

# The Characteristics of Scribal Alterations in Chaucer's "Troilus and Criseyde"

by

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## 1. 1

In "Types of Variations and Vocabulary Changes in the Manuscripts of 'Troilus and Criseyde' (=TC)" (*Journal of Tokyo Kasei University*, No. 36, 1995), I tried to describe some characteristics of major manuscripts of Chaucer's *TC*, the materials of which had been taken from B.A. Windeatt's new edition of this narrative poem. This resourceful editorial work provides us with detailed information about all substantive variants of words and diction in sixteen extant manuscripts and three early printed editions of *TC* in the form of textual notes, as well as in the explanatory introduction, though his main purpose was to present Boccaccio's version of *TC* in parallel form with Chaucer's. He explained in his introduction the complex relationship of each manuscript to the other and tried to sort out the characteristics of each of them, citing appropriate, convincing examples in each case. My research was mainly on the quantity of scribal changes, and my data covered the first three volumes (4,669 lines). This time, more extended data covering the whole poem (8,239 lines) will be presented, and also some additional features such as frequency of scribal marginal notes, omissions, emphasis and vacillation of diction are taken into consideration so as to make the whole contour of scribal characteristics clearer. Scribal altera-

tions of the original manuscripts, either consciously or unconsciously, reflect the change of time, and those scribes of Chaucer will prove themselves to be one of the major contemporary, or nearly contemporary critics of Chaucer's works.

## 1. 2

Chaucer's complaint about his scribes' alterations was already cited in my last article, and this practice was by no means new in his age. T.A.M. Bishop points out that already at the end of the eighth century, the nuns who copied Latin glosses made drastic changes to the original. He says, "The Caroline scribes undertook many of the corrections, ... substituted or inserted leaves, (and) sheets."<sup>1)</sup> About six centuries have passed since the age of Chaucer, but there seems to have been little attempt to give warnings or to regulate the scribal corrections, because the readers or the listeners of poems were not editors or critics who would regard the scribal influence as an undesirable aspect of the text.

Thus, some of the scribes of Chaucer's *TC* made too many free corrections and errors, and I decided to disregard three manuscripts, MS Digby 181(=DG), MS Arch. Selden Supra 56(=S2) and MS Harley 4912 (=H5) due to gross inaccuracy, as Windeatt pointed out.<sup>2)</sup> He says:

It is not likely that all scribes are worth attending to in all lines; their intelligence and

sensitivity will of course vary enormously.<sup>3)</sup> Therefore, the notes of the manuscripts I considered in this study are: A(Additional MS 12044), C1(The Campsall MS; M817), Cp(Corpus Christi College MS61), D(Durham, Cosin MS V.II.137), Gg(Cambridge; MS Gg. 4.27), H1(MS Harley 2280), H2(MS Harley 3943), H3(MS Harley 1239), H4(MS Harley 2392), J(Cambridge, St. John's College, MS L.1), Ph(Huntington Library HM114), R(MS Rawlinson Poet. 163), and S1(MS Arch. Selden B.24).

Early printed editions should also be given attention for the sake of comparison, because printers were also welcomed to make alterations on the original as they wished. Among the printed versions only William Caxton's is worth referring to not only because he was a noted orthographer of Early Modern English, but also because he was the first printer of Chaucer's *TC* (printed in c.1483), as well as his *Canterbury Tales* (printed in c.1478). Wendeatt added Wynkyn de Worde's edition (1517), as well as William Thynne's (1532), but the former is too close to Caxton's<sup>4)</sup> and the latter is not an 'early' edition, hence only Caxton's.

### 1. 3

Some grammatical, as well as orthographical changes are noted, but a number was not counted. This is the same practice with the survey concerning the first half of this poem. My purpose of this study is to see the characteristics of the scribes rather than the change of the language in accordance with the progress of time, although mechanical grammatical change of Chaucer's works in later ages attracts us as another major problem in the history of the English language. The items not counted this time in Vols. IV and V of *TC* are (The word without the names of the manuscripts is from Cp, which is the main choice in Wendeatt edition):

1. 3. 1-the addition or deletion of the prefixes  
e.g. seled : ensealed (H2) IV 293; dure : endure (H2 H4) IV 295; compleyne : pleyne (R)IV 298
1. 3. 2-the expansion of the contracted form and vice versa e.g. thassege : the sege (H4 Ph) V 857
1. 3. 3-spelling variations e.g. rees : race 'race' (D)IV 350; which : quiche (S1)V 878 (northern dialect)
1. 3. 4-weak-strong alterations of the inflection of the verbs e.g. he swapte : schop (sic.) (Gg)IV 245
1. 3. 5-the simple nouns to the gerund and vice versa e.g. sobbes : sobbyng (R)IV 248
1. 3. 6-omission and addition of the prepositions e.g. I ... that may of no thyng : of deleted (H2 H3)IV 279; discerne : to discerne (H3 Cx) IV 200; ffor which : ffor deleted (H2 H4)IV 340
1. 3. 7-addition of the definite article e.g. folk þe folk (Ph)IV 112; town : ðe town(H2); assent : ðassent (H2 Ph)IV 165
1. 3. 8-change of the proper nouns e.g. Tediuss → Cithideus (Gg)V 1485; Phebus → Orpheus (R)1591
1. 3. 9-other grammatical changes e.g. withouten *longe* lette : (the italicized word) → *longer* (H2 H3 S1) V 851; grete : grettest (A)V 1036; greueth → greued (A)V 1020.

### 2. 1

We are now ready to probe into the study of the characteristics of each scribe based on their deliberate or careless alterations to the manuscripts. One of the striking features is the presence of many scribal marginal notes in some manuscripts. They are written independently from the text itself and they are so conspicuous in nature that they really seem to reflect the opinions of the scribes, who functioned as contemporary critics of *TC*. The notes are usually

a summary or something like a cue of a play as the following examples show. The survey on this subject is made on the entire poem.

Her Troylus saw first his lady. I 267 S1  
 How Pandar broght to Troilus Cresseyde  
 shuld han comen on the morn myght han  
 no reste & how on the morn he sent after  
 Pandar & how they two alday & al that  
 nyght bood on the wallis & yet cam nat  
 Cresseyde V 1100 R

The scribes of R (R1, R2, R3 and R4 of the 15th century) stand out as the writers of those marginal notes (95 times) and S1 (24 times), H1 (7 times) and Ph (7 times) follow them. But in H1 or Ph's case the notes are usually simple, a word of explanations for the deities or strangers, etc.

Following is the list of the number of marginal notes in each manuscript.

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
A	1	0	0	0	0	1
C1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cp	0	0	0	4	0	4
D	0	1	1	0	0	2
Gg	0	0	0	0	0	0
H1	0	1	5	1	0	7
H2	0	0	0	0	0	0
H3	0	0	1	1	0	2
H4	1	1	0	2	0	4
J	0	1	1	1	0	3
Ph	1	2	4	0	0	7
R	7	17	22	23	26	95
S1	4	8	5	1	6	24

Taking R as a representative of the marginal note writers, we will try to identify which of the four writers of R manuscripts was most

garrulous, even though they might have taken over the method of their predecessors and written notes as the latter did. Windeatt gives us minute changes of hands in R.<sup>5)</sup>

R1: I 1~700, II 118~433, 1044~1113, III 1373~V  
 (end)

R2: I 701~II 117, III 306~912

R3: II 434~1043, 1114~1820, III 1~305

R4: III 913~1372

Here it seems that R1 did most of the work and he set the style of copying, as well as commenting. About two-thirds (64/95) of the marginal notes are written by R1. R3 follows in number (18 times) and R2 (10 times). The style of the notes are about the same and it seems clear that they influenced each other in the way they wrote those comments.

## 2. 2

As it was mentioned in 1.2, some scribes rather freely made alterations. There are of course many scribes who regarded it their duty to follow the original faithfully. Medieval attitude toward literature in general was not so licentious as we think,<sup>6)</sup> but when the scribes make several copies of their own, they often made more mistakes as E.T. Donaldson says:

Poets are notoriously bad copyists of their own work, for the urge to improve what they have written almost insures that no copy made by their own hand is free of crossing-out and insertions.<sup>7)</sup>

Even though we believe that scribes were in principle loyal copyists of the original, we have no way of knowing their need of time, money or anything that encourages or discourages their effort to copy carefully or faithfully. One of the features which strikes us as rather loose is that there are so many omissions, rather than additions, by them.

Following are the main items of grammatical omissions:

- 2.2.1-*that* which appears in combination with conjunctive *which, what, who, etc.* are rather often deleted perhaps because it is an older construction: e. g. He wold lat hem graunte what hem lest,/ And telle his lady first *what that* they ment IV 171-2 (D H2 J Ph R Cx); The myghty tresses/ .../ verry signal of martire/ Of deth *which that* hire herte gan desire. IV 819 (H2 H4 Ph S1);
- 2.2.2-redundant or emphatic negations are deleted: IV 774 (Gg); 1178 (H3 H4 Ph);
- 2.2.3-*to* in *for to* is often deleted: IV 734(Ph); 754(D H3 Ph Cx);
- 2.2.4-the indefinite articles are sometimes deleted: IV 765(Gg), 869 (Gg Cp H1); so are the definite articles: IV 1076(A), 1080(J), 1268(H3);
- 2.2.5-exclamatory words are often deleted: "O!" IV 1175 (Gg H3 J Ph), 1209(D Gg H3 J Ph), "lo!" IV 1231 (A H3 H4), "what" IV 1318 (H1).

Of these five kinds of omissions, the first three show the fact that scribes revised the poem in accordance with the newer grammatical constructions. In ME redundant *that, ne, to* are gradually dropped out of use.

## 2. 3

As for the emphatic adverbs, we suppose that scribes may have added rather than deleted them because they might have wanted to express their feelings toward the characters as we saw in the margins. However, the number of their additions is not so many e.g. in Book IV of *TC*, which is of average length in the 5 volumes of *TC*, the number of added words is much less than that of omissions (32 times [21 words] as against 58 times [27 words]). The place and examples of additions are: [italicized] *al to* litel ('all too') (H3), *ryght* here 28 (H3), without *eny* lenger 41 (H2 Ph), *ful* faste 42 (R),

worste 49 (J), *all* 173 (R), *all* 194 (H4), *ful* sothe 197 (H3 Cx), *moste* 216 (D), *al* Dis 253 (Gg, H3, Ph), *neuermore* 280 (Ph), *gret* right 515 (Gg), *grete* 532 (Gg), *full* 598 (H2 H4), *wel* 610(H3), *right* 638(Cx), *ful* 656 (A), right glad 687 (H4), *wel* 876 (Gg H3 J Ph R S1), right 1099 (H3 J Ph), and *right* now 1324 (H3).

The kind of omitted emphatic adverbs are limited. The most frequently omitted words are: *al* 11 times in the lines: IV 195(Gg H2 Ph), 454 (Gg Ph), 546 (D Gg S1 Cx), 690(H1), 702(Ph), 729(Ph), 903(A), 1096(Gg H3 J Ph R Cx), 1397 (H4), 1478(Gg H3 J Ph), 1629(Gg) and *right* 8 times in the lines: IV 86(H2 Ph), 102(H2Ph), 440(H3 Ph Cx), 518(H1 H2 H3), 666(H3 H4Cx), 695(H3), 1097(A), 1098(Ph). The rest are *so*: IV 883(D Gg), 1310(A D H3 H4 Ph Cx), 1399(H3), 1648(Gg), *ful*: IV 235(A), 1166(D Gg Ph), *wel*: IV 1400(Gg), 1405 (H3), and *euere*: IV 1322 (D). *Right* and *all* are also the favorite intensifiers of the scribes, so we cannot draw any conclusion as to their attitude toward the original as far as the emphasis is concerned.

Non-emphatic adverbs are often deleted not added: *ek* IV 53(H2 Ph), 192(S1), 414 (R); *clere* IV 991(A D R); *woful* IV 1142(H2), and there is always a danger of careless omissions or unintentional additions (except in case of rhyme adjustment).

## 2. 4

Below is the list of the number of omissions not only of adverbs but also of the words by each scribe again in representative Book IV of *TC*.

A - 88	H1 - 69	Ph - 198
C1 - 48	H2 - 153	R - 136
Cp - 28	H3 - 203	S1 - 17
D - 119	H4 - 141	Cx - 194
Gg - 164	J - 50	

We notice that H3 which is written by three hands has the largest number of omissions. It is a rather faithful copy of Ph particularly after Book IV;<sup>8)</sup> so no wonder Ph follows H3 in number of omissions. Cx (Caxton) comes the latest and alters much, hence 194 omissions.

2. 5

Deletion or addition of these words above to the original necessarily leads to the alteration of the content. When *woful* in the following passage is deleted, as in H3 (Hand 2), the effect of the lovers' deploring for the final parting would be reduced very much:

But whan hire *woful* weri goostes tweyne  
 Retourned ben ther as hem owe to dwelle,  
 ... Criseyde To Troilus thise ilke words  
 seyde: IV 1142-8

This kind of inconsiderate alteration is more conspicuously seen in rewriting a whole passage or sentences. We find these alterations in the following places in Books IV and V.

IV 57-8 J H4 R S1 Cx, 206 Gg, 247 Ph, 250 H4, 306 Gg Ph, 462H1 Cp, 609Cx, 882 Gg H2 H3 H4 J Ph R Cx, 1365 H3,1402 Gg, 1404H3, 1411H3, 1442 H3, 1453Cx, 1457 A, 1461 H2, 1477 Gg;

V 60 Gg, 78Cx, 231Gg, 256 H3, 257 Gg, 300 H3, 341 Cx, 348 Cx, 476 Cx, 484 Gg, 518 Gg, 536 Gg, 568 H3, 587 H3, 637 Ph, 655 H3, 656 H3, 753 H3 Gg, 783 Gg, 883 Gg, 1071 Ph, 1220 Cx, 1243 Cx, 1257 Cx, 1287 Cx, 1324 R, 1337 Ph, 1379 Cx, 1387 Cx, 1491 H2, 1500 Gg J, 1503 Gg J, 1567 Cx, 1595 Ph, 1812 Cx, 1813 Cx, 1860 H2 R, 1869 (This line in all versions except Cp are altered into Latin).

One of the examples of these alterations for which we find it difficult to know the reason is:

Criseyde, whan she redy was to ride,  
 fful sorwfully she sighte and seyde "alas."  
 But forth she moot for aught that may

bitide,

Ther nys non other remedie in this cas.  
 V 57-60

Gg alters the last line into: And ofte sche syhede and seyde allas. Criseyde's sigh and utterance are mentioned in two lines before, so it is inexplicable and absurd. Since the number of this kind of alteration is as such in the list below, we assume Gg may have been a rather careless scribe. So is 3 Hands in H3 about whom the frequency of omission was mentioned in 2.4. Cx also often changes the whole sentence.

	IV	V	IV	V	IV	V
A	1	1	H1	1	1	Ph 3 5
C1	0	1	H2	3	3	R 2 3
Cp	1	1	H3	5	8	S1 1 1
D	0	1	H4	3	1	Cx 4 14
Gg	5	11	J	2	3	

2. 6

As Windeatt pointed out in his article "The Scribes as Chaucer's Early Critics," scribes tend to change the passage or word when the preceding texts are unclear. He says,

The manuscripts provide very widespread evidence for verbal substitution by the scribes, substitutions which reflect their sense of the difficulty and unusualness of the diction in their exemplar.<sup>9)</sup>

For instance, when Pandarus is very disappointed by the deceit of Criseyde and wants to disappear from the scene, He says: 3e, farewel al the snow of ferne 3ere (V 1176), but the meaning of "ferne yere" was not clear even to the contemporary of Chaucer. Windeatt, together with Norman Davis, modernizes it as 'yester-year,' but there are some scribes who substituted it with a word meaning February<sup>10)</sup> → farn 3ere Cp, ffeuryere D, feure H2 H4, or feruere H3. Even though Whiting lists this expression as one of the proverbial sayings and

Robinson insists that "Last snow is a familiar symbol of the irrevocable past,"<sup>11)</sup> there is little necessity for using this simile here and scribes seemed to have been perplexed.

### 3. 1

We have seen several characteristics of scribal alterations in Books IV and V of *TC* and have caught a glimpse of individual scribal differences in the categories such as deletion, addition, or alteration. This observation will be reinforced by the additional data to my last article mentioned in 1.1. The items to be surveyed are basically the same as before and the data this time are from Books IV and V of *TC*. (See 3.1.1, 3.1.2, 3.1.3, 3.1.4, 3.1.5 and 3.1.6 below.) Several additional points of interest such as the frequency of the revision for the sake of rationalization (3.2.1) or that of change of word order (3.2.2) will come into sight.

#### 3.1.1-the revisions which clearly show improvements:

e. g. fful rewfully she loked vpon Troie, Biheld the toures heigh and ek the *halles*, → walles V 729-30 (D J Ph).

(Changing *halles* to *walles* makes the scene more vivid because Criseyde must have seen only the walls of the City of Troy, even though she might have possibly have been able to see the halls of Troy also.)

This kind of change is seen in: IV 146Cx, 374A, 928D, 1320J, 1440Gg, 1578Gg; V 8D H3 J, 211Cp A C1 D H1 H2 H3 R, 223A, 245Gg H2 H3 H4 J Ph R Cx, 730D J Ph Gg, 1030R, 1075Cx, 1144D Gg J, 1168A Gg H2 H3 H4 J Ph R Cx, 1405A, 1457D, 1499D Gg, 1540gg H2 H3 R S1 Cx, 1672Gg.

#### 3.1.2-the revisions with more commonplace words or with words which would blur the point:

e. g. Ector and *many* a worthi wight out went  
→ an oper IV 39D.

IV 93H2 Ph, 113Gg, 155Cx, 197A, 222Gg Ph, 236A, 259H3 Ph, 272A, 293H4, 296Gg Ph, 310A, 313Gg, 322H2 H3 H4 R Cx, 357Gg, 375A, 391Gg, 392H2, 417C1 R, 419Gg, 441H2 H4 R, 529H2 Cx, 538H1 Cx, 542H2, 572H3, 577Ph, 605H4, 606Gg, 621Ph, 629Gg, 639H3, 652D, 677D, 724Gg H3 J Ph, 733H2 H4, 742S1, 749A, 751Gg Ph H3 J, 768Gg H3, 797H2, 820H3 J Ph, 821Cx, 828H3, 919Gg, 920S1, 934D S1, 953H1, 1085D R, 1089Gg J Ph, 1114Ph, 1144A H2, 1147Gg Cx, 1158D, 1169Gg, 1197D, 1213Gg H3, 1304A Cx, 1353D, 1372D, 1392Gg, 1407Gg, 1434Gg, 1498D, 1151Cx, 1513A, 1520Cx, 1589H3, 1626Gg, 1654Gg J Ph H3, 1663H2;

V 55Gg, 67H3, 83A D H2 96Cx, 165A, 194A, 222D, 249H2, 267Gg A, 336H1, 348A, 373Ph, 420gg, 509A Cp C1 D Gg H1 J Ph R S1, 540H3, 542A Ph, 548Gg, 553Cx, 568Gg H3 Ph R, 575H1, 667r Cx, 681A, 748Gg, 805H3, 927R, 966A H2, 990H3, 996H3 H4, 1018Ph, 1023H4, 1036C1, 1051A H3, 1055Gg H2, 1135H4 Cx, 1151H2, 1172Cx, 1195S1, 1203H2 Cx, 1232Gg, 1235D Ph, 1269A, 1336H3, 1343A D, 1355A D Gg, 1384D, 1390Cp A D S1, 1398Gg, 1465H3, 1568D, 1572H2 H4 Ph, 1574D, 1584D, 1714R, 1783H2, 1800J.

#### 3.1.3-the revisions which make little contextual or grammatical differences, hence little validity in change:

e. g. This Troilus .. / With hauke on *honde* ...  
/ rood and did hire companye → and hound V 65 Gg.

IV 3H2 Ph, 71Cp A H1, 75A, 76H2 R Cx, 101H3, 114 Gg Ph, 246A C1 Cp D Gg H1 H3 H4 Ph R Cx, 275A, 286A Gg Ph H3 Cx, 321Ph, 328D, 330C1 D Gg H4 R, 359A, 362H2, 373D, 398Gg H3 Ph, 444S1, 458H2, 475H3 H4, 493Gg, 520A H4, 532Gg, 588Gg, Cx, 590Gg H3 J Ph, 594H2 H4 R S1 Cx, 617J, 633H3, 651A Gg Ph, 661R, 667H3, 670Cx, 673Cx, 781Gg H3 J Ph, 821H2, 823H3 J

Ph, 827H2, 844D, 850H2, 872D H1, 910S1, 915Ph, 942H2, 945H2, 948Gg, 966A, 969Cx, 1003Ph, 1026A D H2, 1047A, 111A, 1131Gg H3 J Ph, 1165Gg H3 J Ph, 1183H2 H3, 1203C1, 1230A D, 1231A, 1268Cp H3 A Gg Cx, 1288R, 1289Gg H3, 1292H3, 1294Gg J Ph, 1318H3, 1333A, 1336Gg H3 J Ph, 1350H3 R, 1376Gg, 1378Cx, 1392H4, 1414A, 1415H4, 1427H4, 1429A, 1455A, 1456H2, 1465A, 1488Gg, 1498H2, 1530A Ph, 1532Cx, 1573D, 1609D, 1631H1, 1643H2, 1669A, 1676A;  
 V 61H3, 65A, 103H3, 185S1, 193H3, 198H3, 232H4 R, 233H4 R, 238R, 257A H3, 342Gg Ph, 361H3, 364H3 Ph, 389A, 407H3, 414Gg H2, 415H3, 417Gg, 435Cp A C1 D H1 S1, 441H3, 470Gg, 495Gg, 500H3, 533H3, 599D J S1, 604D, 624H4, 653Gg, 669H3, 702Gg, 761H4, 764Gg, 766Cx, 854H4, 922A C1 Cp H1 S1, 977C1, 1021H4, 1069A, 1082S1, 1110Cx, 1218Ph, 1264Gg, 1344Ph, 1348R, 1369D, 1376Gg, 1618Cx, 1653Cx, 1667Ph, 1721H2, 1723Ph, 1740Ph, 1749H3, 1770R, 1806H2 H3 H4 J Ph R, 1839H3 Cx.

3.1.4-repeatedly exchanged words or phrases:

e. g. wyte → know IV 198 H2.  
 IV 39D Cx, 162Cx, 173Gg H2 Ph, 198Cp A C1 H1 S1, 198Cp A C1 D H1 H2 S1, 233Ph, 290Gg, H3, 301Gg Ph, 304H3, 309Gg, 341Gg H3 Ph, 359Gg Ph, 360Gg H3 Ph, 368H3, 430C1 Gg R, 430Gg H2 H3 Ph, 464Gg H3 Ph, 503Gg H3 Ph Cx, 516Cx, 537Gg H3 J Ph, 607H2, 699C1, 752Gg H3 J Ph, 785Gg, 794Gg H3 J Ph, 795Cx, 819J Ph H3, 843Gg H3 Ph J, 879H3 J Ph, 926H3, 931H2, 1101A, 1129Gg H3 J Ph, 1133Gg H3 Ph, 1134Gg Ph, 1160S1, 1168H4, 1393H2, 1411H2, 1421Cx, 1425C1 H3, 1435R, 1449H2 H3 H4 J Ph R S1 Cx, 1548Gg, 1556H2 Cx, 1585D, 1597H3 Cx, 1658H1, 1691H2 S1, 1697H2 H4 J Ph S1 Cx;  
 V 61H2 H3 R, 63Cp A C1 D H1, 84H2 H4, 115Gg H2 H3 H4 J Ph R S1 Cx, 117H3 H4, 130D, 187Ph, 195D, 202Gg, 206H3, 241Ph, 261H2, 265H2 R, 266H3 S1 × 2, 269H3, 301S1, 349H3, 418H2, 723H1, 1049D, 1085H3, 1099H2, 1221A, 1374Cx,

1420Ph, 1463A, 1468H2.

3.1.5-the alterations including newly borrowed words and phrases:

e. g. wone → duelle IV H2, lyue H3  
 clepeth → callyn V 311 Gg.  
 IV 313Gg, 277D, 467A D Ph H2 H4, 474Gg H2 H3, 476H2, 503Cx, 504H4, 512H3 Cx, 647H2, 687H2, 691Gg H3 J Ph, 762S1, 783D, 857Cx, 926A, 1006R, 1080R, 1096H2, 1100H2, 1218H3 J Ph Gg, 1240H2, 1344Gg H2 H4 J Ph, 1455H3 H4 Ph Cx, 1648A Gg H2 H4 Ph Cx;  
 V 89A 137H2, 162H2, 194Ph, 221H3, 230Gg, 311Gg, 319Gg H3 S1 Cx, 335H4, 360Cx, 428H2, 546Gg, 547A, 576Gg, Ph, 594Gg, 761H3, 787H2, 802Ph Cx, 850A, 863D H3 Gg, 866Gg, 949R Cx, 1007H2, 1180R Cx, 1263H2 H4, 1292H2, 1298H4 Ph, 1311H4, 1452Cx, 1681H4.

3.1.6-the alterations largely due to scribal errors:

e. g. Thus wepyng that he koude neuere cesse / He seyde → to seche IV 575 Gg.  
 IV 4C1 D, 10Cx, 14D, 16H4, 17A, 19Cx, 20A, 47A, 61H2, 64H3, 70R, 71A H2 R, 73H2, 84R Cx, 86A H1 Ph R Cx, 99H3, 130H4, 113H3 H4, 114H3, 118Gg H2 H4, 125H3, 130H4, 133H2, 135D H3, 137A, 139H2, 141A, 167A H1, 168Cp A H3, 169A H2 H3 R Ph, 188Ph, 189H4, 191H1, 192C1, 198C1, 202Gg, 203R, 210A Gg H2 H3 J Ph R Cx, 218H1, 229A, 239D, 243Ph, 252Gg H4, 254A, 257Ph Cx, 264Gg, 270Gg, 279H2 Gg, 281H3 × 2 S1, 296Gg, 299H2, 300Cx, 301Cx, 303H2, 304A, 305H2, 307H4, 312D, 314Gg, 322H1, 362A, 369Gg, 375Gg, 377Ph, 382H3, 386H4, 387D, 388Gg H3 Ph S1 Cx, 392A C1 Gg, 394A, 416H2, 417Gg × 2, 418Ph Cx, 424H2 H4, 425H1 H3, 426H3, 438H2, 443C1, 445H2 H4, 456R, 478H2 H4 R, 501H2, 513A H4, 528H1, 530H3, 532Gg Ph H2 H3 H4 J R, 533Gg, 541A R, 542A, 543H2, 547Ph, 562R, 572A, 575Gg, 593H2, 600H4, 602H3 J Ph Gg Cx, 605D, 608Gg, 634A, 636J, 642Cx, 659Gg, 662A, 698R Cx, 701R, 725Gg,

730H3, 753Ph, 760H2, 796Ph, 810H1 Ph, 818H2 Ph, 836J, 850Gg H1, 853Gg, 869Cx, 881Gg H3 J, 914Gg, 917H3, 929H1, 930Gg, 931Cp, 936Gg, 941D, 986D H2 R, 987H3, 993A, 1008D, 1013Cp, 1058D, 1101A, 1118Gg, 1121Gg, 1132A, 1142A, 1144Gg Ph, 1174A C1, 1151Ph D H1, 1153J, 1154H1, 1158Gg, 1159Ph, 1172H1, 1194A, 1206A D Gg H2 H3 H4 Cx, 1221H3, 1258A, 1265D, 1291Gg, 1303H3, 1314A, 1325Gg, 1327Gg, 1348H3, 1365H4, 1366H3, 1369H2, 1374A, 1377H3, 1386H2A, 1388Gg, 1492H1, 1395Ph, 1398!, 1401H3, 1409Gg, 1414H3, 1432C1, 1436Gg, 1441A, 1454R, 1459Gg A, 1463A, 1478H3, 1490Gg, 1493H2, 1496J, 1502Gg, 1503D, 1506Gg, 1513R, 1517R, 1533H4, 1545A, 1564D H2, 1573A, 1579Gg, 1584Gg A D, 1589H1, 1612R, 1641C1, 1649Ph, 1655A, 1667A;  
 V 23H1, 33Ph, 34H1, 37H3, 101J, 121H4, 141A, 154A, 163D, 174DGg, 182DS1, 189Gg, 199A, 209A D Gg×2 H3 R, 211Ph R, 243Gg, 255A H3 R, 264H1, 270A, 303H2, 308Gg, 309R, 354R, 371D, 381H3, 436A, 446Gg, 457Gg, 465Gg, 478A H3 Ph Cx, 485Cx, 492Ph S1, 496D, 505H1, 507H3, 515H4, 531J, 538C1, 547H2 H4, 567H2 H4, 585H2, 588H2, 589Cx, 595R, 596A, 636H2, 639Gg H2, 659H1, 666H3, 675Cx, 679Ph, 718R, 729Cp C1, 731R, 745H1, 752Gg Cx, 758R, 770Gg, 784A, 786H2, 805gg, 810R, 822D, 825H3, 828H3, 838A, 857Gg, 873H3, 891D A H3 H4, 894J, 896A, 920D, 1002A, 1005H2 Ph, 1032A Gg, 1033A S1, 1060C1, 1072D, 1081C1, 1101D Gg, 1109A D, 1124C1 H4 J R S1, 1141Gg, 1169A, 1178A, 1180C1, 1218H3, 1219A Gg H4, 1225Ph, 1236H4, 1241R, 1294Cp, 1301H3, 1322A, 1360H3, 1361Gg, 1372R, 1383H3, 1387A, 1392R, 1407Gg, 1418A, 1435D, 1440Cp, 1448A, 1449Gg, 1459H2, 1461H1J, 1481Gg, 1493H2, 1494A, 1499A, 1520Gg, 1523Gg H3, 1529A, 1550H3, 1552Gg H3, 1553Gg, 1558Gg, 1562Cp, 1557C1 H1 J R S1 Ph, 1584R, 1593D, 1602Cp J1 J, 1634D Gg, 1656J, 1657D, 1664Gg, 1714S1, 1762A, 1772D Ph, 1791C1 H4 Ph, 1816H3, 1868H2 R.

Below are the lists of the numbers in the

manuscripts occurring under each item of the poem. We can see from them that Gg again has the greatest number of errors(136), as well as H3(93) and H2(88). H1, J and S1 have less errors than others, but their attempt for improvement is also very little. H2 and C1 are also less challenging in that they have only one or no newly adopted words. The one that makes quite a few changes in every item is H3.

A Vols.					H4 Vols.				
	I~III	IV	V	total		I~III	IV	V	total
3.1.1	2	0	12	4	3.1.1	3	3	3	9
3.1.2	14	9	14	37	3.1.2	5	4	35	44
3.1.3	2	22	6	30	3.1.3	9	7	7	23
3.1.4	3	2	3	8	3.1.4	3	3	13	19
3.1.5	3	3	3	9	3.1.5	5	5	6	16
3.1.6	36	43	34	113	3.1.6	18	8	37	63
C1					J				
3.1.1	1	0	0	1	3.1.1	1	0	0	1
3.1.2	11	1	2	14	3.1.2	5	2	14	21
3.1.3	0	3	3	6	3.1.3	8	2	1	11
3.1.4	6	4	1	11	3.1.4	10	1	9	20
3.1.5	1	0	0	1	3.1.5	1	3	6	10
3.1.6	19	8	7	34	3.1.6	8	9	9	26
D					Ph				
3.1.1	2	1	3	6	3.1.1	3	2	4	9
3.1.2	14	10	11	35	3.1.2	12	7	22	41
3.1.3	3	10	5	18	3.1.3	20	6	3	29
3.1.4	1	3	4	8	3.1.4	20	4	12	36
3.1.5	4	1	3	8	3.1.5	4	6	9	19
3.1.6	24	18	17	59	3.1.6	21	10	48	79
Gg					R				
3.1.1	3	7	2	12	3.1.1	1	2	4	7
3.1.2	22	10	32	64	3.1.2	4	8	25	37
3.1.3	23	11	2	36	3.1.3	7	4	3	14
3.1.4	21	2	17	40	3.1.4	3	3	12	18
3.1.5	7	6	7	20	3.1.5	1	2	6	9



3.1.6 45 33 58 136 3.1.6 19 17 43 79

H1  
 3.1.1 1 0 0 1  
 3.1.2 2 3 6 11  
 3.1.3 5 2 1 8  
 3.1.4 2 2 2 6  
 3.1.5 0 0 0 0  
 3.1.6 17 10 29 56

S1  
 3.1.1 0 0 1 1  
 3.1.2 3 3 13 19  
 3.1.3 4 5 2 11  
 3.1.4 5 4 1 10  
 3.1.5 1 1 7 9  
 3.1.6 2 6 6 14

H2  
 3.1.1 3 4 3 10  
 3.1.2 10 8 25 43  
 3.1.3 17 2 2 21  
 3.1.4 11 8 13 32  
 3.1.5 7 10 9 26  
 3.1.6 31 12 45 88

Cx  
 3.1.1 2 2 2 6  
 3.1.2 9 7 24 40  
 3.1.3 13 7 4 24  
 3.1.4 10 2 9 21  
 3.1.5 6 5 9 20  
 3.1.6 15 5 28 48

H3  
 3.1.1 4 5 3 12  
 3.1.2 12 9 19 40  
 3.1.3 19 16 13 48  
 3.1.4 20 7 7 34  
 3.1.5 4 5 7 16  
 3.1.6 31 19 42 92

### 3. 2

Since the scribes are contemporary or near contemporary critics of Chaucer, it seems natural they should want to "rationalize" his original poem, though not necessarily improve it. For instance, when Pandarus warns Troilus who is desperate for Criseyde not returning to Troy, he says, "If thow thus *ligge* a day or two or thre, / The folk wol seyn that thow for corwardise / The feynest sik "(V 411-3). S1 changes "ligge" into "wepe." Since "weeping" is more of a habit of a coward than "lying (in bed)," though he may lie in bed crying, we can understand S1's use of this word in this situation. The places in which this kind of change are found are:

IV 43C1, 47H3, 79H2 H3H4 R Ph, 84H2 Ph, 90H3, 102H2 Ph, 105H2 Ph A, 111H2 Ph, 117H3, 145R, 158H1 Ph Gg, 279H3, 298A D Cx, 315A Gg, 322Gg Ph, 331A, 341H2 H4, 353R, 361J, 397Gg H3 Ph, 451Cx, 454Gg, 456H2, 689C1, 848R, 860D, 913D, 1003Cx, 1119Gg, 1129A, 1145A Cx, 1149Gg H2, 1131H1, 1325H3, 1404D, 1470Gg, 1491Gg, 1508C1, 1523A Gg, 1543Gg, 1557Cx, 1567Cx, 1590H3, 1593H3, 1608D Ph, 1612Cx, 1650H3, 1682H2, 1689A, 1692Cx, 1700H3;

V 11Cx, 42Cp H1, 64H2, 66H2, 68Cx, 107A Cp C1 D H, 181H3, 252A, 272Cx, 273H3, 302Cx, 312A, 358Gg H2 H4, 411S1, 443Cx, 466Ph, 476H2 H4, 506C1 H1, 522A S1, 543H3 H4 Cx, 632A, 640Gg, 659Gg H2 H4 R Cx, 749A Ph Cx, 752A, 758D, 769Gg H2 H4, 844Gg, 860H2 H4, 926A H2,]927A, 946Gg, 947H3, 977D, 1060H3 Cx, 1095H2 Ph R Cx, 1150Cx, 1201H4 Ph, 1238Ph Cx, 1253S1, 1328A, 1339Gg, 1414Gg, 1459A, 1511H2, 1542Gg× 2, 1594Gg, 1629Gg Ph, 1630Gg, 1632Gg, 1643C1 D, 1671Ph, 1809Ph, 1831Cx, 1856H4.

Here we find that Gg, which resembles Ph and R in part, makes the greatest number of rationalizations (27) while J, which belongs to the same family, makes none. Caxton who is expected to make that kind of alteration, because the period he lived in was the age of transition in the English language, also attempts several of them (21).

#### 3. 2. 1

The change of word order to the Modern English word order is not necessarily a modernization, but this kind of alteration should also be noted because consideration of rhyme in the poetry must have restricted the word order and it was threby too daring a task to try to change it.

The places where we find the word order changed are:

IV 12Cp A H1, 14H2 H4, 17H3 Cx, 19A D H2 S1 Cx, 27Cx, 43H4, 45H4, 49H2 H3 R Cx, 61H3,

88Cp H1, 89H2 Ph, 95H2 Ph, 96S1, 100A H2 Ph, 112H3 S1 Cx, 115Cx, 135Gg, 140H3 H4 R Cx, 144H3, 151Gg H1 Ph, 152H3, 162A, 164Cx, 180H3, 183H2, 201H3, 204C1, 208Ph, 215D, 227Ph Cx, 235H3, 238R, 250Gg, 257Ph, 260Ph, 265Ph, 269A Cx H3, 279H2 H3 Ph, 281H2, 284H4, 285H3 H4, 288Gg, 291Ph, 292H2 Ph, 298Gg, 313D H3 Cx, 318Cx, 320C1, 325Gg, 334H3, 341H1, 345C1, 371H2, 379S1, 393Ph S1 R, 396D, 406Cx, 415Gg, 434H3, 436D, 441H2 H4, 445H4, 461H3, 462H4, 476H4, 485Gg H2 H3 H4 S1 Ph, 497Cx, 509Cx, 518S1, 522H2 H3, 523Ph, 545D, 547cx, 593H3, 594gg H3 J Ph, 607H2 H4 R, 618H3, 629A, 640H4, 699Gg, 701H3 H4, 706D, 708Gg H2 H3 H4, 709Gg H2 H4, 733Gg H3 J Ph, 754D Gg H3 H4 Ph R, 757D, 758H3, 810S1, 832Ph, 846D, 847S1, 856Cx, 892Gg H4 Ph R, 904H2 H4 Ph, 916Ph S1, 922Ph, 929H3 Gg, 941Ph, 952S1, 975A Cx, 994C1 Cx, 995Cx, 1010Cx, 1122R, 1130H1 H4, 1147R, 1168H2 H4 Ph, 1193Cx, 1199A, 1202Gg, 1228Gg J, 1231Cx, 1254Gg, 1275H2 H3, 1295H2 Ph, 1296Cx, 1351A, 1352H3, 1360Cp H2 Ph H3, 1384D, 1390Ph S1, 1401Ph, 1417H2 H4, 1419D H3, 1440H1, 1448D, 1455A, 1474Gg H2, 1477Cx, 1481D H4, 1519A C1 Gg H2 H4, 1531H2 Ph H3 H4, 1562Ph, 1662Cx, 1665H3;  
V 91H3 R, 96Cx, 97H3 Ph, 105Gg Ph, 112A R, 132Gg, 139H1 S1, 142H3, 150D Ph, 156A H2 H4, 177Ph, 203H3, 213H3, 214C1 Gg Ph R S1, 221Ph, 226D, 227D, 233J, 236S1, 247H2 H4 R, 270Gg Ph Cx, 289D Ph, 341H4, 389G4 S1, 408Gg H1 H3 R, 430Cx, 432D H3 Gg, 433D Cx, 509H2, 524H4, 532H2, 538H3, 540A, 551 d H3, 565H4, 579H3, 581D, 583D H2, 595Gg H4 Ph Cx, 601R, 608R, 628H3 Cx, 629H2 H3, 638H3 Ph Cx, 645Ph Gg, 649H3, 661D, 666H3 H4 Ph Cx, 667Gg R, 676H2 H4 Gg J R Cx, 701H3, 710Ph, 749D H3 Cx, 766H3 Ph, 799H3, 807H4, 811Gg, 850H3, 871Ph, 876H3, 910Gg H4, 927C1, 952Gg Cx, 960Cx, 966Ph, 980Cx, 994H4 R, 1048Gg Ph, 1063D H3 Cx, 1073Gg, 1089Ph, 1102H3, 1111A Gg R, 1134H2, 1148Gg, 1170D H2 Ph, 1186Gg, 1191Gg

H4, 1193A D Ph, 1199Gg H4, 1215Gg, 1221D, 1223R Cx, 1228H2, 1235Cx, 1242D, 1243A S1, 1274H3, 1286Gg, 1287Gg, 1288D, 1294H3 Ph, 1324C1 Gg H3 H4, 1334Gg H3, 1335D J R Cx, 1345Ph, 1364H3, 1366H3, 1380Gg, 1394Gg R Cx, 1407A H3 Ph, 1423H2 H4, 1426H3, 1439A H4 Ph, 1440A, 1450Ph, 1456H4 Ph, 1462Cx, 1479D, 1503H3, 1506Gg Cx, 1510A, 1551H2, 1563C1 Cx R, 1493D Ph Cx, 1663Ph Cx, 1702H2 H4 Ph R Cx, 1710D H1, 1715H4, 1741J, 1782Cp R Cx, 1798H2 R, 1845H4 Ph, 1847H4 Cx. Here again Gg makes the greatest number of alteration (73). H3 (63)Ph (55) and A (54) follow Gg.

## 4. 1

Since the completion of a manuscript requires several hands usually, we cannot hastily say that one manuscript is less corrupt than another. However, the data we have seen so far reveal general characteristics of each manuscript with regards to the alteration of Cp which is considered to be closest to the original. A, C1, D, and H1 belong to this family<sup>12)</sup> and the number of alterations of each item in 3.1 is generally less than is found in the rest of the manuscripts. On the other hand, Gg and H3 which are the hybrid of R and Ph have frequent rationalizations and errors as we saw in 3.1 and 3.2. Harley group (H1, H2, H3 H4) has many changes in all the items and H3 is the worst of them all. It has numerous omissions and unnecessary additions of emphatic modifiers as we saw in 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5. Scribes of R offer many comments in the margins, but Gg did not follow their practice. Caxton alters so little in comparison with the manuscript copyists even though his printed edition came in the last quarter of the fifteenth century during which most of our manuscripts were made.

Although dissemination of the copies of *TC* over the course of several centuries makes it difficult to trace the linealogy of them, we can

still see the characteristics of each manuscript as we saw in those alterations in almost each passage of the poem. Corruption of the original cannot be avoided, nor would mere identification of their occurrences help establish the best edition, as R. T. Donaldson pointed out. He said, "If Chaucer himself were to read his works in even the best of modern editions he would probably charge the editor with innumerable infidelities."<sup>13)</sup> However, by studying the endeavour of the scribes of each manuscript, we can better understand the changes to Chaucer's masterpiece they deemed necessary or not and appreciate that their attitude accurately reflects the linguistic atmosphere of the Middle English period, a time in which the English language was changing grammatically, phonetically as well as lexically.

Notes:

- 1) T. A. M. Bishop, "The Prototype of 'liber glossarum,'" in M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson eds., *Medieval Scribes manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, Scolar Press, London, 1978, pp. 69-70. The word "and" is added by Kobayashi.
- 2) About Dg, Windeatt says, "Its text is characterized by frequent instances of scribal imprecision," and about S2 and Dg together, he says, "S2 ... is particularly close to Dg, which it resembles in its inaccuracy and imprecision." He also says about H5 that in character "H5 illustrates the difficulties of TC for the more careless scribe with ... a general looseness of attention to the fine detail of the poem's style." B. A. Windeatt, *Geoffrey Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde*, Longman, London, 1984, pp. 69, 75 and 76.
- 3) Windeatt, p. 26.
- 4) Robert K. Root, *The Book of Troilus and Criseyde*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1954, p. lxii.
- 5) Windeatt, pp. 73-4.
- 6) George L. Kitteridge, *Chaucer and His Poetry*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1970, p. 11.
- 7) E. T. Donaldson, "The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Works and Their Use" in Derek Brewer ed., *Chaucer: Writers and Their Background*, G. Bells and Sons, London, 1974, p. 91.
- 8) Windeatt, pp. 71-2.
- 9) Windeatt in Roy J. Percy ed., *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, Vol. 1, The New Chaucer Society, the University of Oklahoma, 1979, pp. 125-6.
- 10) Windeatt, p. 509. Cf. H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn, *Middle English Dictionary*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1954- s. v. FEBRUARY; Norman Davis et al., *A Chaucer Glossary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979., s. v. FERNE YERE.
- 11) F. N. Robinson ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1957, p. ;835.
- 12) Windeatt, pp. 70-5.
- 13) Donaldson, p. 85.

写字生によるチャーサー作「トロイルスとクリセイデ」への変更の特性

”Troilus and Criseyde” の 13 写本および 1 印刷本の異同を調べることによって、従来 Cp 系とよばれていた A、C1、D、H1 写本などはその差異が比較的少なく、R 写本と Ph 写本の合本の系統には Gg や H3 など非常に異同の多いものがあるということがわかった。書写をする際には、時代に即したものにするかどうか、無駄を省くか否か、語順の入れ替えの必要性などの考慮が働く。それらを調べることによって、また強調の付加や削除、余白のコメントの有無などを調べることによって、写字生の特徴や正確さの度合いを測った。