves emphasis, for it is especially interesting historically because of his influence on Keats.

Hunt and Keats first met probably in the early summer of 1816; they immediately became friends and read and talked together, leaving, as Hunt records, 'no imaginative pleasure' untouched or unenjoyed. It is practically certain that they talked about Chaucer, and that Keats was led to read far more than the non-Chaucerian *Floure and Lefe* which so took his fancy and from which he chose the motto for *Sleep and
§ 1. Period VI. Hunt, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. lxvii

Poetry, written probably during his first intimacy with Hunt in the autumn of 1816. It was in the following February that he wrote the sonnet in Cowden Clarke's Chaucer, and a few months later he began Endymion with the prayer that he 'might stammer where old Chaucer used to sing.' By the end of the next year (1818) he is the proud possessor of a 'black letter Chaucer' of his own; all through 1819 it is obvious from his letters that he is reading it, and the result of his study is to be seen in the Eve of St. Mark at which he was working at intervals during that year. Its narrative method and metre are clearly suggested by Chaucer, as well as the pseudo old English which is surely an echo of him rather than of Chatterton as has generally been assumed. That this is so is even more clearly seen in the additional sixteen lines in the Woodhouse transcript (found in 1913) beginning

Gif ye wol stonden hardie wight—
Amiddles of the blacke night—
Righte in the churche porch, pardie
Ye wol behold a companie,

in which Keats deliberately tries to reproduce the style and vocabulary of Chaucer.

Thus we have a series of links which form one of the most interesting bits of literary history in the nineteenth century.

Leigh Hunt's immense admiration for Chaucer undoubtedly stimulated, if it did not start, Keats's serious study of him; this study profoundly affected the wonderful fragment of the Eve of St. Mark, which, with La Belle Dame, were the poems which kindled the enthusiasm of the Pre-Raphaelite group and gave to William Morris his immediate impulse in romantic story telling. As Sir Sidney Colvin points out (Life of Keats p. 438), the opening of the Eve of St. Mark, reminiscent of the movement of Chaucer's verse and anticipating the very cadences of Morris, forms a direct bridge or stepping stone between the two great poets. It was in 1855 that Morris with Burne-Jones at Oxford was for the first time reading and rejoicing in the older narrative poet whom later he definitely took as his master. For not since the days of Elizabeth had
Chaucer so directly inspired a great English singer as he did him who prayed:—

Would that I
Had but some portion of that mastery
That from the rose-hung lanes of woody Kent
Through these five hundred years such songs have sent
To us, who, meshed within this smoky net
Of unrejoicing labour, love them yet.
And thou, O Master! Yea, my Master still
Whatever feet have scaled Parnassus' hill
Since like thy measures, clear and sweet and strong,
Thames' stream scarce fettered drave the dace along
Unto the bastioned bridge, his only chain—
O Master, pardon me if yet in vain
Thou art my Master, and I fail to bring
Before men's eyes the image of the thing
My heart is filled with: thou whose dreamy eyes
Beheld the flush to Cressid's cheek arise,
As Troilus rode up the praising street,
As clearly as they saw thy townsmen meet
Those whom in vineyards of Poictou withstood
The glistening horror of the steel-topped wood.

The changed attitude of the important Reviews towards Chaucer in the early nineteenth century is worthy of notice; he is constantly put next to Shakespeare, and sometimes compared to Goethe; the Quarterly is almost uniformly favourable to him, and often enthusiastic. Thus in the volume of May 1809, Chaucer is placed next below Shakespeare and Milton; in July 1814 he is called 'a star of the first magnitude,' and it is urged that it is a disgrace that the Canterbury Tales should be the only portion of his works edited with ability; while in the Edinburgh for July 1830 he is said to be in manner and expression the most Homeric of our poets.

All this appreciation, however, though very enthusiastic, was largely uncritical, and based on an incomplete knowledge of Chaucer's real work, and it was not until the appearance in 1862 (in the United States) of Professor Child's masterly and exhaustive essay on the use of the final 'e' in the Harleian manuscript 7334, followed in 1868 by the foundation of the
§ 1. Period VI. Foundation of the Chaucer Society. lxix

Chaucer Society by Dr. Furnivall, that the scholarly and critical work was inaugurated, which is one of the literary glories of the nineteenth century.

Professor Child furnished the money which enabled the Chaucer Society to start work, and so it is to him that Dr. Furnivall dedicates its first great publication, the Six-Text print of the Canterbury Tales ¹ (see 1868–77, below).

The work of Chaucer scholars in England and America during the last fifty years has been so great that to write any detailed account of it would demand more space than can here be given. Some record of it will be found in the following pages, and a still fuller record in the Supplement.² These speak for themselves. Certain landmarks in the work can, however, be indicated.

The Chaucer Society, which was established 'to do honour to Chaucer, and to let lovers and students of him see how far the best unprinted manuscripts of his works differed from the printed texts,' has achieved results of four kinds:—

1. The printing of all the best Chaucer manuscripts.
2. The establishment of the chronology of Chaucer's works, including the arrangement of the Canterbury Tales.
3. The final settlement of the Chaucer Canon.
4. The discovery of many hitherto unknown facts about Chaucer's life and family.

¹ That is the six best and oldest MSS. of the Canterbury Tales, printed in parallel columns so as to make the different readings at once apparent.

² Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion: A Supplement, containing additional entries, 1868–1900; London, privately printed, 1920.

As the work of collecting these Chaucer allusions proceeded, it became clear that it would be impossible, for reasons of mere bulk of matter, to deal so comprehensively with the last generation as with those up to 1800, or even up to 1867. A break therefore is made at the latter date, and after the foundation of the Chaucer Society only the chief editions of the poet are included and a few important or typical criticisms.

As, however, a considerable number of allusions for this period, about 900 in all, had already been collected and were in type, a few copies of this matter were printed off and have been placed in the principal libraries.

A complete list of the publications of the Chaucer Society down to 1907 is given in Chaucer, a bibliographical manual, by E. P. Hammond, 1908, pp. 523–41.

(1) The first attempt to print a single manuscript was made by Thomas Wright, who in 1848–51 edited for the Percy Society the Canterbury Tales from the Harleian 7334, with additions and collations from the Lansdowne MS. Later the printing of all the best Chaucer MSS. was carried through by the indefatigable energy of Dr. Furnivall; this made possible the edition of the poems published at Boston in 1880 by Mr. Gilman, and finally resulted in the first complete, accurate, and critical edition of Chaucer's works, which was edited by Professor Skeat in 1894–7.

All through the nineteenth century, from Southey onwards (see below, 1812), we find repeated desire expressed for a complete critical text of Chaucer's works, culminating with the statement in the long and well-informed article in the Edinburgh Review for July 1870, that it is a national reproach to be still without one.

Skeat's great six-volume edition, based on the careful collation of the seven best manuscripts, was therefore received with enthusiasm, and widely reviewed. After its publication and of that of the smaller reprint of the text (Student's Edition) in 1895, there is a noticeable increase in the general knowledge and study of Chaucer. This tendency was quickened by the appearance, in 1896, of William Morris's Kelmscott Chaucer, illustrated by Burne-Jones,¹ which aroused considerable interest and comment.

The impetus given to the reading of Chaucer by the work of the Chaucer Society is clearly seen in the increase of editions of his works published between 1851 and 1910. For various reasons it is difficult to be certain of getting these numbers absolutely complete, but the table below is approximately correct and shows the result of this impetus pictorially.

Between 1801 and 1850 there appeared seven editions of Chaucer's complete works (in the original text). Between 1851 and 1900 nine new editions came out, as well as one German translation. Only three editions of the Canterbury Tales were

¹ Or by drawings suggested by Burne-Jones. See The Nation, 1903, i, pp. 313–14.
§ 1. Period VI. *Impetus given to the reading of Chaucer.*

TABLE OF EDITIONS OF CHAUCER'S WORKS FROM 1801 TO 1910.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1801-1850)</th>
<th>(1851-1900)</th>
<th>(1901-1910)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complete Works (original text)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9 ( + 1 German)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete Works (modernised)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury Tales (original text)</td>
<td>3 ( + 1 re-issue)</td>
<td>9 ( + 2 re-issues: 1 French and 1 German)</td>
<td>2 ( + 1 French and 1 German)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury Tales (modernised, paraphrased, or 'retold')</td>
<td>4 ( + 1 unpublished)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected or single poems (original text)</td>
<td>9 ( + 1 French and 1 German)</td>
<td>67 ( + 1 French and 1 German)</td>
<td>32 ( + 1 re-issue and 1 Dutch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected or single poems (modernised, paraphrased, or 'retold')</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Published in the first half of the nineteenth century, as compared with nine editions in the second half. Nine editions of selected or single poems (in the original text) came out between 1801 and 1850, whereas there were sixty-seven of these between 1851 and 1900. And this increase of figures still continues, for between 1901 and 1910 there appeared two new editions of Chaucer's complete works, two editions of the *Canterbury Tales* as well as one French and one German translation, and thirty-two editions of selected or single poems.¹

(2) The first serious attempt to fix the chronological order of Chaucer's works was largely due to a man who had never even seen a Chaucer manuscript, or heard of the Chaucer Society, Professor ten Brink, who, in 1870, astounded English scholars by the publication of his *Chaucer Studien*, in which he for the first time threw a real light on the distinction between genuine and spurious in the poet's works, and also on their true order of succession. Although some of these questions are in

¹ The Clarendon Press, Oxford, report that Chaucer's poetical works have a larger sale than those of either Pope or Dryden, so that he is now the most 'popular' author of the three.
Ixxii § 1. Period VI. Work accomplished by the Chaucer Society.

dispute still, the chronology is for the most part now fairly well
established.

Mr. Bradshaw, at Cambridge, had been working at the same
problem independently for some years previously, but had not
printed any account of his results. To him, however, is due
the solution of the puzzle as to the right order and structure
of the 'Tales.'

(3) To the final settlement of the genuine poems many
scholars have contributed, notably ten Brink, Bradshaw,
Furnivall, Koch, and Skeat, and these results have been summed
up in such books as Koch's Chronology of Chaucer Writings,
Chaucer Society, 1890; Pollard's Chaucer in 'Literature
Primers,' 2nd edition, 1903; Skeat's Complete Works of Chaucer,
1894, introductions to vols. i and vi; Skeat's Chaucer Canon,
1900; and Tatlock's Development and Chronology of Chaucer's
Works, Chaucer Society, 1907.

(4) Of the life records of Chaucer, some few were printed by
Godwin in 1803, and still more by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1843,
but to Dr. Furnivall almost alone are due the discoveries along
this line, not only on account of his own extensive researches,
but because of the way he stimulated others, notably Mr.
Selby, Mr. Bond and Mr. Kirk, to undertake the work; so
that in 1900 it was possible to publish the completed volume of
the Life Records of Chaucer, a fitting commemoration of the
poet's quincentenary.

So the work goes on, and our poet has come to his own at
last; and the heart of Francis Thynne would rejoice to see how
'Chawcer's Woorkes, by much conference and many judg-
mentes' have at length obtained 'their true perfectione and
glory'; for after long years of neglect and misinterpretations,
we of to-day are fortunate enough to have the old poet's verses
as he wrote them, and to be able to read them for ourselves,
even without a knowledge of 'the black letter'; and we can
picture Chaucer himself smiling on us benignly as he says,

Be glad, thou reder, and thy sorwe of-caste,
Al open am I; passe in and hy the faste!
§ 2. Classification of Chaucer references.

§ 2. Examinati on and classification of the various types of Chaucer references.

The allusions to Chaucer, from his death up to 1800, fall for the most part fairly easily into certain definite types, which it may be useful very briefly to summarize.

(1) A dedicatory notice to Chaucer of some one of the following kinds:—

(a) The acknowledgment of indebtedness to Chaucer as first and greatest of English poets.

This is the earliest and most common for the first 150 years after his death. It is specially found among Chaucer's contemporaries and immediate successors, and among poets of the 'Chaucerian school' both in England and Scotland. Lydgate is the stock example of this sort of reference; he writes at great length on the subject, bewailing his own inferiority and the irreparable loss he has sustained in the death of the master. With Lydgate we must class Hoccleve (1412), and the references by Scogan (c. 1407), Walton (1410), James I. (1423), Bokeman (1443–7), Shirley (c. 1450), Ashby (c. 1470), Dunbar (1503), Hawes (1503–4), and many others. Late examples are Gascoigne (1576), Spenser (1579 and 1590–6), and Drayton (1627), which latter acknowledges Chaucer as the earliest but no longer as the greatest of English poets.

(b) A reference to Chaucer in company with Gower and Lydgate.

These, with two or three exceptions, are formal from the first and soon crystallize into a kind of stock phrase. Such are Bokenam (1443–7), Unknown (c. 1450), Ashby (c. 1470), Unknown (c. 1500), Douglas (1501), Hawes (1503–4), Feylde (1509), Rastell (1520), Skelton (1523), Lindsay (1530), Forrest (c. 1545), Harvey (1577), Lawson (1581), Meres (1598), Bodenham (1600), and Freeman, who in 1614 is the last we have found mentioning these three poets and these alone.

(c) A reference to Chaucer in company with other poets.

These are so very common that it is unnecessary to enumerate them. The earliest here is that by Bradshaw (1513), who
§ 2. Various Types of Chaucer references.

classes Chaucer with Lydgate, Barkley and Skelton; while in some verses in 1561 he is classed with Homer, Virgil and Ovid. Churchyard (1568) puts him with 'Peers Plowman, Surrey and Lord Vaus,' and with Sir Thomas More, Surrey, Sidney, and later Spenser, Drayton, Shakespeare and Jonson he is often bracketed, while, in the eighteenth century Milton, Cowley and Dryden are added.

(d) An apostrophe by a poet or writer expressing the desire to have the genius or 'muse' of Chaucer, or to call up his spirit; or an assertion that Chaucer's soul is revived in the later writer.

This is not to be found among the very early references, for the respect and veneration of the poet's first admirers were so great that none of them would have dared even to suggest or hope that a portion of his power might descend to them. Lydgate compares himself deprecatingly with his master, but never dreams of aspiring to his 'muse,' so great is the distance between them; compare also the humility of the last stanza of George Ashby's *Active policy of a Prince* (c. 1470) below. It is in the Elizabethan age, when Chaucer was still much admired, but not so deeply venerated, that we first find this class of allusion, and it is practically non-existent after 1650. Such are Stanihurst (1582), Churchyard (1587), Spenser (1590–6), Harvey (1592), Davies (1594), Haxby (1636), E. G. (1646), while Milton's well-known reference in *Il Penseroso* (1632), is of this nature.

(2) A quotation from Chaucer's works (or what were taken to be his works), or a reference to one of his characters, or to incidents in his poems:—

(a) As a matter of literary interest.

(b) To enforce some moral point, taking Chaucer either as standing for morality or against it.

(c) As an authority or precedent for sundry things.

In the first subdivision (a) Lydgate leads the way, for he quotes from Chaucer and refers to his stories continually.\(^1\) There are a fair number in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,

\(^1\) There is a possibility that the earliest reference of this class is that to Troilus in the *Gest hystoriate* (a. 1400), but this is doubtful.
but this class of reference is far more numerous in the first half of the seventeenth century. Indeed, in the following references there are close on twice as many of this nature between 1600–50 as there are during the whole of the eighteenth century. Men like Camden, Selden, Burton, Ben Jonson, Strafford, Milton and Joseph Hall, quote Chaucer (some of them repeatedly) in a way which shows they know him well, whereas in the eighteenth century not only is there no general writer (that is excepting language and Chaucer specialists such as Morrell or Tyrwhitt, or literary historians like Thomas Warton and Robert Henry), who cites him with this familiar knowledge, but even when referred to, he is misquoted by those who ought to know better.

Thus Addison quotes with approval as being Chaucer’s the sixteenth-century poem *The Remedy of Love* (printed by Thynne), and Horace Walpole in his first reference (1742) adds a note which looks as if he did not know Chaucer’s *Wife of Bath*,¹ while in a letter in 1789 he quotes two well-known lines in the Prologue, as being Spenser’s. In a note below is given a list of references up to 1800 where Chaucer is quoted as a matter of literary interest.²

¹ Ten Brink (*History of Eng. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 126) possibly on the ground of this allusion and the *New Wife of Bath* 1785, &c., suggests that the name of ‘Wife of Bath’ had been a sort of proverb before Chaucer immortalised it.

² *Gesta hystoriale* (a. 1400)? Lydgate (1400–30), Ed. 2nd Duke of York (1406–13), Scogean (c. 1407), Höcelevé (1421), Unknown (1440?) Norton (c. 1477), John de Irlandia (1490), Hawes (1506), Skelton (1507), Feylde (1509), Margaret Roper (1535), Layton (1535), Unknown (1536), Wyatt (a. 1542), Lyndsay (1548), Unknown (1549), Baldwin (1561), Calhif (1565), Drant (1567), B. G. (1569), Gascoigne (1575), Kirke (1579), Howell (1581), Ferne (1586), Spenser (1590–6), Greene (1592), Nash (1592, 1599), Peele (a. 1596), Breton (1597), Hall (1598), Spenser (1599), Stowe, Thynne (1600), Unknown (c. 1600), Rowlands (1602), Scoloker (1604), Camden (1605, 1616), Walkington (1607), Thynne (a. 1608), Wybarne (1609), Beaumont (1610), 'Ἀρωδημωντομφλος' (1611), Selden, William F. (1612) Peacham (1615), Fletcher (c. 1615), Burton (1621–52), B. Jonson (1625, 1629, 1632, a. 1637, 1641), Drayton (1627), Nash (1633), Cartwright (c. 1634), Fletcher (1634), Strafford (1635, 1637), Marmion (1641), Milton (1641, a. 1674), Hall, Kynaston (1642), Cavendish (1645), A Parliament Officer (1645–6), Selden (1646), Plume (1649), Cleveland (a. 1658), Jones (1659), a Wood (1661–6), Gayton (1663), Whitelock (a. 1675), Coles (1676), Aubrey (1683–4), Unknown (1696), Wanley (1701), Addison (1711), Pope (1711, 1712, 1725), Johnson (1712), Gay (1715), Oldys (1725), Unknown (1732), Walpole (1742, 1789), Carter (1753), Chatterton (a. 1770), Strutt (1775–6), Rogers (1782), Unknown (1785), Ritson (1796).
§ 2. 'Troilus' the favourite poem up to 1750.

(a) Poems and characters which are most popular and most frequently quoted.

An investigation of this point shows that up to 1700 *Troilus and Cressida* is by far the most popular, the most generally known and the most often quoted of Chaucer's poems. If at any time during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries it had been proposed to translate Chaucer's representative work into French, as has recently been done, *Troilus*, and not the *Canterbury Tales*, would assuredly have been chosen. It is the first poem to be mentioned by a contemporary writer; and if the allusions by Gower (1376–9) and in the *Gest hystoriale* (a. 1400) are to Chaucer's poem, we have three very early references to it by name. Unquestionably up to 1700 it is on the whole looked upon as Chaucer's representative and greatest poem; ¹ Henryson (1475) wrote a sequel to it, Berthelet (1532) refers to it as Chaucer's 'moste speciall warke,' it is obviously the poem Sidney knew best, and he singles it out as Chaucer's masterpiece, it gave its name to the form of verse in which it is written, so that as we now speak of the 'Spenserian stanza,' the Elizabethan critics wrote of 'Troilus verse,' ² and in the *Returnefrom Parnassus* (1597) where Chaucer and Skakespeare are parodied and imitated, it is the *Troilus* and *Venus and Adonis* which are chosen for the purpose, as being probably the best-known work of each writer. In Chapman's (?) *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* (1606) we find direct imitation of the first three books of the poem, a little later (c. 1630) it is being modernized by an admirer, the first of Chaucer's poems to be subjected to this process, and in 1634 another enthusiast turns it into Latin verse, presumably because he considered it the poem of Chaucer's best worth preserving.

Up to 1700 the number of references to *Troilus* are more than double those made to the *Canterbury Tales* (as a whole), and they are over three times as many as those to the General Prologue. This marked preference for the love poem may be

¹ See Feylde (1509), Hawes (1516), Lyndsay (1548), Gascoigne (1575).
² See James VI (1584), below.
§ 2. After 1750, the 'Canterbury Tales' come first. lxxvii

compared with the numerous references to Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis up to 1650. When we remember that the plays had the advantage of being known to the non-reading public, it is significant to find that with the exception of Hamlet and Henry IV there are, up to 1650, more allusions to the Venus and Adonis than to any other single work of Shakespeare's.¹

The preference for Troilus in the earlier centuries is not to be wondered at, the wonder rather is that during the last hundred and fifty years it has dropped so much out of the knowledge of the general reader. For it is the first great tragic novel,² rich in variety of character, and throbbing with humanity and passion, it stands out from among all the other poems of its author in dignity and beauty, and it brings out the strength of Chaucer's imagination more than even the dramatic monologues of the Wife of Bath and the Pardoner.

This priority of reference as regards Troilus continues up to 1750, although during the latter fifty years the allusions are more perfunctory and show little direct knowledge (which is the case as regards all Chaucer's work), but there is at the same time an increase in the references to the General Prologue and the separate Tales, owing chiefly to Dryden, who gave a great 'lift' to the Canterbury Tales by devoting, as he did, practically all his criticism and eulogy to them, and only mentioning Troilus in passing as an amplified translation. After 1750, however, a marked change is shown, and from that time on the Canterbury Tales easily come first, while Troilus sinks to the fifth place. This must be largely owing to the fact that Troilus was not modernized, and that Chaucer himself in the original was not read. Still there is no question that from 1750 onwards, aided naturally much by Tyrwhitt's edition, the

¹ As computed by Mr. Munro (editor of the Shakespere Allusion-Book, 1900), Hamlet (the most popular of the plays) is alluded to 58 times, the much-loved Falstaff 32 times, and the play of Henry IV 38 times; as compared with 44 references to the Venus and Adonis. During the same years we find 2 references to As You Like It, 6 to Henry V, 5 to Lear, and 4 to Antony and Cleopatra and Twelfth Night respectively. See ibid. vol. ii, pp. 540–1.

² See W. P. Ker in the Quarterly Review, April 1895, below.
Change in the popularity of 'Nun's Priest's Tale.'

Canterbury Tales became the most popular and the recognized representative work of Chaucer, completely putting all the others in the shade.

As regards the separate Tales, only one shows any marked change in favour, and this is the Nun's Priest's. Up to 1700, and more especially in the seventeenth century, it was very popular, being quoted nearly as often as the General Prologue, the Knight's Tale and the Wife of Bath's Prologue, while between 1700 and 1800 we find only four references to it, and two of these belittle it. Dr. Johnson (1779) remarks that it was not worth revival by Dryden, while an annotator of Dryden's Fables (c. 1785 ?) scratches it all out, saying that it is so foolish, if not worse, that it adds little to Chaucer's reputation that he was the author of it (below, p. 481).

In the estimation of the proportionate number of references given in the tables below, there are included only references or quotations which are made as a matter of literary interest, or to illustrate a point, or where a poem is specially picked out for praise or blame. Hence the following are not counted:—Prologues, epilogues or headlines to Chaucer's works, such as those by Shirley and Caxton, lists of Chaucer's works, as given by Leland, Bale or Hearne, or a detailed account of the whole of Chaucer's work, such as Francis Thynne's Animadversions (1598) or Dryden's preface; and, in the eighteenth century, general literary criticism or histories of literature, such as that by Hearne, the Wartons, Tyrwhitt, etc., where every poem is mentioned many times, or notes to Shakespeare's plays, as this latter would give an undue proportion to Troilus and Cressida, and the Knight's Tale. The numerous references to spurious poems are naturally omitted, as also are quotations which are so incorrect as to make it doubtful from what poem they are taken.
§ 2. Table of the relative popularity of Chaucer’s Poems. 

TABLE OF THE RELATIVE POPULARITY OF CHAUCER’S POEMS AT DIFFERENT TIMES.

(i) Order up to 1700.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Approximate No. of refs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Troilus</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cant. Tales (as a whole)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Prol. C. T.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonne Preestes T.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight’s T.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. of Bath’s Prol.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. of Fame</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk’s T.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thopas</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marchant’s T.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. of Bath’s T.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squieres T.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom. of Rose</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardoneres T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrolabe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Order up to 1750.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Approximate No. of refs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Troilus</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cant. Tales</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genl. Prol. C. T.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight’s T.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonne Preestes T.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. of Bath’s Prol.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Fame</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk’s T.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marchant’s T.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom. of Rose</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thopas</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squieres T.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardoneres T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrolabe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Order from 1750 to 1800.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Approximate No. of refs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cant. Tales</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Prol. C. T.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Order from 1700 to 1800

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Approximate No. of refs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knight’s T.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squieres T.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. of Bath’s Prol.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troilus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Fame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thopas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonne Preestes T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardoneres T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom. of Rose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) Order from the beginning up to 1800.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Approximate No. of refs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Troilus</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cant. Tales</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genl. Prol. C. T.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight’s T.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. of Bath’s Prol.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonne Preestes T.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Fame</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thopas</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squieres T.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marchantes T.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardoneres T.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrolabe</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Chaucer quoted to enforce some moral point, in which he is ranged either on the side of morality or against it.

This type of reference becomes, as we have seen (see above, pp. xix–xxi), very common about the middle to the end of the
sixteenth century. Thus Sir John Elyot points out what a discord there is between *Troilus* and the New Testament (1533), while Ascham (1544), John Northbrooke (1577) and Bishop Babington (1583) quote the *Pardoneres Tale* in condemnation of gaming and card-playing. Becke, Cranmer and Latimer refer to 'Canterbury tales' as light and trifling reading upon which people waste much time, while, on the other hand, Foxe maintains that Chaucer's works have been the means of bringing many to the true knowledge of religion. Some writers, like Sir John Harrington, condemn Chaucer for 'flat scurrilitie,' whilst others not only emphasise the value of his satire against Rome (see Foxe, Scot and Harsnet), but even maintain, as does Prynne (1633), who surely cannot have read the poet very exhaustively, that his subjects are all 'serious, sacred and divine.'

Later, at the end of the seventeenth century, Milton and Aubrey both quote Chaucer with approval as to methods of education.

(c) **As an authority or precedent for sundry things.**

For instance John Bossewell, in his *Workes of Armorie*, (1572), quotes Chaucer as authority for a definition of generosity, for an allusion to gentle birth, for the name of the inventor of the game of chess, and the preciousness of the daisy; in the *Returne from Parnassus* (1597) he is quoted for his 'vayn' *i.e.* style; Hakluyt (1598) quotes him as authority for the voyages and exploits of our nobles and Knights in the fourteenth century; Milton (1641) cites him as a precedent for mis-spelling foreign names; Hawkins (1776) and Burney (1782) for evidence as to the musical instruments and love of music in his time, and many later writers (e.g. Robert Henry 1781, Strutt 1799) for light thrown on contemporary customs, dress and habits.

(3) **Biographies, or short references to the Poet's life.**

These are examined under § 4.

(4) **Notices of Chaucer in connection with language and style.**

These must be noted under a separate heading, although
they do not, as a rule, stand alone; that is (with the exception of (e)) they more generally occur in the course of a life or account of the poet.

They are mainly of the following kinds:—

(a) Those which state that he refined and improved the language.
(b) Those which assert he corrupted it.
(c) Those which say he is difficult to understand and obsolete, and that his versification is rough and irregular.
(d) Those which refute this, or try to excuse it.
(e) Remarks, prefaces or verses in connection with translations and modernizations of Chaucer.

(a) As Tyrwhitt points out in his introductory essay (1775, below) the language of Chaucer has undergone two entirely opposite judgments: (a) and (b) above. His earlier admirers, Lydgate (‘the fyrste in any age that amended our language,’) Hoccleve (‘the firste fyndere of our faire language,’) Caxton, Skelton, the Scotch poets, Sir Brian Tuke, and others at intervals up to Spenser (1590–6), who has immortalized him as ‘well of Englishe undefyled,’ all agree that he first showed of what English was capable, and in the matter of style set up a high standard for his followers and imitators.

An interesting early example of this view is in the jilted lovers’ reply to the scorn or ‘flyting’ letter of his mistress (MS. Bodl. Rawl. poet. 36, c. 1470), where he says satirically:—

To me ye haue sent a letter of derision
Werfore I thanke you as I fynde cause,
The ynglysch of Chaucere was nat in youre mynd,
Ne tullyus termys wyth so gret eloquence,
But ye as vncurtes and crabbed of leynde
Rolled hem on a hepe it semyth by the sentens.

A little later, however, to this view is added the assertion or implication, that Chaucer definitely and deliberately set himself the task of refining and polishing our language. Indeed some writers would make out that to accomplish this was his dearest wish, and that he expressed himself in verse merely as a means to this end, to which he devoted himself with untiring patience.
Leland, in his mythical account of the poet, as retold by Bale (published 1619), first fully emphasizes this point of view. Following in the footsteps of his master Gower, who took ‘wonderful pains to polish the English tongue,’ Leland tells us that Chaucer had one distinct aim in his studies, which was to render the English speech as polished as possible in all respects, and he thought ‘that no stone should be left unturned by himself in order to reach the farthest goal of success.’ To this end he chose to express himself in poetry, because of the scope it gives for ornaments of speech and grace of style, and he also translated from French and Latin into English. ‘Nor did he cease from his labours until he had carried our language to that height of purity, of eloquence, of conciseness and beauty, that it can justly be reckoned among the thoroughly polished languages of the world.’ This is the point of view, more or less exaggerated, which is repeated constantly by later writers, from many of whom it would be assumed that the ‘refining’ of the English tongue was the one thing for which Chaucer lived and worked. Speght (1598), for instance, says ‘Chaucer had alwaies an earnest desire to enrich and beautifie our English tongue, which in those days was verie rude and barren’; and the tenor of Rymer’s remarks (1692) is to the effect that Chaucer found himself faced with the herculean task of remodelling the language, which he immediately and with great energy set himself to do, the process of which described in detail resembles nothing so much as the recipe for making a pudding.¹

¹ As late as 1879 we find Dr. Weisse (in Origin, progress and destiny of the English Language and Literature, New York, 1879), definitely stating that Chaucer, ‘after rendering himself master of the situation as to Anglo-Saxon, French and Latin, resolved to bring some order out of this confusion,’ so he immediately and as it were by a stroke of the pen, ‘dropped the thirty-four senseless inflections of the Anglo-Saxon definite article,’ replacing them by ‘the,’ and introducing ‘a’ as an indefinite article, he swept away all inflections of adjectives, largely reduced the changes in the personal and possessive pronouns, reduced twenty-three inflections of the demonstrative pronoun to two, dropped all inflections in nouns, substituting the particles ‘of,’ ‘from,’ etc., to denote the various cases, and adopted the French rule of forming the plural of nouns by adding an ‘s’ to the singular. This was a fair achievement for one man single-handed to accomplish.
§ 2. **Those who assert that Chaucer corrupted the language.**

(b) Next we come to the opposite statement, that Chaucer corrupted the language.

The writer who appeared definitely to start this view (although it was indicated earlier, see *e. g.* Chapman 1598) was Richard Verstegan (or Rowlands), the antiquary and old English scholar. In his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605) he says that he does not agree with those who call Chaucer the first illuminator of the English tongue, because 'he was a great mingler of English with French, unto which language by lyke, for that he was descended of French or rather Wallon race, he caryed a great affection.'

Verstegan was looked upon as a great authority in antiquarian matters, and all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries his remark is quoted with respect, and its truth accepted as unquestioned, although there is a difference of opinion as to whether introducing French terms was a corruption of English or not. So, for instance, Tooke (1647), Fuller (1662), and Rymer (1692) defend Chaucer against this accusation, while Dr. Johnson (1755) points out that Gower uses the French words of which Chaucer is charged as being the importer. But more often it is assumed as true that the French words were a corruption, and it is repeated with approval, as by Phillips (1658), Lewis (1737), Oldys (1738) and Percy (1765); or, as in the case of Skinner, it is expanded and emphasized. In the Latin preface to his *Etymological Dictionary* (1671) Skinner writes:—' Chaucer having by the worst sort of example brought in whole cart-loads of words into our speech from . . . France, despoiled it, already too much adulterated by the victory of the Normans, of almost all its native grace and elegance.' This kind of assertion in an authoritative work of reference naturally increased the general belief in Chaucer's wickedness in this respect.

In addition to Chaucer having imported French words wholesale into the language, it was for nearly a century generally assumed that he had also borrowed largely from the Provençal; although this is generally held to be to his credit rather than the reverse. Rymer seems to have started
Ixxxiv § 2. Assertion that Chaucer borrowed from the Provençal.

this belief in 1692, and Dryden quoted Rymer’s remark with approval, which gave it general currency. In the sketches of a history of English poetry drawn up by both Pope and Gray it is laid down that Chaucer imitated the Provençal writers, and Warburton and Warton both endorse this, the latter stating that ‘Chaucer formed a style by naturalizing words from the Provençal.’ Tyrwhitt (1775) finally put an end to this theory by asserting that he could find no phrase or word in Chaucer which appeared to have been taken from south of the Loire, and he even doubted whether Chaucer had any acquaintance with the poets of Provence.

(c) and (d) have been dealt with fully in the earlier part of this introduction. Of (c)—the assertion that Chaucer is obsolete and his versification rough—the most noteworthy early references are Ashton (1546), Wilson (1553), Puttenham (1584), Covell (1595), Marston (1598), Daniel (1599 and 1646), Jonson (a. 1637), Waller (1668), Phillips (1675), Dryden (1679 and 1700), Howard (1689), Addison (1694), and Blount (1694). Later on, right up to the third quarter of the eighteenth century, this class of reference becomes increasingly common. Of (d)—the refutation of or excuse made for this assertion—we may note Skelton (a. 1508), Webbe (1586), Sidney (1595), Gascoigne (1575), Beaumont (1597), Speght (1602), Peacham (1622), Cockayne (1658), and Brathwait (1665).

(e) Verses and prose writing in connection with translations and modernizations are fairly well marked and easy to find, beginning with the preface and verses before Kynaston’s Latin translation (1634); after the publication of Dryden’s Fables there are a great number (see the years 1700, 1706, 1707); and again after Pope’s and the many other modernizations all through the eighteenth century.

(5) References to a ‘Canterbury Tale,’ meaning a fictitious and utterly improbable tale, or a scurrilous story.

1 Ruffhead’s Life of Pope, 1769, pp. 424–5; see also p. 377 below.
2 Letter to Warton, April 15, 1770, see p. 436 below.
The earliest references we have found of this description are those in the year 1547, when Latimer, Cranmer and Becke all allude to 'Canterbury Tales' in the sense either of profane histories or 'fables or trifles.'

We do not meet it again (though doubtless it was an ordinary expression, and there are many examples of it) until 1575, when Turberville uses it, and at the same time explains exactly what he means by it, *viz.*: 'a verie olde woman's fable,' and in the same year Wharton speaks of 'olde bables, or stale tales of Chaucer.'

The expression then becomes fairly common, and we find it under Proctor (1578), Fulke (1579), Lyly (1580), who alternates it with 'an Æsop's Fable,' Stanihurst (1582), Dekker (1605), who in 1625 uses a 'Kentish Tale' in the same sense, Chapman (?) (1606), Wither (1621), Unknown (1630), and in *A Fraction in the Assembly* (1648) the same meaning is implied, though the actual expression is not used. The Elizabethan meaning evidently took root in America, for Dean Stanley, writing in 1855 (see below), says that Americans have been accustomed from their earliest years to hear a marvellous story followed by the exclamation, "What a Canterbury!"

It was still in use in England in the eighteenth century, meaning a long-winded tale, for Steele (1709) twice uses it in this connection; also unknown writers in 1737, 1753 and 1795, the last in the sense of a 'cock and bull' story.

(6) References relating to Westminster and Chaucer's Tomb.
These are to be found in three connections; of which (a) and (b) are very common.

(a) *In speaking of poets or others buried near Chaucer*, as for instance, Spenser, Drayton, Cowley, Dryden, Robert Hall (see below Vallans, 1615).

(b) *In any general account of the tombs at Westminster*.

(c) *In connection with the curious custom of using Chaucer's tomb as a meeting place for the payment of money*.

See below 1566, 1585 and 1596, Order by the Court of
§ 2. **Chaucerian Titles of Books or Plays.**

Requests to pay money at Chaucer’s tomb, and c. 1833, Haslewood.

(7) **Titles of pamphlets or books or plays taken from or connected with Chaucer**, such as:—

1566. Palamon and Arcite (a play, now lost), by Richard Edwards.

1590. The Cobler of Canterbury.

1597. The Northern Mothers Blessing. The way of Thrift, written nine years before the death of G. Chaucer. By S. J.

1603. The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissil, by Thomas Dekker.

1617. Chaucer’s incensed Ghost (a poem), by Richard Brathwait.


1630. The Tincker of Turvey [running title is ‘Canterburie Tales’].

1641. A Canterbury Tale, Translated out of Chaucer’s old English Into our now vsuall Language... by Alexander Brome.

1672. Chaucer’s Ghoast, Or a Piece of Antiquity.

1700 and 1778. The New Wife of Beath (a poem).

1701. Chaucer’s Whims.

1709. The Court of Love. A Tale from Chaucer [a poem], by Arthur Maynwaring.


1713. The Wife of Bath, a comedy, by John Gay.

1716. Brown Bread and Honour, A Tale moderniz’d from an Ancient Manuscript of Chaucer.

1717. The Court of Love. A Vision from Chaucer (a poem), by Alexander S. Catcott.

1717. A Tale Devised in the plesaunt manere of gentil Maister Jeoffrey Chaucer, by Elijah Fenton.

§ 2. Chaucer's Works mentioned in Wills and Catalogues. lxxxvii

1747. Hereafter in English Metre ensueth a Paraphrase on the Holie Book entitled Leviticus, Chap. xi, vers. 13, etc. Fashioned after the Maniere of Maister Geoffery Chaucer in his Assemblie of Foules (a poem), by Thomas Warton.


1802. Canterbury Tales, by Nathan Drake.

(8) Notes to books.

Such, for instance, as to works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Dryden, or the Scottish poets; or illustrative passages in dictionaries, grammars, etc.

(9) A vision of poets, in which Chaucer appears.

There are a fair number of these, both in prose and verse, such as Douglas (1501), Skelton (1523), Bullein (1564), Greene's Vision (1592), Foulface (1593), Dekker (1607), Webster (1624), Holland (1656), Unknown (1656), Unknown (c. 1669), Phillips (1673), Unknown (1700), Brown (a. 1704), Croxall (1715), Unknown (1730 and 1738), Clarke (c. 1740), Mason (1747), Warton (1749), Lloyd (1751), Craven (1778), Hayley (1782).

(10) Prefatory matter in verse and prose, prologues to plays, epigrams and epitaphs.

(11) References to Chaucer's Works in Wills, and in catalogues of libraries or sales.

These are interesting, and throw incidentally some light on how much Chaucer was read and valued at certain times. The earliest bequest of any of his works to be found in a will is in that of John Brinchele, 1420, who leaves to John Broune the book in English called Boecius de Consolacione Philosophie, and to William Holgrave one of his executors, 6s. 8d., his best bow, and his book called the Tales of Canterbury.

In 1450 Sir Thomas Cumberworth leaves to his niece Anne his 'boke of the talys of Cantyrbury' and in 1471 Dame Eliza-
beth Brune bequeaths to one fortunate legatee her copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, together with a gilt cup, a sparver (balda-chin) of silk, a diall of gold, two horses in her stable, and one double harp.

In 1509 the Countess of Richmond details among her legacies 'a booke of velom of Canterbury Tales in Englishe,' and in 1568 Henry Payne leaves, in one bequest, his Chaucer 'written in vellum and illumyned in gold' together with his best gelding.

The earliest library catalogue among the following references, in which a work of Chaucer's appears, is John Paston's (c. 1482), in which a 'Boke of Troylys' is entered as having been lent to a friend and apparently not returned.

Among other early private library catalogues in which Chaucer's works are mentioned is that of William Cavendish, 1540; of Sir William More, 1556; of Henry Fairfax, a. 1665, and of Prince Rupert, 1677.

(12) **Textual Comments on Chaucer.**

These often take the form of copying out portions of his works and annotating them. Among the most interesting of these are Walter Stevin's emendations to Chaucer's *Astrolabe* (c. 1555), Gabriel Harvey's notes on Chaucer's learning and nature descriptions (c. 1585), Bryan Twyne's extracts (1608–44), Samuel Butler's use of Chaucer's characters to illustrate his points (c. 1667), Elias Ashmole's marginal notes in his Chaucer MS. (a. 1692); while Brathwait's Comments in 1665 are a printed example of the same kind of exercise.

(13) **MS. additions to Chaucer's text in the MS. copies.**

These are generally merely headings or end lines to the poems, they are nearly all early, and a great number will be found from about 1420–1500, practically all by unknown scribes, except in the case of John Shirley, who contributes a good many (principally placed c. 1445–50), of which the most important are his metrical prologue to Boethius and his prose introduction to the *Knight's Tale* (a. 1456).
§ 2. References of peculiar interest.

(14) References in connection with certain places and certain people.

These are to be found in histories, guide books, etc., in connection with places like Woodstock or Oxfordshire, and people such as Wicklif and John of Gaunt.

(15) Bibliographical references.

These are comparatively rare until we come to the nineteenth century, but among earlier ones may be noted part of Thynne's *Animadversions* 1598, some of Stow's notes 1600, the letters of Hearne and Bagford 1708–9, the diaries of Hearne 1709–15, and the Typographical Antiquities by Ames and Herbert 1749 and 1785.

(16) References that stand alone, because of some peculiar interest.

These often come under one or other of the above headings, but they deserve to be picked out because of some special light they throw on Chaucer's reputation. Such, for instance, is the statute of 1542–3 for the abolishing of forbidden books, Chaucer's being among those excepted; or Wilson's remark in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), that 'the fine Courtier will talke nothing but Chaucer.' John Earle's interesting remark in 1628, the letter of the Parliament Officer in 1645–6, Brathwait's 'Comments' (1665), Addison's criticism (1694), the references by Pepys (1663–4), Gay's comedy (1713), Mr. Brome's letter (1733), and others, are referred to in the earlier part of this introduction. The references by Miss Carter (1774), Miss Seward (1792), Miss Mitford (1815), and Byron (1807), also deserve special notice.

(17) References that are really literary criticism.

By this is meant references that are not merely textual annotations or general repetition of common opinion (such as Sir T. Pope Blount 1694, Giles Jacob 1720, John Dart 1721, John Entick 1736, William Thompson 1745, *Biographica Britannica* 1747, or Theophilus Cibber 1753), but original criticism, showing first-hand knowledge, and contributing something fresh to the body of critical work on Chaucer. Of these we will merely give a list (up to 1800), as this question as already been dealt with.
§ 2. References of real critical worth.

Early appreciation by English and Scottish writers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1400-30</td>
<td>John Lydgate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1412</td>
<td>Thomas Hoccleve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1475</td>
<td>Robert Henryson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. 1477</td>
<td><em>Book of Curtesye</em>, stanza 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1483</td>
<td>William Caxton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501 and 1513</td>
<td>Gavin Douglas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1503</td>
<td>William Dunbar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1507</td>
<td>John Skelton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532</td>
<td>Sir Brian Tuke.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elizabethan criticism, which, with the exception of Spenser, Beaumont and Speght, consists chiefly of investigation of metre and language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1544, 1552</td>
<td>Roger Ascham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1563-8</td>
<td>Thomas Wilson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>Robert Braham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>George Gascoigne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>Edmund Spenser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579, 1590-6</td>
<td>Sir Philip Sidney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>George Puttenham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584-8</td>
<td>William Webbe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Francis Beaumont.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>Thomas Speght.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17th-century criticism. With the very great exception of Dryden, who writes the first literary criticism in the modern sense of the term, there is otherwise little of original worth, for Brathwait, whose ‘Comment’ was written in 1617 (see p. xxxvi above), is really a survival from the Elizabethans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>Henry Peacham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1665</td>
<td>Richard Brathwait.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1675</td>
<td>Edward Phillips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Thomas Rymer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>John Dryden.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above seventeen types will be found roughly to account for all the references up to 1800. Allusions in letters are not separately classed, because they are of so many various kinds, bibliographical (as Hearne and Bagford), a quotation as a matter of literary interest (as Margaret Roper (1535) or Horace Walpole (1789)), or critical. Records of Chaucer in his lifetime also are not separately specified, as they all fall between 1357–99, and therefore are very easily found.

There is one class of reference that one would have expected to be fairly common, and that is the inclusion of passages from Chaucer in books of poetical selections or extracts. Such, however, is not the case, for upon examination of these up to 1800, there seems, with one exception, to have been a curious shyness about including Chaucer in any of them. The single exception is, however, rather interesting. Tottell's *Songes and Sonnettes*, published in 1557, is the first poetical miscellany in English,¹ and among the poems by 'Uncertain Authours' is included Chaucer's 'Truth' ('Flee fro the prees'). The editor of Tottell heads it 'To leade a vertuous and honest life,' and prints it with some curious variations from the usual text.

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1 Though this title ought, strictly speaking, to be given to Thynne’s edition of 'Chaucer' in 1532, *q. v.* below, p. 78.
In the later collections, such as the Paradise of Dainty Devices (1578), the Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578), or England's Helicon (1600), there was no question of including any but practically contemporary poets. But John Bodenham, the editor of Belvedère (1600), seems to have had a desire to include extracts from Chaucer and the older poets, which was not carried out. Belvedère is a collection of single ten-syllable lines or couplets from a number of poets arranged under various subject headings, such as Life, Death, Hope, Learning, etc., a method very popular later on, especially in the eighteenth century. The reasons for the non-inclusion of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate were apparently two; first, because of the irregularity of their verse, 'it was not knowne how their forme would agree with these of ten syllables only,' and secondly, because 'the Gentleman who was the cause of this collection' absolutely refused to include them. Notwithstanding this, Bodenham had hopes that in the next edition (which never appeared) they might be added.

Naturally, in the seventeenth century, there would be no question of including Chaucer in a poetical miscellany, and therefore no excuse was needed for the omission, but in 1702 we find Edward Bysshe apologizing for the non-inclusion of Chaucer and Spenser in his Art of English Poetry, which is a collection of a similar nature to Bodenham's, though not limited to single or ten-syllable lines. The reason he gives for the omission is that 'the garb in which they are cloath'd . . . is now become so out of fashion, that the readers of our age have no ear for them.'

In another book of the same sort which he published twelve years later (The British Parnassus; or, a compleat Common-place-Book of English Poetry, 1714), which consists of fresh extracts gathered from 83 instead of from 43 different poets, as in the earlier collection, although there are long quotations from Dryden's modernizations of Chaucer, and some from Pope's, and Spenser is added to the list of poets, there are no quotations from Chaucer in the original.

Charles Gildon, who in 1718 published the Complete Art of
§ 3. Qualities attributed to Chaucer.

Poetry, shows a great advance on Bysshe in the matter of appreciation of the older poets, for he makes a point of quoting much from both Spenser and Shakespeare (see his Preface), but all his extracts from Chaucer are from Dryden's versions.

Elizabeth Cooper (1737) is the first editor after Tottell who includes an extract from Chaucer in the original in a Poetical Miscellany, but her good example is not followed.

Although there was evidently at one time an intention to include Chaucer among Dr. Johnson's poets (see letter from Edward Dilly to Boswell, 1777, below), this was not carried out. In 1781 a book of extracts was published, stating in the title that they were selected from 'Chaucer to Churchill,' but this must have been merely for the sake of alliteration, for there are no Chaucer extracts in the book; and in 1787, when Henry Headley published *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, he deliberately omitted Chaucer, as well as Shakespeare, Jonson and Milton, because, as he says, though they are 'familiar to us in conversation,' they are nevertheless 'not universally either read or understood.'

§ 3. Qualities attributed to Chaucer.

In examining the qualities ascribed to Chaucer as a poet, one is struck by a rather curious fact which applies more especially to the first three hundred and fifty years of criticism, and this is that certain epithets have a distinct and well-marked vogue; during a definite time they are used repeatedly, and evidently represent the leading characteristic of the poet in the minds of his critics; they then completely fall out of fashion, to be replaced by some other leading and quite different quality.

Thus, for instance, to note in their chronological order the most salient of these:

(1) Chaucer is golden tonged, *eloquent, ' ornate,'* for about the first 150 years after his death (1400–1550). This view was started by Lydgate, who again and again dwells on the rhetorical powers of his master 'the noble rethor Poete of breteine' who
made firste to distille and reyne the golde dewe droppis of speeche and eloquence into our tounge.' This quality is emphasized by Walton (1410), Hoccleve (1412), 'flour of eloquence,' James I (1423), 'Shirley' (c. 1450), the author of the Book of Curtesye (a. 1477), Caxton (a. 1479 and c. 1483), John de Irlandia (1490), Dunbar (1503), Hawes (1503–4), Feylde (1509), Douglas (1513), Skelton (1523), Unknown (1525 and 1561), B. G. (1569). By the middle of the sixteenth century Chaucer's verse and language were becoming difficult to understand, so that he was no longer thought of as 'golden tongued'; and this class of praise drops with such completeness, that it is something of the nature of a shock to find as late as 1602 and 1609 the expression 'golden pen' (1602, Nixon, below, and 1609, Heale). The first one is accounted for when one finds that the Christian Navy is merely a reprint (with title and a few words altered) of a poem published in 1569, which is itself, with these two last exceptions, the very latest reference we have found to the 'golden eloquence' of Chaucer.

When his most ardent admirer can no longer assert that he has a flowing and melodious style, the quality which comes in to replace this is that—

(2) He is a moral poet. This is a view held by a certain class of critic almost exclusively in the sixteenth century, although there are isolated examples earlier and later. Lydgate, who ascribes most qualities to Chaucer except imagination and humour, of neither of which he was very well qualified to judge, notes that 'in vertu he set al his entent ydelmanse and vices for to flee'; but the first definite allusion to Chaucer's use of satire with a clear moral purpose is that made by Hawes in 1506; and he is followed by Foxe (1570), Lodge (1579), Webbe (1586), and Prynne (1633). This quality is also implied in many other references where sayings and stories of Chaucer's are quoted which condemn some particular sin. Such are Ascham (1544), Northbrooke (1577), Babington (1583), Scot (1584), and Harsnet (1603).

Side by side with this view, and often coupled with it,
there goes another attribute which is very general, and peculiarly
Elizabethan. This is that—

(3) He is a learned poet, prevalent from about 1530 to 1660.
Sir Brian Tuke first draws attention to it in his preface to
Thynne's edition of the poet in 1532, but it is not till the third
quarter of the century that it becomes the favourite attribute.
G. B. in 1569 speaks of 'learned Chaucer'; Foxe, in 1570,
couples Chaucer with Linacre and Pace in commendation of
his 'studie and lernyng'; Holinshed, in 1577, lays special
stress on his exquisite learning 'in all sciences'; Spenser
(1579) prays that on him 'some little drops' might flow 'of
that spring was in his learned hedde,' and Puttenham (1584–88)
singles out Chaucer to be commended above Gower, Lydgate
and Harding 'for the much learning appeareth to be in him
above any of the rest.' This view is strongly emphasized
by Gabriel Harvey in his curious and hitherto unpublished
MS. notes (c. 1585), where he says that Chaucer and Lydgate
were 'much better learned than oure moderne poets,' and
sums up his remarks on them in the following characteristic
sentence: 'Other commend Chawcer and Lidgate for their
witt, pleasant veine, varietie of poetical discourse, and all
humanitie. I specially note their Astronomie, philosophie, and
other parts of profound or cunning art. Wherein few of their
time were more exactly learned. It is not sufficient for poets
to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite
artists, and curious uniuersal schollers.' Churchyard (1587)
speaks of Chaucer's 'learned tales,' the author of the Cobler
of Caunterburie (1590) praises his 'conceited learning,' the
first epithet used by Hakluyt (1598) is 'learned,' and Francis
Thynne (1598) refers to the love his father had for Chaucer's
'lernynge,' Harsnet (1603) and Stowe (1603) allude to him as
a learned writer rather than as a poet, and it is significant
that Speght calls his edition of 1598, the 'Workes of our
Antient and lerned English Poet.' That Speght does this of
set purpose, is evident from his preface of 1602, where he
says that it would be a good piece of work for some industrious
scholar to look up and note all Chaucer's classical authorities,
§ 3. Chaucer is a jovial facetious poet.

't which would,' he adds, 'so grace this auncient Poet, that whereas divers have thought him unlearned, and his writings meere trifles, it should appeare, that besides the knowledge of sundrie tongues, he was a man of great reading, and deep judgement.'

Selden also (1612) specially notes Chaucer's learning and wit, asking how many of the poet's readers suspect his knowledge 'transcending the common Rode' in his use, for instance, of 'Dulcarnon' in Troilus and Cressida.

Freeman (1614) again dwells on the same point, coupling Chaucer in this respect with Lydgate and Gower, who, he affirms, 'equal'd all the Sages of these, their owne, of former Ages.' Webster (1624) classes Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, More and Sidney together as 'five famous scholars and poets of this our kingdom,' and 'five learn'd poets'; and 'learned' is the adjective selected for Chaucer by Basse in his well-known epitaph on Shakespeare (c. 1622). Other similar references are Unknown (1622), E. G. (1646), Leigh (1656), Howard (1689), Hatton (1708).

But on the whole (in the following extracts, with the sole exception of Robert Henry 1781), to the men of the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Chaucer was no longer a learned poet, and on the very rare occasions when that adjective is used it is more in the sense of repeating a commonplace which was at one time, but is no longer, generally believed; see, for instance, Grainger's account in the Biographical History of England, 1769, below. The quality to which 'learned' gave place, and which may fairly be called the dominant characteristic from about 1670 to 1760, is that—

(4) He is a jovial, facetious, merry poet.

These qualities of 'merry' or 'jovial' are applied to Chaucer with two rather different meanings—

(a) really pleasant, lively, amusing;
(b) one who delights in a broad jest, and tells coarse stories.

The first meaning (with the exception of the discriminating criticism in the Boke of Curtesye 1477) is found mostly from about 1570 to 1600, as in Robinson (1574) and Spenser (1579),
§ 3. Change of meaning in the term 'Witty.'

who both speak of Chaucer's 'merry tales'; Puttenham (1584) speaks of his 'pleasant wit,' Webbe (1586) of his 'delightsome vayne,' in which he wrote 'learnedly and pleasantly,' unfolding 'pleasant and delightsome matters of mirth'; in the Cobler of Cauterburie his wit and pleasantness are dwelt on, and Beaumont (1597) says Chaucer is 'the verie life itself of all mirth and pleasant writing.'

We occasionally find the term 'witty' applied to Chaucer, and his 'wit' is often alluded to. It is, however, difficult to know exactly what was meant by 'wit' and 'witty,' particularly at the end of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth centuries. We know that 'wit,' which originally meant simply the intellect or understanding, first acquired its secondary and more restricted meaning somewhere about this time, and that a little later the adjective 'witty' passed from the signification of 'skilful' or 'wise' to that of ingenious and quick in a certain imaginative quality of seizing resemblances between two apparently different things. Early in the seventeenth century 'wit' appears often as an equivalent for the Italian 'ingegno,' and indeed is used by Jonson as synonymous with 'ingenuity.'

Hobbes tells us in the Leviathan (1651) that wit had become a synonym for 'fancy,' and in his Answer to Davenant's Discourse upon Gondibert (1650), he defines the function of 'fancy' to be the furnishing of the ornaments of poetry, whereas 'judgment' supplies the 'strength and structure.' His distinction between the two was adopted by later seventeenth and eighteenth century critics, and wit came to mean a quickness of mind in seeing unexpected resemblances.

Dryden and Addison both say that to the resemblance of ideas

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1 But not always; thus in Glapthorne's Wit in a Constable, 1639, 'witty' appears to be used in the sense of 'knowing,' 'clever,' the reverse of stupid.

2 Every Man out of His Humour, III, iii. For the whole question of the change of meaning in 'wit' at this time, see Critical Essays of the 17th Century, Oxford, 1908; Introduction by Prof. Spingarn, pp. xxvii–xxxi.

should be added the sensation of surprise and delight, and so we can see how the particular meaning now attached to the adjective 'witty' gradually crept in.  

So that when Stevins (c. 1555) and Bullein (1564) speak of 'wittie Chaucer' we have to remember that they mean 'possessed of wisdom or understanding,' in which sense it falls in under 'learned,' the characteristic epithet of the time, and when Puttenham (1584) and Thynne (1600) speak of his 'pleasant' and 'flowing wit,' they mean intellect or understanding. But when William Barker, in his prefatory verses to Kynaston (1635), alludes to 'up start verse-wrights' first stealing Chaucer's 'wit' and then pronouncing him dull, something of the new meaning of 'ingenium' is included, and Gayton (1654) in saying Chaucer writes 'wittily' certainly means with ingenuity, while Addison (in 1694) probably interprets the word much as he did in the Spectator (No. 62). Sewell (1718), in describing Chaucer's satire, says it is severe, but it is 'the Severity of a Court Poet; much wit and more good manners.' Here we have completely reached the modern meaning, and it is the only time in the following references (up to 1800) that we can be certain it is applied to Chaucer; for Walpole, in writing to George Montagu in 1768, though he probably had Chaucer's wit in his mind, is not speaking directly of him.

Adjectives such as 'merry' or 'jovial,' in their second

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1 There was, however, a good deal of variation in the meaning attached to 'wit' by different 17th and 18th century writers. Thus, in addition to the meanings given it by Jonson and Hobbes, Dryden uses it at one time as a synonym for 'imagination' (Letter to Sir Robt. Howard, prefaced to Annus Mirabilis, 1666), and at another he defines it as 'a propriety of words and thoughts adapted to the subject' (Essays, ed. Ker, vol. i, p. 190); whereas Dennis uses it almost to mean 'reason' (Miscellany in Verse and Prose, 1693, preface).

2 Cf. Spenser's use of 'wittily' in the F. Q., ii, c. 9—

'All artes, all science, all Philosophy,
And all that in the world was ay thought wittily'

and Marlowe in Tamb., Pt. I, Act ii, sc. 4: 'Are you the witty King of Persia?' Also Shakespeare in Richard III, iv, ii, 42.

3 Note Walkington in The Optick Glasse of Humours, below, 1607, translates 'wit' by 'ingenium.'
meaning of delighting in a broad jest or coarse story, begin to be used about 1575, and for the following hundred years we find this signification occasionally. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it becomes more common, and for the first sixty years of the eighteenth century something of this nature is the characteristic epithet. 'Joking,' 'jocound,' 'sprightly,' 'gleeful,' 'blithe,' 'merry,' 'gay,' 'frolic,' 'facetious,' are among the adjectives used quite constantly in speaking of Chaucer or his work at this time; and one annotator (towards the end of the eighteenth century) goes so far as to compare Chaucer, as regards this tendency to jocoseness, with Charles II 'who could hardly sustain his gravity long enough to make a speech from the throne' (see c. 1785, below).

The fact is that in spite of the growing admiration for the antique and 'Gothic' in the eighteenth century, there was at the same time a tendency to think what was old very ludicrous. That this was so is clearly shown in the attitude towards the other great poet whose language was generally considered obsolete. We can see that Chaucer's love of a jest and his sense of fun might give reason to superficial readers to think there was little else than the comic in him, but when we find that the 'ludicrous element' in Spenser is what most strikes many of his admirers at this time, we realize that the older turns of phrase and so-called 'simplicity of diction' were to the eighteenth-century reader really funny in themselves. Shenstone, whose School-Mistress (1742) is, next to the Castle of Indolence, one of the best of the many Spenserian imitations, writes to Mr. Graves, in June 1742, that he could not at first read Spenser, but that later 'Pope's Alley made me consider him ludicrously; and in that light, I think, one may read him with pleasure. I am now . . . from trifling and laughing at him, really in love with him.'

Thomson, in the Advertisement to the Castle of Indolence (1748) says that as the poem is written in the manner of Spenser, 'the obsolete words and a simplicity of diction in some of the lines, which borders on the ludicrous,'

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1 Shenstone's Works, 1769, vol. iii, p. 66.
are necessary in order to make the imitation more perfect. And William Mickle, another imitator, writes, in his preface to *Sir Martyn* (1778), that 'some reasons perhaps may be expected for having adopted the manner of Spenser,' and he will only say that the 'fulness and wantonness of description, the quaint simplicity, and above all, the ludicrous, of which the antique phraseology and manner of Spenser are so happily and peculiarly susceptible' are what attracted him to it.

In the light of these remarks, it is not surprising that Chaucer was thought of chiefly as a very good joke, and that Joseph Warton, in his essay on Pope (1782) found it necessary to draw attention to the common though mistaken notion that Chaucer's excellence and 'vein of poetry' lay chiefly in his manner of treating light and ridiculous subjects; Warton attributes the mistake to the accidental fact that Dryden and Pope had modernized principally the gay and ludicrous poems; and he assures those who look into Chaucer that they will soon be convinced of this prevailing prejudice, and will find his comic vein . . . to be only like one of mercury, imperceptibly mingled with a mine of gold.'

This attitude towards the poet did in fact gradually change at the end of the century, and after the publication of Tyrwhitt's work, which brought about a gradually increasing knowledge of Chaucer, we can find no special quality ascribed to the poet at any particular period.

Such general adjectives as 'venerable,' 'ancient,' or 'celebrated,' have not been noted. These are particularly common in the eighteenth century when he was least known, as they were safe and non-committal terms.

It will be noticed that the characteristic qualities attributed to Chaucer from 1400 to 1800, are those in which the critics or men of letters of the time were themselves more specially interested.

In the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, when the language was still crude and unsettled, and good writing was very scarce, the desire for ease of expression was strong and the appreciation of it great. Later, the closely allied
§ 4. The Evolution of Chaucer Biography.

Reformation and Renaissance brought with them an overmastering interest in ethics, morality, and learning, and so ‘moral’ and ‘learned’ go side by side throughout the Elizabethan age. Then, when the overladen exuberance of the Renaissance literature had brought about a reaction in favour of ‘clearness’ and ‘wit,’ as Chaucer was certainly not ‘clear’ to the readers of the seventeenth century, they searched for his ‘wit’; and to men who delighted in the Restoration drama, this seems mostly to be found in his broadest stories.

So it is, that here as elsewhere, what men seek for, that generally do they find.

§ 4. The Evolution of Chaucer Biography.

List of the Chief Lives or Biographical Accounts of Chaucer up to 1900.

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<th>DATE</th>
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<tr>
<td>1675</td>
<td>Edward Phillips</td>
<td>[in] Theatrum Poetarum, or a Compleat Collection of the Poets ... pp. 50–1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>John Dryden</td>
<td>[slight account in] Preface to Fables Ancient and Modern ...</td>
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<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Giles Jacob</td>
<td>[in] An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of our most Considerable English Poets [being the 2nd vol. of the Poetical Register, 1719], pp. 26–30.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>[in] Biographia Britannica : or, the Lives of the most eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland . . 6 vols., 1747–63; vol. ii, 1748, pp. 1293–1308.</td>
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1 See *Life of Johnson*, by James Boswell, April 10, 1776, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, 1887, vol. iii, pp. 29–30; also *Six Essays on Johnson* by Walter Raleigh, Oxford, 1910, p. 120, note.
### § 4. List of the chief 'Lives' of Chaucer.

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<th>DATE</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1810</td>
<td>Henry J. Todd</td>
<td>Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer, collected from authentic documents.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas</td>
<td>The Life of Chaucer [prefixed to] Chaucer's poetical works, Aldine edn. of British poets, vol. 47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Alfred W. Pollard</td>
<td>Chaucer [in Literature Primers].</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>[edited by] W. D. Selby</td>
<td>Life Records of Chaucer . . comprising all known records relating to Geoffrey Chaucer. (Chaucer Society.)</td>
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<td>F. J. Furnivall</td>
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<td>E. A. Bond</td>
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<td>R. E. G. Kirk</td>
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The first life of the poet, the first attempt made to record any facts about him, is the sketch written in Latin by Leland.
the antiquary. Leland, as we know, was armed with a commission from Henry VIII to search all likely places throughout the land—castles, monasteries, colleges, etc.—for records of the past; and after spending six years in this search, and another six in endeavouring to put his materials in order, his mind gave way early in 1547, and he died in 1552. Some of his information, doubtless, was correct and of great value, but if his other biographies resemble that of Chaucer they must be more remarkable for fertility of imagination than for accuracy of fact.

These biographies were never printed till 1709, but Leland's manuscript collections were freely used by later writers, and in the case of Chaucer, all the information was incorporated by Bale in his life in 1557–9, and again by Pits in the life published in 1619; and it formed the starting-point of the following legends about Chaucer, some of which have survived until quite recent years.

(i) That Chaucer was born of a noble family.
(ii) That he studied at Oxford.
(iii) That he was taught there by John Some and the friar Nicolas.
(iv) That he left the University 'an acute logician, a delightful orator, an elegant poet, a profound philosopher, an able mathematician . . . [and] a devout theologian.'
(v) That he admired and imitated Gower, looking up to him as master.
(vi) That he had a sister married to William Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who 'passed her life in great splendour at Ewelme.'
(vii) That he had a house at Woodstock, adjoining the palace of the King.
(viii) That he lived in France during the last years of Richard II.
(ix) That he was highly esteemed by (and personally known to) Henry IV and Henry V.
Leland also gives a list of Chaucer’s works, ‘which,’ he says, ‘at the present day are read everywhere.’ In this all his principal writings are included, as well as the ten following spurious works: *Piers Plowman’s Tale, The Testament of Cresseid, The Flower of Courtesy* (which he notes is rejected by many as spurious), *The Assembly of Ladies, The Complaint of the Black Knight, A Praise of Women, The Testament of Love, Lamentation of Mary Magdalen, The Remedy of Love,* and *The Letter of Cupid.*

John Bale (1495–1563), the violent reformer, writer of morality plays, and later Bishop of Ossory, who for many years was a friend of Leland, and, like him, was desirous of saving old chronicles and ‘noble antiquities,’ was about the same time collecting material for his *Lives of Illustrious British Writers,* the first edition of which appeared in 1548. His account of Chaucer is very short and vague; he evidently knew little about him, and that little was largely incorrect. Thus he states that he was a knight (‘eques auratus’), and that it is said that he lived until the year 1450, under Henry VI. For the rest, he was chiefly remarkable for his good manners and for the graceful eloquence of his English, and was considered to have been the renovator of the English tongue. Before the appearance of the second edition of his work in 1557–9, however, Bale had come across Leland’s MSS., and incorporated in his enlarged account of the poet most of Leland’s mistakes, reproducing them largely word for word, and adding a few more on his own account. Thus, although he does not in this edition give 1450 as the date of Chaucer’s death, he says he was living in 1402, because of the last verse of the (spurious) *Letter of Cupid.*

The next biography is that prefixed by Speght to his edition of the poet’s works in 1598. This is the first life written in English, and it is much the most careful and the fullest biography that had so far appeared. It represented a good deal of search among public records, and some real facts were contributed to what was known of the poet’s life; such as Chaucer’s titles of ‘armiger,’ ‘scutifer’ and ‘valettus,’ the
grant to him of the custody of the lands and body of Edmund Staplegate of Kent, his controllership of the port of London, his employment abroad, and the gifts and pensions received by him from Richard II and Henry IV. These researches were, as we know from himself, the work of the antiquary Stow, who handed over his materials to Speght (see Survey of London, 1598, below). In addition, however, to Stow's contributions, Speght relies much on Leland and Bale, and quotes from them, adding also the following fictions of his own:—

(i) Chaucer was born in London, because of his words in the (spurious) Testament of Love.

(ii) He went to Cambridge, as well as to Oxford, because of his remarks in the (spurious) Court of Love.

(iii) He suggests that Chaucer got into political trouble in Richard II's reign, and 'kept himselfe much out of the way in Holland, Zeland and France, where he wrote most of his bookes' (also founded on the Testament of Love).

(iv) He suggests Chaucer's journey to Italy in 1368, when he may have met Petrarch.

Speght also printed a family pedigree of the poet, made out by Glover, the Somerset Herald, in which, for the first time Chaucer is represented as marrying a daughter of Sir Payne Roet (sister of John of Gaunt's third wife) and having Thomas Chaucer as his son. Some further records about 'Chaucers,' possibly forbears of the poet, were contributed by Francis Thynne in his criticism of Speght's edition: a 'John' and an 'Elias' Chaucer, as well as a Ralph le Chaucer living in King John's time, had been found. 'But,' says Thynne, in closing this section of his remarks, 'what shall wee stande uppon the Antiquyte and gentry of Chaucer, when the rolle of Battle Abbaye affirmeth hym to come in with the Conqueror.'

(Animadversions, 1598, pub. Chaucer Soc., 1875, p. 14 and

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1 This, which at first was thought to be incorrect, is true, and the reference is to be found in Harl. MS. 53 and Lambeth MS. 6.
§ 4. *The 'Life' by John Pits.*

note 2). This additional information, which was very popular with succeeding biographers, was embodied by Speght in his second edition of 1602.

In 1619 was published the *Relationes Historiae de Rebus Anglicis*, by John Pits, whose life of Chaucer (in Latin) is, like that of Bale, founded upon Leland, with some amplifications and additional inaccuracies. He expanded Leland and Bale's remarks about the poet's noble birth to the assertion that both he and his father were Knights; 'patrem habuit Equestris ordinis virum, & ipse tandem auratus factus est Eques.'

The belief in Chaucer's knighthood, probably started by Bale's statement in 1548, was evidently quite general throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century, for we find him constantly called 'Sir' (cf. Unknown, c. 1560, Legh 1562, Whetstone 1576 and 1578, *A poore knight his Pallace of private pleasures* 1579, in which Chaucer is referred to as 'The cheefest of all Englishmen, and yet hee was a knight,' Greene 1590, *The Cobler of Caunterburie* 1590, Greene's *Vision* 1592). Pits also positively states that Chaucer was born at Woodstock, here again merely crystallizing what was by this time a recognized tradition; see Camden in his *Britannia* (1586, below).

Leland's life, as reproduced and embellished by Bale and Pits in Latin, and Speght's life in English, to which Stow and Francis Thynne contributed, were the only authorities on the facts connected with Chaucer all through the seventeenth century. Dryden, in the few remarks he makes on Chaucer's life in his Preface to the Fables (1700), simply repeats the mistakes of these earlier biographers. Other lives of him which appeared during this time (see list, p. cii above) were also repetitions of the facts and inaccuracies recorded by these writers, with occasionally some added fictions. Thus Edward Phillips asserts that Chaucer 'flourished' during the reigns of Henry IV, Henry V and part of Henry VI (i. e. 1399–c. 1440), and that, as well as being knight, he was Poet Laureate.

This is naturally all repeated by subsequent biographers (e. g. Sir Thomas Pope Blount, 1694), and it was doubtless on
the strength of Phillips's information that Jeremy Collier positively asserted in his Dictionary (1701) that 1440 was the date of the poet's death.

Early in the eighteenth century, the antiquary Thomas Hearne was making notes and collecting information about Chaucer's life, as may be seen from his diary of 1709, and the results—which are not great—are summed up in his letter to Bagford of the same year, where he points out that Leland is probably mistaken in saying Chaucer was of noble birth, whereas in all likelihood, his father, though wealthy, was only a merchant (which was suggested by Speght), and he adds that he is sure much information relating to the poet would be found by a careful inspection of the records, which task he has not himself time to undertake. Failing these, however, many of Hearne's other conjectures are based on the Testament of Love and the Plowman's Tale. The spurious poems, especially these two and the Court of Love, have been an unfailing quarry up to quite recent years for deductions about the poet's life, and they were made full use of by the writers (John Dart, corrected by William Thomas) of the account of Chaucer prefixed to Urry's edition of 1721.

This was the most elaborate life of the poet which had yet appeared, and was not merely a re-statement of Leland and Speght, but it contained many fresh assertions mostly founded on the above poems; such, for instance, as that Chaucer composed the Court of Love when he was a student at Cambridge, aged eighteen; and a very definite account was given of his collision with the court party in his later years, his forced exile in Zealand, and his imprisonment in the Tower, all founded on remarks in the Testament of Love. Dart, however, on the other hand, suggested that John Chaucer was the poet's father, first mentioned the Scrope and Grosvenor dispute, and Chaucer's testimony there (see 1386, below), doubted Chaucer ever having been poet laureate, and rejected his authorship of the Plowman's Tale and Jack Upland.

The life in the Biographia Britannica, 1748, is very detailed and careful, in that it is based on all the old authorities, Leland,
Bale, Pits, Speght, Hearne and Urry, but there is no original work in it, and the same mistakes are repeated.

Tyrwhitt, in his introductory matter to the *Canterbury Tales* (1775), wisely refrained from writing any life of Chaucer at all, for he says after searching for materials, he found he could add few facts to those already published, and 'he was not disposed, either to repeat the comments and inventions, by which former biographers have endeavoured to supply the deficiency of facts, or to substitute any of his own for the same laudable purpose.' He contented himself, therefore, with pointing out the untrustworthiness of Leland's information, as well as the lack of proof for other commonly accepted facts (such as Chaucer's connection with Donnington Castle), and with printing a short abstract of the historical passages in the life of the poet, consisting of the few records published by Speght and Rymer. He also notes one or two points which may possibly be inferred from the *Testament of Love* (that he was a Londoner) and the *Court of Love* (that he was at Cambridge). He is careful, however, to deduce nothing further from the poems,¹ and gives a warning against 'supposing allusions which Chaucer never intended, or arguing from pieces which he never wrote, as if they were his.'

This warning was, unhappily, not taken to heart by the poet's next biographer, William Godwin, Shelley's father-in-law, who, in 1803, brought out Chaucer's life in two large volumes.

His method was the exact antithesis of the procedure of the scholarly and cautious Tyrwhitt, and, except for the fact that he found and printed some fresh official records about Chaucer, his Life, though entertaining, is absolutely worthless.

Godwin snubs Tyrwhitt for casting so much doubt on Leland, and for not having made any exertions to discover facts as to the history of the poet, and compares his own indefatigable search of the records. The fresh information thus acquired did not, however, enable him to write a life any more

¹ The possible political troubles at the end of Chaucer's life are referred to only in a note.
correct than those which had preceded his; on the contrary it forced him to evolve theories whereby the newly discovered and rather troublesome dates might be made to fit in with preconceived facts, largely derived from the Testament of Love. For instance, it was in the beginning of 1384 that the political disturbances in London took place which were supposed to have caused Chaucer's flight abroad. But Godwin found by the records that in November 1384 Chaucer was still at his post as Controller of the Customs, for he then applied for leave of absence for one month. This was very awkward, and all Godwin could do was to transport him abroad in November (nine months after the riots which were the supposed cause of his flight) and to extend his month's holiday into an exile of two years. The exile is described in great detail; Chaucer, we are told, doubtless took his wife with him, that is if she were still living, for 'although prudence would have dictated their separation, yet Chaucer was too deeply pervaded with the human and domestic affections to be able to consent to such a measure.' The whole book is written in this style, and as regards Chaucer, it is a tissue of baseless conjecture from beginning to end. In addition to this, it contains a mass of entirely irrelevant information, for Godwin held that 'the full and complete life of a poet, would include an extensive survey of the manners, the opinions, the arts and the literature of the age in which the poet lived.'

Acting on this principle, the chapters are built up something as follows:—It is not improbable that Chaucer was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, so thirteen pages are devoted to the Church in England in the fourteenth century; he possibly studied in the Inner Temple, therefore twelve pages are given to an account of civil and canon and feudal law of the English constitution, the early writers on English law, modes of pleading and so on.¹

¹ The following paragraph, with which this section on law closes, sufficiently indicates the style of the whole book:—'It may be amusing to the fancy of a reader of Chaucer's works, to represent to himself the
§ 4. Memoir by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas.

No wonder Mrs. Godwin confidentially asked Charles Lamb whether he did not think there was rather too much fancy in the work.¹

In 1844 Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas published his memoir, prefixed to the Aldine edition of Chaucer’s works, which really is the first life of Chaucer produced on modern methods of research and accuracy. Nicolas uses Godwin’s documents, but prints many more records which finally demonstrated that the story in the Testament of Love could not be regarded as autobiographic.

They showed that during the time Chaucer was supposed to be in exile, he was living in London and personally receiving his pension half-yearly, that he was holding his offices in the Customs from 1382 to 1386, and that in August 1386, instead of being imprisoned in the Tower, he was a member of parliament as Knight of the shire for the County of Kent.

Although in soundness and accuracy this work is a great advance, yet Nicolas makes a few mistakes, such as the ‘eleven months’ of Chaucer’s stay in Italy, his disbelief in Chaucer’s knowledge of Italian, and his acceptance as genuine of The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, The Flower and the Leaf and the Testament of Love. For in spite of the evidence of the newly discovered records, which proved it could not be autobiographical, the faith of critics in Chaucer’s authorship of the

young poet, accoutred in the robes of a lawyer, examining a witness, fixing upon him the keenness of his eye, addressing himself with anxiety and expectation to a jury, or exercising the subtlety of his wit and judgment in the development of one of those quirks by which a client was to be rescued from the rigour of strict and unfavouring justice. Perhaps Chaucer, in the course of his legal life, saved a thief from the gallows, and gave him a new chance of becoming a decent and useful member of society: perhaps by his penetration he discerned and demonstrated that innocence, which to a less able pleader would never have been evident, and which a less able pleader would never have succeeded in restoring triumphant to its place in the community and its fair fame.² (Godwin’s Life of Chaucer, vol. i, chap. xviii, pp. 369–70.)

¹ See Lamb’s letter to Godwin, Nov. 10, 1803, below. The book was, on the whole, condemned by the reviewers. See below, Gentleman’s Magazine, Dec. 1803; Scott, in the Edinburgh Review, Jan. 1804, is very severe, and Blackwood’s reviewer in 1821 dismisses it as being ‘contemptible in criticism.’
Testament of Love remained unshaken until William Hertzberg, who translated the Canterbury Tales into German in 1866, pointed out the proofs against its being by Chaucer at all, while in 1867, John Payne Collier in England independently came to the same conclusion. But this did not prevent later writers of Chaucer’s life detailing his flight, exile and imprisonment as actual occurrences, sometimes shifting the date of these to between the years 1386–88 so as not to clash quite so much with the records.

After the foundation of the Chaucer Society, however, in 1868, Dr. Furnivall and others set to work at the records, whence a number of interesting facts have been extracted, enabling us now at any rate to say very definitely what is not true in earlier Chaucer biographies.

Mr. Bond’s discovery in 1873, of a page of the household accounts of Lionel, third son of Edward III, from which it is certain that between 1356–59 Chaucer was attached to the household of that prince, and most probably (judging from the value of the articles recorded as given him) in the position of a page, makes the hitherto generally stated date of 1328 for the poet’s birth an impossible one; and 1340, for which there is supporting evidence, is now the generally accepted one.

In 1894 Professor Skeat published his life of the poet, prefixed to his edition of Chaucer’s collected works, which embodies all discoveries made up to then, more especially Dr. Furnivall’s important finds in the public record office, published in the Athenæum during the years 1873, 1874; and in 1900 the complete Life Records of Chaucer appeared, containing some fresh information, and comprising all known records relating to the poet.

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2 See, for instance, Origin . . . of the English Language and Literature, by John Weisse, N. York, 1879, pp. 269–70.
§ 5. A NOTE ON SOME CHAUCER LOVERS AND WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES.

In the following pages we get many peeps at students of Chaucer; men who during these five hundred years have loved him and have been content to spend much time in the generally unremunerative labour of studying and editing his works, and in collecting information about him. Sometimes we actually see them at work—Caxton in his Westminster printing office, Brian Tuke 'tarying for the tyde at Greenwich,' Urry in his college rooms at Oxford, or Tyrwhitt in the British Museum,—sometimes only the result of their labours is visible.

Foremost among this gallant band comes—

(1) John Shirley (1366?–1456), translator and transcriber, who possibly knew Chaucer personally, and most certainly loved and admired him, for he busied himself in writing out copies of the poems,¹ to which he added various pieces of information,² and sometimes of exhortation to the reader (see c. 1450, a. 1456, below).

We know little about Shirley, beyond the lines recorded as being on his monument in the Church of S. Bartholomew the Less,³ among which are the following :

   'His Pen reporteth
   His Lives Occupation,'

to which Stowe adds that he was 'a great Traveller in divers Countries, and amongst other his Labours painfully collected

¹ The MSS. we owe to Shirley are the Sion College MS. (contains of Chaucer only an inserted copy of the ABC), Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 20, Addit. 16165, Ashmole 59, Harl. 78 (4 leaves only). The Harl. 7333 and 2251 are not in Shirley’s hand. For full details on Shirley’s MSS. see E. P. Hammond in Chaucer, a bibliographical manual, N. York, 1908, pp. 515–17.

² It is on Shirley’s authority that the following works are ascribed to Chaucer:—the ABC, the Complaint to Pity, Complaint of Mars, Anelida, Lines to Adam, Fortune, Truth, Gentilnesse, Lak of Stedfastnesse, Complaint of Venus, and Complaint to his Empty Purse.

the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Lidgate, and other learned Writers, which works he wrote in sundry volumes to remain for Posterity.’

Next we encounter—

(2) William Caxton (1422?–1491), whose love and admiration are expressed with so much warmth and charm in his Prohemye to the Canterbury Tales; where we catch a glimpse of him with care and pride printing the Tales from his own MS. copy (1st ed. 1477–8), which had been brought to him, and which he supposed to be very true and correct. But soon after one of the purchasers of a copy of this first edition pays him a visit, and points out that the printed version differs considerably from the book as Geoffrey Chaucer had written it. To this Caxton mildly answers that he had set up the type according to his own MS. copy, which he had followed faithfully. His visitor replies that his father possesses a copy of the Canterbury Tales which he much loves, and which is true to Chaucer’s original, and that if Caxton would print it again, he would get him this actual book for a copy, although he knew that his father would be loth to part with it. To this suggestion Caxton gladly agrees, and sets to work at once to print the whole book over again (2nd ed. 1484?), humbly apologizing the while to the shade of Chaucer for the mistake he in his ignorance had made of printing his book other than he wrote it.

Caxton was not content with printing Chaucer, but he further tried to perpetuate his memory by erecting a pillar near his tomb to support a tablet on which was written Surigo’s Latin epitaph (see a. 1479, below), at the end of which there were four lines, possibly by Caxton himself.¹

The next worker is—

(3) William Thynne (d. 1546), Chief Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry VIII, and the holder of many other offices, who combined the faithful and apparently successful discharge of

¹ See Caxton’s Epilogue to Boethius, a. 1479, below, also Blade’s Life and Typography of Caxton, 1861, vol. ii, p. 67.
many duties in the King’s household with an enthusiastic devotion to Chaucer and study of his works. In 1532 he published his edition of the poet, and sixty-six years later, his son Francis Thynne, in the course of his rather querulous letter of criticism to Speght on his edition of 1598 (see 1598, below), affords us a delightful glimpse of his father at work on Chaucer. The elder Thynne was commissioned by Henry VIII, with whom he was a great favourite, to search all the libraries and monasteries of England for Chaucer’s works; which he did with such success that he was ‘fully furnished with multitude of Bookes, amongst which was one copy which was marked “Examinatur Chaucer.”’ All these copies he carefully collated, so that although four of Chaucer’s pieces had been issued together by Pynson in 1526, yet Thynne’s may fairly claim to be the first attempt at a collected edition of the ‘Works,’ and Thynne himself is the first real editor of Chaucer, for he produced a better text of the Canterbury Tales than had been given before, as well as printing for the first time Chaucer’s part of the Romaunt of the Rose, his Legende of Good Women, Boece, Book of the Duchess, Pity, Astrolabe, and Lack of Stedfastness.

His son further tells us that he included (or perhaps intended to include?) the (spurious) Pilgrim’s Tale, which gave such offence to Wolsey and the Bishops, that they brought pressure on the King to insist that Chaucer must be newly printed, and the Pilgrim’s Tale omitted. This was done, but in the second edition of 1542 Thynne managed to get the (spurious) Plowman’s Tale (an equally strong invective against the clergy) inserted; although it was sanctioned with great difficulty.¹

William Thynne must have been a good hater of Romanism and the priests, and Wolsey, his ‘old enymye,’ owed him a

¹ This story of Francis Thynne’s about the cancelled edition has been discredited, as the Pilgrim’s Tale is not to be found in any edition of Thynne’s Chaucer, nor has any one-columned edition of Thynne’s come down to us. See on the whole question, Thynne’s Animadversions, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc., 1875, pp. xli, xlii, and 75, 76.
John Stowe's Chaucer Work.

§ 5. John Stowe's Chaucer Work.

grudge for many reasons, so Francis Thynne tells us, but mostly because Thynne had protected Skelton, and helped him to publish Colin Clout, most of which was written at Thynne's house at Erith in Kent.

Thynne dedicates his edition in his name to Henry VIII, but it is practically certain that this preface was written by Sir Brian Tuke, then Postmaster, and so a colleague of Thynne's in the Royal Household. Leland refers to a preface by Tuke, and in a copy of Thynne's Chaucer (1532) in Clare College, Cambridge, Sir Brian Tuke has written in his own hand: 'This preface I sir Bryan Tuke knight wrot at the request of Mr. Clarke of the Kechyn then being tarying for the tyde at Grenewich.'

(4) John Stowe (1525?–1605), chronicler and antiquarian by choice, and tailor by profession, is entitled to a place among Chaucer students and editors, although the service he rendered the poet is a doubtful one. His own account of his claim to the position is that Chaucer's works were 'corrected and twice increased through mine owne painefull labours, in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth, to wit in the yeare 1561, and again beautified with noates, by me collected out of diuers Recordes and Monumentes, which I deliuered to my loving friende Thomas Speight' for his edition of 1597.

The modern view of Stowe's work does not quite agree with this. He is principally famed for having assigned more spurious poems to Chaucer than any one else has ever successfully done, and it has been indeed—as Tyrwhitt prophesied in 1775—'a work of time to sift accurately the heap of rubbish which was added' by him to the edition of 1561. Not only did he for the first time in 1561 publish a number of poems as Chaucer's which are not his (see list 1532, below), but by reprinting all that was in Thynne's edition of 1532 (which was really a miscellany, see note to 1532, Thynne, below), and altering the title to 'The workes of Geffrey Chaucer, newlie printed, with

1 See Mr. Bradshaw in Thynne's Animadversions, Chaucer Soc., p. xxvi.
diuers addicions, whiche were neuer in print before,’ he practi-
cally claimed for Chaucer the whole of Thynne’s volume.

On the other hand, we owe to him the first print of Chaucer’s
words to Adam, and three other short pieces, and there is no
doubt that he furnished a good deal of matter to Speght for
use in his life of the poet. He seems to have been a cheery,
lively man, a hard worker, and a great favourite with men of
letters. He was a member of the old Society of Antiquaries,
found about 1559, and among his colleagues and friends were
Walter Cope, Joseph Holland, Francis Tate, and Francis Thynne.
He was always desperately poor, and consequently carried on
his researches with great difficulty; for his was not then, any
more than it is now, the kind of work which brings in money.
In 1598 he writes of his Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles,
‘It hath cost me many a weary mile’s travel, many a hard-
earned penny and pound, and many a cold winter night’s
study.’ He could not afford to ride in order to make his
enquiries, but was forced to go on foot. We realize how sharp
was the pressure of poverty, when as an old man, probably
upwards of seventy-seven, after years of hard work at the
chronicles of London and other records of value, we find that
in acknowledgment of his services a grateful government
granted him a license to beg and collect voluntary contributions
in the streets.

Of

(5) Thomas Speght (fl. 1600), the next editor of Chaucer,
we know very little, except that he was possibly a Yorkshire-
man, and certainly a graduate of Cambridge, a schoolmaster,
and a lover of Chaucer. It was at college that he first came to
know and love Chaucer (see above, p. xxii, and Beaumont’s
letter to Speght, 1597, below). Speght had evidently long
studied Chaucer’s works and annotated them (see his preface,
1598, below), and in 1598, when his first edition of the poet
appeared, he added a good deal of extra matter, and wrote the
fullest and most correct life of the poet which had yet appeared
(see p. cvi above).

Francis Thynne was preparing notes for a full commentary
on Chaucer's works when Speght anticipated him, and so Thynne contented himself with writing his long letter, minutely criticizing Speght's production, and correcting many of his mistakes. All these remarks Speght took in good part, and embodied them, with grateful acknowledgment, in his next edition of 1602. He also had much help from Stowe, who put his notes at Speght's disposal.

We must pass over Sir Francis Kynaston (1587-1642), the seventeenth-century littérateur, poet and scholar, who was called more Geoffreyan than Chaucer himself; 1 the founder of the Musæum Minervæ, that curious academy of learning, designed to give a lengthy course of instruction to intending travellers; whose fervent admiration of Chaucer took the unusual form of translating his Troilus into Latin verse, and copiously annotating it, both in English and Latin.

(6) John Urry (1666-1715) is the next editor of Chaucer, and also the worst. As a man he seems to have been a sturdy, honest scholar with a sense of humour, and a certain charm of style (see his sketch of a preface, 1714 below), of staunch loyalist principles, unlike his uncle Sir John Urry the soldier, who seemed unable to make up his mind on which side to fight. Our Urry bore arms against Monmouth in the Rebellion, and refused to take the oath of supremacy to William III, though this cost him his studentship at Christ Church. Dr. Atterbury, the Dean of Christ Church, persuaded him, much against his inclination, to prepare a new edition of Chaucer, his sole qualification apparently being that he came of a Scottish family, so that his familiarity with the northern tongue enabled him to read Chaucer more easily than an Englishman. 2 He carried through the task with a will, and collected together from many sources a good number of MSS. and printed copies of Chaucer for the purpose. We catch glimpses of him in Hearne's diary from the year 1711 to February 1714 1/2, working in the Bodleian, examining the Junius MSS., collecting Chaucer editions and

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1 See Strode's verses, 1635, below.
2 See Timothy Thomas's Preface to Urry's Chaucer, 1721, below.
MSS., over which the two friends often pored together in the evenings. In an interesting letter to Lord Harley (1712, see below), Urry describes his method of work, and expresses the belief, after close study of the *Canterbury Tales*, that 'Chaucer made them exact metre, but the transcribers have much injured them.' He adds that he hopes, by collating many MSS. and printed editions, to be able to 'restore him to his feet again.'

In March 1714, however, Urry died very suddenly of a fever, leaving his Chaucer unfinished. He appears to have completely prepared the text after a curious fashion of his own, which was to lengthen or shorten Chaucer's words, or to add an extra word, whenever he thought the verse would be improved by it, without giving to the reader any indication whatever of his alterations (see below 1721 Thomas). It seems that he originally had the intention of enclosing these additions within hooks [ ] (the reverse process from that of 'slashing Bentley'), but this 'just, useful and necessary' design, as Timothy Thomas calls it, was for some unknown reason not carried out. Consequently the edition, as regards text, is quite the worst ever issued. It was taken in hand, after Urry's death, by the authorities of Christ Church and Urry's executor, William Brome, and Bernard Lintot the bookseller, and, after many vicissitudes, it was published in two enormous folios in 1721; the preface and glossary being added by Timothy Thomas, and the life of Chaucer by John Dart.

The edition was divided between the College, Brome and Lintot, in equal shares, the proceeds for the College being devoted to the building of Peckwater Quadrangle. It does not, however, appear to have been in great demand, for twelve years later we find poor Mr. Brome complaining that he cannot sell his copies, 'which lie upon hand, so that I am like to be a great sufferer' (p. 375 below). Lintot, being in the way of business, was better able to sell his, and the College authorities had adopted a simple and effective method of disposing of theirs, which was to oblige all scholars upon entrance to buy a copy. The picture of the young fox-hunting squires of Christ Church being forced willy-nilly to carry off their Chaucer folios is a delightful one; and
it may perhaps account for the number of copies of Urry's Chaucer to be found in the old country houses of England.

(7) Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730–86) is the next, and up to this date by far the greatest Chaucer scholar and editor. Considering the importance of Tyrwhitt's work, there is curiously little known about him. He was a man of good family and ample means, educated at Eton and Oxford, where he was elected to a fellowship at Merton College in 1755; he was appointed Deputy Secretary at War in 1756, and he was Clerk of the House of Commons from 1762 to 1768, in which latter year he resigned the position, preferring to that 'post of honour a private station devoted to learned ease.' Later he did good work for a year or two as a trustee of the British Museum.

He was a well-known classical scholar, editor and annotator, a Shakespeare critic, and the only eighteenth-century writer who on sound linguistic grounds was able to expose the Chatterton forgeries; he was indeed reputed to have a knowledge of nearly every European tongue. He seems to have been quiet and reserved, not strong in health, a born student; from his earliest years he loved books, 'for,' as one writes who knew him, 'he never was a boy.' He was quietly benevolent and generous to those less well off than himself,¹ and is reported to have given away as much as £2,000 in one year. He worked for sheer love of the work, indifferent to fame or recognition. The letter he writes on the occasion of the pirating of his Chaucer text by Bell (June 12, 1783) is indicative of his character. It is dignified and restrained, and not without a dry sense of humour. A friend had told him that in Bell's edition of the English poets (1782–3) his text of the Canterbury Tales and his notes had just been annexed and printed. Tyrwhitt replies that it is true, but he finds he can do nothing, for as his book has not been entered at Stationers' Hall he has no legal right over it. 'But even if I had,' he continues, 'would you advise me to go to law for a property unattended by any profit?

¹ See the letter from the Bishop of St. Davids in Nichol's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ix, pp. 756–7.
A certain philosopher, when his gouty shoes were stolen, only wished that they might fit the thief as well as they fitted himself; and for my own part I shall be contented, if my book shall prove just as lucrative to Mr. Bell as it has been to me.'

Tyrwhitt got nothing for his work in money, and, until long after his death, very little in fame or recognition. What led him to undertake the editing of the Canterbury Tales we do not know, but he was admirably fitted for the task; he possessed what was at that time a probably unique knowledge of the literature of the Middle Ages and of the English language of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and he had the finest literary taste combined with sound independent judgment and critical insight. Probably it was the desire to do this special piece of work which made him anxious to give up the Clerkship of the House of Commons, so that he might have all his time for literary research.

In 1771 and the following year we get a glimpse of him collating Chaucer texts at the British Museum. The Rev. Thomas Morell, the friend of Hogarth and Handel, a cheerful, musical and an improvident scholar, had himself designed an edition of the Canterbury Tales, and had, in 1737, actually published a modernization of the Prologue and Knight’s Tale. Morell, like Tyrwhitt, found that editing Chaucer was not remunerative, but, on the contrary, rather expensive, and so he was obliged to put the remainder of his Chaucer work on one side. One day, however, in the summer of 1771, he writes to Mr. West, that he had happened to see in the Museum a ‘gentleman collating Chaucer.’ This reminded him of his work which had lain by him unfinished for forty years, ‘which,’ he adds rather pathetically, ‘being unwilling to lose, I intend to continue ere long, some way to reassume the work, and hope to get the start of him, as there is one volume already printed.’ The ‘gentleman’ was undoubtedly Tyrwhitt, for Richard Gough, in writing to Mr. Tyson in the following January (1772), says that ‘Mr. Tyrwhitt (late Clerk of the House of Commons) applies himself totis viribus to Chaucer in the Museum, where is a copy of Urry’s edition, with infinite collations by Bishop Tanner. Mr.
Tyrwhitt conceals his design from his most intimate friends; but much is suspected and expected from his leisure and application.'

Morell did not 'get the start' of the worker in the Museum, and the first four volumes of Tyrwhitt's fine edition appeared a little more than three years later. There is no need to describe it here, it is generally acknowledged to be not only one of the best editions of a great English classic, but also the first to be done in the scholarly and conscientious way which is now thought necessary.

In the light of the immense advance in the knowledge of our own language during the last fifty years, it is easy now to point out where Tyrwhitt makes mistakes; but when we remember that in the eighteenth century practically nothing was known about Middle English, and that Tyrwhitt had to discover it all for himself, his book stands out as a monument of learning and critical acumen, and to it all subsequent editors of Chaucer owe an incalculable debt.

It would be impossible here to mention all the Chaucer scholars of the nineteenth century, for the study of our first great poet has been taken up with enthusiasm, not only in England, but also in Germany and America, where such excellent work has been done by Lounsbury, Kittridge, Koch, Lowes, Tatlock, and many others. In France, also, of late years, interest has awakened in Chaucer, and a great impetus was given to the French study and appreciation of our first and most Gallic poet, by the admirable translation of the *Canterbury Tales* in 1908, to which all the best-known English scholars in France contributed, under the editorship of M. Émile Legouis. So much has been done, and so many and able have been the workers, that a book itself might be written on them and their labours. F. J. Child, ten Brink and Skeat are names that will be remembered as long as Chaucer is read; but there is one figure which stands out above the rest, one name and personality which older Chaucer students of to-day will not easily forget. Dr. F. J. Furnivall, in 1868, from a sheer love of our early literature, founded the Chaucer Society, and, since then, not only carried
The change in literary taste and fashion.

through herculean tasks himself, but stimulated, helped, advised and encouraged two whole generations of workers in this field.

Somehow, one cannot help thinking that, of all the great and distinguished men who have so freely given of their time and labour to our old poet, no one of them would have been more congenial to Chaucer himself, with no one would he have talked more readily or laughed more heartily than with this latter-day 'Clerk of Cauntebrigge' 'that unto rowing haddè longe y-go,'¹ this happy octogenarian who almost to the end was young and vigorous, who loved the river and the green fields, and youth and good fellowship, and who

... not for place or pay,
But all for the fame of the English wrought in the English way.²

§ 6. THE CHANGE AND FLUCTUATION OF LITERARY TASTE AND FASHION.

In the foregoing notes we have pointed out how the mass of critical material here printed illustrates and throws light on the change of attitude towards Chaucer himself throughout these five hundred years, the change to be discerned in an ever-shifting multitude of separate minds turned towards one fixed central point. It is, however, impossible to survey a great body of critical opinion such as is to be found in the following pages, without certain problems connected with the philosophy of taste, and the doctrine of evolution generally, rising to one's mind. It is not proposed seriously to investigate the problems, or to attempt any solution of them here, but it may be of interest perhaps just to indicate a few of them, such as those discussed in this and the three following sections.

As we watch this vast company of writers passing before Chaucer, and leaving on record their opinion of him, it is curious to reflect that the criticism Chaucer has received throughout

¹ See Skeat's poem, 'In Honorem F. J. F.' (A.D. 1900), in An English Miscellany, Oxford, 1901, a quotation from which fitly closes our main series of allusions.
² George Saintsbury to F. J. F., p. 1, ibid.
these five centuries in reality forms a measurement of judgment—not of him—but of his critics. Just as we trace the development of the mind of an individual by studying his opinions and works at different periods of his life, so it would seem that in looking at this ever-shifting procession of critics we can trace the development of the mind and spirit of the nation to which they belong. We know that as individuals our taste changes and fluctuates from youth to age; the favourite authors of our youth are not, as a rule, the favourites of middle age, or, if they are, we like them for other qualities, they make another appeal to us. Similarly, we can here watch the taste of a nation changing and fluctuating; Chaucer is now liked for one quality, now for another, while at times different ideals and interests so predominate that he makes no appeal to it at all.

Chaucer undoubtedly suffered from change in language quite as much as from change in taste, but even making due allowance for this, there is no question that had the average men of letters and critics of the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries been able to read and scan his work with perfect ease, they would yet not have seen in him what is seen by the average literary reader of to-day. Cowley would probably still have had 'no taste of him,' and Addison would have thought his 'wit' out of date. They had different ideals before them, with which Chaucer did not fit in. It is for precisely this reason that we no longer have 'a taste of' Waller, who, to the later seventeenth century, was the most important figure in English letters.

We are so accustomed to this change of taste that we accept as a natural condition of evolution, as a necessary sign of growth, in nations as in individuals, this continual fluctuation, of which not the least curious quality is that, although we are intellectually conscious of its existence, we are as incapable of realizing it as we are of realizing that our physical bodies are composed of whirling and ever-changing atoms.

We all of us, individually and collectively, at any given time, trained and guided as we are by the best thought of our age, are inclined to feel that the way we regard an author, a
§ 6. Critical opinion on Shakespeare and Chaucer.

classic, for instance, like Chaucer, is the truest and only possible
way he can be regarded. We of to-day are sure that we appreciate
to the full all his special qualities, and that his position in
the history of our literature has been once and for all established.
It may be so, but the experience of the past does not confirm it.
Cowley, Addison, Dr. Johnson, and a host of minor critics,
all probably felt exactly as we do; they never doubted that their
taste was true, their attitude the only sane one, and that
Chaucer's position, in spite of Dryden's curious fancy for him,
was quite certainly and definitely settled.

To-day, with the record of the opinion of five centuries
before us, we can see that the verdict of the most competent
critic cannot be wholly trusted until Time has set his seal on
it, and that much allowance must always be made, as Hazlitt
would have said, 'for the wind,' that is, for the prevailing bias
of the age, the standards, ideals and fashions, change in which
constitutes change in taste.

Some further light may be thrown on the evolution of
critical taste and method when we are able to compare over an
appreciable space of time the critical attitude of a nation towards
more than one great poet of its own race. This is only to-day
beginning to be possible. If, for instance, we compare the
movement of critical opinion and research on Shakespeare
with that on Chaucer, it is clear that there is a certain similarity,
which would appear to indicate the existence of a definite
rhythm in the evolution of taste and critical method, as there
is a rhythm in all life. The investigation in the future will be
complicated by the fact that there will be two rhythms to
follow, (1) that of the development of the nation itself and of its
critical powers, and (2) that of the evolution of its attitude
towards any one given poet. Owing, however, to the literary
barrenness of the fifteenth century in England, the development
of the first was not at the outset sufficiently rapid to make any
great difference in the treatment of Chaucer and Shakespeare.

Thus, in the case of each of these poets there is a period of
early praise and personal appreciation, love for the man, with
an unquestioned recognition of his position as a great artist.
This is followed by a more critical attitude, which, in Shakespeare's case, for various fairly obvious reasons, comes about much sooner after his death than it does with Chaucer. Then follows, for both poets, a time of effort to make their rough and unpolished works more acceptable to modern taste; Shakespearean revision and 'improvement' began as early as 1662 (when Davenant produced his blend of Measure for Measure and Much Ado), though it did not continue so late into the nineteenth century as is the case with Chaucer.

At the same time it is in the eighteenth century that the gradual revival of real first-hand knowledge and appreciation of both poets began, critical and scholarly investigation was started, stupendous work on Shakespeare's text was done by the great succession of eighteenth-century editors, and Tyrwhitt brought out his monumental edition of the Canterbury Tales.

In the later period of 'romantic' criticism for both poets, which began at the end of the eighteenth century and went on all through the nineteenth century, we find in the case of Chaucer that this romantic, psychological and often ethical appreciation is followed and accompanied from the eighteen sixties onwards with very close textual work and specialised investigation of his language and versification. This closer and specialised investigation of Shakespeare has yet to come; it is, possibly, just beginning. It is in fact probable that investigators to-day, three hundred years after Shakespeare's death, may be about to do for his text something analogous to what Tyrwhitt, three hundred and seventy-five years after Chaucer's death, did for him when he disposed of the persistently erroneous view of his versification and proved that he was a far greater artist and a far more finished literary craftsman than had up to that time been suspected.

It is not suggested that Shakespeare's supreme technical skill has in modern times ever been in doubt, but he has been believed to be very careless, and the text of his plays to be very corrupt, and it has been taken for granted that the quarto editions were very carelessly printed and not to be trusted. Mr. Pollard, Mr. Dover Wilson and other workers are to-day...

taking us back, not only to close investigation of Elizabethan book-production and of the Quartos in particular, but also in part to the reconstruction of Shakespeare's manuscript, and as a result they show us that passages which to modern eyes appear corrupt and ungrammatical in punctuation are in reality most delicately and sensitively pointed as an indication of how they are to be said, and that lines written by some one apparently devoid of the most elementary sense of rhythm, can, in the light of the study of contemporary manuscripts, be easily accounted for and reconstructed.

In addition to this dawning likeness in what might be called critical approach, there are other parallels in the works and qualities of both poets most appreciated at certain times. Such, for instance, is the early preference for the love poems, Chaucer's *Troilus*, and in Shakespeare's case the *Venus and Adonis* and *Romeo and Juliet* (see The Shakespere Allusion book, vol. i, p. xxiii, vol. ii, p. 540). It is clear that the works of a poet most prized by contemporaries or immediate successors are by no means those which later generations will put first.

A striking illustration of this is the lack of contemporary appreciation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, which to-day most lovers of Shakespeare would place among the very greatest and most poetical of his plays. There is a noticeable absence of the borrowing of phrases from it by other authors, and up to 1700 only fifteen references to it have been found compared with ninety-five to *Hamlet*, eighty to Falstaff and sixty-one each to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Venus and Adonis*.

Indeed, as Mr. Munro suggests (*Shakespeare Allusions*, vol. i, p. xxiv), the cause of the neglect of *Antony* may be the secret of the Elizabethan attitude towards Shakespeare the dramatist, and may show us better than anything else the qualities they most prized and those they ignored. In the same way, as we have seen (p. lxxxvii above), it is not until after 1750 that the *Canterbury Tales* takes the first place among Chaucer's works.

It is clear then that taste does change, but if we ask what it is that causes it to change, there is no satisfactory answer to be given.
There are certain influences, foreign literatures, canons of criticism, indicated in every history of the subject, which we can plainly see do much to bring about this change. But all these 'causes' only push the question one step further back. These influences, taken singly or together, do not explain why taste is in a state of continual flux and changes with each generation. This flux is as mysterious as life itself; it is in truth the fundamental characteristic of life, and it is because taste is a living thing, because it is the capacity for discernment of what is good, that it must inevitably change.

Granting this, then, we see that in Chaucer's case the change in critical attitude accounts for much. We no longer have a definite body of poetic rules and ideals to which all poets, however alien in kind, must conform or be condemned; and that class of criticism is extinct, which is so admirably exemplified in Miss Jenkyns's remark on the author of the *Pickwick Papers*, 'Doubtless, a young man, who might do very well if he would take Dr. Johnson for a model.'

Our demands are different and our tests are different. Today we prize Chaucer above all because he is a great artist, we delight in his simplicity, his freshness, his humanity, his humour, but it is possible that these may not be the only or even the principal reasons why he is liked three hundred years hence. If, as would seem to be the case, the common consciousness of a people becomes enriched with time and experience, enabling them to see ever more and more in the work of a great poet, the lovers of Chaucer three centuries hence will be capable of seeing more in him and will be able to come actually nearer to him than can those who love him to-day.

Three directions may be indicated in which this enrichment of consciousness is here seen. They are all exactly parallel with what takes place in the growth and development of the individual personality. The first is the development of self-consciousness, of the art of criticism itself; the second is the development of a new sense, and the third is intellectual development, as seen in accuracy and trained scholarship.
§ 7. The birth and growth of criticism as an art.

We know that in nations, as in individuals, the critical faculty develops late, for criticism is a self-conscious art, and cannot exist in the intellectual childhood of a race. England, as compared with France and Italy, was backward in this art, for the northern races mature less quickly, and it is only necessary to cast a glance over the tributes to Chaucer during the first 150 years after his death, to realize why England was late in producing criticism. Chaucer is praised mainly for two reasons, because he settled or established the language, and because he was our first, and by far our greatest poet. We lacked, until later than either France or Italy, a single form of standard speech, and, with one exception, we also lacked good writers. Thus no criticism was for us possible until the pre-eminence of Chaucer's work had helped to establish the dialect of London as the standard English speech, and until we possessed a certain body of literary work, both in prose and verse, which could be analyzed, commented on and compared.

We have here under our hand, and can easily trace as we turn over the pages, the gradual change in the conception of criticism. It begins with bare classification of the external and obvious, and the analysis of form, or, it is concerned only with the ethics of the matter: next it searches for the establishment of an outside fixed standard, by the degree of conformity to which it judges a work, and it delights in the manufacture of receipts for poetry. With Dryden comes the dawn of the conception of organic life and growth in matters literary—'for we have our Lineal Descents and Clans, as well as other Families'—in the eighteenth century the reaction to the judgment by fixed standard, and finally the gradual realization that aesthetic is not fixed, but relative, varying from age to age, and from country to country, and that criticism, even as poetry, is a creative art, whose true function lies in interpretation, in painting to the intellect what already 'lies painted to the heart
§ 7. The slow growth of critical power.

and imagination.' 1 From this point of view the remarks on Chaucer by Ascham (1544), Gascoigne (1575), Nash (1592), Waller (1668), Dryden (1700), Johnson (1755), Warton (1774), Blake (1809), and Hazlitt (1817–18) would in themselves, if rightly read, form a short illustrated History of English Criticism.

Besides the new idea of the function of criticism and the change in the standard in critical judgment, we find here what is really a rather startling illustration of the curiously slow growth of any sort of critical power in the modern sense of the word.

If we examine the comments on Chaucer which have any pretension to be called literary or aesthetic criticism (see list, p. xc above), we see that up to the middle of the sixteenth century they consist purely of praise of a very simple and vague kind, the vagueness and general nature of the remarks being their most striking feature. Elizabethan criticism is either a very elementary analysis of Chaucer’s metre and language, or a tribute of admiration, or a defence of the poet against certain shortcomings with which he is charged. The sixteenth-century criticisms are good illustrations of how completely literature was treated as an external phenomenon; the work was tested ‘in vacuo,’ 2 the critic was concerned with its unity, regularity, harmony and so on, but never with its relation to the mind that created it, or to the age in which it was written. Of the change in this respect which gradually took place in the seventeenth century, we cannot here judge, for of seventeenth-century Chaucerian criticism there is practically none, until in the last year of the century, quite suddenly, and as it were without any preparation, we find the first aesthetic criticism of his work, which is in many respects the finest, sanest and most illuminating essay ever written concerning Chaucer’s merits and position as a poet.

§ 7. *Introduction of comparative and historical criticism.*

Nothing more astonishingly brings out Dryden's greatness as a critic, his freedom, breadth, acuteness, courage, and extraordinary independence of view, than does his treatment of Chaucer. Not only is he the first writer to give us real criticism in the modern sense of the word, but in an age which despised Chaucer, and frankly looked upon him as barbarous and obsolete, Dryden calmly compares him with Ovid, and maintains that the English poet is the more classical of the two. In this surprising and ever refreshing piece of criticism, Dryden makes use, for the first time as applied to Chaucer, of the comparative and historical methods, both of which were new in English criticism. Before this time the mention of a date or of the fact that Chaucer is our first poet is the only evidence that a rudimentary historical sense existed. There is no attempt really to compare one writer with another, unless the simile 'our English Homer' is to be described as such. Dryden also shows the way to the study of poetry by definite illustration, quotation and comparison. This method was practically unknown in England until Rymer wrote his preface to Rapin in 1674, before which date, as has been pointed out, 'scarcely a line of English verse had been quoted for the purpose of critical analysis or discussion.' Unfortunately, Rymer in discussing the heroic poets of England, passes Chaucer over, because in his time the English language was 'not capable of any Heroick character.'

After Dryden, criticism as an art stood still for more than a hundred years, or, indeed, it may more accurately be said to have gone back. This is well illustrated by the Chaucer criticism of the eighteenth century. George Sewell, in 1720, shows acuteness in his remarks, putting his finger on the weak points in contemporary Chaucer criticism, and he gives two concrete

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1 The general and most lenient attitude towards Chaucer at this time is well represented by Edward Phillips (1675), who says that Chaucer 'through all the neglect of former ag’d Poets still keeps a name, being by some few admir’d for his real worth, to others not unpleasing for his facetious way, which joyn’d with his old English intertains them with a kind of Drollery.'

illustrations of the statement he makes as to Dryden's debt to Chaucer. George Ogle (1739) also uses concrete illustrations, and attempts some comparison of qualities with the classical poets. Apart from these, which only stand out because other criticisms are so inadequate, there is nothing of real critical worth about Chaucer until we come to the revival in the third quarter of the century, which shows itself so strongly in the love for the literature of the past. Thomas Warton, first in his observations on Spenser (1754 and 1762), and later and more fully in his History of English Poetry (1774–78); Gray, in his notes on Chaucerian metre (1760–1), and Tyrwhitt, in his edition of the Canterbury Tales (1775), mark a new departure in interpretative, philological and metrical criticism. Warton is followed by Scott, Blake, Coleridge, Hazlitt, and the early nineteenth-century reviewers, but it was to be nearly ninety years before any worthy successor of Tyrwhitt again applied himself to the text of Chaucer.

It is a fact worth noting, that the earliest literary critic, and the earliest philologist in England (in the modern sense of the terms), were alike in their love for Chaucer, and each of them has left as a monument to him, a work which was not even approached in merit for a century after its appearance.

§ 8. The Evolution of New Senses.

In addition to the evolution in taste, in critical standard, and critical faculty, we would seem also to have evolved new senses.

An obvious instance of this is the feeling for nature, the development of which is so recent a feature of our literature. Why should this sense, more especially the appreciation of wild scenery, have lain practically dormant until the third quarter of the eighteenth century? Why should mountains and moors until then have been found 'sad,' 'frightful' and 'horrid'? 1

'Who can like the Highlands?' replied Dr. Johnson to an incautious inquiry from a Southerner as to how he had liked the

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North. An Englishman, describing in 1740 the beautiful road which runs along the south-eastern shore of Loch Ness, calls the rugged mountains 'those hideous productions of nature'; ¹ the poet Gray, when crossing Perthshire early in September (1765), when the heather must have been a blaze of purple, describes it as 'a weird and dismal heath, fit for an assembly of witches'; ² and a little later (1775) we find the citizens of Edinburgh being urged to plant trees near the town so as to purify the air 'and dispel those putrid and noxious vapours which are frequently wafted from the Highlands.' ³ Twenty-three years later Wordsworth and Coleridge were writing the Lyrical Ballads.

A similar problem as regards the evolution of a sense meets us in respect of the subtle and well-nigh indefinable quality, which we now call humour.

This faculty, which surely must be distinctively human, for the animals have it not, and the gods perchance transcend it,⁴ this consciousness of human life in relation to its eternal environment, this quick recognition of incongruity and contrast seen in the light of a larger wisdom; this power of inverting the relative values of things both small and great, because of an instinct that from some point outside they would be seen to be neither small nor great, but only deeply significant—this is a quality which, in its literary expression, is peculiarly English. Wit we cede to France, and philosophy to Germany, but in humour we stand supreme.

It is an interesting, although an obviously natural fact that seriousness and humour constantly go together; it is the most serious nations in Europe—England and Spain—who have on the whole been the most humorous. For humour implies belief, deep feeling, tenderness; and the dissonances of life

⁴ 'A sense of humour is dependent on a condition of partial knowledge. Complete knowledge or complete ignorance are fatal to it. A Mrs. Gamp is not humorous to a Betsy Prig, for both are on the same level. Neither could be humorous to a Power, who knows everything and can be surprised at nothing and to whom no one thing is more incongruous than another.'—W. H. Mallock.
§ 8. *The earlier meaning of 'Humour.'*

stand out more apparent to eyes which have been used 'to look on man's mortality.'

That the quality of humour existed in full measure in fourteenth-century England we know by reading Chaucer's Prologue, but we are forced to ask whether it was less common than now, only to be found here and there among men of genius. If it was as general and as well recognised as it is to-day, by what name was it called? The faculty, it would seem, is of late growth, in the race as in the individual, savages and children possess it very slightly and in a very elementary form. Possibly it is only yet in the germ. One thing is certain, that in Chaucer's time, and for long after, it was not called 'humour,' for it is evident that no glimmering of the modern meaning of that word was known until the very end of the seventeenth century. It is perhaps the most important of a number of words—such as 'wit,' 'fancy,' 'taste'—which have so extended their meaning as to be new creations. These all came into being in their literary sense, as qualities of the mind, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and brought about practically a new terminology in criticism.

'Humour,' which is literally 'moisture,' was first used in mediæval physiology as a term for one of the chief fluids of the body (blood, phlegm, choler and melancholy), and so by extension in the later sixteenth century in England it came to mean the special singularity of disposition or character which distinguishes a man from his fellows. Shakespeare employs it in this sense, while Ben Jonson's use of it is characteristic.

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2 So used by Chaucer, for example, in the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, II, 4113–4128.

3 Thus, in the Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour*, Jonson, after explaining the medical notion of a humour, continues—

'It may by metaphor apply itself
Unto the general disposition:
As when some one peculiar quality
Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
All his effects, his spirits, and his powers,
In their confluctions, all to run one way
This may be truly said to be a Humour.'
Dryden, when expounding humour in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1668), does not seem conscious of any but the Jonsonian meaning, but there is no doubt that Shaftesbury, in his Essay on *The Freedom of Wit and Humour* (1709), gave it another interpretation, and looked upon it as an alternative to Wit. The fresh extension of meaning, from *humours* meaning singular traits of character, to *humour* a special and subtle quality of mind, seems to have taken place somewhere between these two dates.

Sir William Temple, in his *Essay of Poetry* (1692), certainly has something of the modern signification in his mind when he speaks of 'a vein, natural, perhaps to our country, and which with us is called humour—a word peculiar to our language too, and hard to be expressed in another; nor is it, that I know of, found in any foreign writers, unless it be Molière. Shakespeare was the first that opened this vein upon our stage.'

Congreve, in his letter to Dennis (1695), and the Swiss, Bèat de Muralt, who visited England at the end of the seventeenth century, both speak of it as a universally recognized quality possessed by the English. 'They have what they call *Humour*, and pretend 'tis all their own... it seems they mean by it a certain Fruitfulness of Imagination, which for the most part tends to overthrow the Ideas of things, turning Virtue into Ridicule, and making Vice agreeable.'

Whether Temple were responsible for the belief or no, it is certain that not only English but also French writers of the eighteenth century generally spoke of 'humour' as something specially English, both as regards the quality and the word

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1 Letter from Congreve to Dennis, Concerning Humour in Comedy, July 10, 1695 (in) Letters upon several occasions, published by Mr. Dennis, London, 1696, pp. 80–96. Congreve gives the Jonsonian meaning to humour, with a slight indication of the wider extension in the use of the adjective 'humorously.'

denoting it.¹ This claim was disputed by some writers; thus Swift, while agreeing with Temple that the word was peculiar to English, points out that the quality is to be found in other nations, and cites Cervantes in proof of this.² Voltaire goes a step further and maintains that neither the quality nor the word was the exclusive possession of English literature.³ Addison, as early as 1711, points out very clearly ⁴ the difference between True and False Humour, and shows that a 'great deal was called 'humorous' which did not deserve the name. Indeed there was much uncertainty in the use of the term throughout the eighteenth century, and even later. There is no question that although by some (e.g. Addison and Swift) the greatness of humour was recognized, yet in many minds the meaning of the word was degraded, and it was connected to some extent with 'buffoonery' or 'facetiousness,' and even with holding up something or some one as an object of ridicule. This was

¹ See Idée de la Poésie Anglaise, by Abbé Yart, Paris, 1749, i, pp. 195 and 214; also Pensées et fragments inédits de Montesquieu, Bordeaux, 1901, ii, pp. 8, 14–16; also Nouvelles Littéraires, &c., de France et d'Angleterre, Lettre xxii, 1752, pp. 2, 3; and as late as 1800, Madame de Staël's De la Littérature, chap. xiv, De la Plaisanterie Anglaise. For the whole subject of the development of humour, see an article by Benedetto Croce in the Journal of Comparative Literature, N. York, 1903, i, 222; also Études d'histoire littéraire, par F. Baldensperger, Paris, 1907, pp. 176–227; Molière et Shakespeare, par Paul Stapfer, Paris 1887, ch. vi and vii; and Critical Essays of the 17th Century, ed. J. E. Spingarn, Oxford, 1908, Introduction, pp. ix–lxiii.

² The Intelligencer, 1698, No. 3.

³ Letter to the Abbé d'Olivet, Aug. 20, 1761, Œuvres de Voltaire, ed. Moland, Paris, 1883, xli, 405. 'Ils [les Anglais] ont un terme pour signer cette plaisanterie, ce vrai comique, cette gaieté, cette urbanité, ces saillies qui échappent à un homme sans qu'il s'en doute; et ils rendent cette idée par le mot humeur, humour, qu'ils prononcent yumor; et ils croient qu'ils ont seuls cette humeur; que les autres nations n'ont point de terme pour exprimer ce caractère d'esprit. Cependant c'est un ancien mot de notre langue, employé en ce sens dans plusieurs comédies de Corneille.' A passage illustrating Corneille's use of 'humeur' is quoted by Génin in Récréations Philologiques, i, p. 213–6. (Suite du Menteur (1643), III, i), but the meaning there seems to be 'original,' 'eccentric,' 'something of a character,' rather than our modern sense of the term. See Corneille's Lexique; 'humeur,' and note. Voltaire's definition of 'esprit ' (wit) in his Dictionnaire philosophique is worth noting, as it seems to include certain qualities which we consider essentially characteristic of 'humour.'

⁴ The Spectator, No. 35, April 10, 1711.
§ 8. *Evolution of the meaning of 'Humour. '*

obviously the meaning which Goldsmith had in his mind when he deliberately placed humour below wit; 1 while as late as 1805, Sydney Smith evidently takes it to mean little more than 'agreeable raillery and facetious remark.' 2

It is not until nearly fifty years later (1851) that we find Thackeray giving a definition of the term that satisfies the modern mind. 3

There can be no question, then, that although the quality itself is to be found as far back as Chaucer, the people as a whole possessed it only in an elementary and gross form, and were far less susceptible to it than they are to-day. 'Nothing,' says Goethe, 'is more significant of men's character than what they find laughable.' George Eliot, in quoting this remark, observes that it would perhaps have been more accurate to say 'culture' instead of 'character.' 4 It is most certain that, as men evolve, as they grow in refinement, in quickness and delicacy of perception, in sensitiveness and in sympathy, their conception of what is humorous must grow proportionately.

It is only necessary to stray a little in the by-paths, more especially of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, to realize that in no one quality of mind is the growth of the race more marked and apparent than in this conception. We may briefly illustrate this point by the history of Chaucer criticism. In Chaucer we have a poet whose distinguishing quality of mind is a subtle, shifting, delicate and all-pervading humour, to which full justice has not perhaps even yet been done 5; yet through all these years of critical remark there is until the eighteenth century no reference to the quality as we know it,

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1 'Wit raises human nature above its level; humour acts a contrary part and equally depresses it. To expect exalted humour is a contradiction in terms . . . when a thing is humorously described . . . we compare the absurdity of the character represented with our own, and triumph in our own conscious superiority.' *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe,* 1759, pp. 155, 156.


3 In the opening paragraphs of *The English Humourists of the 18th Century.*


5 See the excellent remarks on this by Prof. Saintsbury in the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* vol. ii, 1908, chap. vii.
which he so amply possessed. There is a certain recognition among some earlier writers of his 'pleasant vayne and wit,' and his 'delightsome mirth' (see p. xcvii above), by which is probably meant his relish of a good story, his sly sense of fun, and the general atmosphere of good-humour which pervades his work, but there is no hint of appreciation of that deeper and more delicate quality alone deserving the name of 'humour,' which is insight, sympathy and tender seriousness, all brought into play upon the ever-present sense of the incongruous, and of the inconsistent in character and life. Of all this, as far as we can judge, they are unconscious.

The first mention we find of the word 'humour' as applied to Chaucer is in some verses by John Gay in 1712, where he speaks of Prior entertaining the admiring reader with 'Chaucer's Humour'; but we cannot be certain of the exact meaning here attached to the word, although if we may judge from the coarse and vulgar comedy which Gay in some sense founded on the Canterbury pilgrims, what he was most aware of in Chaucer was facetiousness, jokes and general jollity. In 1715 John Hughes clearly employs the word in the older Jonsonian sense of the predominating characteristic, but it would seem as if Pope, in 1728, when censuring Addison, was using the word with some approach to its modern meaning. So, surely, was Elizabeth Cooper (1737), when she says that Chaucer 'blended the acutest Raillery, with the most insinuating Humour.'

It is Thomas Warton who, in 1754, first uses the term in what we can be quite sure is something near the modern sense; moreover he lays considerable emphasis on the fact that Chaucer was the first English writer to possess it. After Warton, the idea began very gradually to creep in that a sense of humour was one of the qualities of the poet. Bishop Percy (1765), in his remarks on Sir Thopas, and Charles Burney (1782), who speaks of Chaucer's 'wit and humour,' are cases in point. It is not, however, until well on in the nineteenth century, not indeed until Leigh Hunt wrote on it in 1846, that Chaucer's humour seems to have met with any adequate recognition.

1 It is worth noting that although Gray seems to use the word in its modern sense in speaking of Lydgate, he does not apply it at all to Chaucer (see 1760–1, Gray).
§ 9. THE EVOLUTION OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ACCURACY IN LITERARY MATTERS.

The development along this line is here more conspicuous than perhaps anything else. It is so obvious that it is only necessary to give one or two illustrations in point. Consider, for instance, the history of Chaucer biography. The fertility of invention, the touching and unquestioning faith in the printed word, the unhesitating belief of later biographers in all the utterances of their predecessors, and the extraordinary blindness to contradiction and inaccuracy in statements of fact, these are characteristics which undergo little change up to the eighteenth century. Thus we know that Leland was as an antiquary quite justly much revered both by his contemporaries and succeeding generations, and the main body of his work was for full three hundred years accepted as authoritative. Much of his historical and topographical work was certainly most valuable, and proves him to have been painstaking and laborious, and he appears to have set before himself the very highest ideals as to research and accuracy; 1 indeed his name became almost synonymous with a passionate love of truth. 2

Yet his life of Chaucer, which we have already examined, shows gross ignorance, carelessness and inaccuracy; statements are authoritatively made without any hesitation, which we know now could not have had any foundation in fact.

We can understand that owing to scarcity of books and libraries, and difficulties of access to public records, it was not


2 Bale refers to this in his 'Kynge Johan' (ed. J. P. Collier, Camden Society 1838, ll. 2163–4), written probably when Leland was insane, when he makes Verity say, opposing a supposed lie of the Romanist, Polydore Virgil,

'Yes! therefore, Leylond, out of thy slumbre awake,
And wytnesse a trewthe for thyne owne contrayes sake.'
§ 9. The inaccuracy of Leland and others.

easily within the power even of scholars to verify their facts, and it does not surprise us to find that so careful a critic as Dryden takes on trust all the assertions of earlier biographers, or accepts unquestioningly Chaucer’s authorship of the *Plowman’s Tale* and even confuses it with the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, until lately thought to be by Langland. What remains a puzzle is the apparent lack of perception of obvious errors and inconsistencies within these narratives themselves. For instance Leland represents Chaucer as highly esteemed by Henry IV and his son (Henry V), and yet, although the generally accepted date for Chaucer’s death was 1400, Tyrwhitt is, so far as we know, the first writer to point out that Leland evidently considered Chaucer as living at least 20 years later than he really did. Far from noticing this blunder, succeeding historians only made it more definite, and we find Giles Jacob in 1720, in his *Lives of the English Poets*, stating that Chaucer was Poet Laureate in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, and that he died in 1400. The fact that the reigns of these two kings extend from 1399–1422 seems to escape the notice, not only of the writer of these ‘Lives,’ but also of his readers.

Another point well illustrated here is the slender equipment thought necessary by the best authorities for the editing of a great classic. We know that as late as the eighteenth century men of letters, though as a rule possessed of wide general knowledge and interests, entirely lacked the training and specialization in any one branch of study which to-day seems so essential. They attempted, and carried through single-handed, tasks, such as Gibbon’s History and Johnson’s Dictionary, which to-day would afford life-long employment to a small army of specialists.

Plenty of courage and a Scottish extraction, although good qualifications in their way, would not to a modern Dean of Christ Church seem sufficient grounds upon which to persuade a man to undertake a critical edition of Chaucer. Yet Dr. Atterbury appears to have urged this task on John Urry mainly for these two reasons. As we know, Dr. Johnson himself seriously contemplated editing Chaucer with full critical

apparatus of notes and linguistic remarks, and although better equipped than Urry, his qualifications for the task were not striking. The fact is that critical scholarship and minute and searching investigation were at this time practically unknown, and therefore were not regarded as necessary. Goldsmith, in addition to his imaginative work, produced with equal ease and confidence histories of England, of Rome, of Greece, and of the Earth and Animated Nature; and Johnson, when writing his 'Lives,' could not be troubled to make many researches or to do much reading for the purpose, \(^1\) preferring to trust to his sound common-sense and wide general knowledge. This lack of thoroughness and scholarly accuracy may be forgiven in Johnson or Goldsmith, and the more easily when we realize the general lowness of standard in this respect which is so marked in the work of the smaller writers and commentators in connection with Chaucer criticism until the middle of the nineteenth century. A study of these brings home to us what strides ordinary scholarship has made during the last hundred years, and how changed are our ideals and requirements in this connection. The modernizations of Chaucer in 1841 have already been cited as a good illustration of this (see p. lix above); we will add only one more. In 1795 the Rev. William Lipscomb, a scholar of Corpus Christi, who had carried off a Chancellor's prize at Oxford, was private tutor and chaplain to the Duke of Cleveland, and a constant contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine, published a complete modernization of the Canterbury Tales; in the preface he states that the Life of Chaucer he reprints is 'taken from the valuable edition of his original works published by Mr. Tyrwhitt.' Not only is the 'Life' which Lipscomb prints taken wholesale from the Biographia Britannica for 1747, but remarks in it are diametrically opposed in important particulars (as regards language, etc.)

\(^1\) For instance, in writing of Congreve, Johnson says, 'Of his plays I cannot speak distinctly; for since I inspected them many years have passed, but what remains in my memory is . . .' and a critical account follows. A nineteenth-century writer, even of the same eminence as Johnson, would have re-read the plays.
to what Tyrwhitt says in his essay. But this is not all. Lipscomb, who apparently much admired Chaucer, had undertaken to reprint all existing modernizations of the Tales, and to supply omissions by his own renderings. One would therefore not unnaturally assume that before publication he would make himself familiar with the literature of the subject. He does not, however, thus trammel himself. He reprints the versions of Ogle, Betterton, Dryden, Pope, Brooke, Markland, Grosvenor and Boyse, which appear in Ogle’s edition of 1741, but he supplies his own version of the Nun’s Priest’s Tale, for, as he tells us in a naïve Postscript, he did not know, until the book was finished, of the existence of a version by Dryden. Comment is superfluous, except to add that Lipscomb got some excellent reviews.

Our material has been considered from various points of view, and these notes must now end. Each reader will, however, find other aspects from which it may be regarded, and other problems upon which it may possibly throw a ray of light.

The collection itself must in one sense remain unique. Of no other great English poet will it be possible, for a century and a half to come, to collect a continuous record of the critical opinion of his countrymen during five hundred years. Indeed there is only one other European poet,—greater even than Chaucer—the fluctuations of whose fame can be followed during these special centuries, which bridge over the time of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and from the Renaissance to the modern world.

Dante and Chaucer,—seer and humanist—could the body of opinion on these two poets throughout the centuries be

1 Tyrwhitt wrote no ‘life’ of Chaucer, only an ‘abstract of historical passages.’

2 ‘I have barely time here, the Tales being already almost all printed off, to apologize to the Reader for having inserted my own translation of the Nun’s Priest’s Tale, instead of that of Dryden: but the fact was, I did not know that Dryden’s version existed; . . . having never till very lately, strange as it may seem, seen the volume of Dryden’s Fables, in which it may be found.’ Postscript, vol. i, p. xi.
§ 9. The Prophecy of Spenser is fulfilled.

studied together, it would light up a good deal of literary history. In many ways, as is natural, there is resemblance between their fortunes, although the Englishman never encountered anything like the discredit and even abuse which in the eighteenth century fell to Dante’s lot.¹ Now, however, each poet rests secure in his appointed niche in the great ‘Hous of Fame,’ and the history of their reputation seems but a fulfilment of the half bitter, half triumphant words of Spenser:

For deeds doe die, how ever noblie donne,
And thoughts of men do as themselves decay;
But wise wordes, taught in numbers for to runne,
Recorded by the Muses, live for ay;
Ne may with storming showers be washt away,
Ne bitter-breathing windes with harmfull blast,
Nor age, nor envie, shall them ever wast.

¹ See the remarks on Dante by Lord Chesterfield, who writes to his son that the poet is not worth the pains necessary to understand him; Goldsmith, who regards him as little better than a barbarian, who owed ‘most of his reputation to the obscurity of the times in which he lived’; Horace Walpole, who characterizes him as ‘extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short, a Methodist parson in Bedlam’; Thomas Warton, who is shocked by his ‘disgusting fooleries’; and above all Voltaire, who scarce can find words to express his contempt. For all these, and the whole question of Dante criticism in England, see Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary, by Dr. Paget Toynbee, 1909.
FIVE HUNDRED YEARS
OF
CHAUCER CRITICISM AND ALLUSION
FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF CHAUCER CRITICISM AND ALLUSION (1357-1900)

BY

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PART IV
APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX A.

CONTAINING:
(1) Introductory Note,
and (in one chronological series):
(2) Additional English and Latin References, with
(3) Notes on the Debt of some Writers to Chaucer.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

For many of the additional entries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we are indebted to Professor Hyder E. Rollins, of New York, who very kindly placed at our disposal a collection which he had made while working on the Elizabethan ballad-writers and on the influence of Henryson.

In a prefatory note Professor Rollins says:—

"By far the majority of these allusions is to Troilus and Criseyde, and the number could be almost indefinitely increased. In her Chaucer devant la Critique en Angleterre et en France (1911) . . . Miss Spurgeon shows clearly enough that the Troilus up to 1700 (and later, for that matter) 'est de beaucoup le plus populaire, le plus généralement connu et le plus fréquemment cité de tous les poèmes de Chaucer.' But in the Chaucer Allusions her treatment of Troilus and Criseyde is not wholly satisfactory. Wherever possible, she has rigidly excluded every line that savors, or seems to savor, of Henryson's Testament of Cresseid, although from 1535 to 1650 this poem was, by almost all readers and editors, thought to be Chaucer's own work, and it so completely changed the course of Chaucer's narrative that after about 1560 Henryson's Cresseid, not Chaucer's Criseyde, was the heroine always thought of, whether or not her leprosy was explicitly mentioned. Only a few allusions to Henryson's Cresseid have crept in here, but by excluding them one cannot hope justly to show the influence of Chaucer's own poem.

There are, to be sure, a number of tests by which one can separate allusions to Chaucer's story from allusions to Henryson's—if one is determined to adopt so modern and unjustifiable an attitude. When, for example, George Gascoigne wrote:

I found naught else but trickes of Cressides kinde,
Which playnly proude that thou weart of hir bloud.
I found that absent Troylus was forgot,
When Dyomede had got both brooch and belt,
Both gloue and hand, yea harte and all, God wot,
When absent Troylus did in sorowes swelt,

CHAUCER CRITICISM.—IV.
he was certainly thinking of the Testament, from which he borrowed the 'belt' and its riming-mate 'swelt.' But these lines are closely followed by three others which imitate verses in Chaucer's Troilus (see No. 27). Again, in a passage quoted by Miss Spurgeon (p. 110), Gascoigne refers to Cressid's unchastity with mention of both Chaucer and 'Lollius,' only to continue (in lines not quoted in the Chaucer Allusions) with a brief summary of Henryson's story. Gascoigne evidently thought that his information came from Chaucer; and the two allusions which Miss Spurgeon gives from the Posies utterly fail to indicate the enormous fascination the Troilus-Cressida story, as told in every edition of Chaucer's works known to Gascoigne, had upon him. Miss Spurgeon remarks, to be sure, that 'there are several references to Cresside in Gascoigne's poems; these are possibly to Chaucer's poem, but no special reference is made to him.' When, however, Gascoigne wrote even such an insignificant line as

As Pandars niece (if she wer here) would quickly giue hir place,1

he was definitely referring to Chaucer. For Chaucer invented the niece-fiction, and Pandar is not once mentioned in the Testament. So, too, when poets tell us that Troilus knew in love no law until he saw Cressid praying at the church (Nos. 16, 18, 22) or that Troilus 'by help of his friend Pandar' gained Cressid's love (No. 36), they are indisputably referring to Chaucer, however unimportant the allusion may be.

Peculiarly enough, too, the Chaucer Allusions contains only one quotation from George Turberville—a bare reference in his Book of Falconry (1575) to 'a Canterbury tale'; whereas the Troilus-Cressida story influenced Turberville even more than Gascoigne. He alluded to it constantly, though, like Gascoigne, he usually had the Cresseid of the Scotch poet in mind (see Nos. 19, 26, 40). Some distinction, of course, must be made between allusions to genuine and to uncanonical works, but in drawing a sharp distinction between Troilus and Criseyde and the Testament of Cresseid, an allusion book might almost defeat its own purpose."

It is, however, only partly true that we have drawn a distinction between Chaucer's genuine and uncanonical works. It seemed to us that where a writer expressed an opinion about one of the latter, he was, if he attributed it to Chaucer, and not otherwise, expressing an opinion about Chaucer. And false and unfounded opinions about him may be as significant as true and well-founded ones. Thus it is surely of the greatest interest to

1 Complete Poems of Gascoigne, ed. Hazlitt, I. 55.
note the rise and decay of the legend based on the acceptance as genuine of the Court of Love and Testament of Love; and all such allusions are carefully collected here. Allusions to the story of Troilus which do not clearly point to Chaucer’s story are really on the border-line; they may be taken in the main as involving a tacit attribution of Henryson’s poem to him, and so far Professor Rollins’s criticism is just. Considerations of time and space, however, prevent us from making a special search for additions which would be numerous and of very minor importance. But with this reservation we have gratefully incorporated nearly all Professor Rollins’s entries; they are distinguished by their numbers in his series, to facilitate the references in his note quoted above.

1391, June 17. Writ commanding Chaucer to deliver to John Gedney the office of Clerk of the Works. Exch. Q.R. Accounts, Works 162. (Kirk 236.)

1412–20. Lydgate, John. The hystorye, sege and dystruccyon of Troye. MS. Cott. Aug. 4, fol. 48b. [See pt. i, pp. 23, 24 above. These are additional references.]

To take on me it were but hīse foly
In any wyse to adde more þer-to
For wel I wot anoon as I haue do
Þat I in soth no þanke disserue may
Because þat he [Chaucer] in writyng was so gay
And but I write I mote þe trouþe leue
Of troye boke and my mater breue
And ouer-passe and nat go by and by
As Guydo dōp in ordre ceryously
And þus I most don ofſencioun
Þorþe negligence or presumpcioun
So am I sette euene amyddes tweyne
Gret cause haue I & mater to compleyne.

[7 following lines are quoted in pt. i, p. 24 above, ending]

To god I pray þat he his soulē haue
After whos help of nede I most crave
And seke his boke [Troilus] þat is left be hynde
Som goodly worde þer in for to fynde
To sette amonge þe crokid lynys rude
Whiche I do write as by similitude
Appendix A. [A.D. 1420–]

πe ruby stant so royal of renoun
With Ínne a rynge of copur or latoun
So stant πe makyng of hym doultles
Among our e bokis of englische perles
πei arn ethe to knowe πei ben so excellent
πer is no makyng to his equipolent
We do but halt who so takeπ hede
πat medle of makyng with outen any drede
Whan we wolde his stile counterfet
We may al day oure colour grynde & bete
Tempre our a3our and vermyloun
But al I holde but presumcioun

[c. 1420?] Unknown. Incription on MS. Cotton Galba E., ix, fol. 1 b.
[Quoted in J. Hall’s Poems of Laurence Minot, 1914, p. vii.]
[Rollins 1.]

Chaucer, Exemplar emendate scriptum.

1430. Lydgate, John. Fall of Princes.

He wrot also / ful many a day agone,
Dante in ynglyssh / hym-sylff so doth expresse,
The pitous story of Ceix and Alcyone . . .

[See pt. i, p. 38. We believe that Professor Kittredge has pointed out, though not in print, that Lydgate here does not say that Chaucer wrote “Dante in English,” but is merely calling Chaucer “our English Dante,” and repeating Chaucer’s own statement in Prot. L.G.W. that he had written Ceix and Alcyone. In any case the Hous of Fame is far more French than Italian.]


Comoun Astrologee . . .

[See pt. i, p. 46. Professor Tatlock points out that this phrase for the Cock is from Troilus, iii, 1415.]


So wolde god, that my symple connyng
Ware sufficiant this goodly flour to prayse,
For as to me ys non so ryche a thyng
That able were this flour to countirpayse,
O noble Chaucer, passyd ben thy dayse,
Off poetr ye ynamyd worthyest,
And of makyng in alle othir days the best.
Now thou art gon, thyn helpe I may not haue;
Wherfor to god I pray, ryght specially,
Syth thou art ded, and beryde in thy graue,
That on thy soule hym lyst to haue mercy.
And to the monke of bury now speke I,—
For thy connyng, ys syche, and eke thy grace,
After Chaucer to occupye his place.

[For the question of authorship see the article by Dr. H. N. MacCracken referred to above, An English Friend of Charles of Orléans, in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. xxvi, pp. 142 et seq. Dr. MacCracken thinks Suffolk was the translator of Charles d'Orléans's poems (MS. Harleian 682). With regard to the Chaucer reference in these English poems in the Roxburghe edn., see above, pt. ii, sect. i, p. 167, 1827, Taylor.]

[c. 1445.] Unknown. Headline to 'Lack of Stedfastness.'

[In MS. Bodley Hatton 73 there is an older title to Lack of Stedfastness discovered by Dr. H. N. MacCracken by applying acid. The revived title reads:]

Geffrey Chauncier sende these Balades to kyng Richard.

[See Modern Language Notes, Nov. 1908, p. 214.]

[a. 1450.] Unknown. The Tale of Beryn. The Prologue, or the merry adventure of the Pardonere and Tapstere at the Inn at Canterbury. Duke of Northumberland's MS., fol. 188, verso. (Chaucer Society, ed. F. J. Furnivall and W. G. Stone, 1887, p. 22, II. 680-4. The transcript is taken from this edition, not from the MS.)

Now, quod pe hoost of Southwork [MS. Southword],
& to pe feleshipp bent.

Who sawe evir so feir, or [evir] so glad a day?
And how sote this seson is, entring in to may,
*[When Chauceres daysyes spryngere. Herke eek the fowles syngyngr,]

The thrustelis & the thrussis, in pis glad mornyng.

[The Tale of Beryn is a supplement to the Canterbury Tales, and in the prologue Chaucer's characters (the Pardoner, Sompnour, Reve, the Clerk, of 'Oxinforth,' the Knyt, the Miller, etc., and the 'Hoost of Southwork') are depicted at Canterbury, and we see their adventures there. On the way back they decide not to draw lots as to who shall tell a tale, and the Merchant offers to tell the tale of Beryn. The

* This line is not in Urry, and was apparently supplied by Dr. Furnivall.]
Appendix A.

[A.D. 1450–]

Prologue is thus an indirect appreciation of Chaucer’s work, in its sincerest form, imitation. It opens thus:

When aH this ffressh[e] feleship were com to Cauntirbury, As ye have herd to-fore, with talys glad & merry, (Som of sotiH centence, of vertu & of love, And som of othir myrthis, for hem þat hold no store Of wisdom, ne of holynes, ne of chiualry, Nethir of vertuouse matere, but [holich] to foly Leyd wit & lustis aH, to such [e nyce] Iapis As Hurlewaynes meyne in every hegg that capes Thurgh unstabile mynde, . . .) They toke hir In, & loggit hem at mydmorowe, I trowe Atte “Cheker of the hope” þat many a man doith knowe.

[c. 1450.] Burgh, Benedict. Translation of Cato’s Disticha Moralia, stanza 41. [MS. Harl. 4733, fol. 9 b.]

The lymytour þat vysiteth the wyfys.
Ys wyse y-nough of hym a man may lere
To þeue gnidelis [needles] pynnys and knyuys
This craff is good thyss doth the sely frere
þeue thynygys smale for thynygys þat bene dere
3if thu rescyeue þeue ay sumwhat agayne
And that wull noryssh frendys dere sertayne.

[According to Caxton’s prologue to his own translation of Cato, 1483, Burgh made his for William, Viscount Bourchier; the latter was probably not born much before 1435, and was married in 1466. It is likely that this translation was made for him during his youth. The reference is to Prot., ii. 283-4.]


And I will my nese Annes . . . haue . . . my boke of the talys of cantyrbury.


To yowe Chaucer.

[This comes at the foot of the page, and the verso is blank. Possibly the stanza intended to follow it was the ‘commend-acions of Chaucer’ from Lydgate’s Life of Our Lady. See above, 1409–11.]
Appendix A.

[c. 1450.] Unknown. *Headline to 'Truth.*

[In MS. Bodley Hatton 73, there is an older headline to Truth, discovered by Dr. H. N. MacCracken. It reads:]

‘Chauncier [his?] balade up on his deth bed.’

[This is interesting, as the statement is thus placed on an earlier and firmer basis than John Shirley's word in MS. Tr. Coll. R. 3, 20; for Hatton is not derived from Shirley. See Modern Language Notes, Nov. 1908, p. 214.]

[c. 1450.] Unknown. *A Song between Palamon, Ersyte, and Emlyn.*

[Five stanzas, "copied from a MS. of the time of Henry VI. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin," and printed in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. ii, p. 11.]

[Rollins 2.]

O thou, Emlyne, thi fayrenes
  Brought Palamon and Ersyte in gret distresse;
In a garden whan thou didist synge
  So fresshely in a May mornyng.


[On folio 170 b a prohemium begins,

Worshipfull and dyscrete that here present be
  I wyll yow tell a tale, two or thre,

which continues in the terms of the monk's opening speech, Oxford Chaucer, B. 3158-3180. The first line as here given, and the alteration in the second line are the work of the person who made the extracts; the rest are all Chaucer's. There follows the *Monkes Tale*, B. 3181-3196 (De Lucifero). Then, because Chaucer has not done justice to Adam in his one poor stanza, the scribe substitutes Lydgate's long account of Adam in the *Fall of Princes*, and certain envoyes from the same source, in Bk. I, chaps. 1, 3, 4, 8 (in part). This takes up to folio 179a, where the scribe goes back to *Monkes Tale* and completes it (with the exception of ll. 3565-3588, and l. 364 which are omitted) from Sampson to Cresus, B. 3205-3956.

Having completed the *Monkes Tale*, and added his Explicit, the scribe goes on with the extracts and envoyes from the *Fall of Princes*, in the following order: Books I, chapters 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 18, 23; II, 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 21, 22, 25, 27, 30; III, 5, 9, 10, 14, 17, 20.

This is notable as an indication of the taste which
could select this tale of all others for reading, and then substitute Lydgate for Chaucer.
See note by Dr. H. N. MacCracken in *Modern Language Notes*, March 1908, p. 93, from which this is summarised.]


[Rollins 3.]

[p. 601] Calcas that by the comandement of Appolyn had lefte the troians / had a passing fayr daughter and wyse named breseyda / Chaucer in his booke that he made of Troylus named her creseyda.

[p. 604] Ther was neuer seen so moche sorowe made betwene two louers at their departyng / who that lyste to here of alle theyr loue / late hym rede the booke of troyllus that chawcer made / wherin he shall fynde the storye hooll / whiche were to longe to wryte here.


[f. 102vo.] Orate pro salute animarum Galfridi Spirleng Ciius Norwici Court holder Clerici maioratus et Comitatis ac Thome Spirleng filij sui qui scribendo hunc librum complenerunt mense Januarij anno domini Millesimo ccce”mo lxxvijº que [quo?] tempore dictus Galfridus quasi quinquaginta et dictus Thomas quasi Sedecimo etatis extiterunt annum.


[In pt. i, p. 73, this is entered under 1519, the date of Erasmus’ letter; but it s‘ould have been entered as c. 1490; for Erasmus distinctly refers to the period of Colet’s life prior to his journey to Italy in 1498.]

[c. 1500.] **Unknown.** *A ryght pleasaut and merye Historie of the Mylner of Abymndon, with his wyfe, and his fayre daughter: and of two poor scholers of Cambridge . . Imprinted at London by Rycharde Thones.*

[The unique copy of this edition is in the Bodleian; that of Wynkyn de Worde’s, also undated, was at Britwell. The poem is probably much older than any printed edition. The plot is that of the *Reves Tale*, but it may be independently derived from a French fabliau. See the reprint in Thomas Wright’s *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844.]

[Rollins 5.]

Thair wes Arsyte, and Palemon alswa
Accumpanyit with fare Emylya,
The quene Dido with hir fals luf Enee,
Trew Troylus, vnfaythfull Cressida.

[Mr. Rollins says: “The context makes it almost certain that Douglas had in mind the *Legend of Good Women* (cf. Miss Spurgeon’s quotation, p. 71, from Douglas) as well as the *Troilus* and the *Knight’s Tale*. There are other allusions in Douglas similar to this.” See also above, pt. i, p. 65.]


[Stanza 4th and last begins:]

O ye impes of Chynner [i.e. Chaucer], ye Lydgateys pene,
With the spright of bookkas ye goodly inspirryd,
Ye Ynglyshe poet [etc.].

[c. 1507.] **Skelton, John. Phyllyp Sparowe.** (Works, ed. A. Dyce, 1855, I, 84-85), li. 672 ff. [Earliest ed. in B.M., Kele [1545?], sig. B 8b-C 1b.] [See also above, pt. i, p. 68.]

[Rollins 6.]

And though I can expounde
Of Hector of Troye, . . .
And of the loue so hote
That made Troylus to dote
Vpon fayre Cressyde,
And what they wrote and sayd,
And of theyr wanton wythes
Pandaer [sic] bare the bylles
From one to the other;
His maisters loue to further;
Sometyme a presyvous thynge,
An ouche, or els a ryng;
From her to hym agayn
Sometyme a preti chayn,
Or a bracelet of her here;
Prayd Troylus for to were
That token for her sake;
How hartely he dyd it take,
And moche therof dyd make
And all that was in vayne,
For she dyd but payne;
The story telleth playne . . .
Disparaged is her sake;
And blemysshed is her name,
In maner half with shame;
Troylus also hath lost
On her moch loue and cost,
And now must kys the post;
Pandara [sic], that went betwene,
Hath won nothing, I wene,
But lyght for somer grene;
Yet for a speciall laud
He is named Troylus baud,
Of that name he is sure,
Whyles the world shall dure.


[Rollins 7.]

. . . your semely snowte doth passe,
Howkyd as a hawkyes beke, lyke Syr Topyas.

[Sir Topas, ll. 17-18.]

[Skelton possibly had these verses also in mind when he later wrote of Garnesche (Works, vol. i, p. 130):
For thow hast a long snowte,
A semely nose and a stowte.]


[Rollins 8.]

[This comedy was played by fifteen actors on Twelfth Night, 1515/16. Cornish took the rôle of Calchas. "The
Appendix A.

children acted the rôles of Troilus, Cressid, Diomed, Pandor [sic], Ulysses, and others not named. . . . The play was a free adaptation of the love-theme of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde. . . . Even Chaucer's 'Criseyda in widowes habite blak' remained in the account of the furnishings as 'Kryssyd imparyled lyke a wedow of onour, in blake sarsenet and other abelements for seche mater.' Other borrowings from Chaucer are also discussed by Professor Wallace.]


[p. 15] mayde Emlynne, That had husbandes fyue, And all did neuer thryue.

[p. 16] She coude byte and whyne.

[Cf. "For as an hors I coude byte and whyne." Wife of Bath's Prologue, i, 386.]

[Rimbault, p. viii, remarks that this poem "bears some slight resemblance" to the Wife of Bath's Prologue. The resemblance is far from slight. Chaucer's poem no doubt suggested this Mayd Emlyn. The whole tone of the two poems is the same, although the author has greatly debased Emlyn.]


But hyde thé, sir Topias, Nowe into the castell of Bas, And lurke there, like an as.

1528. Tyndale, William. The Obedience of a Christen Man, To the Reader, f. xx, recto. (Ed. by R. Lovett [1888], Christian Classics Series, no. v, p. 67.)

They [the ecclesiastical authorities] permitte & sofre you to reade Robyn hode & bevise of hampton, hercules, hector and troylus with a thousand histories & fables of love & wantones & of rybaudry . . .
Appendix A.  [A.D. 1531–]


[In this will William Gaunte, of Biddlethorpe, Lincolnshire gives his son John]

Certain inglysh bokes: Legenda aurea, Crownacles, Canterbury tales, and lyttylton teners.

[This was perhaps a copy of one of Caxton's editions.]


[Wynkyn de Worde died in 1534.]

[st. 14] ... Salamon sayth there be thynges thre,
Shrewde wyves, rayne, and smokes blake
Make husbandes ofte theyr house to forsake.

[Possibly a reference to *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, ii, 278 81, but the passage in Proverbs was very often quoted.]

[st. 16] They them rejoysce to se and to be sene,
And for to seke sondrye pylgrymages,
At greate gaderynges to walke on the grene,
And on scaffoldes to sytte on hygh stages,
If they be fayre to shewe theyr vysages.

[Possibly a reference to *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, ii, 555–559.]


To John More, Chauscer of Talles.

[Walter Smyth, the author of the *Twelve Merry Jests of the Widow Edith*, was a member of the household of Sir Thomas More.]


[The influence on Wyatt of Chaucer's verse as read in Pynson and Thynne is very marked. See, for a detailed examination of this, *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems*, by A. K. Foxwell, London, 1911, chaps. vi and vii. There are also resemblances in phrase and in word forms, see ibid., pp. 53–6; and one poem of Wyatt's, 'If thou wilt mighty be, fée from the rage' (Tottel's Miscellany, Arber's reprint, 1895, p. 224) is probably founded on Chaucer's prose translation of Boethius, though it may be translated from the Latin original; see ibid., p. 57. For Wyatt, see above, pt. i, p. 83.]

Ioannis Lelandi Antiquarii carmen ad Henricum Houardum Regnorum comitem iuuenem tum nobiliss. tum doctissimum.

Accipe Regnorum comes illustrissime carmen, Quo mea Musa tuum laudauit moesta Viatum Non expectato sublatum funere terris. Nominis ille tui dum vixit magnus amator. Tu modo non viuum coluisti candidus illum, Verum etiam vita defunctum carmine tali Collaudasti, quale suum Chaucerus auitæ Dulce decus lingue vel iuste agnosceret esse.


Cap. DV. *De Gallofrido Chaucero.*

collegia leguleiorum, qui ibidem patria jura interpretantur, frequentavit, ut & ante Galliam cognitam forsitan fecerat.


Nunc vero orationis series postulat, ut aperte doceamus quem scopum Gallofridum studiis praefixerit. Profecto ejus scopus unicus fuit, ut linguam Anglicam numeris omnibus quam ornatissimam redderet, viderat enim Goverum in eodem negotio belle processisse. Quare nullum non movendum sibi lapidem putabat, quo ad supremam felicitatis metam perveniret. Et quoniam poesim preter cetera semper dilexit, amavit, coluit; visum est ei vel commodissimum per illum ad ipsa eloquentiae culmina viam patefacere. Tale etenim est poesis, ut tropos, elegantias, ornamenta, copiam, & quicquid venerum & leporum est, non modo admissat, verum, quod multo majus, suo quodam jure poscat.
Adde hue, quod Italos & Gallos, qui plurima suis linguis terse, nitide, ac eleganter scripserunt, in partem operis evocaverit. Tantum est inclytos habere duces, quos sequaris. Petrarca circa hæc tempora in Italia claruit, eujus opera lingua ibidem vernacula eo elegantiae perducta est, ut cum ipsa Latina de eloquentiæ palma contenderit. Quidam etiam Alanus linguam Gallicam infinitis modis expoliebat. Uterque istorum (multos alios clarissimæ notæ homines, qui eadem fecerunt, omitto) calcar Chaucero, alioqui sua sponte satis currenti, addidit. Bonis igitur avibus incepto operi incubuit, nunc libellos Gallica lingua compte, ornate, diserte scriptos in patriam sermonem transferens; nunc Latinos versus Anglicis, sed doce, sed apte, sed canore exprimens; nunc multa è suo capite nata, & Latinorum felicitatem æquantia, victuris chartis commendans; nunc lectori ut prodesset nervis omnibus contendens, & vicissim ut eundem delectaret sedulo curans: nec antea finem fecit, quam linguam nostram ad eam puritatem, ad eam eloquentiam, ad eam denique brevitatem ac gratiam perduxerat, ut inter expolitas gentium linguas posset recte quidem connumerari. Itaque in libris meorum Epigrammatôn his versibus ejus gloriae assurgo:

Prædicat Aligerum merito Florentia Dantem, 
Italia & numerös tota, Petrarche, tuos: 
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra poetam, 
Cui veneres debet patria lingua suas.

Et rursus:

Dum juga montis aper, frondes dum læta volucris, 
Squamiger & liquidas piscis amabit aquas: 
Meœnides, Graœe linguæ clarissimus autor, 
Aonio primus carmine semper erit. 
Sic quoque Virgilius Romænæ gloria musæ 
Maxima, vel Phæbo judice, semper erit. 
Nec minus & noster Galfridus summa Britannæ 
Chaucerus cithare gratia semper erit. 
Illos quis nescit felicia sæcla tulisse, 
Hunc talem & tantum protulit hora rudis. 
Tempora vidisset quod si florentia musis, 
Æquasset celebres, vel superasset avos.

Neque hic pigebit in medium adducere Hendecasyllabos, ex eodem fonte petitos, quos aliquot ab hinc annis, orante
Thoma Bertholeto, typographo cum diligenti tum erudito, scripsi:

Cum novum brevis Atticus leporem
Invenisset, & undecunque Grecam
Linguam perpoliisset, insolenter
Barbaros reliquos vocare capit.
Cujus vestigia impiger Quirinus
Ter certo pede persequens, Latinum
Sermonem bene reddidit venustum;
Et cum Greco alias rudes vocavit.
At quanto mihi rectius videtur
Fecisse officium suum disertus
Chaucerus, brevitate primus apta
Linguam qui patriam redegit illam
In formam, ut venere & lepore multo,
Ut multo sale, gratiaque multa
Luceret, velut Hesperus minora
Inter sidera; nec tamen superbe
Linguae barbariæ exprobravit ulli.
Quare vos juvenes manu Britannâ
Læta spargite nunc rosas suave-
Spirantes, violasque molliores,
Et vestro date, candidi, poëtae
Formosam ex hedera [citi] coronam.

Sed jam satis nostrarum nugarum adposuimus. Alius ille sortis homo erat, quam ut mææ praæconio muse meritas laudes accipere quæat. O quanto citius sub æquo judice à suis operibus justam consequetur laudem. Ideoque optarem quidem nostram linguam poetis Latinis familiarem esse: tunc facile inquam, facile in meam sententiam irent. At quoniam quod opto vix fieri potest, tantum exoratos volo, ut mihi Latinarum literarum amatoris aliud in hac parte fidei habeat. Quo auspicio non gravabor ejus lucubrationum inscriptiones Latinitate donare; ut sic saltem leonem, quemadmodum in proverbio est, ex ipsis æstiment unguibus. Quanquam priusquam id, quod modo sum politicitus, præstitero, non alienum meo erit instituto palam facere Gulielmum Caxodunum, hominem nec indigentem, nec indoctum, & quem constat primum Londini artem exercuisse typographicam, Chauceri opera, quotquot vel pretio vel precibus comparare potuit, in unum volumen collegisse.
Appendix A.

Vicit tamen Caxodunicam editionem Bertholetus noster opera Gulielmi Thynni; qui, multo labore, sedulitate, ac cura usus in perquirendis vetustis exemplaribus, multa prime adject editioni. Sed nec in hac parte caruit Brianus Tucca, mihi familiaritate conjunctissimus, & Anglice linguae eloquentia mirificus, sua gloria, edita in postremam impressionem prefatione eliminata, luculenta, eleganti. Sequar igitur codicem paucis ab hinc annis impressum, & promissum adponam syllabon.

Fabule Cantianæ xxiv.

quarum duœ soluta oratione scriptœ; sed Petri Aratoris fabula, quœ communi doctorum consensu Chaucero, tanquam vero parenti, attribuitur, in utraque editione, quia malos sacerdotum mores vehementer increpavit, suppressa est.

[p. 424]

De Arte amandi, alias Romauence of the Rose.
Amores Troili & Chrysidis lib. 5.
Testamentum Chrysidis & ejusdem Lamentatio.
Amores Heroidum.
De Consolatione Philosophæ, soluta oratione.
Somnium Chauceri,
Chorus Avium,
Flos Humanitatis,
qui libellulus à multis, tanquam nothus, rejicitur.
De Pietate mortua, & ejus Sepultura.
Chorus Heroidum.
De Astrolabio ad Ludovicum filium suum, prosa.
Encomium Mulierum.
De Fama lib. 3.
Testamentum Amoris, lib. 3.
Threni Magdalenæ.
De Remedio Amoris.
Querela Martis & Veneris.
Epistola Cupidinis.
Cantiones.

Hactenus de nomenclatura ejus librorum, qui hodie passim leguntur. Prater illos tamen, quos ego recensui, ipsemet in prologo, Amoribus Heroidum præfixo, fatetur se scripsisse libellum de Morte Blanckæ ducis: tum etiam Origenis de Chaucer Criticismo.—IV.
Appendix A. [A.D. 1545–]

Magdalena opusculum transtulisse: quod ego, (si modo Origenes tale quidquam scripsit) idem esse arbitror cum Lamentatione Magdalena, de qua superius in syllabo mentionem feci. Forsitan hic aliquis finem dicendi à me expectaret, sed ego pauca adhuc habeo, quae Chaucerum posteritati magnifice commendabunt. Nam, quemadmodum Richardo Burdegalensi, Anglorum regi, cognitus, & virtutum nomine charus fuit; ita etiam Henrico quarto, & ejus filio, qui de Gallis triumphavit, eisdem titulis commendatissimus erat. Quid quod & tota nobilitas Anglica illum, tanquam absolutum torrentis eloquentiae exemplum, suspexit. Accessit in super ad ejus gloriaw, quod sororem habuerit, quæ Gulielmo Polo (nisi me nomen fallit) Sudovolgie duci, nuptis, ac magno in splendore Aquelmi vitam egit; ubi postea, fatiic sic volentibus, diem quoque obiit, & ut ego aliquando accepi, sepulta est.

[p. 425] Inter hæc Chaucerus ad canos devenit, sensitque ipsam senectutem morbum esse; quæ ingrascentes, dum is Londini causas suas curaret, mortuus est, & Visimonasterii in australi insula basilicae, D. Petro sacræ, sepultus.

Ludovicum autem reliquit fortunárum suarum, quas utcumque amplas habebat, hæredem, & præcipue villæ suæ Vodestochæ, regiæ admodum vicinæ. Aliquanto post tempore Gulielmus Caxodonus Chauceri monimentum hoc disticho inscribi fecit.

Galfridus CHAUCER vates, & fama poesis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Hi duo versus desumpti fuerunt ex quadam nænia, quam Stephanus Surigonus, Mediolanensis, poeta suo tempore clarus,rogante Gulielmo Caxtono, scripsit. Quare juvat totam ipsam næiam, quoniam tersa, canora, & rotunda est, in presentia recitare. Sic enim Chaucerus, qui re vera maximus fuit, nobili testimonio externi scriptoris major videbitur:

[Quotes Surigo's Latin epitaph, beginning:]

‘Pierides musæ, si possunt numina fletus.’

See a. 1479, vol. i, p. 59, ante.]

[p. 426] Habes nunc, humanissime lector, elegos in nivea tabella
depictos, quos *Surigonus Visimonasterii* columnae, *Chauceri* sepulchro vicine, adfixit. Tu sepe eosdem in nostri vatis gratiam legas. Sic tibi quisquis eris, faveat suadela, leposque.

[A translation of this earliest account of Chaucer is given in Lounsbury's *Studies in Chaucer* (1892), vol. i, pp. 133–42.]


[Rollins 14.]

Chreseids loue, king Priams sonne, ye worthy Troilus.


Trophœum Lombardicum, li. 1.
De principum ruina, li. 1.
Emblemata moralia, li. 1.
Amatoria carmina, li. 1.
De curia Veneris, li. 1. In Mai ocum uirescerent, &c.
Cleopatre uitam, trac. 1. Post mortem Ptolemei regis.
Vitam Thysbes Babylonicae, trac. 1. Babyloniae quam Sermannis [sic].
Vitam Didonis Carthaginensis, trac. 1. Tuo sit nomine Vergili.
De Hipsyphile & Medea, trac. 1. Sinistri amoris radix Iason.
Vitam Lucretiae Romanae, trac. 1. Fingendum mihi est Romano.

De Ariadna Cretensi, trac. 1. Cretensium rex Minos infer.
De Phylomela Atheniensio, trac. 1. formarum fabricator, qui.
De Phyllide Thracensi, trac. 1. Tam argumento quam autori.
De hypermestra Ægyptia, trac. 1. In Graecia duo fratres erant.
Sonnium Chauceri, trac. 1. Admirari hercle sat nequeo.
Volucrum conglobationem, trac. 1. Tam brevis est uita, ars.
Vranitatis florem, trac. 1. In februario cum luna.
De misericordiae sepultura, trac. 1. Quaesitam a multis annis.
Carmen facetum, trac. 1. In somno semispeltus au.
De Augea & Telepho, trac. 1. Immictis belligerantium deus.
Choream dominarum, trac. 1. Dum in Septembri uirgulta.
De Astrolabij ratione, trac. 1. Fili mi Ludouice, certis.
Quaeremoniam, nigri militis, trac. 1. In Maio dum Flora regina.
Feminarum Encomion, trac. 1. Quibus animus est de muli.
Narrationes diuersorum, trac. 1. In comitu Lyncoliensi.
De Troilo & Chryseida, trac. 1.
De Cæyce & Haleyona, trac. 1.
In obitum Blanchiae ducessae, trac. 1.
Tragœdias graue, li. 1.
Comœdias leues, li. 1.
Satyres & Iambos, li. 1.
Facecias & Iocos, li. 1.
Elegias & pemata [sic], li. 1.

De ceteris nihil accepi. A Guilielmo Whyte atque alijs tunc uerbi ministris talia hausisse fertur, quod monachorum otia, missantium turbam ingentem, horas non intellectas, reliquias, ac ceremonias parum probauerit. Ad annum humanæ redemptionis, 1450, uixisse perhibetur sub Henrico sexto.

[fol. 233v.] Thomas Wyet[sic], ex illustri prosapia eques auratus, cum animi nobilitate literas Cantabrigiaeconiungens, in illustratione patrij sermonis, Chaucerum plane adæquabat.
[Free translation of above:

Geoffrey Chaucer, an English knight, distinguished both for his courtesy and military talents, exhibited consummate skill in the handling of the English language, and adorned the age in which he lived. Besides mathematics, in which he was proficient, he excelled as a poet, and rightly enjoys to this day in England the same reputation as Dante and Petrarch possessed of old in Italy, as having restored, nay added, glory to his mother tongue. He translated for his son, Lewis Chaucer, the treatise of Boethius on the Consolation of Philosophy, and composed in English with great appositeness and grace, the following poems in various styles, some of which I have seen and the others heard of on good authority from a friend.

[List of works follows.]

Of his other works I have not heard. It is related by William White and other contemporary divines that Chaucer by no means approved of the idleness of that great crowd of mumblers, the monks, nor of their unintelligible prayers, their relics and ceremonies. He is said to have lived until the year 1450 of the Christian Era, in the reign of Henry VI.

Thomas Wyat, knight, of illustrious ancestry, combined scholarship, gained at Cambridge, with loftiness of mind, and equalled Chaucer in adorning his native tongue.]


[Rollins 16.]

[The author borrowed Chaucer’s details up to the point where Cressid “yielded grace” to Troilus. He tells, e.g., how Troilus fell in love with Cressid at first sight, and how he was so lovelorn that]

His chamber with his common walke,
Wherein he kept him sec[ecretely,
He made his bedde the place of talke.


GALFRIDUS CHAVCER, xxiii

Galfriedus Chaucer, nobili loco natus, & summæ spei iuuenis, Oxonienses scholas tam diligentem quam qui
maxime celebravit: id quod ut faceret, academia uicinitas quodammodo inuituit. Nam quibusdam argumentis adducebatur Lelandus, ut crederet Oxoniensem uel Baro-
chensem prouinciam, illius fuisse natale solum. Hinc acutus dialecticus, hinc dulcis rhetor, hinc lepidus poetae, hinc grauis philosophus, ac sanctus denique theologus euasit. Mathematicus insuper ingeniosus erat, à Ioanne Sombo & Nicolao Lynna, Carmelitis Lyynnensibus, uirisque in Mathesi eruditis, instructus: quos ipse in libro suo de Sphaera celebrat, & clericos reuerendos uocat. Constat utique, illum circa postremos annos Ricardi secundi in Galliis floruisse, magnamque illic ex assidua in literis exercitacione gloriam sibi comparasse. Tum praeterea eadem opera, omnes ueneres, lepores, delicias, sales, ac postremo gratias linguae Gallice tam altè imbibisse, quàm cuiquam uix credibile. Laus ista Galfridum in Angliam reversum sequatur, tanquam comes eius uirtutis indiuidua. Eius-
modi igitur laetis successibus, forum Londinense & collegia leguleiorum, qui ibidem patria iura interpretantur, frequen-
tuít, familiaremque amicum inter eos Ioannem Gouerum mox habuit. Horum duorum unicus erat studiorum scopus, ut linguam Anglicamnumeris omnibus quàm ornatissimam rederent. Nec antea finem fecerant, quàm linguam illam ad eam eloquentiam, ad eam denique breuitatem perduxerant, ut inter expolitas gentium linguas possent rectè quidem connumerari. Huius Chauceri lucubrationum inscriptiones non grauabor hie latinitate donare: ut siæ saltæm leonem, ut in prouerbio est, homines ex ipsis aestiment unguibus. Adponam ergo syllabon, composuit enim,

Amores Heroidum, Lib. 1.
De consolatione philosophiae, Lib. 5. Carmina quæ quondam studio.
Somnium Chauceri, Lib. 1. Admiror hercle plurimum, quali.
Chorum auium, Lib. 1. Vita tam breuis est, artis tam.
Urbanitatis florem, Lib. 1. In Februario cum cornuta esset.
De pietate mortua. Lib. 1. Oh, quod pietatem tandem quæsi.
Heroidum Chorum, Lib. 1. In Septembri, dum fòlia uiurgulta.

Querelam equitis nigr. Lib. 1. In Maio, dum Flora regina terram.

Encomium mulierum, Lib. 1. Quibus animus est, mulieres.
De fama, & eius domicilio, Lib. 3. Vertat nobis Deus somnia in.
Testamentum amoris, Lib. 3. Multi sunt qui patulis auribus.
Threnos Magdalene, Lib. 1. Mœstitiae lethiferæ uoraginibus.
De remedio amoris, Lib. 1. Viso multiplici incommodo, quod.
Querelam Martis & Veneris, Lib. 1. Congratulemini amatores,
pullu.

Epistolam Cupidinis, Lib. 1. Cupido, ad cuius nutum gener.
Cantiones quœque, Lib. 1. Mille histories ad huc recensere.
De Melibœo & prudentia, Lib. 1. Iuuenis quidam Melibœus,
pontem.

Laudes bonarum mulierum, Lib. 1. Mille uicibus ab hominibus
atque.

Cleopatrae uitam, Lib. 1. Post mortem Ptolemæi regis magi.
Vitam Thisbæ Babylonicae, Lib. 1. Babyloniae quandoque con-
tigit.

Vitam Didonis Carthaginensis, Lib. 1. Gloriosum sit Vergili
Mantuane.

De Hypsiphile & Medea, Lib. 1. Dissimulantium amatorum
radix.
Lucretiae Romanæ uitam, Lib. 1. Narrare nunc oportet
auxilium.

De Ariadna Cretensi, Lib. 1. Discerne, infernalis Cretæ rex.
De Philomela Atheniensi, Libi. 1. Formarum fabricator qui
formasti.

De Phyllide Thracensi. Lib. 1. Tam argumento quàm authori-
tate.

De Hypermnestra Aegyptia, Lib. 1. In Græcia aliquando duo
fratres.
Carmen Chauceri, Lib. 1. Probæ educationis amantissima.
Super impia domina, Lib. 1. Me dormientem aureus sopor.
De Annelida & Arcyto, Lib. 1. Immitis belligerantium Deus.
De cuculo & philomela, Lib. 1. Amorum Deus, quàm potens.
Octo questiones & responsa, Lib. 1. In Græcia quandoque tam nobili.

Chronicon conquestus Anglici, Lib. 1. Ea ætate, ut ueteres annales.
De curia Veneris, Lib. 1. In Maio cum uirescerent, &c.
Epigrammata quoque, Lib. 1. Fugite multitudinem, ueri.
Narrationes diuersorum, Lib. 1. In comitatu Lyncolniensi fuit.
De Ceyce & Halcyona, Lib. 1.
In obitum Blanchiae ducissæ, Lib. 1.
De Vulcani ueri, Lib. 1.
De leone & eius dignitate, Lib. 1.
Vitam D. Ceciliae, Lib. 1.
Hymnos amatorios, Lib. 1.
Amores Palæmonis & Arcyti, Lib. 1.
De Thisbæ amore, Lib. 1.
De castello dominarum, Lib. 1.
Comœdias & Tragœdias, Lib. 1.
Facetias & iocos, Lib. 1.
Dantem Italum transtulit, Lib. 1.
Petrarchæ quaedam, Lib. 1.
Origenis tractatum, Lib. 1.

Aliaque plura fecit, in quibus monachorum ocia, missan-
tium tam magnam multitudinem, horas non intellectas, relliquias, perigrinationes, ac caerenias parum probautit.
Inter hac Chaucerus ad canos deuenit, sensitque ipsam senectutem morbum esse. Qua ingrauescente, dum Londini [p. 529] causas suas curaret, mortuus est, & Vuestmonasterij in australi Basilicae parte sepultus. Vixit anno Domini 1402, ut in charta Cupidinis refert. In quodam libro suorum Epigrammaton his uersibus Lelandus illum celebrat:

Predicat Algerum meritò Florentia Dantem
Italia & numeros tota Petrarche tuos.
Anglia Chaucerum ueneratur nostra poetam,
Cui ueneres debet patria lingua suas.
APPENDIX.


[In list of Nicolas Grimoald’s works:]
Troilum ex Chaucero, comediam. Lib. 1.
[Translation of Bale's Life of Chaucer, 1557–59.]

Geoffrey Chaucer, a nobleman by birth, gave much promise as a youth. At Oxford, where he studied, he was one of the most diligent scholars of his day. The vicinity of the university proved an incentive to him, if as was surmised by Leland from certain information, he was a native of Oxfordshire or Berkshire.

He left the university a keen dialectician, a graceful rhetorician, an elegant poet, a profound philosopher, and a devout theologian.

He was, moreover, a clever mathematician, having been taught by John Some and Nicholas Lynn, Carmelite friars of Lynn, and skilled mathematicians. He paid tribute to them in his book on the Astrolabe, and called them venerable clerics.

It is well known that towards the last years of Richard II's reign, he attained great fame in France through his diligent pursuit of letters. Further, he succeeded to an almost incredible degree by the same means in acquiring the attractiveness, the grace, the wit, and finally the charm of the French language. This is the kind of praise which followed Geoffrey upon his return to England, the inevitable accompaniment, as it were, of his attainments.

He then frequented the London law-courts, and among the members of the Inns of Court, where the laws of the country are studied, he soon found an intimate friend in John Gower. These two men had but one aim in their studies, which was to enrich the English tongue in all kinds of verse. Nor did they desist until they had brought the language to such a degree of eloquence and brevity that it might be fit to take its place amongst the most polished languages of all nations.

I shall not deem it troublesome to give the titles of his works in Latin, for, as the proverb says, you know the lion by his claws. I shall, therefore, append the list.

[Here follows the list, see above, Latin version.]

And he wrote many other works in which he showed his disapproval of that great multitude of mumblers, the monks, of their idleness, their unintelligible prayers, their relics, pilgrimages and ceremonies.

Meanwhile Chaucer grew older, and felt that old age was an illness, which continued to increase, until one day, while he was attending to his affairs in London, he died. He was buried in the south part of Westminster Abbey. He was still alive in the year 1402, as he himself testifies in his letter of Cupid. In his book of Epigrams Leland praises Chaucer in the following lines—[quotes Leland's verses].

Appendix.

From the Catalogue of Leland

Among the lawyers in those days the most celebrated was
John Gower, whose life we have written. An historian and a moral poet, he had attained to a venerable age, and his special aim was to add finish to the English language.

He, knowing the character of Chaucer, and having proved its uprightness, admitted him into a close friendship, took him to his heart, showed him the most honourable affection—in fact, he almost revered him as a god. Gower himself, in his book entitled Amantis, gives abundant evidence of the high regard he had for his friend Chaucer.

Having first of all praised him most fully, he calls him an excellent poet, and constitutes him a sort of Aristarchus of his work. Behold, reader, a beautiful rivalry in virtue. For, just as Gower, thinking little of his own merit, modestly submitted his works to Chaucer's criticism, so in turn Chaucer referred the Loves of Troilus to the criticisms of Gower and Strode. And since he loved and honoured poetry above all things, it seemed to him to be the most suitable road through which he could reach the heights of fame. For this, indeed, is the nature of poetry, that it not only admits of figures, grace of style, adornments in abundance and all that is pleasing and beautiful, but that it demands it all as a right. Add to this that he made use of the Italians and the French, who have written tersely and beautifully in their own languages. Dante and Petrarch in Italian, Alain [Chartier] in French, John Mena in Spanish, and the many others who at that time had written in polished language, were a spur to Chaucer. It was, therefore, under good auspices that he set to work upon his task, now translating books from the French, now skilfully rendering Latin verses into English, now embodying the numerous creations of his own imagination in imperishable works, equalling the most felicitous productions of the Latins, endeavouring in every way to be of some use to his readers. This also added to his reputation—that he had a sister, who married William Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and spent her life in splendour at Ewelme.


[st. 2]
Know ye not, how Troylus
Languished and lost his joye,
With fittes and feuers meruailous
For Cresseda that dwelt in Troye;
Tyll pytie planted in her brest,
Ladie! ladie!
To slepe with him, and graunt him rest,
My dear ladie.
Appendix A.  [A.D. 1561–

[This ballad was enormously popular, and is constantly quoted by Elizabethan writers. A Scottish version is preserved in the Bannatyne MS. (1568), ed. J. B. Murdoch, Hunterian Club, vol. iii, p. 612. A moralized version, “Ane Dissuasion from Vaine Lust,” in The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, 1567 (ed. A. F. Mitchell, Scottish Text Society, 1897, p. 213), begins:

Thocht Troylus Cressed did enjoy,
As Paris Helene did lykewise;
Zit leuit he not lang in Troy,
Bot that Fortoun did him dispise.
Quha wald then wrik accordinglie?
Allace, allace!
Sic plesoure bringis miserie,
As come to pas.


Then saw I how he smiled with slaying knife
Wrapped under cloke.

[Cf. Chaucer’s Knights’ Tale, 1. 1999. This resemblance is noted by Hazlitt in his Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth. See above, 1820, pt. ii, sect. i, p. 123.]


Epitaphium Chauceri MS.

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer, conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quaeras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notae subsunt, quae tibi cuncta notant.

26 Octobris anno Domini 1400.
Nicolaus Brigam Westmonasterii hos fecit Musarum nomine sumptus.
Super ejus Sepulchro,
Si rogites, quis eram, forsan te fama docebit,
Quodsi fama negat, Mundi quia gloria transit,
Hæc Monumenta lege.


1562. Brooke, or Broke, Arthur. Influence of Chaucer in The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar. Br. [Brooke's poem was one of the main sources of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. For a fuller account of Brooke's debt to Chaucer, see Romeo and Juliet, 'Shakespeare Classics,' ed. by J. J. Munro, 1908. Mr. Munro has kindly supplied the following notes:]

[Brooke's debt is of two kinds: (a) where he amplifies a suggestion in his original (Boaistuau) with the help of Chaucer's Troilus; and (b) where he derives a suggestion from Chaucer only.]

(a) Boaistuau (ed. 1559), p. 43: l'amour qu'il portoit à sa premiere damoiselle demoura vaincu par ce nouveau feu.

Brooke, ll. 207–9: 1
And as out of a planke a nayle a nayle doth drieue:
So nouell loue out of the minde the auncient loue doth riuе
This sodain kindled fyre in time is wox so great: etc.

Troilus & Criseyde, iv, 415:
The newe love out chaceth ofte the olde.

Troilus & Criseyde, iv, 422:
The newe love, labour or other wo,
Or elles selde seinge of a wight,
Don olde affectiouns alle over-go.2

Boaistuau, p. 45 b: ie suis vostre, estat preste & diposée
de vous obeyr en tout ce que l'honneur pourra souffrir.

1 The line-references to Brooke are to the ‘fourteeners,’ each of which is printed as two lines in the original edition.
2 From Boccaccio's Filostrato, but originally from Ovid: Successore novo vincitur omnis amor. (Remed. Amor. 462.) Brooke's lines were copied by Shakespeare in Two Gentlemen of Verona, Romeo, and Julius Cæsar.
Brooke, l. 314:
(My honor saued) prest tobay [i. e. to obey] your will, while
life endures.

_Troil._ iii, 480:
... but elles wol I fonde,
Myn honour sauf, please him fro day to day;

_Troil._ iii, 159:
she...
... sayde him softly,
'Myn honour sauf,' I wol wel trewely, etc.

[Juliet in Brooke, and Crisseyde in _Troilus_, both make
frequent insistence that their lovers' conduct must be
honorable.]

Boaistuau, p. 52: de sorte que s'ils eussent peu com-
mander au ciel comme Iosué fist au soleil, etc.

_Brooke_, l. 824:
So that I deeme if they might haue (as of _Alecume_ [sic for
Alcmene] we heare)
The sunne bond to theyr will; etc.

_Troil._ iii, 1427–8:
O right, allass! why niltow over us hove
As longe as whanne Almena lay by Jove?¹

[This under similar circumstances in both poems: i. e. in
connexion with the lovers' nocturnal meeting.]

(6) _Brooke_, l. 332:
Of both the ylles to choose the lesse,
I wene the choyse were harde.

_Troil._ ii, 470:
Of harmes two, the lesse is for to chese.

_Brooke_, l. 393:
[Juliet] A thousand stories more, to teache me to beware,
In Boccace and in Ouids booke too playnely written are.

_Troil._ iii, 297:
[Crisseyde] A thousand olde stories thee alegge
Of women lost, through fals and foles bost.
[Romeus and Troilus, while waiting for the help of Laurence or Pandare, are both like the patient waiting for the leech's salve.]

Brooke, l. 613:
The wounded man that now doth dedly paines endure:
Scarce pacient tarieth whilst his leech doth make the salue
to cure.
So Romeus, etc.

Troil. i, 1086:
Now lat us stinte of Troilus a stounde,
That fareth lyk a man that hurt is sore,
And is somdel of akinge of his wounde
Y-lissed wel, but heled no del more:
And, as an esy pacient, the lore
Abit of him that gooth aboute his cure;
And thus he dryveth forth his aventure.

[The first night of parting between the lovers.]

Brooke, l: 1537:
But on his brest her hed doth ioylesse Iuliet lay,
And on her slender necke his chyn doth ruthfull Romeus
stay.

Troil. iv, 1150:
'Help, Troilus!' and ther-with-al hir face
Upon his brest she leyde, and loste speche.

[The two scenes throughout are very similar.]

[Brooke's additions to the Romeo story.
These are not important so far as the story is concerned, but they form the best cases of borrowing. In the now lost earlier play (?) on Romeo which Brooke mentions and which both Brooke and Shakspere appear to have used, there was a scene at Laurence's cell in which Romeo lamented. In Brooke he becomes savage: this is taken from a similar scene with Troilus just before the entry of Pandare, as the references show.]

Brooke, l. 1291:
These heauy tydinges heard, his golden lockes he tare:
And like a frantike man hath torne the garmentes that he
ware.
And as the smitten deere in brakes is waltring found:
So waltreth he, and with his brest doth beate the troden grounde.
He rises eft, and strikes his head against the wals,
He falleth downe againe, and lowde for hasty death he cals.
Come spedy death (quoth he); etc.

_Troil._ iv, 239:
Right as the wilde bole biginneth springe
Now here, now there, y-dexted to the herte,
And of his deeth roseth in compleyninge,
Right so gan he aboute the chaumbre sterte,
Smyting his brest ay with his festes smerte;
His heed to the wal, his body to the grounde
Ful ofte he swepte, him-selven to confounde.

1. 250:
'O deeth, allas! why niltow do me deye:

_Brooke_, l. 1325:
Fyrst nature did he blame, the author of his lyfe,
In which his ioyes had been so scant, and sorowes aye so ryfe:
The time and place of byrth, he fiersly did reproue,
He cryed out (with open mouth) against the starres aboue:
The fatall sisters three he said, had done him wrong; etc.

1. 1335:
And then did he complaine on Venus cruel sonne.

1. 1343:
On Fortune eke he raylde, he calde her deafe, and blynde
Vnconstant, fond, deceitfull, rashe, vntruthfull, and vnkynd.
And to him self he layd a great part of the falt:
For that he slewe, and was not slayne, in fighting with Tibalt.
He blamed all the world, and all he did defye,
But Iuliet, for whom he liued for whom eke would he dye.

_Troil._ v, 204:
And there his sorwes that he spared hadde
He yaf an issue large, and 'deeth!' he cryde;
And in his throwes frenetyk and madde
He cursed Iove, Appollo, and eek Cupyde,
He cursed Ceres, Bacus, and Cipryde,
His burthe, him-self, his fate, and eek nature,
And, save his lady, every creature.

[Laurence to Romeus.]

Brooke, l. 1353:
Art thou quoth he a man? thy shape saith, so thou art:
Thy crying and they weping eyes, denote a woman’s hart.

[Pandare to Troilus.]

Troil. iii, 1098:
‘O theef, is this a mannes herte?’
And of he rente al to his bare sherte.

[Criseyde to Troilus.]

Troil. iii, 1126:
‘is this a mannes game?
What, Troilus! wol ye do thus, for shame?’

[The other innovation made by Brooke is Romeus’s sorrow in his exile, copied from Troilus. Both Troilus and Romeus sigh and weep at night; etc.]

Brooke, l. 1755:
Eche night a thousand times he calleth for the day,
He thinketh Titans restles stedes of restives do stay;
Or that at length they haue some bayting place found out,
Or (gyded yll) haue lost theyr way and wandred farre about.

Troil. v. 659:
The day is more, and lenger every night,
Than they be wont to be, him thoughte tho;
And that the sonne wente his course unright
By lenger wey than it was wont to go;
And seyde ‘y-wis, ne dredeth ever-mo,
The sonnes sone, Pheton, be on-lyve,
And that his fadres cart amis he dryve.

[It should be remembered that Troilus is in many respects quite parallel to Romeo. In each story two lovers are secretly betrothed and meet at night in the lady’s house. They vacillate between joy and sorrow and are comforted and helped by a philosophical friend. One of them is banished, and they have a final night together and part at dawn. It was at these points of contact that Brooke was able to derive suggestions from Chaucer.]
Appendix A. [A.D. 1565–]


Louing and frendly reader . . . be not so straight of judgement as I know a number to be that can not abyde to reade anye thing written in Englishe verse, which nowe is so plenteously enriched wyth a number of eloquent writers, that in my fansy it is lyttle inferiour to the pleasaunt verses of the auncient Romaines. For since the time of our excellente countreyman Sir Geffray Chaucer who liueth in like estimation with vs as did olde Ennius wyth the Latines. There hath flourished in England so fine and filed phrases, and so good & pleasant Poets as may counteruayle the doings of Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Iuuenal, etc.

[This reference is not in the edition of 1561, and the verses with the Chaucer reference in that edition quoted in vol. i, p. 96 (Unknown) are not given here.]


[Rollins 18.]

[st. 8] Tyll at the last he cam to churche,
Where Cressyd sat and prayed-a;
Whose lookes gaue Troylus such a lurche,
Hys hart was all dysmayde-a!

[st. 6] And to hys neece he [Pandar] dyd commend
The state of Troylus then-a;
Wyll yow kyll Troylus? God defend!
He ys a nobell man-a.

[st. 13] Then Pandare, lyke a wyly pye,
That cowld the matter handell,
Stept to the tabell by and by,
And forthe he blew the candell.

[These stanzas are chosen only for illustration. The entire ballad, as has long been known, is modelled on Chaucer's *Troilus*. The ballad was registered at Stationers' Hall (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. i, p. 300), in 1565–66 as "the history of Troilus Whose throtes [i.e., trothes] hath Well bene tryed."]
[1567-79?] Harvey, Gabriel. Marginal notes in Gabriel Harvey's handwriting [in] M. Fabii Quintiliani... Institutionum oratoriarum Libri xii, Parisiis, 1548, at the foot of p. 643 [printed 543] [B.M. C. 60. 1. 11]. (Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, 1913, p. 122.)


[c. 1567.] Turbervile, George. Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets. (1567 ed., 'newly corrected, with additions,' 1st known; 1570 1st in B.M.; ff. 6b, 30b, 61b, 71a, b; Ed. J. P. Collier [1867 ?] pp. 10, 54, 108-9, 126-27.) [Rollins 19.]

[p. 10] Pause, pen, a while therefore,
and use thy woonted meane:
For Boccas braine, and Chaucers quill
in this were foyled cleane.

[p. 54] Let Cressed myrror bee, that did forgo
Hir former faythfull friend, King Priam's sonne
And Diomed the Greeke imbraced so,
And left the love so well that was begonne:
But when hir cards were toldé and twist ysponne,
She found hir Trojan friend the best of both,
For he renounst hir not, but kept his oth.

[There are very many other allusions to Cressid in Turbervile's Epitaphes. Most of them refer to her as a leper, but there can be no doubt that Turbervile regarded Chaucer as the author of the story which tells of her leprosy.]


As Troylus did neglect the trade
of Louers skilfull lawe,
Before such time that Cresseid faire
with fixed eyes he sawe.
But sith I lacke some such a friende
as he of Pandor had,
Who brought his purpose well about,
and made his minde full glad.

[This poem is undoubtedly indebted to Chaucer's *Troilus*.]

(Poems, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1879, pp. 10, 32.)
[For John Keeper's prefatory verses to *The Arbor of Amitie*,
see above, pt. i, p. 102.]

If I had Tullies tongue
and thousand wittes thereto:
If Chaucers vaine, if Homers skill,
if thousand helpers mo:
Yet tongue, not wyt nor vaine,
nor skill nor helpe at all
Can well descrie your due desarte,
in praise perpetuall.

To leaue behinde a picture fine to see
It may small time well stande in steede for thee.
But picture faire of noble actes of minde,
That farre excelles to learne to leaue behinde,
Which will maintaine a noble name for aye
As Tullis tongue and Cesars acts can saye.
As Chaucer shewes and eke our morall Gowre
With thousands more, whose fame shal stil endure.

[ *O moral Gower, this booke I directe.—Troilus v, 1. 1856.*]


[The poet says that as he was walking out he met a man:]
I sperit his name and he said, Panderus,
That sumtyme seruit the gud knycht Troyelus.

[Pandarus then launches into a tirade against women.]

1568. Unknown. *Quhair Love is kendlit confortes* [a poem, in the] *Bannatyne MS*. (Ed. J. B. Murdoch, Hunterian Club, vol. iii, p. 705; Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. iii, p. 177.)

[Rollins 20.]
Trew Troyallus, he langorit ay,  
Still waitand for his luvis returne,  
Had nocht sic pyne, it was bot play,  
As daylie dois my body burne.  

[There are various other allusions similar to this in the MS.]


[st. 3] The skorne that I gatt micht bene maid ane farss,  
Quhilk excedit the skorne of Absolone,  
Quhen the hett culter wes schott in his herss,  
Be clerk Nicolus and his luve Allesone,  
As Canterberry Tailis makis mentioun;  
Yit I suspekit nocht bot scho wes trew,  
Bot I wes all begylit, quhilk sair I rew.  

[Cf. The Miller's Tale.—In Stanza 7 of this same poem the author refers to, and quotes a line from, the Testament of Cresseid, rather conclusive proof that he, too, thought that work to have been written by Chaucer.]


Farewell thou shamelesse shrew,  
fair Cressides heire thou art:  
And I Sir Troylus earst hane been,  
as proueth by my smart.  
Hencefoorth beguile the Greekes,  
no Troyans will thee trust:  
I yeeld thee vp to Diomed,  
to glut his filthie lust.

[There are striking allusions to Henryson's Cressida on pp. 334, 369. The Tales first appeared before 1575, but the 1587 edition is the first extant in a complete copy, that of 1576 being only known from a fragment.]

1570.] B., R. A new balade entituled as foloweth. To such as write in Metres. . . . [B.M. Huth 50 (13).] [Rollins 25.]
Appendix A.

A.D. 1572–

Wyshyng all them that wyll adresse
Their pen to metres, let them not spare
To follow Chawcer, a man very rare,
Lidgate, Wager, Barclay and Bale,
With many other that excellent are,
In these our dayes, extant to sale.

[Licensed on or soon after July 22, 1570. See B.M. Cat. Huth Bequest, 50 (35).]


[Gascoigne revised and reissued these poems (under the title of Posies) in 1575, q.v. above, pt. i, pp. 110–11, and below, 1575. There are many other allusions to Troilus and Criseyde scattered about Gascoigne’s poems.]

[p. 90] References to “trusty Troylus,” and “Pandar’s niece,” who would give place to the author’s mistress.

[p. 101] The passage from The delectable history of . . . Dan Bartholomew of Bath quoted in pt. i, p. 110, under the 2nd edn. (Posies) of 1575, should have been quoted from this 1st edition.


[Rollins 26.]

And the more pitie, that amongst so many toward wittes no one hath bene hitherto encouraged to followe the trace of that worthy and famous Knight Sir Geffrey Chaucer, and after many pretie deuises spent in youth, for the obtayning a worthles victorie, might consume and consummate his age in discribing the right pathway to perfect felicitie, with the due preseruation of the same.


A discourse of vertue.

[p. 154] True dealing was but cauld a doubt,
or els Gods foole, in deade:
Dame Flattery claymed frindships place,
Yet faileth her frinde at neade.
Appendix A.

And robbry was good purchace helde, and lust was sollace sweete: 
And they were calld the lively laddes, that had the quickest sprete.

Som said lords hestes were held for lawes, but those were Chausers woordes: 
And faith did faile in old priestes sawes, tushe all this was but boordes.

Churchyardes Dreame.

Howe shuld I hit in Chausers vayn, 
Or toutche the typ, of Surries brayn 
Or dip my pen, in Petrarkes stiell, 
Sens conning lak I all the whiell?

1575. [Edwards, Richard?] A new Tragicall Comedie of Apius and Virginia, by R. B. [misprint for R. E., i.e. R. Edwards?]

[The plot was probably taken from the Phisiciens Tole. See C. W. Wallace, Evolution of the English Drama, 1912, pp. 108-9.]


[Rollins 27.]

Thus unto thee these leaues I recommend, 
To reade, to raze, to view, and to correct: 
Vouchsafe (my friend) therein for to amend 
That is amisse . . .

[ Cf. Troilus, v., st. 262, 263.]


[Rollins 31.]

Vnto whose grace yelde he, as I doe offer me, 
Into your hands to haue his happ, not like hym for to be:
Appendix A.  

But as kyng Priamus [sonne?], did bind hym to the will,  
Of Cressed false whiche hym forsoke, with Diomed to spill.  

[The four lines that follow these allude to the Cressid of the Testament, and refer to her "Lazares death."]

1576. Unknown. An excellent and pleasant Comedie, termed after the name of the Vice, Common Conditions. [Licensed 1576.] (Ed. Tucker Brooke, 1915, sign. D.) [Only copy of original, now in America, lacks title.]

[Rollins 29.]

[LI. 800–823 refer to the stories of Medea and Jason, Troilus and Cressida, Eneas and Dido, Theseus and Ariadne. The probability that the author's information about all these lovers came from Chaucer is strengthened by the fact that Cressid is referred to as a leper: the author had certainly read the Testament of Cresseid, and this was accessible only in an edition of Chaucer. Cf. also Brooke's note, p. 70.]

1576. Whetstone, George. Epilogue [to] The Castle of Delight [being the first part of] The Rocke of Regard, divided into four parts. [No imprint or date; the preface is dated October 15, 1576]. (Ed. J. P. Collier, p. 90.)

[Rollins 30.]

Loe! here the fruits of lust and lawlesse love,  
    Loe! here their faults that vale to either vice;  
    Loe! ladyes here, their falles (for your behove)  
Whose wanton willes sets light by sound advice.

[Cf. Troilus, v, st. 265. One of the poems to which these lines form part of the epilogue is "Cressids Complaint," an extremely bitter attack on the leprosy-stricken girl, q.v. above, pt. i, p. 113.]


[vol. i, f. 5, col. 2] Afterward also, by the diligent trauciele of Geffray Chauser, and John Gowre in the time of Richard the second, & after thē of John Scogā, & John Lydgate monke of Berry, our tong was brought to an excellent passe.

[vol. ii, f. 1118, col. 2] Among the writers of the reign of Richard II was] John Moone an Englishman borne, but a student in Paris, who compyled in the French tongue the Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geffrey Chauser.

2. Mention is made of Peerce Plowghman’s Creede, in Chawcers tale off the Plowman.

3. I deeme Chawcer to be the author [i.e. of the Creede?]. I think hit not to be ond the same y^t made both . . .


[There seems little doubt that Lyly knew and liked Chaucer well, from the reminiscences of the older poet to be found in his works. The following passages are specially to be noted; the references are to the Complete Works of John Lyly . . . ed. . . R. Warwick Bond, 1902. 3 vols.


(3) In Gallathea is to be found the story of the Alchemist, and his desertion by Peter, clearly borrowed (possibly via Reginald Scot) from the Canon’s Yeomans Prologue and Tale [see Introduction to play, in Lyly’s works, vol. ii, pp. 423–4], wherein the exclamation ‘Peter,’ [l. 665], may have suggested the name of Lyly’s rascal, while the name of Robin, the miller’s son, and the tale of the Astronomer falling into a pond, may be taken from The Miller’s Tale.


(5) Endimion, character of Sir Tophas ‘follows closely, though not obviously, the main lines of Chaucer’s Sir Topas,’ R. Warwick Bond. See his notes to the play, Lyly’s Works, vol. iii, pp. 503–4. See also John Lyly, par A. Feuillerat, Cambridge (1910), p. 318 and note.

(6) Mother Bombie, i, l. 73–5. Memphio’s remark; ‘Now for my wife; I would have kept this from her, else I shall not be able to keepe my house from smoake,’ may be reminiscent of Wife of Bathes Prologue, D. 278–80. Also iii, 4, 13–4. Rixula’s proverb about the ‘gray goose in the lake.’ Cf. Wife of Bathes Prologue, D. 269–70.

(7) Euphues, vol. ii, p. 92, l. 8, and Gallathea, iv, l. 46, ‘hee must halte cunninglie, that will deceive a cripple.’ Cf. Troilus and Criseyde, iv, 1458.

(8) Gallathea. Terms of alchemy and technical details owe
much to Ch. Yeoman's Tale. See The Alchemist by Ben Jonson, ed. C. M. Hathaway, N. York, 1903, pp. 73–4. Mr. Hathaway gives some details of Lyly's debt to Chaucer in this respect, and maintains that Lyly 'studied his alchemy almost altogether in the Chauouns Yeemannes Tale.'

For fuller notes on Lyly's debt to Chaucer, see Lyly's Works, ed. R. Warwick Bond, biographical appendix, vol. i, p. 401, of which the above is a summary.]


[Rollins 32.]

Nor shee whose eyes did pearce true Troylus brest,
And made him yeeld, that knew in loue no law . . .

[This allusion is unmistakably to Chaucer's Troilus. There are many other allusions in this work to Troilus and Cressida, most of them, however, written with the Testament in mind.]

1579. A Student in Cambridge. [C., J.?] A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures. . . . Written by a student of Cambridge, and published by I. C. Gent. [No early ed. in B.M.] (Ellis's Three Collections, sign. B iii b.)

[Rollins 33.]

And as I pryed by chaunce, I saw a damsell mornge,
With ragged weedes, and Lazers spots, a wight to much forlorn.
Quoth Morpheus doost thou see, wheras that caytiffe lyes,
Much like the wretched Crocodill, beholde now how shee cryes.
That is Pandare his Nice, and Calcas only childe,
By whose deceites and pollicies, young Troylus was beguilde.
Shee is kept in affliction where many other are,
And veweth Troylus lying dead, vpon the Mount of Care.
Shee wepte, shee sighed, shee sobd, for him shee doth lament,
And all too late, yet to to vaine, her facte she doth repent:
How could that stedfast knight, (quoth I) loue such a dame?
Morpheus replied in beauty bright, shee bare away the fame:
Till that shee had betrayed, her Troylus and her dere,
And then the Gods assigned a plague, and after set her here.

[This remarkable combination of Chaucer's and Henryson's stories is equalled by another passage at sign. F. For one at sign. C iii b, see above, pt. i, p. 119.]


[Rollins 34.]

[This ballad was very probably "A proper ballad Dialogue wise betwene Troylus and Cressida" which Edward White registered for publication on June 23, 1581 (Arber's Transcript, vol. ii, p. 394). It has some interest as showing the popular conception of Cressida, though most of its details are borrowed from Henryson rather than from Chaucer.]


[Rollins 35.]

[The unique copy of the original is the Bridgewater-Huntington, and is in America.]

Enter the show of Troilus and Cressida.

Mercury [speaks:]
Behold, how Troilus and Cressida
Cries out on Love, that framed their decay.


[See also above, pt. i, p. 125.]

. . . blind harpers or such like tauerne minstrels that giue a fit of mirth for a groat, & their matters being for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir Topas, the reportes of Bevis of Southampton, . . . & such other old Romances or historicaall rimes, made purposely for recreation of the common people . . .
Appendix A.


[Rollins 36.]

If Venus would grant vnto me,
such happinesse:
As she did vnto Troylus,
By help of his friend Pandarus,
To Cressids loue who worse,
That euer liued naturally,
Whose slight falsed faith, the storie saith,
Did breed by plagues, her great & sore distresse,
For she became so leprosie,
That she did die in penurie.
Because she did transgresse.

[The first few lines of this passage certainly refer to Chaucer's own poem: there is no Pandar in Henryson.]


[p. 56]

The wofull prisoner Palemon,
And Troylus eke kinge Pyramus sonne,
Constrained by loue did neuer mone:
As I my deer for thee haue done.

[1585-1590 ?] Harvey, Gabriel. MS. notes in Gabriel Harvey's handwriting, in his copy of The mathematical Jewel, [by John Blagrave, 1585. [B.M., C. 60. a. 7.] (Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913, p. 211.)

[On preliminary page headed 'Margarita Mathematica,' in Harvey's handwriting:]

Chawcers Conclusions of the Astrolabie, still in esse. Pregnant rules to manie worthie purposes.


[Rollins 38.]
Are poets then, the only lovers true?
Whose hearts are set on measuring a verse;
Who think themselves well blest, if they renew
Some good old dump, that Chaucer’s mistress knew . . .


[Rollins 39.]

I haue in many places of my booke shewn sundrie examples of their [i.e., husbandmen’s] vnconstancie, and therefore heere will onely set down what CHAUSER writeth of their dispositions vnder.

O sterne people, vniust, and vntrue,
Ay vndiscreete, and chaunging as a fane,
Delyting euer in rumours that be new:
For like the Moone you euer wax and wane,
Your reason halteth, your judgement is lame
Your dome is false, your constance euil preueth.
A ful great foole is he that on you leueth.

[Clerkes Tale, II. 995-1001.]


In the meantime, as the wife of Bath saith in Chaucer by her husband, we owe them [the King of Spain’s Commissioners] not a word.


[Although Shakespeare never refers to Chaucer by name, and only once to the title of one of his works (the House of Fame, in Titus Andronicus, see under 1589-90, above pt. i, p. 131), yet there are many indications that he knew Chaucer and was indebted to him. For literature on this subject, see J. H. Hippisley in Chapters on Early English Literature, 1837, pp. 60–72; J. W. Hales in Quar. Review, Jan. 1873; W. W. Lloyd in Critical Essays on Shakespeare, 1875; W. Hertzberg in Shakespeare Jahrbuch, 1871, pp. 201–209; O. Ballmann in Chaucers einfluss auf das englische drama, Anglia, xxv, 1902; G. Sarrazin in Anglia, Beiblatt, vii, p. 265; R. A. Small in The Stage Quarrel, Forschungen zur eng. sprache, E. Kölbing, Heft I, 1899; E Stache in Das Verhältniss von Shakespeare’s Troilus und Cressida zu Chaucer’s gleichnamigen Gedicht, progr. des Realgymn. zu Nord-]

In addition to the four Shakesperian references given ante (under 1589–90, 1596–7, 1599, 1610–11), the following may be specially noted.

[1593–4.] Lucrece.

'And fellowship in woe doth woe assuage
As palmers' chat makes short their pilgrimage.'

This is a possible allusion to the C. Tales. For other Chaucer resemblances in this poem, see O. Ballmann in Anglia xxv, pp. 10–13, and G. Sarrazin in Anglia, Beibl. vii, p. 266.


[1603.] Troilus and Criseyde.

Shakespeare undoubtedly used Chaucer's poem as a main source of his Troilus story; see specially on this point, R. A. Small in the Stage Quarrel, Forschungen zur eng. sprache, Heft. I, 1899, pp. 154–6. Dr. Small holds that 'the whole character of Pandarus . . . is taken directly from Chaucer's japing Pandarus,' that Shakespeare's play 'follows the order of Chaucer's story exactly, contains many passages obviously suggested by it . . . and owes to it one aspect of the character of Troilus.' See also Critical Essays on Shakespeare, by W. W. Lloyd, 1875, pp. 322–6.


[For the transfer of this licence to Adam Islip see below, 1594, Islip.]


[xx]o die Decembris. Adam Islip. Entred to him for his copie to printe for the companye. Chawcers workes . . . by
the appointment of Abell Jeffes, to whom this copie was first entred, and ye hereafter there be any Comentary or other thinge written upon the same booke then the same Adam shall have the offer of the same.

[For Jeffes's entry see above, App. A, 1592.]


Strike up, my Lute . . .
Rehearse the songs of forlorn amor'us
Drv'ne to despaire by dames tyrannicall,
Of Alpheus losse, of woes of Troilus . . .


Of heauenly things that earthly men
Can scarcely vnderstand
Did not our Chauers golden pen
(That beautifide this land)
Reach to the sunne and highest star
And toucht the heavens all
A poets knowledge goes so far
That it to mind can call.

[See also above, pt. i, p. 141. "The Author to his booke" (at the end of *Churchyards Charitie*) begins "Go now plaine booke, where thou maist welcom find," possibly in imitation of *Troilus,* v, st. 256.]


She [Cousenage] is the excellent of her age at a ring & a basket: & for a baudie bargain, I dare turne her loose to CHAUCER'S Pandare.

1596. Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene,* bk. vi, canto 3, st. i.

True is, that whilome that good poet sayd,
The gentle mind by gentle deeds is knowne.

[*Wife of Bath's Tale,* l. 1170.]
**Appendix A.**

**1596.** W., D. [Verses] To the Author, [in] Sir Francis Drake, His Honorable lifes commendation, and his Tragicall Deaths lamentation [by Charles FitzGeffrey], sig. A 4 recto, st. 3.

[Rollins 46.]

Old GEFFREY CHAUCER, Englands ancinent Muse,
And mirrour of the times that did ensue,
Yeelded to death, that nere admits excuse;
But now in thee he seemes to live anewe,
(If grave Pythagoras sage sawes be true:)
Then sith old GEFFREY's spirite lives, in thee,
Rightlie thou named art FITZ-GEFFERY.

[For another example of this conceit applied to FitzGeffrey, see above, pt. i, p. 216, Haxby, 1626.]


The first kinde, of Pennywoort . . . groweth vpon Westminister Abbay, ouver the doore that leadeth from Chaucer his tombe to the olde palace.


Chawcers jest.

[1598-1600?] Harvey, Gabriel. M.S. notes in Gabriel Harvey’s handwriting, in his copy of ‘The Workes of . . . Geoffrey Chaucer, newly Printed,’ . . . 1598. [Speght’s first edn. of Chaucer.] (Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia, collected and edited by G. C. Mocre Smith, 1913, Appendix II, pp. 224-34.)

[There are a good many notes in this book; Professor Moore Smith gives them in full. Only those bearing directly on Chaucer or his work are printed here. There are difficulties in fixing with any certainty the dates of these notes. Probably they were written at different times between 1598, when Speght’s Chaucer came into Harvey’s possession (as proved by his autograph with date), and 1600 or even 1608. This latter date might be the earliest possible for the note on the Shipman’s Tale, where Harvey quotes from the 1608, not the 1598, edition of the Cobbler of Canterbury. As, however, the book was licensed on June 12, 1608, there may have been an intermedate edition in that year. For a full discussion of the date of Harvey’s notes, with the views of Bishop Percy and Edmund Malone, see Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, 1913, Preface, pp. viii-xi, and Notes, p. 304.]

[p. 226] At end of Chaucer’s Life——]

Amongst the sonnes of the Inglish Muses; Gower, Lidgate, Heywood, Phaer, & a fewe other of famous memorie, ar meethinkes, good in manie kindes: but aboue all other, Chawcer in mie conceit, is excellent in euerie veine, &
humour: & none so like him for gallant varietie, both in matter, & forme, as Sir Philip Sidney. . .

On 'Arguments to every Tale and Booke,' on 'The Argument to the Prologues' [written by Speght].

Pleasant interteinemement of Time, with sociable intercourse of Tales, stories, discourses, & merriments of all fashions, Gallant varietie of notable veines, & humors in manie kinds, supra to his loouing frend, concerning his observation of the [p. 237] art of Decorum in his Tales. A fine discretion in the autor: & a pithie note in the Censor, utrumque scitum.

[Speght, in this 'Argument,' remarks on Chaucer's 'decorum' in speech (see below, App. A. 1598). Francis Beaumont, who, in his prefatory letter, signs himself Speght's 'loving friend,' asserts also that Chaucer observes decorum in suitting his speeches and stories to his characters (see above, vol. i, p. 146), hence Harvey's remark.]

[On 'The Knights Tale,' on the words 'deeds of Armes, and loue of Ladies:'—]

Heroical pageants.

[On 'The Millars tale:'—]

Comical tricks. The Prior disguised like a scull, shamefully discouered, in the new Canterburie Tales.

[On 'The Reues Tale:'—]

Such a reueng vpon Marian of Cherryhynton, bie Sir Rowland of Peters hostell in Cambridg. In the new Canterburie Tales, called The Cobler of Canterburie. A Tragedie for a Comedie.

Tria grata; Nouitas, Varietas, breuitas.

[On 'The man of Lawes Tale:'—]

Courtlie practises.

[On 'The Squiers Tale:'—]

Heroical, & magical feates.

[On 'The Merchants Tale':—]

Comical.

[On 'The Fryars Tale,' on the words 'inuective against the briberie of the spirituall Courts':—]

Ecclesiastical iurisdiction, J.C.

[On 'The Sommers Tale':—]

An od iest in scorne of friars.

[On 'The Clarke of Oxfords Tale':—]

Moral, & pathetical.

CHAUCER CRITICISM.—IV.
[On ‘The Frankelins Tale,’ on the words ‘The scope of this tale seemeth a contention in curtesie’:—]
A generous Emulation. Magical feates bie the way.

[On ‘The second Nonnes Tale’:—]
An Ecclesiastical Legend. The life of S. Crispin, in honour of the gentle Craft, for varietie. The lines of Eunapius, Philostratus, or such like.

[On ‘The Chanons Yeomans Tale’:—]
A chymical discourse, & discouerie of a cunning impostour. One of Axiophilus memorials: with that lost labour of Aurelius. Two notable discourses of cunning withowt effect.

[‘Axiophilus’ is probably Harvey himself, see Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, p. 906. Aurelius is the squire in the Frankelynes Tale.]

[On ‘The Shipmans Tale’:—]

[On ‘Chaucers Tale’:—] Morall.

[On ‘The Monkes Tale’, on the words ‘A Tragical discourse on such as haue fallen from high estate to extreame miserie’:—]
The Mirrour of Magistrates.

[On ‘The Manciples Tale’:—]
No Tales like the Tales of Cunning Experiments, or straung exploits, or queint surprises, or stratagems, or miracles, or sum such rare singularities.

[On ‘The Persons Tale’:—]
Moral and penitential. The last of his Canterburie Tales, with Lidgates tragical storie of Thebes.

[On ‘Troylus and Creseid’:—]
A pece of braue, fine & sweet poetrie. One of Astrophils Cordials.

[This alludes to Sidney’s criticism, q.v. above, vol. i, pp. 121-2, 1581.]

[On ‘The Legend of good women’:—] Heroical & Tragical Legends,
Appendix A. [Harvey] 51

[On 'The Astrolabe': —]
An astronomical discourse.

[On 'The Testament of Loue': —]
A philosophical discourse in the Veine of Boetius, & sumtime of Seneca.

[After 'Finis': —]
All notable Legends in one respect, or other: & worthie to be read, for their particular invention, or elocution: & specially for the varietie both of matter, & manner, that delightes with profit, & profites with delight. Though I could haue wisshed better choice of sum arguments, and sum subjects of more importance.

[On the text of the poems: —]
['The Millers Tale': —]
A student of Astrologie.

['The Squiers Tale': —]
The Spring: vt supra infra.
Cunning Compositions bie Natural Magique.

['The Frankeleins Tale': —]
A cunning man, & arch-magician.

['The Tale of the Chanons Yeman': —]
Alchymie.
The great Alchymist.

['The Tale of the Nonnes Priest': —]
The spring. The prime of day.

['The Parsons Prologue': —]
The description of the howre. ut supra 17.
Contritio cordis.

['The Romant of the Rose': —]
Excellent descriptions of Beautie. Richesse. Largesse.

[p. 230]

Fine Optiques.
Jelosies architecture.

['The Fifth Books of Troilus': —]
A cold spring.

['The Prologue' (to the Legend of Good Women): —]
The daisie, his looue.
The Golden Legends of famous Ladies and Worthie Woomen.
[A.D. 1598–]

Appendix A.

Chaucer's Works in honour of Woomen.

[At the end of the poems:—]

Not manie Chawcers, or Lidgates, Gowers, or Occleues, Surries, or Heywoods, in those dayes: & how few Aschams or Phaers, Sidneys or Spensers, Warners or Daniels, Siluesters or Chapmans, in this pregnant age. But when shall we tast the preserued dainties of Sir Edward Dier, Sir Walter Raleigh, M. Secretarie Cecill, the new patron of Chawcer; the Earle of Essex, the King of Scotland, the soueraine of the diuine art; or a few such other refined wittes & surprising spirits?

More of Chaucer, & his Inglish traine in a familiar discourse of Anonymus [= Harvey?].

And now translated Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso & Bartas himself desire curious comparison with Chaucer, Lidgate & owre best Inglish, auncient & moderne.

1598. Speght, Thomas. The Workes of our Antient and lerned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer. [Additional extracts.]

[Sign. c. iii.] Arguments to every Tale and Booke. [48 in all.]

The Argument to the Prologues—

The Author in these Prologues to his Canterbury Tales, doth describe the reporters thereof for two causes: first, that the Reader seeing the qualitie of the person, may judge of his speech accordingly: wherein Chaucer hath most excellently kept that decorum, which Horace requireth in that behalfe. Secondly to shew, how that even in our language, that may be perfourmed for descriptions, which the Greeke and Latine Poets in their tongues have done at large. And surely this Poet in the judgement of the best learned, is not inferior to any of them in his descriptions, whether they be of persons, times, or places. Vnder the Pilgrimes, being a certaine number, and all of differing trades, he comprehended all the people of the land, and the nature and disposition of them in those daies; namely, given to devotion rather of custome than of zeale. In the Tales is shewed the state of the Church, the Court, and Countrey, with such Arte and
cunning, that although none could deny himselfe to be touched, yet none durst complaine that he was wronged. For the man being of greater learning then the most, and backed by the best in the land, was rather admired and feared, then any way disgraced. Whoso shall read these his works without prejudice, shall find that he was a man of rare conceit and of great reading.

The Plowman's Tale.

A complaint against the pride and couetousnesse of the cleargie: made no doubt by Chaucer with the rest of the Tales. For I haue seene it in written hand in Iohn Stowes Library in a booke of such antiquity, as seemeth to haue beene written neare to Chaucers time.

The Legend of Good Women.

For that some Ladies in the Court tooke offence at Chaucers large speeches against the vntruth of women, the Queene enioyed him to compile this booke in the commendation of sundry maydens and wiues, who shewed themselues faithfull to faithlesse men.

[In the second edn. of Speght's Chaucer, 1602, these 'Arguments' were removed from their place immediately after the 'Life,' and placed at the beginnings of the respective works.]

1599. Dekker, Thomas, and Chettle, Henry, Troilus and Cressida


[Rollins 48.]

[Probably indebted to Chaucer's Troilus. A rough plot preserved among the Henslowe Papers (ed. Greg., p. 142), shows clearly enough that the Testament of Cresseid was used.]

[1600?] Atkinson, —, of Cambridge? [About this time was christened Troilus Atkinson, later a bookseller. See Bibl. Soc. Dictionary of Printers, 1668-1725. His parents' names and the date of his birth are unknown. There was also a Sir Troilus Turberville, a Royalist, who was killed in the Civil War, and who was probably rather younger. These are the only definitely Chaucerian christian names that we have found.]
Appendix A. [A.D. 1600–]

[n.a. 1600. Moore, Paul?] The Wanton Wife of Bath, To the tune of Flying Fame, &c. [Ballad.] Percy’s Reliques, ed. 1765, Bk. II, No. 12; ed. 1767, III, 145; the Ballad Society’s Roxburghe Ballads, VII, 212. Cf. also No. 79, below. [Rollins 49.]

In Bath a wanton Wife did dwell,
As Chaucer he doth write,
Who did in pleasure spend her dayes,
And many a fond delight.

[The following entry appeared in the Stationers’ Registers (Arber’s Transcript, vol. ii, p. 831) on]

25. Junij [1600.]

Yt is ordered touchinge a Disorderly ballad of the wife of Bathe, printed by Edward aldee and william white and sold by Edward white: That all the same ballates shalbe brought in and burnt / And that either of the printers for theire Disorders in printinge yt shall pay vs A pece for a fine. And that master white for his offence and Disorder in sellinge it shall pay xs for a fine. xx$. And ther Imprisonment is respited till another tyme /

[The ballad, then, is as least as old as 1600. It is also interesting to observe that on June 24, 1632, Henry Goskin, of London, was summoned before the Court of High Commission for printing this ballad, “wherein the histories of the Bible are scurrilously abused,” and was sent to Bridewell.—See J. S. Burns’s High Commission, London, 1865, p. 47, and S. R. Gardiner’s Reports, Camden Society, 1886, p. 314.

It was frequently reprinted, and more than once re-written and enlarged. It describes the Wife of Bath’s journey to Heaven and her retorts to the Biblical characters who refuse her admittance. For a Scotch version, “The Wanton Wife of Beith,” see above, 1700, vol. i, p. 288.

The authorship is attributed to Paul Moore in a MS. copy written in the Huth (now B.M.) copy of Phillips’ ‘Satyr against Hypocrites,’ 1655; but this may refer only to a contemporary version of the ballad.

The earliest extant printed text is a sheet printed for W. Thackeray, about 1670.]

1600. Thynne, Francis, Emblemes and Epigrams, epigram 61. [The autograph MS. has dedication dated 1600, (Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1876, p. 82.) [Rollins 51.]
ffor in this cottage rurall muse doth reste;
here dwelleth Cherill, and Topas the Knighte,

[1600?] **Unknown.** *A ballad of Cressus* [i.e. *Cressida*; in the Percy Folio MS.] (Ed. Hales and Furnivall, vol. iii, pp. 301–2.)

[Rollins 50.]

[st. 1] Cressus: was the ffairest of Troye,
whom Troylus did loue!
the Knight was kind, & shee was coy,
no words nor worthes cold moue,
till Pindaurus soe playd his part
*that* the Knight obtained her hart . . .

[n. b. 1602. **Goddard**, William. *Verses* written on the back of the portrait in a copy of Chaucer’s works, 1602, being No. 117 in a list, c. 1917, of books offered for sale by Mr. G. H. Last, of Bromley.]

If thou yll-rellishe Chaucer for his ryme,
Consider when he liud, the age and time,
And thou’t saie old Geffrye neatlie writt
And shows both eloquence and curious witt,
Noe age did ere afford a merryer vaine,
Yet divd into a deepe and sollid straine.

**WILLYAM GODDARD.**


All our new corne comes out of old feilds, and all our new learning is gathered out of old booke.

[Parl. Foules, II. 22–25.]

[p. 12] **Trayford** cryes out by the way *water, water*, as the Frier *[sic]* did that by *Absolon* in *Chawcer* was scalded. . . .

[p. 25] [“Cressida,” meaning a mistress.]

[See also above, vol. i, p. 173.]
[A.D. 1603–]


[This curious poem aims at completing Henryson’s Testament, to which it is chiefly indebted. It retells Henryson’s story, with various borrowings from Chaucer and, apparently, from Lydgate’s *Troy Book*.]


[Rollins 55.]

Issa[bella]. Is not this a prettie world? January and May make a match.

[1605. Bedell, William, Bishop?] *The Shepherd’s Tale of the Pouder-Plott. A Poem in Spenser’s Style.* [Written in 1605, printed in 1713, as “A Protestant Memorial, or The Shepherd’s Tale,” etc.]

[Alexander Clogie, in his *Speculum Episcoporum* (q. v. below, [c. 1675–6]) attributes this poem to Bishop Bedell, and says that it is “conceived in the old dialect of Tusser and Chaucer.” The pastoral dialogue is imitated from Spenser; the tale may possibly be considered to be imitated from Chaucer; it is in very rough couplets: *e.g.*]

In Italy (mought I tell it right)  
An ancient City stands that *Rome* bight;  
Who hath not heard by Report of Fame,  
Wide in the World of this *Rome* the Name?

[1606. Licence to print The Ploughman’s Tale (as Chaucer’s),[in] Registers of the Stationers’ Company of London (Arber’s Transcript, III, 310).]

[Rollins 57.]
Appendix A.

17. Januarij [1605/6]

Samuel Macham  
Mathue Cooke.

Entred for their copy . . . A book called the ploughmans tale shewinge by the doctrine and lyres of the popishe clergie that the pope is Ante christ and they his Ministers. written by Sir Geoffrey Chawcer amongst his Canterbury Tales and nowe sett out apart from the rest with A short exposition of the woordes and matter for the capacity and understandinge of the sympler sort of readers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . vjd

[For the edition see above, vol. i, p. 177.]


[The source of the plot is the first 3 books of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde.] It is sufficiently curious to see the skill with which the anonymous playwright has adapted his original to the fashions of Elizabethan comedy conversation.

Act i, sc. 4 (pp. 21-28) contains the confession of Clarence (in reply to protestations of long-standing friendship on the part of Monford) that he is in love with Monford's niece Eugenia. The narrative corresponds in general to Troilus, i, 547-1071, but it is much condensed and shows few, if any, verbal resemblances. Act ii, sc. 1 contains the visit of Monford to his niece's house. The agreement here is closer. One has but to read Troilus ii, 78 ff. to recognize the source of the scene.]

Sir Gyles Goosecappe.

Mom. I, and I could tell you a thing would make your Ladyship very dancitive. p. 32

Eug. But I pray tell me my Lord could you tell me of a thing would make me dance say you? p. 32

Troilus.

'As ever thryve I,' quod this Pandarus, Yet coude I telle a thing to doon you pleye. 'Now uncle dere,' quod she, 'tel it us For goddes love.' 2. 120-23

'Ye, holy god!' quod she, 'what thing is that?' 2. 127
Mom. Well—farewell, sweet Neece, I must needs take my leave in earnest.

Eug. Lord blesse us, heres such a stir with your farewels.

Mom. I will see you againe within these two or three dayes a my word Neece.

Eug. Cods pretious, two or three days! Why this Lord is in a maruallous strange humor. Sit downe, sweet Vnkle; yfaith I have to talke with you about greate matters.

Mom. Never trust me, if all things be not answerable to the prediction of a most Divine fortune towards her; now if she have the grace to apprehend it in the nicke; thers all.

Mom. Neece, Clarence, Clarence, rather my soule than my friend Clarence, of two substantiall a worth, to have any figures, cast about him (notwithstanding, no other woman with Empires could stirre his affections) is with your vertues most extremely in love; and without your requitall dead.

Eug. Ay me poor Dame, O you amase me Vnkle.

And with that word tho Pandarus, as blyve, He took his leve, and sayde, 'I wol go henne.' 'Nay, blame have I, myn uncle,' quod she, thenne. What eyleth yow to be thus wery sone, And namelich of wommen? wol ye so? Nay, sitteth down; by god, I have to done With yow, to speke of wisdom er ye go.' 2. 208–14

[pp. 32–3 are then compared with Troilus ii. 274–80.]

Mom. 'Good aventure, O bele nece, have ye Ful lightly founden, and ye conne it take; And, for the love of god, and eek of me, Cacche it anoon; lest aventure slake.' 2. 288–91

Mom. 'Now, nece myn, the kinges dere sone, The goode, wyse, worthy, fresshe and free, Which alwey for to do wel is his won, The noble Troilus, so loveth thee, That, bot ye helpe, it wol his bane be.' 2. 316–20

Eug. 'This false world, alas! who may it leve?'
Is this the wondrous fortune you presage?
What man may miserable women trust? p. 34

Mom. But now I see how you accept my motion: I perceive (how upon true triall) you esteeme me.

In act iii, sc. 2 (pp. 51, 52), Clarence writes a letter at the suggestion of Monford (cf. Troilus, ii. 1002, 1023 ff.), which the latter undertakes (p. 54) to deliver to Eugenia. In act iv. (pp. 57 ff.) Monford delivers the letters:

Eug. What winde blowes you hether troe?
Mom. Harke you, Madam, the sweet gale of one Clarendes breath, with this his paper sayle blowes me hether. p. 57

Eug. Aye me, still in that humour! beshrew my heart, if I take anie Papers from him.

Mom. Kinde bosome doe thou take it then.
Eug. Nay then never trust me.
Mom. Let it fall then or cast it away, you were best, that everybody may discover your love suits, doe, theres somebody neare, you note it.

What? is this al the Ioye and al the feste?
Is this your reed, is this my blissful cas?
Is this the verry meede of your beheste.'

‘I see ful wel that ye sette lyte of us.’

He sayde hir thus, and out the lettre pligted, ‘Lo, he that is al hooley youres free.
Him recomaundeth lowly to your grace,
And sent to you this lettre here by me.’

‘Scrit ne bille,
For love of god, that toucheth swich mater,
Ne bring ne noon.’

‘Refuse it nought,’ quod he, and hente her faste,
And in her bosom the lettre doun he thraste,
And sayde hir, ‘now cast it away anoon,
That folk may seen and gauren on us tweye.’
Quod she, ‘I can abyde till they be goon.’
Appendix A. [A.D. 1606–

[There follows the account of Eugenia's writing a reply to Clarence's letter (pp. 58–61), which should be compared with Troilus ii. 171 ff. The pretended sickness of Troilus (Troilus ii. 1513 ff., 3. 8 ff.) and the supper at Pandarus's house (Troilus ii. 554 ff.) are combined in the fifth act, with some important modifications. A contract of marriage is made between Eugenia and Clarence, and the play closes with a 'measure' and a song.]


[Rollins 58.]

[p. 82]

To Lais.

When Cressid went from Troy to Calch[a]s tent, and Greeks with Troians were at skirmidg hot
Then Diomed did late and aire frequent
Her companie, and Troil was forgot.

[Craig must have had Troilus and Criseyde in mind. See next quotation.]

[p. 111]

To Lais.

Braue Troilus the Trojan stout and true,
As more at length in Chauser wee may find,
Dreamd that a faire White Bull, as did insue, Had spoyld his Loue, and left him hurt behind . . .

[Cf. Troilus, v, st. 178, 207 ff.]


They [our ancestors] thought him [Herodotus] worthy to be read at the games of Olympus. These men [i.e. modern critics] reade him but as a Canterburie tale, to hold children from play, and old folkes from the chimney corner.


[Rollins 59.]

No remedy trusty Troylus: and it greues mee as much, that youle want your false Cressida to night, for heeres no sir Pandarus to vsher you into your Chamber.

[Based on the *Frankeleynes Tale*, the name of Dorigen being retained for the heroine. This and the second Triumph are attributed to Beaumont.]

1609. **Heywood, Thomas.** *Troia Britanica: Or Great Britaines Troy, A Poem*, Canto xi, p. 254 n. [Rollins 60.]

The passages of Loue betwixt Troylus and Cressida, the reuerent Poet Chaucer hath sufficiently discourst, to whom I wholy refer you, hauing past it ouer with little circumstance.

["This passage was kindly copied for me," says Professor Rollins, "by Dr. J. B. Munn, of Harvard."]

[c. 1610.] **Unknown.** *Troilus and Cressida*, [a Welsh Play, in MS. Peniarth 106, National Library of Wales].

[For this curious and important work, which is said to borrow freely from both Chaucer and Henryson, see J. S. P. Tatlock's article in the *Modern Language Review*, vol. x (1915), pp. 265 ff.]


[p. 34] EPIG. 288 [sic, for 228].

She . . . loues to bourd, or iest,
(Or as Sir Chaucer tearmes it) with the best.

[p. 57] To my tenderly beloued friend Mr Nicholas Deeble.
Hend Nicholas (quoth Chaucer) kinde to me . . .

[Milleres Tale.]

1611. **Sydenham, George.** *Note to a Poem in Coryat's Crudities*, sign. F 2b.

[A coarse phrase in the text is described as "a Chaucerisme."]

And little Lambe's-Bourn, though thou match not Lers,
Nor had'st the Honor of Du Bartas' Verse,
If mine have any, Thou must needst partake,
Both for thine Owne, and for thine Owner's Sake;
Whose kinde Excesses Thee so neerely touch,
That Yeerely for them Thou doost weep so much
All Summer-long (while all the Sisters shrink)
That of thy teares a million daily drink;
Besides thy waast which then in haste doth run
To wash the feet of Chaucer's Donnington:

[This is quoted in the Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1743, q. v. below.]


[Rollins 64.]

[Johnson tells the Wife of Bath's Tale, closely following Chaucer.]

1612. Unknown. [A Poem on Troilus and Cressida, added to the 1612 edn. (B.M.) of Deloney's Strange Histories.]

[This poem covers the whole plot of the Troilus story, in outline, the earlier part being told in a dialogue between the lovers. Cressida's leprosy is mentioned at the end.]


[pp. 59–62.] [Browne's Song iii, describing the Golden Age, drawn in some points from Chaucer, especially the Boethius.]

[p. 120.] [The concert of birds based on the Assemble of Foules.]


[Rollins 65.]

[Dekker quotes the Frankeleynes Tale, ll. 1243–1254.]
De Galfredo Chaucero.

Galfredus Chaucerus apud Wodstoc non longè ab Oxonio in Anglia claris parentibus natus, patrem habuit Equestris ordinis virum, & ipse tandem auratus factus est Eques. Vir belli pacisque artibus mire florens. Cùm ab ipsa pueritia præclaram ostenderet indolem, ad scholas Oxionienses excollendi ingenij causa adolescens missus est. Vbi tanta cum industria, tanta cum fælicitate florentes annos in optimarum litterarum studiis collocauit, vt nihil eorum omiserit, quæ ad ornatum ingenij sui longè cultissimi facerent. Nam iam antequam virilem ætatem attigisset, erat Poëta elegans, & qui Poësim Anglicam ita illustrauit, vt Anglicus Homerus meritò haberetur. Rhetor etiam disertus, Mathematicus peritus, Philosophus acutus, Theologus denique non contemnendus. Exquisitiissimos in his omnibus scientijs habuit praecipores, quos & ipse propter miram animi alacritatem ad studia, & singularem ingenij promptitudinem ac fælicitatem, ita consecutus est, vt eorum cuique in cuiusque facultate par & æqualis, si non superior, euaserit. In scientijs Mathematicis legentes audiuít Ioanem Sombum & Nicolaum Linnam Carmelitas Linnenses, viros per illa tempora pereruditos, & Mathematicorum illius ætatis facilè principes, quos Chaucerus in sua sphera reuerenter admodum compellat, & cum honore nominat. Absolutis autem in Anglia studijs, transfretaut in Galliam, tum vt linguam addisceret, & exteriorum mores videret, tum etiam vt nihil reliqui faceret ad accuratissimam scientiarum perfectionem, si quid ei forsán suppeditaret Gallia, quod Anglia non haberet. Ibi omnes hominis ingenium, eruditionem, urbanitatem, morum suavitatem, aliasque insignes dotes admiratione simul & amore prosecuti sunt. Ille interim quæ è re eius erat, non neglexit, didicitque linguam, lepores, sales, omnesque Gallorum argutas facetias. Qua supellectile cumulatè instructus, & quasi quibudam floribus nítidè ornatus, redijt in Angliam. Deindè Londini agens patrijs iuribus studuit, & Collegia
iurisperitorum illic inuisit, historias etiam non omittens, ad excolendam patriam linguam se contulit. Inter hac incidit in Ioannem Gouerum (de quo mox dicendum) virum nobilem, doctum, Galfredo ferè per omnia similem, quiue eundem prorsus habuit omnium studiorum suorum propositum finem. Deprehenditur facilè morum similitudo, initur citè amicitia, concurrunt in idem propositum, coniunguntur labores, frequens fit congressus, quotidiana familiares, omnis conatus eò refertur, vt materna excolatur lingua, & in Anglico sermonem eloquentiae Romanæ expressa appareant vestigia. Et attulerunt certè hi duo viri nostro idiomi tantum splendoris & ornamenti, quantum ante illos prorsus nemo. Nam sibi mutuò calcar addiderunt, et vter patrise plus asferre honoris, vterque vinci & vincere ambiens, amanter contenderunt. Non solum memores, sed etiam imitatores illius

Quod lingua Catonis & Enni
Sermonem patrium ditauerit, & noua rerum Nomina protulerit.

Et quia sua vel patrum memoria nouerant multos iam linguas vulgares industria cultura exornasse: Nam Dantes & Petrarcha Italicam, Alanus Gallicam, Ioannes Mena Hispanicam linguas iam cultores reddiderant: opere precium igitur putabant isti, idem in Anglica lingue præstare, quod viderant alios in suis linguis magna cum laude, & posteritatis incomparabili vititate gnauiter prosetissse. Itaque alia ex alijs linguis transferendo, alia imitando, alia inueniendo, & proprio Marte componendo, comptè, tersè, politè scribere Anglico idomiates conati sunt. Et profectò in multis Latinorum elegantiam, si non sint plene consecuti, at certè non infeliciter imitati. Vterque tamen minùs sibi tribuebat, quàm alteri. Vnde factum est, vt alter alterius iudicio scripta sua mutuò subijiceret, & si quid in altero deesset, alter suppleret, atque ità communicatis consilijs, vtriusque lucubrationes, sêpius sub incude vocatae, emendatiorae in publicum prodierunt. Vnum hic, licet à nostro proposito forsæ alienum videri quibusdam poterit, adnotare non piget. Licet Chaucerus tantum esset ordinis Equestris, tamen sororem habuit Guilhelmo Polo Illustrissimo Suffolcensium Ducì in matrimonio longè supra suam sortem fæli-
cissimè splendidissimèque collocatam. Quod connubium illa magis virtutibus & doctrinæ fratri, quàm splendori suorum natalium habuit acceptum. Nunc restat videre quibus litterarum monimentis, hanc nominis immortalitatem, quàm habet, consecutus sit. De quo Lelandus noster inter epigrammata sua sic scribit

Predicat Algerum meritò Florentia Dantem,
Italia & numeros tota Petrarcha tuos.
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra Poëtam,
Cui veneres debet patria lingua suas.

Scripsit autem cultissimus noster Chaucerus pleraque Anglicè, sed quoniam omnia ferè Latina facta sunt, operum titulos & exordia Latinè ponam.

[Then follow a list of Chaucer's works, pp. 574–5, and a few words on his tomb and epitaph. For these see Chaucer, by E. P. Hammond, pp. 15–17.]


It [the old poem of the Bruce] was in old ryme like to Chaucer.


If any squeamish stomachs shall check at two or three vain ditties at the end of this book, let them pour off the clearest and leave those as dregs in the bottom. Howsoever, if they be but conferred with the Canterbury Tales of that venerable Poet Chaucer, they will then appear toothsome enough.

[a. a. 1617.] Unknown. [A Poem in praise of tobacco, attributed to Chaucer. See the answer to it, "Chaucer's Incensed Ghost," by Richard Brathwait, 1617, above, vol. i, p. 192. We have not been able to identify the original.]


[Rollins 66.]

[This was licensed on 14 May to Eld and Flesher, not, as stated in pt. i, on 23 May to Serle. (Stationers' Register, Arber's Transcript, vol. iv, p. 96.)]

CHAUCER CRITICISM.—IV.

[Rollins 67.]

The next vnto them be knights eldest sonnes: and such an Esquire was the knightes sonne in Chaucer, who attended his father on pilgrimage to Thomas Becket's Shrine, as doth appeare by their characters in the Prologues to the Canterbury tales. Of which so much as tends to this purpose. [He then quotes the Prologue, ll. 43-46, 77-82, 99-100.]

This Sir *Payne Roet* had issue, the aforesaid Brother in Law by marriage to John, Duke of Lancaster. Dutchesse [of Lancaster], and Anne who was married to Geoffrey Chaucer, our famous English Poet, who by her had issue, Sir Thomas Chaucer, whose daughter Alice was married to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, . . . and after to William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk . . .

[See also above, vol. i, p. 204.]


[Rollins 68.]

*Cap[erwit]*. Though I were borne a Poet I will study to be your servant in Prose, yet if now and then my braines doe sparkle, I cannot helpe it, raptures will out; . . . the midwife wrapt my head up in a sheet of Sir Philip Sidney that inspired me, and my nurse descended from old Chaucer.

1633. Ware, Sir James. *The Historie of Ireland*, collected by three learned authors, [edited by Sir James Ware], Dublin, Preface to Spenser's View of Ireland, sign. \| 3b.

[Spenser buried by Chaucer, "whom he worthily imitated;" his epitaph (g. v. above, vol. i, p. 163) quoted.]


Lord Coke valued Chaucer highly because the Canon Yeman's Tale illustrates the Statute fifth Hen. IV. chap. 4 against alchemy.

[We have not been able to trace the origin of this.]

1635. Kynaston, Sir Francis. [Dedications and Prefatory address to] *Amorum Troilii et Cresseidæ libri duo*, Oxonia, 1635. Dedication 'Clarissimo . . . Dn Patricio Iunio', sign. A 2b-A 3b; Preface to the reader (dated Dec. 1634), sign. \| 1a; [Here follow the dedi-
Appendix A.  

1635]  


Clarissimo et  
Ornatissimo  
Viro  
Dnº Patricio Junio  
Bibliothecario Regio,  
Franciscus Kinston;  
S.P.D.  

Quare cùm ita se res habeat, Eroticum hoc poema, cuius frontem tuo amicissimo nomine decoramus, ævi injuria obliteratum ferè, & inter deperdita recensendum, ad te & tuum patrocinium inter alia priscorum opera & pegrnata non immerito confugere videtur; cuius duo nomina sunt totidem bona omina, quæ authori Chaucero & mihi aliquid fausti portendunt . . .  

Quod reliquam est, gratiam & aestimationem, quam inculta hæc carmina, quoad versionem, apud exteros, vel ab authore Chaucero, vel à me eius vmbra sperare nequibant, (vt vatis celeberrimi & popularis tui Buchanani aureis vtar verbis) Debebunt Genio forsitan illa tuo. Vale.  

Candido Lectori  
Franciscus Kinston,  
Eques Auratus & Regii  
Corporis Armiger,  
S.P.D.  

Cvm ſtantus sit, Lecto amice, apud omnes, venerandi sequè ac vetusti Poetæ nostri honos & existimatio, vt nec doctissimorum censuram metuat, nec potentissimorum virorum patrocinium flagitet: nil superest, quin vt te paucis moneam de hace mea versione huius poematis in Linguam Latinam; nempe quo consilio eam aggressus sim, & cui bono, quo modo hosce duos libros priores novo & hactenus intentato apud Latinos carminiis generè absolverim, quæ occurrerint difficultates, denique in quibus erratum sit, & venia tua exoranda.  

Hæc omnia libens lubens facio, eo quod non solum adhuc sit
incertum: quam gratum exteris futurum sit hoc poemation & nostra qualisunque versio, sed quod incertior sit vitae meae meta, cuius continuationem vix fas est sperare adeo diuturnam, vt ad operis incepti summationem extendatur. Ob eamque causam, dum meimet ipsius contemplatione ceterorum omnium statum labentem intueor, ecce, video Chaucerum nostrum, huius Insulae ornamentum & Poeseos decus egregium, non solum senescentem, & sub obsoleto & iam spreto Anglici vetusti Idiomatis vestimento vilescentem; sed (proh dolor) prorsus tabescentem & ferme emortuum. Cuius deploratse conditioni dum aveo ferre suppetias, & seterne suse memorise conservationi prospicere: Visum est mihi consortissimum, ilium nova linguonare, & novato rythmi & carminis genere decorare; eumque perenni Roman eloquij columnae fulcire, & per omnia secula (quantum in nobis est) stabilem & immotum reddere.

Enim vero, potuisse (idque facillimè) verba obsoleta per totum hoc poema passim sparsa in nova mutare, & omnes phrases & dictiones desuetas verbis purioribus, & quæ hodiè obtinient, reddie, & ad captum presentis avi, non tantum Anglicè, sed etiam & metricè accommodare. Nec enim sine exemplari errassem, si hoc præstitissem, cum Poema quoddam Gallicum, cui titulus Legenda Rosea, à quodam Gulielmo de Lorris trecentis fere ab huic annis inchoatum, & post quadraginta annos opera Iohannis de Mohun absolutum, septies ex eo tempore Gallicè editum, & phrasi uniuscuiusque seculi aptatum, & quasi de novo scriptum fuerit. Sed peccatum inexpiable in Manes Chauceri admisisse me existimarem, si vel minimum Iota in his scriptis immutassem, quæ sacra & intacta in æternum manere digna sunt.

[Dedication of Book ii.] Eruditissimo et generosissimo viro Iohanni Rous.

Sed tandem (vt plerunque fit) cessit amori pudor, & gratitudo vicit verecundiam, adeo vt temperare mihi non potuerim, quin te simul Authoris venerandi lectorem, ac versionis meæ barbaræ & incompta Patronum deligerem et avidè exoptarem; Quam si benignè adspexeris, & vmbram patrocinii tui non plane indignam existimaveris, quicquid alii oggannient, non multum morabor, neque rigidos delicati huius seculi Aristarchos, aut illorum censuram verebor.
Quibus si versus nonnulli claudicare & pedes Agrippinos habere videbuntur, cim tamen sensum genuinum Chauceri patris & mentem integram tanquam ex traduce derivatam cum accuratissima rythmorum Anglicorum observatione in versione Latinâ (qua mihi præcipue curæ fuit) vbique à me retentam esse deprehenderint: si equa lance momenta omnia perpenderint, vel ipsi vnius aut alterius paginae periculum fecerint, rem non adeo proclivis & facilis negotii mecum fortasse fatebuntur.

[Specimen of Kynaston's Latin translation of Troilus.]

AMORUM TROILI ET CRESSIDÆ
LIBER PRIMUS.

1.
Dolorem Troili duplicem narrare,
Qui Priami Regis Trojæ fuit gnatus,
Vt primùm illi contigit amare,
Vt miser, felix, & infortunatus
Erat, decessum ante sum conatus.
Tisiphone fer opem recensere
Hos versus, qui, dum scribo, visí fíere.

2.
Te invoco, & numen tuum infestum,
Dira crudelis, dolens semper penis,
Me iuva, qui sum instrumentum mæstum,
Amantes queri docens his camenis:
Nam conuenit humentibus & genis,
Tristem habere tremulum pauorem,
Historiam mæstam, vultus & mœorem.


There is no more to be added in his [Sir Piers Crosby's] Case, but these two Verses of old Jeffery Chaucer,

A busier than he none was,
And yet he seem'd more busy than he was.

[Prol. ll. 231-2.]
Appendix A.


Now if I were a good Poet, I should with Chaucer call upon Melpomene
To help me to indite
Verses that weepen as I write.


At my Lord Mountnorris his departure hence, he seemed wondrously humbled, as much as Chaucer's Friar, that would not for him any Thing should be dead.

[Somnoyr* Tale, 1. 1842.]


[Dr. Jackson died in 1640.]

As our Posterity in a few years will hardly understand some passages in the *Fairy Queen,* or in *Mother Hubbards* or other Tales in Chaucer, better known at this day to old Courtiers than to young Students.


[Examples from Chaucer.]

1643. **Unknown.** *Powers to be Resisted:* or a Dialogue arguing the Parliaments lawfull Resistance of the Powers now in Armes against them, pp. 39–40.

[p. 39] This is like old *Chaucers* tale of a Fryar, whose belly was his god, he would feed upon the sweetest, Mutton, Goose, and Pig, but a pitifull man! he would have no creature killed for him, not he.

[Somnoyr* Tale, 1. 1842.]
Appendix A.


Dennington or Demyston [sic] Castle, com. Berks., was . . . antiently the seate of Geoffry Chaucer the poet.

As thick and numberless
As the gay motes that people the Sun Beams,

[Cl. Wife of Bath's T., 1. 868.]

1647. Unknown. *Match me these two*, p. 9. [Not in B.M.; copy in Bodl. (Wood 6544/10.)]

O Chaucer and thy Genius, help on my tale.


[p. 6] When he drinks fluently, the shouts which the old wives in Chaucer gave, and Dame Partlet the Hen, when the Fox carried Chanticleere the Cock to the wood . . . scarce parallel the clamours.

[p. 16] Though he doe not as exactly as Virgil imitate Homer, nor as our Chaucer and Spenser Virgil . . .

1648. Unknown. *The Legend of Captain Jones*, p. 3.

[Not in B.M.; copy in Bodl. (Wood 6544/10.);] Topas hard quest after th' Elfe Queen to Barwick.


[Lady Pembroke sends her love and service to “worthy Mr. Selden,” and adds that she should be in pitiful case if she had not “excelentt Chacers booke,” to comfort her; but when she read in that she scorned and made light of her troubles.]


[May died in 1650, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; at the Restoration his
Appendix A. [A.D. 1650–]

body was removed. It has been suggested that the poem was written after the latter event, and that the lines here quoted refer to it; but this seems to require too wanton a malignity in Marvell.

Poor poet thou, and grateful senate they
. . . . To lead thee home.
If that can be thy home where Spenser lies
And reverend Chaucer; but their dust does rise
Against thee, and expel thee from their side,
As the eagle's plumes from other birds divide.


Trade on wits Merchant, give the world to know
Chaucer was bred in Lyn, and so wert Thou.

Raptim
Tho. Toll junior, Gent.

1651. Sheppard, Samuel. Epigrams, Lib. 4, Epig. 28. On Mr. Spencer's . . . Faerie Queen, p. 95.

Collin my Master, O Muse sound his praise,
Extoll his never to be equal'd Layes,
Whom thou dost Imitate with all thy might,
As he did once in Chawcers veine delight.


One of whome is Chawcer's busy man, of whom it may well be sayd, That a busier man nere nas, and yet he seemed far busier than he was.


[Rollins 70.]

As unfortunate it is, when fifteen joines to seventy, there's old doinge (as they saye) the Man and Wife sitting together like January and May day.

[Perhaps an allusion to the Merchant's Tale. For another passage see above, vol. i, p. 229.]


By the wanton memory of Chaucer I could turn Poet,
And write in as Heathen English; and as Bawdy.

[Immortality of the pre-Reformation clergy.] Ita Chaucerus nostras [sic] de fratum conventu quodam suo tempore notissimo:
Appendix A. [A.D. 1661-]

For there as wont to walken was an Elfe,
There walketh now the Limitor himselfe.
In every bush, and under every Tree
There nis none other incubus but he.

[Winch of Bath's T., II. 17 18, 23-24.]

1661. T., J. To His Most ingenuous Friend, The Author of the Exaltation of Hornes, [verses prefixed to] The Horn exalted. [See next entry.]

[Rollins 73.]

Read, and beware how that ye firk,
Least the repentance stool o' th' Kirk,
* Chaucer. Prove the reward of your queint * wirk.

1661. Unknown. The Horn exalted, or Roome for Cuckolds, pp. 1, 2, 3-4, 8, 25, 30, 42, 45, 47, 52, 54, 56, 58, 65, 69, 71, 75, 80, 81-2.

[Rollins 74.]

[Quotations appropriate to the subject matter of the book, from the Canterbury Tales, the Court of Love, and the Remedy of Love, the last two being quoted as Chaucer's.]


A Jack of Dover.]

I find the first mention of this Proverb in our English Ennius, Chaucer, in his Proeme to the Cook,

And many a Jack of Dover had he sold
Which had been two times hot and two times cold.

[For other extracts from Fuller's Worthies, see above, vol. i, pp. 239-40.]


[Rollins 75.]

And Gentle Shakespear weeping, since he must
At best, be Buried, now, in Chaucers Dust:
Thus dark Oblivion covers their each Name,
Since you have Robb'd them of their Glorious Fame.

[p. 144] Pain Roet's . . . younger daughter being married to Sir Geoffry Chawcer, our Laureat Poet.

[p. 146] [List of great men in Edward III’s reign:]

Sir Geoffry Chawcer, the Homer of our Nation; and who found as sweet a Muse in the Groves of Woodstock, as the Ancients did upon the banks of Helicon.

[p. 180] The next place after these [ecclesiastics] is justly due to Geoffry Chawcer, and John Gower, two famous poets in this time, and the Fathers of English Poets in all the times after: Chaucer died in the fourth year of this King, [Henry IV] and lieth buried at Westminster.


At night than Chanticleer more brisk and hot,
And sergeant’s wife serves him for partelot.


[Dryden, in his Preface to the Fables (see below, 1700, p. 280), says: “Some people . . . look on Chaucer as a dry, old fashioned Wit, not worth receiving [sic; ed. 1723 ‘reviving’]. I have often heard the late Earl of Leicester say that Mr. Cowley himself was of that opinion; who, having read him over at my Lord’s Request, declared he had no taste for him.”]

[Cowley died in 1667, Philip Sidney, third Earl of Leicester, not till 1698.]


. . . Sleep in beggar’s Limbo, by dull Chawcer . . .
Whilst thou dost soar aloft leave coyrs [?] behind
To be interrd in antient monast’ry
And to the chimeing rabble safely joyn’d
[To] Draiton, Spencer, and old Jeffery.


I took your archpoet Chaucer in hand: and though I think that in manie places he is not to bee understood
without the help of old MS. copies, which England can afford manie; yet doe I perswade my selfe to have met with innumerable places, hitherto misunderstood, or not understood at all, which I can illustrate. To which work I hold the bishop of Dunkeld his Virgilian translation to be very much conducing . . .


[p. 127] I shall here contract his [the Gentleman's] Study into these few Books following . . . [A list of theological and scientific literature, mostly contemporary, with some other books.]
[p. 129] And among our selves, old Sr. Jeffery Chaucer, Ben Johnson, Shakespear, Spencer, Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, and what other Playes from time to time you find best Penn'd . . .


How many Best of Poets have we known?
And yet how far those Best have been out-done!
When Chaucer dy'd, Men of that Age decreed
A Dismal Fate to all that shou'd succeed:
Yet when Great Ben, and Mighty Shakespear wrote,
We were convinc'd those Elder Times did dote.

[Dated c. 1675 by Wilkins, and c. 1676 by A. C. Bickley in D.N.B., art. Clogie.]

After supper he constantly read on the same day [i. e. 5th Nov.] an excellent poem that he wrote at that time [i. e. 1605] upon that discovery [i. e. of the Gunpowder Plot], and called "The Shepherd's Tale" . . . It is conceived in the old dialect of Tusser and Chaucer.
[For the Shepherd's Tale see above, App. A. [1605, Bedell?]}

Black-buried, gone to Hell.

At Dulcarnon, in a maze, at my wits end, *Chaucer*, l. 3, fol. 161.

Eclymastery, Son to Morpheus, the God of sleep.

Quinible (q. whinable), a treble.

Ribible, o. a rebeck or fiddle.

Tregetor, o. a Jugler.

[For other allusions to Chaucer in Coles's *Dictionary* see above, vol. i, p. 252.]


To make our patriots miraculous

Scorched in the touts, like Chaucer's Nicholas.

[Pt. iii of Hudibras, for which these lines were probably intended, appeared in 1678.]


And now we come to the first and last best Poets of the English Nation *Geoffrey Chaucer*, and *Abraham Cowley*, the one being the Sun just rising, and shewing itself on the *English Horizon*, and so by degrees increasing and growing in strength till it come to its full *Glory* and *Meridian* in the incomparable *Cowley* . . . *Chaucer* lies in an antient Tomb, Canopied, of grey marble, with his picture painted thereon *in plano*, with some verses by; he died in the year 1400.


[Chaucer's Epitaph.]

1686. Chaucer junior, ps. *Canterbury Tales, composed for the entertainment of all ingenious young men and maids at their merry meetings.*

[A jest-book, connected with Chaucer by the title only. There is a copy in the Pepys Library, and one of a much later edition in B.M.]
Appendix A.

[1686?] W., W. [Preface to his pt. 3 of Richard Johnson's] The Seven Champions of Christendom, sign. A 3 b. [Rollins 76.]

[Appendix A.]

[A copy of this edition, following Johnson's pts. 1, 2, ed. 1687, is in the Pepys Library. The imprint is cropped and the date doubtful; it may be the same as that of 1696(?) in B.M., which also has the date cropped. None earlier is known. Johnson's work first appeared in 1596-7.]

If I have soared above the height [sic] of the Language in the two former parts, know that our speech is refined since they were writ, Chaucer whose lines did excel for Eloquence in his days, is now despized for plain and rustick, even by those who scarcely know what language is.


[Not in the edition of 1688.]

quae sub impotentis animi Juvene Rege nìmis invaluerant, medelam adhíberi efficeret, uti ipse in Testamento Amoris scribit. Compositis Regni rebus, rei familiaris grave dis- crimen adiit; Regis & Procerum inimicitias aliquandiu expertus, & ut nonnulli volunt, in carcerem datus. Tandem in integrum restitutos, Prædium suum in villà regià de Woodstock propre Oxonium situm concessit, ubi ultimum vitæ decennium, Musis unice intentus, exègit. Anno 1400, Londinum profectus, ut res domesticas curaret, vitam clausit 25 Octob. die, anno Ætatis circiter 72°. In Ecclesia Westmonasteriensi sepultus: Vir extra controversiam doctissimus, Poetarum vero Anglicorum faciè princeps & Paren, sui seculi ornamentum, inquit magnus ille Camdenus, extra omnem ingenii aleam positus, & Poetastros nostros longo post se intervallo relinquens; sanè is est, quem antiquis Latii poetis non immerito conferre possemus; si aut seculum aut linguam nactus esset fæliciorem, licet id in Chauceri laudum haud parùm cedat, quod tam rudi ævo Priscorum Poetarum Veneres si non assecutus, saltêm imitatús fuerit, & horridiusculam lingue Angliceæ (qualis tunc temporis obtinuit) duriciem, Carmine ligatam, amèniorem atque elegantiorem reddiderit; primus enim omnium Lingue nostrati sordes excussit, nitorem intulit, & largà vocum molliorum aliundè invectarum supellectile ditavit; id operis præcipuè in Poematis [sic] suis condendis in animo habuisse visus. Unde jure de eo Lelandus,

Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra Poetam: Cui Veneres debet Patria lingua suas.

Neque solum principem apud conterraneos Poetas loci gloriam tuit, verum etiat totum scientarum, quâ late patet, circulam haud infeliciter confecerat. Dialecticæ & Philosophiæ haud vulgariter peritus, Historiae callentissimus, Rhetor satìs venustus, Matheseos non ignarus, in rebus denique Theologicis apprime versatus, de quibus acutè atque eruditiè disputat. Subtiliorem etenim scholarum disciplinam probè noverat; castioris autem Theologiae studio nullos ferè non sui temporis Theologos antecelluit, Wiclefi dogmata ut plurimum secutus, & infucatam & genuinam pietatem sectatus. Hinc graviore Ecclesie Romane superstitiones & errores acerbè sepiùs velicat; corruptam ineptissimis
Appendix A. [A.D. 1691–

commentis Disciplinam Ecclesiasticam luget; Cleri luxuriam & ignaviam castigat, in Ordines autem Mendicantes projectissimo ubique odio invehit, quorum hypocrisin, ambitio-nem, aliaque vitia turpissima aliquoties totâ operâ, nullibi vero non oblatâ quâvis occasione, acerrime insectatur.

[Here follows some account of Chaucer's works, and of various editions.]


Note b. Purgavit, à Sax. dihtan. She gan the house to dight, Chaucer.


[p. 10] Sic fraya fuit, sic 9 guisa peracta est.

Note a. Mendose, ausim dicere, pro guerra, unde nostrum 'war.' Guerring, brawling. Chaucer. Better is a morsell or little gobbet of bread with joy, than an house filled full of delices, with chiding and guerring.

[p. 11] To dance these Damosels them 4 dight.

Note c. Prepare, provide; à Sax. dihtan, parare, instruere. Vox Chaucero usitatissima. Dighteth his dinner.—To bed thou wolt the dight.—His instruments would he dight.—He was aie the first in armes dight.—He doth his shippes dight.

[p. 12] Her 5 lyre was like the Lilly.

Note d. Complexion, countenance, à Cimbrico hlyre . . . Cui consonant illa Chauceri.

—Saturne his lere was like the lede
—Thy lustie lere overspreddde with spottes blacke.

Vel forsan 'laugh,' 'smile,' à Cimbr. hlyr . . . Huic concinit & istud Chauceri— And nere I went and gan to lere.
A yape young man that stood him niest.

Note a. Insulting, vaunting.

And saied to me in great jape,
Yelde thee, for thou may not escape. Chaucer.

An hasty kinsman called Hary,
That was an Archer keen,
*Tyed up a tackel withouten tary.

Note e. Made ready an arrow.

Well could he dresse his tackle yomanly. Chaucer.

He straight up to his eare drough
The strong bow, that was so tough,

And shot at me, so wonder smart,
That through mine eye unto mine hart
The takell smote, and depe it went. Id.

He shote at me full hastely
An arowe, named Companie,
The which takell is full able
To make these Ladies merciable. Id.

*It was no mowes.

Note c. It was no jesting matter. Of the foule mowes and of the reproves that men saied to him. Chaucer.

And *bickered him with Bowes.

Note g. Pelted, invaded. We two shall have a biker. Chaucer.


[De la Pryme contributed to Wanley's Catalogus, q. v. below, the following:]

All the works of old Chaucer, in long folio. This vol. belonged to the monastery of Canterbury—Penes D. Edmund Cauley, de horne, in Com. Ebor.

1697. Wanley, Humphrey. Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Anglie.

[Many MSS. of Chaucer are enumerated. See index to each part.]
Appendix A. [A.D. 1699–


Most that you see here, come under *Chancer’s* [sic] character of a Sempstriss... She keeps a Shop for Countenance, And S—— for Maintenance.

[Cokes T., II. 57–8.]


[The following is quoted in black letter:]

Physicians know what is digestible, But their study is but little in the Bible.

Chaucer [Prol. ll. 437–8.]

[Defoe was the editor of this paper, and was also probably the author of many of the letters addressed to the editor.]

1710. [For Stubbes, George, read Bubb, George, who signs the verses to the author of *The Laurel and the Olive* (Stubbes), quoted above, pt. i, p. 313.]

1712. [King, William.] *Bibliotheca; a Poem*. [Not in B.M.] (Bell’s Poets, 1781, vol. lxxxvi, p. 74.)

Chaucer, the chief of all the throng That whilom dealt in ancient song (Whose laurell’d fame shall never cease While wit can charm or humour please) Lies all in tatters on the ground, With dust instead of laurels crown’d.

1714. License for Urrys edition of Chaucer, [signed] W. Bromley, [and dated] 20 July, 1714. [Printed with the Proposals for printing the edition (see above, 1716, p. 344) bound in Thomas’s interleaved copy of Urry, 1721, B.M. 643. m. 4. (See above, 1721, pt. i, p. 353.)]

ANNE R.

Whereas Our Trusty and Well-beloved John Urry... hath humbly represented unto Us, that he hath with great Labour and Expence prepared for the Press a compleat and correct Copy of the Works of Jeoffrey Chaucer, with a Glossary, and in order thereunto has carefully perused and compared, not only all the former Editions of Value, but
many rare and ancient Manuscripts, not hitherto consulted; from the collating of which he hath in a great Measure restored and perfected the Text . . . remarked many Pieces in them falsly ascribed to Chaucer; and added several entire Tales never yet printed, as well as many single Lines hitherto omitted . . . by which Alterations, Amendments and Additions, the Work is in a Manner become new, and has therefore humbly besought Us to grant him Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing and Publishing thereof for the Term of Fourteen Years. We being graciously inclined to encourage the said Undertaking, are pleased to condescend to his Request . . .

Given at our Court of Kensington the Twentieth Day of July, 1714, in the Thirteenth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

W. Bromley.

1715. The Art of Poetry, referred to at this date under Haslewood and Bliss [c. 1833], above, pt. i, p. 188, is Dryden's[?] version of Boileau, q. v. above, 1680-83, pt. i, p. 254.


Chaucer has a tale where a knight saves his head by discovering that it [sovereignty] was the thing which all women most coveted.

[There is a similar sentence in a letter of the same date from Gay and Pope to Congreve (ib. p. 414).]

[1718?] Oldys, William. MS. Commonplace Book (B.M. MS. Add. 12,522, foll. 29, 30).

[Chaucer compared with Homer; of low birth.]

Chaucer wrote in a Tounge in his Days incapable of any thing but Ballads, Tales & Roundelays. . . . He forbore not to spoyl our English Tongue by mixing therewith so much Latin & French. [Verstegan referred to.]


[Rollins 78.]

My bookseller is a blockhead; so have they all been, or worse, from Chaucer's scrivener, down to John and Jacob.

Chaucer was the first, that is of any consideration, who enrich’d his mother-tongue with poetry; but Chaucer was a man of quality, a knight of the garter, and of so considerable a fortune as to marry into the family of John of Gaunt... so that he had no need of encouragement to exert that excellent genius of which he was master, in poetry. After him, we had no man that made any figure in English verse, till the Earl of Surrey...


[Modernised. Reprinted in Ogle’s Canterbury Tales, 1741, q.v. above, pt. i, p. 389.]


[Note on v. 51.] Chaucer, who was perhaps the greatest poet among the moderns, has translated these verses almost word for word in his *Knight’s Tale*. I shall make this remark once for all: As nothing particularizes the fine passages in *Homer* more than that Virgil vouchsavaed to imitate them: so scarce anything can exalt the reputation of Statius higher, than the verbal imitations of our great countryman. I prefer this to a volume of criticisms; no man would imitate, what he could exceed.

[p. 190] Stretch’d o’er the ground the tow’ring oaks were seen...

[p. 194] [v. 108.]

[p. 195] Chaucer seems to have a particular eye to this passage throughout his poems. See his *Knights’ Tale, the Assembly of Fowls*, and *Complaint of the black Knight*.

To my Soul. From Chaucer.

[p. 243] Far from mankind, my weary soul retire,
Still follow truth, contentment still desire [etc.].

[For other extracts from this volume, see above, pt. i, p. 389.]


Chaucer erects the Court [sic] of Fame, and builds The Arches strong; but Iron Time comes on,
And wastest the frail materials of the Frame;
In Heaps it lies a glorious Ruin, while
Sawney up-rears, on the neglected Base,
Another Pile, razes the Founder's Name,
And super-adds his own: An Hand unseen
Points out his Weakness and his Fraud . . .

[An attack on Pope's Temple of Fame, q.v. above, pt. i, p. 318.]


I have heard of the Wife of Bath, I think in Shakespeare.

[This is in answer to a letter from Gay (of Nov. 9), in which he says: "I have employed my time in new writing a damned play, which I wrote several years ago, called the Wife of Bath." For Gay's Wife of Bath see above, 1713, pt. i, pp. 326-7.]


[f. 123] A Copy of Verses in the Celebrated English Poets engraved by Mr. Vertue.

Learning had long withdrawn her vital Pow'r
At length in Chaucer's verse her head she rears
Starts from the slumber of a thousand years,
He of the shining host the Vesper rode,
And spake the brightness of the coming God.
Whether he choose a careless mirth to raise
In tales diversify'd a thousand ways,
Or else in Epics takes a nobler flight.
These fill with rapture and those move delight.

[The "Celebrated English Poets" were engraved in 1730.]

[c. 1730. Young, Edward.] Two Epistles to Mr. Pope, concerning the Authors of the Age, Epistle ii., p. 27.

Fontaine and Chaucer, dying, wisht unwrote
The sprightliest efforts of their wanton thought.
Appendix A. [A.D. 1731–]


[Brief reference to] the character of a good priest as drawn by old Chaucer and moderniz’d by Dryden.


[p. 698] [Reference to “Sainct Cecily” in Second Nonnes Tale.]
[p. 965] With us Chaucer began the dance [of immodest writing], and it has been too closely followed ever since.


[This was reprinted in Ogle’s Canterbury Tales, q.v. above, 1741, pt. i, p. 389.]


[p. 5] The first Author I shall cite is CHAUCER; a Poet of our own Nation, who was well read in the antient Geography, and is allowed by all Critics to have been a Man of universal Learning, as well as of inimitable Wit and Humour. . .

[p. 6] 1Certes (qd. John) I, 2nat denye, That, 3touchende of the 4Stedes countrye, I 5rede, as thylke olde 6cronyke seythe, 7p longe afore our 8crysten feythe, Ther 9ben, as ye shall understonde, An 10yle, 11ycleped 12Coursyr’s londe, Wher, 13nis, 14ne 15dampanynge 16couetyse; Ne, 17Letchere hotte, in 18Sainctes gise; Ne, 19seely Squire, 20lycke 21browdred Ape,

1 Certainly. 2 Do not. 3 Concerning. 4 Horses. 5 Read. 6 Chronicle. 7 Long before. 8 Christian. 9 There was. 10 Island. 11 Called. 12 Horses. 13 There is not. 14 Any. 15 Damnable. 16 Covetousness. 17 Nor lewd Person. 18 Pretending sanctity. 19 Silly. 20 Like. 21 Embroidered.
Appendix A.

Who maken ¹ Goddes ² boke a ³ Jape;
Ne ⁴ Lemman uyle, mishandlynge youthe,
Ne women, ⁵ brutell [sic] ware in ⁶ sothe;
Ne Flattrer, Ne ⁷ unlettredd Clerke,
Who ⁸ richen him, withouten ⁹ werke;
For Vice in thought, ne ¹⁰ als in ¹¹ dede,
Was never none in Londe of ¹² Stede.

Chaucer.

¹ The Bible. ² A Jest. ³ Harlot. ⁴ Brittle ware. ⁵ Truly.
⁶ Illiterate Parson. ⁷ Enriching himself. ⁸ Labour. ⁹ Truly. ¹⁰ Else.
¹¹ Deed or Action. ¹² Stede Land, or Houyhnhm Land.


[Oldys died in 1761, and these Adversaria were among the MS. collections left by him.]

This book, De regimine principis, a pretty thick folio, written, in English stanzas, on vellum, with that picture of Chaucer on the side of the verses, is in the possession of Mr. West of the Temple, who showed it me, Feb. 27, 1735.


[Allusion to the Wife of Bath’s Tale.]


There are many Persian Poems . . . which are but moderniz’d Essays, (as our Chaucer by Dryden), the ancient Words being grown obscure, by Corruption of their Language; as Chaucer’s by Improvement of ours.


[This “sonnet” is a poem of ten six-line verses, beginning “A chaste behaviour is the highest praise.”]
Appendix A.

A.D 1740


When they [the poets] were all seated, a profound Silence ensued, which was broken by the President, [Chaucer] who . . . enlarged with Great Eloquence, upon the fine Qualifications, the Learning and the Genius of Milton . . .

[For the first part, see above, 1738, pt. i, p. 384.]


[Neither of these seems to have been preserved. Sir Walter Scott, in his Memoirs of Swift, says that Chaucer seems to have been his favourite, for "I observe among his papers a memorandum of the oaths used in the Canterbury Tales, classed with the personages by whom they are used." In a footnote to the edn. of 1834, Monck Mason is quoted as stating that Scott had sent him an imitation of Chaucer's style in the handwriting of Swift. This he regrets having lost. See above, pt. ii, sect. i, p. 65, 1814, Scott, Memoirs of Jonathan Swift, Miscellaneous Prose works of Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1834–71, 30 vols., vol. ii, p. 414 and note.]

1743. Birch, Thomas. The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain, engraven by Mr. Houbraken and Mr. Vertue. With their lives and characters by Thomas Birch.

[A conventional life of Chaucer. The engraving of him is by Houbraken, and is dated 1741.]


[Given in the text above under 1747, pt. i, p. 393. It should have been entered under 1744, which Mason says, in a note on p. 3 of Poems, 1764, was the date of composition.]


I doubt not how much Bounce [his dog] was lamented. They might say as the Athenians did to Arcite in Chaucer,
Ah Arcite! gentle knight, why wouldst thou die,
When thou hadst gold enough, and Emily!
Ah Bounce! Ah gentle beast, why wouldst thou die,
When thou hadst meat enough, and Orrery?

And did your gentle Grandames always prove
Stern Rebels to the Charms of lawless Love?
And never pitied, at some tender Time,
A dying Damian, with'ring in his Prime?

1 A dying Damian, &c.] See January and May in Chaucer and Mr. Pope.


*Father Francis's prayer to St. Agnes.* In Imitation of Chaucer.

Ne gay attire, ne marble hall,
Ne arched roof, ne painted wall, . . .
Ne power, ne such-like idle fawncies
Sweet Agnes, grant to father Frauncis . . .

[18 more lines with no greater resemblance to Chaucer than the above.]


Of feathred Foules, that fanne the bucksom Aire
Not All alike were made for Foode to men;
For, These Thou shalt not eat, doth God declare,
Twice tenne Their Nombre, and their Fleshe unclene . . .


[References to Chaucer as Controller of Customs for the Port of London, and to the Sloane MS. of the Astrolabe.]
Appendix A. [A.D. 1748–]

There are probably other references to Chaucer in this MS., which consists chiefly of extracts from and references to MSS.


[The biographical part of the account of Chaucer is avowedly based on Speght.]


[Brief reference to Chaucer and Spenser. The poem is occasioned by Mason’s Musaeus, q.v. above, 1747, pt. i, p. 393; see also above, App. A., 1744.]


[Reference to and quotation from Chanoun’s Yemannes Tale.]


[The “Balade” is preceded by an unsigned letter, beginning:]

Sir, Perhaps your Readers will not be displeased with the Sight of the following Poem, when they are told it was written by that ancient and venerable Bard, Dan Jeffrey Chaucer ...

[The poem begins as follows:]

Listhnith [sic], Ladies, to your oldé Frende:
If yee be fayre, be fayre to sum gode Ende.
For Gallants rath or late must loken out
For thilk same Yoke, so ese out of Dout,
*Yclepid Marriage; yet sootly Weman be
Malum per accidens vel malum per se,
As lerned Clerkes saie: this Latin is,
Ladies, that yee al bene Mannis chefe Blis,
[etc.].

[Cl. N.P.T., II. 343–6.]

* [Note in original]: Called.
The Covent Garden Journal was edited and largely written by Fielding under the pseudonym of "Sir Alexander Drawcansir." Professor W. L. Cross (The History of Henry Fielding, 1918, 3 vols., vol. ii, pp. 382-3) prints the poem, and attributes it to Fielding, adding, "Nowhere else, so far as I remember, does Fielding give the slightest evidence of any first-hand acquaintance with the father of English poetry. In the list of the world's great humorists enumerated in 'Tom Jones,' the name of Chaucer is conspicuous for its absence."


[An engraved facsimile of the lease (q.v. above, 1399, pt. i, pp. 13-14), made for Richard Rawlinson.]


[p. 10] As like as (if I am not grossly wrong)

Erle Robert's Mice to aught c'eer Chaucer sung.

[p. 15] The Lords who starv'd old Ben were leardly fond

Of Chaucer, whom with bungling Toil they conn'd.

1753. Unknown. Publisher's Advertisement of the Lives of the Poets by Theophilus Cibber (q.v. above, pt. i, p. 407.)

[This is stated in Notes and Queries, 1st ser., vol. v, p. 26, Jan. 10, 1852, q.v. above, pt. ii, sect. ii, p. 10, to be by Johnson.]


[Brief reference.]

[Paul Gemsege is the anagram of Samuel Pegge. He contributed largely to The Gentleman's Magazine between the years 1746 and 1796, principally under the signature of Paul Gemsege. Other pseudonyms of his which appear here are: T. Row, L. E., L. Echard, Portius, Senex; he also used his initials, S.P. See an article on Pegge's contributions to The Gentleman's Magazine in the number for Dec. 1796, p. 979 and supplement, p. 1081.]


[Frankeleynes Tale, ll. 1045-6, quoted to illustrate "shene." ]

Chaucer, who first in Britain taught to sing,
In his half-crumbling, dreary tomb I hail;
Him every muse inspir'd to wake the string,
But yet how little doth his mirth avail!
His rhimes, his language, and his numbers fail . . .


The word crowd . . . occurs even in Chaucer, who died A.D. 1402, or thereabouts.


[Article on Gower, containing many more or less passing references to Chaucer. For vol. ii see above, pt. i, 1748; for vol. v, below, App. A, 1760.]


[Brief reference illustrating Spenser's phrase "powdered with stars"].


In Chaucer's time, there was a tradition that the Gospels were extant in the British tongue, when Alla was king of Northumberland, in the seventh century. Chaucer's words in the Man of Lawes tale, are these:

A Breton boke written with Evangeles was set . . .


[The reference to this at pt. i, p. 417, was made in error; it is that entered above, a. 1730, Unknown, pt. i, p. 371, q. v.]


[Pope's juvenile imitations of Chaucer, etc., generally condemned. For vol. ii see above, pt. i, 1748; for vol. iv, above, App. A, 1757.]

I send you a List of some Statues, about the same size with that Pair you have;

DEMOSTHENES and Locke and CHAUCER and SHAKESPEARE
and CICERO, and NEWTON, and SPENCER, and MILTON.

When you have fixed upon which Pair you will have, you will let me know whether you will have them white or bronzed.

[1763?] Unknown. A Short Account of the first Rise and Progress of Printing, 32°, p. 44.

In this [Arnold's Chronicle] is the Nut Brown Maid, supposed by Chaucer, as Skelton confirms . . . Mr. Prior has made a paraphrase of it . . . but knew not that it was by Chaucer.


[Dr. Dunkin died on 24 Nov., 1765.]


[p 318] It is, further, to be noted, that the Tale of the Giant OLYPHANT and Chylde TOPAZ was not a fiction of his own, but a story of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of chivalry: so that nothing could better suit the poet's design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them.

Sir TOPAZ is all Don QUIXOTE in little; as you will easily see from comparing the two knights together. [This is expanded.]

[p. 319] Only, I would observe, that, though, in this ridiculous ballad, the poet clearly intended to expose the romances of the time, as they were commonly written, he did not mean, absolutely and under every form, to condemn the kind of writing itself: as, I think, we must conclude from the
serious air, and very different conduct, of the Squire's Tale, which Spenser and Milton were so particularly pleased with.

[For the original and much briefer version, see above, pt. i, 1762, p. 421. The first paragraph quoted here follows that in the 1762 edn., ending "most proper to be put into the hands of the People."]


1773. Steevens, George. Notes [in] The Plays of William Shakespeare. [vol. iii, p. 8, n.] It is probable that the hint for this play [The Midsummer Night's Dream] was received from Chaucer's Knight's Tale . . .

[vol. ix, p. 7.] Chaucer had made the loves of Troilus and Cressida famous, which very probably might have been Shakespeare's inducement to try their fate on the stage. [See above, pt. i, p. 431, Capell.]

[There are also some passing references to Chaucer in Steevens's notes. For an additional note in Steevens's revised 2nd edn., see below, App. A, 1778.]


Thus when our Chaucer first awoke the string,
All rude and harsh the lays—though bold the flight . . .


[Brief conventional tributes.]


I have waded through Mr. Tyrwhitt's most tedious notes to the "Canterbury Tales," for a true Antiquary can still be zealous to settle the genuine shape of a lump of mineral from which Dryden extracted all the gold, and converted [it] into beautiful medals.

[Chaucer's mention of gossamer; the colours of young leaves observed by Chaucer in the *Flour and the Leaf.*]

1778. **Duncombe, John.** *An Elegy written in Canterbury Cathedral,* p. 8.

[Reference to Chaucer and the pilgrims, and to the Chequer inn, as that where they lodged.]


[An unofficial account of objects of interest in the British Museum.]

9. A Rough Egyptian Pebble . . . on which is a striking Likeness of the Head of Chaucer, father of the English Poets, and is entirely by the Pencil of Nature, without any assistance of Art. And now we will give a slight Description of another kind of Diamond, meaning Chaucer. [Quotations from Leland and Dryden.] One may see his very Temper on this Egyptian Pebble, which is a Composition of the Gay, the Modest, and the Grave.

[The Pebble is shewn in engraving No. 9 on pl. xxviii, facing p. 69. It is still exhibited in the Mineral Gallery of the Natural History Museum, and is mentioned in the "Blue Guide" to London, 1918, p. 246.]


[Note on Henry IV., Part 2, Act iii, scene 2, to Skogan's head.] Who *Scogan* was, may be understood from the following passage in *The Fortunate Isles,* a masque of Ben Jonson, 1626. [Quoted.]

Among the works of Chaucer is a poem called *'Scogan,* unto the Lordes and Gentilmen of the Kinges House.'—Steevens.

[See also below, App. A, 1783, Ritson, and 1793, Malone. For Steevens's other notes, see his ed. 1, above, App. A, 1773.]
1778. **Unknown.** *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; see above, pt. i, p. 452.

[The 6th edn. appeared in 1823; the Chaucer and Lydgate articles in it are exact reprints of those in the 5th.]


[Hamilton died in 1779; these drawings were engraved in 1787 for some projected 4th edition of the *Tales*. See *N. and Q.* 1880, 6th ser., vol. ii, pp. 325–6, 355; Hammond, *Chaucer*, p. 324.]


[Brief reference.]


[Brief reference; Chaucer on fairies.]


*Catling*: Did you ever notice the remaining colours of the curious little figure that was painted on the tomb of Chaucer?

*Nollekens*: No, that's not at all in my way.

[J. T. Smith accompanied his father and Nollekens on this occasion as an assistant in their work as monumental sculptors, and was probably about fifteen; he was born in 1766.]


[On the genitive case in Saxon; forms in Chaucer such as *Knitis*.]


[Johnson and Dryden on Chaucer.]


[In continuation of J. R., see above, 1780; and also below, 1781, 'Scrutator.']
1785

**Appendix A.**

1781. **Harris, James.** *Philological Inquiries*, Part iii, chapter xi, pp. 467–72, 480.

[Chauser's learning.]

1781. **[Pinkerton, John.]** *On the progress of the English Language*, Sonnet 1, Rimes, p. 131.

Chaucer to the wanton court her bore,
Where jest and wiles she learned and amorous play.

['Her' is the English Muse.]


[In continuation of 'J. R.' and 'H.' above, 1780, 1781.]


[stanza v]

... The busy throng
Of spirits waft him safe along
Where Chaucer’s reverend shade yclad in bayes
His chaplet vails, meet guerdon of his layes.


[p. 31] ['Kid-fox.'][p. 99] [Scogan.]


The works of Chaucer and Gower, who flourished in the fourteenth century, are as intelligible to a modern reader, as those of King James, Lydgate, or Occleve.


**CHAUCER CRITICISM.—IV.**


[Brief reference.]


[Brief reference.]


[Brief reference.]

1789. White, Gilbert. The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne, p. 381.

[Chaucer and Langland satirize the clergy.] The laughable tales of the former are familiar to almost every reader.


[There are probably other Chaucerian quotations and references in Malone's notes to the Plays.]


The Living Language.

Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and an infinite number of excellent writers, have fallen martyrs to their patriotism by writing in their mother tongue. Spenser is not always intelligible without a glossary.

[Reprinted in the 4th edn., 1798, vol. i, p. 586, but not reprinted in later editions. D'Israeli added to and enlarged this book for many years; vol. ii was added in]
1793, vol. iii in 1817, vols. iv and v in 1823, and vol. vi in 1834. By 1841 twelve editions had appeared, each revised and altered. For further Chaucer references in the completed work, see below, 1793, 1798, and above, pt. i, 1807, 1823, 1834.

1791. [Huddesford, George.] Salmagundi; a miscellaneous combination of Original Poetry, p. 143.

Monody on the death of Dick, an academical cat.

Cat-Gossips full of Canterbury Tales.


Right wele of learnet clerkis is it saide,
That wemenheid for mannis use is made.


Our greatest English poets, Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, have been professed admirers of the Italians.
[For Miss Seward’s letter in reply to this, see above, pt. i, p. 494.]

[1792.] Macklin, ——. Proposals for Macklin’s English Poets . . . particularly . . . Chaucer . . . Skelton, etc.


[Boke of Fame, ed. Caxton; Chaucer’s house; review of Lipscombe’s Pardoner’s Tale.]


Romances.

Chaucer is a notorious imitator and lover of them [the Italian Romances]; his Knight’s Tale is little more than a paraphrase of Boccaccio’s Teseide.
Appendix A. [A.D. 1794–]

Poet Laureat.

[p. 286] Gower and Chaucer were laureates.

[p. 469] Natural Productions resembling artificial compositions.

There is preserved in the British Museum a black stone, on which nature has sketched a resemblance of the portrait of Chaucer. [See above, App. A., 1778, Rymsdyk.]

1794. [Mathias, Thomas James.] The Pursuits of Literature, pp. 28–9 n.

['Gibbe our cat.]

[For other references in the Pursuits of Literature, see above, 1794, pt. i, p. 495, and below, 1797 and 1800.]


['Nesh.]

1794. Tooke, John Horne. [When in the Tower Tooke had a Chaucer, which he used for notes and minutes. The copy afterwards belonged to Samuel Rogers. See Crabb Robinson's Diary, 1840, ed. 1869, vol. iii, p. 187.]


[Brief reference; Review of Lipscomb's Canterbury Tales; the marriage service in Chaucer.]


Thou ruin'd relique of the ancient pile,
Rear'd by that hoary bard, whose tuneful lyre
First breath'd the voice of music on our isle;
Where, warn'd in life's calm evening to retire,
Old Chaucer slowly sunk at last to night,
Still shall his forceful line, his varied strain,
A firmer, nobler monument remain,
When the high grass waves o'er thy lovely site;
And yet the cankering tooth of envious age
Appendix A.

Has sapp'd the fabric of his lofty rhyme;
Though genius still shall ponder o'er the page,
And piercing through the shadowy mist of time,
The festive Bard of Edward's court recall,
As fancy paints the pomp that once adorn'd thy wall.


Chaucer frequently spared himself the trouble of invention, and adopted the allegories of the Provençal school, and the licentious humour or the dignified romance of Boccaccio.


[Tyrwhitt's discovery of Minot.]


What old Chaucer says of poetry,

Tis every dele

A rock of ice and not of steel.

[See also above, 1794, pt. i, p. 495, and App. A, 1794, and below, 1800.]


Anecdotes of Fashion.

[vol. i, p. 479] [Chaucer on prelates' dress quoted.]

A Literary Wife.

[vol. ii, p. 40] [This section is headed as follows:]

Marriage is such a rabble rout
That those that are out, would fain get in;
And those that are in, would fain get out.

Chaucer.

1798. Jaques. What was! [in] Satires, etc., pp. 9, 10.

Chaucer . . .

Has left good models for the present day . . .
[Saxon words in Chaucer; modernizations, etc.]

[Brief reference; Chaucer’s tomb; Donnington.]

[Chaucer’s innate superiority to his contemporaries.]

In defence of my opinion about the nightingales, I find Chaucer, who of all poets seems to have been fondest of the singing of birds, calls it a merry note.

1800. **[Mathias, Thomas James.]** *The Pursuits of Literature*. [This note is dated Nov. 1800 in the collected edn. of 1812 (p. 359); it is here quoted from the 11th edn., 1801, pp. 441–2.  
[Quotation from the *Hous of Fame*.]

[For other extracts from *The Pursuits of Literature*, see above, pt. i, 1794, p. 495, and App. A, 1794 and 1797.]

[Quotation from *Antient Scottish Poems*; Gower preferred to Chaucer in their own time.]

It is worth while here to observe, that the affecting parts of Chaucer are almost always expressed in language pure and universally intelligible to this day.—W. W., 1800.  
[This preface did not appear in the first edition of 1798.]

[Chaucer and the daisy.]

[The *Knights Tale* and *Troilus* based on Boccaccio's *Teseide* and *Filostrato*; Chaucer the inventor of the rhymeroyal stanza.]


[Pynson's Chaucer sold at Dr. Askew's sale.]

[There are many new allusions in the greatly enlarged edition of 1811, q.v. below.]


[Quotation from "The Coke's Tale of Gamlyn, ascribed to Chaucer."]


[The note on p. 515 is the only allusion in the small first edn. of 1809 (q.v. above, App. A.); the other allusions appear here for the first time and are reprinted in the 3rd edn. of 1842, with the addition of two in the account of Baron Bolland's books in the First Supplement. Most are unimportant; that on p. 319 is a laudation of William Thynne for his love for and work on Chaucer.]


[The unique copy of the original edn. of 1812 belongs to Lord Crewe. See above, pt. ii, sect. i, p. 56, 1811, Trotter; also above, App. A., 1800, Fox.]

[p. 211] "He entertained a sincere veneration for Chaucer." He entertained *a sincere veneration* for so many, that we have reason to suppose he had little discrimination. . . . Chaucer

[p. 212] is indeed an admirable poet; until the time of Shakespeare none equalled him; and perhaps none after, till ours. The truth of his delineations, his humour, his simplicity, his tenderness, how different from the distorted images and gorgeous languor of Spenser! The language, too, of Chaucer was the language of his day, the language of those Englishmen who conquered France; that of Spenser is a strange uncouth compound of words. . . .

[p. 215] In Chaucer . . . we recognize the strong homely strokes,
the broad and negligent facility, of a great master. Within
his time and Shakespeare's, there was nothing comparable,
nor, I think, between Shakespeare and Burns, a poet who
much resembles him in a knowledge of nature and manners.

1812. P. Tabard Inn, [with plate, in] The Gentleman's Magazine,

[The inn, the inscription over the gateway, etc.] Till lately
there was some ancient tapestry in the house representing a
procession to Canterbury. A well-painted sign by Mr. Blake
[? a copy of the Canterbury Pilgrims] represents Chaucer
and his merry company setting out . . .

1813. Scott, Sir Walter. The Bridal of Triermain.
Motto on title page.
An elf-queue wol I love I wis
[and five following lines.]

Rime of Sir Thopas.


Ah! you have looked on the face of the grisly god of
arms, then?—you are acquainted with the frowns of Mars
armipotent?

1819. Keats, John. The Eve of Saint Mark. [Composed early in 1819,
and published posthumously.] (Works, ed. E. de Selincourt, 2nd
ed., 1907, pp. 243.)

[The following lines, supposed to introduce the mediæval
legend of St. Mark, are clearly imitated from Chaucer:]

—-Als writith he of swevenis
Men han beforme they wake in bliss . . .
And how a litling child mote be
A saint er its nativitie . . .
He writith ; and thinges many mo
Of swiche thinges I may not show
Bot I must tellen veritie
Somdel of Sainte Cicilie,
And chieflie what he auctorethe
Of Sainte Markis life and dethe . . .

Thee too, Father Chaucer! I saw, and delighted to see thee,
At whose well undefiled I drank in my youth and was
strengthen'd;
With whose mind immortal so oft I have communed, part-
taking
All its manifold moods, and willingly moved at its pleasure.


[This is stated above (pt. ii, sect. i, p. 144) to have been
reprinted in 1855. But that reprint is of Hunt's second
version, first published in *Chaucer Modernised*, 1841.]

1823. Markham, Mrs. [ps., i.e. Elizabeth Penrose.] *A History of
England, for the Use of Young Persons*, conversation on chap. xix,
pp. 174-5 (edn. 1853).

[Chaucer the father of English poetry; this is enlarged
upon, and a few lines ("the busy lark, the messenger of
day," etc.) quoted and obsolete words explained.]

[Professor Skeat (*A Student's Pastime*, 1896, pp. xiii-xiv) stated that Mrs. Mark-
ham's *History of England* was one of his lesson-books as a child [c. 1845], and that
this passage first turned his attention to old English.]

Conder, 1824, [in] The Quarterly Review, June 1825, vol. xxxii,
pp. 224-5. [Reprinted, as *Sacred Poetry*, in Occasional Papers and
Reviews by John Keble, 1877, pp. 97-8.]

[p. 97] In all ages of our literary history it seems to have been
considered almost as an essential part of a poet's duty to
give up some pages to Scriptural story, or to the praise of
his Maker, how remote soever from anything like religion
the general strain of his writings might be. Witness the
"Lamentation of Mary Magdalene" in the works of Chaucer,
[p. 98] and the beautiful legend of "Hew of Lincoln," which he has
inserted in the "Canterbury Tales" . . .


The most confirmed gait that he could establish was a
Canterbury gallop with the hind legs.

1830. Cunningham, Allan. *The Lives of the Most Eminent British
Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 6 vols., vol. ii, pp. 161-2, 165,
172.
The picture [Blake's Canterbury Pilgrims] is a failure. Blake was too great a visionary for dealing with such literal wantons as the Wife of Bath and her jolly companions. . . He gives grossness of body for grossness of mind.

[a. 1834.] Stothard, Thomas. *Paintings, etc., illustrating Chaucer.*

[Stothard not only painted the celebrated picture of the Canterbury Pilgrims, *q.v.* above, pt. ii, sect. i, 1808, and Carey, pt. ii, sect. i, p. 35, etc.; at his sale in 1834 three pictures from Chaucer were sold, and at Samuel Rogers's sale in 1856 "The Canterbury Pilgrims" and engravings and drawings of it, and also another picture, probably one of those sold in 1834, appear. See Rogers's Catalogue, pp. 64, 97–8, 103, 115, 181 and 195; and Mrs. Bray's *Life of Thomas Stothard*, 1851, pp. 241, 243. He also painted a picture of the Cock and the Fox. See above, 1836, pt. ii, sect. i, p. 203.]


[An account of Chaucer, followed by select passages. Chaucer the founder of literary English; a man of the world; his life (including the exile, etc.); his works, a brief account of some of the minor works, including some supposititious pieces, e.g. *The Testament of Love* and *The Court of Love*; a longer account of the scheme of *The Canterbury Tales*. An extract is given from the Prologue, in original spelling; this is followed by other extracts, mainly from the *Canterbury Tales*, in Cowden Clarke's and other modernized forms. Illustrated with woodcuts of Chaucer, of his tomb, and of the Tabard Inn.]

1848. Gaskell, Elizabeth Cleghorn, Mrs. *Mary Barton*, 2 vols., vol. i, pp. 70, 80, 96, 127, 157, 211.

[Foot-notes pointing out the survival of Chaucerian words in Lancashire.]


[This is entered above, pt. ii, sect. ii, p. 22, as [c. 1855]. In the *Examiner*, 18 May, 1867, it is stated that Hunt finished his part of this work "a year or two before his death," which happened in 1859. The date should therefore read as here given.]
ADDENDUM.

[1596.] Shakespeare, William. The Merchant of Venice, v, i, 3–6.

In such a night
Troilus methinks mounted the Troyan walls,
And sighed his soul toward the Grecian tents
Where Cressid lay that night.

[For other evidences of Shakespeare's debt to Troilus, see above, App. A 1589–1603, and 1603?]
FIVE HUNDRED YEARS
OF
CHAUCER CRITICISM AND ALLUSION
APPENDIX B.

THE REPUTATION OF CHAUCER IN FRANCE.

A detailed account of the history of Chaucer's fame in France will be found in my French book on Chaucer criticism. Here a brief sketch only will be given of the main points of interest in it, to be followed by the text of the French allusions and criticisms.

It is curious that the earliest tribute of praise to Chaucer as a poet should have been written by a Frenchman. For Eustache Deschamps' charming greeting to the 'grant translator, noble Geoffroy Chaucier,' is, if we accept 1386 as its probable date, the earliest known allusion to Chaucer written by either poet or critic. Deschamps himself little thought when he wrote his ballad to his brother poet across the Channel, that, with the exception of Froissart's reference in his Chronicles, nearly three centuries would pass before any reference to Chaucer of any kind would again be found in a French book.

Deschamps' ballad is well known, and, although there are many linguistic difficulties in it, the main drift of it is clear. Deschamps has heard of Chaucer's Roman de la Rose and possibly of other poems, but his fame as a translator overshadows all else. Chaucer, he says, has started an orchard in England in which he has planted many fair plants and flowers for those who are ignorant of the French tongue. Deschamps thirsts for a draught from Chaucer's fountain. He therefore sends some of his own small plants by Clifford to the English poet, begging him to look kindly on the work of a beginner, 'les œuvres d'escolier,' and asking Chaucer to quench his thirst by sending him some of his works in return.

Making all due allowance for rhetoric, still the praise in the first stanza of the ballad is very high; Chaucer is a Socrates in philosophy, a Seneca in morals and an Ovid in poetry, brief in speech and wise in eloquence.

1 Chaucer devant la Critique en Angleterre et en France depuis son temps jusqu'à nos jours, par Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Hachette, 1911, ch. vii.
2 Thomas Usk's Testament of Love is dated c. 1387, and Gower's first version of the Confessio Amantis, 1390.
Appendix B.

The next allusion we find to Chaucer in France is Froissart's well-known mention of him in the Chronicles (written 1386-88), when he records that in the spring of 1377 'Jeffrois Cauchiès' was sent by the English king with others to 'Monstruel-sus-mer' to treat for peace.

An interesting proof that Chaucer was at an early date read by a Frenchman is to be found in the list of Chaucer's pilgrims written by Jean d'Orléans on his manuscript copy of the Canterbury Tales, showing that during his captivity in England (from 1412 to 1445) he had read and probably appreciated the English poet. And after this, until the year 1674, we find no reference to Chaucer in France, no sign of knowledge on the part of any French writer that such a poet existed. This is not so odd as at first sight it appears, when we realise that English was practically an unknown tongue in France, and that even the very few Frenchmen who penetrated to the barbarous island during the 16th and 17th centuries seem to have had neither the desire nor the capacity to learn the language.

So that whereas in England, from the days of Gower and Chaucer, the French language and literature were well known, and Marot, Du Bellay, Rabelais, Montaigne and Du Bartas were familiar to our poets and scholars; in France, on the other hand, from the time that Deschamps wrote his ballad to the beginning of the 18th century, for savants and poets as well as for the whole French nation, English literature simply did not exist.

In the very last year of the 17th century, however, we have a curious bit of evidence as to the interest that was being taken in Chaucer by at least one famous French writer. Dryden, in his Preface to the Fables (written 1699), tells us that he hears on good authority that Mademoiselle de Scudéry is translating Chaucer into modern French.

Although 'Sapho' was at this time ninety-two, we know from

1 Thévet's account of Chaucer, published in 1584, was not known to us when these pages were printed.
3 See above, pt. i, p. 282.
The Reputation of Chaucer in France.

the pen of an English writer that in 1698 she was mentally as vigorous as ever,¹ so there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information, and it is interesting to picture the writer of Le Grand Cyrus busying herself in her old age by turning Chaucer into French. We have, however, searched Mademoiselle de Scudéry's letters in vain for any allusion to this occupation, and if she succeeded in completing any of the translation, it is not now to be found.

The earliest mention of Chaucer we can find in a French book after Froissart's reference to him is in the first edition of Louis Moréry's Grand Dictionnaire Historique, which appeared in 1674. This contains a short notice of the poet stating that 'il fut surnommé l'Homère Anglais à cause de ses beaux vers.'

Chaucer's name occurs in a list of English poets in a work by Guy Miège, called L'État présent d'Angleterre sous la reine Anne, published in 1702. Miège's book was a kind of periodical publication, of which there were a good many editions both in English and French, and this list of poets in the 1702 French edition is almost an exact translation of the list in the three English editions of 1691, 1693 and 1707. In the next French edition of Miège's book, however (in 1708), a curious change occurs, and Gower, Lydgate and Chaucer are all left out of the list, possibly because it was thought they were so obscure and ancient that they could have no interest for French readers.

It is in the Journals and Gazettes written by the Protestant refugees in England, and published sometimes in London and sometimes in Holland, that we find for the first time a real knowledge of English literature and a detailed account of it in the French tongue; and it is in one of these many cosmopolitan reviews, the Journal Littéraire, à la Haye, that we find the next two references to Chaucer. One of these (1715) is an announcement of the forthcoming edition of Chaucer's Works by Urry, and the other (1717) comes at the end of a really detailed and able essay on English literature, the most important which had as yet been written in French, entitled Dissertation sur la Poésie Angloise. The writer regrets that space has not permitted him to speak of Chaucer, 'le Père de la Poésie Angloise,' but adds that he hopes to write about him at length when the new edition of his works

¹ See A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698, by Dr. Martin Lister, London, 1699, pp. 93-4.
Appendix B.

appears. This was a promise which remained unfulfilled, for there is no further reference to him in the Journal, when, after many delays, Urry's edition finally appeared in 1721. It is, however, a great advance to mention him at all, and to do so, moreover, in such respectful terms.

During the years 1720–50 a great change took place as regards the knowledge and appreciation of English authors in France. In the early years of the 18th century the French reading public were both ignorant and contemptuous of English literature, whereas by 1750 the taste for English books in France had so grown as almost to reach the point of mania. This extraordinary change was mainly due to the work of the Abbé Prévost and Voltaire, who both lived for some time in England and made it one of their chief aims in writing to introduce into France a knowledge and a love of England and of English thought.

Prévost, in his Journal Le Pour et Contre, translates and reviews a good deal of contemporary English literature, but the older poets are scarcely mentioned by him, and there is but one passing reference to Chaucer in 1740. Voltaire shows no knowledge of any poet before Shakespeare; he mentions Spenser twice, but in terms which show he has not read him, and he never speaks of Chaucer at all. Still, owing chiefly to these two writers, the taste for English literature in France steadily increased, and it was augmented by the extraordinary and immediate vogue of Richardson and the large number of translations from the English which now began to appear.

To meet the public taste many journals devoted a great part of their space to translations and reviews of English works, and English novels, poems and plays were collected, translated and abridged in great quantities. Two typical compilations of this kind are l'Idée de la poésie angloise, by the Abbé Yart, 1749 and 1753–6, and Choix de différents morceaux de Poésie, traduits de l'Anglois, by J. A. Trochereau, 1749; and in both of these we find references to Chaucer.

The full title of the Abbé Yart’s book is significant and fairly ambitious (see below, 1749); he published it in two volumes in 1749, and apparently it met with success, for he re-issued it in 1753–56, much enlarged, in eight volumes.

1 See the list of these given by M. Jusserand on pp. 275–6 of his Shakespeare in France (English edn.), and see also Texte, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, pp. 265–8.
It is in the seventh volume of the second edition that we find the most interesting Chaucer references. This contains translations of various English 'Contes,' preceded by a *Discours sur les Contes*, and followed by a life of Chaucer, and a translation of Dryden's version of *Palamon and Arcite*.

In the preliminary 'Discours' Yart points out that Chaucer was inspired alike by the Provençal poets and by their imitators, the Italians, and that, according to Dryden, Chaucer surpassed both originals and imitators: 'il a effacé Ovide même, et il ne le cède pas à Homère ni à Virgile; nous verrons ce qu'il faut penser de ce préjugé national.' He goes on to say that he will give an example of a very noble type of 'Conte' which Dryden has imitated from Chaucer.

Then follows Chaucer's life, at some length, which is the most considerable account of the poet that had as yet appeared in French. The remarks on the *Canterbury Tales* are interesting and unusual, those towards the end specially have a refreshing ring of genuine feeling called forth apparently by Yart having vainly attempted to translate some of the poems.

'Ce qu'il ya de plus original dans Chaucer,' he says, 'ce sont les divers caractères des auteurs des Contes . . . il peignit d'après nature leurs caractères, leurs habillements, leurs vertus et leurs vices, mais ses portraits sont si bizarre et si étranges, ses personnages si désagrables et si indécents, ses satyres si cruelles et si impies, que malgré l'art que j'ai tâché de mettre dans ma traduction, je n'ai pû me flatter de les rendre supportables. Ses autres contes sont encore plus licencieux que ceux de nos Poètes les plus obscènes; je les laisserai par la même raison dans l'obscurité de leur vieux langage.' This outburst is modified a little further on when Yart admits that it is said that the poetry of Chaucer is as easy and natural as the prose of Boccaccio. Finally, Yart quotes and applies to Chaucer, Voltaire's stanza on Homer, without giving any indication of the change he is making; so that it runs thus:—

'Plein de beautés et de défauts
Le vieux Chaucer a mon estime
Il est, comme tous ses héros
Babillard, outré, mais sublime.'

Yart adds to this, by way of qualification: 'Il est sublime quelquefois, mais il ne l'est pas aussi souvent qu'Homère.'
In the little volume called *Choix de différens morceaux de Poésie, traduits de l'Anglois*, which was published by Trochereau in 1749, this writer says in a note to his translation of Pope's *Temple of Fame* that Chaucer is so often spoken of in English books that he thinks it may be of interest to give some account of his life, which he accordingly does, ending with some quotations from Dryden's appreciation, the first time, we believe, that this had appeared in French.

In 1755 we have an interesting record of the first attempt we know of on the part of a Frenchman to write a history of English literature. This work was projected by Claude-Pierre Patu, a young enthusiast about all things English, who, however, did not live to carry it out, for he died of consumption in 1757. He sketches his plan in a series of letters to his friend David Garrick, whom he begs to send him a copy of Chaucer, and also to give him some information as to the state of the English language in Chaucer's time (see below, 1755).

The best-known of the many French magazines dealing with English literature about this time was perhaps the *Journal Étranger*, which was issued from 1754 to 1762, and was edited in turn by five well-known men, Grimm, Prévost, Fréron, Arnaud and Suard. The object of the journal is stated clearly in the first number (April 1754, pp. iv–ix), and it may be taken as representative of the aim of all these cosmopolitan papers. This aim was, in fact, to establish a correspondence between the nations of Europe in matters of thought, to draw together various types of genius, to put writers of all countries in touch with one another, and to teach each nation no longer to despise others and to claim for itself the exclusive gift of thought, which claim alone, says the writer, shows how baseless it is.

In this paper, during the time it was under Prévost's editorship (which lasted only from January to August 1755), there appeared, in the volume for May 1755, a long account of Chaucer, very probably written by Prévost himself. This account (which is headed 'Vie des Poètes Anglais, par M. Colley Cibber') is a very free and abridged translation of portions of Theophilus Cibber's 'Life' of Chaucer, which appeared in 1753, with some remarks added by the French writer. He compares his style to Villon and to Marot, and he ends with a paragraph of strong praise which is not in Cibber, but which is inspired evidently by
Dryden’s favourable opinion. His praise for Nicolas Brigham’s ‘public spirit’ is noteworthy, because Brigham’s action is taken absolutely for granted by all English writers and receives no comment from them.

In October, 1775, a fortnightly review, the Journal Anglais, was started, which had for sole subject England and English matters, and a feature of each number is that it contains a biography of some English poet or man of letters. The first of these was, quite rightly, devoted to Chaucer; it is a long and detailed life, founded on Cibber and the Biographia Britannica of 1748, interspersed with occasional little embroideries by the French writer. The summing up of Chaucer’s character and powers at the end of the article is of special interest; it is evident that Dryden’s appreciation of the poet has been read, so also it would appear has been one of Lydgate’s remarks on the kindness of the great man towards his brother poets.

After this date, biographical dictionaries and cyclopædias begin to take the place of these ‘Journals’ as disseminators of general knowledge, and the greater number of the references to Chaucer, which we find from the beginning of the 19th century onwards, are in works of this nature. Moréri’s Grand Dictionnaire Historique, to which we have already referred, is the earliest in date of these to mention Chaucer (1674). In the numerous editions of this work in the early 18th century there is little change in the notice of the poet, but the edition of 1740 has an interesting variation. After the statement that Chaucer’s English works were printed in London in 1561, we find this instructive addition: ‘On a de lui en Latin, Laudes bonarum Mulierum; Vita Cleopatræ; Vita Lucretiæ Romææ; Flos Urbantis; Sepultura Misericordiæ; De Astrolabii ratione.’ Evidently the reviser of 1740, being struck by the expression ‘Ses ouvrages anglais’ which occurs in the earlier editions, thought it a pity some account should not be given of works in other languages, and so proceeded to search for and successfully to find Chaucer’s Latin works. But why two of the lives of the Legend of Good Women, the Flower ofCourtesy, the Complaynte to Pity and the Astrolabe should have been selected for this distinction, it is impossible to say. Had he looked in Leland, or Bale, or Pits, he would have found the titles of all Chaucer’s works in Latin, and not these only; besides, these titles, as given here, have a slightly
different form from those in any of these three lists. It is in
this edition of the Dictionary that we are told in the article on
Shakespeare that he died in 1576, so the information it
contains on matters appertaining to English literature is not
very accurate.

After 1750, many lives of Chaucer appear in the various
Biographical Dictionaries. Louis Chaudon contributes one to the
* Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique* in 1770, reprinted by the Abbé
Feller in the *Dictionnaire Historique* in 1781 and 1789–94, in
which Chaucer is called 'le Marot des Anglais' and where we are
told that Chaucer did much by means of his poems to procure
the crown for his brother-in-law the Duke of Lancaster, and that
subsequently he shared that monarch's good and bad fortune.
Some remarks are added on Chaucer's style which show no greater
knowledge of the poet than of English history. This article is
reprinted in all subsequent editions of the Dictionary, and is to
be found as late as in the *Biographie Universelle* of 1860.

In 1813, J. B. Suard contributed a long account of Chaucer
to the *Biographie Universelle*. Suard (1734–1817) was a writer
of considerable ability who made the study of England and of
English literature his special province. He knew the language
well, and translated, or edited the translations, of many works
from the English, and he was looked upon as an authority in all
English questions. Suard's article on Chaucer is the first written
by a Frenchman which conveys the feeling that he had read any
of the poems in the original. He evidently knows the opening,
at any rate, of *Troilus and Criseyde*, a poem which had not been
modernised by any writer; he also shows some knowledge of *Sir
Thopas*. So that Suard's article may be said to mark a new
departure in the appreciation of the poet in France, and to in-
angurate the time when he was to be read by Frenchmen in his
own original English, and to be judged by them—no longer on
hearsay—but on his own merits.

Before going on to give some account of the successors of
Suard, that is, of the French writers who, in the 19th century,
have really known something of Chaucer, and consequently have
liked him, certain facts may be indicated which show how
little the general public, including many writers of books, knew
or cared about him. To go back a little, we may begin with
Contant d'Orville, the dramatist and novelist (born in 1730), who
The Reputation of Chaucer in France.

after a visit to London in 1770, of which he gives an amusing account, published Les Nuits Anglaises. The full title (see below, 1770) sufficiently indicates the medley of topics to be found in this curious compilation. It contains anecdotes of all kinds about English people in every age, extracts from English newspapers and English literature, and 'Digressions' of all sorts, on religion, on the Stock Exchange, on Beau Nash and on the English poets. Under this latter heading D'Orville gives a brief account of 33 different poets, beginning with Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Cowley; and on Chaucer he furnishes us with the following useful piece of information:

'CHAUWER. Chaucer est regardé comme le père de la Poesie anglaise : il vivait vers le milieu du quinzième siècle. On a de lui des contes plaisans et naïfs, écrits sans art et d'un style grossier, où l'on rencontre des pensées fortes.'

For the date when Chaucer flourished, D'Orville had possibly consulted Collier's Historical Dictionary of 1701, where 1440 is given as the year of Chaucer's death. The literary criticism is taken direct from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's lines in the Progress of Poetry, which were translated by Yart in 1749 (see below).

In 1784, Rivarol, one of the most brilliant French writers at the end of the 18th century, neatly characterises Chaucer's work, as well as the whole of English literature up to Milton, in the following words:

'Pendant un espace de quatre cents ans, je ne trouve en Angleterre que Chaucer et Spencer. Le premier mérita, vers le milieu du quinzième siècle, d'être appelé l'Homère Anglais ; notre Ronsard le mérita de même ; et Chaucer, aussi obscur que lui, fut encore moins connu. De Chaucer jusqu'à Shakespeare et Milton, rien ne transpire dans cette Isle célèbre, et sa littérature ne vaut pas un coup d'œil.'

It will be noticed that Rivarol, like D'Orville, pictured Chaucer as living in the middle of the 15th century, and a passing reference made to the poet by Madame de Staël, in 1800, looks as if she too were extremely hazy as to his dates (see below, 1800). The next writer who deals with Chaucer in French jumps him back more than a century from the date indicated by Rivarol and D'Orville, for he fixes 1328 as the time when he flourished and wrote (see below, 1803, Schwab). Three years later, Hennet
(1758–1828) published a *Poétique Anglaise* (3 tomes, Paris, 1806), in which he sums up Chaucer’s work by saying that he composed twelve volumes of verses, mostly tales in the style of Boccaccio, and that his language is hardly understood by the English of the present day.

There are not many more signs among those who write on the subject of almost complete lack of knowledge of the poet’s works and life. By degrees fuller and more accurate information about him became accessible in France, largely owing to the careful work of Gomont (1847) and Sandras (1859).

We may turn now to the more grateful task of tracing the gradual growth in France of knowledge and appreciation of Chaucer’s work.

Curiously enough, in 1813, the year in which Suard’s article appeared, we have proof that Chaucer in the original text was being read by yet another Frenchman. This is the close and careful translation of the *Clerk’s Tale* done by Dubuc in the first of two little volumes called *Les deux Grisélidis, Histoires Traduites de l’anglais, l’une de Chaucer, et l’autre de Mlle. Edgeworth*. The translation is done, not from Ogle’s modernisation from which Miss Edgeworth quotes, but from Chaucer’s own text, and, with the exception of the fragment of the Pardoner’s Prologue (in the *Journal Étranger*, 1755), this is, we believe, the first translation of any part of Chaucer into French, and it is, on the whole, very well done. Dubuc explains in his preface that although Miss Edgeworth has quoted from Ogle’s version, which is elegant but diffuse, he himself prefers Ogle’s original. Here we have some one speaking who has really read the original, and, having read it, appreciates its simplicity and charm.

Chateaubriand’s study of Chaucer, in his *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* (1836) in a chapter on ‘Chaucer, Bower [sic] and Barbour,’ is disappointing, and reveals no sign of knowledge of any but the two spurious poems, the *Court of Love* and the *Plowman’s Tale*. This insufficient treatment by Chateaubriand, however, called forth some interesting remarks in the following year (1837) from Villemain, who was professor of eloquence and modern history, and later of English literature, at the Sorbonne. These remarks prove that the poet had at that time at least one sincere admirer in France, who had read some of his work.

Chaucer’s next admirer in France, E. J. de Lécluze, writes a
very interesting article on the poet in the Revue française for April 1838. He says he has on his walls an engraving of Stothard’s picture of the Canterbury pilgrims, and that he finds himself obliged so often to explain the meaning of this ‘strange assembly’ to his friends that he has decided once and for all to translate the Prologue of the Canterbury Tales into French. There follows what we believe to be the earliest translation into French of the complete Prologue. It is done into prose, and it is very careful and simple. Several pages are then devoted to an account of Chaucer and of his work; each Canterbury Tale being described separately. The little prologue to Sir Thopas, part of the prologue of the Clerk’s Tale and a few lines from the prologue of the Wife of Bath are also translated. At the end the writer urges that it would be rendering a real service to letters if some one would make a complete translation of the Canterbury Tales into French. Unfortunately (putting aside the Chevalier de Chatelain’s translation in 1855) seventy years were to elapse before M. de Lécluze’s desire was accomplished, and a scholarly translation of Chaucer’s great work was given to the French public. Nine years after this article was written, Gomont published his study of Chaucer,1 in which, for the first time, a French writer devotes a whole book to the poet. It is a book which it is somewhat difficult to characterise. It is careful work, but at times the writer so entirely lacks comprehension of and sympathy with his subject that one wonders why he ever undertook it. Troilus and Criseyde, for instance, is dismissed as follows: ‘Troïle et Cresside, poème en cinq chants, d’un style généralement obscur. Le mauvais goût et la bizarrie y dominent.’ Or again, in speaking of the various tales told by the pilgrims, he says that in the eyes of an unprejudiced judge the greater number of the tales will certainly appear either badly chosen or badly told.

This last example shows more than anything else, perhaps, how the very spirit and essence of Chaucer’s art has been missed, more especially if we compare it with the very different treatment of the same point by M. Legouis in his introduction to the translation of the Canterbury Tales published in 1908.

All the same, Gomont’s book marks a distinct advance in

Appendix B.

Chaucer criticism in France. We get in it for the first time a detailed and comprehensive view of the poet's work, with long quotations from his poems in French, and we have as well a prose translation of the whole of the Knight's Tale.

Between the years 1857-60, the Chevalier de Chatelain brought out the whole of the Canterbury Tales in French verse. The attention of this eccentric and unliterary writer cannot, we fear, much have furthered Chaucer's reputation in France, for his careless, facile, jog-trot verses would not give any one who did not know the original, the least idea of Chaucer's work or of the delicacy of his art. Gausseron summed up the result accurately, if scathingly, when he said (in 1887) that 'l'essai de traduction des Contes de Canterbury par le Chevalier de Chatelain ne permet pas de dire que nous en possédions une version française.'

In 1859 there appeared Sandras's careful Étude sur Chaucer considéré comme imitateur des Trouvères. This is a fine piece of work, in which, for the first time, Chaucer's French sources are examined and his debt to French poets made out. To the present-day reader some of the 'étude' seems superficial, some of the assumptions appear hasty and unfounded, and there is a good deal which a competent scholar could now add or re-write; but fifty years ago it was pioneer work and extremely good.

Sandras examines the poems in considerable detail, and indicates the great influence exercised on Chaucer by the two parts of the Roman de la Rose, and he proves that it was in the school of Guillaume de Lorris that the English poet's taste was formed, just as it was in the school of Jean de Meung 'que s'est façonné son esprit.'

The next study of Chaucer is that by Taine. As early as 1856 Taine published an article on Chaucer in the Revue de l'Instruction publique, but his really important study of him is that in his Histoire de la littérature anglaise, the first volume of which appeared in 1863. This book is epoch-making as regards the knowledge of English letters in France, and for the first time the whole of English literature is brilliantly reviewed by a French pen. Taine places Chaucer to some extent in his setting, and he indicates in what ways he was more particularly a child of the middle ages. Here we find for the first time Troilus and Criseyde fully appreciated by a French writer, and Taine points out that it
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is in this poem that Chaucer's affinity with the French spirit is specially seen.

After Taine's book the references to English literature and to Chaucer gradually increase, and literary histories become more general. So we find notices by Ampère (1867), by Émile Chasles (1877), by J. J. Jusserand (1878), by Léon Boucher (1882), by Augustin Filon and Émile Montégut (1883), to name only a few. A more detailed study than any of these is in the Étude sur la langue anglaise au XIVe siècle by Adrien Baret in 1883, where Chaucer's life, language, versification and genius are dealt with at some length.

In 1889 another attempt was made to translate the Canterbury Tales, this time into French prose, but it did not succeed (see below, 1889, Simond).

M. Jusserand wrote on Chaucer for the first time at any length in an article in the Revue des Deux Mondes in 1893, which was incorporated in his Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais of the following year. Here we have a long account of Chaucer's life and work, with detailed criticism of the House of Fame, of Troilus, and of the Canterbury Tales. Chaucer's descriptive power, his humour, his sympathy with all classes, his good sense and his impartial judgment are all dealt with and charmingly portrayed.

In the year 1908 we come to the most important tribute to Chaucer which has so far appeared in France. This is the complete translation of the Canterbury Tales into French prose, which has been carried out by a company of the picked English scholars of France. The rendering is very careful and close, practically corresponding line for line with Skeat's edition. Three of the Tales (Reve, Shipmanne, and Prioress) and the Wife of Bath's Prologue have been put into blank verse by MM. Derocquigny and Koszul. Their poems retain to some extent the lightness and grace of the original, because of the movement or rhythm of the verse. But all the others are in prose, and although it is impossible for a foreigner to pronounce judgment on the effect this has on French ears, it would seem as if much of the grace and music of Chaucer were thereby lost. One cannot help wishing that it had been possible to render the Prologue, at any rate, into French verse, and this wish is intensified when we read some of M. Legouis' translations in his recent book on Chaucer, or even the
following charming fragment of Sir Thopas which he gives in a footnote to his prose translation in this collection:—

Oyez seigneurs, prêtez l'oreille,
Si vous dirogi-je grand' merveille,
   Histoire de renom,
D'un Chevalier bel et courtois
Dans la bataille et les tournois;
Sire Topaze a nom.

Sur terre étrange il vint au monde,
En Flandre, outre la mer profonde;
   Popering est le lieu;
Son père estoit homme d'honneur
Et de tout le pays seigneur
   Par la grâce de Dieu.

Si grandit-il en preux varlet;
Sa face est blanche comme lait,
   Sa bouche est de coral;
Son teint semble écarlate en graine,
Et, tenez la chose certaine,
   Son nez n'a pas d'égal.

Here we have, all at once, the lilt and movement of Chaucer's verse, and at the same time his humour, his finesse, and his grace.

This French version of the Canterbury Tales was received with much interest and appreciation on both sides of the Channel, as may be seen by two articles by M. Emile Gebhart (Gaulois, April 23, 1907, and Débats, May 11, 1908), and by English reviews such as that in the Academy, Jan. 25, 1908, or in the Times Literary Supplement of August 14 of the same year.

In the interesting and suggestive introduction which M. Legouis contributes to this volume, he proves how completely a modern Frenchman can understand Chaucer. He draws attention to the supreme achievement of Chaucer in the development of story-telling as an art, which is the shifting of the centre of interest from the machinery or plot to the characters of the actors. So we get with Chaucer an awakening of sympathy even for the deluded and cheated characters, which formed no part of the old fabliaux or comic tales. We find ourselves no longer in the presence of simple comedy, but of something at once more human and more complex, drama which trembles between laughter and pity. Thus we see in Chaucer's work the first indications of a new observation of life and of new forms of art yet to be born.
M. Legouix has developed and enlarged his study of Chaucer in the little volume on the poet which he contributed in 1910 to the series of 'Les Grands Écrivains Étrangers.' He there gives a complete account of Chaucer's life and work, and the book is enriched by many delightful translations of the poems into French verse.

With these two recent incontestable proofs of Chaucer scholarship and appreciation in France this brief survey comes to a close.

As the centuries pass on and scholarship widens, change in language or difference in language presents less and less of a barrier. So it is that to-day we see Chaucer reaching, not a smaller but a larger audience, becoming more loved and better known, not only in his own land, but also in France, to whose literature he owed so much, and to whose spirit he was in many ways so closely akin.
FRENCH ALLUSIONS.


AUTRE BALADE

O Socrates plains de philosophie
Seneque en meurs et anglux en pratique
Ouides grans en ta poeterie
Bries en parler saiges en rethorique
Aigles treshaulz qui par ta theorique
Enlumines le regne deneas
Lisle aux geans ceuls de bruth 2 et qui as
Seme les fleurs et plante le rosier
Aux ignorans de la langue pandras 3
Grant translateur noble geffroy chaucier

1 The exact text of the manuscript is here printed. This may be useful, as it has often been reprinted with different corrections. Thus slight changes have been made in its text, even in the edition of the Anciens Textes Français, without due comment. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRINTED TEXT</th>
<th>MANUSCRIPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>line 25</td>
<td>Qui en Gaule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 20-30</td>
<td>Grand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>line 32</td>
<td>seroie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Deschamps obtains the name by which he designates England from the Brut of Wace; cf. the ballade of Deschamps, Sur les divers noms de l’Angleterre, with the refrain “C’est de ce mot l’interpretacion,” (Œuvres vi, pp. 87-8; and De la prophecie de Merlin sur la destruction d’Angleturre qui doit bref advenir, refrain “Ou temps jadis estoit ci Angleturre,” (Œuvres ii, pp. 33-4.

3 La langue pandras—the French language. The idea of this expression comes also from Wace. Pandras was a mythical king of Greece, who had been vanquished by Brutus—the first king of Britain (England) according to the legend—at the head of a certain number of Trojan exiles who had been kept as slaves by Pandras. When Brutus, with the Trojan victors, landed in “Albion,” he founded the realm of Britain. The language of the inhabitants of Britain (that of Chaucer) is first of all called Trojan, then “British,” i.e. the language of Brutus. The language of Brutus being English, the language of Pandras, the enemy of Brutus, must have been French, the language of the hereditary enemies of England. See an article in the Academy, Nov. 14, 1891, p. 432, by Dr. Paget Toynbee, on this ballade.
Tu es damours mondaIns dieux en albie
Et de la rose en laterre angelique
Qui dangela saxonne et \(^1\) puis flourie
Angleterre dello ce nom sapplice
Le derrenier en lethimologique
En bon angles le livre translatas
Et un vergier ou du plant demandas
De ceuls qui font\(^2\) pour euxx auctorisier
A ja long temps que tu edifias
Grant translat\(\)eur noble geffroy chaucier

A toy pour ce de la fontaine helye
Requier avoir un buurai\(\)e autentique
Dont la doys est du tout en ta baillie
Pour refrener delle ma soif ethique
Qui men\(^3\) gaule seray paralitique
Jusques a ce que tu mabuueras
Eustaces sui qui de mon plant aras
Mais pran en gre les euures descolier
Que par clifford de moy aoir pourras
Grant translat\(\)eur noble gieffroy chaucier

LENUOY

Poete hault loenge destmye\(^4\)
En ton jardin ne seroie quortie
Considere\(^5\) ce que jay dit premier
Ton noble plant ta douce melodie
Mais pour scauoir de rescripre te prie
Grant translat\(\)eur noble geffroy chaucier.

\(^1\) est !
\(^2\) Ceuls qui font, i.e. the poets, "the makers." Cf. Chaucer in the Compleynt of Venus, where he speaks of Oton de Graunson as "flour of hem that make in Fraunce."
\(^3\) en !
\(^4\) Destmye. It appears to us that this is, without doubt, the reading of the manuscript, although, at first sight, "destruye" might seem to be correct. But on close inspection it will be seen that the down-stroke of the \(m\) is without the small hook that the scribe attaches throughout to the \(r\). "destyue" is possible, but no dot is visible over the \(i\). It seems impossible to discover the sense of the passage. Toynbee and Ker suggest "deservye" (Academy, Nov. 14, 1891), Nicholas, Wright and Sandras suggest "destynye"; "destruye" is printed in the edn. of the Anciens Textes Francais, and Tarbe (Œuvres inédites de Deschamps, 1849, tome i, pp. 123-4) is the sole editor who has previously printed the word as it is found in the manuscript.
\(^5\) Should it be read considéré!


[ante 1445.] D'Orléans, Jean, Comte d'Angoulême. *A list of the pilgrims in the Canterbury Tales,* written in Jean d'Orléans' hand, on a manuscript of the Canterbury Tales which was among the books in his library. MSS. Angl. No. 39, Bibl.-Nationale, fol. A.


[Jean d'Orléans (brother of Charles d'Orléans) was given as a hostage to Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, by the Dukes of Orléans, of Berry, of Bretagne and Bourbon, in 1412, at the age of 13. He was imprisoned first in London, then at the Castle of Maxey, and he was only released at the age of 46, in May, 1445, after 33 years of captivity. He was passionately fond of books, and he had a library of some 100 manuscripts, 11 of which are copied in his own hand. From the Inventory made of his books in 1467 (he died on the 30th April, 1467), it is clear that he was a great reader and a scholar, that he had learnt English and that he read Chaucer in the original. For in this Inventory we find a manuscript of the Canterbury Tales thus described: 'Ung roman, en Anglois, rime, en paper, commancant, ou premier fuellot, "want taht aprill" et finissant, ou penultime, "Allerons apetite [sic]."' This manuscript is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale with the table of contents in the handwriting of Jean d'Orléans.]


1674. Moréri, Louis. [Article 'Geofroy' in the] *Grand dictionnaire historique* . . . première édition. [This work was revised and reprinted in 1681 (q. e.), and many times afterwards.]

[No article under Chaucer. But under Geoffroy or Godefroy de Viterbe there is a second paragraph which begins:]
Il y a aussi eu Geoffroy, ... Religieux de l'ordre de Saint Benoît. ... [5 lines.]
... Geoffroy, autre Bénédictin. [5 lines.]
... Geoffroy Chaucer de Woodstock en Angleterre, surnommé l'Homere Anglois à cause de ses beaux vers, se fit des Estimateurs de tous les honnêtes gens, et donna au public divers Traités, dont Gesner fait le dénombrement, in Bibl. Camden, Britan., p. 55.
... Geoffroy, dit de Fontibus. [4 lines.]
... Geoffroy de Ville Hardouin. [4 lines.]
[These five men are described in this one paragraph, whereas a little earlier 16 lines are given to Geoffroy de Monmouth.]


CHAUVER (Geofroy) natif de Woodstock en Angleterre, vivait dans le xiv Siècle. Il fut surnommé l'Homere Anglois, à cause de ses beaux Vers, & il se fit des estimateurs de tous les honnêtes gens de son tems. Il donna au public divers Ouvrages de sa façon, dont on pourra voir le dénombrement dans Leland, Pitseus, Gesner, &c. Le premier parle ainsi de luy dans ses Epigrammes :

_Praedicat Algerum merito Florentia Dantem,
   Italia & numeros tota, Petracha, tuos,
   Anglia Chaucerum venerat nostra Poëtam,
   Cui veneres debet patria lingua suas._

Chaucer, outre la Poésie, s'avoit les Mathématiques & les belles Lettres. Ses Ouvrages Anglois ont été imprimez à Londres l'an 1561. Il mourut en 1400. & en 1555, on rétablit son tombeau qui est a Westminster & l'on y mit cette Epitafe :

_Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus clim,
   Galfredus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo,
   Annun si quaeras Domini, si tempora mortis,
   Ecce notae subsunt, quae tibi cuncta notent.
   xxv. Octob. 1400._

Gesner, in Bibl. Léland, Dalaüs & Pitseus, _de Script. Angl._ Camden, etc.

[Title of the chapter.] Des Habitans d'Angleterre, de leur Tempérament, Génie, Langage, avec une liste des plus habiles Personnages de ce Pais qui ont excellé dans la Guerre, & dans les Lettres.


1705. [Des Maizeaux, P. J.] [Preface, with a life of Saint Evremond, prefixed to] *Œuvres meslées de M. de Saint Evremond*, Londres, 1705, tome i, sign. c iii verso.


[In the more recent edns. of this book, this sentence runs: '... auprès des ... célèbres Poètes Anglois, Chaucer, Spencer, Cowley, &c.'—see, for instance, La vie de ... Saint Evremond, par ... Des Maizeaux (4me édn.), Amsterdam, 1726, p. 203.]


[A review, pp. 243–51, of l'Etat présent d'Angleterre, by Miège, 1702, quoting the list of poets; see under 1702 above.]

1707. Unknown. [Article 'Chaucer' in] *Grand dictionnaire historique* [de Moréri], 1707.

[The article is a little shorter than that in the edition of 1681.] ... Il [Chaucer] fut surnommé l'Homere Anglois à cause de ses poësies. Il donna au public divers Ouvrages &c. ... [Leland's epigram and the epitaph on Chaucer's tomb are both omitted.]

M. Urry Membre du College de Christ-Church à Oxford a résolu de faire imprimer ici in folio toutes les œuvres de Chaucer ancien poète Anglois fort estimé. Il a examiné non seulement toutes les autres Éditions de ce Poète, mais aussi diverses anciennes copies manuscrites; & par ce moyen il a corrigé un grand nombre de passages corrompus, rétabli quantité de vers omis, & ajouté divers Contes entiers de ce Poète qui n'avaient pas encore vu le jour. Il ajoute à tout cela un bon Glossaire, pour expliquer tous les vieux mots Anglois de Chaucer. Ainsi on s'attend à une Édition fort exacte & fort complète. L'Éditeur avait obtenu Privilege pour ce Livre peu de jours avant la mort de la Reine Anne: il est daté du 20. Juillet 1714, & est à ce que je croi le dernier de cette sorte qu'elle ait signé. On l'imprime par souscriptions: le prix à ceux qui ont signé est 30. shillings pour le papier ordinaire & 50. shillings pour le grand papier.


[A long detailed article on English poetry, with comparison between French and English poets. These words come at the end]:

Cette Dissertation n'est déjà que trop grande pour un Article de ce Journal, ainsi il est plus que temps de la finir, quoi qu'il reste encore bien des choses à dire sur cette matièvre. On n'a pas seulement parlé de Chaucer le Père de la Poésie Angloise, mais on aura occasion d'en parler au long quand la nouvelle Édition de ses Œuvres, que nous avons déjà annoncée paroîtra.

[Other authors not mentioned for lack of space are Beaumont and Fletcher, Lord Orrery, Ben Jonson, Suckling, Sedley, Denham, Etherige, Cowley, Waller, Otway, Wicherly and Congreve.]: On pourra s'étendre à une autre fois, sur tous ces Auteurs & sur plusieurs autres, si on trouve que ce qu'on vient de dire ici est goûté des Lecteurs judicieux.

Appendix B. [A.D. 1734—


Plusieurs ont voulu imiter ce Romans [sic] de la Rose, & entre autres Geoffroy Chaucer Anglois, qui en a composé un qu'il intitule The Romant of the Rose; lequel, au raport de Baleus, a esté tiré du Livre de l'Art d'aimer de Jean Mone, qu'il il [sic] fait Anglois. Je conjecture qu'il entend nostre Jean de Meung, encore qu'il le face Anglois, d'autant que n'est aisé à croire qu'un Anglois osa se hazarder à une telle œuvre, quoy que les termes ne semblent que trop rudes maintenant, si estoient-ils bien riches pour lors. . . [La renommée de Jean de Meung] a esté en telle estime que (comme j'ay dit) l'Anglois Baleus la voulu transporter en Angleterre dont n'est merveilles. . . Quoique ce soit encore, est-il contraint de confesser que son Chaucer a pillé (il appelle cela illustrer le Livre de Jean de Meung) les plus beaux boutons qu'il a pû du Roman de la Rose, pour en embellir & enrichir le sien.


. . . George Chaucer, l'Homere de son pays, a mis l'ouvrage de Boccace en vers Anglois.

[Text.] *Chaucer* décrit fort joliment, dans un de ses Contes, cette humeur volage d’une Idole; Il nous la représente assise autour d’une Table avec trois de ses Esclaves, qui n’oublient rien pour gagner ses bonnes graces, et lui rendre leurs devoirs: Là-dessus, elle sourit à l’un, buvoit à la santé de l’autre, et pressoit le pied du troisième sous la Table. *Quel donc de ces trois dit le vieux Barde, croiriez-vous être le véritable favori? De bonne foi, ajoute-t-il, pas un des trois.*

[Note.] *Il s’appelloit GEORROI. & vivoit vers le milieu du XV. siècle. Les Anglois le regardent comme le Pere de leur Poésie.*

[According to L. P. Bets (Bodmer-Denkschrift, Zürich, 1900, p. 288), editions of the above were published at Amsterdam in 1714, 1716-18, 1722-30, 1731-36, 1744, 1754-55; at Paris, in 1716-26, 1754 (corrégée et augmentée) and 1754-55. The only edition in the British Museum is dated Amsterdam, 1746-50, where this reference occurs in tome i, p. 379.]

1740. **Unknown.** *Article ‘Chaucer’ in the* Grand dictionnaire historique . . . commencé en 1674 par M·e Louis Moréri . . . 18 éd., 1740, tome ii, p. 352.

*Chaucer* (Géofroy), natif de Woodstock en Angleterre, dans le xiv siècle, fut surnommé l’Homère Anglois, à cause de ses Poésies. Il donna au public divers Ouvrages de sa façon, dont on pourra voir le dénombrement dans Leland, Pitseus, Gesner, etc. . . . Chaucer, outre la Poésie, scéavoit les Mathématiques et les Belles Lettres. Ses ouvrages Anglois ont été imprimez à Londres l’an 1561. On a de lui en Latin, Laudes bonarum Mulierum; Vita Cleopatra; Vita Lucretiae Romanæ; Flos Urbanitatis; Sepultura Misericordiae; De Astrolabii ratione. Il mourut en 1400, et en 1555, on rétablit son tombeau, qui est à Westminster. Gesner, in biblioth. Leland. Balæus et Pitseus, de script. angl. Camden, etc.

[The sentence relating to Chaucer’s Latin works appears for the first time in this edition. For earlier editions see above, 1674, Moréri, and 1688 and 1707, Unknown.]

1740. **[Prévost d’Exiles, Antoine François.]** *Le Pour et Contre, 1740,* tome xx, pp. 78, 79.

Henri [iv] aspirait avec tant d’ardeur au titre de Champion de l’Eglise, qu’en se préparant à la conquête de la Terre
Sainte, il avoit déjà jeté les yeux sur Geoffroi Chaucer,
Poète fameux qui florissait sous son règne, pour célèbrer les
exploits qu’il méditait. Remarquons en passant, que ce
Chaucer, Auteur de plusieurs Poésies qui sont encore en
estime, & Jean Gauwer, autre Poète du même temps, passent
communément pour les premiers Réformateurs de la langue
Angloise, à peu près comme Malherbe a cette gloire parmi
nous.

1745. [Le Blanc, J. B.] Lettres d’un François, à la Haye, 1745,
tome i, pp. 104–5.

... L’Anglois d’il y a trois ou quatre cens ans, étoit encore
plus mélangé du Français, qu’il ne l’est aujourd’hui. Je ne
sçai même si la connoissance de l’Anglois de ces temps-là ne
seroit pas très-utile à ceux qui veulent entendre notre vieux
Français. La lecture de Chaucer m’a rendu celle de nos
anciens Poètes plus facile.

1749. Yart, Antoine, Abbé [de Rouen]. Idée de la poésie angloise,
on Traduction des meilleurs Poètes Anglois, qui n’ont point encore
paru dans notre Langue, avec un jugement sur leurs Ouvrages,
d’une comparaison de leurs Poésies avec celles des Auteurs anciens
& modernes. À Paris, chez Claude Briasson... 2 tomes, 1749.

[Abridgement of the life of John Philips], écrite en anglois,
par M. George Sewell, éditeur de ses Ouvrages.

... à l’exemple de Milton, son Auteur favori, il cherchoit
to s’enrichir des termes propres, expressifs, harmonieux du
vieux langage. ... Dans ce dessein, il lut Chaucer &
Spenser.

[Note by Yart.] Chaucer vécut au milieu du quatorzième
siècle; il mourut en 1400, il a composé un assez grand
nombre de Contes; ses Compatriotes admirent l’enjoue-
ment & la naïveté de ses narrations; mais son langage
est tellement vieilli, que les Anglois ne l’entendent presque
plus; il faisoit des vers fort enjoués, & il sçavoit les Mathé-
matiques; il fut surnommé l’Homère Anglois; son Tombeau
est à Westminster : on l’a rétabli en 1550.

[Abridgement of the life of Philips, by Sewell.] Simon
Harcourt, Lord Chancelier d’Angleterre lui a élevé à West-
minster un mausolée auprès de celui de Chaucer... . . .

[Abridgement of the life of Philips, continued,—epitaph]
Qu’il lui soit donc permis, ô Chaucer, Père de la Poésie
Angloise, quoiqu'il n'ait pas suivi les Loix (a) que vous avez données à la versification, de fermer un des côtés de votre Tombeau, il ne déshonorerà pas le Chœur des Poètes qui entourent vos cendres.

Fas fit hinc
Auso licet à tuæ metrorum lege dicered,
O Poësis Anglicanae Pater, atque conditor Chaucere,
Aeternum tibi latus claudere :
Vatum certé cineres, tuos undique stipantium ;
Non dedecebit chorum.

(a) [Note by Yart.] Milton fut le premier Poète d'Angleterre qui substitua aux Vers rimes, inventés par Chaucer, les Vers blancs ou non rimes. Philips, & plusieurs autres Poètes, ont imité Milton dans ce nouveau genre de Poésie. . . .

On va voir paraître Chaucer & Spencer, ensuite Cowley, Milton, Denham, & enfin Waller, Roscommon, Dryden, Congreve & Montagu, on verra naître la Poésie Angloise avec les premiers, se former avec les seconds, & se polir avec les derniers.

Histoire abrégée des plus grands poètes anglois, par Joseph Addison, à monsieur Henry Sacheverell. [A translation follows from Addison's Account of the greatest English poets, 1694. Yart translates thus the verses referring to Chaucer.]

Vous voulez, cher Sacheverell, que je parcoure les siècles qui se sont écoulés depuis Chaucer jusqu'à Dryden. . . .

Nos stupides ayeux étoient plongés depuis long-temps dans un sommeil profond ; leur âme insensible, n'étoit point émue par l'enthousiasme des neuf sœurs, lorsque Chaucer parut ; Poète naïf, il fit divers Contes en Vers & en Prose, mais le temps a porté sa rouille sur ses Écrits, défiguré son langage, obscurci son esprit ; il s'efforce d'égayer ses vers grossiers par des plaisanteries, il ne peut venir à bout de divertir ses lecteurs.

Chaucer, le premier, ouvrit sa veine comique, il en fit couler ses contes plaisans & naïfs : des beautés sans parure,
ornent ses vers sans art; son style est grossier, mais ses pensées sont fortes.


[p. 21] [Note on Cowley.] Il fut enterré... près des cendres de Spencer & Chaucer.

[p. 117] [Forewords by Trochereau on the *Temple of Fame* by Pope; based on the note printed by Pope himself at the head of his *Temple of Fame*.] M. Pope dit qu'il en a puisé l'idée dans le Poème de Chaucer, intitulé *le Palais de la Renommée*. Mais le dessein, dit-il, n'en est pas le même; les descriptions de presque toutes les pensées m'appartiennent. . . . Si quelqu'un voulait comparer ce Poème à celui de Chaucer, il peut commencer au troisième Livre de la Renommée, car il n'y a rien dans les deux premiers qui réponde à leur titre.

[Note by Trochereau.] Il est si souvent parlé de Chaucer, dans les Livres Anglois, que j'ai cru qu'on verroit avec quelque plaisir les circonstances de sa vie.

Geoffroi Chaucer, Poète distingué du xiv siècle, n'âlé dans la 3e année du règne d'Edouard iii, l'an 1328. Il fut d'abord Page de ce Roi; qui le combla de biens & de faveurs. Il le fit Gentilhomme de sa Chambre, & lui donna une pension considérable. Ses talents le firent employer en qualité de Négociateur dans différentes Cours: il fut envoyé à Gênes pour traiter avec le Doge de cette République, & peu de temps après il fut député à la Cour de France.


En 1555 ou 1556. M. Nicolas Bryham [sic], Gentilhomme d'Oxford, lui fit élever à ses propres dépens un beau
monument dans la même Abbaye, & y fit graver cette Inscription :

M. S.
Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximas [sic] olim,
Gofrigidus [sic] Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora vitae,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notant.
25 Octob. 1400.

Milton le mettoit au rang des plus grands Poëtes. M. Dryden dit dans la Préface qu'il a mise à la tête de ses Fables, qu'on doit le regarder comme le père de la Poésie Angloise. Qu'il doit être aussi estimé en Angleterre qu'Homère l'étoit chez les Grecs, & Virgile chez les Latins ; qu'il suit la nature par-tout ; mais que jamais il ne la passe, & que sçachant ce qu'il falloit dire, il sçavoit aussi où il falloit s'arrêter, que ses vers ne sont pas harmonieux, mais qu'ils étoient à l'unisson des oreilles de son siècle.

Il a décrit les Contes de ses Pèlerins de Cantorberi, les caractères, les mœurs & les vices des son terns. Il a composé beaucoup d'autres ouvrages pleins d'ennouement & de naïveté ; il égaie souvent ses lecteurs aux dépens des moines & de la pudeur. Son langage a tellement vieilli que les Anglois même ne tentendent presque plus : Voici ce que dit M. Pope à ce sujet dans son Essai sur la Critique.

'La réputation passe promptement, et douze lustres sont le plus long terme dont on puisse se flater. Nos fils voyent déchéoir le langage de leurs pères, et ce que Chaucer est pour nous, Dryden le sera pour eux.' (Traduction de M. Sillouet.)

1750. Chauffepié, Jacques Georges de. Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique pour servir de Supplément ou de Continuation au Dictionnaire Historique et Critique de Mr. Pierre Bayle, tome ii. [Long article on Chaucer, biography and study of his works, pp. 71-76 ; references also in the article on Cowley, p. 137 ; in the article on Denham, p. 24 ; and in the article on Gower, p. 48.]

[p. 71] Chaucer, (Geoffroi), fameux Poëte Anglois dans le xiv siècle, étoit né, selon les uns dans le Comté de Berk, selon d'autres dans celui d'Oxford ; mais vraisemblablement ceux qui le font naitre à Londres, sont les mieux fondés. . . . Il paroit clairement par son Discours sur l'Astrolabe, qu'il étoit habile Astronome. . . . On voit par le Conte du Yeoman du Chanoine, qu'il étoit versé dans la Philosophie Hermétique,
Appendix B. [A.D. 1750—

qui étoit fort en vogue dans ce temps-là. Le Conte du Curé fait voir qu'il entendoit la Théologie ; et le Testament d'Amour, qu'il possédoit la Philosophie. Après qu'il eut quitté l'Université, il voyagea en France, en Hollande & en d'autres Pays, où il passa ses premières années. A son retour il entra dans le Temple Intérieur, où il étudia les Loix Municipales d'Angleterre. . . .

[p. 73] La ruine du Duc de Lancastre entraîna celle de Chaucer ; & ce Prince ayant passé la mer, ses amis se virent exposés à toute la haine du Parti opposé : ce qui les excita à appeler la populace à leur secours ; d'où il s'ensuivit plusieurs émotions populaires, & entre autres une à Londres même. Comme notre Poëte contribua beaucoup sous-main à ces mouvements, il en ressentit aussi le contre-coup à sa ruine, ayant été obligé de s'enfuir dans le Hainault : mais la nécessité l'obligea de revenir en Angleterre où il fut arrêté par ordre du Roi, & mis selon les apparences à la Tour de Londres. A la fin il avoua franchement toute l'intrigue ; & quoiqu'il s'exposât par-là au ressentiment du Peuple, il obtint son pardon du Roi. Ces malheurs lui donnèrent occasion de composer son excellent Traité, intitulé le Testament d'Amour. . . .


[p. 75] [This article is an abridged translation of that in the Biographia Britannica of 1748, and the notes here, as there, give much information. In the note, for instance, headed 'Nous donnerons son Caractère ci-dessous,' the appreciations of Ascham, Sidney, Francis Beaumont, Sir Henry Savil, Milton, Rymer, and Dryden are cited. In the note 'Ses Ouvrages,' is a very complete list, noticing many of the apocryphal poems, wherein mention is also
made of Kynaston's Latin translation of *Troylus*, and the 'modernisations' of Dryden and Pope.]

1753. Yart, Antoine. *Idée de la poésie angloise*, [2nd edition in 8 vols. The two first volumes are an exact reprint of those of the edition of 1749, and the quotations are thus identical], tome iv, p. 261, tome vii, pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 24–32 [Life of Chaucer].

Discours sur les Contes. [pp. 4, 5.]

[Chaucer imitated the Italians and also the 'Conteurs' of Provence.] Ainsi ne cherchez pas plus d'inventions dans les Poèmes de Chaucer que dans ceux de la Fontaine, mais si l'invention du fond leur manque, elle est supplée dans l'un & dans l'autre par le génie des détails; mérite plus admirable peut-être que celui de l'invention.

[Epitome of the life of Chaucer. Yart begins by referring us to the New Historical and Critical Dictionary made by the English in imitation of that of Bayle. We are there informed that the poet lived at the end of the fourteenth century and the commencement of the fifteenth, in the reigns of Edward III, Richard II, and of Henry IV, whose poet and friend he was . . . and that he] contribua beaucoup par ses intrigues et plus encore par les éloges qu'il fit de

Henri IV, à le faire monter et à l'affirmir sur le trône. . . .

Il s'occupa de sciences et de poésie, tandis qu'il mesurait les cieux et qu'il faisait un savant traité sur l'Astrolabe, il étudiait les Langues Provençale et Italienne, et il faisait passer dans sa Langue, qui était encore informe, les expressions, les tours et l'harmonie de ces deux langues. . . .

Ce qu'il y a de plus original dans Chaucer, ce sont les divers caractères des auteurs de ses Contes, intitulés Contes de Cantorbéry. . . . il peignit d'après nature leurs caractères, leurs habiletés, leurs vertus et leurs vices, mais ses portraits sont si bizarres et si étranges, ses personnages si désagréables et si indécens, ses satyres si cruelles et si impies, que, malgré l'art que j'ai tâché de mettre dans ma traduction, je n'ai pu me flatter de les rendre supportables. Ses autres contes sont encore plus licenciöux que ceux de nos Poètes les plus obscènes, je les laisserai par la même raison dans l'obscurité de leur vieux langage. . . .

[Yart admits, nevertheless, that the poetry of Chaucer]

[p. 26] est, dit-on, aussi facile et aussi naturelle que la prose de Boccace.
[And he quotes these verses written originally by Voltaire on Homer; Yart substitutes the name of Chaucer]:

Plein de beautés et de défauts
Le vieux Chaucer a mon estime
Il est, comme tous ses héroï
Babillard, outré, mais sublime.

Il est sublime quelquefois, mais il ne l’est pas aussi souvent qu’Homère.

[Chaucer imitated the Teseide of Boccaccio in 1400. Yart then quotes the description of this poem by Dryden: ‘Ce Poème est du genre épique &c. . . .]

[Yart cites] ‘la savante Bibliothèque Française de M. l’Abbé Goujet, tome vii,’ [q. v. below, 1755; but, he adds,] ‘ce qu’on ne trouve point dans cette Bibliothèque, c’est que la célèbre Demoiselle de Scudéry a traduit en François selon Dryden les contes de Chaucer,’ &c., &c. [and he quotes all that Dryden had to say on this subject in his Preface to the Fables; see above, pt. i, pp. 282–3].

[pp. 29-30] [Translation of the Palamon and Arcite of Dryden.]

[notes]

Etait-ce faute de goût ou par amour-propre, que Dryden mettoit ce Poème vis-à-vis de l’Iliade & de l’Enéide. J’ai conservé les principaux faits de ce conte. Il renferme des impiétés & des obscursité que je n’ai eu garde de traduire, des longueurs à chaque page que j’ai retranchées, quelques folies & beaucoup de beaux traits que j’ai taillé de rendre. Thésée est injuste de condamner ces deux jeunes héroïs à une prison horrible, sans qu’ils l’ayent mérité, & cependant ce Thésée est un assez bon Prince. Arcite a eu tort au commencement : mais il est si aimable, si généreux, si tendre dans la suite qu’on lui pardonne ses torts : on le préfère à Palemon, qui mérite moins que lui d’être heureux. Emilie n’a presque aucun caractère : elle est dans une inaction continuelle. Ce Poème est au moins de 2500 Vers : il y en a 2000 de superflus : le reste est rempli de beautés ; il fallait rendre plus intéressans Emilie & Palémon, qui sont les principaux Héroïs.

1755. Goujet, Claude-Pierre. Bibliothèque Française, Paris, 1741–56, tome vii, 1755, p. 340. [This vol. must have been long in preparation, as we find Yart citing it in 1753, see above.]

[Speaking of the Teseide of Boccaccio]:—

George Chaucher, que l’on a surnommé l’Homere de l’Angleterre, l’avoit traduit en vers Anglois dès l’an 1400.
Il y en a une vieille traduction en prose Française que l'on trouve manuscrite dans quelques Bibliothèques. Celle-ci a servi de canevas à Anne de Graville, Dame du Boys de Malesherbe, pour mettre en vers François l'histoire d'Arcite & Palémon, par ordre de la Reine Claude, femme de François Ier.


[Patu was an enthusiastic admirer of English literature, and he was preparing a History of English Poetry which he never finished, for he died of consumption at the age of 27 in 1757. He writes to Garrick of his plans with regard to this history:]

23 août, 1755 . . . Je serois aussi très-curieux d'une édition de Chaucer, qui ne fût point in-folio.

23 septembre, 1755. J'ai résolu . . . de commencer au plutôt un ouvrage, en quatre volumes, dont voici le titre:— Le Parnasse Anglois, ou Vies des principaux Poètes qui ont illustré la Grande-Bretagne, pour servir à l'Histoire de la Poésie Angloise . . . Enfin, lorsque j'aurai à peu près tout dit, et de mon mieux, sur mon but en composant cet ouvrage, j'ajouterai une première dissertation sur le premier âge de votre poésie depuis Chaucer jusqu'à la Reine Elizabeth, année 1560 . . .

1 nov., 1755. Il me faut aussi, mon très cher . . . un recueil précis de vos réflexions, 1° sur la naissance de votre poésie, sur l'état de votre langue au temps de Chaucer et de ses prédécesseurs, et 2° sur le changement qui a pu se faire vers la Reine Elizabeth. . . . Il s'agit de faire un ouvrage solide, utile, réfléchi, sans préjugés, sans sotises [sic] littéraires.

28 nov., 1755. Je m'en tiens de bon cœur à ce que vous me dites sur Chaucer. J'aurais été bien aise de l'avoir in-12mo, ou tout au plus in-8vo; un in-4to, à plus forte raison un in folio, ne seroit nullement de mon goût . . . Souvenez-vous, mon bon ami . . . il me faut absolument des remarques de votre main sur le premier âge de votre poésie . . . avec une note exacte des poètes que vous choisissez comme les principaux de ce premier âge (depuis Chaucer, ou le premier poète quelqu'il soit, si vous êtes Pré-chaucerite, jusqu'à la Reine Elizabeth).

[The first of these articles on the *Lives* of Cibber is printed in the March number, 1755, and deals with Eustace Budgell, the *Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian.*]

[mai, p. 156] Qu'on nous permette ici une espèce d'Anachronisme. Après avoir donné les vies de quelques Poètes modernes, nous allons remonter jusqu'au Père & au créateur de la Poésie Angloise. . .

[p. 157] **Geoffroy Chaucer.** Le lieu de sa naissance est aussi incertain que la Patrie d'Homère; & plusieurs Comtés d'Angleterre comme plusieurs Villes de Grèce, se disputent l'honneur d'avoir donné le jour au Fondateur de la Poésie Nationale. On sçait par conjecture qu'il étoit Gentilhomme. Un Chevalier de son nom vivoit à la Cour d'Edouard III au commencement de son règne; on présume qu'il fut le Père de notre Poète. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'époque de sa naissance est du moins certaine, & tous les Historiens la fixent à l'année 1328. . . Il étudia successivement dans les deux Universités, où il devint, dit M. Leland, ‘un Logicien subtil, un Orateur élegant, un Poëte agréable, un grand Philosophe, un Mathématicien ingénieux, et un profond Théologien.’ Il voyagea ensuite dans les Pays étrangers.

[p. 158] . . . Les Dames, sur tout, l'honoroient à l'envi des distinctions les plus flatteuses. La Reine même, la Duchesse de Lancaster, la Princesse Marguerite, fille du Roi, et la Comtesse de Pembroke, furent ses Protectrices déclarées. Peu s'en fallut cependant qu'il ne perdit leurs bonnes grâces, pour avoir traduit du François, le fameux *Roman de la Rose*. Chacun sçait combien le beau sexe y est peu ménagé. Il avait rendu littéralement les expressions de l'Original; les Dames, & surtout la Princesse, lui en témoignèrent leur ressentiment. On lui prescrivit la manière d'expier cette faute: ce fut de composer la *Légende des honnêtes femmes*. La Princesse y fut désignée sous un nom allégorique, et sa vertu comblée d'éloges. Les autres Protectrices y trouvent aussi leur place, & chacune fut célébrée comme un prodige de chasteté. Plus un éloge est exclusif, plus il flatte l'amour propre. Fieres de l'exception, elles abandonnerent volontiers aux traits de la Satire, le reste de leur sexe.
Chaucer, ayant la liberté de faire main basse sur la réputation des femmes, en usa très amplement, et n'en fit que mieux sa Cour. C'étoient de nouveaux trophées qu'il érigéoit à ses Héroïnes.

Sa faveur alla toujours en augmentant ; la Duchesse de Lancastre lui fit épouser la Demoiselle de Rouet qui lui étoit attachée, et dont la sœur, Lady Swinford, étoit Gouvernante de ses enfans. Le Duc son mari, Prince ambitieux, & rempli de vastes projets, étoit fait pour sentir le prix des talens, du cçavoir et de l'habileté. Parmi les Courtisans, il ne trouva que le seul Chaucer, qui réunit tous ces différents avantages. . . . Le Duc, persuadé de l'utilité qui accompagne le vrai mérite, chercha l'occasion de faire employer notre Poète. . . .

[p. 165] La mort du Duc de Lancastre, les troubles & les malheurs dont elle fut suivie, ceux dont l'Angleterre étoit menacée par l'exil et la révolte du Comte de Derby, son supplice s'il échouoit, son crime s'il réussissoit, tout cela s'offrit à la vue de ce vieux Courtisan. Agé alors de soixante et dix ans, il ne put se résoudre, ni à trahir son Roi, ni à prendre les armes contre le fils de son Bienfaiteur. Il quitta donc la Cour, & se retira à la Campagne pour y passer le reste de ses jours dans un repos contemplatif. Notre Poète y vécut encore deux ans, & mourut en 1400, comblé de gloire et de bienfaits. . . .

[p. 168] Il en vouloit sur tout aux fraudes pieuses, qui dans ces Siècles d'ignorance défiguroient la Religion. Dans le Prologue de son Pardonner, ou Distributeur d'Indulgences, il introduit un de ces Vagabonds, qui couroient les Campagnes, pour sémer la superstition & recueillir de l'argent. Il seroit difficile de traduire ce morceau littéralement. Il y a, dans la naïvété de son vieux langage, un agrément qu'on ne peut rendre que par comparaison. C'est un stile, auquel celui de Villon et de Marot ressemble assez dans notre Langue. . . .

[A translation follows of part of the Prologue of the Pardoner.]

[p. 170] Enfin il excella dans tous les genres : le stile sérieux, l'enjoué, le tendre, le galant, lui furent également familiers, & son génie Poétique peut passer pour universel. C'est à ce titre que Dryden, le comparant avec Homere & Virgile, ose CHAUCER CRITICISM.—V.
l'élever au-dessus du second, & le placer même vis-à-vis du premier.


[Dans l'abbaye de Westminster] on voit aussi les monuments des Poètes Dryden, Philips, Cowley, Ben Johnson, Milton, Butler, Spincer, Fairy Queen, Michel Drayton, Geoffroi Chaucer . . . etc.

1766. [Chaudon, Louis Maieul. *Article 'Chaucer' in*] *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique-portatif ... par une Société de Gens de Lettres* [i.e. Chaudon], edn. 2. 1770 [and probably in edn. 1. 1766]. See below, 1791, Feller, p. 705.

1770. [Contant d'Orville, A. G.] *Les Nuits Anglaises, ou recueil de traits singuliers, d'anecdotes, d'événements remarquables, de faits extraordinaires, de bizarreries, d'observations critiques & de pensées philosophiques, &c. propres à faire connaître le génie & le caractère des Anglais*; à Paris, 1770, 4 tomes. Tome ii, p. 227, tome iii, p. 268.


CHAUCHER

Chaucer est regardé comme le père de la Poésie anglaise: il vivait vers le milieu du quinzième siècle. On a de lui des contes plaisans & naïfs, écrits sans art & d'un style grossier où l'on rencontre des pensées fortes.

[tome iii, p. 268.] *La Femme de Bath, Conte de Chaucer, remanié par Dryden.*

[A translation follows of Dryden's version of the Tale of the Wyf of Bathe, preceded by the following note:] On connaît en France le joli Conte de M. de Voltaire, intitulé *Ce qui plaît aux Dames*, & dont M. Favart s'est servi, pour composer son Opéra-bouffon de *La Fée Urgelle*; & l'on ne sera sans doute pas fâché de leur opposer la manière de raconter des Anglais.


[p. 81] Anne de Graville . . . a translaté de veil langage & prose, en nouveau & rime . . . le beau Roman des deux amans, Palamon & Arcita.\(^1\)

[p. 82] 1. *Note.—* [A short description of Boccaccio's *Teseide*.]
C'est la conclusion du Roman, traduit en vers Anglais par l'Homère de son pays, Georges [sic] Chaucer, l'an 1400.

1775. Unknown. [Article on Chaucer in the] Journal anglais, contenant les découvertes dans les sciences, les arts libéraux, etc., No. 1, Oct. 15, 1775, pp. 11-18. [This article is mentioned in l'Année Littéraire, 1775, tome v., p. 279.]

[A life of Chaucer.] Il paraît que son père était chevalier, . . . Le jeune Chaucer reçut un accueil favorable à la cour, après avoir quitté l'Université et le collège des Loix. . . . Il commença ses études à Cambridge et les continua à Oxford. C'est dans cette dernière Université qu'il cultivait son goût pour la poésie, dont il avait déjà donné des preuves à Cambridge par sa Cour d'Amour. . . . [The poet then travelled in France, in Holland and the Low Countries, and at this period composed his imitation of the Roman de la Rose.] Quand les premiers feux de l'âge commencèrent à se calmer, il prit le parti de s'en retourner à Londres, et de s'aller ensevelir dans l'étude a l'Inner Temple. . . . Des personnes de distinction, charmées de son mérite, l'introduisirent à la Cour. Il avait alors 30 ans, et sans compter les avantages de l'esprit et de la science, il se faisait remarquer par l'honnêteté de son maintien et les grâces de sa personne. Il devint bientôt un Courtisan accompli. Il fut fait d'abord Page du Roi, place surtout alors, très honorable. [The author proceeds to enumerate the favours bestowed on Chaucer by different monarchs and then (following Cibber) refers to the patronage of the great court ladies. See le Journal Étranger, 1755, above.]

Riche par ses emplois et les bienfaits de la Cour, il ne fut pas réduit à travailler pour vivre. Il suivit son goût, il écrivit pour la gloire [Chaucer was appointed Comptroller of the Customs, became the brother-in-law of the Duke of Lancaster, and was forced to leave England]. Il y retourna ensuite, et il y fut quelque temps dans une situation très fâcheuse, et dans une grande détresse. Ses liaisons avec Wicleffe le firent alors accuser de donner dans ses erreurs. On oublia, ou on parut oublier, que son commerce avec un homme qu'il avait connu à Oxford et à Cambridge, qui n'avait pas d'abord levé le masque . . . pouvait avoir une cause
plus innocente et plus simple. ... Quoiqu'il en soit, il fut mis en prison ... la bonne fortune de Chaucer revint avec celle du duc de Lancastre qui fut Chef du Conseil, et dont la Postérité monta dans la suite sur le Trône. ... Enfin Chaucer, après avoir été Poète, Courtisan, Homme d'État, finit par être Philosophe, sans jamais cesser d'être Poète.

... Retiré à Dunnington Castle, il y coula dans sa vieillesse des jours heureux, généralement aimé et honoré. Il était très lié avec tous les savans de son siècle, et particulièrement avec le célèbre Pétrarque, son ami, qui, de son temps, reçut à Rome la Couronne Poétique.

... Il régnait dans le caractère de ce grand homme un mélange de gaieté, de modestie et de gravité qui le rendait également propre à la Cour et à la Ville, et le faisait rechercher dans les bonnes compagnies. Il avait l'esprit agréable, la pénétration vive, le jugement sain et sûr. Il était sincère mais honnête critique, plus porté à l'indulgence qu'à la censure, et plus disposé à excuser ou à couvrir les fautes des Écrivains contemporains, qu'à les produire au grand jour. Supérieur à son siècle, il eût voulu l'élever jusqu'à lui. Tout parle de sa gloire comme Poète. Sa Patrie a confirmé ce jugement, on ne peut assez louer ses grâces antiques, toujours nouvelles, et la clarté de son style dans une langue qui, depuis le treizième siècle, a éprouvé tant de changements. ... Ses vertus égalaient ses talents. Il fut fidèle et constant ami. Pour tout dire en un mot, il fut philosophe suivant la vraie acception de ce terme, c'est-à-dire qu'il eut de la religion et des mœurs.


1784. [Rivarol, Antoine de.] De l'Universalité de la langue française; Discours qui a remporté le prix à l'Académie de Berlin, à Berlin, et se trouve à Paris, ... 1784, p. 36. Œuvres complètes de Rivarol à Paris 1808, ii, p. 37.

Pendant un espace de quatre cents ans, je ne trouve en Angleterre que Chaucer et Spencer. Le premier mérita, vers le milieu du quinzième siècle, d'être appelé l'Homère Anglais; notre Ronsard le mérita de même; et Chaucer, aussi obscur que lui, fut encore moins connu. De Chaucer jusqu'à Shakespeare et Milton, rien ne transpire dans cette Île célèbre, et sa littérature ne vaut pas un coup d'œil.

CHAUCER (Geoffroy), le Marot des Anglais, né à Londres en 1328, mort en 1400, fut inhumé dans l'abbaye de Westminster. Il contribua beaucoup, par des poésies faites à la louange du duc de Lancastre son beau-frère, à lui procurer la couronne. Il partagea la bonne et la mauvaise fortune de ce monarque. Ses Poésies furent publiées à Londres en 1721, in-folio. On y trouve des contes pleins d'enjouement, de naïvete et de licence, faits d'après les troubadours et d'après Boccace. L'imagination qui les a dictés était vive et féconde, mais très peu réglée et souvent très obscure. Son style est avili par grand nombre de mots obscurs et intelligibles. La langue anglaise était encore, de son temps, rude et grossière. Si l'esprit de Chaucer était agréable, son langage ne l'était pas, et les Anglais d'à présent ont peine à l'entendre. Chaucer a laissé, outre ses poésies, des ouvrages en prose : Le Testament d'amour ; un Traité de l'astrolabe. Il s'était appliqué à l'astronomie et aux langues étrangères, autant qu'à la versification. Il avait même voulu dogmatiser. Les opinions de Wiclef faisaient alors beaucoup de bruit ; Chaucer les embrassa, et se fit chasser pour quelque temps de sa patrie.

[The first edition of this dictionary was published in 1781, but no copy of it can be found, either in the Bibliothèque Nationale or in the British Museum. It probably contains the article on Chaucer. This article is that by L. M. Chauldun, in his Nouveau Dictionnaire historique-portatif, 1770, vol. i, pp. 520-1, with a few alterations, the most important being the addition of the birth date, and the substitution of the reference to the Works, 1721, for one to that of 1561. Chaudon's article was translated into English by 'Historica' in 1777, q.v. above, vol. i, p. 440 (misprinted Charou). The same article is reprinted in the fifth edn. of the Dictionnaire Historique, 1831, tome iii, p. 546 ; in the Biographie universelle ou Dictionnaire historique, 1848, and in the Biographie universelle, 1860.]


Il paroit qu'on n'entendoit par le mot tragédie qu'un récit, non un drame. (Prologue of Monk's tale of Chaucer.)

Le spirituel Cowley méprisait le naturel de Chaucer.


Au moment de la renaissance des lettres, et au commencement de la littérature anglaise, un assez grand nombre de poètes anglais s’écarta du caractère national, pour imiter les Italiens. J’ai cité Waller et Cowley pour être de ce nombre : je pourrais y joindre Downe [sic], Chaucer, &c. Les essais dans ce genre ont encore plus mal réussi aux Anglais qu’aux autres peuples ; ils manquent visiblement de grace dans les formes ; ils manquent de cette promptitude, de cette facilité, de cette aisance d’esprit, qui s’acquiert par le commerce habituel avec les hommes réunis en société dans le seul but de se plaire.


[p. 216] Voulons-nous étendre nos recherches, nous aurons dans cet espace de temps des observations semblables à faire sur les Anglois. Je me bornerai à la suivante ; Chaucer, qui vivait au quatorzième siècle, puisa son conte de *Troïle et Créséide*, et beaucoup d’autres sujets, dans Boccace, qu’il avait connu personnellement en Italie . . .

[p. 323] [Note by the translator.]

Chaucer qu’on compare à un beau matin du printemps, qui écrivit sous le règne d’Édouard III (il fleurissoit en 1328), ainsi dans un temps où l’usage du français avait été proscrit dans l’Angleterre, Chaucer avait pris la plupart de ses contes, chez les Provençaux et dans Boccace.

Jean Gower qui approche le plus de lui . . .


Liste chronologique des Poètes Anglais :

(1) Chaucer.

Né à Londres en 1328.
Mort dans la même ville en 1400, âgé de 72 ans.
Appelé le père de la poésie anglaise, contemporain de Pétrarque et de Bocace, il écrivit dans le quatorzième siècle, lorsque la France ne comptait encore aucun poète. Elevé à Cambridge, il composa, à dix-huit ans, la Cour d'amour.

Devenu page et ensuite gentilhomme de la chambre du roi, il eut pour protecteur Jean de Gand, duc de Lancastre, et épousa une fille d'honneur de la duchesse. Cette jeune personne, née en Hainaut, se nommait Philippa Roxet [sic]. Envoyé dans des cours étrangères, Chaucer s'y distinguait et revint à Londres jouir d'une fortune considérable.

Quelque temps après, il écrivit contre le clergé et fut obligé de fuir. Il passa plusieurs années en Hainaut et en France. C'est là qu'il composa une partie de ses ouvrages. Revenu à Londres, il y fut arrêté, obtint enfin sa liberté, et maria la sœur de sa femme au duc de Lancastre, dont le fils monta sur le trône d'Angleterre. Se trouvant ainsi bel-oncle du roi, il vécut dans l'aisance et la tranquillité, retraité à la campagne.

Chaucer composa douze volumes de vers qui consistent principalement en Contes, dans le genre de ceux de Bocace, et dont quelques-uns ont été depuis rajeunis par des auteurs modernes. Son langage est à peine compris aujourd'hui par les anglais.

1810. Unknown. [Article in] Le Publiciste of October 24, 1810; [see the following quotation.]


[The discussion is of the debt of Chaucer to Boccaccio.]

[Note to pp. 109-10.] Il y a quelque temps qu'on annonça dans le Publiciste (24 octobre 1810) la traduction prête à paraître d'une Histoire littéraire allemande très estimée. On parlait de Chaucer dans cette annonce... On avançait que ce poète avait composé ses Fables de Cantorbéry à l'imitation du Décaméron de Boccace; mais on y affirmait très positivement, que 'Chaucer se montre fort supérieur à l'auteur italien par l'agrément du récit, l'esprit qui règne dans les détails, la finesse des observations, le talent avec lequel il y peint les caractères.'... Je crois cependant que Boccace, si recommandable par la beauté du style, l'est peut-être plus encore par ces mêmes qualités que l'on prétend trouver en lui inférieures à ce qu'elles sont dans Chaucer. Je voudrais qu'on nous en eût donné de meilleures preuves qu'un certain
portrait d’une None, rempli de traits tels que ceux-ci: ‘A table, elle se comportait en personne fort bien élevée, ne laissait pas tomber un morceau de ses lèvres, et se gardait bien de mouiller ses doigts dans sa sauce; ...’ [etc.] Ce sont là de ces peintures de caractères, ou plutôt de ces caricatures très fréquentes dans les poètes anglais et allemands, et qu’on ne trouve guère, il est vrai, dans les Italiens, si ce n’est dans le genre Bernesque. Il n’est pas sûr que le bon goût ait le droit de les en blâmer.


[A long biography, with the usual errors due to the acceptance of the Testament of Love, but written with care, and indicating some knowledge of the poems of Chaucer.]

[p. 287] ... La Cour d’amour avait été suivie, peu de temps après, du poème de Troïlus et Créséide, d’Arcile [sic] et Palémon, de la Maison de la Renommée, etc., ouvrages dont il ne paraît pas que l’invention appartienne à Chaucer; mais dont il donne quelques-uns pour imités, et dont les autres le sont visiblement, soit du Roman de la Rose, de Boccace, soit de quelques auteurs moins célèbres. Il paraît avoir puisé surtout dans les ouvrages des troubadours provençaux, qu’il affectionnait particulièrement, et auxquels la fierté anglaise lui reproche d’avoir emprunté un grand nombre de mots pour les transporter dans sa langue, comme il est aisé de le voir par l’abondance de mots français qui se trouvent dans ses écrits. Ces poésies, dont l’invention, quand elle appartiendrait à Chaucer, ne vaudrait pas la peine d’être revendiquée, portent l’empreinte du mauvais goût qui régnait alors dans tout l’Europe,

[p. 288] [Description of the Court of Love] ... Dans Troïlus et Créséide, poème dont l’action se passe durant le siège de Troie, Troïlus est désigné comme un jeune chevalier (knight), et de même précisément que l’A est maintenant la première lettre de l’alphabet, Créséide était, parmi les dames troyennes, la première en beauté.

Ses autres ouvrages, tels que la Maison de la Renommée, que Pope a imitée dans son Temple de la Renommée, et les poésies faites en l’honneur du duc et de la duchesse de Lancaster, sont, pour la plupart, des rêves, des visions allégoriques, mêlés de dissertations morales ou théologiques dans le
goût du temps ; ce qui, outre la difficulté de la langue, rend la lecture des ouvrages de Chaucer pénible et ennuyeuse. On y trouve cependant de la vérité dans la peinture des caractères et une délicatesse de sentiments, qui, dans ce temps là, s'alliait assez souvent à la grossièreté des expressions. Les Anglais assurent de plus que, malgré l'irrégularité de la versification, la poésie de Chaucer ne manque pas d'harmonie ; et cette irrégularité n'a pas empêché de le regarder comme l'inventeur du vers héroïque anglais. . . [Chaucer] jouissait tranquillement de sa fortune dans le château de Dunnington . . . Ce fut là que, dans ses dernières années, il composa celui de ses ouvrages qui a conservé le plus de réputation, ses Contes de Cantorbéry, écrits en vers, dans la forme du Décameron de Boccace, mais dont les sujets, entièrement anglais, offrent une grande variété de caractères peints avec la vérité propre à ce poète, et une vivacité qu'on ne lui trouve pas toujours. Chaucer a eu le sort de tous les écrivains qui ont montré du génie dans les premiers temps de la renaissance des lettres, lorsque la langue et le goût n'étaient pas encore formés. On l'admire et on le loue beaucoup, mais on le lit peu.

Il est le premier des modernes qui ait fait usage dans la poésie de l'esprit et des fictions chevaleresques. Son conte de Sir Topaz est dans le goût de Don Quichotte.

[Suard's article, much abridged, and containing hardly anything of the passages quoted above, was reprinted in the Biographie universelle of 1833 (6 vols.), of 1838 (6 vols.) and of 1843-7 (Brussels, 21 vols.); and also in the Biographie universelle classique, 1829.]


[For The Modern Griselda, by Maria Edgeworth, see above, Part ii, sect. 1, p. 24, 1805.]

[p. 5] [Avertissement.] Nous offrons aujourd'hui au public l'histoire de deux Grisélidis, bien différentes entre elles. L'une vivoit . . . vers le onzième siècle, dans le marquisat de Saluces; l'autre vivoit, et vit peut-être encore en Angleterre. Le caractère de cette dernière a été observé et peint par une artiste célèbre dans ce genre, par Mademoiselle Edgeworth.

Nous avons pensé que le rapprochement de la Grisélidis moderne et de celle des temps antérieurs pourroit devenir piquant, et nous avons emprunté l'histoire de la plus ancienne
Appendix B. [A.D. 1813–]

[p. 7] à Chaucer, patriarche de la poésie angloise. Nous ne croyons pas qu’on ait jamais rien traduit en français des œuvres de cet auteur dont le style vieilli n’est pas toujours intelligible pour les Anglois eux-mêmes. Une autre considération nous a fait préférer le récit de Chaucer à celui de Bocace ; c’est que Mademoiselle Edgeworth, dans sa nouvelle, fait allusion à l’histoire de la Grisélidis ancienne ; elle en cite même un morceau, et ce morceau est tiré de la narration de son compatriote Chaucer, rajeunie, à la vérité, par un poète anglais aussi, nommé Monsieur Ogle, dont le style assez élégant est pourtant diffus, si on le compare à celui de son modèle.


[p. 92] La nouvelle Grisélidis, traduite de l’anglois de Mademoiselle Edgeworth.

[The passages in which Miss Edgeworth refers to Chaucer are as follows:]

[p. 151] Mon cher ami, à propos de femmes parfaites, vous avez sûrement lu les contes de Chaucer. Dites-moi un peu ce que vous pensez de la véritable, de l’ancienne Grisélidis ?

—Il y a si longtemps que j’ai lu cette histoire, que je ne puis vous donner de réponse précise.—Alors lisez-la de nouveau, et dites m’en votre avis sans détours ... il faut que nous ayons ici une soirée de lecture. . . .

[p. 152] [Chaucer’s tale of Griselda is being read.] Le lecteur en vint à ce moment où Gauthier fait prononcer un serment à sa femme.

Jurez que nuit et jour, à mes ordres soumise,  
Avec empressément, avec zèle et franchise,  
Sans murmurer jamais, seule ou devant témoins  
A m’obéir toujours, vous mettrez tous vos soins.

[etc. and the 10 lines following, from Ogle’s edition.]

[p. 172] Certes, je ne puis admirer ni Grisélidis, ni aucune de celles qui l’imitent. . . .

—On ne risque pas de rencontrer de nos jours, beaucoup de femmes qui marchent sur ces traces. Si Chaucer eût vécu
dans ce temps de lumières, il eût dessiné ce caractère tout autrement. . . .

Nous pardonnerons à ce pauvre Chaucer, si nous considérons le siècle où il vivoit. La situation et l'intelligence des femmes ont été bien améliorées depuis cette époque.


The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer . . . Oxford, 1786 [sic, i.e. 1798.]

Amateur anglais je me trouverois grandement heureux si je pouvois placer ici quelques-unes des éditions rares de Chaucer, données dans le xv° siècle par Caxton et Pynson, ou le volume plus rare encore, the Assemble of foules, 1530, in-4, que les Anglois n’estiment pas moins de cinquante guinées ; mais ces curiosités angloises ne sont pas vivement désirées hors de l’Angleterre ; et les amateurs du continent n’en sont pas encore venus à se passionner pour une ancienne édition de quelque pièce de Shakespeare, de Spencer, ou de Chaucer, comme pour les éditions primitives d’Homère, de Virgile, Horace, etc.


[i, p. 173] Le Pelerinage de Cantorbey, sujet emprunté au vieux poète Chaucer, est une belle composition de Stothard ; mais je n’en connais que la gravure. . . .
Jacques [1er] reconnaissait pour ses maîtres Chaucer, Gower et Lydgate... Warton a... comparé l'apparition de Chaucer, dans la littérature nationale, au jour précoce d'un printemps d'Angleterre, après lequel l'hiver revient avec ses orages. ...


La poésie anglaise n'était pas non plus, à cette époque [end of the sixteenth century], dans un état d'indigence et de grossièreté; elle commençait de toutes parts à se polir. Spencer... avait écrit un long poème, d'un style savant, ingénieux... prodigieusement supérieur à la diction grotesque de notre Ronsard. Il n'était pas jusqu'au vieux Chaucer, imitateur de Boccace et de Pétrarque, qui, dans son anglais du quatorzième siècle, n'offrit déjà des modèles de naïveté, et grande abondance de fictions heureuses.

1828. Quérard, J. M. [under the name Chaucer in] *La France littéraire, ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens et gens de lettres de la France aussi que des littérateurs étrangers qui ont écrit en français*. ... tome i, 1828, p. 158.

Chaucer, poète Anglais. Voy. Edgeworth (Miss), et Mélanges de poésies Anglaises,

1829. Quérard, J. M. [under the name Edgeworth in] *La France littéraire, ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants*, ... tome iii, 1829, p. 8.

Edgeworth (Miss Mar)...

—Deux (les) Grisélidis, histoires trad. de l'angl., l'une de Miss Edgeworth, l'autre de Chaucer (par M. Dubuc), Paris, Galignani, 1813, 2 vol. in-12, 4 fr.

1830. O'Sullivan, D. [English Professor at the Royal College of St. Louis]. *Elegant Extracts from the most celebrated British Poets*. ... Paris, 1830, vol. ii. [On the outer cover of the volume there is a *Liste Chronologique des Poètes*... dans les ouvrages desquels on a puîé ces extraits et dont la Biographie se trouve à la fin du volume. Chaucer heads the list, but none of his poems are printed. There is a short biography of the poet on pp. 543–4, and several allusions on pp. 541, 542.]

Chaucer, properly considered as the father of english poetry, preceded Spenser by two centuries, and was connected by marriage with the famous John of Gaunt. His chief productions are the Serjeant at Law, the Frankelin, the
Shipman, the Doctor of Physic, the Miller, the Knight's Tale, the Story of the Fox, the Three Thieves, the Story of Griselda and of the little Child slain in Jewry. One of the finest parts of Chaucer is the beginning of the Flower and the Leaf [long description]. Chaucer's versification, considering the time he wrote at, has considerable strength and harmony. . . . His works are the source from which the other poets have usually borrowed. In depth of simple pathos, and intensity of conception, no writer comes near him, not even the Greek tragedians.

[This allusion is given here because the book, although written in English, was printed in France and intended for a French public.]


[p. 206] Ce n'est qu'au milieu du XIVe siècle qu'enfin l'Angleterre possède un écrivain, un poète, un homme en qui on ne peut méconnaître beaucoup d'esprit, l'art de conter, et ce mélange d'érudition et de naïveté qui rend si piquans plusieurs écrivains du moyen-âge. Je parle de Chaucer. C'est de lui que la plupart des critiques anglais datent le premier âge de leur poésie littéraire. Bien plus récent que les Troubadours, venu après le Dante, Pétrarque et Boccace, Chaucer, qui fut leur élève, ne saurait leur être comparé. Il a cependant son mérite et son tour original. Mais il est fort difficile à traduire, ou pour la langue ou pour la bienséance. Il a de plus beaucoup écrit; et j'avoue qu'embarrassé souvent par son vieux style, ses idiotismes, ses allusions, je ne l'ai pas lu tout entier. [A short notice follows of the life of Chaucer and of his assumed meeting with Petrarch.]

. . . . . . .

Ainsi c'est un homme du Nord qui vient puiser à la belle civilisation du Midi. Ce n'est plus l'esprit natif de la vieille

[p. 208] Angleterre, plus ou moins mélangé d'esprit normand; c'est un lettré anglais qui connait bien les deux Italiés, et a devant lui plusieurs modèles. Chaucer savait à fond la langue latine, et l'écrivait avec goût; il traduisit la Consolation de Boèce. . . . Malgré cette étude et ce goût d'imitation classique, il n'est pas de meilleur peintre que lui du moyen âge; pas d'écrivain où les meurs, l'esprit, le langage de ce temps
soient mieux conservés. Voilà son originalité. C'est un Trouvère anglais, c'est un conteur de la cité de Londres. Il imite nos fabliaux et les chants amoureux des Troubadours. Mais il a son caractère propre de liberté politique et religieuse; et son imagination savante est nourrie de fables orientales, comme de réminiscences latines.

C'est Chaucer qui marque le premier développement de la poésie anglaise. Le français n'est plus pour lui la langue de la conquête, mais une langue littéraire. C'est ainsi qu'il a traduit en vers le Roman de la Rose, comme il aurait imité un ouvrage classique des anciens. Dans cette version, il lutte habilement contre le style de ses deux modèles, et semble parfois l'emporter, soit que son anglais paraisse moins vieilli que le français de Jean de Meung, soit qu'il ait ajouté quelques traits de hardiesse. Car, il faut le dire, à ses titres d'homme de cour, de savant, d ami de Pétrarque, d imitéur de Boccace, il joignait celui d'hérétique. Il fut un des premiers disciples de Wiclef.

Chaucer se fit le poète de cette réforme; c'est-à-dire toutes les pensées hardies qui étaient enveloppées dans la théologie de Wiclef, toutes les inductions... que les esprits libres pouvaient tirer de la lecture immédiate de la Bible, Chaucer les exprimait vivement, et les animait par des satires contre la cour de Rome et les abus de la vie monacale.

La chevalerie même n'est pas épargnée par le bon sens épigrammatique de Chaucer.

Son sir Thopas est le précurseur de Don Quichotte. Cette parodie fait partie des Contes de Cantorbery, recueil d'histoires, dans le goût du Décameron, mais écrites en vers, avec moins de charme et de poésie que n'en offre la prose de Boccace.

Le cadre de ce recueil est du reste ingénieux. Chaucer... rassemble à Southwark, dans une auberge, divers pèlerins, venus pour honorer la chasse de Thomas Becket. Dans l'inauguration de la soirée, ces pèlerins se content des histoires touchantes, ou gaies. Leur réunion seule est assez dramatique. Elle offre tous les états, tous les personnages du moyen âge, un chevalier, un écuyer... etc.
Chaucer, parlant à son tour, commence l'histoire de *sir Thopas*. Il accumule les enchantemens et les prodiges. Mais au milieu du récit, lorsqu'il avait déjà tiré grand nombre de géans, un des auditeurs l'arrêta et lui dit : 'Plus de ces contes pour l'amour de Dieu ; vous ne faites que perdre le temps ; ne rimez pas d'avantage. Dites-nous en prose seulement quelque chose, où il y ait un peu de gaité et d'instruction.' Chaucer laisse là son histoire, et commence une allégorie morale de Mélibée, qui a pour épouse la Prudence, et pour fille la Sagesse.

Toute cette histoire est assez commune ; mais elle renferme de sages conseils et une excellente morale pour un faiseur de contes, parfois licencieux, comme Chaucer. C'est un des premiers essais de la prose anglaise. Malheureusement Chaucer est peu piquant, lorsqu'il est moral.

[p. 214] Chaucer est rempli d'allusions plaisantes à ce sujet [French as then spoken in England]. Parle-t-il d'une abbesse dans le prologue de ses *Contes de Cantorbéry*, il la représente ainsi.

[Description of the Prioress.]

[p. 215] Le style de Chaucer est en partie formé sur le modèle du *Roman de la Rose* et de nos meilleurs fabliaux. Non seulement, il imite avec art plusieurs tournures de notre langue. Souvent, par une bigarrure moins heureuse, il introduit dans son style anglais des mots, des phrases toutes françaises ; par exemple, ce refrain, qui coupe une de ses ballades anglaises 'J'ai tout perdu, mon temps et mon labeur.'

Ailleurs il conserve en français les noms de nos personnages allégoriques : *Faux-Semblant, Bel-Accueil*, etc.

[p. 227] Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que la vraie poésie anglaise du xivᵉ et du xvᵉ siècle n'a produit, à l'exception de Chaucer, rien de puissant et d'original.

1830. Thierry, Augustin. *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (3ᵉ édn. revue), Paris, 1830, tome iv, pp. 390, 391, 392, 393. [Ed. i, 1825, 3 vols., vol. iii, pp. 546-50, is only slightly revised in that quoted.]

[p. 390] Les écrivains en langue française traitaient ordinairement
Appendix B. [A.D. 1832–]

cette classe d'hommes [la bourgeoisie et les vilains] avec le dernier mépris ... Au contraire, les poètes anglais prenaient pour sujet ... de leurs contes joyeux, des aventures plébéiennes ... et les historiettes du même genre qui se trouvent en si grand nombre dans les ouvrages de Chaucer. Un autre caractère commun à presque tous ces poètes, c'est une espèce de haine nationale contre la langue de la [p. 391] conquête. ... Chaucer, l'un des hommes les plus spirituels de son temps, met plus de finesse dans cette critique; il oppose au dialecte anglo-normand, vieilli et incorrect, le français poli de la cour de France ... [in the portrait of the Prioress].

[p. 393] C'était l'habitude ou la manie des gens de loi ... même lorsqu'ils parlaient anglais, d'employer à tout propos des paroles et des phrases françaises, comme Ah! sire, je vous jure; ... et d'autres exclamations dont Chaucer ne manque jamais de bigarrer leurs discours, lorsqu'il en met quelqu'un en scène.


1834. La Rue, Gervais de. Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les jongleurs et les trouvères ... 3 tomes, Caen, 1834, tome i, pp. 11, 54, 187-8, tome iii, pp. 267, 270, 271.

[p. 267] [Jean Gower.] Le poète Chaucer l'appelait le moraliste Gower.

[pp.270-271] [Froissart lived for a long time in England] ... à la même époque brillaient dans ce même royaume les poètes Gower et Chaucer, et il est impossible de ne pas croire que Froissart connut leurs poésies; il est même très-probable qu'il fut lié avec ces auteurs, et alors comment n'aurait-il pas pris d'eux le goût des Ballades, Virelais, Rondeaux, etc. ?


Goyer [sic] et Chaucer sont désignés comme laureats; mais il reste douteux qu'ils appartissent sous ce titre plutôt à la maison du souverain qu'à celle de quelque noble.

**Chauteaubriand next quotes a ballade by 'Bower': 'Amour est chose merveilleuse,' which proves, according to him, that Gower's French was better than his English. He continues:**

La langue anglaise de Chaucer est loin d'avoir ce poli du vieux français, lequel a déjà quelque chose d'achevé dans ce petit genre de littérature. Cependant l'idiome du poète Anglo-Saxon, [c-à-d Chaucer] amas hétérogène de patois divers, est devenu la souche de l'anglais moderne.

Courtisan Lancastrien, Wiclefiste, infidèle à ses convictions, traitre à son parti, tantôt banni, tantôt voyageur, tantôt en faveur, tantôt en disgrâce, Chaucer avait rencontré Pétrarque à Tadoue: au lieu de remonter aux sources saxonnes, il emprunta le goût de ses chants aux troubadours provençaux et à l'amant de Laure, et le caractère de ses contes à Bocace.

Dans la *Cour d'Amour* ... [here follows an account of the *Court of Love*].

Le *Plough-man* (toujours le canevas du vieux Pierre Plowman) a de la verve : le clergé, les ladies [sic] et les lords sont l'objet de l'attaque du poète :

'Suche as can not y say ther crede'

[etc.; 8 lines quoted, followed by a translation].

Le poète écrivait à son château de Dunnington, sous le chêne de Chaucer, ses *Contes de Cantorbéry*, dans la forme du Décameron. A son début la littérature anglaise du moyen-âge fut défigurée par la littérature romane; à sa naissance, la littérature anglaise moderne se masqua en littérature italienne.


**CHAUCECR CRITICISM.—V.**
1837. VILLEMAIN, Abel François. [Review of Chateaubriand's Essai sur la littérature anglaise, an article in the] Journal des Savants, April, 1837, pp. 219-220.

... L'Essai sur la littérature anglaise est moins justement que piquant, lorsqu'il nous dit: 'Il n'a tenu à rien que les trois royaumes de la Grande-Bretagne ne parlissent français: Shakespeare aurait écrit dans la langue de Rabelais.' Cela tenait à tout, au contraire; et si la langue anglaise s'est établie, ce n'est pas parce que le parlement de 1483 a rédigé ses bills en anglais; mais il les a rédigés ainsi pour être entendu.

Quoi qu'il en soit, bien avant cette époque, l'idiome anglais avait porté d'heureux fruits. Nous regrettons que l'illustre auteur [Chateaubriand] n'ait accordé que peu de lignes au vieux poète Chaucer, et n'ait pas même parlé de sa traduction du Roman de la Rose. Poète lettré et poète populaire, imitant les Latins, les Italiens, les Français, et ayant au plus haut degré l'humour anglaise, le tour d'esprit sérieux et moqueur, Chaucer méritait une place plus étendue dans cette brillante esquisse de lettres anglaises. Il n'atteste pas moins que Gower la longue rivalité des deux langues anglaise et française, puisqu'il a fait quelques pièces de vers où il les entremèle par un refrain alternatif. Mais ses Contes de Canterbury sont, pour le style comme pour les détails, la plus complète peinture de la vie et de la société anglaise du temps. . . .

Sans comparer, comme a fait Dryden, Chaucer à Ovide, sans analyser sa vie et ses ouvrages en deux volumes in-4°, comme a fait Godwin, la critique littéraire aurait beaucoup à dire sur ce vieux troubadour anglais, qui parfois a conté comme Bocace, s'est moqué de la chevalerie avant Cervantes; et qui, fort poétique d'expression dans ses vers un peu rudes et négligés, a donné en même temps à sa langue, les premiers modèles d'une prose régulière et savante. Nous regrettons que l'Essai soit si laconique sur Chaucer, et se borne presque à le traiter de courtisan lancastrien, viclefiste, infidèle à ses convictions, traître à son parti, tantôt banni, tantôt voyageur. Chaucer n'était ni plus courtisan, ni plus voyageur, ni plus infidèle à ses convictions que notre bon Froissard, qui recevait de si beaux présents des rois d'Angleterre: et la part même qu'il prit aux premiers essais du schisme en Angleterre donne un grand intérêt historique à ses ouvrages.

[Short account of the fashions introduced into France and England during the feasts and festivals which followed the ravages of the great plague in the fourteenth century.]

Les femmes chargeaient leur tête d’une mitre énorme d’où flottaient des rubans, comme les flammes d’un mât... elles portaient deux dagues à la ceinture.¹

¹ [Note] Chaucer 198. Gaguin, apud Spond, 488. Lingard, ann. 1350... 


J’aime les gravures. Au nombre de celles qui ornent ma [p. 33] modeste demeure, il en est une dont la composition originale pique vivement la curiosité de ceux qui y ont une fois porté leurs regards. C’est le *Pèlerinage de Canterbury*, ouvrage du peintre anglais Stothard, gravé fort habilement par J. Heath. Dans un cadre très large et peu élevé, se développe une longue cavalcade où l’on distingue des personnages de conditions, d’états et de sexes différents... [description of the pilgrims].

Quoique l’éditeur de la gravure ait pris soin d’y faire inscrire, à la marge inférieure, la qualité et un numéro qui se rapportent à chaque personnage, cette indication est loin de faire connaître, surtout aux Français, la cause et le but de cette étrange réunion. Souvent je me suis trouvé dans la nécessité d’en faire, tant à mes amis qu’à des curieux, une explication qui, bien qu’assez étendue, était loin cependant de les satisfaire. J’omettais toujours quelque circonstance importante; j’intervertissais l’ordre du récit en n’observant pas celui dans lequel sont rangées les figures, et, lorsque j’en venais à nommer Chaucer, le poète dont l’ouvrage a donné lieu à la composition de Stothard, on redoublait de questions à son sujet... Je pris donc le parti, pour satisfaire plus complètement la curiosité des autres et me soulager, il faut bien le dire, de la répétition assez fréquente des mêmes paroles, de traduire le *Prologue des Contes de Canterbury*, du poète anglais Chaucer... prologue qui fait le sujet de la gravure... 

Mais cette explication, mise à la portée de mes curieux, ne fut pas encore suffisante pour plusieurs d’entre eux. Ceux de ces derniers surtout qui aiment ou cultivent les
lettres n'avaient pas plutôt lu la traduction du Prologue . . . devant la gravure, qu'ils recommençaient leurs questions sur le poète Chaucer, sur ses ouvrages et sur son siècle, tant qu'enfin je cédai à leurs demandes en ajoutant à la traduction qu'ils avaient entre les mains quelques réflexions sur le caractère du talent de Chaucer, sur son temps, sans omettre de faire sentir la distinction des qualités propres à cet ingénieux écrivain anglais du quatorzième siècle avec celles qu'il a empruntées aux auteurs français et surtout aux Italiens de son temps. . . [A translation in French prose follows of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.]

Il est difficile de trouver un cadre plus ingénieux en lui-même et plus favorable pour préparer le lecteur à la narration d'une suite de contes ou de nouvelles que ce charmant prologue de Chaucer. Toutefois, ce qui démontre la supériorité de l'imagination et du talent de cet écrivain, c'est que la plupart des contes qu'il prête à ses personnages sont disposés avec autant d'art et écrits avec autant de verve et d'esprit que le prologue. Aussi les Contes de Canterbury forment-ils le principal titre de la gloire de Chaucer, et marquent-ils une époque très intéressante dans l'histoire de la littérature et de la poésie anglaises, dont Geoffroy Chaucer est regardé comme le père.

Ce poète, car il mérite réellement ce nom par la double faculté qu'il avait de bien composer et de bien exprimer ses idées, Geoffroy Chaucer . . . est né en 1328. . . [A two-page description is then given of England in the fourteenth century, and reference is made to Chaucer's satire against the Church, and to his sympathy for the doctrines of Wyclif.]

On sait peu de choses positives sur la vie de . . . Chaucer. [The usual statement of his life follows, first as student, then courtier, lawyer, traveller and ambassador. A short account of his prose works, Boece, the apocryphal Testament of Love and the Astrolabe, is then given, with a list of his poems ending with the Canterbury Tales.]

Ce recueil de contes, dont on a lu l'ingénieux prologue, passe pour être le dernier ouvrage du père de la poésie anglaise. . . . On ne peut douter que le Décaméron de Boccace ne lui ait fourni l'idée et la donnée première de son recueil; mais il faut avouer aussi qu'il est difficile, en suivant la route d'un autre, de s'y montrer avec plus d'originalité et de nouveauté que Geoffroy Chaucer. Je ne craindrai même pas d'avouer que, sous le rapport de l'invention, le poète anglais est
souvent supérieur au prosateur italien; et j'en prends pour preuve le prologue des *Contes de Canterbury*, comparé à l'avant-propos du *Décaméron*.

Il me semble que ce serait un service à rendre aux personnes qui aiment les lettres, comme à celles qui cherchent à s'instruire dans la connaissance des mœurs et de l'esprit du quatorzième siècle... que de donner une traduction en français des *Contes de Canterbury*. En faisant un premier essai moi-même sur le prologue, j'ai eu l'idée d'engager quelques jeunes et studieux littérateurs à se livrer à ce grand travail. Malgré les imperfections qui fourmillent sans doute dans ma traduction, je crois cependant que la verve pétulante avec laquelle le poète Chaucer a tracé les portraits de ses conteurs, éclate avec vivacité, et que cette spirituelle préface fera naître un vif désir de connaître le reste de l'ouvrage. [The author then proceeds to give a short account of each tale, 6 pp.].

Je ne sais si le lecteur me saura gré des détails minutieux que je viens de donner sur l'ensemble et sur les parties des ouvrages de G. Chaucer. Mais ses poèmes sont de nature à ne pouvoir être analysés qu'isolément, car la variété des sujets et du style est un trait caractéristique dans les productions de cet écrivain, et je n'ai pas cru pouvoir faire mieux connaître le génie varié de cet homme qu'en reproduisant successivement toutes les faces sous lesquelles il se présente.

Geoffroy Chaucer est sans doute une des gloires littéraires de l'Angleterre; mais, en sa qualité de savant, d'écrivain, de poète de la renaissance, il appartient à la grande famille européenne, et doit être placé au nombre des hommes qui ont le plus activement contribué à rallumer le flambeau des sciences, des lettres et de l'érudition. Le nom de Chaucer le cède, il est vrai, à ceux de Dante et de Pétrarque, mais on peut l'inscrire sur la même ligne que celui de Boccace.


[Chaucer derides those who spoke French after the fashion of 'Stratford le Bow.' A quotation from the Prologue is given.].

On peut donc résumer tout ce qui a été écrit sur Chaucer en disant: 1° ce n'est pas lui qui a introduit le premier le
français dans l'anglais, comme l'a prétendu Johnson ; 2° il a été un grand méléeur d'anglais avec le français (Werstegan [sic] 67) ; 3° s'il ne fut pas la source du pur anglais, comme le dit Spenser, c'est-à-dire de l'anglais sans mélange étranger, il a mérité ce nom par la pureté de ses pensées et de son style.


(p. lvi) Les sujets de plusieurs fabliaux et de plusieurs apologues se retrouvent chez les Arabes, les Persans, jusque dans l'Inde, jusqu'à la Chine. Puis ils ont été reproduits tour à tour par diverses nations de l'Europe ; ils ont fourni des thèmes piquants aux nouvellistes italiens, et à Chaucer.


(p. 100) Jusqu'au dernier souffle de sa vie commerciale et politique l'Angleterre conservera ce caractère, [of observer of manners]. Sa supériorité d'observatrice n'est pas un mérite : c'est pour elle une nécessité . . . il faut qu'elle observe, qu'elle compare, qu'elle juge, qu'elle soit homme d'affaires et analyste, pour exister. On voit ce caractère se prononcer d'une manière profonde dès les premiers pas que fait la Grande-Bretagne dans la carrière littéraire : admirez de quels traits positifs et précis sont marqués tous les personnages que le vieux Chaucer met en mouvement dans ses *Canterbury Tales*. L'homme de lettres, l'étudiant d'Oxford, parle peu et d'une voix douce [etc., several pilgrims are cited by way of example]. . . . Tous ces petits traits caractéristiques vous donnent une image nette et complète de chaque personnage, et vous croyez vous promener dans une galerie peinte par Holbein.

1843. Saint-Laurent, Charles [ps., i.e., L. G. L. G. de Lavergne] [Article ‘Chaucer’ in the] *Dictionnaires encyclopédique usuel*, 2e édition, 1843. [The 1st ed., 1841, is not in B.M.]


*Appendix B.* [A.D. 1841--]

[Introduction.]

[1847. p. 10] Chaucer ... est devenu l'un des sujets d'orgueil de ses compatriotes. Il a été mis par eux au rang de leurs grands poètes ; il a été imité et commenté. Les chefs mêmes de l'école classique anglaise, Pope et Dryden, se sont empressés de lui prodiguer leurs hommages. L'un l'a proclamé le créateur du pur anglais ; l'autre, non content de lui attribuer le mérite impossible à son époque d'une prosodie achevée, a été jusqu'à vouloir en faire l'égal d'Homère et de Virgile.

L'exagération d'un tel éloge n'a pas besoin d'être démontrée. Mais on ne saurait nier les droits de Chaucer à une place éminente dans le panthéon britannique. Possédant une connaissance directe et approfondie des auteurs latins, une science de l'antiquité bien rare au moyen âge, et sans doute alors unique en Angleterre, il marche l'égal de Boccace et de Pétrarque, ses contemporains. Parfois même il sut les dépasser, grâce à l'énergie du saxon, que son goût pour les langues classiques ne l'empêcha pas d'apprécier. . . .

Nous voudrions ajouter quelques détails sur la vie de notre poète : heureusement il nous faudra être à ce sujet d'une grande sobriété ; car les renseignements tout à fait certains sont assez rares, bien que les histoires de Chaucer ne manquent pas.

[1847. p. 11] En France, Feller et l'abbé Suard [sic, should be l'abbé Feller et Suard], ont publié des biographies de cet auteur. La notice du premier est évidemment aussi inexacte que tronquée ; pour en faire apprécier l'esprit, nous dirons seulement qu'elle appelle Chaucer le Clément Marot anglais. L'œuvre du second atteste du soin et des recherches ; mais elle se compose encore de faits trop légèrement admis pour avoir un caractère authentique. Des travaux plus sérieux ont nécessairement été faits en Angleterre ; et, parmi les auteurs qui se sont occupés de Chaucer, trois surtout à notre connaissance, ont écrit avec science et réflexion ; ce sont, Speght, Godwin, et John Urry. . . .

[Here follows a short life of the poet, written with care. The Testament of Love is given as the foundation for the story of Chaucer's flight. Next comes a collection of
Appendix B. [A.D. 1847]

'Témoignages d’auteurs contemporains en faveur de Geoffrey Chaucer,' [pp. 27–31], quotations from Lydgate (Prologue of the Siege of Thebes), and from Gower (Epilogue Conf. Amauris), translated into French, and the ballade of Deschamps. Then follows a description of]

(1) Poèmes allégoriques et songes.

[p. 38] . . . Le Palais de la Renommée.

Dans cette œuvre, dont Pope a donné une imitation, le génie de l’auteur revêt un caractère qui ne lui est pas habituel. Ici, Chaucer laisse de côté ses sujets de prédilection, c’est-à-dire les tableaux gracieux, les sentiments mélancoliques ou tendres, les scènes naïvement comiques, pour prendre un essor plus élevé. Il recherche avant tout les éléments poétiques d’une nature gigantesque. Des foules innombrables, des espaces infinis, des bruits étranges : voilà ce qu’il se plaît à décrire. Dans cette œuvre singulière, les jeux de son imagination nous semblent rappeler parfois les conceptions d’un peintre moderne, son compatriote, le fantastique Martins [sic]. Mais, chez le poète anglais, la grandeur des idées et la richesse de la création sont rarement exemptes de confusion. Le palais de la Renommée pêche par un défaut de plan bien sensible, et par des répétitions, des redondances qui en rendent la lecture difficile et fatigante.

[A detailed account of the poem follows, pp. 39–48.]

[p. 49] Le livre de la duchesse. [An account of the poem with long quotations in French, pp. 49–54.]

[p. 54] On y trouve [in the last part of the Boke of the Duchesse] . . . plusieurs de ces traits de nature qui plaçent Chaucer si haut dans l’opinion de Walter Scott. Mais ce sont des traits fugitifs qu’absorbe . . . le fatras de mauvais goût au milieu duquel ils se rencontrent.

[p. 73] (2) Contes et Récits non-allégoriques.

Troïle et Cresside, poème en cinq chants, d’un style généralement obscur. Le mauvais goût et la bizarrerie y dominent.

[p. 74] Les Contes de Cantorbéry. Bien que laissée incomplète par l’auteur, cette composition est la plus vaste de Chaucer. . . .
[The author gives an abridgement of the Prologue in French, up to the end of the description of the Prioress.]

[p. 81] ... Cette galerie de personnages se continue de la sorte pendant cinq ou six cents vers, et nous montre, ainsi que l'annonce l'auteur, des voyageurs de rangs fort divers. ...

[p. 82] ... On peut reprocher à ces portraits quelque chose d'uniforme dans l'exposition, souvent aussi des redondances de mots et d'idées; mais les défauts de l'ensemble disparaissent devant la piquante richesse des détails; et l'introduction aux Contes de Cantorbéry est, sans contredit, une des œuvres les plus remarquables de Chaucer. En effet, tracé avec une verve et une originalité soutenues, chaque caractère de cette nombreuse réunion présente l'étude d'une classe sociale au quatorzième siècle. Le poète, d'ailleurs, comme on a déjà pu en juger, ne se renferme pas dans la description des choses extérieures et matérielles, des figures ou des costumes; il est philosophe aussi bien que peintre; il pénètre l'esprit, les mœurs, les ridicules de ses contemporains. Ajoutez à cela que ses critiques, comme toutes les observations faites sur le fond même de l'esprit humain, se trouvent souvent applicables à tous les temps. Ainsi le lord des sessions, 'bon vivant à complexion sanguine, inaugurant sa journée par une soupe au vin et tenant table ouverte en permanence,' devait être le modèle parfait des magistrats provinciaux de son époque; et aujourd'hui encore, il pourrait représenter certains juges de paix de la joyeuse Angleterre. Nos comédies n'offrent pas de meilleurs types que la bourgeoise de Bath, veuve de cinq époux, 'toujours la première de sa paroisse à aller à l'offrande, et se mettant en fureur si quelqu'un l'y devançait; du reste, excellente pour rire, causer, amuser en voyage et indiquer des recettes contre l'amour.' On en peut dire autant du médecin, 'homme des plus savants, qui faisait gagner les apothicaires et que les apothicaires faisaient gagner.' A côté de ce digne pendant des docteurs de Lesage et de Molière, figure fort bien aussi le sergent de la loi. ... Derrière ces figures d'un comique un peu grotesque, vient le personnage modeste du clerc d'Oxford, comme pour montrer que Chaucer s'entendait aussi en comique délicat et de bon goût. Dans le portrait de ce pauvre savant, 'maigre de corps, maigrement vêtu, maigrement monté, fort logicien, du reste pas assez mondain
pour avoir un office, se rencontre le sarcasme fin, le pinceau à la fois juste et retenu de La Bruyère.

Nous pourrions puiser dans les caractères du matelot, de l’économe, de l’intendant, du meunier, nombre de passages aussi heureux, nombre de traits dignes d’être étudiés par quiconque a la prétention de peindre le cœur humain, et qui certainement ont été exploités plus d’une fois par les écrivains anglais; mais il est une autre face de l’introduction aux *Contes de Cantorbéry*, qui mérite aussi sa part d’examen.

Chaucer ne s’est pas renfermé dans la peinture des défauts ou des vices domestiques. Outre la satire privé, il a fait de la satire sociale; et, dans cette partie de son œuvre, il a des droits non-seulement à l’attention du littérateur, mais encore à celle de l’historien. Soit que l’on considère ses tableaux comme un miroir fidèle du temps, soit qu’on y voie simplement l’opinion passionnée d’un homme, ils sont une source précieuse de documents sur l’état des esprits et des choses en Angleterre, au quatorzième siècle. D’abord, le lecteur y trouve la preuve que cette hardiesse de pensée, si commune jadis parmi nos poètes et nos romanciers, se rencontrait aussi de l’autre côté de la Manche. Ensuite, tout en exagérant peut-être les désordres produits, à cette époque, par un clergé souvent sans vocation, ces satires attestent du moins de déplorables abus; elles en indiquent la nature et, jusqu’à un certain point, la gravité. Les diatribes du poète auront encore un autre intérêt, si l’on se rappelle l’adhésion de Chaucer à certaines doctrines hétérodoxes de Wiclef; car elles seront alors l’expression vivante de l’animosité des réformateurs anglais du quatorzième siècle, envers la hiérarchie ecclésiastique.

Les personnages que Chaucer, dans sa galerie de portraits, a sacrifiés en partie à la vérité historique, en partie à ses antipathies de réformateur, sont le moine, le frère mendiant, l’huissier épiscopal et le porteur d’indulgences. Le premier de ces quatre personnages a servi de modèle à Walter Scott pour son prieur de Jorvaulx; seulement, le romancier écossais, avec ce tact si remarquable en lui, n’a emprunté à l’original que des traits et des couleurs adoucis, présumant que c’était le plus sûr moyen de rester dans le vrai. Voici le caractère tracé par Chaucer: on pourra le comparer avec celui du moine d’Ivanhoe.
L'indignité du frère prêcheur a pour pendant l'avarice et la fourberie de l'huissier épiscopal et du porteur d'indulgences. Le premier est un effronté voleur, qui, fermant les yeux pour de l'argent sur les plus grands scandales, ne se fait aucun scrupule de tourner en dérision l'autorité dont il exécute les ordres. Le second est aussi repoussant au moral qu'au physique, une sorte de castrat tout bardé de reliques mensongères, avec lesquelles il soutire de l'argent à tout le monde.

On dira peut-être que jusqu'ici cet acharnement contre les mœurs du clergé n'est remarquable que par la forme; que c'est, du reste, le fond des diatribes si fréquentes chez Boccace et Pétrarque en Italie, chez les troubadours et les trouvères en France: soit; mais voici qui ajoute un trait tout particulier à la censure de Chaucer. Après avoir flétri les abus ecclésiastiques et battu en brèche le clergé régulier, l'auteur s'engage à élever un monument conforme à ses propres doctrines. Cette prétention n'est pas plus avouée que les vues subversives cachées sous les portraits dont nous venons de rendre compte; mais elle se sent, elle se révèle. On va en juger. Aux indignes personnages dont il vient de peindre les défauts et les vices, Chaucer oppose le caractère du curé, homme instruit, de mœurs et d'habitudes toutes primitives, et qui prêche la vraie morale de Jésus Christ. Ce prêtre, bon et résigné dans le malheur, qui, malgré l'étendue de sa paroisse, va, malade ou bien portant, par la pluie ou par le tonnerre, visiter à pied ses paroissiens les plus éloignés, qui réside et n'emploie pas son temps à briguer un bénéfice lucratif à Londres, ce prêtre tout apostolique est le rêve du poète. Il en fait un idéal accompli, au sujet duquel il expose ses théories, ou plutôt celle des Wiclésistes, qui, non-seulement voulaient élever le clergé séculier sur la ruine des ordres monastiques, mais imposaient aussi aux hommes de Dieu la pauvreté et l'innocence des premiers temps du christianisme.

Exception faite du récit du chevalier qui tient un rang tout à fait hors ligne, les contes enchâssés dans le pèlerinage de Cantorbéry, nous semblent l'emporter rarement sur les nouvelles du Décameron... C'est le mérite littéraire qui seul est en question. Or, sous ce rapport, l'œuvre de Chaucer prête beaucoup plus à la critique que ne le reconnaissent généralement ses compatriotes. Aux yeux d'un juge non
prévenu, la plupart de ses contes paraîtront certainement, ou mal choisis, ou d'une narration défectueuse. . .

[p. 96] . . . Il a été dit plus haut, que, parmi les contes de Cantorbéry, on en trouve un dont la supériorité est incontestable.

Ce morceau [the Knights Tale] important par son étendue, est une sorte de poème héroïque où le bon goût des idées, l'art du style et l'intérêt des situations, sont portés à une hauteur rare chez les écrivains du moyen âge. Une telle œuvre montre combien Chaucer aurait pu exceller dans les sujets nobles et graves. Inspirée en grande partie par un poème de Boccace oublié maintenant, elle ne doit pour cela rien perdre de notre estime; car nulle composition ne mérite davantage la qualité d'origine accordée si souvent, et à juste titre, aux autres imitations de notre poète. . .

(pp. 101-204) [Prose translation of the Knights Tale.]

(pp. 267-247) [Analysis of the Prologues and Tales and extracts from them.]

(pp. 251-271) [Brief examination of the shorter poems and prose translations of some of them.]


[A somewhat detailed review, two columns in length.]

C'est avec raison que Geoffroy Chaucer est considéré comme l'un des poètes les plus éminents de la vieille Angleterre. Son esprit observateur plein d'étendue, excellait dans une reproduction originale et féconde des œuvres qu'il imitait . . . toutes les œuvres de longue haleine que ce poète nous a laissées, bien qu'évidemment empruntées à ses prédécesseurs, n'en ont pas moins un caractère profond d'originalité. [His life and a notice of his works follow. . . . [The Canterbury Tales.] Malheureusement les récits qu'il met dans la bouche de ces différents personnages ne sont pas toujours en harmonie avec leur caractère. Cependant plusieurs de ces récits sont très-curieux et tout à fait dignes de remarque. M. Gomont a traduit en entier celui que fait le chevalier, et qui a tout l'intérêt et toute l'étendue d'un vieux roman de chevalerie.


Du génie de la langue anglaise.

[p. 20] Mainte phrase de Chaucer est tellement normande et
saxonne, que personne aujourd'hui ne s'en rend compte sans dictionnaire.

[p. 26] Tout le dictionnaire des archaïsmes de Chaucer et de Layamon entrera-t-il dans le nouveau lexique?

1850. [Forgues?], E. La Poésie Humoristique, [article in the] Revue Britannique, July 1850, pp. 97-100.

[p. 98] Chaucer, par exemple, dans sa naïveté plus savante qu'on ne le dirait, est bien supérieur à Butler, bien supérieur lui-même à Wolcott ; ses caricatures sont bien plus fortement burinées et rappellent bien mieux la nature. . . . On ne saurait dire le charme de cette bonhomie narquoise, de ces rares sarcasmes, pointant, ça et là, sur un fond uni et tranquille, et que relève une teinte de pédanterie, apanage du temps. Dans ce cortège si pittoresque des Pèlerins de Canterbury, que de précieux aperçus ! quelles physionomies spirituellement esquissées et d'une ressemblance appréciable encore aujourd'hui ! [The Prioress, Clerk of Oxenford and Man of Lawe are referred to]. . . . Bref, à chaque instant, le trait malin, l'épigramme caractéristique, décochée à petit bruit, avec une absence de préoccupation, une nonchalance apparente qui en doublent le prix pour les connaisseurs.1

1 [Note by the editor of the journal, Amédée Pichot.] Le prologue des Contes de Canterbury est, à notre avis, un vrai chef-d'œuvre. Traduit plusieurs fois, il l'a été par le rédacteur de cet article, il y a quelques années, ce qu'il rappelle uniquement pour attester la sincérité de son admiration.


Chaucer (Geoffroy). Le premier poète lettré qui en Angleterre ait manié la langue nationale, né à Londres, en 1328 [etc. the ordinary biographical details ; very little said about the works]. [Les] célèbres Canterbury Tales. Ces contes nous font entrer dans la vie intime de l'Angleterre au xive siècle. Supérieur à celui du Décaméron, le plan des Canterbury Tales comporte des incidents qui tiennent la curiosité éveillée. Que si l'action du poème est un événement trop simple pour distraire l'attention des récits des pèlerins, le pèlerinage lui-même est un prétexte suffisant pour réunir dans le même cadre toutes les classes de la société, depuis le noble cheva-
lier jusqu'à l'artisan, et pour peindre les vieilles mœurs et les vieilles coutumes. Chaucer excelle surtout dans les descriptions; on pourrait se passer de ses digressions morales, mais on ne voudrait perdre aucun de ses portraits.

1855. Rathery, E. J. B. Des Relations sociales et intellectuelles, entre la France et l'Angleterre, [in the] Revue Contemporaine, July 1855, pp. 410, 411 [the language of Chaucer and his debt to France]; August 1855, pp. 41, 42.

1855. Chatelain, Jean Baptiste de, Chevalier. La Fleur et la Feuille, poème avec le texte anglais en regard, traduit en vers français de G. Chaucer.

Dédicace, à Miss Kearsley.
Du Grand Chaucer, de ce charmant conteur,
Vous qui savez goûter le vieux langage,
A vous je viens offrir la gentille fleur
Qu'il fit fleurir sous si touffu feuillage
Que fleur et feuille ont encore leur fraîcheur.
Laissez la fleur! . . . Mais conservez la feuille
En souvenir de moi dans votre portefeuille.
Le Chevalier de Chatelain.

Geffery Chaucer

Chaucer, que l'on peut appeler à juste titre le père de la poésie anglaise, est né en 1328 et mort en 1400. Le poème dont nous offrons aujourd'hui la traduction, à nos lecteurs, est à notre avis du moins, une des plus gracieuses créations de son auteur. Nous donnons la version de Chaucer dans son vieux langage, parce que ce vieux langage est mille fois plus naïf que le langage modernisé, depuis Chaucer, quelquefois par des hommes d'un talent véritable. Inutile de dire que nous nous serions cru fort impertinent envers la mémoire du grand poète, si nous eussions adopté la version de quelques-uns de ses commentateurs, qui se sont égarés à plaisir en voulant expliquer ce qui nous à paru clair comme le jour.

En 1825 Edward lord Thurlow a publié (imprimé par William Nicol, Cleveland Row, St. James’s) The Flower and the Leaf, after the famous poet Geoffrey Chaucer. Nous croyons que le noble lord a été fort mal inspiré en reprenant ainsi Chaucer en sous-œuvre pour en faire un poème à alinéas de toutes les grandeurs. Lord Thurlow s'est rendu coupable, selon nous, d'une pauvre contrefaçon de Chaucer, de ce poète
original qu'il a privé par son fait, du charme indicible des strophes de sept vers dont le mètre est à la fois si original et si musicalement agréable.

Si l'on veut savoir le pourquoi de notre prédilection pour *The Floure and the Leafe*, nous dirons tout uniment que ce sujet nous a rappelé avec bonheur les naïves poésies de Clément Marot, qui peut être considéré lui comme le père de la poésie française.

**Le Traducteur.**


[A long article on Chaucer, with a notice of his life and of the *Canterbury Tales*, *Troilus*, and the *Flower and the Leaf*, with lengthy French quotations from these poems. Recast in *L'Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, tome i, 1863, p. v.]


[Biographical and literary notice occupying three columns.] Chaucer (Godefroy), célèbre poète anglais, né en 1328, mort le 25 octobre 1400. On manque complètement de détails au sujet de sa famille ; les uns ont cru qu'il était le fils d'un tavernier, d'autres le regardent comme issu de parents nobles. [Then follow the ordinary details of his life, based on the *Testament of Love*. *The Canterbury Tales* are next described.] Les sujets graves et plaisants sont entremêlés avec art. ... Le style naïf du moyen âge prête à ces contes un charme particulier, ils font les délices des Anglais, qui y trouvent une foule de détails curieux sur les mœurs de leurs ancêtres. Ils ont moins d'intérêt pour les étrangers, qui seraient souvent rebutés de leur longueur ; aucune traduction ne saurait d'ailleurs en donner une idée exacte. [Stothard's picture of the pilgrims is mentioned, and is followed by a list of Chaucer's works.] ... Observateur judicieux, Chaucer n'a en vue que des réalités ; poète essentiellement pittoresque et dramatique, il décrit d'une façon aussi vive que naturelle ; ses personnages sont peints d'après nature, et caractérisés de manière à ne pouvoir être oubliés.

1856. [Le Clerc, Victor.] *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins, de la congrégation de St Maur, et continué par des Membres de l'Institut, tom. xxiii, Paris, 1856, pp. 46, 77, 83, 143, 247, 503. [See also below under 1862.]
Dès la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle, le roman de la Rose obtint une grande célébrité, qui se maintint et s'accrut encore dans le siècle suivant. Pétrarque en Italie et Chaucer en Angleterre eurent de l'estime pour ce poème ; Chaucer même voulut le traduire, et il reste sept mille cent vers de sa traduction.

[In the study of the Fabliaux]... Il devait y avoir, outre le conte de la Male vieille qui en fait partie, un fabliau français de Dame Siriz dont il reste une traduction anglaise, la plus ancienne des narrations anglaises de ce genre, et qui a précédé les imitations de Chaucer, c'est le quatorzième chapitre de Pierre d'Alphonse. ...

Le psautier, que La Fontaine emprunte de Boccace, a pour origine, outre les Braies du Cordelier, un épisode du Renart Contrefait, terminé vers 1320, trente trois ans avant le Décaméron. ... [The Italians borrowed a good deal from the Latin fabliaux, and there are many reminiscences of their French origin in the Italian novels.] Si les Italiens se sont attribué en ce genre une fécondité inventive qui ne leur appartient pas, la critique anglaise ne s'est pas moins fourvoyée. Elle savait d'une manière générale que l'auteur des Contes de Canterbury avait imité les fabliaux français ; mais aucune comparaison n'avait été faite entre les modèles et le copiste. On a félicité Chaucer d'avoir dans son Meunier de Trumpington, changé heureusement quelques détails d'une nouvelle de Boccace, qui passait pour l'inventeur : tout le mérite de Chaucer est d'avoir fidèlement transcrit l'ancien fabliau.

Au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, le poète anglais Chaucer, qui a tant imité nos rimeurs français, leur emprunta ce conte [de Gombert et des deux clercs], avec beaucoup d'autres, et c'est de là que vient son Meunier de Trumpington. ... Comme tout le monde avait lu le même conte dans Boccace ... les éloges des critiques anglais étaient inépuisables en l'honneur de Chaucer, qui, dans son imitation, avait su ajouter, disait-on, d'heureuses circonstances au récit de Boccace. Nous savons aujourd'hui que tout ce mérite d'inventeur qu'on lui attribuait consiste à avoir fort bien copié notre fabliau.
Chiche face (vilaine mine), espèce d'animal fantastique ou de loup-garou, toujours prêt, dit-on, à dévorer les femmes, lorsqu'elles ont le tort de ne pas contredire leurs maris... Chicheface dont la maigreur prouve que les femmes ont eu soin de ne pas lui donner l'occasion de se mieux nourrir. Chaucer parle de celle-ci dans la copie qu'il a faite de la Grisélidis latine de Pétrarque.

En Angleterre, où le poète Chaucer fait succéder sans pitié à toute la splendeur de la vieille chevalerie le ridicule personnage de Sire Thopas, on trouve aussi, dans le Tournoi de Trottenham [sic], les nobles cérémonies du champ clos jouées insolemment par des bouffons.


[A short life of Chaucer, inexact, because founded on the Testament of Love. It concludes thus]:

Enrichi par les bontés de la cour... il vécut heureux. Jusqu'alors les poètes anglais avaient été des savants reclus; Chaucer fut un homme du monde. Encouragé par Jean Gower, son ami, le premier guide de ses études, il assigna un rang littéraire à la langue anglaise qu'Edouard III venait de proclamer langue nationale, à l'exclusion du normand. Quoiqu'il abonde en allusions classiques, il imite les auteurs français et étrangers. Ses poésies légères ressemblent à celles de Froissart... Le long poème de Troïle et Cressida offre des souvenirs de Pétrarque, de Boëce et d'Ovide. Son Temple de la Renommée, froidement imité par Pope, est de source provençale. Mais ses Contes de Canterbury, souvent imités de Boccace, sont surtout célèbres : on y trouve l'histoire de Grisélidis, des satires contre les moines, une parodie des romans chevaleresques etc. Chaucer a un grand talent de satire et d'observation, une imagination vive et riante; son style a vieilli, mais se lit encore... [It is interesting to note that this account of Chaucer is reprinted almost verbatim in the 12th and last edn. of this work, Paris, 1903. In a Preface to the 10th edn. in 1888, M. Darsy wrote: 'Toutes les parties du Dictionnaire ont été soumises à une revision sévère. Tous les articles sans en, excepter un seul, ont été contrôlés, modifiés ou remplacés.]

CHAUCER CRITICISM.—V.
Yet we are here told that Chaucer was born in 1328, studied at Oxford, 'embrassa les erreurs de Wiclef et fut emprisonné,' and the Testament de l'Amour is especially cited as being one of his prose works.


[Introduction.] Geoffrey Chaucer, le père de la Poésie Anglaise, naquit vers l'an 1328, de quelle extraction? Sa Postérité n'en sait mot; mais le Génie et l'Esprit étant la plus pure essence de la Divinité, Chaucer fut noble, le hazard l'eut-il fait naître de parents n'ayant un nom inscrit dans les fastes de la Noblesse . . . [A short life of the poet follows.]


Sur notre traduction des Contes de Cantorbery nous avons peu de choses à dire, en laissant l'appréciation aux critiques littéraires, honnêtes, et heureusement il y en a encore un assez grand nombre en Angleterre.

Regardant Chaucer comme le Boccace de l'Angleterre, le mettant sous plus d'un rapport, au moins au niveau de Shakespeare, qu'il a précédé, le considérant, nous le répétons comme le Père de la Poésie Anglaise, nous avons cru devoir élever à sa mémoire un monument Européen, en traduisant les Contes de Cantorbery en vers français; la langue de Chaucer, d'un accès assez difficile pour ceux qui sont désireux d'en apprécier les beautés et d'en savourer les charmes, n'étant plus lue, même en Angleterre, que par le très petit nombre. Nous croyons donc livrer à l'admiration du continent non pas notre traduction, comme un certain literary lawyer (un de nos intimes ennemis qui se cache sous ce pseudonyme dans le Morning Star), sera tenté de nous en accuser, mais l'œuvre de Chaucer, qu'on ne se méprenne pas! Ce n'est pas
l'habit que nous croyons digne d'admiration, c'est le moine en chair et en os.

Et bien qu'à notre avis il n'y ait pas plus de vilains mots dans Chaucer que dans Boccace, qui a été lu par tout le monde, encore y en a-t-il beaucoup trop pour les traduire sans vergogne, et les jeter à la face du public dans ce dix-neuvième siècle devenu d'autant plus prude que l'immoralité y fleurit plus vivace. C'est en cela que notre tâche a été fort difficile à remplir. Nous avons dû laisser autant que possible tout son esprit à Chaucer, en adoucissant toutefois quelques-unes de ses expressions, nous contentant de laisser subsister sa pensée, en modifiant ou en raturant le mot trop... comment dirons-nous cela?... trop peu vêtu.

[p. xv] Quant à la partie matérielle de notre œuvre, nous avons traduit les Contes de Cantorbéry souvent vers pour vers, toujours strophes pour strophes, dans les contes qui sont écrits ainsi par leur auteur; d'autres fois nous avons laissé courir notre plume sans nous inquiéter d'augmenter un conte de vingt, trente ou quarante vers, alors que nous pensions que la narration pouvait gagner du naturel...

[p. xvi] Nous avons cru devoir comprendre dans la collection des Contes de Cantorbéry, le Conte de Gamelyn raconté par le Cuisinier, bien qu'il y ait incertitude s'il est ou non de Chaucer.

Nous avons cru devoir rendre en vers le conte de Mélibée raconté en prose par Chaucer, et traduit par lui d'un manuscrit français qui fait aujourd'hui partie du Ménagier de Paris, publié par la société des Bibliophiles Français; nous avons traduit également en vers le Conte du Curé, ce long Traité... nous paraissant moins lourd en vers.

[t. ii, p. vii] Introduction.] Messieurs les Puritains ont crié cependant haro sur nous et sur notre traduction des Contes de Cantorbéry et pourquoi?... Ils seraient, nous le croyons, très embarrassés de le dire: car nous avons énormément adouci l'expression de Chaucer dans les passages scabreux de quelques-uns de ses contes. Nous serions vraiment tenté de croire que la langue française étant de nos jours plus facile à lire et à comprendre que le langage à l'écorce rude de Chaucer, ces pudiques écrivains (Anglais) viennent de lire le Père de la Poésie Anglaise pour la première fois dans notre traduction.
Appendix B.

C'est donc à l'adresse de ces critiques Puritains que nous croyons devoir citer notre réponse à un journal de province qui nous fit connaître qu'il ne serait pas rendu compte dans ses colonnes de notre traduction de Chaucer, parce que nous avions traduit l'œuvre du grand poète in extenso; et que suivant le conseil que nous a donné depuis le Guardian, nous eussions dû omettre la moitié des contes de cet infâme Monsieur Chaucer.

...  

[Lettre.]  

Au pape Pie IX.

Très cher Frère en Christ.

A cette anomalie agonisante que vous faites appeler en plein xixe siècle, par une modestie peu digne des Apôtres, Votre Sainteté, il a plu:

Après les massacres de Pérouse, et par suite après la perte des Romagnes,

D'excommunier mon pauvre Moi, avec 30 millions de Français, mes compatriotes, et aussi pas mal de millions d'Italiens:

Il me plait à moi, sans permission, et malgré l'excommunication dont Vous, l'auteur du dogme impie de l'Immaculée Conception, m'avez frappé, de Vous dédier ma traduction du Plowman, l'un des plus beaux poèmes du grand Chaucer.

Dans cette œuvre admirable Chaucer a maudi vos prédécesseurs, Vous et Votre Mignie, avec une force et une logique radieuses de vérité.

Or Chaucer n'étant lu que par les Anglais, un peuple de parpaillots, qui ne se prosterne pas devant les idoles créées par Votre Sainteté, j'ai cru devoir le mettre à la portée de mes compatriotes les 30 millions d'excommuniés par votre dextre sainte, en le traduisant en français, à cette fin que Vous même puissiez le lire, dans vos loisirs, lorsque vous aurez été chassé de Rome, ce qui, D.V., ne peut tarder d'arriver.

Sans modestie, comme sans présomption, je crois que la malédiction formulée par Chaucer sur les Eternelles Iniquités de la Cour de Rome produira plus d'effet que le Brandon de discorde que vous avez eu la prétention de jeter ce dernier carnaval urbi et orbi, comme vous dites là-bas.

...  

LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELAIN.
Pour tout homme qui veut se donner la peine de réfléchir, il demeure évident que le Plowman n'a été laissé de côté dans les premières éditions des Contes de Cantorbéry que parce que Chaucer y dénonçait trop vertement les abus scandaleux de la Cour de Rome ; le Catholicisme à l'aide duquel on peut réduire à l'esclavage une nation, étant alors en Angleterre et malheureusement pour elle, la religion dominante.

Nos lecteurs trouveront, à la suite de l'Histoire de Bérym, l'A. B. C. longtemps attribué à Chaucer, et qui est l'œuvre de Guillaume Guileville. Nous avons été heureux d'apprendre que l'auteur du Plowman n'a été que le traducteur de l'A. B. C. . . . nous eussions regretté de trouver Chaucer parmi ceux qui font de Marie une vierge immaculée. La vraisemblance doit être gardée même dans un conte de fées, même dans les mythologies de l'Antiquité et des temps modernes.

**1859. Sandras, E. G. Étude sur Chaucer considéré comme imitateur des Trouvères, Paris, 1859.**

[Introduction, pp. 1-7. 1ʳᵉ Partie. Biographie et Poèmes allégoriques, chap. i, Biographie, pp. 11-29; chap. ii, Roman de la Rose, pp. 31-40; chap. iii, Étude des poèmes de source italienne et française, i.e., Troilus et Cresséide, Arcite et Palamon, la Cour d'Amour, le Parlement des Oiseaux, pp. 41-74; chap. iv, Étude des poèmes de source exclusivement française, i.e., le rêve de Chaucer, Livre de la Duchesse, la Fleur et la Feuille, et petits poèmes, pp. 75-110; chap. v, De l'imitation de l'antiquité dans Chaucer, Annelida et Arcite, la légende des dix-neuf Hérosines, le palais de la renommée, pp. 111-132. 2ᵈᵉ Partie. Pèlerinage de Canterbury, pp. 133-257.]
Appendix B.

A.D. 1859

[p. 3] Ces poésies [all, except the Canterbury Tales] ne sont ni des œuvres originales ni de fidèles copies : véritables mosaïques, elles se composent de passages empruntés à divers auteurs ou à divers écrits du même auteur. Aucune page, prise séparément, n'appartient peut-être à Chaucer ; l'ensemble est à lui. Il choisit, il traduit, il combine. Idées, sentiments, descriptions, portraits, situations, tout est de provenance étrangère, presque toujours de provenance française. A ce titre, chacun de ces poèmes est digne de notre attention.

[p. 4] Chaucer . . . dès sa jeunesse, avait fait du Roman de la Rose son livre de prédilection. Il en traduisit une partie, et il prit des inspirations continues. C'est au point que ce poète, qui sentait les beautés de la nature, qui savait les peindre, se contente souvent dans ses descriptions d'être le copiste de G. de Lorris ; que cet érudit . . . reproduit l'histoire romaine telle que J. de Meung la lui transmet, altérée par l'imagination des conteurs ; que cet homme de génie, qui mérite d'être placé entre Aristophane et Molière, arrive à la vieillesse, toujours sous le joug de l'imitation, et n'ayant guère composé que des poèmes allégoriques. Quand il renonce à cette poésie de cour si fausse, si maniérée, et qu'il écrit le Pèlerinage de Canterbury, drame vivant et populaire, on retrouve dans son œuvre les traits saillants qui caractérisent la seconde partie du Roman de la Rose, de longues tirades contre les femmes et le ridicule jeté à pleines mains sur les ordres religieux. Sans doute il remonte aux sources premières où ont puisé ses maîtres, sans doute il étudie les ouvrages de leurs disciples, ses contemporains ; mais c'est à l'école de G. de Lorris que son goût s'est formé ou, si l'on veut, altéré ; c'est à l'école de Jean du Meung que s'est façonné son esprit.

[p. 37] [Sandras shows that Troilus, although translated from the Filostrato of Boccaccio, owes something to Benolt de Sainte-Maure, and that this love-tale was first related by him, and subsequently re-told by Boccaccio, Chaucer and Shakespeare.]

[pp. 41-50] [The Knightes Tale, translated from the Teseide of Boccaccio. There is no proof that Boccaccio took his subject from the Greek.] Telle qu'elle se présente, avec les couleurs que Boccaccio paraît lui avoir en partie conservées, je la rattacherais au cycle gréco-romain ; je lui ferai une place
entre le *Roman de Thèbes* et celui de *Troie*. Au lieu de nous laisser aller aux conjectures, il est plus sage de former des vœux pour la découverte d'un texte qui nous dise que cette charmante fiction est née de notre sol.

[p. 66.] . . . L'imagination, dans Chaucer, est toujours l'écho de l'érudition. Ce n'est pas dans le spectacle de la nature, dans le drame de la vie humaine telle qu'elle s'agit autour de lui et en lui, qu'il puisse directement ses inspirations ; il aime les livres, les vieux livres, d'où sort *science nouvelle comme d'un vieux champ blé nouveau*. C'est avec les souvenirs de ses lectures qu'il compose. Ici, dans un sujet de pure fantaisie, [*the Parlement of Foules*], il a mis à contribution Cicéron, Stace, Dante, Guillaume de Lorris, Boccace, Alain de l'Isle, G. de Machault, et peut-être quelque Volucaire qui a échappé à mes recherches . . .

[pp. 71-72] [Sandras prints the first lines of the rondeau which is sung by the birds [*Parl. of Foules*], 'Qui bien aime a tart oublie,' and which he finds at the beginning of one of the two poems by Machaut called *Le Lay de plour*.]

[p. 74] . . . Même en imitant les Italiens, Chaucer s'est rapproché autant que possible de nos trouvères.

[pp. 81-89] [Chaucer's debt to G. de Machaut in the *Dream of Chaucer (Dit du Lyon)* and to Marie de France (*Lai d'Eliduc*).]

[pp. 89-95] [His debt to the *Roman de la Rose*, to Machaut, and to Froissart in the *Boke of the Duchesse*.]

[p. 111] Chaucer, par certains côtés, touche à la renaissance ; il domine les préjugés de son époque ; par d'autres, il reste un homme du moyen-âge. Il n'a pas, comme son contemporain Pétrarque, le vif sentiment, la parfaite intelligence de ce que fut l'antiquité. Il semble ne connaître les auteurs anciens qu'à travers la naïve métamorphose que leur font subir nos trouvères . . .

[pp.127-132] Conclusion de la 1e partie.

[p. 130] En résumé, voici ce que Chaucer doit à l'Italie : il a imité le *Filodrato* et la *Thésée*, poèmes qui sont, l'un certainement, l'autre vraisemblablement d'origine française. Très-circonstanc t à l'égard de Pétrarque, il ne lui a pris qu'un sonnet, et s'est peut-être souvenu du *Trionfo della Fama*. Les
emprunts qui nous sont étrangers sont ceux qui proviennent de la Divine Comédie ; encore Chaucer, en cette occasion, s'est-il servi du rythme et du style de nos trouvères, de même que, dans Troïlus et Cresséide, il a préféré notre vers élégiaque à l'hendécasyllabe italien, le stance de J. de Brienne et de Thibaut, à l'octave, et la naïveté de nos rimeurs, à l élégance presque classique de son modèle.

Tyrwhitt avait soupçonné, d'après le mémoire du comte de Caylus, qu'un Dité de Machault n'avait pas été inconnu. . .

(p. 131) [à Chaucer]. Une lecture attentive . . . des poésies . . . de notre compatriote, m'a prouvé qu'avec le Roman de la Rose, elles ont servi de modèle à Geoffrey, pour plusieurs de ses compositions allégoriques . . . [Chaucer imitates Machault], et sans doute parce qu'il voit en lui un autre G. de Lorris ; mais il relève cette fade poésie par sa verve caustique et d'heureux emprunts faits à nos auteurs de l'âge précédent, entre autres à Marie de France . . . Froissart et Chaucer offrent des passages d'une ressemblance frappante, . . . il est . . . difficile de se prononcer sur la priorité. . .

(p. 132) Des poètes français que Chaucer a mis à contribution, il n'a nommé que celui auquel il doit le moins, et qui avait le moins à lui prêter, Gransson, gentilhomme qu'il connut à la cour de Richard II.

(p. 135) 2e Partie. Pèlerinage de Canterbury. L'idée d'encadrer plusieurs histoires dans une narration, nous est venue d'Orient ; elle a été popularisée en Europe longtemps avant Chaucer par Pierre d'Alphonse, juif converti, auteur de la Disciplina clericalis, et par les nombreuses versions du Roman des Sept Sages. Ce sont des ouvrages qui paraissent avoir servi de modèle au Pèlerinage de Canterbury plutôt que le Décaméron, inconnu peut-être à Geoffrey. Mais le poète anglais est supérieur à ses devanciers, y compris Boccace, par la fable, qui a un dénouement, et par la diversité des personnages qui entraîne celle des histoires.

(p. 138) C'est sur ce sujet [the Canterbury Pilgrimage], que le vieux Geoffrey a composé dans une langue claire, riche, harmonieuse, une ample comédie qui le place entre Aristophane et Molière. Peintre, moraliste, poète, il embrasse dans son œuvre toute la société contemporaine. . . Cette vaste composition offre à la critique deux objets d'examen nettement
séparés ; d’un côté, l’introduction et les prologues qui précèdent les contes ; de l’autre, les contes. Une distinction plus vraie encore consiste à étudier les caractères, puis les situations. On voit alors clairement ce qui appartient au génie de Chaucer, dans le tissu de chaque histoire, le poète anglais n’est qu’imitateur : exposition, incidents, dénouement, il emprunte tout à nos écrivains. Dans la peinture des personnages, il est inventeur... il a surtout pour


[Description of the pilgrims.]

[pp. 142-194] On serait amené à cette conviction qu’en ce siècle, où religieux et laïcs jouaient dans les églises des farces grossières, Chaucer créait la vraie comédie, qu’il en façonnait la langue, qu’il enseignait l’art de dessiner des caractères... On souscrirait peut-être à cette assertion d’un critique anglais, que Geoffrey, dans la comédie, n’est pas inférieur à Shakespeare. ... Toutefois, en reconnaissant tout ce qu’il y a d’originalité et d’inspiration directe dans cette partie de l’œuvre de Chaucer, il est juste de ne pas oublier que souvent nos trouvères ont tracé les premiers linéaments des portraits qu’il achève si bien.

[The sources of the Tales.]

[pp. 197-251] Le résultat de ces investigations laborieuses [de plusieurs écrivains] a été de constater que le poète anglais ne doit rien au Décaméron, et qu’il a puisé, comme Boccace, à des sources françaises. [This point is dealt with in detail. (1) Legends, The Prioresses Tale, seconde Nonnes T. (Jacques de Voragine), Man of Lawes T. ; (2) Breton lays, Clerkes T. W. of Bathes T., Franklin’s T. ; (3) fabliaux, Phisiciens T. (of Jean de Meung), Maniciples T. (influence of Machault and Jean de Meung) Somnores T., (fabliau of Jacques de Baisieux), Milleres T., Marchantes T. (Latin fabliau), Nonne Preestes T. (Roman du Renard).]

[p. 233] Conclusion de la 2e partie. ... Quelle est la part d’invention qui revient à Chaucer, 1o dans la fable : 2o dans les caractères : 3e dans les contes ?

Je regarde comme sans fondement l’opinion de Tyrwhitt... que c’est du Décaméron qu’est venue l’idée du Pèlerinage de Canterbury. La Disciplina clericalis et le Roman des Sept Sages avaient déjà donné l’exemple de rassembler dans un cadre commun plusieurs histoires. Dans de nombreux passages de nos fabliaux se trouvait décrite la
coutume, qui régnait alors chez nous, d’égayer par des récits la table d’un hôte. . . .

2° On reconnaît que c’est dans la peinture des caractères que Chaucer a déployé le plus d’originalité, et a montré qu’il savait allier l’observation la plus exacte, la réflexion la plus profonde, à une imagination vraiment puissante. . . . Toutefois, même dans cette partie de son œuvre, son inspiration n’est pas entièrement dégagée de réminiscences puissées chez nos trouvères.

3° Chaucer n’est l’inventeur d’aucun des contes insérés dans son poëme . . . j’ai constaté que, dans les légendes, le poête suit ordinairement le texte; que, dans les lais bretons, il mêle l’érudition et la satire à l’élément chevaleresque; qu’enfin, dans les fabliaux, tout en se conformant au canevas primitif, il devient créateur, à la manière de la Fontaine. . . .

[p. 257] Deux noms de poètes français me semblent caractériser le génie du père de la poésie anglaise. Dans ses poèmes allégoriques et chevaleresques, Chaucer adopte le genre mis en vogue par G. de Lorris; dans le Pèlerinage de Canterbury, l’élément qui domine, c’est la satire, et les traits en sont dirigés contre les mêmes objets qu’avait attaqués la verve érudite et impitoyable de Jean de Meung.

[For critical reviews of Sandras’s book, see Adolf Ebert’s, of 1861, translated in Essays on Chaucer, Chaucer Society, 1869; F. J. Furnivall, Trial Forewords to Chaucer’s Minor Poems, 1871, pp. 46-53, and Athenæum, Aug. 3, 1872, p. 147.]


[Brief allusions to Chaucer ]


[p. 136] . . . l’Angleterre a son Wiclef, apôtre de la séparation deux siècles avant l’indépendance anglicane, et dont les enseignements se répandent sans obstacle, propagés par le poète Chaucer, qui les recommande à la multitude.
French Allusions.

[pp. 460-461] [Chaucer's prioress, and the French which she speaks.]

[pp. 500-501] [Chaucer satirises chivalry in Sir Thopas.]

[p. 505] De ces traductions sans nom, ou qui portent des noms peu connus, il est temps d'arriver à quelques noms célèbres. Chaucer avait beaucoup 'translated'; c'est ce que proclame un de ses amis, le poète français Eustache Deschamps:

Grant translateur, noble Geffroi Chaucier.

Né à Londres vers l'an 1330, mort en 1400, il avait vu la France, l'Italie, et, comme ses meilleurs disciples, Gower et Lydgate, il avait mis à profit les poètes des deux pays: on ne croit pas qu'il eût étudié ceux de la Provence.

[A list follows of his translations and imitations, pp. 506-7.]

[p. 507] On sait que plusieurs nouvelles des autres pèlerins, comme celle de Griselidis ... viennent réellement de Boccace; mais on n'avait pas fait une observation qui est de quelque importance dans notre sujet, c'est que diverses circonstances des nouvelles de Chaucer, qui ont passé jusqu'ici pour d'heureux changements de son invention, sont tout simplement traduites de nos fabliaux. On le louait aussi d'avoir le premier ... laissé voir, dans son étrange figure de sir Thopas, le côté grotesque ou héroï-comique de la chevalerie: nous pouvons affirmer aujourd'hui que dans ce genre qui a fait la gloire du Pulci et de l'Arioste, il avait été devancé, ainsi que l'auteur du Tournoi ridicule de Tottenham, par le Dit d'aventures, par les facéties trop libres d'Audigier, par le Siège du château de Neuville, par le petit poème sur Charlemagne à Constantinople, et même par de grandes compositions telles que le Moniage Guillaume, Rainouart, Baudouin de Seburg.

Ces nombreuses imitations de notre vieille poésie française n'avaient pas été suffisamment remarquées dans Chaucer, parce qu'on s'était préoccupé de ses rapports avec l'Italie; mais nous croyons que plus on comparerà ses œuvres avec celles de nos trouvères, plus on reconnaîtra combien il leur ressemble. C'est une ressemblance fort naturelle de la part de celui qui disait: 'Des esprits supérieurs se sont plus à "dîter " en français, et ils ont accompli de belles choses' . . .

(Test. of Love, prolog.).
Chaucer a tous les défauts des trouvères; il est inégal comme eux; il s'abandonne à tous les hasards d'une imagination capricieuse; il ignore les conditions difficiles de l'ordre et de la proportion, l'art de préparer et de lier entre elles les diverses parties d'un récit; le style même, qui ne manque ni de force ni d'adresse, abonde, comme chez ses maîtres, en négligences et en trivialités. L'avantage de Chaucer est d'avoir été toujours lu et compris d'un grand nombre de ses compatriotes, tandis que nos vieux poètes ont eu à subir, en France, un tel oubli, qu'on y a fait honneur de leurs inventions à des imitateurs étrangers.


I. En quoi Chaucer est du moyen âge: poèmes d'imagination.

II. En quoi Chaucer est du moyen âge: poèmes d'amour.

III. En quoi Chaucer est Français: poèmes satiriques et gaillards.

IV. En quoi Chaucer est Anglais et original: ses portraits et son style.

[Recast in the *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, tome i, 1863, see below.]


I. Chaucer. Son éducation.—Sa vie politique et mondaine—En quoi elle a servi son talent.—Il est peintre de la seconde société féodale.

II. Comment le moyen âge a dégénéré.—Diminution de sérieux dans les mœurs, dans les écrits et dans les œuvres d'art.—Besoin d'excitation.—Situations analogues de l'architecture et de la littérature.

III. En quoi Chaucer est du moyen âge.—Poèmes romantiques et décoratifs.—*Le Roman de la Rose.*—*Troilus et Cressida.*—*Contes de Canterbury.*—Défilé de descriptions et d'événements.—*La Maison de la Renommée.*—Visions et rêves fantastiques.—Poèmes d'amour.—*Troilus et Cressida.*—Développement exagéré de l'amour au moyen âge.—Pourquoi l'esprit avait pris cette voie.—L'amour mystique.—*La Fleur et la Feuille.*—L'amour sensuel.—*Troilus et Cressida.*

IV. En quoi Chaucer est Français.—Poèmes satiriques et gaillards.—*Contes de Canterbury.*—La bourgeoise de Bath et
le mariage.—Le frère quêteur et la religion.—La bouffonnerie, la polissonnerie et la grossièreté du moyen âge.

V. En quoi Chaucer est Anglais et original.—Conception du caractère et de l'individu.—Van Eyck et Chaucer sont contemporains.—Prologue des Contes de Cantorbéry.—Portraits du franklin, du moine, du meunier, de la bourgeoise, du chevalier, de l'écuyer, de l'abbesse, du bon curé.—Liaison des événements et des caractères.—Conception de l'ensemble.—Importance de cette conception.—Chaucer précurseur de la Renaissance.—Il s'arrête en chemin.—Ses longueurs et ses enfances.—Causes de cette impuissance.—Sa prose et ses idées scolastiques.—Comment dans son siècle il est isolé. . .

[p. 172] [Vers le quatorzième siècle, en Angleterre] . . . il y avait place pour un grand écrivain. Un homme supérieur parut, Jeffrey Chaucer, inventeur quoique disciple, original quoique traducteur, et qui, par son génie, son éducation et sa vie, se trouva capable de connaître et de peindre tout un monde, mais surtout de contenter le monde chevaleresque et les cours somptueuses qui brillent sur les sommets. . .

[p. 173] Comme Froissart, et mieux que Froissart, il a pu peindre les châteaux des nobles, leurs entretiens, leurs amours, même quelque chose d'autre, et leur plaire par leur portrait. . .

[p. 182] Chaucer décrit une troupe de pèlerins, gens de toute condition qui vont à Cantorbéry . . . qui conviennent de dire

[p. 183] chacun une histoire. . . . Sur ce fil léger et flexible, tous les joyaux, faux ou vrais, de l'imagination féodale viennent poser bout à bout leurs bigarrures et faire un collier . . . Chaucer est comme un joaillier, les mains pleines ; perles et verroteries, diamants étincelants, agates vulgaires, jais sombres, roses de rubis, tout ce que l'histoire et l'imagination ont pu ramasser et tailler depuis trois siècles en Orient, en France, dans le pays de Galles, en Provence, en Italie, tout ce qui a roulé jusqu'à lui entrechoqué, rompu, ou poli par le courant des siècles, et par le grand pèlerinage de la mémoire humaine, il l'a sous la main, il le dispose, il en compose une longue parure nuancée, à vingt pendans, à mille facettes, et qui, par son éclat, ses variétés, ses contrastes, peut attirer et contenter les yeux les plus avides d'amusement et de nouveauté. . .

[p. 200] [Love-poems. In writing of Troylus, Taine gives a quotation from The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, ll. 241–250,
wherein the nightingale weeps for sadness on hearing the
cuckoo speak evil of love.]

Eh bien, dit-il, use de ce remède, . . .
Puis il commença bien haut la chanson
'Je blâme tous ceux qui sont en amour infidèles.'

C'est jusqu'à ces délicatesses exquises que l'amour, ici
comme chez Pétrarque, avait porté la poésie: même par
raffinement, comme chez Pétrarque, il s'égare ici parfois dans
le bel esprit, les concetti et les-pointes. Mais un trait
[p. 201] marqué le sépare à l'instant de Pétrarque. Si il est exalté, il
est outre cela gracieux, poli, plein de mièvreries, de demi-
moqueries, de fines gaietés sensuelles, et un peu bavard, tel
que les Français l'ont toujours fait. C'est que Chaucer ici
suit ses véritables maîtres, et qu'il est lui-même beau diseur,
abondant, prompt au sourire, amateur de plaisir choisi, disciple
du Roman de la Rose, et bien moins Italien que Français.
La pente du caractère français fait de l'amour, non une pas-
sion, mais un joli festin, arrangé avec goût, où le service est
élégant, la chair [sic] fine, l'argenterie brillante, les deux
convives parés, dispos, ingénieux à se prévenir, à se plaire,
as'égayer et s'en aller. Certainement dans Chaucer, à côté
des tirades sentimentales, cette autre veine coule, toute
mondaine. . . Non seulement il est gai, mais il est moqueur
d'un bout à l'autre du récit [de Troïlus et Criseyde], il voit
clair à travers les subterfuges de la pudeur féminine ; il en
rit malicieusement et sait bien ce qu'il y a derrière ; il a l'air
de nous dire, un doigt sur les lèvres: 'Chut! laissez couler
les grands mots, vous serez édifié tout à l'heure.' . . .

[p. 202] D'autres traits sont encore plus gais : voici venir la vraie
littérature gauloise, les fabliaux salés, les mauvais tours joués
au voisin, non pas enveloppés dans la phrase cicéronienne de
Boccace, mais contés lestement et par un homme en belle
humeur. Surtout voici venir la malice alerte, l'art de rire
aux dépens du prochain. Chaucer l'a, mieux que Rutebeuf,
et quelquefois aussi bien que la Fontaine. Il n'assomme
pas, il pique, en passant, non par haine ou indignation pro-
fonde, mais par agilité d'esprit et prompt sentiment des
ridicules ; il les jette à pleines poignées sur les personnages.
[Taine then deals with the Wife of Bath & the Monk.]
Pour la première fois, chez Chaucer, comme chez Van Eyck, le personnage prend un relief, ses membres se tiennent, il n'est plus un fantôme sans substance, on devine son passé, on voit venir son action ... encore aujourd'hui, après quatre siècles, il est un individu et un type; il reste debout dans la mémoire humaine comme les créatures de Shakespeare et de Rubens. Cette écllosion, on la surprend ici sur le fait. Non-seulement Chaucer, comme Boccace, relie ses contes en une seule histoire, mais encore, ce qui manque chez Boccace, il débute par les portraits de tous ses conteurs,

chvalier, huissier [etc.] ... environ trente figures distinctes ... chacune peinte avec son tempérament ... ses habitudes et son passé ... si bien qu'on trouverait ici, avant tout autre peuple, le germe du roman de mœurs tel que nous le faisons aujourd'hui. ...

[Portrait of the Prioress.] Voici donc la réflexion qui commence à poindre, et aussi le grand art. Chaucer ne s’amuse plus, il étudie. ... Chaque conte est approprié au conteur. ... Tous ces récits sont liés, et beaucoup mieux que chez Boccace, par de petits incidents vrais, qui naissent du caractère des personnages, et tels qu’on en rencontre en voyage. ...

On est sur le bord de la pensée indépendante et de la découverte féconde. Chaucer y est. A cent cinquante ans de distance, il touche aux poètes d’Elisabeth par sa galerie de peintures, et aux réformateurs du seizième siècle par son portrait du bon curé.


Chaucer, le premier en date des poètes et conteurs anglais, est un disciple des trouvères et auteurs de fabliaux; il y joint pourtant, dans le tour et la façon, quelque chose de bien à lui; il a déjà de ce qu’on appellera l’humour et une grande vivacité naturelle de description: on l’a heureusement comparé à une riante et précoce matinée de printemps.


Chaucer occupe, dans la littérature anglaise, le même rang que Dante dans celle de l’Italie. De même que son incom-
parable précurseur, il n'a rien inventé, dans le sens absolu de ce terme... ses contemporains hors d'Angleterre ne le saluaient que du titre de 'grand translateur;' c'est pourtant sur les compositions originales de Chaucer, bien plus que sur sa version métrique du Roman de la Rose, que repose l'édifice solide de sa réputation. Les Récits du pèlerinage à Cantorbéry peuvent supporter la comparaison avec le Decameron, et Chaucer, en tant que poète, l'emporte certainement sur Boccace.


[p. 56] La langue anglaise était formée; un grand poète parut pour en montrer la richesse. Chaucer est un gentilhomme accompli qui sait le monde... Gai et léger de tempérament comme un Français, il est pourtant de son pays. A des conceptions dramatiques, à un rude esprit de satire, il joint un goût passionné pour la nature et une veine de méditation sérieuse qui caractérisent le génie anglais.


Chaucer (Geoffroy), poète anglais, né à Londres en 1328, mort en 1400. Il était, suivant les uns, fils d'un marchand, suivant d'autres, issu d'une famille noble. Quoi qu'il en soit, il fit de bonnes études à Cambridge et à Oxford [etc., the Court of Love].... Indépendamment de grandes qualités poétiques, Chaucer annonça de bonne heure un esprit juste et profond, capable de s'appliquer aux sciences positives. Après être sorti des universités, Chaucer voyagea quelque temps en France et dans les Pays-Bas, puis il entra à la cour dans les pages d'Edouard III. Cette cour était alors la plus brillante et la plus polie de l'Europe.... Chaucer s'attacha bientôt au duc de Lancastre... il épousa même une des femmes de la duchesse, [et le roi] lui confia d'importantes missions diplomatiques et lui donna ensuite la place lucrative de contrôleure des douanes. A cette heureuse époque de sa vie, Chaucer composa ses poèmes si gais et qui semblent si bien appropriés à l'humeur de son temps. L'esprit galant et guerrier qu'on y rencontre était alors en vogue: aussi leur publication lui acquit-elle une grande renommée. Ses ouvrages furent généralement applaudis, excepté par les
moines, dont il attaquait les mœurs dissolues, comme tous les écrivains du xiv\textsuperscript{e} siècle; ... Les moines ameutèrent la populace de Londres contre Chaucer, en même temps que contre le duc de Lancastre, qui s'était déclaré contre eux. L'hôtel même du duc fut saccagé. Chaucer suivit les chances diverses de la fortune de son patron; il subit l'exil, la prison; il fut enfermé pendant trois années à la Tour de Londres. On lui a fait le reproche d'avoir abandonné ses anciens amis et de s'être rallié à la cour; on l'a accusé même d'avoir fait, pour quitter sa prison, de coupables révélations; mais, comme ces prétendues révélations de Chaucer n'amènèrent pour personne de résultats fâcheux, cette accusation tombe d'elle-même. Chaucer, qui dans sa jeunesse avait traduit les \textit{Consortations} de Boèce, n'en montrait pas plus de constance et de résignation; la prison le consumait: il voulut en sortir et se rapprocha d'une cour qui ne demandait pas mieux que de le recevoir.

Richard II régnait alors. Ce prince rendit au poète ses pensions, et l'admit auprès de sa personne; mais Chaucer se retira bientôt à Woodstock, pour y vivre dans la solitude, occupé seulement de ses travaux littéraires. Il y revit tous ses ouvrages, qu'il corrigea avec soin, se levant avec le soleil et jouissant de tous les charmes du délicieux séjour qu'il avait choisi. Henri IV, successeur de Richard, voulut ramener Chaucer à la cour; le poète se rendit à Londres; mais la mort l'y attendait. Il mourut le 25 octobre 1400. Il fut enseveli dans l'abbaye de Westminster, ce panthéon des \textit{Illustrations} de l'Angleterre, où les grands écrivains dorment à côté des rois et des grands capitaines. On peut y voir encore le monument dédié à Chaucer.

Plusieurs critiques ont reproché à Chaucer de s'être servi d'une foule de mots français, et d'avoir vicié le pur et antique saxon: 'Ils n'ont pas pris garde,' dit M. H. Lucas, 'que depuis la conquête on parlait français à la cour d'Angleterre, et que les écrivains qui ont devancé Chaucer ont écrit en français lorsqu'ils n'ont pas écrit en latin. Il faut lui savoir gré d'avoir ressuscité plutôt la langue d'Alfred et d'Egbert.'

... Son chef-d'œuvre est la collection de contes en vers intitulés \textit{Contes de Canterbury}, dans la forme du \textit{Décaméron}, et qui nous font connaître les mœurs des diverses classes de la société anglaise du xiv\textsuperscript{e} siècle. On trouve dans ces \textit{Chaucer Criticism}. —V.
contes des portraits peints avec finesse et vérité, des traits satiriques contre le clergé qui rappellent le Partisan de Wicel, beaucoup d'imagination, et une naïveté malicieuse à laquelle le langage du temps prête un charme particulier pour les Anglais. On a encore de Chaucer: Troïle et Cressida, le Temple de la Renommée, une traduction libre du Roman de la Rose, et divers autres poèmes remplis de rêves, d'allégories et de dissertations morales ou théologiques dans le goût du temps; et où l'on peut relever des imitations de Boccace, de Pétrarque, de Froissart et des troubadours, mais qui étincellent de beautés originales et vraies. Ses œuvres ont été souvent réimprimées. L'une des meilleures éditions est celle de Harris Nicholas (Londres, 1845), avec une vie de Chaucer.


La littérature anglaise, au moyen âge, ne nous offrira point un de ces sommets élevés que nous ont montrés l'Italie ou l'Espagne, mais une gracieuse colline, semblable à celles qui forment la riante parure de l'Angleterre; et autour de cette colline nous apercevons serpenter à l'horizon le cortège malé des personnages si divers, et tous si vivement dessinés par Chaucer, des pèlerins de Cantorbery. Ils vont vers la vieille cathédrale et, chemin faisant, racontent des fabliaux un peu à la manière de Boccace: cela est gracieux, aimable, mais n'a rien de la grandeur . . . ni de cette montagne au sommet de laquelle était Dante, ni même de ce rocher de la vieille Castille dont la cime portait le château fort du Cid.


. . . Canterbury, pendant le quinzième siècle, vit à plusieurs reprises cent mille pèlerins inonder son étroite enceinte. Geoffroy Chaucer et son continuateur anonyme nous ont transmis le tableau curieusement bizarre de leurs occupations, de leurs joyeuses cavalcades, de leurs dispositions d'esprit.

Son modèle est le vieux Chaucer dans le Pèlerinage de Cantorbéry... chaque mois [of the Earthly Paradise] fournit le texte d’un prologue qui rappelle heureusement tantôt un avant-propos de Chaucer, tantôt les gracieuses digressions de l’Arioste.

1873. Larousse, Pierre. Grand Dictionnaire universel du xixe siècle, tome x, 1873, p. 821, article ‘Lydgate (John).’ [Chaucer twice named.]


[References to Godwin, Nicolas, Gomont, and four reviews.]

1875. Dantès, Alfred. Tableau chronologique... des principaux événements de l’histoire du monde, depuis la création jusqu’à nos jours [Supplement to the Dictionnaire biographique], p. 18.


[p. 4] Les premières œuvres de talent que l’on rencontre dans la littérature anglaise avant le seizième et pendant le seizième siècle, les bons contes de Chaucer, la vision du laboureur Pierce, la prose concise et piquante de Bacon, portent ce cachet original de la langue et du génie anglais.

[p. 6] D’époque en époque, chacune des nuances du mouvement intellectuel en Angleterre s’est caractérisée d’une manière nouvelle. Le style de Chaucer n’est pas plus celui de Shakespeare que celui de Walter Scott.

Chaucer (Geoffrey), célèbre poète anglais, né en 1328, mort en 1400. Son nom sous la forme française, chaussier, semble indiquer une origine normande et, par conséquent, une certaine noblesse ; lui-même se donna pour Londenois... Chaucer était d'un caractère aimable, porté à la méditation, et jouissait avec délices des beautés de la nature...

On distingue dans les œuvres de Chaucer deux influences principales, celle de la poésie française prédominante dans les premières, et celle de la poésie italienne prenant le dessus dans les dernières et les plus belles, l'inspiration du poète restant d'ailleurs originale et bien anglaise. On y retrouve aussi celle des nouvelles idées de la réforme en matière religieuse...

Parmi les ouvrages qui relèvent de l'influence française, on compte : le Roman de la Rose, la Cour d'Amour, l'Assemblée des oiseaux, le Coucou et le Rossignol, la Fleur et la Feuille, le Songe de Chaucer, le Livre de la duchesse, la Maison de la Renommée ; on rattache à l'influence italienne : la Légende des bonnes femmes, Troïlus et Cresseide, et les Contes de Canterbury (Canterbury's Tales) [sic] la dernière de ses grandes productions et son chef-d'œuvre...

Le Roman de la Rose, qui ouvre la première série, est traduit du français. La portion de Guillaume de Lorris (5000 vers) est entièrement traduite ; celle de Jean de Meung est rapidement résumée. La même où le traducteur est le plus fidèle, il ajoute des touches vigoureuses et poétiques au texte...

[A description of the other poems is given]...

C'est dans ses contes de Canterbury, que Chaucer a montré tout son talent descriptif, et plus encore ce génie créateur, ce don suprême de produire des personnages vrais, vivants...

Quant aux contes et récits que font ces personnages, Chaucer ne paraît pas avoir pris la peine d'en inventer aucun ; il les emprunte aux fabliaux français, au recueil célèbre des Gesta Romanorum, à Boccace ; ils sont, les uns pathétiques, les autres satiriques ; tous les tons conviennent à Chaucer, qui sans doute n'est pas exempt de quelque grossièreté, mais qui va de préférence à tout ce qui est honnête, noble, élevé...
Chaucer a écrit en prose une traduction de la *Consolation de Boëce*, une imitation du même livre sous le titre de *Testament d'Amour*.

Chatterton. . . . La lecture de Chaucer et de Percy compléta son instruction d'antiquaire. . . . Ces œuvres [the Rowley poems] n'avaient d'antique que l'orthographe surchargée de consonnes et une partie du vocabulaire empruntée à Chaucer et à d'autres poètes des xivé et xvé siècles.


[p. 4] Après la *Vision de Ploughman*, il faut citer les contes tout différents de Chaucer, qui sont trop célèbres pour ne pas mériter une mention spéciale. [Then comes pp. 4–5, a description of the pilgrims, translated from the Prologue.]

[p. 5] Ainsi débute l'ouvrage célèbre intitulé *Canterbury Tales* que Chaucer écrivit dans sa vieillesse. . . . La collection de ces contes forme un livre très-piquant, très-varié et qui aujourd'hui même peut se lire avec un vif plaisir, tant l'écrivain est observateur spirituel et peintre admirable.

[p. 6] [A short life of Chaucer.]


[p. 144] [The humour of the Middle Ages.] Ainsi, au Moyen Age, l'entendait Chaucer. Esprit ingénieux et charmant, vraiment naïf, de la même naïveté malicieuse et rieuse que notre bon La Fontaine, il croit que les honnêtes gens peuvent, sans grand mal, rire aux discours licencieux d'un meunier ivre; Madame de Sévigné était de son avis.

[p. 145] Chaucer avait réuni dans un cadre unique une collection complète de portraits . . . et les figures souriantes, ou grondeuses, ou réjouies, montraient surtout comment les âmes étaient faites. Il nous restait à voir quelques-uns de ces personnages sortir de leur cadre, prendre la parole et vivre un instant, sur les planches, la vie que leurs originaux menaient dans la rue. Ce fut John Heywood . . . qui les fit monter sur la scène.

Un fait assez curieux à noter, ce sont les relations de l'Angleterre et de la France au xive siècle. La situation respective des deux pays amena fréquemment à la cour de Charles V ou de son fils des négociateurs anglais. Ce fut ainsi que le poète Chaucer vint en France au commencement de l'année 1377, chargé d'une mission diplomatique. Des Champs dut le voir à cette époque... [Deschamps' ballad to Chaucer is quoted].... G. Chaucer n'a écrit qu'en anglais; mais son ami et son émule Jean Gower a écrit en français... Il est curieux de retrouver de l'autre côté de la Manche, toute la poétique en usage alors chez nous... [Relations between the work of Machaut, Froissart and Chaucer].


Si le lecteur ne demande pas une exactitude absolue dans les faits et une grande précision dans les raisonnements, le livre de M. Ward lui plaira... pp. 45-6 [of Ward]. Les qualités de l'âme et du cœur de Chaucer sont divisées en deux catégories: les vices et les vertus; les premiers lui viennent de France, les autres d'Angleterre, parce que le génie des deux peuples est tout différent. Sur ce point, aucune objection; seulement pourquoi voir la marque d'un esprit français dans l'indifférence suprême d'un auteur à la licence qui peut régner dans ses écrits? C'est faire de Shakespeare et de plusieurs autres des Français malgré eux. p. 56 [of Ward] M. W. considère le *Romaunt of the Rose* comme œuvre authentique de Chaucer et en déduit beaucoup de conclusions sur le génie et l'esprit de l'auteur. On trouvera sa démonstration peu décisive... 


Geoffrey Chaucer, 'le poète, l'ami et l'allié du roi Henri vi [sic], d'Angleterre,' dans *The Romant of the Ross* [sic], traduisit entièrement la partie du poème qui revient à G. de Lory.

... Mieux vaut passer sous silence la déclaration que l'auteur [M. Hallberg] a revu ‘tous les faits, tous les noms et les dates principales de son livre,’ d’après ‘l'encyclopédie de la littérature anglaise’ d’Allibone ... Chaucer [parait-il] est né en 1328 (p. 8); il est l'auteur du Testament d’amour (p. 8) ...


[Article on William de Wadington and his Manuel des Pêchés.] Ces traits [neglect of French grammar, metre and orthography by the Anglo-French authors] se retrouvent d'ailleurs, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, chez plus d'un des représentants de cette étrange littérature, composée en français par des Anglais, fruit de l'enseignement autant que de l'imitation, moitié morte et moitié vivante, qui, née sous l'influence de la littérature française à la suite de la conquête, ne céda que lentement le terrain à la réaction de la littérature nationale, et ne disparut qu'au moment où déjà, sous la plume de Chaucer, celle-ci brillait d'un vif éclat.


[p. 20] L’œuvre de Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400) présente en raccourci l’image de la société du xivᵉ siècle. C’est une véritable tapisserie de haute lice où se dressent dans les attitudes les plus variées et sous les couleurs les plus éclatantes toutes les figures du monde chevaleresque, ecclésiastique et bourgeois qui s’agitent sur le seuil des temps modernes, avec son idéal, ses goûts, ses passions, son ignorance et ses appétits ...

[p. 23] (Contes de Canterbury.) Récits de guerre et d’amour, légendes pieuses et romantiques, contes gracieux et spirituels, toute la poésie du moyen âge qui va finir, s’y trouve représentée dans ce qu’elle a de plus naïf, de plus touchant et de plus satirique, depuis la pathétique aventure de Grisélidias, type admirable d’affection et de patience conjugales, jusqu’à la parodie même de l’idéal chevaleresque, ridiculisé dans la chanson de Sir Thopas.
Admirable observateur de l'être humain et merveilleux conteur, joignant au don du rire celui des larmes, et la finesse à la naïveté, Chaucer n'est pas seulement un poète dramatique avant le drame et comique avant la comédie, c'est encore et surtout le créateur de la langue poétique, le premier qui ait su mettre de l'art et un grand art dans son œuvre.


Chapitre vi. Vie de Chaucer, et description de son influence prépondérante sur la formation de l'idiome anglais. [M. Baret says that Chaucer was born in 1328, and he seems to regard the Testament of Love as authentic.]

[p. 110] [Chaucer] était Anglais par le cœur, mais Français par l'esprit. Il nous appartenait, à son insu sans doute, par la finesse satirique de son esprit, la multiplicité de ses aptitudes et la forme classique de ses conceptions.

Ch. vii. 'The King's English.' Étude de la langue de Chaucer, et ses emprunts au français.

[p. 118] Constatons d'abord par quelques exemples que le mélange des mots français n'y est pas fait au hasard, et qu'il dépend toujours des exigences du sujet choisi par le poète. Dans le style familier, dans la peinture des mœurs populaires, même lorsque le récit est une imitation des fabliaux français, Chaucer se garde bien de sortir du vocabulaire anglo-saxon.

[M. Baret compares the Miller's Tale, ll. 312–26 with the Clerk's Prologue, ll. 15–25, or the Hous of Fame, ii, ll. 345–51.]

Ch. viii. 'La Versification de Chaucer.' Manière de scander ses vers ;—ils sont basés sur l'accent tonique. Règles de l'accentuation chaucérienne. [This chapter is based on Skeat and Child.]

Ch. ix. La Prononciation de la langue de Chaucer [based on Ellis].

Ch. x. Le Génie de Chaucer. Il a le tempérament dramatique. Son style. Étude des Canterbury Tales. La comédie chez Chaucer.

[p. 188] Chaucer . . . homme d'étude et d'observation, toujours froid, mais toujours attentif, se plaît à étudier les mœurs de la société qui l'environne, et il parvient à les peindre avec un rare bonheur. Comme Homère, et La Fontaine, il sait
d'un seul mot animer une physionomie, éclairer tout un tableau.

[p. 189] L'imagination n'occupe pas le premier rang dans sa poésie; l'enthousiasme y est rare; il observe bien plus qu'il n'admire.

[p. 196] Chaucer possède déjà toutes les qualités distinctives du génie anglais, mais le côté dramatique de son talent est surtout remarquable.

Quel que soit son sujet... les personnages qu'il met en scène agissent beaucoup plus qu'ils ne parlent.


[p. 43] On parle encore français en Angleterre; mais quel français? Celui de Stratford Atte Bowe, que Chaucer met sur les lèvres de sa Prieure, et qui est resté proverbial. Enfin, en 1404, deux envoyés anglais en France, dont l'un est Sir Thomas Swynford, le neveu de la femme de Chaucer, déclarent 'ne pas plus savoir le français que l'hébreu.'

[p. 52] Vie de Chaucer. ... Voici Chaucer, synthèse vivante des deux races, greffée sur une puissante originalité poétique. Il est à la fois Anglais et Normand, et, en outre, il est lui-même.

[p. 53] Les lettrés et les poètes de l'époque le considéraient comme leur chef et leur maître. Sa renommée avait passé le détroit, comme le prouve cette dédicace d'un poète français [E. Deschamps], qui lui offrit ses vers:

'Grant translateur, noble Geoffroy Chaucer.'

Chaucer mourut en 1400, dans une petite maison qui dépendait de Westminster, et, tout naturellement, on l'enterra dans l'abbaye. Cette sépulture fit précédent, et créa une tradition. Chaucer est le plus ancien habitant du Poet's corner.

[p. 54] Œuvres diverses de Chaucer. On ne peut déterminer la
date d'aucune des compositions de Chaucer ; néanmoins, s'il était permis d'établir des conjectures sur un fait qui manque lui-même de certitude, on ferait deux parts de la vie littéraire et de l'œuvre de Chaucer. On rangerait dans la première catégorie les poèmes qui portent la trace de l'influence romane et gothique, dans la seconde ceux qui offrent déjà le reflet de la Renaissance italienne.  

[The Court of Love, Flower and Leaf, and Cuckoo and Nightingale are mentioned among his works.]

[p. 55] Pope n'a pas dédaigné d'imiter The House of Fame, et n'a pas réussi à l'égaler. Chaucer entendait le mot fame dans le double sens du latin fama, car il nous montre à la fois le temple de la Gloire et la demeure de la Renommée. Dans la Légende des Bonnes Femmes, nous découvrons une méthode différente, un art nouveau. Plus de rêve, plus de vision, plus d'allégorie, mais une série de tableaux ou de récits, des types plus ou moins historiques, en tout cas dramatiques et humains autant que ceux de Shakespeare. ... En traduisant, à son tour, ce sujet grec [Troilus and Cressida], déjà retouché par l'art florentin, Chaucer lui enlève les derniers traits de sa physionomie originelle. Il déguise un héros d'Homère en amoureux transi; il transforme en une coquette du Décaméron la contemporaine d'Andromaque et de Nausicaa. ...  

[p. 58] Les Contes de Canterbury. ... Puis, les récits se succèdent comme dans le Décaméron de Boccace, auquel cette forme de poème est empruntée. Mais combien est évidente la supériorité de Chaucer! Combien l'art est, chez lui, plus sensible et plus délicat! Les jeunes gens et les jeunes femmes du Décaméron vivent dans le même milieu, ont mêmes idées, même âge, à peu de chose près même caractère. Ici, chaque conte est approprié au conteur, et l'on vient de voir combien les conteurs diffèrent. ... Tous ces récits sont liés, et beaucoup mieux que chez Boccace, par de petits incidents vrais, qui naissent du caractère des personnages et tels qu'on en rencontre en voyage. ... L'ensemble du tableau est si bien calculé, l'aspect est si vivant et si gai, que le lecteur 'se prend d'envie de monter à cheval par une belle matinée riaante, le long des prairies vertes, pour galoper avec les pèlerins jusqu'à la châsse du bon saint de Canterbury.' [Taine.]

[Brief references to Chaucer and his Canterbury Tales.]

[Sir William Temple does not mention Chaucer among the modern poets in his *Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, and Swift attributes to Shakespeare one of Chaucer’s characters, the Wife of Bath.]


[p. 104] Il existe bien une période anglo-normande; mais, pendant toute cette période, le génie saxon se cache ou se tait. . . . Cette période se réduit, à proprement parler, à un seul nom, Chaucer. Celui-là est bien un Français si l’on veut, et on reconnaît en lui un contemporain de Froissard. . . .

[p. 105] Ainsi, pendant toute la période anglo-normande, il ne saurait être question de la combinaison du génie normand et du génie saxon, puisque ce dernier reste muet, et que le seul écrivain qu’on puisse citer, Chaucer, n’est qu’un Français qui s’exprime en langue anglaise.


[p. 381] En constatant la persistance de ces sentiments de haine chez les Juifs, il est impossible de ne point parler un peu
Il n’est pas un écrivain du Moyen Age qui ne parle de ces faits comme d’une chose ordinaire.

Mais c’est Chaucer peut-être qui est le plus intéressant à consulter sur ce point. Le poète du xve siècle [sic], qui repose à Westminster et sur la tombe duquel on a gravé quelques jolis vers de la Fleur et de la Feuille, fut le peintre exact des mœurs de son temps. Les Contes de Canterbury sont une sorte de Décameron auquel sert de prétexte et de cadre le pèlerinage . . . Réunis par hasard, des pèlerins de toutes les conditions . . . conviennent pour charmer l’ennui du chemin de conter tour à tour une histoire. Rien n’est plus touchant que le Récit de la Prieure. Il est vraiment d’un charme si profond dans son mysticisme féminin, que nous le traduisons presque en entier, en nous efforçant de respecter, autant que possible, la naïveté de l’original. [There follows a translation of the Prioresses Tale, pp. 385–90.]

Chaucer (Geoffrey), poète anglais, né probablement vers 1340, et non en 1328, suivant la date ordinairement adoptée; mort le 25 oct. 1400. Les travaux de la critique moderne et tout particulièrement de ceux de sir Harris Nicolas, du Dr. Furnivall et des érudits qui composent la ‘Chaucer Society’ fondée en 1868, ont jeté quelque clarté sur les points obscurs de la vie de Chaucer. Son père, négociant en vins (vintner) à Londres, faisait partie de la suite emmenée par la famille royale lors du voyage en Flandre et à Cologne, en 1338. Cette circonstance aide à comprendre que Geoffrey Chaucer nous apparaisse, la première fois qu’il est fait mention de son nom dans un document (1357), en qualité de page attaché à la maison de Lionel, duc de Clarence, second fils d’Edward III. En 1359, il est dans les rangs de l’armée anglaise qui envahit la France, et dont Froissart a raconté l’expédition. Il y fut fait prisonnier, et recouvrant sa liberté moyennant rançon, quelque temps avant le traité de Brétigny. Nous le retrouvons en 1367 avec le titre de valet (valettus) du roi, qui lui accorde une pension et l’emploie à des missions diverses hors
d'Angleterre en 1369 et en 1370. Il était marié dès cette époque à la fille de sir Payne Roët, du Hainault, et sa femme, Philippa, avait une charge de dame de la chambre auprès de la reine. Après une mission diplomatique en Italie (1372-1373), il fut nommé contrôleur des coutumes et subsides pour les laines et les peaux dans le port de Londres et, en même temps que cette charge lucrative, remplit celle, plus honorifique, d'écuyer du roi. Sa carrière de diplomate ne fut pas interrompue pour cela, et il eut encore à soutenir les intérêts de la cour d'Angleterre en Flandre, en France et en Italie. La mort d'Édouard III et l'avénement de Richard II (1377) n'ébranlèrent point d'abord la fortune de Chaucer. Il fut même envoyé à la Chambre des communes par le comté de Kent. Mais bientôt sa charge de contrôleur lui fut retirée, sa femme mourut, et il se débattit dès lors dans des embarras financiers dont il ne fut délivré que vers la fin de sa vie, par la faveur du roi Henri IV (1399), fils de son meilleur protecteur, le duc de Lancastre, lequel était devenu son beau-frère en épousant Catherine, veuve de sir Hugh Swynford et sœur de Philippa, sa femme. Nommé en 1389 secrétaire des travaux du roi au palais de Westminster, à la Tour de Londres et aux autres châteaux de la couronne, il perdit cette place en 1391 et dut accepter, avec un certain Richard Brittle, les fonctions de garde-forestier que Roger Mortimer, comte de March, leur offrait à North Petherton Park, dans le comté de Somerset. Il n'était pourtant pas complètement oublié à la cour, car on le trouve en 1398, remplissant pour le compte du roi des missions secrètes dans différentes parties du royaume. Il mourut le 25 oct. 1400, et fut inhumé dans la chapelle de l'abbaye de Westminster, où il inaugura ce qu'on a appelé le 'Coin des poètes.' C'est, en effet, comme poète que Geoffrey Chaucer s'est assuré un renom immortel. Il est, avec Gower, et bien au-dessus de lui, le véritable père de la poésie anglaise. Le premier, il a su plier la langue vulgaire, sortie du fond saxon et très fortement mélangée d'éléments français-normands, aux nécessités et aux fantaisies d'une pensée raffinée ; il lui a donné la souplesse et la sonorité du rythme ; tout en lui conservant son caractère populaire de familiarité et d'énergie, il en a fait le merveilleux instrument littéraire dont tant de génies divers se sont servis jusqu'à nos jours pour créer des chefs-d'œuvre.
La manière littéraire de Chaucer peut se diviser en trois périodes assez distinctes. Dans la première, il se montre disciple direct de nos trouvères. S'il n'est pas l'auteur de la version anglaise du *Roman de la Rose*, que beaucoup lui attribuent, c'est du moins à cette période que se rapportent *A.B.C.* ou *la prière de Nostre Dame* et la *Complainte à la Pitié*. Puis l'influence italienne, que ses séjours répétés en Italie devaient le disposer à subir facilement, se fait de plus en plus sentir dans des œuvres comme *the Parlement of Foules*, *the Complaint of Mars*, *Anelida and Arcite*, sa traduction en prose et en vers du *De Consolatione* de Boèce, *Troïlus and Criseyde*, *the House of Fame*, *the Legend of Good Women*, *the Complaint of Venus*, etc. Enfin, il se montre lui-même inventeur, créateur et grand poète, lorsqu'il se montre lui-même inventeur, créateur et grand poète, lorsqu'il se montre lui-même inventeur, créateur et grand poète, lorsqu'il se montre lui-même inventeur, créateur et grand poète.

La première édition en fut publiée par Caxton, vers 1478, la meilleure est celle de Furnivall (1868). Un littérateur de plus d'excentricité que de talent, le chevalier de Chate- lain, a donné, dans ce siècle, un essai de traduction des *Contes de Cantorbéry*, qui ne permet pas de dire que nous en possédions une version française.

1887, etc. *Unknown*. *La grande Encyclopédie* . . . tome xiv, p. 1146, col. 2 ; tome xvi, p. 284, col. 2 ; tome xxx, pp. 89, col. 2 ; p. 1082, col. 1.


[t. 18] [Article] *Furnivall (Frederick James).* Il se consacra à sa sortie de l'université de Cambridge à l'étude de la littérature anglaise du moyen âge, dont il édita nombre d'œuvres . . . six textes des *Canterbury Tales* de Chaucer (1868–75, 7 parties) . . . Il fut, en outre, l'un des fondateurs
The Shettery [=Shelley] (1886).


[The language of Chaucer and his importance for the student.]


[A small booklet of 64 pages, containing only the Prologue, the Man of Lawes Tale, and the Clerkes Tale in French prose. There is a short biographical sketch, quoting Taine.]

[2] Il n’existe en prose française aucune traduction complète des Contes de Canterbury ni des œuvres de Chaucer.1

[Footnote:] 1 Nous avons annoncé dans la Bibliographie de la France la prochaine publication de notre traduction complète des Contes de Canterbury. La regrettable lacune se trouvera ainsi réparée. T. S.

[This number was the only one which appeared, and the complete translation was never published. We add a specimen of the translation of the Prologue:]

Quand avril a, de ses douces averses, pénétré jusqu’au fond la sécheresse de mars et baigné toute la glèbe de cette liqueur par la vertu de laquelle est engondrée la fleur : quand Zéphyr aussi a, de sa douce haleine, soufflé dans les bosquets et les bruyères sur les tendres pousses ; quand le soleil rajeuni a, dans le Bélier, dépassé la moitié de sa course ; quand les petits oiseaux font entendre leur mélodie et dorment toute la nuit les yeux ouverts, tant la nature aiguillonne leur vaillance, alors les gens brûlent de partir en pèlerinages. . . .
Appendix B.  [A.D. 1890–]


[p. 114] Il est certain que Boccace et Chaucer, par exemple, ont parfois imité des fableaux français : mais il n’est nullement établi que ce soit toujours le cas ; ces contes circulaient oralement dans toute l’Europe (sans parler de leur admission dans les sermons et les livres pieux), et ils ont fort bien pu être recueillis indépendamment par les poètes ou les nouvellistes des différents pays.


[p. 37] Génie de Chaucer. Par les Canterbury Tales, Chaucer entre dans la phalange des rares écrivains qui ont été des créateurs. . . . On sent ici l’homme maître de sa pensée, l’artiste maître de son instrument et de sa main. On y sent aussi l’observateur qui a vu de près la vie, le poète qui, pathétiques ou comiques, sait choisir dans les traits innombrables de la physionomie humaine et peut leur donner, en les reproduisant, un caractère plastique et une forme distincte.

[p. 38] . . . Au don merveilleux entre tous de créer des êtres poétiques qui produisent l’illusion de la réalité Chaucer unit le talent de peindre par des mots, avec l’aspect extérieur de l’homme, la nature elle-même.


[p. 104] Chaucer, avec son génie et ses mérites de toute sorte, sa gaité et sa bonne grâce, sa faculté d’observation et cette ouverture d’esprit qui lui permet de sympathiser avec les spécimens les plus divers de l’humanité, a tracé une immortelle et incomparable peinture de l’Angleterre au moyen âge. Sur certains points cependant le tableau est incomplet, et il faut emprunter à Langland des traits pour l’achever. . . .
On a beaucoup reproché à ce dernier [Chaucer] d’avoir donné, par son génie, droit de cité dans la langue anglaise à quantité de mots français. Le reproche est injuste; Chaucer écrivit la langue de son temps, telle qu’elle existait, sans la modifier, la franciser ou la fausser; et Langland, au besoin, en fournirait la preuve.

Langland est un vrai Anglais, comme Chaucer; il l’est peut-être même davantage. Un trait important manque à Chaucer: il n’est pas insulaire; son esprit a des ramifications françaises et italiennes; au fond assurément il est anglais et très anglais; par certains points cependant il est un peu cosmopolite.


Bédier, Joseph. Les Fabliaux, 1re édn., Paris, 1893, pp. 278, 419. [A few words only on the Reeves Tale and the fabliau d’Auberée.]


Geoffrey Chaucer, page à la suite d’Édouard III, commençait à tirer une langue belle et puissante du dialecte informe des pauvres.

Soyez sûrs que toute cette renaissance échappa au jeune Froissart. Il n’était pas homme de lettres: il prononce à peine le nom de Geoffrey Chaucer, son cadet de quelques mois, qui était comme lui à la cour, et qu’il a dû rencontrer plus d’une fois chez sir Richard Stury, et encore ne parle-t-il de lui que comme diplomate.


[pp. 269-349, a lengthy sketch of Chaucer’s life and works, more especially of the House of Fame, Troilus and the Canterbury Tales.]

[Prologue to the Tales.] Voici à présent, dans un livre anglais, une foule d’êtres vivants, pris sur le fait, aux CHAUCER CRITICISM.—V.
mouvements souples, aux types variés comme dans la vie,

représentés au naturel, dans leurs sentiments et dans leur
costume, si bien qu'on croit les voir et que, lorsqu'on les
quitte, ce n’est pas pour les oublier ; les connaissances faites
*au Tabart près de la Cloche* ne sont pas de celles qui
s’effacent du souvenir ; elles durent toute la vie.

Rien de ce qui peut servir à accrocher, à ancrer dans
notre mémoire, la vision de ces personnages n’est omis. Un
demi-vers, qui dévoile le trait saillant de leur caractère,
devient inoubliable; leur posture, leurs gestes, leur costume,
leurs versets, le son de leur voix, leurs défauts de pro-
nonciation: ‘somwhat he lipsede for wantonness,’ leurs
tics, la figure rouge de l’hôte et jaune du bailli, leurs
elegances, leurs flèches à plumes de paon, leurs cornemuses,
rien n’est omis; leurs chevaux et la manière dont ils les
montent sont décrits; Chaucer regarde même dans les sacs
de ses personnages et dit ce qu’il y trouve.

La nouvelle Angleterre a donc son Froissart, qui va conter
des apertises d’armes et des histoires d’amour aux couleurs
éclatantes, et nous promener de ça de là, par les villes et par
les chemins, prêtant l’oreille à tout récit, observant, notant,
raccontant? Ce jeune pays a Froissart et mieux que Frois-
sart. Les peintures sont aussi vives et aussi claires, mais
deux grandes différences distinguent les unes des autres:
le humour et la sympathie. Déjà, chez Chaucer, l’humour
existe; ses malices pénètrent plus profondément que les
malices françaises: il ne va pas jusqu’aux blessures, mais il
fait plus que piquer l’épiderme ; et, ce faisant, il rit d’un rire
silencieux: ‘Un homme jadis était fort riche, c’est pourquoi
tout le monde vantait sa sagesse.’

De plus, Chaucer sympathise; il a un cœur vibrant que
les larmes émeuvent et que toutes les souffrances touchent,
celles des pauvres et celles des princes. Le rôle du peuple,
si marqué dans la littérature et la politique anglaises,
s’affirme ici, dès la première heure ... Chaucer, dès le
quatorzième siècle, est curieux de voir ce que c’est que l’homme dans un ‘cuisinier de Londres’ et que la femme
dans une ‘bourgeoise de Bath.’ Combien de misérables
périssent dans Froissart ! Que de sang, quelles hécatombes !
et combien peu de larmes !

Ils [the lesser people] figurent dans le récit de Chaucer
parce que Chaucer les aime; il aime son laboureur ... il
souffre à l'idée des sentiers boueux que son pauvre curé suit l'hiver pour aller, par la pluie, visiter une chaumière loin-taine ; la sympathie est large chez le poète ; il aime, comme il déteste, de tout cœur. . .


[p. 310] Ce bon sens, qui a fait donner aux contes de Cantorbéry un agencement si conforme à la raison et à la nature, est une des qualités les plus éminentes de Chaucer. Elle paraît dans les détails comme dans l'ensemble et lui inspire, au milieu de ses récits les plus fantaisistes, des remarques rassurantes qui nous montrent que la terre et la vie réelle ne sont pas loin et que nous ne courons pas le risque de tomber des nues. Il rappelle, avec à-propos, qu'il y a une certaine noblesse, la plus haute de toutes, qu'on ne saurait léguer par testament ; que les échantillons corrompus d'une classe sociale ne doivent pas faire condamner toute la classe : 'Of every ordre some schrew is, pardee' ; que, dans l'éducation des enfants, il faut se garder de les traiter trop tôt en hommes ; si on les mène avant l'âge aux fêtes, ils deviennent effrontés, 'to soone rype and bold . . . which is ful perilous' (Tale of the Doctor of Phisik, vers. 68). Il s'exprime fort librement sur les grands capitaines qu'on eût qualifiés de 'brigands' s'ils avaient fait moins de mal. Cette dernière idée est indiquée en quelques vers d'un humour si vraiment anglais qu'ils font songer à Swift et à Fielding ; et l'on peut d'autant mieux en effet songer à Fielding qu'il a consacré tout son roman de Jonathan Wild-le-Grand à développer exactement la même thèse.1

Enfin, à ce même bon sens de Chaucer, on doit une chose plus remarquable encore : c'est que, avec sa connaissance du latin et du français, vivant dans un milieu où ces deux langues avaient une grande faveur, il écrivit uniquement en anglais : sa prose, comme ses vers, son traité sur l'astrolabe, comme ses contes, sont en anglais. Il appartient à la nation

1 But, for the tiraunt is of greter might
By force of meyné for to sle dou right,
And brene hous and home, and make al playn,
Lo, therfor is he cleped a capitayn ;
And, for an outlawe hath no smal meyné
And may not doon so grete an harm as he,
Ne bringe a contre to so gret mischief,
Men clepen him an outlawe or a theef.

anglaise et c'est pourquoi il écrit dans cette langue; c'est assez pour lui d'une telle raison. .

La même sagesse fait encore que Chaucer ne se perd pas en vains efforts pour tenter d'impossibles réformes et pour marcher à contre courant. On le lui a reproché de notre temps; et certains, par amour des Anglo-Saxons, se sont indignés de la quantité de mots français que Chaucer emploie: que n'est-il remonté aux origines du langage? Mais Chaucer n'était pas de ceux qui, comme dit Milton, ferment les grilles de leur parc pour empêcher les corneilles de s'en aller. Il s'est servi du langage national, tel qu'il existait de son temps.

Le même bon sens optimiste et tranquille qui lui a fait adopter la langue de son pays et la versification usuelle, qui l'a empêché de réagir avec excès contre les idées reçues, l'a empêché aussi de se faire, par patriotisme, piété ou orgueil, des illusions sur sa patrie, sa religion ou son temps. Il en fut cependant autant que personne, les aima et les honora mieux que pas un. L'impartialité de jugement de cet ancien prisonnier des Français est extraordinaire, supérieure même à celle de Froissart.

Chaucer, d'un bout à l'autre de sa carrière, demeure le même, et le fait est d'autant plus remarquable que sa tournure d'esprit, son inspiration et son idéal littéraire deviennent de plus en plus anglais, à mesure qu'il prend des années. Il reste impartial, ou plutôt, en dehors de la grande querelle, à laquelle cependant il avait pris part dans la réalité; ses œuvres ne contiennent pas un vers qui soit dirigé contre la France, ni même un seul éloge de son pays où celui-ci soit loué en tant que rival heureux du nôtre.

des personnages y ont un côté sérieux et un côté comique. La chaste sœur Églantine, avec toutes ses vertus solides, parle, mange et marche en personne un peu ridicule. La marchande de Bath enterrer joyeusement ses cinq maris dans le cours d’une dissertation très grave sur le mariage. . . L’indéfinissable humour qui donne tant de prix à quelques-uns des ouvrages les plus célèbres de la Grande-Bretagne n’est guère autre chose qu’une manière plaisante et imprévue de présenter des idées sérieuses. Il y entre de l’imagination, du bon sens, de l’observation ; mais à plus haute dose que tout le reste, il y entre de la gaieté.


[p. 383] [English literature.] . . . C’est au moment même où la Chambre des communes se constitue définitivement que naquit Chaucer, le père de la littérature anglaise (1340). . . Les autres [écrivains], ceux dont les œuvres comptent vraiment, qui ont illustré la seconde moitié du xive siècle sont des moralistes, moralistes gaïement satiriques comme Chaucer, l’écrivain génial, le peintre charmant des mœurs de son temps, ou pompeux et déclamatoires comme John Gower. . .


[p. 3] Chaucer, que les Anglais considèrent comme le père de leur poésie, n’est encore qu’un des échos de la poésie universelle du moyen âge : c’est le frère püné de nos trouvères ; c’est un poète français et italien qui écrit en anglais . . .

[p. 6] Deux choses toutefois distinguaient déjà les premiers poèmes de Chaucer : d’abord un sentiment vif et personnel du monde réel . . . Ses descriptions de la nature sont aussi fraîches que leur modèle . . .

[p. 7] Un autre trait distinctif qui perçait déjà dans les composi-

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[p. 8] tions de la jeunesse de Chaucer, c’est un enjouement mal-
longues descriptions et les solennelles allégories. Dans son _Troïlus_, par exemple, poème antique par le sujet, grave et touchant par les incidents et les passions des personnages, on entrevoit sans cesse, comme chez Pulci, comme chez l'Arioste, comme dans nos fabliaux, le sourire du narrateur qui s'amuse et prétend bien amuser les autres. . .

[Les Contes de Cantorbéry est] l'ouvrage qui seul assure à Geoffroy Chaucer une renommée durable . . . c'est là seulement qu'il se révèle dans toute la force de son talent, affranchi du goût factice de ses protecteurs et de ses contemporains . . . il ose être tout à fait lui-même, donner libre carrière à son _humour_, peindre ce qu'il a vu, dire ce qu'il a pensé, et composer ainsi l'un des plus charmants tableaux de genre qui aient jamais été faits.


[The author briefly recalls what importance the love of nature has had in the history of English literature. . .

[p. 213] Pour savoir quel rôle a joué le monde des choses dans la littérature anglaise, nous consulterons donc seulement les plus grands parmi les maîtres. . .

[p. 214] _Geoffrey Chaucer._—Le sentiment de la nature se montre, très vif et très précis, chez le plus vieux des grands poètes de l'Angleterre, chez ce Chaucer dont l'œuvre clôt une longue période littéraire et ouvre l'ère moderne de la poésie. . .

. . .

[p. 215] Le même don de sympathie vibrante et de précision dans l'observation, qui lui permet de comprendre les hommes au milieu desquels il vit et de les faire passer dans ses poèmes si vivement crayonnés, si vrais et si vivants, le même don Chaucer l'applique à l'observation de la nature. . .

Ce qu'il a surtout au cœur. . . . c'est l'amour des choses de la campagne. Il en retrace avec complaisance les aspects, même les plus simples et les plus ordinaires. Son œuvre est remplie des êtres, des formes, des sons et des parfums de la nature rustique. Les pèlerins des 'Récits de Cantorbéry' cheminent vraiment sur une route anglaise, au milieu des champs et des plaines, à travers les villages et les bourgs de la vieille Angleterre. Tout le poème est baigné de grand air et de lumière, et partout la nature fait un chaud et solide fond de tableau à la cavalcade bigarrée. C'est un des
caractères par lesquels le poème se sépare le plus profondément de son modèle italien. Tandis que les égoïstes causeurs du ‘Décaméron’ sont, par le poète aussi bien que par leur propre décision, isolés du reste du monde, tandis qu’ils ne vivent qu’une existence toute mentale, les personnages de Chaucer doivent en partie leur relief et leur vérité dramatique au contact toujours senti de la nature ambiante.

Qu’on se rappelle, entre mille traits analogues, cette brève notation d’une aurore:

‘L’alouette affairée, messagère du jour,—salve de sa chanson le gris matin,—et l’ardent Phébus s’élève si radieux—que tout l’orient rit à sa vue,—et de ses rayons il sèche, dans les bosquets toutes les gouttes argentées des feuilles.’

Il y a manifestement là, dans la minutie de l’observation et dans la justesse de touche de la peinture, quelque chose que le moyen âge n’avait pas connu, pas même dans les vers gracieux, trop parés et trop spirituels, du rondeau célèbre de Charles d’Orléans.

C’est cette précision aiguë de la vision qui sauve de la monotonie les descriptions si fréquentes d’oiseaux, d’arbres et de fleurs. Dans une forêt, Chaucer donne à chaque arbre sa physionomie propre. Il voit tous les détails des objets, et en même temps il sympathise avec toutes les manifestations de la vie des choses. Voyez ce que lui suggère une averse de printemps:

‘Quand les douces ondées de la pluie tombent mollement,—que le sol bien souvent—exhale de bienfaisantes vapeurs,—et que chaque plaine se pare richement—d’une fraîche verdure; que les petites fleurs—éclosent ça et là dans les champs et les prairies,—si bonnes et si bienfaisantes sont ces ondées,—qu’elles renouvellent ce qui était vieux et mort—pendant l’hiver; et, de toutes les semences,—sortent les plantes; si bien que chacun—se sent, à la venue de la saison nouvelle, tout joyeux et léger.’

Et cependant ces descriptions directes ne sont pas tout ce que révèle chez Chaucer le sentiment de l’amour de la nature.

Tantôt c’est une comparaison prolongée comme celle de Cressid avouant son amour:

‘Tel le jeune rossignol timide qui s’arrête d’abord quand il commençait à chanter’ [etc. Troilus, bk. iii, 177–181]
Plus souvent encore, c'est une indication rapide telle que celle qui complète la description du costume d'un jeune écuyer : 'tout brodé, comme une prairie pleine de fraîches fleurs blanches et rouges.'

Ainsi, la nature, directement sentie, et rappelée avec un intarissable plaisir, figure partout dans l'œuvre du père de la poésie anglaise. . . . C'est la nature aimable et riante, telle qu'elle nous charme dans la jeune saison et dans les matinées radieuses. . . . On pourrait appliquer au poète le vers par lequel il résume le portrait du jeune seigneur : 'il avait toute la fraîcheur du mois de mai.'


Le poète Gower, après avoir commencé par écrire en français, se sert du latin, puis enfin de l'anglais, et l'immortel Chaucer, sans avoir des hésitations, l'adopte et le consacre à la fois par son génie.


En outre, la personnalité propre de Chaucer commence à paraître dans ces œuvres ['Lyf of Saint Cecile' 1373 : 'Complainte of Mars' 1380, prose translation of the 'De Consolatione' of Boethius, 'Parliament of Foules,' 'Troilus,' 1382, 'Hous of Fame' 1383-4, 'The Legend of Good Women,'] sa bienveillance, son *humour*, sa sympathie indulgente pour tout ce qui est humain, ses dons d'observation, l'art du dialogue familier, la vivacité de repartie, le soin de la forme : qualités que nous avions discernées à l'état embryonnaire dans la race celtique et qui ont passé maintenant, grâce à la fusion intervenue, dans la race anglaise.

Ces dons brillent surtout dans 'Troïlus et Cressida'
admirable poème, roman et drame à la fois, plein de tendresse et en même temps d’ironie douce, où quelque reste des mélancolies saxonnnes s’allie à la gaieté française, où Boccace (Filostrato) est imité et surpassé. . . .

[p. 53] [Dans les contes de Canterbury] c’est toute l’Angleterre qui nous est montrée, jeune, printanière, épanouie. Les génies des deux races d’autrefois se sont fondus; le génie celtique et latin domine toutefois dans Chaucer. Nous le trouvons optimiste et indulgent, n’inclinant nullement vers le fatalisme et le désespoir. Il voit les vices d’un regard clair et ne se fait pas d’illusion; il tâche de les guérir; s’il ne peut, il s’en console, et s’il ne peut s’en consoler, il s’en venge du moins par une épigramme. Ses épigrammes, il est vrai, font plus que piquer, elles pénètrent: ce ne sont pas de simples amusements; à son esprit pétillant, à la française, se mêle une forte dose d’humour anglais.

Il s’intéresse aux humbles et les aime; si ce sont des coquins, le pittoresque de leurs mœurs impures l’amuse; s’ils sont vertueux, ils lui inspirent une admiration attendrie (portrait du bon curé). Les ‘gens de rien’ occupent déjà dans son œuvre la place qu’ils devaient tenir dans tout la littérature anglaise et dans l’histoire politique du pays. Il voit d’une vue claire, il sent d’un cœur sensible. Il traduit sa vision et son impression par le mot qui fait voir ou le mot qui touche, avec une justesse inconnue jusque-là dans son pays. Il a un sens de la forme et de la mesure rare avant la Renaissance; il blâme les longueurs sans toujours les éviter; mais c’est déjà beaucoup de savoir que les longueurs sont un défaut, et le mérite n’était pas banal de son temps. Il versifie avec soin; la place des mots ne lui est pas indifférente, leurs sonorités le préoccupent. Il a sur tous ces points des idées arrêtées, il n’écrit pas au hasard; il veut, il choisit; bref, et pour la première fois dans l’histoire des lettres anglaises, nous nous trouvons en présence d’un artiste.

Avec cela, des moyens simples: nulle prétention; il veut et choisit, et cependant garde un air de facilité: son vocabulaire est le vocabulaire de tout le monde, sa prosodie de même; ce sont cette prosodie et ce vocabulaire, ces vers rimés où les accents marquent la cadence, cette langue où surabondent les mots français, dont nous avons exposé plus
haut la formation. Il les prit tels qu'il les trouva, et il les consacra par l'usage qu'il en fit. . . .


1898. Soult, Amélie (Mlle). *Chaucer. Copie de la conférence anglaise par laquelle Mlle. A. Soult . . . devait inaugurer, à la Sorbonne, le 1er décembre 1897, les conférences en langue anglaise de la Société de propagation des langues étrangères en France.*

[A short biography of Chaucer, followed by a study of the Canterbury Tales; in English.]


[M. Legouis maintains that the A text was composed first.]


*Chaucer.* Toute une ballade adressée à Chaucer fait allusion à une traduction anglaise du *Roman de la Rose* aujourd'hui perdue, dont il était l'auteur. Son poème *The Flower and the Leaf* (Aldine edition, 1902, t. ix, p. 87), peut aussi être rapproché des pièces consacrées par Deschamps à l'Ordre de la Fleur et à l'Ordre de la Feuille.

1908. Harvey-Jellie, W. *Les Sources du Théâtre Anglais à l'époque de la Restauration* [Thesis], p. 32.

Waller remit en lumière les vers suivis, dont Chaucer s'était si remarquablement servi.

La joyeuse vieille Angleterre! Je ne demandais pas mieux que de souscrire à ce signalement, qui s'impose à nous par l'autorité séculaire d'un proverbe ou d'une sentence historique.

Mais j'avais beau me frotter les yeux, je ne distinguais pas très clairement, dans la vieille littérature anglaise, ce trait caractéristique de gaieté nationale. Shakespeare n'est point d'humeur essentiellement joyeuse [M. Gebhart cite Macbeth, Hamlet and 'le gros Falstaff', qui 'n'est qu'un bouffon de taverne.' Sterne, Swift and Addison, and Hogarth and the other caricaturists of the eighteenth century, are not really happy (joyeux). In the history of the country itself, as in its literature and arts of design, reigns a terribly tragic note.]

Et voilà que toujours *The Merry Old England* s'obstine à se dérober à nos yeux.

Elle existe pourtant, bien originale et bien vivante, et c'est précisément aux années mêmes de l'*Aguto* et dans les horreurs de la guerre de Cent Ans, qu'elle se révèle de la manière la plus inattendue et la plus aimable. Le premier grand poème de la littérature anglaise, les *Contes de Canterbury* de Geoffrey Chaucer, nous ménageaient cette surprise. Les plus distingués de nos maîtres *anglicisants* viennent d'en entreprendre la traduction, sous la direction de M. Émile Legouis. . . .

[A short biography of Chaucer and an account of his debt to Boccaccio's *Decamerone* follow.]

L'imagination de Chaucer fut joliment créatrice. Voyez, en son *Prologue*, la variété individuelle, et le mouvement des personnages qui évoluent comme sur une scène de théâtre bien réglée, la face franchement tournée vers le spectateur, avec leur allure propre, leur costume, leur geste professionnel, l'inoubliable trait particulier de leur visage.

Voici vingt-neuf pèlerins qui s'en vont à Canterbury, afin d'y vénérer les reliques du grand évêque martyr. Le hasard les a réunis en une hôtellerie du vieux Londres, à l'enseigne
Appendix B. [A.D. 1907–

du Tabard: ils représentent, en dehors de l’aristocratie féodale, la société anglaise de l’époque ... 

L’hôte, un joyeux drille, ravi d’une clientèle si choisie, se joint au pèlerinage et propose à ses compères de conter, le long du chemin, des histoires d’aventures ‘du temps jadis.’ ... L’offre du rusé aubergiste est acclamée par enthousiasme. On tire à la courte paille. Au chevalier de parler le premier. C’est un lettré, ce chevalier. Il a lu la Thésée de Boccace, et raconte amplement les chevaleries du duc Thésée. Et chacun à son tour, paye son écot. C’est un défilé de contes de toutes les couleurs, surtout de couleurs assez crues, de fabliaux friands, de bons tours d’écologers, dont quelques-uns seront repris et tendrement ciselés à neuf par La Fontaine. Madame la Prieure, les clercs et les moines auront maintes fois l’occasion de baisser les yeux, tout en commençant vers la tombe de saint Thomas Becket.

Gaiétés de saveur toute gauloise, d’importation étrangère : je n’y reconnais pas encore un signe d’originalité. La grande invention de Chaucer, c’est le portrait même de ses pèlerins. La galerie qu’il nous fait parcourir est chose merveilleuse. Chaque figure du Prologue est l’effigie d’un tempérament moral ; la démarche, le costume, la coiffure, le tour et le ton de la parole jusqu’aux menues confidences du poète sur le train intime ou les innocentes manies du personnage, tout concourt à la perfection du tableau. Mais notez ceci, qui est essentiel ; Chaucer ne vise point à la caricature ; il a le sens nécessairement mesuré et discret du comique, et le grotesque n’est point pour le séduire. Ses couleurs ont la fraîcheur du matin verdoyant de mai qui éclaire la marche du pèlerinage, jamais elles ne sont violentes. Il se trouvait jouer du plus charmant état d’âme : la contemplation du monde l’amusaît ; il jugeait divertissants les visages et les actes quotidiens de ses semblables et n’en ressentait ni colère, ni amertume, ni tristesse. Il les caressait d’une ironie légère, et se gardait de les meurtrir d’une moquerie méchante. Soyez certains que cet homme ne s’ennuyait pas souvent et que, dans le cercle seigneurial où l’on goûtait la grâce de son esprit, la mélancolie fut une visiteuse assez rare.

Je détache l’image de la ‘simple et discrète’ Prieure, Mme Eglandine, dont le plus grand serment était : ‘Par saint Eloi!’ [A description of the Prioress follows.]
La miniature est exquise.
Cet allégorie de l'imagination, assaisonnée de malice et de bonhomie, fut-elle le don propre de Geoffroy Chaucer, ou bien répond-elle à l'enjouement de la société féodale anglaise, vers la fin du quatorzième siècle ? Nous saisirons enfin The Merry Old England, au moins dans les rangs cultivés de l'aristocratie. Sinon, le vieux conteur représenterait à lui seul la 'joyeuse vieille Angleterre.' Or, comme une hirondelle ne fait pas le printemps, je me trouverais lancé de nouveau sur une mer d'incertitude.


... Je ne veux aujourd'hui que présenter au lecteur l'ouvrage si peu connu, chez nous, du Boccace anglais, invention charmante, qui a toutes les grâces, les maladresses, les timidités et le joli pédantisme des créations de l'adolescence. Quand Chaucer a la bonne fortune de rencontrer quelque tragique tradition morale venue de Tite-Live, par exemple la mort de Virginie, il s'y complait avec cette joie que les poètes du moyen âge ont savourée chaque fois qu'ils touchaient aux souvenirs de la Grèce ou de Rome. Nos aieux, ravis de parler si savants, s'abandonnaient alors à de délicieux bavardages : l'histoire romaine chez la porte. Mais voici un conte, qui promettait beaucoup, mais qui finira mal, ou plutôt qui ne finira pas du tout : le conte de sire Topaze ! Chaucer semblait s'abandonner à un souffle d'invention chevaleresque : ce petit jouvenceau de sire Topaze, né en Flandre, 'par delà la mer,' fils de seigneur, brave, mignon, la face blanche comme pain de luxe, les lèvres rouges comme rose, les cheveux et la barbe d'un blond de safran, s'en allait chevauchant par les collines et les vallées, sous la futaie des forêts profondes, la lance en arrêt, gaiement, follement, le galop de son cheval chassait les chevreuils, les lièvres et les sangliers hors de leurs retraites; mais Topaze ne se souciait point des bêtes fauves : il attendait le chant des oiseaux.

Cet élan printanier à travers la vie, cette intelligence
familière des voix de la nature, du chant des oiseaux, faisaient vaguement penser au saint Julien l'Hospitalier de Flaubert: cet amour pour une créature de rêve, toute voilée de brouillard et de rayons de lune, nous acheminait vers la féerie, vers les prestiges du roman chevaleresque, qui déjà enchantait l'imagination héroïque de l'Espagne. M. Legouis voit en effet, en ce conte, une imitation, mais une imitation ironique de cette littérature qui, au temps de Chaucer, dégénérait déjà en ballades ou poèmes populaires semi lyriques.

Dans le vieux fabliau, où les trois personnages essentiels sont le mari, la femme et l'amant (très souvent un moine de la race de Frère Jean des Entommeure), Chaucer se sent fort à son aise; dans l'aimable conte du Marinier, où le moine, donc Jean, est le cousin même du mari, il imagine des incidents et des discours franchement comiques. Ceci est la bonne veine de la littérature bourgeoise du moyen âge européen. Après tout, l'invention de Chaucer n'y porte que sur le détail des épisodes. Mais le don original du conteur est une plaisante allégresse du récit; il s'amuse infiniment aux histoires contées par ses pèlerins. Si le conte est une prédication morale, il le renforce de toute l'érudition possible, d'un véritable débordement d'exemples édifiants. Dans le conte du moine défilent les plus tragiques mésaventures, d'Adam à Pierre le Cruel: Néron y occupe une place fort ample, et Ugolin s'y montre en toute l'horreur de sa détresse. Ce dernier tableau est d'une réelle beauté, et fort curieux à étudier de près: certains traits d'un pathétique profond, à peine indiqué par Dante, ont été saisis par l'instinct poétique de Chaucer:

Le geôlier ferma la porte de la tour.
Il l'entendit bien, mais ne dit mot.
C'est le terrible Senza fur motto de la Cantica. Mais, tout aussitôt, étourdi comme un écolier, notre Anglais inflige au texte italien un étrange contresens:

Io non piangeva: si dentro impietrai.

'Je ne pleurais pas: tant j'avais de pierre en dedans.'

'Hélas! hélas!' gémit l'Ugolin de Chaucer, 'pourquoi suis-je né?'

'A ces mots, les larmes tombèrent de ses yeux.'
Le plus intéressant morceau de cette seconde série, au point de vue de l'œuvre artistique, me semble être le Conte du prêtre de Nonnains, du Coq chanteclair et de la Poule Pertelote, un fabliau installé dans le monde de la volaille, un démenti infligé à la tradition triomphante de maître Renard, Renard l'invincible et l'inaffilable, et, mêlée à ce drame de basse-cour, une théorie de la divination et des songes d'après les meilleurs auteurs de l'antiquité. Un pur bijou et, si le chapelain de ces petites nonnes avait, en son bréviaire, beau-coup de contes, aussi agréables, on ne devait point s'ennuyer au couvent.


Les œuvres de Guillaume étaient connues même au delà du domaine de la langue française. Chaucer, le grand poète anglais, s'est inspiré du Dit de la Fontaine amoureuse pour son Boke of the Duchesse et a fait des emprunts encore à d'autres poèmes de Machaut.


[This appeared as No. 4 bis of the Revue Germanique for Sept. 1906, 1907 and 1908, and was re-issued in 1 vol. in 1908.]

[p. v] La traduction a été ainsi répartie entre les professeurs agrégés d'anglais dont les noms suivent :

Prologue Général.—M. Cazamian, professeur adjoint à l'Université de Bordeaux.


IIôte partie.—M. C.-M. Garnier, professeur au lycée Henri iv.

IIIe et IVe parties.—M. Bourgogne, professeur au lycée Condorcet.

Prologue et Conte du Meunier.—M. Delcourt, professeur au lycée de Montpellier.

Prologue et Conte de l'Intendant. M. Derocquigny, professeur à l'Université de Lille.

Prologue et Conte du Cuisinier.

Introduction, Prologue et Conte de l'Homme de Loi.—M. W. Thomas, professeur à l'Université de Lyon.

Prologue et Conte du Marinier. M. Koszul, professeur au lycée de Lyon.

Prologue et Conte de la Prieure.
Prologue et Conte de Chaucer sur sire Thopaze. — M. E. Legouis, professeur à la Sorbonne.

Prologue du Mellibée. — M. Bastide, professeur au lycée Charlemagne.

Prologue et Conte du Moine. — M. Charles Petit, professeur au lycée d'Amiens.

Prologue, Conte et Épilogue du Prêtre de Nonnains. — M. C. Bastide, professeur au lycée Charlemagne.

Conte et Épilogue du Médecin. — M. Clermont, professeur au lycée Janson-de-Sailly.

Prologue et Conte du Pardonneur. — M. Charles Petit, professeur au lycée d'Amiens.

Prologue de la Femme de Bath. — M. Derocquigny, professeur à l'Université de Lille.

Conte et Épilogue de la Femme de Bath. — M. E. Wahl, professeur au lycée Janson-de-Sailly.

Conte et Épilogue du Frère. — M. Bauchet, professeur au lycée d'Évreux.

Prologue et Conte du Clerc. — M. R. Huchon, maître de conférences à l'Université de Nancy.

Prologue, Conte et Épilogue du Marchand. — M. Lavault, professeur au lycée Janson-de-Sailly.

Conte et Épilogue de l'Écuyer. — M. Bahans, professeur au lycée de Pau.

Prologue et Conte du Franklin. — M. P. Berger, professeur au lycée de Bordeaux.

Prologue et Conte de la Seconde Nonne. — M. Vallod, professeur au lycée de Nancy.

Prologue et Conte du Valet du Chanoine. — M. Castelain, professeur adjoint à l'Université de Poitiers.

Prologue et Conte du Manciple. — M. Bastide, professeur au lycée Charlemagne.

Avertissement. Les traducteurs ont adopté les règles suivantes :

1° Emploi du texte des Contes de Canterbury, publié par Mr. W. W. Skeat dans son Student's Chaucer . . . le meilleur texte existant, presque définitif. Ce texte a été suivi fidèlement, mais non servilement, et les traducteurs ont cru devoir s'en séparer, en de très rares occasions, surtout en ce qui concerne la ponctuation adoptée par la critique . . .
2° Notes réduites au strict nécessaire. . . .

3° Traduction linéaire, vers pour vers, d’où un style sans doute moins coulant, mais en revanche plus fidèle et peut-être plus savoureux. . . .

[p. viii] L'accueil fait à la première moitié de ce livre permet de croire qu'il vient à son heure et comble une lacune enfin devenue sensible. Le premier Groupe des Contes, paru en fascicule dans un numéro supplémentaire de la Revue Germanique, a été honoré par l'Académie française d'une partie du prix Langlois. . . .

Il est d'ailleurs difficile de ne pas voir un indice signalé du progrès des études de langues vivantes chez nous, dans le nombre, la compétence et le zèle des collaborateurs qui se sont unis spontanément en vue de mener à bien une œuvre longue, délicate, exigeant la connaissance de la vieille langue anglaise, et toute désintéressée.

La Société pour l'Étude des Langues et Littératures modernes.

[pp. ix.–xxxii.] Introduction, par M. Émile Legouis. [See below.]


[p. ix] L'œuvre dont la traduction est donnée dans ce volume a déjà été à plus d'une reprise célébrée chez nous par la critique. En des pages nombreuses et brillantes, tour à tour Taine et M. Jusserand, pour ne parler que d'eux, ont proclamé que les Contes de Canterbury étaient non seulement le premier chef-d'œuvre en langue anglaise, mais encore l'un des poèmes capitaux de l'Europe avant la Renaissance, qu'ils pourraient bien même en être de tous le plus vivant, le plus varié et le plus réjouissant. Nul des lecteurs de leurs belles études qui n'ait senti l'attrait du vieux livre dans leurs citations et à travers leurs analyses. Or c'est un indice curieux (et inquiétant aussi) de notre tournure d'esprit que le manque persistant d'une version accessible de ces Contes si bien loués.

[p. x] Les Contes de Canterbury sont donc restés pour la France un de ces chefs-d'œuvre qu'on salue de très loin et qu'on Chaucer Criticism.—V.
ignore. C'est ainsi qu'il manque au lecteur désintéressé un des livres de jadis qui peuvent le plus pour son amusement ; à l'historien un tableau unique de la vie populaire du XIVe siècle ; au littérateur un des plus remarquables prolongements à l'étranger de notre poésie nationale, et avec cela une œuvre qui, fondée sur le passé, fait mieux qu'aucune prévoir le progrès de la littérature européenne.

Il est un autre regret auquel le manque de cette traduction peut justement donner lieu. Faute de lire les Contes de Canterbury les Français se sont refusé la seule entrée de plain-pied qui leur fût possible dans la littérature anglaise [...]. Ce pas est à peine franchi que la communion devient parfaite : pensées, sentiments, histoires, plaisanteries, tours d'esprit et de style, on y retrouve ce qu'on a laissé derrière. On y est chez soi, avec l'agrément d'être en même temps hors de chez soi ; on y apprend selon des modes familiers des choses curieuses sur un pays différent. [...]. Nul écrivain anglais ne nous communiqua au même degré que Chaucer le sens de cette entente cordiale primitive. Ce n'est certes pas que nous songions à le revendiquer comme nôtre ; il nous est préférable que ses vers et ses contes aient essaimé de chez nous pour former au dehors une ruche nouvelle, riche et prolifique. Ainsi pouvons-nous dans la suite, après avoir séjourné quelque temps auprès de lui, passer mieux préparés aux autres grands poètes anglais, vrais indigènes ceux-là et parfois très étrangers à notre esprit, mais qui ont tous été à quelque degré ses élèves, et tous ont salué en lui le maître et le père.

[p. xvi] La galerie des portraits qui mène aux contes est la seule partie de l'édifice qui ait été achevée définitivement, ou presque définitivement. Les vingt-neuf compagnons de route de Chaucer y figurent fixés en des traits et des couleurs que les années n'ont fait, semble-t-il, qu'aviver. [...].

Ils sont là une trentaine appartenant aux professions les plus dissemblables.

[p. xviii] Nul doute que Chaucer, en quête de conteurs distincts, ne se soit d'abord avisé de cette différenciation la plus facile et la plus nette qui consiste dans le contraste des professions. Cela fait—et faisait surtout alors—une bigarrure de couleurs et de costumes dont l'œil est saisi d'emblée, une suite d'habitudes et de tendances que l'esprit entend à demi-mot. Il
suffisait de noter les traits génériques, les caractères moyens de chaque métier, pour obtenir déjà des portraits fortement accusés et qui ne risquaient pas d'être confondus. Plus d'une fois le poète s'en tient à un simple relevé des indices professionnels. . . . Néanmoins il va souvent au delà; ces signes de métier qu'il n'omet jamais, et qui donnent à tous les pèlerins une généralité par quoi ils sont vraiment représentatifs, il lui arrive de les resserrer et de les diriger en inclinant soit à l'idéalisation, soit à la satire. Aussi vrai que son Chevalier est le parangon des preux, que son Curé de village est le modèle des bons pasteurs, que son Clerc d'Oxford est le type de l'amour désintéressé de l'étude,—inversement son Moine, son Frère, son Semonceur, son Par- donneur, rassemblent les traits les moins estimables de leurs congénères. Parfois aussi une généralisation d'une autre espèce vient croiser et enrichir celle du simple métier : l'Écuier est en même temps la Jeunesse : le Laboureur est encore la Charité parfaite chez les humbles ; la Drapière de Bath est du même coup l'essence de la satire contre la femme.

[p. xx] Enfin il ne s'en tient pas là ; il vivifie et rajeunit les descriptions convenues ou les généralisations antérieures en ajoutant des détails que lui fournit l'observation directe. Il superpose les traits individuels aux génériques ; il donne, même quand il peint le type, l'impression de peindre une personne unique, rencontrée par hasard. . . . Cette combinaison des divers éléments est chez lui d'un dosage variable, extrêmement adroit sans qu'il y paraisse. Un peu plus de généralité, et ce serait le symbole figé, l'abstraction froide ; un peu plus de traits purement individuels, et ce serait la confusion où l'esprit s'égaré faute de points de repère. La vraisemblance est d'autant mieux obtenue que nulle trace d'effort ou de composition ne se révèle : Ses nonchalances sont ses plus grands artifices.

Les détails semblent se succéder au petit bonheur : les traits de costume ou d'équipement alternent avec les notations de caractère ou de moralité. Cela paraît à peine trié et ordonné. Ajoutez que la naïveté des précédés rappelle sans cesse celle des peintres primitifs, par je ne sais quel air de gaucherie, par la raideur inexperte de certains contours, par une insistance sur des minuties qui fait d'abord sourire, par
la recherche des couleurs vives et en même temps par l’unique emploi des teintes plates à l’exclusion des tons dégradés. La présentation des pèlerins est faite avec une simplicité monotone dont le plus rude artiste ne se contenterait pas aujourd’hui. Un à un, en des cadres rangés à égale distance l’un de l’autre, placés sur le même plan, et tous à la même hauteur, ils nous regardent tous de face.

Chaucer a donc pu rivaliser avec le peintre. Mais le poète a des ressources refusées au peintre ; il dispose des sons comme des couleurs. Chaucer use de cet avantage avec un égal bonheur. Il nous fait entendre les grelots qui, à la bride du beau cheval brun monté par le Moine, tintent au vent siffleur ‘aussi clair et aussi fort que la cloche d’une chapelle.’

Mieux encore, ces portraits achevés, Chaucer s’est avisé de les faire descendre de leur cadre. Il ne passe pas du portrait au conte sans intermédiaire. Les prologues et les épilogues particuliers ramènent sans cesse l’attention des contes aux pèlerins qui les disent ou les écoutent, et soulignent le dessein du poète : faire de chacun de ces récits l’expression naturelle et vraisemblable de tel ou tel individu.

À pèlerins divers de costume et de caractère il prêta des contes différents de fond et de forme. Son poème est une sorte d’Arche de Noé où des spécimens de tous les genres littéraires alors existants ont trouvé place, chacun y gardant la singularité de sa physionomie. La prose, les distiques, les stances, se succèdent et se croisent.

Il fallait encore—et ce n’était pas le moins difficile de la tâche—attribuer à chaque pèlerin celui de ces contes qui convenait à sa caste et à sa nature. Cela encore Chaucer l’a fait admirablement où il a eu le temps de le faire, et la réussite est telle dans les parties achevées de son poème qu’on peut, qu’on doit admettre qu’il y eût triomphé d’un bout à l’autre s’il avait mené l’œuvre à sa conclusion.

Certes le conte n’est plus toujours, dans l’abstrait, si bon, si rapide, si lestement et habilement tourné qu’il pourrait l’être, ni si souvent relevé de spirituels mots d’auteur.
Ainsi, pris à part, le conte de la Bourgeoisie de Bath est inférieur en aisance, en dextérité et en brillant à *Ce qui plaît aux Dames* de Voltaire. Mais le conte tel qu'il est dans Chaucer ne sort pas de la bouche du poète ; il émane d'une commère qui y met sa philosophie de la vie et s'en fait un argument ; il lui sert à proclamer son idée des rapports entre mari et femme. Vu de cette manière, il prend une richesse et un comique qui font paraître minces et sans portée les vers agiles du poète français. D'ailleurs ce conte n'est ici que parcelle—la moins importante et savoureuse—de cette immense confession que nous fait la Bourgeoisie. Du rôle principal il a passé à celui d'accessoire.

[...]

Enfin, dernier pas, Chaucer va jusqu'à nous offrir des histoires dont il nous permet de nous moquer, si même il ne nous invite pas à les juger en soi fastidieuses ou ridicules. Le Moine essaie de compenser sa mine trop fleurie de joyeux veneur, sa carrière de grand 'engendreur,' en psalmodiant la plus lugubre des complaintes sur la fin tragique des illustres de ce monde ; il est assez cuirassé d'embonpoint et d'indifférence, lui, pour soutenir avec calme le choc de ces infortunées anciennes ; mais le bon cœur du Chevalier souffre et proteste ; l'Aubergiste bâille et déclare que 'ce conte ennuie toute la compagnie.' Le chapelet funèbre ne sera pas égrené jusqu'au bout, et le Moine rentrera dans le silence, après avoir par la force soporifique de sa parole rétabli l'opinion de sa gravité dans l'esprit des pêlerins. Chaucer non plus ne pourra pas mener au terme le conte qu'il s'est attribué. L'Aubergiste sensé le rabrouera pour ce qu'il chante une ballade de chevalerie qui rime beaucoup mais ne rime à rien. Sommé de dire une histoire où il y ait moins d'assonances et plus de doctrine,

[...] il se vengera de son critique sournoisement en lui obéissant à la lettre. Il renoncera aux vers et répétera en prose la redoutable et interminable allégorie où Dame Prudence prouve à son époux, par tous les Pères de l'Eglise et tous les docteurs du stoïcisme, qu'il doit prendre en douceur les maux peu communs dont il est affligé. Dans ces trois cas, il serait malavisé, le lecteur qui chercherait son plaisir dans l'excellence des contes, au lieu de l'extraire, comme le poète, de leur absurdité ou de leur ennu.
Ainsi se transforment les contes, simplement par la justesse de l'attribution, alors que, pour le reste, ils conservent visible leur marque d'origine. Mais il faut se garder de croire qu'à l'intérieur même des contes nul progrès ne se révèle. . . .
La même faculté vivifiante qui donna corps et âme aux pèlerins court et circule dans beaucoup des récits qu'ils font. Ici sans doute l'apport de Chaucer est très inégal selon les cas. . . . Il faut convenir que Chaucer est très faiblement original dans la partie sérieuse, proprement poétique, des Contes de Canterbury. L'histoire de ce genre qu'il ait le plus remaniée est sûrement la Théséeide de Boccace. . . .
Mais ailleurs Chaucer est ou traducteur littéral, comme pour le conte de Mellibée, ou adaptateur très voisin du modèle comme pour le sermon du curé, pour la vie de sainte Cécile [etc.]. . . .

[p. xxx] Tout autre est le cas pour les histoires comiques et réalistes analogues à nos fabliaux. Ici l’enrichissement est tel qu’on pourrait parler de création. Et cela reste en partie vrai, même si nous comparons Chaucer avec l’auteur du Décaméron, qui sut infuser à un genre originairement si sec tant de chaleur et de rougeur de sang. Mais tandis que Boccace, gardant la concision du genre, ne dépasse guère le tableau de mœurs, Chaucer, moins dense et moins passionné, s’avance progressivement vers l’étude des caractères ; il reproduit à l’intérieur de plus d’un de ces contes cet effort pour saisir l’individu qui fait la gloire de son Prologue. Boccace mène au roman picaresque ; Chaucer montre déjà la voie à Molière et à Fielding. C’est à ce point que chez lui l’intrigue, l’anecdote initiale, qui fut le tout du fabliau et qui reste le principal dans Boccace, passe à l’arrière-plan, s’efface, n’est plus guère qu’un prétexte. Dès le Conte du Meunier on s’en aperçoit à l’importance que prennent les portraits : celui de l’étudiant, celui du clerc Nicolas, celui d’Alison. Mais le plus caractéristique à cet égard est le Conte du Semeneur. Tout ce qui importe, ce sur quoi Chaucer s’étend, c’est la mise en scène du Frère mendiant, ses façons à la fois patelines et familières, ses extraordinaires efforts d’éloquence pour arriver à escroquer l’argent de son malade. Quand on atteint la grosse farce primitive, le meilleur du conte est achevé, et plus des deux tiers en est dit. Ce qui fut l’unique raison d’être du fabliau de Jacques de Basiu n’est plus ici que la simple conclusion.
d'une étude de caractère ensemble très approfondie et merveilleusement comique.

Sans cesse nous éprouvons en lisant les *Contes de Canterbury*, surtout les contes plaisants, l'impression que quelque chose est en train de naître. Un levain d'observation et de vérité ferment à l'intérieur de genres fixes, qui eurent leur perfection spéciale, mais étroits et condamnés. Ce travail qui s'opère, c'est le théâtre moderne, voire le roman moderne, qui donnent leurs premiers signes manifestes d'existence.

Cet Anglais du xivᵉ siècle, parfois empêtré dans une syntaxe enfantine, encore imbu de scolastique, la mémoire surchargée de citations et d'autorisés bibliques ou profanes, ayant sur sa tête un ciel astrologique plus étrange aux regards européens d'aujourd'hui que celui de l'hémisphère sud,—ce ‘translator’ docile d'œuvres disparates et souvent elles-mêmes surannées,—se trouve en vérité avoir ouvert une ère nouvelle. C'est qu'en lui le désir de voir et de comprendre la vie a passé avant l'ambition de la transformer. Poète exilé pour péché d'humour des régions les plus hautes de la poésie, la curiosité l'a décidément emporté chez lui sur la foi, et la joie des yeux ou de l'intelligence sur celle de l'enthousiasme. Les paroles qu'il a entendues lui ont paru toujours réjouissantes, et même véridiques, du moins comme indices de la nature et de la pâture de qui les disait. Il mène le groupe, sans cesse accru, des contemplateurs qui accepteront comme un fait, avec une indulgence amusée, sans prétendre à retenir l'étoffe d'une couleur unique, l'entrecroisement des fils de diverses nuances dont se compose le tissu bigarré d'une société. Il a sans doute jugé certaines couleurs plus belles que d'autres, mais c'est sur le contraste de toutes qu'il a fondé à la fois sa philosophie de la vie et les lois de son art.
contes sont populaires en Angleterre! Depuis le temps qu'ils constituent l'un des monuments de la littérature britannique, et, sans doute, de la littérature europémene! Eh bien! non, nul ne s'était encore rencontré pour franciser ce livre célèbre, tandis que par milliers les plus médiocres ouvrages... passaient dans notre langue. Le cas est surprenant... 

Était-ce donc l'énormité de la tâche qui découragea les bonnes volontés? Elles ne furent certes point déroutées par l'étrangeté de ces récits; bien au contraire; tous ceux de nos Français qui en ont parlé ont vanté la grâce limpide et le charme accessible de ces vieilles aventures; la matière n'en est guère originale, et si Anglais qu'il soit, Chaucer parut toujours très voisin, par son art et son humeur de nos anciens conteurs... Et peut-être ce fait suffit-il à expliquer l'espèce de défaveur dont son œuvre, sinon son nom, souffrit en France; pourquoi demander à autrui ce que nous possédions nous-mêmes?...

Enfin voici une traduction... qu'il était scandaleux que nous n'eussions point: vingt et un professeurs d'anglais l'ont faite:... rajeunir Chaucer c'eût été le trahir; ses vingt traducteurs le rajeunissent le moins possible; ils ne tiennent point la ridicule gageure de muer entièrement son anglais hésitant et savoureux en français du xiv° ou du xv° siècle; mais ils se souviennent des emprunts que nous fit Chaucer; emprunts est-ce assez dire? quand souvent des passages et parfois des récits entiers sont passés presque mot pour mot de l'un de nos fabliaux ou de nos romans dans le texte de Canterbury. Recourir à ces fabliaux... recourir même à Pétrarque, à Stace était indiqué... s'inspirer du latin et des formes oubliées du français... extraire des écrits de Jacques de Basiu (ou Boisieux)... du Roman de la Rose... des termes, des tournures et des métaphores, était légitime; labeur minutieux, qui fut accompli avec plus ou moins de bonheur,... à qui nous devons ça et là de prestigieuses réussites et au total un Chaucer français qui n'est point indigne du Chaucer anglais.

Hâtons nous de témoigner notre gratitude aux vingt traducteurs de ce merveilleux livre.

[This is the first book written in French on Chaucer as man and artist, giving an account of his environment and his poetical development, with a detailed study of the poems. The following is a table of the contents.]

Chapitre I.—Biographie du poète.

I. Vie de Chaucer.
II. Son caractère.
III. Relation de son œuvre avec l'histoire de son temps.
IV. Son patron Jean de Gand.

Chapitre II.—Sa formation poétique.

I. État de la langue anglaise vers 1360.
II. Chaucer à l'école de nos trouvères.
III. Sa poésie lyrique.

Chapitre III.—Les poèmes allégoriques.

I. Le Livre de la Duchesse.
II. Le Parlement des Oiseaux.
III. La Maison de Renommée.
IV. La Légende des Femmes Exemplaires.

Chapitre IV.—Chaucer et l'Italie.

I. Influence de Dante, Pétrarque et Boccace sur Chaucer.
II. *Troïlus et Crisède.*

Chapitre V.—Les Contes de Canterbury.

Sources et Éléments.

I. Origine et conception de l'œuvre.
II. Le réalisme de Chaucer. Chaucer historien.
III. Limites de son impartialité. L'art et la satire.
IV. Sources de ses *Contes.*

Chapitre VI.—Les Contes de Canterbury.

Analyse.

I. À l'auberge du Tabard.
II. Première journée de route:

[Here follows a detailed examination and criticism of all the Canterbury Tales, illustrated with charming translations into French verse of portions of the poems.]
Chapitre VII.—Les Contes de Canterbury.
Étude Littéraire.

I. Les Portraits.
II. La Mise en mouvement des Pèlerins.
III. Adaptation des Contes aux conteurs.
IV. Valeur des Contes.
V. Le style.

Conclusion.
ADDENDA TO APPENDIX B.

[1385?] Froissart, Jean. Le Paradys d'Amour. (Oeuvres.—Poesies publiees par M. Aug. Scheler, 1870-72, 3 vols., vol. i, pp. 1, 2.)

Je sui de moi en grant merveille
Comment je vifs quant tant je veille,
Et on ne porvit en veillant
Trouver de moi plus travellant,
Car bien sacies que par veillier
Me viennent souvent travillier
Pensées et merancolies

Et nonpourquant n'a pas lonc terme
Que de dormir oc voloir ferme,
Car tant priai a Morpheüs
A Juno et a Oleüs

Et le doule dieu fist son command,
Car il envoia parmi l'air
L'un de ses fils, Enclimpostair . . .

[The whole of this, the opening passage of the poem, closely resembles that of The Boke of the Duchesse, and 'Enclimpostair' is Chaucer's 'Eclympasteyre.' Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (Froissart, 1857, 2 vols., vol. ii, p. 264, q. v. below) dates the Paradys d'Amour in 1385; The Boke of the Duchesse cannot be much later than 1369.]


1699. Scudéry, Madeleine de. [Translation of Chaucer. See above, pt. i, 1700, Dryden, and Introduction to App. B., pp. 2, 3.]


[Translator's note:] Chaucer, Poete Anglois, naquit a Londres en 1328, & fut protegé par le Duc de Lancastre et par les Rois Edouard III & Richard. Ayant donne dans les erreurs de Wiclef il fut obligé de sortir d'Angleterre:
y etant retourné quelques temps après il fut mis en prison, mais il y resta peu de tems. Il épousa la sœur de la Duchesse de Lancaster, & mourut en 1400, âgé de 72 ans; il fut enterré dans l'Église de Westminster. Il nous reste des Ouvrages de Chaucer en prose et en vers. Parmi ces derniers qui sont en grand nombre, on estime surtout la Piece intitulée Le Testament d'Amour.


[An article of three columns laying the usual stress on Chaucer's imitation of French and Italian writers.]


[A short conventional biography. Troilus imitated from the Roman de la Rose. Chaucer's works now very difficult to understand.]

[The B.M. has the 1st edn., 1842, the 11th, 1856, the 20th, 1864, the 28th, 1884, and the 32nd, 1901, the last 'refondu sous la direction de L.-G. Gouraigne.' The article is slightly revised by 1856, but no error is corrected. The sentence about Chaucer's difficulty is deleted by 1864. The article in 1884 is practically identical, but by (and probably in) 1901 it is much enlarged and improved, though 1328 is still given as the birth-date, and the Complaint of Venus is included in the list of works.]

1850. Forgues, E. D. La Poésie humoristique [q.v. above, p. 61].

[This article is translated by Forgues from The Extractor, and it is a review of Leigh Hunt's Wit and Humour. Forgues' translation of the Prologue, mentioned above, we have not found, and it was perhaps never published.]


[The Chaucer reference appears in this edition. Entered above, p. 91, from that of 1833.]


[Entered above, p. 63, under 1856.]
Addenda to Appendix B.


8° mois (Dante, l'Épopée moderne) 2 [July 17] Boccace, Chaucer.

[Not in 1st edn., 1849. Comte died in 1857.]

1857. Kervyn de Lettenhove, J. M. B. C., Baron. Froissart, Bruxelles, 2 vols., vol. i, pp. 57 n. [Philippa de Roët], 226-9 [Froissart and Chaucer]; vol. ii, pp. 56-7 [the Canterbury Pilgrims; Sir Thoras], 195 [the French of Madame Eglantine], 196 [Chaucer borrows from Froissart], 264 [Enclimpostair. See above, 1385? Froissart], 289 [the Empty Purse; Chaucer's verses inferior to those of Froissart].

1858. Rietstap, J.-B. Armorial général, Gouda, 1858-61, livr. v, vi, 1858, pp. 240-41, armes du poète anglais Geoffrey Chaucer.

[Entered above, p. 91, from the edn. of 1884.]


1400. Mort du premier grande poète anglais, Chaucer.


[Entered above from 2nd edn., 1883, which is identical.]


[The Chaucer references in this, the 1st, edn. are identical with those in the 2nd 1890, entered above.]


[p. xiii, Chaucer's Pardoner knew well the liking which the lay folk had for the old tales; p. xxiv, Bozon would say, like Chaucer's Pardoner: Radix malorum est cupiditas; p. lvii, English literature takes its first flight with Chaucer.]

1894. Bémont, Charles, is the author of the section cited from Lavisse and Rambaud's Histoire générale.

APPENDIX C.

GERMAN REFERENCES.

The work done on Chaucer by scholars in modern Germany is so vast that it would need a volume to itself to deal at all adequately with it. Here, therefore, owing to pressure of both time and space, it has been left almost wholly unrecorded. But the lack of this record here, from about the year 1880, is of comparatively little importance, owing to the many admirable bibliographies, books of reference, and magazine indexes which exist in German. Since the year 1879, practically every book and monograph and article on Chaucer has been recorded and commented on in the Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie, Berlin, 1879 (in progress). In addition, there is the valuable Chaucer bibliography in Köntig's Grundriss der geschichte der englischen Litteratur, Münster. i. W., 1887, 1893, and 1905, and the large amount of close and accurate information on Chaucer bibliography and criticism in Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual, by E. P. Hammond, New York, 1908. In this last-named book a summary is given of the more important articles on Chaucer in German periodicals; and references to German dissertations and monographs on Chaucer, and in many cases to reviews of these, are to be found on pp. 74, 81, 237–8, 273, 275, 279, 282, 288, 365, 376, 378, 475–80, 491, 501, 503–4. Full lists of German dissertations have been published monthly since 1889 in the Bibliographische Monatsbericht über neu-erschienene Schul- und Universitätschriften, Leipzig. In addition, the principal German philological periodicals and reviews, many of which contain a large number of Chaucer articles, are fully indexed, and in many cases have special detailed index volumes. See, for instance, below—

1846 ff. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen.
1877 ff. Englische Studien.
Appendix C.

It would, therefore, be a comparatively easy matter, with the help of these and other books, to compile a formidable mass of German critical work on Chaucer during the past thirty or forty years, and it would be useful to have it all together. Here, however, are given a selection of the more interesting German references before 1860. From these it will be seen that there was fuller and more accurate knowledge of Chaucer in the 17th and 18th centuries in Germany than in any other foreign country. Specially interesting are the remarks by Ludolf in 1691, by Bodmer in 1743, by Herder in 1777 and 1796, and the long original critical essay, probably by Eschenburg, in 1793. This latter is the best account of Chaucer given by any foreign writer in the 18th century. The praise of the Knightes Tale, of the poet's 'powerful yet flowing verse,' of his originality in Troilus, of the Squieres and Milleres Tales, and, above all, of the connecting links or Prologues in the Canterbury Tales, shows first-hand knowledge and real appreciation of a kind which at this date is rarely found, even in England.

Wieland's debt to Chaucer's Marchantes Tale in Oberon (1780) is generally known, but Seume's translation of Chaucer's Complaint to his Purse (c. 1801), Breyer's excellent paraphrase of Godwin's Life (1812), and Tieck's use of the folio Chaucer in one of his novels may not be so familiar to English readers.

The article on Chaucer by Meyer in 1845 is specially worthy of remark. It is unusually good, accurate and fresh, written with undoubted first-hand knowledge of Chaucer's writings, his predecessors and followers, editions of his works, and the facts about his life so far as they were known in 1845. The Chaucer article in the latest edition of Meyer's Lexikon (1897) is entirely re-written, and although full of accurate and useful information, it lacks the feeling of really close knowledge and appreciation of the poet's work which the original article gives.

After 1860, up to 1900, only a few of the more important works on Chaucer are entered in the following list, such as Hertzberg's and von Düring's translations, ten Brink's critical writings, a few monographs, and the reviews which contain so much valuable Chaucer research and criticism. For the more recent important German work on Chaucer, the names of Ballmann, Brandl, Flügel, Kaluza, Koch, Koelbing, Schipper and Zupitza are specially to be noted.
GERMAN REFERENCES.


[In the edition of 1583 this notice is precisely similar.]

1654. Quenstedt, Joannes Andreas. *Dialogus de Patris Illustrium doctrina et scriptis virorum*. Wittebergae, 1654, pp. 84, 85.

In Oxonensi agro est *Woodstock* oppidum, quod cum nihil habeat, quod ostentet (verba sunt Gul. Camdeni in Britan. p. 155) Homerum nostrum Anglicum Galfredum Chaucerum, alnum suum fuisse gloriatur. De quo & nostris Poëtis Anglicis (pergit idem) illud verë asseram, quod de Homero & Graecis ille Italus dixit:

—Hic ille est, cujus de gurgite sacro
Combibit arcanos Vatum omnis turba furores.

128
Ille enim extra omnem ingenii alem positus, & Poëtastros nostros longo post se intervallo relinquens,

—jam monte potitus,

Rideat anhelantem dura ad fastigia turbam.


[The passage is identical in the 2nd edition of 1691.]


[For the Quenstëdt reference see above, 1654. Ghilinus is Girolamo Ghilini, Teatro d’Huomini Letterati, Ven. 1647.]


[There were subsequent editions of this work in 1700 and 1718. The notice of Chaucer is repeated in them with slight verbal alterations.]


L. iii, c. 6, N. lxxi.

Seldenus id etiam olim in Britannia inter Christianos in usu fuisse docet, producto veteri rhythmì Galfredi Chauceri, qui sub Edwardo tertio floruit, de uxore sua Bathonensi ante fores templi quinques maritata, Anglicè sic ceçuit:

She was a worthy woman all her live
Husbands at the Church dore had she five.

Id est:

Sie war ein würdig Weib in allem ihrem Leben
Der Männer fünff bekam sie für der Kirch Thür eben.

[For the Selden reference see above, pt. i, 1646.]
130 Appendix C. [A.D. 1694–


[In a list of *Gelehrte* of the fourteenth century:]

Geoffrey Chawcer, ein grosser Poet, welchen die Engeländer für ihren Homerum halten.

[This notice was much extended in a second edition. See 1732.]


[p. 321] Quae in laudem Chauceri, poëtarum Anglorum communis velut patris, praeposuisse in titulo hujus operis videtur auctor Johannes Dryden, ex Virgiliì Æneid. Lib. 5: [l. 55–56.]

Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius, & ossa parentis
(Haud equidem sine mente reor, sine Numine Divum.)
Adsumus;

non sine omine Angli jam ad ipsum Auctorem applicare poterunt.

[p. 323] . . . Inde Ovidium quoque cum Chaucero poëta Anglo admodum vetusto comparat, & utrumque ait patriam linguam percoluisse, utrumque fuisse ingenuum, festivum, amantem, utrumque Philosophiae, Philologiae, Astronomiae operam dedisse; facilem utrique esse dictionem, sed neutrum pro-priis inventis multum excellere: Ovidium quippe Graecorum fabulas descripsisse, Chaucerum Italorum fui temporis poemata in suum usum convertisse; aliquà tamen Chaucerum invenisse, Ovidium, quantum constet, nihil prorsus. Neque minus praestare Chaucerum in affectibus atque actionibus personarum ad vivum describendis, atque ipsa verborum simplicitate, cum natura rerum minus saepe ferre videatur verborum & sententiarum flexus, quales apud Ovidium ubique ferme offendas. Quid quod Chaucerum eodem loco Anglis habendum putat, quo Graeci Homerum, & Virgilium Romani habebant? . . . [and another page of this epitome of the Preface dealing with Chaucer].


Postquam itaque in templum Abbatis Westmonasteriensis ventum esset, cantatum est epicedium, & postrema a
quodam ejus templi Sacerdote persoluta sunt, demumque funus, magna cum honoris significatione, medio loco inter Chaucerum & Coulæum, insignes Anglorum Poëtas, Epicum alterum, alterum Lyricum, tumulatum est; quo in loco ut splendidum monumentum, tantoque viro dignum erigatur, Nobiliores quidam Angli procurabunt.


[Account of Westminster Abbey, and the poets buried there.] Proximi sunt Cowlejo Poëte alii, Galfridus Chaucer, A. 1400, Edmundus Spencerus, A. 1596 [etc.].


[The notice is similar in the subsequent editions of 1726 and 1733. In 1750-3 this work was republished as Jöcher's Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, and the Chaucer notice in it has slight additions (vol. i, p. 1855, col. i). In the list of his works, after 'vitam Lucretiae romanae' is added: 'amorum Troili de Chriseidae libros 2, welche letztern Franc. Kingston [sic] in lateinische Verse gebracht, nebst andern Schrifften,' etc. The alternative date 1402 is added for Chaucer's death. The later edition of this Lexicon, 1787-1822, is merely supplementary of names up to then omitted.]


Immaturum enim Drydeni Angli judicium censet quo ille Chauceri poema, pulcrum sane, Iliada Æneidaque aequare imo superare contendit.


[p. 121] Utque probet, veteres Græcos & Romanos pares in
Anglia habuisse, Platoni Thomam Smith, Ionibus Thomam Morum, Ciceroni Aschamum, Varroni Chaucerum ... omnes præstantissimos illius sævi scriptores Anglos, opponit.


[This notice is quoted from the third edition—the only edition which the British Museum possesses—but a notice on Chaucer also appeared in the first edition, Leipzig, 1709. Possibly the notice in the first edition was the same as that in Mencke’s Lexicon (see above, 1715), as Mencke virtually based his work on the older Historisches Lexicon.]


Geoffrey Chaucer, machte zwar die Adeliche Geburt und der Ritter-Orden, zu der Zeit gnu ansehnlich, aber seine Gelahrtheit [sic] und Dicht-Kunst hat ihn der Vergessenheit entzogen, und so hochberühmt gemacht, dass er noch der Engelländische Homerus insgemein genennet wird. Doch findet man heutiges Tages keinen sonderlichen Geschmack mehr an seiner Schreib-Art, weil er seine Reimen mit vielen Frantzösischen oder Normannischen Wörtern bespicket hat;
Dennoch aber haben die Engländer Ursache ihn annoch hoch zu halten, weil er das Eiss in der Dicht-Kunst ihren Landes-Leuten zuerst gebrochen hat.

[For the first edition of this work, see above, 1694.]


Das Metrum [des mittelhochdeutschen höfischen Epos] ist demjenigen gantz gleich, welches der Englische Schaser noch in dem 14ten Sæculo gebraucht hat, da uns aber verborgen ist, wie man es gelesen, oder gesungen habe. Schaser schriebt zum Ex. :

It stood upon so high a rock  
Higher standeth none in Spayne,  
What manner stone this rock was  
For it was like a lymed glass  
But that it schon full more clere  
But of what congeled matere  
It was, I niste redily.

[Hous of Fame, Book iii, ll. 26-7; 33-7.]

Die Engelländer haben sich von diesem Sylbenmasse nicht irre machen lassen, dass sie den Innhalt und die Erfindungen darunter aus dem Gesichte verlohren hätten, ihre heutigen Poeten finden noch jetzo die Perlen darinnen, und wissen sie geschickt herauszunehmen. Sie halten Schasers poetisches Naturell noch jetzo in Hochachtung, da sie seine Sprache haben untergehen lassen. Wir aber haben unsre Schaser mit ihrem Zahlmasse, ihrer Sprache und ihrer Poesie, unter die Banke geworffen.


[p. 425] Wenn nun auch hier England und Deutschland grosse Gemeinschaft haben, wie weiter wären wir, wenn wir diese Volksmeynungen und Sagen auch so gebracht hätten, wie die Britten und unsre Poesie so ganz darauf gebaut wäre, als dort Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespear auf Glauben des Volks baueten, daher schufen und daher nahmen. Wo sind
unsre Chaucer, Spenser und Shakespeare? Wie weit stehen
unsre Meistersänger unter jenen! . . .

Ich sage nur so viel: Hätten wir wenigstens die Stücke
gesammelt, aus denen sich Bemerkungen oder Nuzbarkeiten
die Art ergäben—aber wo sind sie? Die Engländer—mit
welcher Begierde haben sie ihre alte Gesänge und Melodien
gesammelt, gedruckt und wiedergedruckt, genutzt, gelesen!
Ramsay, Percy und ihres Gleiches sind mit Beyfall aufge-
nommen, ihre neuern Dichter Shenstone, Mason, Maller [sic]
haben sich, weingstens schön und müssig, in die Manier
hineingearbeitet: Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift sie nach
ihrer Art gebraucht: die älteren Dichter, Chaucer, Spenser,
Shakespeare, Milton haben in Gesängen der Art gelebt,
andere edle Männer, Philipp Sidney, Selden, und wie viel
müste ich nennen, haben gesammelt, gelobt, bewundert;
und wir—wir überfüllte, satte, klassische Deutsche—wir?
—Man lasse in Deutschland nur Lieder drucken wie sie
Ramsay, Percy u. a. zum Theil haben drucken lassen, und
hörte, was unsre geschmackvolle klassische Kunstrichter
sagen!

1780. Wieland, Christoph Martin. Oberon, ein Gedicht in vierzehn
Gesängen.

[The whole of the 7th song of Oberon is taken from
Chaucer's Marchantes Tale. Wieland himself names Chaucer
—not Pope—as his source, see 1796 below, but although
Wieland undoubtedly knew Chaucer's original version (pro-
bably in Tyrwhitt's edn. of 1775-8), he unquestionably
also follows Pope's modernisation in the main. For the
question of Wieland's debt to Chaucer and Pope respectively,
see Das Quellenverhältniss von Wieland's Oberon, von Dr. Max
Koca, Marburg, 1880, pp. 52-5.]

1793. [Eschenburg, J. J.?] Gottfried Chaucer, [in] Charaktere der
vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen; nebst kritischen und histori-
schen Abhandlung über Gegenstände der schönen Künste und Wiss-
ii, pp. 113-139.

[This long and careful essay (27 pp.) is, so far as I know,
by far the best eighteenth-century account of Chaucer
written by any foreign writer. It is written with evident
knowledge of Chaucer's work at first hand, and is no mere
repetition of what others have said. The poems, and
Chaucer's sources, are discussed in detail, with accuracy and insight.]


[The Hous of Fame. Pope's rendering is inferior.]

Dichters sind seine Canterbury-Tales. Die Veranlassung zu diesen Erzählungen ist ganz sinnreich ausgesonnen. [Description of the setting, and the improvement on Boccaccio's Decameron, in that Chaucer's personages are drawn from many different parts of the country, and from different classes and trades.]


[p. 125] In der komischen Gattung sind The Tale of the Nonnes Priest und January and May, durch Dryden's und Pope's Modernisierungen, die bekanntesten geworden; obgleich The Miller's Tale mehr ächte komische Laune hat . . . In den meisten übrigen Erzählungen Chaucer's ist mehr komische, als ernsthafte Wendung; und die Naivität des Tons ist darin nicht weniger anziehend, als die Wahrheit und Lebhaftigkeit der ganzen Darstellung.

Mehr aber noch, als in den Erzählungen selbst, strömt die ergiebige launigte Ader unsern Dichters in den Prologen, womit er jede Mährchen einleitet.


Dabeys sind sie durchaus original und einheimisch, nicht flach, sondern äusserst individuell, und mit immer reger Lebhaftigkeit ausgeführt. Unter andern sticht der Charakter des Wirths von der Herberge der erzählenden Pilger sehr vorthiefhaft hervor. Seine Zwischenreden und Bemerkungen, womit er die Erzählungen zuweilen unterbriecht, sind überaus treffend; und er ist beinahe eben das, was der Chor auf der griechischen Bühne war. . . .

[Chaucer's language and verse is then discussed.]

[p. 100] Der Unterschied, den das Fragment zwischen Poesie aus Reflexion und . . der reinen Fabel-poesie macht, ist mir aus der Geschichte der Zeiten, auf die das Fragment weiset, ganz erklärlich worden. So lange nämlich der Dichter nichts seyn wollte, als Minstrel, ein Sänger, der uns die Begebenheit selbst phantastisch vors Auge bringt und solche mit seiner Harfe fast unmerklich begleitet, so lange ladet der gleichsam blinde Sänger uns zum unmittelbaren Anschauen derselben ein. Nicht auf sich will er die Blicke ziehen . . . er selbst ist in der Vision der Welt gegenwärtig, die er uns ins Gemüth ruft.

Dies war der Ton aller Romanzen- und Fabelsänger der mittleren Zeit, und (um bei der Englischen Geschichte zu bleiben, aus der das Fragment Beispiele holet) es war noch der Ton Gottfried Chaucers, Edmund Spensers und ihres Gleichens. Der erste in seinen *Canterbury-Tales* erzählt völlig noch als ein Troubadour; er hat eine Reihe ergötzender Mährchen zu seinem Zweck der Zeitkürzung und Lehre, charakteristisch für alle Stände und Personen, die er erzählend einführt, geordnet; Er selbst erscheint nicht eher, als bis an ihn zu erzählen die Reihe kommt, da er denn seinem Charakter nach, als ein Dritter auftritt.


[p. ii] Aber der Oberon, der in diesem alten Ritterromane die Rolle des *Deus ex machina* spielt, und der Oberon, der dem gegenwärtigen Gedichte seinen Namen gegeben, sind zwoy sehr verschiedene Wesen. Jener ist eine seltsame Art von Spuk, ein Mittelding von Mensch und Kobold, der Sohn Julius Cäsars und einer Fee, . . . der meines ist mit dem Oberon, welcher in Chaucer’s *Merchant’s-Tale* und Shakespeare’s *Midsummer-Night’s-Dream* als ein Feen- oder Elfenkönig (King of Fayries) erscheint, eine und eben dieselbe Person; und die Art, wie die Geschichte seines Zwistes mit seiner Gemahlin Titania in die Geschichte Hüons und Rezia’s eingewebt worden, scheint mir (mit
Appendix C.

[Appendix C. C. D. 1801-]

Erlaubniss der Kunstrichter) die eigenthümlichste Schönheit des Plans und der Komposizion dieses Gedichtes zu seyn.

[c. 1801?] Seume, Johann Gottfried. Chaucer an seine leere Börse [a translation of Chaucer's Complent to his Empty Purse]. (Seume's Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig, 1826, Band vi, pp. 98, 99.)

The following is the first stanza.

Geliebte, der keine Geliebte mehr gleich,
Ach Liebe, wie bist Du so leer;
Wie bist Du so winzig und jämmerlich leicht;
Das macht mir das Leben so schwer.
Und lieber schon wär' ich zur Bahrge geleicht;
Erbarme Dich meiner, und sei wieder schwer,
Sonst leb ich nicht mehr.


This is an admirably done paraphrase of Godwin's Life of Chaucer (1803), retaining all the essentials relating to Chaucer and his work, and omitting the superfluous, as Breyer indicates in his preface. Some twenty-one irrelevant chapters are entirely omitted, and others are vastly reduced, so that Breyer's version is a little volume of 146 pages (+ 39 pages of quotation from the Romaunt of the Rose), whereas Godwin's forms two large volumes of 489 + 642 pages.

Vorbericht.—Es ist allerdings ein sehr angenehmes Geschenk, welches Hr. William Godwin mit seiner ohnlängst erschienenen Schrift: Life of Geoffrey Chaucer, nicht nur seinen Landsleuten, den Engländern, sondern den Freunden der Poesie und Historie überhaupt, gemacht hat. Nur der Form, in welcher der berühmte Verfasser dies Geschenk darbrachte, müssen wir unsern Beyfall versagen. [It is not only a life of Chaucer, but an historical account of the fourteenth century in England, there are too many long digressions in it.]

Was wir dem deutschen Publikum hier liefern, ist daher im strengen Sinne des Worts eine freye Bearbeitung des englischen Originals. Indem wir alles Ueberflüssige wegschnitten, machten wir, so viel es uns möglich war, den
Vater der englischen Dichtkunst zum Mittelpunkt unserer ganzen Erzählung.


[In this story, a rare copy of Chaucer, printed by Caxton, becomes the means of tracing the eccentric scholar, who was forced to sell it in his poverty. The following are some of the passages where the Chaucer is referred to.]


[He tells his wife that his friend Andreas went to the East, and he heard that he had died there of cholera. He continues to read pages in his diary—an account of the stress of poverty which led him to part with his Chaucer.]  

[p. 39] So werde ich also nun doch meinem Chaucer, von Caxton
Appendix C. [A.D. 1827–]

gedruckt, verstossen und das schimpfliche Gebot des knau-
sernden Buchhändlers annehmen müssen. Das wort "ver-
stossen" hat mich immer besonders gerührt, wenn geringere
Frauen es brauchten, indem sie in der Noth gute oder
geliebte kleider versetzen oder verkaufen mussten. Es
klingt fast wie von Kindern.—Verstossen!—Wie Lear
Cordelien, so ich meinem Chaucer.—

[They grow poorer, and are brought to great straits, until
one day a stranger drives up to the door in a magnificent
carriage and pair. It is the scholar's friend Andreas, who
has tracked him through the Chaucer.]

Dein Kapital, welches Du mir damals bei meiner Abreise
anvertraustest, hat in Indien so gewuchert, dass Du Dich
jetzt einen reichen Mann nennen kannst . . . In der Freude,
Dich bald wiederzusehen, stieg ich in London ans Land,
weil ich dort einige Geldgeschäfte zu berichten hatte. Ich
verfüge mich wieder zu meinem Bücherantiquar, um für
Deine Liebhaberei an Alterthümen ein artiges Geschenk
auszusuchen. Sieh da, sage ich zu mir selber, da hat ja
Jemand den Chaucer in demselben eigensinnigen Geschmack
binden lassen, wie ich die Art damals für Dich ersann. Ich
nehme das Buch in die Hand und erschrecke, dennes ist das
Deinige.

1827. Kannegiesser, Carl Ludwig. Gottfried Chaucers Canterbury-
sehen Erzählungen, (Auswahl) übersetzt von Kannegiesser, 2 vols.,
Zwickau. (Taschenbibliothek auswärtiger Klassiker.)

[Vol. i, Prologue and Knightes Tale; vol. ii, Frankeleyns
prologue and Tale, Pardoneres prologue and Tale, Doctor's
[i.e. Phisiciens] prologue and Tale, Cokes Tale, i.e. Gamelyn,
not the real Cokes Tale. In verse.]

1837. Groneman, Sarus A. J. de Ruever. Diatribe in Johannis Wicliffi,
Reformationis prodromi, Vitam, Ingenium, Scripta. Trajecti ad
Rhenum, 1837, p. 231-2 n.

Chaucerus poëmate pulcro depinxit presbyterum quendam
ruralem, quem cum adumbrabat, ob oculos eum habuisse
Wicliffum, multi putant. [He then quotes a portion of
Chaucer's description of the parson from the Prologue,
ll. 477–84, 491–5, 524–8—}
1844. Fiedler, E. *Canterburysche Erzählungen*, vol. i [no more published], Dessau, 1844.

[With an introduction and notes. The Tales of the Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook and Man of Law are translated into German verse.]


Chaucer, Geoffroy, der Vater der englischen Dichtkunst genannt. Wie eifrig bes. engl. Biographen über C.'s Lebensumstände auch nachgeforscht haben, so ist doch bis jetzt noch Vieles dunkel geblieben. Das J. 1328 wird gewöhnlich als das seiner Geburt bezeichnet [etc., a full life, based on Leland, Godwin, the Testament of Love, etc.].


C.'s Verdienste als Dichter sind nicht gewöhnlicher Art, aber indem wir sie zu würdigen suchen, müssen wir das Zeitalter betrachten, in welchem er lebte und dichtete. C. musste die Sprache erst schaffen, in der er schrieb; auch in England herrschte die Unsitte, dass man am liebsten in fremden Zungen sprach und darüber die eigene Muttersprache vernachlässigte . . . [an account of earlier English 14th century poetry, Piers Plowman, Gower.] C. mag schon als Dichter bekannt gewesen seyn, als Langland seine Visionen schrieb, sein grösstes Werk fällt aber zwanzig Jahre später.

Sein Hauptverdienst in Bezug auf die Versifikation besteht darin, dass er sie natürlicher, regelmässiger und
gedrängter machte, indem er die Alliteration abschaffte und den unregelmäßigen Alexandriner in eine Kunstgerechtere Form brachte. Sein Versmass, die zehn-undachtzysylbige Zeile, ist fast von allen englischen Dichtern, von Spencer bis Byron, beibehalten worden.

In C.'s Schriften fühlt man nicht nur seinen eigenen persönlichen Charakter und Geist, sondern auch den Einfluss seines Verkehrs mit der Welt. [His followers imitated his style and manner, but were quite unable to catch his spirit and character. It is noteworthy that C. translated many French and Italian works into English, but always in such a way that they had far more the character of original works than of translations.] Lebhafter Phantasie, Eleganz und Schönheit der Beschreibungen bezeichnen alle seine Werke; aber all die Anmut und Schönheit seiner allegorischen Werke bleibt weit hinter seinem Talent zurück, das Leben der Menschen zu schildern, wie er es in den unsterblichen Canterbury-Erzählungen that. In diesem Werk ... bringt er einen bunten Haufen allerhand "sündhaften Volkes" zusammen... [description of the C. Tales.]


[A good many Chaucer articles have appeared in this from time to time, see, for instance, General-Register zum Archiv, Bd. 1–50, herausgegeben von Ludwig Herrig, Braunschweig, 1874, p. 25, and General-Register, Bd. 51–100, von Hermann Springer, 1900, p. 67. Two early articles are here named, see 1847, 1849, and those by Koeppel on Chaucer Sources in vols. 84, 86, 87, 90, 101, and a paper by Koch on The Parlement of Foulis in vols. 111, 112, may also be noted.]


[For a summary of this, see *Early English Pronunciation,* by A. J. Ellis, 1867–71, vol. iii, pp. 664–671.]


[A good short account of Chaucer and his work; his knowledge of versification is upheld and vindicated, in contradistinction to the view of English writers, e.g. R. Chambers in the *Cyclopaedia of English Literature,* 1844, who is quoted as stating that Chaucer, whenever it suits him, “makes accented syllables short, and short syllables emphatic.” Behnsch points out the different accentuation of the French words used by Chaucer (natüre, coráges, etc.), as well as the sounding of the final “e,” and shows how much this affects the proper scansion of his verse.]


*Geoffrey Chaucer’s Leben und Schriftstellerischer Charakter* [in] Deutsches Museum, No. 8, Feb. 21, 1856, pp. 271–89.

[A very good account of Chaucer’s life and work.]

[p. 288] Chaucer’s Charakteristiken lösen eins der schwierigsten Probleme der Kunst: sie sind individuell und typisch zugleich; das heisst, sie machen auf uns einestheils den Eindruck

[p. 289] einer concreten lebendigen Persönlichkeit und stellen doch andererseits eine ganze classe von Personen dar, und da sie die Darstellung der äussern Erscheinung an Eigenthümlichkeiten des menschlichen Geistes knüpfen, die zu allen Zeiten, wenn auch unter andern Formen wesentlich dieselben bleiben, so werden wir dadurch unwillkürlich und wie durch magischen Zwang in diejenigen Zeiten und Sitten zurückversetzt, deren Schilderung die nächste Aufgabe des Dichters ist. . .

Ich habe schon bemerkt, dass die komischen Erzählungen vortrefflich, zum Theil meisterhaft angelegt sind; Chaucer’s Hauptstärke liegt aber doch in den komischen
Appendix C. [A.D. 1856–


[The above excellent criticism is embodied in the 'Einleitung' to Hertzberg's translation of the Canterbury Tales which was published ten years later. See below, 1866.]


[A passing allusion to Chaucer's times, and to the life of him in an earlier number (No. 8) of the Deutsches Museum, q.v. above, 1856.]

1859, ff. Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Litteratur, Berlin, 1859. [In progress.]

[Many Chaucer articles; a few early ones are here mentioned, see below, 1859, 1867, 1875.]


[p. 150] [The national originality of the characters in the mystery plays is remarkable, as in Chaucer's Milleres Tale.]

[p. 155] [The individual character drawing in the mysteries reminds one of the creations of the great master Chaucer.]

[For a summary of this see Early English Pronunciation, by A. J. Ellis, 1867-71, vol. iii, pp. 672-77.]


[An English translation of this book was published in 1861.]

[pp. 184-188. Chaucer's Life.]
[pp. 193-196. His early poems.]
[pp. 196-208. The *Canterbury Tales*, a detailed account.]
[p. 208. Conclusion.] Auf dem Gebiete, das er sich so köstlich abgesteckt und mit lebendigen Gestalten auszufüllen gewusst, in einer Sprache, die fortdauert und niemals ganz veralten kann, kommen ihm darum auch nur sehr wenige nahe; in echt poetischem Realismus hat ihn selbst Shakspeare nicht übertroffen. Dabei versteht er mitten in der Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Darstellung, wie es der Dichter soll, Mass und Einheit inne zu halten. Das stimmt sehr gut zu seinem Benehmen gegenüber den grossen politischen und religiösen Fragen seiner Zeit, die ihn niemals in die Enge getrieben wie Gower oder in das entgegengesetzte Extrem fortgerissen, über die er vielmehr, so weit wir davon urtheilen können, im eigenen Herzen sich völlig klar gewesen und sie daher objectiv, wie seine ganze Natur angelegt war, zu behandeln trachtete. Edel und reich ausgestattet wie er selber ist also auch die Leistung, die ihn unsterblich macht. Zwar darf er sich den wenigen Auserwählten, die den herrlichsten Lorber tragen, nicht ebenbürtig an die Seite stellen, aber den Ehrennamen: Vater der englischen Poesie trägt Niemand würdiger.


[A good and close translation of the whole of the *Canterbury Tales*, with the exception of Melibœus and the Parson's Tale.]

Vorwort, pp. 5-10. [Dated Bremen, 1865. The writer's object and method in doing this translation is stated, with some account of earlier work on Chaucer in England and in Germany.]

A good account of Chaucer’s times and life, he is shown definitely not to be the author of the Testament of Love, therefore that poem can not be accepted as a biographical source (pp. 36, 37). There follows a good deal of interesting and original literary criticism and appreciation, some of which had already been printed in the Deutsches Museum Feb. 21, 1856, and is here quoted under that date.

[Here are two specimens of the translation. Prologue, ll. 447-57.]

[p. 79] Ein gutes Weib war da; sie war nicht weit
Von Bath; doch etwas taub, das that mir leid.
Als Tuchfabrik war so berühmt ihr Haus,
Sie stach am Markte Gent und Cypern aus.
Kein Weib im Kirchspiel, die sich untersing,
Dass sie vor ihr zum Messehören ging.
Und that es Eine, wurde sie so schlimm,
Dass die der Andacht ganz vergass vor Grimm.
Höchst prächtig sass ihr auf dem Kopf der Bund,
Ich schwöre trau, er wog beinah zehn Pfund,
Zum mindesten, wie sie ihn Sonntags trug.

[p. 80] DAS REIMGEDICHT VOM HERRN THOPAS.
Herrschaften, leiht mir euer Ohr,
Ein wahres Lied trag’ ich euch vor
Von Kurzweil und von Spass;
Es that vor allem Ritterchor
Sich in Turnei und Schlacht hervor
Der edle Herr Thopas.

Er war geboren an fernem Strand,
Jenseit des Meers in flämschen Land,
Zu Popering am Gestade.
Sein Vater war von gutem Stand,
Er war der Herr in diesem Land,
So wollt’ es Gottes Gnade.


[Various points about Chaucer’s life are discussed.]
Hertzberg disagrees with Mr. Bond's theory that in the dream in the Book of the Duchesse John of Gaunt's marriage to Blanche of Lancaster is commemorated. He criticises and praises Sandras's 'Etude,' which has just appeared, and Kissner's Dissertation on Chaucer's relation to Italian literature (1867). He adds some remarks arising out of his own translation of Chaucer sent him by two German scholars, Herr Dr. Duroy of Hamburg, and Herr Pastor Carow.


[A long and careful review of recent Chaucer work; i.e. Chaucer's *Poetical Works*, Bell and Daldy, 1867, 6 vols.; Hertzberg's translation of the *Canterbury Tales*, 1866, and Kissner's book on Chaucer's relation to Italian literature, 1867.]


p. 347. Rondel. 'Your two eyn will sle me sodenly.]


1870. ten Brink, Bernhard. *Chaucer*. Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung und zur Chronologie seiner Schriften, Münster, 1870.

[This and Professor Child's Essay (*Observations on the Language of Chaucer*, 1863) are perhaps the most remarkable and epoch-making single pieces of work on Chaucer
published in the 19th century. Here the development of Chaucer's genius under external influences was first fully discussed, and his work was for the first time divided into 'periods.'

See a sketch on ten Brink's life and work by Kölbing, with a full bibliography of his writings, in *Englische Studien*, xvii, 186–7.]


[Of little value.]


[This paper, revised, altered and translated into English, is in the Chaucer Society Essays, 1876, part III.]

1877, ff. *Englische Studien*, Heilbronn, 1877–1900; Leipzig, 1900 to present. Quarterly. [In progress.]

[This periodical contains a large number of valuable Chaucer papers. In the Index (General-Register zu Band 1–25, Leipzig, 1902), three and a quarter pages are taken up with references to articles and notes on Chaucer.

Among the more important are the following:—

Kölbing, E. Zu Chaucer’s Cœcilien-legende, i, 215.
Zu Chaucer’s Sir Thopas, xi, 495.
Byron und Chaucer, xxi, 331.
Zwei Bemerkungen zu Chaucer’s C. Tales, xxiv, 341.
Zu chronologie Chaucer’s schriften, xvii, 189.
Koch, J. Ein Beitrag zur kritik Chaucers, i, 249, and see vii, 238, 162, etc.

Brandl, A. Ueber einige historische anspielungen in den Chaucer-dichtungen, xii, 161.

Rambeau, A. Chaucer's 'House of Fame' in seinem verhältniss zu Dante's 'Divina Commedia,' iii, 209.

ten Brink, B. Zur chronologie von Chaucer's Schriften, xvii, 1.

Zwei stellen in prolog der Canterbury Tales, xxiv, 464.

Bischoff, O. Ueber zwei-silbige senkung und epische cäsur bei Chaucer, xxiv, 353, xxv, 339.

See, for a fuller list, Chaucer, by E. P. Hammond, 1908, p. 546.

1878. Schoepke, O. Dryden's Uebertragungen Chaucer's im Verhältniss zu ihren Originalen, Diss., Halle.

[See also Schoepke in Anglia, ii, pp. 314–53, Dryden's Bearbeitungen Chaucerscher Gedichte.]


[Vol. ii, 1879, contains the Squieres Tale, text from Morris; an extract from Troilus and from the Persones Tale and passages from Boethius.]


[Containing—Pity, Words to Adam, Parlement of Foules, Truth, Gentilesse, Stedfastnesse, Fortune, Bukton, Scogan, Purse.]


[For references to reviews of the above, and for an excellent brief summary of Schipper's analysis of Chaucer's verse, see *Chaucer,* by E. P. Hammond, 1908, pp. 476-478.]


[Vol. i, *Hous of Fame, Legend of Good Women, Parlement of Foules.* Vols. ii and iii, the Canterbury Tales. In verse, with full critical remarks and appreciations, and some notes. No more was published.]


1884. ten Brink, Bernhard. *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst,* Strassburg.

[For reviews of this work, see *Chaucer,* by E. P. Hammond, 1908, p. 478; ten Brink's book was translated into English in 1901, by M. B. Smith, as *The Language and Versification of Chaucer.*]


[This work, containing a valuable Chaucer bibliography, giving references to most of the important German work]
on Chaucer, was re-issued in 1893 somewhat enlarged, and again in 1905, considerably enlarged and brought up to date. In this last issue of 1905, the Chaucer bibliography is in chap. 12, pp. 176–95.]


[The first volume of this history was published in 1887; vol. ii, part 1, which contains the study of Chaucer, in 1889; and part 2 of vol. ii, was in the press when ten Brink died suddenly in January, 1892; it was then corrected and edited by Brandl, Strassburg, 1893. The Chaucer portion is vol. ii, part 1, book 4, section v–xv (end of book 4), pp. 33–214 of the 1893 edition. It is extremely valuable, as ten Brink combined close and scholarly textual knowledge with real literary appreciation. This volume was translated into English by W. Clarke Robinson in 1893, Bohn's edn., vol. ii.]


[This contains reviews of books, and has many Chaucer articles and notes, as well as valuable lists of articles in reviews, etc.]

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(i) Mittelenglische Litteratur by A. Brandl, Chaucer, pp. 672–682 (not of much value).
(ii) Englische Metrik by J. Schipper (continual reference to Chaucer).]


[See some account of this in Chaucer, by E. P. Hammond, p. 499.]


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R. Braham, 1555, i. 93; G. Gascoigne, 1576, i. 112; R. Holinshed, 1577, i. 114; E. Kirke, 1579, i. 117; Sidney [1581 ?], i. 121; W. Webbe, 1586, i. 129; Spenser, 1590-6, i. 133; F. Beaumont, 1597, i. 145; Speght, 1598, introd. lxxxiii; G. Wharton, 1652, i. 228; T. Fuller, 1665, i. 230; E. Phillips, 1675, i. 250; T. Rymer, 1692, i. 265, introd. xxxi; Sir T. P. Blount, 1694, i. 267; Unknown, 1707, i. 295; J. Lewis, 1737, i. 380; Burke, 1796, i. 498; Wordsworth, 1800, iv. 102;Southey, 1831, ii. 183; J. H. Hippisley, 1837, ii. 216; Unknown, 1837, ii. 220; M. P. Case, 1854, iii. 15-16; Landor [c. 1861], iii. 57.

8. C. corrupted English, generally, or specifically, by importing French (or Provencal) words:

notable references asserting and denying this, introd. lxxxiii; asserted by Chapman, 1598, i. 156; R. Verstegan, 1605, i. 176, introd. lxxxiii; A. Gil, 1619, i. 193; E. Phillips, 1658, i. 236; S. Skinner [a. 1667], i. 243; T. Rymer, 1692, i. 265; Dryden, 1700 (Provencal words), i. 273; ii. 155; Pope [1734-6] (Provencal words), i. 377; W. Oldys, 1738, i. 384; J. B. Le Blanc, 1745, v. 24; Percy, 1765, i. 427; Warton, 1778, i. 454; Encycl. Brit., 1778 (Provencal words), i. 454; T. D. Whitaker, 1805 (? 'The great poet wrote the language of no age'), ii. 25; A. Baret, 1833, v. 88-9; J. P. Thommerel, 1841, v. 53-4; J. J. Jusserand, 1853, v. 96-7.

9. The importation minimised or excused:

G. Tooke, 1647, i. 225; T. Fuller, 1655, i. 230; J. Oldham, 1681, i. 256; in Biographia Britannica, 1748, i. 395-6; Warton, 1778, i. 454-5; Unknown, 1850, ii. 287; R. C. Trench, 1855, iii. 28; T. S. Baynes, 1870, iii. 107.

10. The importation denied (directly or implicitly):

by Betham, 1544, i. 86; Nashe, 1592, i. 136; Johnson, 1755, i. 410-11; Tyrwhitt, 1775, i. 442-3; Warton, 1778, i. 454; J. Pinkerton, 1786, i. 484; Campbell, 1819, ii. 111; G. L. Craik, 1861, iii. 1; G. P. Marsh, 1862, iii. 63, and (romance words mostly used for rhymes), 1858-9, iii. 44.

(d) Verse:

1. thought irregular:

the secret of it lost in the 16th and 17th centuries, introd. xxv-xxviii; belief in its roughness prevails in 18th cent., ib. xlvi-xli; iv-vii; thought irregular by Bodenham, 1600, i. 161-2; Dryden, 1700, i. 276-7; S. Wesley, 1700, i. 289; Unknown, 1707, i. 295; J. Hughes, 1715, i. 341; J. Dart, 1721, i. 360; J. J. Bodmer, 1743, v. 133; R. Lloyd, 1751, i. 402; T. Cibber, 1753, i. 406-7; H. Dalrymple (? ), 1761, i. 421; Unknown, 1777, i. 448; Unknown, 1778, i. 453; Unknown, 1790, i. 459; R. Alves, 1794, i. 495; A. Seward, 1798, i. 500; Byron, 1811, ii. 52;
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J. B. Suard, 1813, v. 40–1;
Landor, 1861, iii. 57; for other references see above:
[ir. (c.) Language.]

2. thought rhythmical:
by Gascoigne, 1575, introd. xxvii, i. 110; R. Farmer, 1767, i. 430; Coleridge, 1803, ii. 11–12 (but see the next section, 1817); Southey, introd. lvii, 1803, ii. 11–12; 1807 (doubtfully), ii. 34; 1831, ii. 183; 1836, ii. 206–7; G. F. Nott, 1815–16, ii. 73–7; I. D’Israeli, 1841, ii. 232; R. F. Weymouth, 1862, iii. 60.

3. thought only apparently irregular, or, more definitely, metric:
praised in general terms:
by J. Metham, 1448–9, i. 47;
Henryson, 1475, i. 56; Sir B. Take, 1532, introd. xvii, i. 79–80; Puttenham [1584–8], i. 126; Speght, 1602, i. 169; Dekker [1607], i. 179; T. Yalden, 1693, i. 266; Pinkerton, 1786 (regular only in stanza, not in couplet), i. 485; P. Neve, 1780, i. 489; Unknown, 1707, i. 295; Urry (according to T. Thomas), 1721, i. 357; T. Morell, 1737, i. 381–2; T. Gibber, 1753, i. 406; Gray [1760–1?], introd. liii, i. 418–21; Warton, 1774, i. 440; Tyrwhitt, 1775, introd. liv–vi, i. 442–6; R. Henry, 1781, i. 460; W. Tytler, 1783, i. 475; Unknown, 1816, ii. 85; Coleridge, 1817, ii. 85–7; 1834, ii. 190 (but see the preceding section, 1803); Campbell, 1819, ii. 111; L. Hunt, 1823, introd. lvii–lviii, ii. 144–5; 1832, ii. 185; 1835, ii. 196; C. G. Cunningham, 1835, ii. 194–5; E. Guest, 1838, ii. 222–4; O. Behnscb, 1853, v. 143; Landor, 1856, iii. 30 (but see section (d.) 1 above, 1861); Bulwer, 1860, iii. 53; G. L. Craik, 1861, iii. 56; J. R. Lowell, 1870, iii. 109; M. Arnold, 1880, iii. 127–8; A. Baret, 1883, v. 88–9; H. C. Coote, 1883, iii. 133–4; introd. xliv.

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4. Final e discovered:
by T. Morell, 1737, i. 382; Gray [1760–1?], i. 419; Tyrwhitt, 1775, i. 443; Coleridge, 1817, ii. 86; E. Guest, 1838, ii. 222; A. H. Clough, 1854, iii. 17.

5. decried:
by Unknown, 1855, iii. 28; and see (d.) 1 above.

6. Riding rhyme:
Gascoigne, 1575, i. 111; Puttenham [1584–8], i. 126; (Sir Thomas’s) F. Thynne, 1600, i. 166; Gray [1760–1?], i. 429; E. Guest, 1838, ii. 223.

7. Couplet:
ot suitable for sustained high poetry, acc. to M. Arnold, 1863, iii. 67.

8. Stanza:
one attributed to him by W. Thompson, 1757, iv. 109 (in Cambridge issue only).

9. Alliteration:
F. Lindner, 1873, v. 148.

10. Miscellaneous:

(e) Prose:
W. Gray, 1835, ii. 195; E. Guest, 1838, ii. 223–4; T. Thomas’s and T. Keightley’s theory that it is blank verse, 1721, 1860, 1862, i. 498–9, iii. 54, 65; his Boethius opens with two hexameters (J. P. Collier, 1865), iii. 75–6; see also below [viii. Works.—(f.) 23. Melibeus.]

(f) Particular qualities found in C.:
list of critical references, introd. lxxxix–xcii.

1. Realism:
description of manners:
Book of Courtesy, 1477, i. 57; F. Beaumont, 1597, i. 146; Dryden, 1709, i. 274–6; J. Dart,
1721, i. 361; Pope, 1728–30, i. 370; T. Morell, 1737, i. 382; J. Bancks (‘the Hogarth of his age’), 1738, i. 383; Thomson, 1744, i. 391; Warton, 1774, i. 440; E. B. Greene, 1782, i. 466; Crabbe, 1812, ii. 57–8; Hazlitt, 1817, ii. 87–9; T. Campbell, 1819, ii. 113; Keats, 1819, ii. 118; J. H. Hippley, 1837, ii. 216; L. Hunt, 1844, ii. 255; Unknown, 1845, ii. 260–7; Unknown, 1849, ii. 281–2; A. Edgar, 1852, iii. 9; A. Smith [n.a. 1863], iii. 71; J. R. Lowell, 1870, iii. 109; J. R. Green, 1874, iii. 118–9; A. W. Ward, 1879, iii. 125–6; T. R. Lounsbury, 1891, iii. 141.

2. Observation of Character:
R. Ascham, 1552, i. 91; Dryden, 1700, i. 278–9; J. Hughes, 1715, i. 340; G. Jacob, 1720, i. 349; G. Ogle, 1739, i. 385–6; ‘Astrophil,’ 1740, i. 387; Warton, 1774, i. 440; Blake, 1809 (‘as Newton numbered the stars, so C. numbered the classes of men’), ii. 42–6; I. D’Israeli, 1841, ii. 231; L. Hunt [n.a. 1849], ii. 279; H. H. Milman, 1855, iii. 24–5; J. W. Hales, 1873, iii. 115.

3. Humour: ‘wit’ (in its various senses):

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4. Indecency: frivolity:

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5. Moral purpose: satire:
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6. Anticlericalism:
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7. Piety:
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8. Impiety:
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9. Pathos:
Unknown, 1696, i. 268; Astrophil, 1740, i. 387; T. Warton, 1762, introd. xlv, ii. i. 423, 1774, i. 440, 1782, i. 470; N. Drake, 1805, ii. 24; J. B. Trotter, 1811, ii. 56; Hazlitt, 1818, ii. 99; Campbell, 1819, ii. 112; Scott, 1829, ii. 176; D. O’Sullivan, 1830, v. 45; I. D’Israeli, 1841, ii. 231; E. B. Browning, 1842, ii. 243; Thoreau, 1842, ii. 251; L. Hunt, 1843, ii. 254–5; F. J. Furnivall, 1873, iii. 113–4; J. W. Hales, 1873, iii. 116; M. Arnold, 1880, iii. 127; Swinburne, 1880, iii. 131.

10. Sublimity:
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12. Love of nature:
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16. Prolixity:

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17. Brevity:

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19. Facility:

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20. Artificiality:

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21. Heaviness:

Unknown, 1861 (‘wanting in a certain lightness of touch, conciseness and melody’), iii. 60.

22. Originality:

J. R. Lowell, 1871 (‘one of the most purely original of poets’), iii. 111.

(g) Comparisons of, with other Writers.

Some of these writers are merely equalled with or preferred to Chaucer by enthusi-
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astic admirers. The numerous passages from early writers given in the text in which Chaucer is mentioned in company with Gower, Lydgate, Surrey, Spenser, etc., without comment are omitted here; see introd. Ixxiii–iv.
2. Boccaccio : D. Rogers [c. 1570], i. 107; Dryden, 1700, i. 273–4; J. C. Dunlop, 1814, ii. 283–4; H. Arnould, 1880, iii. 61–3; Macaulay, 1815, ii. 72; H. Gomont, 1847, v. 59–60; (Troylus and Philostrato), W. M. Rossetti, 1873, iii. 116–17; for comparisons of the frame of the Decameron and the Canterbury Tales, see below: [viii. Works.—(f.) 12.]
10. Dryden : Woodworth, 1805, ii. 26; Unknown, 1855, iii. 28.
11. Dunbar : (excelled C. at all points) Pinkerton, 1786, i. 484; D. Irving, 1804, ii. 15; N. Drake, 1828, ii. 168; Scott, 1829, ii. 176; 1830, ii. 179.
12. Ennius : B. Gooe, 1565, iv. 34; Hakluyt, 1598, i. 157; Dryden, 1607, i. 269; S. Wesley, 1700, i. 289; J. Hughes [c. 1707], i. 294; T. Ruddiman, 1710, i. 313.
13. Gower (mere collocations of the names omitted) : introd. xviii–xix, Ixxiii; Pymlico, 1609, i. 184; S. Turner, 1825, ii. 158.
14. Henry, the Minstrel : D. Irving, 1804, ii. 15.
15. Hogarth : J. Bancks, 1738, i. 383; C. Lamb, 1811, ii. 54.
16. Homer : Leland [c. 1545], iv. 15; Camden, 1586, i. 128; B. Vul.
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17. T. Howell : J. Keeper, 1568, i. 102.
18. Keats : Landor, 1846, ii. 272, 1848, ii. 278.
20. Lydgate (mere collocations of the names omitted) : introd. xviii–xix, Ixxiii; preferred to C. by Hawes, introd. xviii; equalled with him by J. Lawson, 1581, i. 120.
23. W. Morris : A. C. Swinburne, 1880, iii. 94.
25. Ovid : Dryden, 1700, i. 272–6; Dryden’s comparison ridiculed by T. Brown [a. 1704], i. 291–2.
29. Shakespeare : Hazlitt, 1817, ii. 87–9, 1818, ii. 105; Coloridge, 1834, ii. 190; FitzGerald, 1850, iii. 49; J. W. Hales, 1873, iii. 115–16.
30. Skelton : Pymlico, 1609, i. 184.
31. Spenser : F. Thynne, 1600, i. 106; Spenser preferred by C. Fitzgeffrey, 1601, i. 167; R. R., 1605, i. 176; J. Hughes, 1715, i. 340; W. Thompson, 1745, i. 391–2; Southey, 1811, ii. 55; Landor, 1811, iv. 103, [n.a. 1841] (C. worth a score or two of Spencers’), ii. 239; Hazlitt, 1818, ii. 98, 1826, ii. 161–2.
32. Varro : R. Carew [1595–6?], i. 142.
34. Wyatt : Surrey [1542], i. 84.
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11. Dunkin, W. [a. 1765], iv. 93.
12. Grosvenor [i.e. E. Budgell?] [1733], iv. 86.
13. Harte, W., 1727, iv. 84.
14. Haweis, M. E., 1876, iii. 121.
15. Horne, R. H., and others, in Chauser Modernized, 1841, ii. 234–8; Landor declines to contribute to, ii. 238–9; reviewed, ii. 241; Wordsworth on, ii. 228–9, 242, introd. lvii–lxx.
17. Jackson, A., 1750, i. 401.
19. Lipscomb, W., Pardoner's Tale, 1791, i. 493; C.T., 1795, i. 496–7.
20. Markland, J., 1728, i. 370; in Ogle, 1741, i. 389–90.
22. Milnes, M., 1844, ii. 256.
24. Penn, J., 1794, i. 495–6.
26. Pope, A., January and May, 1709, i. 310; used by Wieland in his Oberon, 1780, v. 134.

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1. Praised or defended:

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2. Betterton, T. [a. 1710], i. 312; see below: Pope.
4. Budgell, E., see Grosvenor.
5. Catcott, A. E., 1717, i. 345.
6. Clarke, C. Cowden, 1833, ii. 187; 1835, ii. 194.
7. Cobb, S., 1725, iv. 84.
8. Cooke, W., 1774, i. 438.
10. Dryden, J., 1700, i. 272–85; praised by J. Hughes [c. 1707], i. 294; Walpole, 1775, iv. 94;
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5. Bullein, W., 1564, i. 99.
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8/24
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The issue for 1886, in the First Series, is,
LXXV. Chaucer's Boece from the Cambridge University MS. Li. 3. 21.
LXXVI. Chaucer's Boece from the Additional MS 10,340 in the British Museum, as edited by the Rev. Dr. L. Morris for the E. B. Text Soc. in 1886.

The issue for 1887, in the First Series, is,
LXXXVIII. A Ryme-Index to Chaucer's Minor Poems, by Miss Isabel Marshall and Miss Lela Porter, in Royal 4to for the Parallel-Text.
The issue for 1888, in the First Series, is,
LXXXIX. A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Troilus, from the Campsell MS bef.1415 a.d.
The issue for 1889, in the First Series, is,
LXX. A Ryme-Index to Chaucer's Minor Poems, by Miss Isabel Marshall and Miss Lela Porter, in 8vo for the One-Text print of the Minor Poems.
The issue for 1890, in the First Series, is,
LXXXII. The Romant of the Rose, from Thynne's print, 1532, ed. F. J. Furnivall. [Issued in 1911.]

The issue for 1891, in the First Series, is,
LXXXIII. A Parallel text of The Romanant of the Rose (of which the first 1705 lines are most probably Chaucer's), from the unique MS at Glasgow, and its French original, Le Roman de la Rose, edited by Dr Max Kaluza. Part I.
LXXXIV. A Rime-Index to Chaucer's Troilus, by Prof. Skeat, Litt.D.
The issue for 1892, in the First Series, is,
LXXXV. Parallel-Text Specimens of all accessible unprinted Chaucer MSS: The Pardoner's Prolog and Tale, edited by Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D. Part II, from 10 MSS.
The issue for 1893, in the First Series, is,
LXXXVI. Parallel-Text Specimens of all accessible unprinted Chaucer MSS: The Pardoner's Prolog and Tale, edited by Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D. Part III, from 6 MSS.
The issue for 1894, in the First Series, is,
LXXXVII. A Parallel-Text of 3 more MSS of Chaucer's Troilus, the St. John's and Corpus, Cambridge, and Harl. 1239, Brit. Mus., print forth by Dr. F. J. Furnivall. Part I, with a Note by G. C. Macaulay, M.A.
The issue for 1895, in the First Series, is,
LXXXVIII. A Parallel-Text of 3 more MSS of Chaucer's Troilus, Part II.
The issue for 1896, in the First Series, is,
LXXXIX. Specimen Extracts from the nine known unprinted MSS of Chaucer's Troilus, and from Caxton's and Thynne's First Editions, edited by Sir William S. McCormick and Dr. Robert Kilburn Root. Part III. (Publishd in 1914.)
The issue for 1897, in the First Series, is,
XC. Parallel-Text Specimens of all accessible unprinted MSS: The Pardoner's Prolog and Tale, Part IV, from 17 MSS, edited by the late Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D., and Prof. John Koch, Ph.D.
The issue for 1898, in the First Series, is,
XCI. Parallel-Text Specimens, Part V: The Pardoner's Prolog and Tale, a Six-Text, from 3 MSS and 3 black-letters, edited by Prof. John Koch, Ph.D., and Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
The issue for 1899, in the First Series, is,
XCII. Parallel-Text Specimens, Part VI: The Clerk's Tale, a Six-Text Print from 6 MSS not containing The Pardoner's Tale, put forth by Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
The issue for 1900, in the First Series, is,
XCIII. Parallel-Text Specimens, Part VII: The Clerk's Tale from the Phillippes MS 6299 and the Longext MS, put forth by Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
XCIV. Parallel-Text Specimens, Part VIII: The Pardoner's Prolog and Tale from the Hudson MS 39, put forth by Dr. F. J. Furnivall with an Introduction by Prof. John Koch, Ph.D.
The issue for 1901, in the First Series, is,
XCV. The Cambridge MS Dd. 4. 24. of the Canterbury Tales, completed by the Egerton MS 2726 (the Haintwell MS), ed. F. J. Furnivall. Part I.
The issue for 1902, in the First Series, is,
XCVI. The Cambridge MS Dd. 4. 24. of the Canterbury Tales, completed by the Egerton MS 2726 (the Haintwell MS), with woodcuts of the 23 Tellers of
SECOND SERIES.


Of the Second Series, the issue for 1869 is, 4. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part II.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1870 is, 5. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part III.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1871 is, 6. Trial-Forewords to my Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems for the Chaucer Society (with a try to set Chaucer's Works in their right order of Time), by Fredk. J. Furnivall.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1872 is, 7. Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part I.: 1. The original of the Man of Law's Tale of Constance, from the French Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet, Arundel MS 56, ab. 1340 a.d., collated with the later copy, ab. 1400, in the National Library at Stockholm; copied and edited, with a translation, by Mr. Edmund Brock. 2. The Tale of "Meredus the Emperor," englischt from the Gesta Romanorum The posteritatem Hoccleve, in Harl. MS 7535; and 3. Part of Matthew Paris's Vita Offic Primi, both stories illustrating incidents in the Man of Law's Tale. 4. Two French Fabliaux like the Reeve's Tale. 5. Two Latin Stories like the Friar's Tale.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1873 is, 8. Albertano of Brescin's Liber Consili et Consolationis, a.d. 1246 (the Latin source of the French original of Chaucer's Melibe), edited from the MSS, by Dr. Thor Sundby.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1874 is, 9. Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works, Part II.: 3. John of Hoveden's Practica Chilindri, edited from the MS. with a translation, by Mr. E. Brock. 4. Chaucer's use of the final -e, by Joseph Payne, Esq. 5. Mrs. E. Barrett-Browning on Chaucer: being those parts of her review of the Book of the Poets, 1842, which relate to him; here reprinted by leave of Mr. Robert Browning. 6. Professor Bernhard ten Brinck's critical edition of Chaucer's Complete to Pite.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1875 is, 10. Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part II. 6. Alphonse of Lincoln, a Story like the Prior's Tale. 7. How Reynard caught Chaucer, the source of the Nun's-Priest's Tale. 8. Two Italian Stories, and a Latin one, like the Pardoner's Tale. 9. The Tale of the Priest's Bladder, a story like the Summoner's Tale, being 'Li dis de le Vescie a Prestre,' par Jakes de Basiw. 10. Petrarch's Latin Tale of Grisellis (with Boccaccio's Story from which it was re-told), the original of the Clerk's Tale. 11. Five Versions of a Faw-Tree Story like that in the Merchant's Tale. 12. Four Versions of The Life of Saint Cecilia, the original of the Second Nun's Tale. Edited by F. J. Furnivall.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1876 is, 11. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part IV.

12. Life-Records of Chaucer, Part I, The Robberies of Chaucer by Richard Broel and others at Westminster, and at Hatcham, Surrey, on Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1390, with some Account of the Robbers, from the Enrolments in the Public Record Office, by Walford D. Selby, Esq., of the Public Record Office.
13. Thynne's Animadversions (1599) on Speght's Chaucer's Workes, re-edited from the unique MS, by Fredk. J. Furnivall, with fresh Lives of William and Francis Thynne, and the only known fragment of The Pilgrim's Tale.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1876 is,
14. Life-Records of Chaucer, Part II, The Household Ordinances of King Edward II, June 1322 (as englisht by Francis Tate in March 1601 A.D.), with extracts from those of King Edward IV, to show the probable duties of CHAUCER as Valet or Yeoman of the Chamber, and Esquire, to Edward III, of whose Household Book no MS is known; together with Chaucer's Oath as Controller of the Customs, and an enlarged Autotype of Hoccleve's Portrait of Chaucer, ed. by F. J. Furnivall.


17. Supplementary Canterbury Tales: 1. The Tale of Beryn, with a Prologue of the merry Adventure of the Pardoner with a Tapster at Canterbury, re-edited from the Duke of Northumberland's unique MS, by Fredk. J. Furnivall. Part I, the Text, with Wm. Smith's Map of Canterbury in 1588, now first engraved from his unique MS, and Ogilby's Plan of the Road from London to Canterbury in 1675.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1878 (there was none in 1877) is,
18. Essays on Chaucer, his Words and Works, Part IV. 11. On here and there in Chaucer (his Pronunciation of those two 'e's), by Dr. R. F. Weymouth; 12. On a. An Original Version of the Knight's Tale; b. the Date (1321) and Personages of the Parliament of Fowles; γ. on Anélida and Arcytye, on Lollius, on Chaucer, and Boccaccio, &c., by Dr. John Koch, with a fragment of a later Palamon and Arcytye from the Dublin MS D. 4. 18.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1884 (none in 1879, '80, '81, '82, '83, '85) is,

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Of the Second Series, the issue for 1887 is,


Of the Second Series, the issue for 1888 (wrongly markt No. 27 for 1889) is,

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1889 is,

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1890 is,

28. Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus (a Study of its MSS, their words and forms), by Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, M.A.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1892 is,
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1899 (none in 1899-97) is,
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1900 (none in 1899) is,
32. Life-Records of Chaucer, Part IV, Enrolments and Documents from the Public
Record Office, the City of London Town-Clerk’s Office, &c., ed. R. E. G. Kirk, Esq.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1901 is,
33. R. Braithwaite’s Comments on 2 Tales of Chaucer, 1665, ed. Miss C. Spurgeon.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1902 is,
34. Supplementary Canterbury Tales: 3, A new Ploughman’s Tale, being Hoc-
cleve’s English Legend of the Virgin and her Sleeveless Garment, from the Christ-
curch and Newsham MSS, edited by A. Beatty, M. A., Wisconsin. Part III.
35. The Pardoner’s Prologue and Tale, a critical edition by John Koch, Ph.D.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1903 is,
36. Analogues of Chaucer’s Canterbury Pilgrimage, the 4-days’ journey from
London to Canterbury and back of the Aragonese Ambassadors, 31 July—3 Aug. 1415,
etc., etc., ed. R. E. G. Kirk and F. J. Furnivall. (Published in 1906.)
37. The Development and Chronology of Chaucer’s Works, by John S. P. Tatlock,
Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English in the University of Michigan. (Issued in 1907.)
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1904 (published in 1907) is,
39. Studies in Chaucer’s House of Fame, by Wilbur Owen Sypherd, Ph.D.,
Professor of English in Delaware College, U.S.A.
40. The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde, by Karl
Young, Ph.D.
41. The Harleian MS 7334 and Revision of the Canterbury Tales, by Prof.
Tatlock, Ph.D.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1905 (published in 1908) is,
42. The Date of Chaucer’s Troilus and other Chaucer matters, by Prof. George
Lyman Kittredge, LL.D., Litt.D.
43. The Eight-Text Edition of the Canterbury Tales; with especial reference to
the Harleian MS 7334, by Prof. W. W. Skeat, Litt.D.
44. The Syntax of the Ininituitive in Chaucer, by John Samuel Kenyon, Ph.D.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1906 (published in 1910—1) is,
45. A Study of the Miracles of Our Lady, told by Chaucer’s Prioress, by Prof.
Carleton Brown, Ph.D.
46. Lydgate’s Siege of Thebes, ed. from the MSS by Prof. Axel Erdmann, Ph.D.
Part I, the Text (1911). Part II will be published by the E.E.T.S.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1907 (published in 1913) is,
47. A Detailed Comparison of the Eight Manuscripts of Chaucer’s Canterbury
Tales, as completely printed by the Chaucer Society, by Professor John Koch, Ph.D.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1908 (published in 1914) is,
48. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900 A.D., by
Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris. Part I.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1909 & 1910 (published in 1918) is,
49 & 50. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900 A.D.,
by Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris. Part II.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1911 is,
51. The Scene of the Franklin’s Tale visited, by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, Ph.D.
(published in 1914).
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1913 is,
52. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900 A.D., by
Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris. Part III.
(Published in 1921.)
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1914 is,
53. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, Appendix A,
Part IV (published in 1922), by Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1915 is,
54. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, Appendices B and C,
Part V (published in 1922), by Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1916 is,
55. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, The Introduction,
Part VI (published in 1924), by Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris.
Of the Second Series, the issue for 1917 is,
56. Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, The Index, Part VII
(published in 1924), by Professor Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Docteur de l’Université de Paris.
57. A Comparative Study of all the MSS of the Canterbury Tales, by Professor
John S. P. Tatlock. For 1918. [Not yet Ready.]
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