Ágota Kamilla Pintér

READERS OF CHAUCER: THE CASE STUDY OF MARGINALIA IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS DD. 4. 24

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2019

READERS OF CHAUCER: A CASE STUDY OF MARGINALIA IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS DD. 4. 24

by

Ágota Kamilla Pintér

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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I, the undersigned, **Ágota Kamilla Pintér**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 21 May 2019

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to provide more details about the early reader interpretation of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* through the case study of Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 (Dd). Dd is one of the earliest and richest in reader comments among *The Canterbury Tales*. To map the reception of a literary work, there are three sources that a researcher can turn to: forms of imitation, re-invention and commentaries. This thesis focuses on the marginal commentaries found in Dd which is the most densely commented one from among the early manuscripts thus being outstandingly informative about the historical reception. The commentaries in Dd have not been completely cataloged and extensively discussed so far. In order to interpret the notes from the margin, I collected, categorized and analyzed the marginalia. On the basis of this, I defined the provenance of Dd more precisely than it was known before and with the help of palaeography, I distinguished and dated the annotators of the main body. The provenance defined the social layer of the owners and readers (aristocrats, college masters and members of the church), provided details of the owners' erudition and about the terminus ante quem of marginalia in Dd. The thematic analysis of these annotations revealed the individual use of the manuscript. Based on these two sources, I determined the connection between the annotators and the main body of the text, *The Canterbury Tales*. Comparing these results to the seventeenth century reception history of Chaucer, the seventeenth century commenters show anomalia. Although Chaucer was generally not appreciated in the seventeenth century, this thesis revealed that among the annotators of Dd there were four hands from the seventeenth century who were deeply engaged with the content of *The Canterbury Tales* continuing the sixteenth century interpretation.

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Introduction

Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* is known to be one of the greatest works of English literature. But who read and how was *The Canterbury Tales* interpreted from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century? To map the reception of a literary work, there are three sources that a researcher can turn to: forms of imitation, re-invention and commentaries.[1] From these sources, the least researched one is the commentaries located at margins.

This thesis focuses on the marginal notes found in the Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 which is one of the most densely commented works from the early manuscripts. Accordingly, it is outstandingly informative about the historical reception. The commentaries in Dd have not been completely cataloged and extensively discussed so far. In order to interpret the notes from the margin, I collected, categorized and analyzed the aim of these marginalia and their connection to the excerpt they refer to. After distinguishing the hands paleographically, different trends of commenting were revealed. However, to find out the use of the text reader by reader, the individual tales also have to be classified thematically to be comparable to comments and the topic of the highlighted passages. Where the commentaries not only repeat expressions from the main body of the text, but also interpret it, a deeper analysis was conducted to map how the excerpt was understood. The producers of these comments were revised in the chapter about provenance in order to connect the interest of the commenters with actual historical people.

All in all, the aim of this thesis was to find readers of Dd through the revision of the provenance, and to disclose whether their interpretation and use of Dd suits the general image

[1] A. S. G. Edwards, "The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland," *Florilegium* 15, no. 0 (January 1, 1998): 10.

of Chaucer's reception. The result of this analysis revealed that the seventeenth century readers of Dd reflected upon the sixteenth century topics, meaning that Chaucer was not as neglected in the seventeenth century as he was regarded so far.

Chaucer's reception

Case studies as this one about the reception of *The Canterbury Tales* are necessary in order to explore the individual use of manuscripts. In the case of Dd, there is a possibility to map the reception through case studies, since approximately eighty manuscripts and more than six different early editions survived historical times.[2]

The number of surviving *The Canterbury Tales* manuscripts has been accepted to be representative regarding the popularity of a work.[3] From *The Canterbury Tales* there are eighty-three manuscripts remained all throughout England which reflects that it was not only geographically wide-spread, but also reached a great audience in the fifteenth century.[4] Interestingly, the manuscripts were still in circulation all through the sixteenth century, despite the advent of printing.[5] Probably Caxton also realised the significance of the work, since *The Canterbury Tales* was one of the first to be printed in England.[6] Since printers were businessmen, their interest was to make as high income as possible, thus it is reasonable to

[2] William Caxton and W. W. Greg, "The Early Printed Editions of the Canterbury Tales," *PMLA* 39, no. 4 (1924): 737, https://doi.org/10.2307/457245.

[3] Michael G. Sargent, "What Do the Numbers Mean? A Textual Critic's Observations on Some Patterns of Middle English Manuscript Transmission," in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. Margaret Connolly and Linne R Mooney (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008).

[4] Paul Strohm, "Chaucer's Fifteenth-Century Audience and the Narrowing of the 'Chaucer Tradition,'" ed. Roy J Pearcy and John H Fisher, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer. Volume 4, 1982 Volume 4, 1982* 4 (1982): 3–32.

[5] Freya Elizabeth Paintin Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales" (Thesis, Department of English, 2018), 10, https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/42403.

[6] Linne R Mooney, "Vernacular literary manuscripts and their scribes," in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500*, by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 195.

believe that they chose books which were fashionable at the time in the circle of readers. Subsequently, it can be stated that there was a great demand for *The Canterbury Tales* in the early sixteenth century as well, when printing started in England.[7]

Apart from the popularity, it is also worth researching how people understood the text close to its production. To map the reception of a literary work, there are three sources that a researcher can turn to: forms of imitation, re-invention and commentaries.[8] Commentaries cover mostly notes of readers in books. Forms of imitation are works published in the name or style of another author or as a continuation of an existing work of another writer. Reinvention means an allusion or use of the original text in a different context often giving to the author a new 'identity'.[9]

Regarding Chaucer's works, it can be stated that imitation was quite common in the fifteenth century. For example, Thomas Hoccleve, in the name of Chaucer added tales to *The Canterbury Tales*. Another example is from his contemporary, John Lydgate, who attempted to copy the style of Chaucer to his "The Tale of Beryn" in his *Siege of Thebes*. In addition, the "The Ploughman's Tale" written by an unknown author is a clear example of imitation, where the author acted in his writing as if he were Chaucer and continued the *The Canterbury Tales* as also shown by the title, not to mention *The Sowdone of Babylone*, which recalls and paraphrases the "The Knights Tale" and the "The General Prologue".[10]

Re-invention stands for intertextuality.[11] The earliest example of re-invention in the case of Chaucer is clearly the 1532 edition of Chaucer's works by William Thynne, in which

[7] Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, "Choosing a Book in Late Fifteenth-Century England and Burgundy.," ed. Caroline M. Barron and Nigel Saul, *England and the: Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, no. IV (1995): 62.

[8] Edwards, "The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland," 10.

[9] Edwards, 13.

[10] Edwards, 13, 4.

[11] Edwards, 12.

Thynne collected all the literary works that he could attribute to Chaucer, including those works which only alluded to Chaucer's works, and a biography of the author. As a result, it was not only a new collection that was published, but also a new identity was formed about Chaucer due to the numerous works that only allude to Chaucer and are not necessarily written by him.[12]

When considering comments on literary works, Susan Schibanoff has already proved in her annotation analysis (about the "The Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale" based on the Ellesmere and Egerton manuscripts) how informative is on the reception of Chaucer when comparing the main body of the text and the marginalia.[13] Similarly, Seth Lerer discussed scribal marginalia in the Hm 140 and the Princeton University Library 100 manuscripts.[14] Stephen Partridge has also been working on the full study *The Canterbury Tales* glosses, still there is no concise overarching work on the reception of *The Canterbury Tales* on the basis of scribal and reader annotations.[15] However, the scribal annotations are debated regarding their origin. Kerby-Fulton states that scribes acted as a first reader when copying the text.[16] Julia Boffey and Edwards argue that marginal notes by scribes cannot be attributed to scribes as their reader-response to the text but they hold the view that these are Chaucer's own work notes.[17] As most of these annotations appear in several manuscripts, and they are located at the same place, I argue that these are neither work notes of Chaucer's, nor reader responses of the scribe. Instead they are annotations which are intrinsic parts of the textual tradition. My thesis

[12] Edwards, 13.
[13] Edwards, 11.
[14] Edwards, 11.
[15] Edwards, 11.
[16] Maidie Hilmo and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, eds., *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower*, ELS Monograph Series, no. 85 (Victoria, B.C: English Literary Studies, University of Victoria, 2001), 8.
[17] Julia Boffey and A. S. G Edwards, *A New Index of Middle English Verse* (London: British Library, 2005), 48.

primarily focuses on reader-response in Dd since it is barely researched, as it was mentioned above for the case of *The Canterbury Tales*.

From these types of sources, scholars reconstructed the following fifteenth-sixteenth century image of *The Canterbury Tales*. The target audience must have been a closed urban society where the social criticism of courtly life was understandable.[18] As regards the owners, it has been discovered that some manuscripts were in the property of women.[19] The content is dense both with courtly, religious and didactic aspects. The high interest in these moral stories is also observable in a manuscript. One of them is the Chatham manuscript, which contains only "The Second Nun's Tale" and "The Prioress's Tale" copied by William Cotson, a late fifteenth century canonicus.[20] Aristocratic owners also appear; for example Henry V, Charles D'Orleans and Margaret Beaufort, but the majority of works was in the hands of the middle strata of the society.

Being a popular figure of his age, Chaucer was an icon of culture in various aspects, both in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. In the fifteenth century he was regarded as the father of English language and literature.[21] By sixteenth century continental protestants, Chaucer was also seen as the father of Lollardism, who could see through the vicious deeds of the Roman Catholic Church. This is how the so-called "moral Chaucer" was born, who may possibly have been read by women as well, even during the ban on books from 1540 onwards.[22] In this period, Wycliffite works were attributed to Chaucer to support the necessity of reformation

[18] Edwards, "The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland," 8.
[19] Edwards, 10.
[20] Edwards, 9.
[21] In 1589 Puttenham writes that '[Chaucer is the] father of our English poets'. Father of literature: *Chaucer and Fame: Reputation and Reception*, NED-New edition (Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 143, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt12879g2.
[22] James Simpson, "Chaucer's Presence and Absence, 1400-1550," in *Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, n.d.), 265.

historically, and this is how Chaucer became the "forefather of the Anglican church".[23] The protestant propagation and the monastic manuscript evidence [24] mentioned above prove that Chaucer was known by a wide audience in the sixteenth century and the interpretation was mostly pious and conservative, focusing on religious tales.[25]

This religious oeuvre also influenced female audience, since the material they could read was monitored and restricted mostly to devotional works.[26] Luckily, this was the time of "moral Chaucer" when women most probably were allowed to read his works.[27] Research on owners of printed books by Chaucer reflect that there was a significant audience in the Renaissance period. This interest may not have come out of the blue; a tradition of reading Chaucer must have existed in the manuscript culture as well. I agree with Brooks when insisting that there is a need for further research on fifteenth-sixteenth century female readership to map the literary interest of Renaissance women.[28]

Although between the sixteenth and eighteenth century less women were educated, [29] female audience was not restricted to aristocracy as there was a wide variety and quality of books for distinct levels of the society as mentioned in the introduction. There is evidence in medieval manuscripts that women taught children how to write on the margins; by copying some parts or just trying out letters or their names.[30]

[23] Helen Cooper, "Literary Reformations of the Middle Ages," The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture, March 2011, 274, https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521856898.013.

[24] Simpson, "Chaucer's Presence and Absence, 1400-1550," 256.

[25] Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," 10.

[26] Jacqueline Pearson, "Women Reading, Reading Women," Women and Literature in Britain, 1500–1700, November 1996, 81, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511470363.007.

[27] More on the printed book reading habits of female readers of Chaucer in the sixteenth century see Alison Wiggins, "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?," *Library* 9, no. 1 (2008): 3–36. Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?'.

[28] Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," 11.

[29] Pearson, "Women Reading, Reading Women," 80.

[30] Deborah Ellen Thorpe and Peter Stanley Fosl, "Young Hands, Old Books: Drawings by Children in a Fourteenth-Century Manuscript, LJS MS. 361," Cogent Arts & Humanities 3, no. 1 (2016): 3.

Not only those people were members of Chaucer's audience who knew how to read and write; numerous women knew how to read but could not write.[31] This makes the research of reception history even more difficult; to map what women used *The Canterbury Tales* for. Collette argues that Chaucer was more appreciated as a person in the sixteenth century than his literary achievements. Although his biography was published in the first printed collection of Chaucer's works by Caxton, his personality was constructed through the image of his works, as more than 100 years after his death nobody knew what kind of person he used to be.[32] This supports the statement that Chaucer's works were popular in the sixteenth century as well.

Regarding the seventeenth century, Chaucer was relatively neglected since his stlye and themes were not regarded to be elaborate.[33] Even the reprinting of Chaucer's works stopped in the seventeenth century.[34] By the end of the century, Chaucer's works became again appreciated, beginning with the first translated edition by Dryden.[35] As Dryden articulated in his preface to *Fables Ancient and Modern* written in 1700, the works of Chaucer are authentic to the Nature, and his clear, simple style is produced by the harmonious verses.[36]

All in all, Chaucer was regarded as the forefather of English Protestantism in the sixteenth century, while in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century he was rated as the master of occult sciences. During the seventeenth century, his reputation decreased similarly

[31] M. T Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Chichester, England; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 232, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=466201.

[32] More on the image of Chaucer A. C Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[33] Charlotte C. Morse, "Popularizing Chaucer in the Nineteenth Century," *The Chaucer Review* 38, no. 2 (2003): 101.

[34] Edwards, "The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland," 15.

[35] Edwards, 15.

[36] Edwards, 15.

to Shakespeare's, and by the end of the century Chaucer's reputation lost in popularity, since it did not suit the seventeenth literary norm.[37]

The description of Dd

Physical dimensions

The primary writing support of Dd is paper with parchment bifolia that cover the paper leaves. The low quality parchment leaves are worn by the edges and have holes in it. (e.g. fol. 109).[38] Some of the paper folios were damaged by water (e.g. fol. 20) causing some marginalia to become barely readable. During the conservation of the manuscript in 2004, the leaves were cleaned.[39]

The layout of Dd shows irregularities. The size of the folios differs significantly in the case of paper and parchment leaves. Paper folios are usually 200 mm wide and 290 mm long, while parchment folios are irregular, and their size can vary between 144 mm x 275 mm (fol. 13) and 190 mm x 290 mm (e.g. fol. 120). In the case of paper leaves, the frame is 220 mm in length and 130–40 mm in width. The varying size of parchment folios results in frames varying from 210 mm x 110 mm (fol. 108) to 220 mm x 130 mm (fol. 48). Approximately 45 lines per folio are observable[40] in one column with regular pricking and ruling, yet, some gaps are present which separate sections.[41]

[37] Edwards, 15.

[38] Probably this was present in the time of production since the last three lines embrace this hole. "The Dd Manuscript," The Norman Blake Editions of the Canterbury Tales, 2013, Background Information, http://www.chaucermss.org/dd.

[39] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

[40] The scribe tried to squeeze the text by slightly reducing and compressing the size of his handwriting so that the average. "The Dd Manuscript," Background Information.

[41] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

Dd consists of 216 folios; however, only 181 remained in the manuscript and there are 35 lost folia which were indicated in the foliation. The twofold numbering of folia in the manuscript are present on the right margin in pencil. The earlier counts folia by Roman numerals, while the latter numbering was done using Arabic numerals. After the 2004 preservation of the manuscript, it was rebound applying the most recent technology.[42]

The script

The script is *anglicana formata*; in some parts, *bastard anglicana* is used, especially in incipits and explicits.[43] Based on the high number of ligatures, the script can be said to be cursive. The initials are elaborately decorated with blue and red pen-ink motifs. The whole text is attributed to one hand, including copied glosses, headings and corrections.[44]

The production

Dd was produced between 1400 and 1420 according to textual tradition and watermarks.[45] The early history of the manuscript has not been fully recovered yet; most recent studies by Orietta da Rold, however, assume the place of origin to be London, around

[42] As the manuscript was two times rebound (19th century, 2004), its binding is not informative of the creation.

[43] *Anglicana formata* and *bastarda anglicana* have started to spread in the late fourteenth century and had it a day in 1400. It was applied by scribes up and the other middle of the fifteenth century. Forming lobes with broken Strokes in the case of letters "d" and "q" was the first characteristic of this script. Then this technique was applied to the "a", "c", "g" and "o" letters and to the loops of ascenders. The Invention of short "r" also counted as a significant milestone in the development of the new writing style. More on this: M. B Parkes, "Pates, Notes, and Transcripition: Angilcana Book Hands," in *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500*, Google Books Edition (Routledge, 2017), chap. Anglicana Book Hands. We do not need such background information. This should be taken for granted in a paper on paleography.

[44] John Matthews Manly et al., *The Text of the Canterbury Tales, Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1940), 105–6.

[45] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

Paternoster Row, where most commercial scriptoria were located in the fifteenth century.[46] The scribe must have been called Wytton, based on the *Amen quod Wytton* and quod Wytton inscriptions, written in the same handwriting as the main body of the text. As the early records of the Stationers Company have burnt in the fire of London in 1666, not to mention that commissions to scribes were also submitted orally without any written evidence, it is nearly impossible to trace back the the person of Wytton.[47] On the other hand, there is consensus about the fifteenth-sixteenth century owners to have been the Hungerford and Mervyn families, based on the fact that their names appear on the margin of the manuscript.[48]

The simple decoration, the cursive script, and the high number of commentaries suggest the reconstructed oeuvre of production and ownership. Due to the lack of expensive materials and exuberant decoration, it can be presumed that it was not an expensive manuscript, but the accuracy and pen-ink red and blue decoration of the text show that it was produced by a professional scribe. The number of marginal notes by later readers is high, more than fifty, which shows that the manuscript was in everyday use. Through its nearly six-hundred-year history, Dd suffered from significant damage resulting in a partially missing content. Thanks to the preservation, the manuscript is accessible today for readers and researchers in the Rare Book Collection of Cambridge University Library.

[46] Orietta Da Rold, *The Significance of Scribal Corrections in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Penn State University Press, 2007), 411, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/chaucer_review/v041/41.4da_rold.html.

[47] The Scrivener's Company Common Papers writes about a family called Wytton who were scribe masters of the company in the sixteenth century. Multiple generations had this profession, moreover, the decoration of their signature is really similar to that of Wytton scribe found in Dd. Based on this, it can be assumed that the scribe of Dd may have been a predecessor of this sixteenth century scribe family. "The Stationers' Company - Library and Archive," The Stationers' Company, accessed April 15, 2019, https://stationers.org/library-archives.html.

[48] 'Digital Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the *The Canterbury Tales*', accessed 15 April 2019, https://www.mossercatalogue.net/results.php?location=&repository=&manuscript=Dd&edition=&search=SEARCH.

The textual tradition

According to textual variants and the order of the tales, there are four main groups of *The Canterbury Tales* manuscripts: A, B, C and D, established by Skeat.[49] Dd is part of the A group, which contains the earliest type of text.[50] Dd is incomplete and the following tales are missing from the manuscript: "The Manciple's Prologue" and "Tale", along with the "The Parson's Prologue" and "Tale" and the "Retractions". These belong to Fragment IX and X.[51] However, as there were nine more folia in the manuscript after the "The Canon Yeoman's Tale", it is also possible that originally Dd contained these sections as well.[52]

It is crucial to mention the textual connection of Dd with Hengwrt[53], since both of them belong to the A group and Hengwrt is thought to have been the oldest and most authoritative manuscript. This group is characteristic for containing the extra lines in "The Wife of Bath's Prologue"[54], "Lenvoye de Chaucere"[55], "Clerk End-Link"[56], the Adam stanza in "The Monk's Tale"[57], "The Merchant's Prologue"[58], "The Merchant's Tale"[59], "The Merchant End-Link[60]" and "The Squire Head-Link"[61], "The Squire's Tale"[62], and missing out the "The Tale of Gamelyn".[63] Apart from these group features, in some aspects, only Dd and Hg share

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[49] Orietta Da Rold, "A Study of Cambridge University Library, MS.Dd.4.24 of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*" (2002), 32, https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/2086/13270.

[50] Da Rold, 47.

[51] Geoffrey Chaucer and Larry Dean Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 20–22.

[52] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

[53] Aberystwyth, The National Library of Wales, Peniarth Collection, MS 392D. Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Hengwrt Chaucer*. 1395-1405. (henceforth Hg)

[54] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment III 44a-f, 575-84, 609-12, 619-26, and 717–20.

[55] Chaucer and Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, chap. Fragment IV ll. 1170-1212.

[56] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment IV 1212a-g.

[57] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment VII 2007-2014.

[58] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment IV 1213-1244.

[59] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment IV 1245-2418.

[60] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment IV 2419-2440, Fragment V 1-8.

[61] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment V 1-8.

[62] Chaucer and Benson, chap. Fragment V 9-672.

[63] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

similarities. Due to the fact that the same lines are absent in the "The Miller's Tale", "The Miller's Prologue" and "The Franklin's Tale" in both manuscripts, Dd and Hg most probably have either a sister or an ancestor manuscript where these lines were omitted.[64] Regarding the order of the tales, Dd fits in the Ellesmere[65] tradition.[66]

Commentaries

The marginalia of Dd are diverse, both written and visual. Pointing hands, highlighted passages with *nota* signs and inscriptions, short English and French comments, running titles, Latin quotations, leaf-like decoration, names and doodles can be observed in the entirety of the manuscript.

Some of the commentaries are copied along with the main body of the text and some can be found only in Dd. Copied comments in Dd, especially in "The Clerk's Tale" appear in high numbers. For example, at the beginning of this tale, both the El and the Hg include the same Latin quotation: "Inter cetera ad radicem vesuli terra saluciarum vices et castellis", which appears in Dd at the same place. All the three of these manuscript belong to Group A of the textual tradition as it was detailed above, thus it is not surprising that, apart from the main line of the text, the same marginal notes were copied in all of them. Reader notes on the margins will be detailed below.

[64] da Rold "A Study of Dd.4.24" 139. More on this in the same dissertation Chapter 5.

[65] Oxford, The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, Manuscripts Department, MS EL 26 C 9. Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Ellesmere Chaucer*. 1400-1410. (henceforth El)

[66] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

Marginalia as primary source

This chapter not only describes marginalia and differentiates between those written by readers and those from the scribe, but also categorizes them according to their place on the folio and their function. However, before getting into details of individual marginalia, the historiography of the categorisation along with the principles of classification will be discussed shortly, also including the lack of agreement regarding terminology.

The terminology debate

Marginalia today means notes in a book that are not part of the main body of the text. Its function in relation to the text defines which term is used for them. Terminology has been debated; especially "gloss", "marginalia", "annotations" and "paratext" regarding their definition and use in research. Many of these terms are applied by researchers as synonyms, therefore, the clarification of these terms is necessary.

"Marginalia" has developed into an overarching term today for everything apart from the text, however, earlier it was notes and drawings on empty parts of the book.[67] Kocsis adds that therefore doodles, pen trials, library numbers comments and cover folia also belonged to this category. However, this category excludes interlinear glosses, which, traditionally, translate some individual expressions.[68] Shiegg uses the term "marginalia" as a broader expression; to be everything on the page that is not the main body of the text. This includes all

[67] More on categorisation by location: William H Sherman, *Used Books Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, 2010, 21–24.

[68] Réka Kocsis, "Marginálistípusok az ómagyar nyelvemlékkódexekben," *Magyar Nyelv* 113, no. 1 (2017): 44. In Dd, interlinear glosses are originated only from the scribe, subsequently, I will not discuss them.

those signs, comments and drawings, too, which are not connected to the text.[69] Schiegg also considers interlinear gloss to be marginalia. [70] The definition of Schiegg is widely applicable, therefore I will apply this to cover everything that is not part of the text.

"Paratext" is used for all marginalia that is not part of the textual tradition, including drawings and notes on the margins.[71] Although the material I focus on is exactly covered by this term, I will not include it in my terminology, instead marginalia will be applied because paratext is not a widely accepted expression.

"Inscriptions" are applied to all written marginalia in texts, even though they are not related to the main body.[72] Farrell calls them paratext with the following definition: "all writings in the manuscript not part of the original Chaucerian text".[73]

"Comment" will be used in the database as anything written on the margin and not a nota inscription, in order to prepare structural queries about their use regarding the content of the highlighted excerpt.

"Gloss" originally was defined as a term not comment on the text but help the readers understanding primarily with grammatical and vocabulary aids, for example by the Old High German glosses to the *Summarium Henrici*, where Latin keywords were translated to vernacular language. [74] Glosses were invented by medieval tutors to give pupils an

[69] Markus Schiegg, "How to Do Things with Glosses. Illocutionary Forces in the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts.," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17, no. 1 (2016): 57, https://research-information.bristol.ac.uk/en/publications/how-to-do-things-with-glosses-illocutionary-forces-in-the-margins-of-medieval-manuscripts(2ac3c6b3-0c19-468d-b446-9bd7aac22110)/export.html.

[70] Schiegg, 75.

[71] Thomas J Farrell, "Secretary a in Ellesmere's Latin Quotations," *cr The Chaucer Review* 52, no. 4 (2017): 401.

[72] Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," 50.

[73] Farrell, "Secretary a in Ellesmere's Latin Quotations," 401.

[74] Rolf Bergmann, "Volkssprachige Glossen für lateinkundige Leser?," *Sprachwissenschaft* 1, no. 28 (2003): 45. Farrell also applies this deifinition.Farrell, "Secretary a in Ellesmere's Latin Quotations."

understanding of what the Latin text is about.[75] This is the reason why it was emphasized in the early age of marginalia research that functionality cannot be discussed with regard to vernacular glosses which do not translate but interpret the main body of the text.[76] Still bilingual commentaries can be found in vernacular manuscripts as well, owing to the fact that the lingua franca was Latin.[77] Wieland provided a new definition that includes everything that refers to the text, whether it is a symbol, a drawing or a comment. This definition is accepted in the works of Stephen Partridge and Jane Griffith as well.[78] Furthermore, Thomas J. Farrell argues that glosses are only those notes, which either translate, or identify, or clarify some element in the text.[79] Similarly, Wakelin states that glosses provide lexical aids and not synonyms of annotations and notes.[80]

"Annotations" and "notes" are marginalia that reflect upon the text. The expression "annotation" is also popular among scholars, and generally applied in the same manner as "gloss".[81] The term is also used for all marginalia that helps the orientation of a reader.[82] The only exception from this approach is Farrell's, who introduces annotations as paratext that

[75] Gernot R Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35* (Toronto, Ont.: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983), 191, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/420456.

[76] Alexander Schwarz, *Glossen als Texte* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), 31.

[77] Schiegg, "How to Do Things with Glosses. Illocutionary Forces in the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts.," 59.

[78] Jane Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities: Experimental Glossing Practices in Manuscript and Print* (OUP Oxford, 2014); Stephen Partridge, "Glosses and Glossing," in *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain* (American Chaucer Society, 2017), 1–5, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118396957.wbemlb649; Stephen Partridge, "The Canterbury Tales Glosses and the Manuscript Groups," ed. N. F Blake and Peter M. W Robinson, *The Canterbury Tales Project : Occasional Papers* I (1993): 85–94; Stephen Partridge, "The Manuscript Glosses to the Wife of Bath's Prologue," in *The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[79] Farrell, "Secretary a in Ellesmere's Latin Quotations," 404.

[80] Daniel Wakelin, "Instructing Readers in Fifteenth-Century Poetic Manuscripts," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (September 2010): 442, https://doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2010.73.3.433.

[81] Partridge, "The Manuscript Glosses to the Wife of Bath's Prologue," 17. Derek Pearsall, "The Ellesmere Chaucer and Contemporary English Literary Manuscripts," in *The Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Martin Stevens and D. H Woodward (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1995), 271.

[82] Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Maidie Hilmo, and Linda Olson, *Opening up Middle English Manuscripts: Literary and Visual Approaches* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 214.

reflects upon the text.[83] All in all, "gloss" and "annotations" are used as synonyms by most scholars of English manuscripts. As a result, I will use them accordingly; as everything that reflects on the main body of the text.[84]

In conclusion, marginalia count as the greatest category of anything outside the text, regardless of the textual tradition or the form. The textual tradition has to be considered when using the terms "paratext" and "inscription", as they cover written marginalia that has no connection to the text. To reflect upon the bond between the text and marginalia, three terms can be used simultaneously: annotations, glosses and notes. Additionally, I apply "comment" as a subcategory of annotations, glosses and notes, but only for structural reasons, as discussed above.

The research history of marginalia

Despite the facts that the beginnings of marginalia research go back to the 1960s, earlier attempts were made for cataloguing marginal notes. Until the 1980s, codicology focused on luxury codices and those books which did not contain any marginal note or comment. Annotated manuscripts were considered to be worth less, therefore they got to the periphery of research.[85] Marginalia research has become accepted as an individual discipline only in the

[83] "The "paratext" comprises all writings in the manuscript not part of the original Chaucerian text. Paratext attached to specific moments within those texts (in contrast to running titles and rubrics, for example) is an annotation." Thomas J Farrell, 'Secretary a in Ellesmere's Latin Quotations', *The Chaucer Review* 52, no. 4 (2017): 401.

[84] More on the manuscript glosses: Tim W. Machan, "Glosses in the Manuscripts of Chaucer's 'Boece,'" ed. Alastair J Minnis, *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae*, 1987, 125–38; Daniel W Mosser, "The Manuscript Glosses of the 'Canterbury Tales' and the University of London's Copy of Pynson's [1492] Edition: Witness to a Lost Exemplar," *Chaucerrev The Chaucer Review* 41, no. 4 (2007): 360–92.

[85] Kocsis, "Marginálistípusok az ómagyar nyelvemlékkódexekben," 42. John Matthews Manly, *et al.*, *The Text of the The Canterbury Tales, Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 101.

1990s.[86] In this period, researchers mostly focused on marginal notes in printed books.[87] Afterwards more libraries started to provide information in their catalogue about glosses in manuscripts and printed books.[88] To put it into wider context, the emergence of marginalia research is connected to the spread of micro-historical research and the raising interest in historical reading habits.[89]

In the case of *The Canterbury Tales*, Mathew Manly and Edith Rickert were the first to map the glosses in all the manuscripts. Even today, their collection is the basis for the research of annotations, even though the result of Manly and Rickert are much less impressive than the amount of the consulted material.[90] Moreover, the thoroughness of Manly and Rickert is also questionable as the scribal commentary of "The Man of Law's Tale" in Dd, for example, is claimed to be illegible, whereas Stephen Partridge could transcribe it.[91]

According to Norman Blake (and more recently, Freya Brooks) Dd is the most densely annotated manuscript. This is the reason why I chose this manuscript in order to find out more about the early reception of *The Canterbury Tales*.[92] However, before the detailed analysis, a brief outline is needed about the research history of marginalia in *The Canterbury Tales*.

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[86] Kocsis, "Marginálistípusok az ómagyar nyelvemlékkódexekben," 42.

[87] Bernard Rosenthal, Yale University, and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, *The Rosenthal Collection of Printed Books with Manuscript Annotations: A Catalogue of 242 Editions Mostly before 1600 Annotated by Contemporary or near-Contemporary Readers* (New Haven: Yale University, 1997).

[88] Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 43, http://books.google.com/books?id=CILgAAAAMAAJ.

[89] Kocsis, "Marginálistípusok az ómagyar nyelvemlékkódexekben," 43. More on marginalia in printed books: Bernard M Rosenthal, "Cataloging Manuscript Annotations in Printed Books: Some Thoughts and Suggestions from the Other Side of the Academic Fence," *Bibliofilía.*, no. 2–3 (1998): 583–95.

[90] Manly et al., *The Text of the Canterbury Tales, Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, 483–527.

[91] Partridge, "The Canterbury Tales Project," 95.

[92] N. F. Blake, *The Textual Tradition of the The Canterbury Tales* (London; Baltimore, MD: E. Arnold, 1985), 133. Brooks also notes that the following manuscripts are also heavily annotated: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181; London, British Library MS Harley 1758; and London, British Library MS Harley 2251. Freya Elizabeth Paintin Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*" (PhD. Diss, University of Leicester, 2018), 75, https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/42403.

The research of glosses in *The Canterbury Tales* goes back to the 1980s, when Norman Blake compared the annotations from manuscript to manuscript.[93] In the next decade, Kennedy Beverly and Stephen Partridge investigated the glosses in case studies with a special focus on the female aspects.[94] Daniel Mosser also contributed to the research by collecting and revising all the information about the fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Tales*.[95] The first complete transcription of Dd, produced by Orietta da Rold, included annotations as well.[96] Da Rold also mentions that there are headings, nota signs and inscriptions along with other marks in the text; yet she did not catalogue them for further research.[97] On the other hand, Freya Brook collected a large number of reader annotations from *The Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, to a certain extent also focusing on ownership. Her aim was to prove that up to the seventeenth century, there were women who could read *The Canterbury Tales*. Interestingly, all of these works seem to be incomplete regarding the hand and the script of the annotations, and they also omit a number of annotations, which confirms that a thorough revision of the data and analysis of the marginalia is necessary for all the manuscripts, including Dd.

Norman Blake was the first scholar to note that there are more marginal annotations in Dd than in any other early manuscript of *The Canterbury Tales*.[98] He concludes that the

[93] Blake, *The Textual Tradition of The Canterbury Tales*.

[94] Beverly Kennedy, "Contradictory Responses to the Wife of Bath as Evidenced by Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Variants," ed. N. F. Blake, and Peter Robinson, *The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers* 2 (1997): 30–34; Beverly Kennedy, "The Rewriting of the Wife of Bath's Prologue in Cambridge Dd.4.24," in *Rewriting Chaucer: Culture, Authority, and the Idea of the Authentic Text, 1400-1602*, ed. Thomas A. Prendergast and Barbara Kline (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 213–16; Stephen Partridge, "The Manuscript Glosses to the Wife of Bath's Prologue," in *The Wife of Bath's Prologue on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[95] Mosser, "The Manuscript Glosses of the 'Canterbury Tales' and the University of London's Copy of Pynson's [1492] Edition"; Daniel W Mosser, "Cambridge University Library Dd.4.24," Digital Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales, accessed April 15, 2019, https://www.mossercatalogue.net/results.php?location=&repository=&manuscript=Dd&edition=&search=SEARCH.

[96] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

[97] "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Background Information.

[98] Blake, *The Textual Tradition of the Canterbury Tales*, 133.

relationship of sexes and moral aspects are the primary focus of the annotator. Blake attributes the annotations in Dd to the scribe, even though it is visible that they are written in a different script, for example, the one about inquisitive husband, or the wife of King Midas, as compared to the moral instructions highlighted in "The Tale of Melibee".[99] Although he collects more annotations than any other scholar before him, he failed to identify all of the marginalia commenting on the main body of the text.

Daniel Mosser attributes interlinear corrections and pen-ink flourishes to the scribe, which were later revisited by Orietta da Rold.[100] However, it was Mosser who first recognized the running titles produced by a later hand.[101] Claiming that there is a difference between the main body of the text and the marginal notes, Brooks also relies on Mosser's findings. Although Brooks attributes annotations to readers whol lived between the fifteenths and seventeenth century,[102] only seven of them were newly transcribed compared to earlier studies (150r, 144r, 136r, 181v, 161r, 184r).[103]

The revision of the provenance of Dd

The marginalia contain not only literary interpretations and aids to orientation, but potential references to ownership, too. The revision of provenance is indispensable as there are data existing about people who may have owned and read the book. Through the person of

[99] Blake, 133–34.

[100] Daniel W. Mosser, "Cambridge University Library Dd.4.24," Digital Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the *The Canterbury Tales*, accessed April 15, 2019, https://www.mossercatalogue.net; Orietta Da Rold, "The Significance of Scribal Corrections in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales," *The Chaucer Review* 41, no. 4 (2007): 393-438, accessed May 11, 2019, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals /chaucer_review/v041/41.4da_rold.html.

[101] Mosser, "Cambridge University Library Dd.4.24."

[102] Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," 189–90.

[103] Some folia, for example the letter about the arrival of an ambassador (127v) or the evaluation of Dd as a whole by a reader on the 150r, are not digitized so I will not consult them.

owners, a more complete image can be formed about the reception of Dd. It is also helpful in determining the social layer of the readers.

They are only potential references because the names appearing in manuscripts do not necessarily refer to the person whose property the book was. The person mentioned can be connected to the manuscript or text in various ways, which makes the provenance research difficult.[104] While Dd contains such marginalia, most names do not refer directly to the owner, except in some cases, where ownership can be assumed. These notes are written by different hands, in different script, and at different times, which may provide clues for the chronology of the owners, but the more precise periods of ownership can only be determined by in-depth source criticism. In the case of Dd, the foundations were laid by Manly and Rickert in the 1940s.[105] Although their research was thorough, there are numerous gaps and inaccuracies in their research results. Most scholars of Dd accepted their findings without further investigation.[106] Taking a closer look at the data, it is visible that most references point at the same nineteenth-century sources, the *Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicles*, and other publications, which collected the archival data available at the time.[107] To specify the image of Dd, I revised the marginalia and clarified the controversies in secondary sources.

[104] When it is obvious that the person referred to in the margin is the owner, for example, where it is stated in a sentence that the book was part of someone's library, these are called ex libris notes. Ex libris notes name owners, however, defining their sequence is the task of researchers. "Glossary for the British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts," accessed May 10, 2019, https://www.bl.uk/catalogues /illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossE.asp.

[105] John Matthews Manly, *et al.*, *The Text of the The Canterbury Tales, Studied on the Basis of All Known Manuscripts*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 100–107.

[106] "The Dd Manuscript"; Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales"; Mosser, "Cambridge University Library Dd.4.24."

[107] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 132 (E. Cave, 1822). Richard Colt Hoare, *The History Of Modern Wiltshire*, vol 1, *Hundred of Mere and Hundred of Heytesbury* (London: J. Nichols and son, 1822-44); William Carr, *University College* (London: F. E. Robinson & Company, 1902).

The inscriptions for provenance research

The present chapter will distinguish and date the various hands detectable in the marginalia. The primary level of differentiating between glosses is whether certain annotations are part of the textual tradition or can be regarded as annotations by readers or users of the text. Palaeographic evidence suggests that nine different hands appear in Dd that are not of scribal origin. From them, nearly all hands secretary script or a mixture of secretary and rounded; only one, the earliest is written in anglicana script. Five hands are distinguishable, connected user annotations, among which two groups (Hand C and D) are very close to each other, however, this will be detailed in the chapter entitled distinguishing and dating annotator hands. The names appearing in the manuscript can be connected to other inscriptions elsewhere in the same manuscript, based on the similarity of their letter forms and script. Since these annotations are either illegible or do not reflect on the main body of the text, they are beyond the scope of the present study, except for the paleographic features that connects them with names.

The signature of Rychard Mervyn (38r) shows characteristics of a mid-sixteenth century hand with its z-like *r*s, looped *d*, and using *y* for *i*, which supports the dating of the Rychard Mervyn marking above.[108] Two other marginal notes were written by him, namely the one about "mayster wrooth" (144r) and another completely illegible (113r).[109] The general look, the ductus and the vertical direction on a recto support that these are by the same hand as that by the name Rychard Mervyn.

[108] Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," English Handwriting 1500-1700: An Online Course, May 2019, chap. sample 20, 21, https://www.english.cam.ac.uk/ceres/ehoc/index.html.

[109] Transcription from: Freya Elizabeth Paintin Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales" (PhD dissertation, Universoty of Leicester, 2018), 189, https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/42403.

The name Wyllyam Pully, written twice on the same folio (150r), and crossing out double *l* in the first "Pully," shows an early sixteenth century origin. Apart form his name, when writing "ys my name", Pully uses *y* instead of *i,* which is an indicator of mid-sixteenth century secretary hand, as is the use of two-stroke *e*.[110] Consequently, this hand is datable to mid-sixteenth century.

The name of William Rokes is written twice in the manuscript (120v, 180r), which both look hasty and uncertain. Both lack capitalization of the name, yet in the first case it is clear that the person himself wrote his name in the book since it writes "to be rokes ourselfe…". Rokes uses two-stroke *e*, *k* along with *z*-like *r*, and the *f* with cursive shaft, which were present in secretary hand from the early sixteenth century onwards.[111] The two-stemmed *r* points to the mid-sixteenth century.[112] The special two-stroke looped and crossed capital *S* in the "Savior Jesus" comment (166r) also appears in the "Said william rokes" marginal note, attributing this piece of marginalia to the same person. The insecurity in the signatures, however, compared to the confidence of the comment's hand might be explained by the different ages of the same person at the time of writing. Therefore, the handwriting of Rokes can be dated to the mid-sixteenth century, which also fits the biographical data mentioned below.[113]In contrast with the hasty earlier hands, the neat inscription "in the name of" and "William" appearing the manuscript two times (121r) can be attributed to a learned scribe. The use of rounded script and the consistent capitalization excludes the possibility of a sixteenth century hand as this script was introduced in England no sooner than the second part of the seventeenth century.

[110] Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," chap. sample 8, 20.
[111] Zurcher, chap. sample 9, 18.
[112] Zurcher, chap. sample 15.
[113] These three owners, Mervyn, Langtun and Rokes must have written in the book in the mid-sixteenth century. However, Rychard Mervyn should be the first in line due to the dynastic relations between the Hungerford and Mervyn families as it will be detailed below.

Most probably, this is the latest inscription in Dd before it became part of the Cambridge University Library.

There is a marginal note (136r), the only date visible in the digitized version reading "Singulas has historias et plures" and "In dei nomine Amen anno domini M CCCCC X." These notes are written in a neat hand. The use of sigma *s*, looped *d* and *l*, reversed *e*, two-stroke *e*, and flourished *m* all point to the early sixteenth century, which supports the internal evidence of 1510.[114] Owing to the fact that this hand does not appear in any other part of Dd, it is possible that it was written by a scribe who noted down the date on which the manuscript became part of a private library. Yet this is a presumption which cannot be stated with certainty due to the faded ink of the note above it, hitherto untranscribed.

The owners of Dd

Hungerford

Among the names in Dd, the earliest is "Hungerford". It is written in the same Anglicana formata script, and is similarly neat as the rest of the manuscript, allowing for the assumption that it was written by a scribe. However, as it is in a different hand and ink from the main body of the text, it could not have been Wytton scribe. From the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the Hungerfords were a well-known aristocratic family in southwest England. They were famous for their political careers, patronage and exceptional collection of artifacts, including medieval manuscripts. It seems that the founder of this collection was Walter Hungerford, who attended university and was a high intellectual of his age, fluent in French and Latin as well. Dd was produced in the life of Walter Hungerford, and some sources attest

[114] Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," chap. sample 9.

to a connection between Geoffrey Chaucer, Thomas Chaucer, and Walter Hungerford.[115] Based on these facts, Manly and Rickert infer that Walter Hungerford may have owned this book, moreover, that Hungerford was regarded to be the commissioner.[116] Comparing Dd with the surviving medieval manuscripts certifiably affiliated to Walter and his son, Robert Hungerford, it is clear that there were no books in the Hungerford library that were commissioned by the family, all of them came to the collection through marriages. These books, for example, the famous *Hungerford Hours*, contain longer ex libris notes always including the first name and in some cases, even heraldic drawings. [117]

Although it is proven that the Chaucer and the Hungerford families were members of the same social circles, the clear connections mentioned by Manly and Rickert, also Brooks are not evidenced in primary sources. In 1873, for example, William Richard Drake wrote that Thomas Chaucer organised the wedding of Eleanor Moleyns and Sir Walter Hungerford's grandson, Sir Robert, third Baron Hungerford.[118] This is, however, not possible since Thomas Chaucer died in 1436 and the marriage was arranged in 1439.[119]

Similar inaccuracies and mistakes can be found in theories of Manly and Rickert, and Brooks about the provenance of the manuscript. Most frequently, Walter Hungerford and his close relatives appear as owners in the manuscripts of the Hungerford collection. Furthermore, there were printed books and manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales* based on the description of Hungerford legacy in the Jackson Papers. Although in the nineteenth century Dd was no longer in the property of the Hungerford family, it is clear that there was an interest in *The Canterbury*

[115] Manly, *et al*., *The Text of The Canterbury Tales*, 106.
[116] Manly, *et al*., *The Text of The Canterbury Tales*, 105.
[117] Hungerford Hours, British Library, Add. MS 62106, 61887/Private Collection; Hungerford Psalter, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.4.33.
[118] William Richard Drake, *Fasciculus Mervinensis: Being Notes Historical, Generalogical, and Heraldie of the Family of Mervyn* (London: Metchim & Son, 1873), 7.
[119] Mosser, "Cambridge University Library Dd.4.24."

Tales. All in all, similarly to the other books in their collection, Dd was not commissioned by them but most probably was in their property. Similar to other Hungerford manuscripts, a scribe wrote the name in the manuscripts, but the question remains why it is so short and limited to the family name.[120] This signature, therefore, is not a clear indication of an owner as supposed by previous scholars. However, further mapping the family connections with later owners mentioned in Dd may support the hypothesis.

Rychard Mervyn

A name appearing in Dd later also supports the theory about an early Hungerford ownership. The name is that of Rychard Mervyn, who had a close connection with the Hungerford family. Although Manly and Rickert also point out this connection, their statements are based on unfounded assumptions about the family connections. These mistakes stem from recurring names in the Hungerford and Mervyn families.[121] The connection between the two families is Joan of Hungerford, daughter of Walter Hungerford, who got married to John Mervyn, son of Rychard Mervyn in 1431. After their marriage the two families remained closely connected, which is also shown by the fact that Lady Margaret Hungerford,[122] widow of Robert Hungerford, commissioned John Mervyn to build an alms-house in Heytesbury and

[120] It is imaginable that the first name is missing because women were rarely mentioned as owners in fifteenth century manuscripts, still it is a viable possibility that Margaret Hungerford, as a widow was the owner, since widows left records of their property from the High Middle Ages onwards. Freya Elizabeth Paintin Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales" (PhD. Diss., University of Leicester, 2018), 15, https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/42403.

[121] The two Roberts, the 2nd and the 3rd barons of Hungerford are confused (*c.*1400–1459 and *c.*1423-1464, respectively), and the first Walter, 1st baron of Hungerford (1378-1449) is confused with the third Walter Hungerford, 1st baron of Heytesbury (1503–1540). Similar mistakes are made in the Mervyn family, where the fifteenth-century John Mervyn is confused with the sixteenth-century John Mervyn of Fonthill. Drake, *Fasciculus Mervinensis*, 60.

[122] More on Margaret Hungerford see: Douglas Richardson and Kimball G. Everingham, *Plantagenet Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2004).

arrange masses for the eternal life of Robert Hungerford and Walter Hungerford.[123] But who is the Rychard Mervyn in the manuscript? John Mervyn's father was called Rychard Mervyn,[124] but the scripts show sixteenth-century characteristics. In the family tree, John Mervyn and Joan Mervyn (earlier Joan of Hungerford) had a son called George Mervyn, whose child was Sir Thomas Mervyn, mayor of London. His son was Rychard Mervyn, born in 1502.[125] Consequently, John Mervyn is the great-great-grandfather of Richard Mervyn, whose name can be found in the manuscript.

Ultimately, it can be assumed that the early history of Dd goes back to the Hungerford family, from whom the book came to be owned by the Mervyn dynasty through the marriage of John Mervyn and Joan Hungerford.[126] Their direct descendant, the sixteenth-century Richard Mervyn was probably the person who left his signature in the book.

From the sixteenth century onwards, several names appear in the manuscript: Wylliam Pulley, Wyllyam Langtun, William Rokes, Mayster Wrooth, John Moore, and Samuel Hoadley. Although a connection similar to that between the Mervyn and the Hungerford family cannot be traced for the later periods, these names may provide information about the manuscript's afterlife.

Wylliam Pully

In this case, it is obvious that Wylliam wrote his signature in Dd as the inscription reads "Wylliam Pully ys / my name and he."[127] Wylliam Pully is recorded to have been at

[123] Frederic William Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills*, second series, 1501-1530 (London: Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1901), 193; Carol M. Meale, *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 147.

[124] Drake, *Fasciculus Mervinensis*, 61.

[125] Drake, *Fasciculus Mervinensis*, 61.

[126] Drake, *Fasciculus Mervinensis*, 7.

[127] After this signature there is a child's drawing that is not digitised in the Dd online version.

Trinity College Cambridge, between 1596-1598 he was a vicar in Grayne, Kent and between 1601-1603 he lived in Whitefield keeping the same profession.[128]

Wylliam Langtun

Another name, Wylliam Langtun, is even clearer reference to ownership. Langtun writes "thys ys Wyllyam Langtunis boke" (146r). Langtun was born in 1573, and he was the president of Magdalene College of Oxford from 1610 until his death in 1626.[129]

Rokes

The name Rokes is worth mentioning as well, which appears two times in the manuscript.[130] Once only Rokes, and at another time as William Rokes (120v, 180r).[131] In terms of palaeographical character, they seem to have been written by the same hand. Rokes also signed a copy of the *Siege of Thebes* by Lydgate in CUL MS Additional 6864, which copies Chaucer's style.[132] This connection of book themes appearing in the property of the same person shows his interest in the Chaucerian tradition. Unfortunately, information about Rokes is scanty, but it comes from as early as the sixteenth century. Although there is no clear inscription about the ownership of Dd, this name may be considered an uncertain trace of ownership in this period.

[128] John Archibald Venn, and John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 405.

[129] Although in this record his name is written as Langton, there were no clear grammatic rules in the seventeeth century so it is possible that he wrote his name in two different ways. "The 42 Presidents," Magdalen College Oxford, accessed May 11, 2019, http://www.magd.ox.ac.uk/discover-magdalen/history-of-college/the-42-presidents.

[130] Although confirmed data cannot be provided about Rokes, a person named William Rokes appears in the following archival document. It is known by this document that this Rokes was a churchwarden in the surrounding of London.

[131] Orietta da Rold, "A Study of Cambridge University Library, MS.Dd.424 of Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales" (PhD. Diss. University of Leicester, 2002), 59.

[132] A. S. G. Edwards, "The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland," *Florilegium* 15 (1998): 5.

S.W.[133]

Before its conservation in 2004, Dd bore the nineteenth-century binding produced by Wiseman, on the inner side of which an SW monogram was visible.[134] Manly and Rickert stated that this monogram belongs to the seventeenth-century binding, which was partly cut and pasted to the nineteenth-century binding much like "spolia" in architecture. Based on the dating and the monogram, Seymour attributes the initials to Samuel Ward.[135] There are more than one candidate possible for this Samuel Ward in this periods; one of them was a puritan preacher in Ipswich (1576-1639),[136] the other a master of Cambridge University (1572-1643).[137] Both of them were intellectuals and wrote books.[138] Seymour assumes that it was Samuel Ward of Ipswich who left his signature in Dd.[139]

Samuel Hoadley[140]

An obvious ex libris note comes from a certain Samuel Hoadley. He left a relatively long inscription in Dd in which he specified not only his place of living but also his profession: "Chaucer's Works Penes Samuelem Hodley Scholae Grammat. apud Hackey prope Londinium Moderatorem."[141] Hoadley was born in 1643 in Guildford, and after finishing his studies in

[133] unfortunatelly no digitised image is available

[134] Da Rold, Orietta, ed. "The Dd Manuscript: Background Information, *The Norman Blake Editions of* The Canterbury Tales (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 2013), accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.chaucermss.org/dd.

[135] Alfred David, "M. C. Seymour, A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts, 1: Works Before 'The Canterbury Tales" Aldershot, Eng., and Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar Press, 1995. Pp. X, 171. $67.95," *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (1997): 43.

[136] "ACAD: A Cambridge Alumni Database," Introduction, para. WRT594S, accessed May 11, 2019, http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/intro.html.

[137] "Sidney Sussex College : Notebook of Samuel Ward (1572-1643)," Cambridge Digital Library, accessed May 11, 2019, https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-WARD-B/102.

[138] Samuel Ward of Ipswich published sermons in the seventeenth century. A list of his books: "Samuel Ward," Digital Puritan Press, accessed May 11, 2019, http://digitalpuritan.net/samuel-ward.

[139] David, "M. C. Seymour, A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts, 1," 43.

[140] unfortunately, no digitized image is available

[141] See chapter on Cambridge University Library Dd.4.24 in M. C. Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts: Volume Two: The The Canterbury Tales* (London: Routledge, 2017), "Penes" means to be in the

Edinburgh, he founded a private school in Westernham. He lived in Tottenham High Cross in 1676 where we wrote his most important work, the *Natural Method of Teaching* about the commonalities of English and Latin grammar, so "Scholae Grammat." in his signature refers to his profession. In 1686, Hoadley moved to Hackney, which is also noted in the inscription.[142] Hodley stayed there until 1700, when he was appointed to be the headmaster of Norwich School, a position he filled until his death.[143] Consequently, 1686 is the *terminus post quem* for the inscription, and 1700 the *terminus ante quem*.

John Moore

Norwich seems to be a place of high importance in the provenance since John Moore, whose name also appears in Dd, lived in this town, too. He was the bishop of Norwich between 1691-1707 and Ely between 1707-1714.[144] John Moore was a famous bibliophile and a collector.[145] This is how Dd, which was in Norwich at the time, could have become his property.[146] After his death in 1715, his great library arrived at the Cambridge University Library through royal benefaction, where it is kept today.[147]

property of someone in Latin, see: "Penes," in *Database of Latin Dictionaries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), accessed May 11, 2019, http://clt.brepolis.net.

[142] Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 28 (New York Macmillan, 1885), 22, http://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati28stepuoft. C. S. Knighton, "Hoadly, Samuel (1643–1705), schoolmaster," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., 2004), accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.oxforddnb.com.

[143] Knighton, "Hoadly, Samuel."

[144] Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 38 (New York Macmillan, 1885), http://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati38stepuoft. Peter Meadows, "Moore, John (1646–1714), bishop of Ely" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., 2004), accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.oxforddnb.com.

[145] Meadows, "Moore, John.

[146] Meadows, "Moore, John.

[147] Meadows, "Moore, John.

Distinguishing and dating annotator hands

Apart from the names mentioned above, annotations also appear in the manuscripts that are attributable to different hands. Although scribes can also be seen as first readers of the manuscript, I will not focus on their annotations for the reason that these glosses have become part of the textual tradition sooner or later.[148] As it was mentioned in the overview of the manuscript provenance above, these annotations originate from between the fifteenth and the early eighteenth century: the manuscript was in private hands until it became part of the collection in Cambridge University Library in 1715.

The following aspects are considered in the palaeographic analysis: general appearance, color of the ink, lineation, especially of nota signs, characteristic letters, unique ligatures and the structure of noting.[149] The script of the main text and scribal annotations are *anglicana formata* and additionally secretary script in other inscriptions, including the names discussed above. Comments written in secretary script are probably user annotations, while those in *anglicana* script are of scribal origin, either added synchronously, at the time of copying or at a later editorial stage. As the secretary script was in use from the early sixteenth to late seventeenth century onwards, the annotations must be dated based on individual characteristics within this timeframe.[150]

[148] Maidie Hilmo and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, eds., *The Medieval Professional Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower*, ELS Monograph Series, no. 85 (Victoria, B.C: English Literary Studies, University of Victoria, 2001), 8.

[149] In the structure of noting I mean the use of nota signs or inscriptions, the location of annotations on the margins, etc.

[150] The methodology of distinguishing hands is deduced from the sample transcriptions provided by Andrew Zurcher on the e-lerning site of Cambridge Unversity. All the following statements about the letters are Zurcher's based on palaeographic works such as W. W Greg et al., *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650* (London: Printed at the Oxford University Press, 1925); Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions.".

Hands in annotations on the main text

Only five of the hands reflect on the main body of the text proving that they are annotators. Because the other hands did not reflect upon the text, they are not relevant for determining the reader use.[151] Apart from the general appearance, the ductus, ink, mise-en-page, individual letters will determine hands and periods. Languages are also informative of the annotators, but only about annotators' erudition. As annotations were often influenced by the emotional state of the reader, the choice of the language may be inconsistent, such as in Dd where commenters use English, French and Latin glosses without any systematic order.[152] Examining the mise-en-page offers opportunity to distinguish between major trends of note taking, namely, providing notes for reader orientation or highlighting specific passages. This is necessary for stepping further with the analysis of the content of these annotations. In all the subsequent chapters, this differentiation will be the basis of thematic, functional and distribution analysis.

Hand A

Altogether thirty-three pieces of marginalia are attributable to Hand A, which is clearly distinguishable from other hands because of the use of a lighter greyish ink. Annotations appear only on the upper and outer margins. Among them there are eighteen running titles (13r, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 118r, 179r, 179v, 180r, 181v, 182r, 183v, 184r, 195v, 197r), four comments (184r, 179r, 55v two on this), three nota inscriptions (164r), one nota sign with nota inscriptions (164v), one nota sign with comment (181v), five nota signs (8v two signs, 161v

[151] Aditi Nafde and University of Oxford, *Deciphering the Manuscript Page: The Mise-En-Page of Chaucer, Gower, and Hoccleve Manuscripts.*, 2012, 7.

[152] Kocsis, "Marginálistípusok az ómagyar nyelvemlékkódexekben," 43.

two signs, 169v), and a nota inscription with comment and bracket (55v). Hand D has a unique habit of pointing at the passage it refers to.

Regarding the letter forms, the *st* ligature is the most characteristic feature of this hand, which sets it apart from all the other hands in this manuscript. The following letters support the early sixteenth-century dating of this hand: cursive long shaft of *f*, rounded *c*, two-stroke *k*, right leaning *d* and two-stroke *e*.[153] The use of both types of *l* (single line and looped) and the *y*-looking *g* with a horizontal stroke at the top suggest a late sixteenth-century date.

Some annotations are written in French (181v, 182r, 184r), the others are in English. The use of the Latin abbreviation for *et* is also a significant feature. Based on the use of French and the consistent headings on the rectos, it is justifiable to assume that Commenter A must have been a learned sixteenth-century man.

Hand B

Hand B wrote altogether thirty-two pieces of marginalia. There are twelve running titles (93r, 94r, 95r, 96r, 97r, 98r, 99r, 100r, 101r, 102r, 103r, 104r), seven individual comments (78r, 88r, 90v two comments, 91v two comments, 189v), four comments in brackets (8r, 17r, 74v, 170r), two nota inscriptions with comments (68v, 173r), two brackets (72r, 77r), one nota sign (113r), one nota inscription with comments and brackets (78v), and one nota sign with comment (20v). This hand looks generally orderly. Marginalia by this hand can be found mostly on top of the folia as they are mostly running titles. All the other marginalia are on the outer margin, except for one bracket (77r) which is located on the inner margin.

This annotator often hesitates both about the content of the commentary and about the style of individual letters. For example, on 170r where *nota instabilis* is written and then

[153] Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," chap. sample 8, 9, 18, 21, 23.

crossed out, then written a few lines below again, next to the part where the text mentions proverbs about fortune. Here the *s* is first written in a cursive hand with a long descender, and for the second time with a sigma-like *s*.[154] The features confirming the early and mid-sixteenth-century dating of the hand are the, *v*-like *r*, both *s* and *f* written with cursive shaft, two-strike *k*, sigma-like *s*, *g* and *f* with long descenders, hooked *p*, looped *l*, single line *l*, looped *d*, left-leaning medial *d* in most cases.[155] On the other hand, some characteristics point to the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth century, for example, the epsilon-like *e* and the *y*-like *g* having only an additional stroke on top.[156] The distinctive *th*-ligature is a clearly seventeenth-century characteristic. Consequently, the hand is datable to the early seventeenth century due to the fact that it does not mix the secretary script with italic or with rounded features, which are characteristic for the second part of the seventeenth century.[157] What is unique about the hand is the *st* ligature and the looped *t*, which are not indicative of the period but of the hand itself. The annotations are in English and Latin. The hand uses Latin *et* abbreviation in some cases. What elevates B from the other annotators is the complexity found in the functions of annotations.

Hand C and D

Hand C is a hand less involved with the text, writing mostly nota signs (8r, 38r, 80r, 39v, 80v), except for two comments with nota sign and bracket(s) (13v, 80r). Altogether eight annotations are attributable to this hand. This hand is inconsistent in writing on the inner or outer side of the folia. Similar to the others, however, most annotations are on the outer margins. Hand C can be distinduished by using a punctus right before and after the marginal

[154] Zurcher, chap. sample 11, 17.
[155] Zurcher, chap. sample 9, 11, 18, 21.
[156] Zurcher, chap. sample 1.
[157] Zurcher, chap. sample 1.

note.[158] Most letters reflect the letter use of the early or mid-sixteenth century: *x*-like *p*, hooked *p*, *v*-like *r*, looped *d*, and the reverse *e*.[159]

There are five annotations written by Hand D, including one bracket with comment (7r), one comment with nota sign (176r), one comment with nota inscription (186v) and two nota signs (176r, 171r). This hand is right-leaning and some letters are set apart from the rest of the word that contains them. This hand writes only on the outer side of the folia. Flourishing *n* and *w* in the word-final position, long shafts of *f* and *s*, hooked *p*, two-stroke *k* and *e* all point to the early sixteenth century.[160]

The C and D hands both bear characteristics of the first half of the sixteenth century (e.g. decorated *n*), apart from the epsilon-like *e* typical for a narrow layer of the educated elite only in the late sixteenth century.[161] It became widespread in the seventeenth century, when other novelties, like the double small *s* for simple *s*, gradually got into the script due to mixing secretary with rounded and italic script. Since both B, C and D use epsilon-like *e*, I attribute them exclusively to the seventeenth century. However, the lack of mixing the script with other scripts reflects the early period of the century.

Hand E

Hand E wrote only four nota signs in the manuscript that are located on two folia (164r, 165r). This hand generally leans to the right, and its general look seems to be secretary; however, no specific feature point at the script unambiguously. E capitalizes inconsistently, and uses capital letters witing the words too; moreover, the general size of the text is

[158] M.B Parkes et al., "The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115–41.

[159] Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," chaps. 9, 10, 18, 21, 25.

[160] Zurcher, chap. sample 8, 9, 23.

[161] Zurcher, chap. sample 1, 6.

increasing.[162] Nota inscriptions all point at the text. After the series of *Notas*, there is a partly legible inscription "xxx yyy X Hrist b / but cn / Lord Jesus Christ". This inscription is most probably not connected to the text.

All in all, B, C, and D reflect early seventeenth-century characteristics, while Hand A can clearly be dated to not later than 1600. Although the general use of brackets, nota inscriptions and nota signs with or without comments does not show any consistency, these recurring elements provide the possibility that these readers copied and made use of each other's annotations. This would explain the nota sign that was not so common that Adriano Capelli would have noted it in his commection of Latin abbreviations.[163] Applying this unique nota sign may stem from Dd since on 39r the sign appears together with the name of the scribe in the same ink as the main body of the text and it was not listed in.[164] Regarding the proportion of hands, it is visible that, with thirty-three inscriptions, Hand A and B annotated the manuscript in highest numbers, each thirty-one times.Then comes C with seven notes, Hand D with five notes, and finally Hand E with four inscriptions. Their exact location in the manuscript will be discussed in the following chapters.

The gender of hands

Whether the gender can be decided based on the hand, is a debated issue.[165] It cannot be stated that the manuscript was used and marked by women based on the script of the annotation alone, but this possibility cannot be excluded either. It serves as an explanation for the previous statement that most of the fashionable scripts, such as non-cursive italic, Roman,

[162] Zurcher, chap. sample 7.

[163] Auguste Pelzer, *Abbreviations Latines Medievales: Supplément Au Dizionario Di Abbreviature Latine Ed Italiane de Adriano Capelli* (Editions Nauwelaerts, 1982).

[164] Orietta da Rold also noted that this nota sign is written in the same ink as the main body. "The Dd Manuscript," chap. Transcription.

[165] Brooks, "The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," 59.

round and secretary scripts were mentioned by Heather Wolfe to have been used by women in the sixteenth century; basically any handwriting can be attributed to a female hand.[166] Provenance may provide speculative clues about the annotators. For example, in Dd, Hungerford is the only name where no given name is provided. As Margaret Hungerford in the early fifteenth century had an extensive library, it is tempting to assume that she may have annotated Dd, but all of the annotations suggest later, sixteenth- or seventeenth-century readers.

Marginalia analysis

The categorization of annotations in Dd

There are various approaches to user marginalia in recent marginalia research.[167] Categorizations are based on the place of the marginalia in the folio (on the upper margin running titles, on the side margins comments, vertical lines and nota signs, within the text underlining, interlinear glosses),[168] function (commentary gloss, deictic gloss, indexing marginalia, interpretive gloss, lexical gloss, Latin quotation gloss, paraphrase gloss, and protagonist marker),[169] and speech act (assertives, directives, perlocutory forces).[170]

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[166] The spelling may help in deciding the gender since women are thought to be more likely to spell according to pronunciation, however, I will not touch upon this. Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions."

[167] Schiegg, "How to Do Things with Glosses. Illocutionary Forces in the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts."; Partridge, "Glosses and Glossing"; Wakelin, "Instructing Readers in Fifteenth-Century Poetic Manuscripts."

[168] Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35*.

[169] Partridge, "Glosses and Glossing"; Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35*.

[170] Markus Schiegg experiments with basing his classification on John Searle's Speech Act theory. Searle claims that marginalia and text can be regarded to communicate similarly to oral communication. Only the timeframe is different, since the comment may react to the main body of the text centuries later. Since the protagonist is mentioned in comments numerous times, I invented the category protagonist marker, like "et Judith son concubine" (fol. 184r). In many cases these are incipits as well, however, it is written only in one case, which is "Incipit fabula / Dame Custaunce /" (fol. 55v). Scholars of Middle English manuscripts, like Glauch38, Kerby-Fulton39, Mosser40, O'Sullivan41, Owen42, Partridge43 and Stork44, applied Wieland's and invented new classes which were necessary for their research. Glauch established/introduced the group of rhetorical glosses, which involves figures of speech.45 Owen named indexing marginalia all nota signs, manicules,46 and annotations like exemplum and auctor47, which is not equal to Partridge's indexing glosses that repeat the names

Although all three approaches have their advantages, none of them apply completely to the entirety of the complex marginalia found in Dd. Therefore, I will rely on some of the functional categories defined by Gernot Wieland.[171] Additionally, the classification based on speech act theory will be discussed in some aspects.[172] Speech act theory applied to marginalia is informative when there are traces of communication between marginal notes. In Dd, all the revisions of annotations are by the same annotator and not by a different one: the annotation is crossed out and rewritten either in part, or completely (corrected gloss). For the reason that numerous marginalia combine signaling, I indicate this by multiple labels in the database, but consult in the thesis only the primary aim of the given marginal note.

Using a hybrid categorisation scheme, and based on the unique features of the textual annotations by Hands A, B, C, and D, the following categories can be detected: **indexing marginalia**, which point at specific passages either with nota inscription or sign, **lexical glosses,** which repeat words from the text in order to the gist of the passage with a keyword; **deictic glosses,** which always include "of" or "de", showing that the given passage is about a specific topic; **paraphrase glosses**, which have the same function (explanation), but are longer than simple lexical glosses;[173] **interpretive gloss**, which explain a passage; **commentary glosses**, which were evoked by the text, but only loosely connect to it, for example parallel stories that have something in common with the main body of the text and **corrected glosses**, which were crossed out and rewritten, as explained above.[174] Although numerous subcategories were invented by previous scholars, I would like to add one more: the

of authorities mentioned in the text.48 Deictic glosses which refer to words like these, that, or it can be attributed to Machan.49 Textual glosses offering textual variants was first introduced by Stork.50

[171] Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35*.

[172]

[173] Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5.35*, 47.

[174] Wieland, 48.

protagonist marker, which is similar to Partridge's **speaker marker**, but defines the main figure of the chapter and not the speaker.[175] Annotations can have more than one function, especially, when the comment is accompanied by a nota inscription or sign. Therefore, the categories will be cumulative in order to present all functions of the annotation.

In order to gain a more complete picture of the marginalia, both sides of the coin must be examined. Besides the content and categories of the marginalia themselves, they will also be contextualised with regard to the content they are commenting upon: *The Canterbury Tales* passage which these annotations mark up in the aforementioned ways. Methodologically speaking, this type of analysis operates by labeling the marked passages and examining these labels in relation to the categories of the annotation, where relevant. The applicable labels include: descriptive, moralizing, proverbial, story-like, listing, satirical and rhetorical, which in some cases overlap. Descriptive passages usually introduce a new character or detail a scientific topic. Moralizing and proverbial passages uncover a general truth or give advice to do something in one way or another. Story-like passages are narratives about the main line of action that is happening in the chapter. Listing covers a series of books or authors mentioned one after the other. Satirical passages have a comic tone. Rhetorical passages do not really refer to anything just expressions of eloquent speech. These categories reveal the general nature of highlighted passages regardless of the content of the annotation provided on the margin.

The categories hand by hand

Based on the aforementioned categories, both regarding the annotations and their place in relation to the *Tales*, the analysis of the textual user annotations is best described by grouping them according to their identified hand.

[175] Partridge, "Glosses and Glossing," 3.

Hand A

Hand A annotates mostly moralizing passages and some descriptive ones. In one case, a story-like part is also annotated. The topics Hand A annotates are mostly iconic women reflected upon in the running titles, and themes in the body of the main text, which may be summarised or described by labels such as virtues, advice, desire, anger, courtesy and nobility. Besides the most common indexing marginalia, protagonist markers are found twice, both about virtuous women, Cenobia and Dame Custaunce (55v, 181v). Regarding protagonist markers, Hand A adds running titles to exempla integrated into the narrative of *The Canterbury Tales* about the relationship of men and women. Women are also present in the titles, in most cases following the scheme of "male protagonist" and "female protagonist."

Hand A communicates an opinion only once, in a deictic gloss "nota of gentylesse"(55v). Gentleness is how Hand A interprets the description of "Dame Custance" in lines 162-165:

> "In hire is heigh beaute / with outen pride
> Youthe with outen greenheede / or of folye
> To alle hire werkes / vertu is hire gyde
> Humblesse hath slayn in hire / al tirannye
> She is myrour / of al curteisye
> Hir herte is verrey chaumbre / of holynesse
> Hir / and Ministre / of freedom / for almesse
> ¶ And al this voys was soth / as god is trewe".

Hand B

Hand B primarily focuses equally on moralizing content in *The Canterbury Tales* and story-like passages. Other elements highlighted are rhetorical, satirical, poetic, descriptive and listing passages. The themes of *The Canterbury Tales* passages that are annotated by this hand are conspicuously about female authority, including labels such as love, vice, ire, advice, friars, fart, and classical authors.

There are a number of examples where the comment highlights the opinion, or exposes the erudition of Hand B. His previous knowledge, for example, can be inferred from the commentary gloss on fol. 91v *not / Lepidus capellus.* In this case, a parallel story is noted on the margin of the text to provide an additional classical example for ire and revenge. Hand B's Latin gloss *scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter* meaning: "Is this knowing of yours so utterly of no account unless some one else know that you are knowing?" is one of the fullest and most independent annotations in the manuscript. This is a word for word quotation from Persius, *Satire* 1 line 27.[176] The quotation perfectly fits the situation of Midas's wife in *The Canterbury Tales*, who should have kept a secret but could not stand its weight.

Apart from summarising and commentary glosses, a few interpretative glosses also appear; for example, the personification of imprisoned love with writing *distresen amour* (20v), the evaluation of passage about the usual behaviour of women summarised as *nota of generaliter* (78v). A corrected gloss amends the original *genitalis* to *genitur* (68v). The earlier version referred to acts of marriage from this passage, while the latter one to the fruit of marriage also highlighted in this passage. A cynical comment observable writing not. *a plesant gist to a frier* (90v) next to a passage where the protagonist of "The Summoner's Tale" wishes the death of a friar. In the "The Knight's Tale", a paraphrase gloss writes about the exemplum *the hounds striving for / the bone and lost* (17r).

The comment *glotony the fall of man from Adam* (88r) summarises the gist of the passage by retelling that the writer regards gluttony as the biggest sin and the reason why presently people do not live in Paradise. Lastly, there are two other summarizing glosses out of which one is interpretative, *books of the woes of married wives* (74v) not about wicked wives

[176] John Conington, *The Satires of A. Persius Flaccus: With a Translation and Commentary* (Clarendon Press, 1874), 15, http://archive.org/details/satiresapersius03nettgoog.

or just wives. *Fortuna instabilis* (170r) is interestingly written in Latin, probably because the tale that Hand B is annotating here mentions Seneca. The term *fortuna instabilis* shows that Hand B regarded fortune unreliable, therefore not to be counted on. Fortune is recurring issue for Hand B as it appeared in "The Knight's Tale" as well, where he refers to the sorrows of Arcite brought by his bad fortune.

Hand B adds protagonist markers in *The Canterbury Tales*; for example, the detail about the marquis, namely, that he is from Hungary. Afterwards, only the female protagonist is mentioned. B follows A in using the first running title: the male name and female name template.

Hand C

Hand C is mostly focused on moralizing passages, but some story-like passages are also in the scope of this hand. C uses mostly nota sings, and comments appear only on two occasions. The topics covered by Hand C are physiscs, vice, women, humility, nobility, authority, richness and oxen. Hand C uses nota signs to every comment he or she makes. The only lexical gloss writes oxen, which denotes a passage that contain a rhetorical expression about the length of the tale.

The deictic gloss in the text highlights a quote writing *de paupertate meaning, about the poor* (80r). This excerpt is a paraphrase of Juvenal's work, which is not necessarily known by the annotator, but there is the possibility that it was highlighted because the reader recognized the intextuality. However, this cannot be stated with certainty since Chaucer also mentions his source.

Hand D

The main focus of B is also moralizing passages, but some lines of them are quite story-like. The topics cover vices, injustice and pleasure. In two cases, the opinion can be witnessed, since interpretative glosses are applied to two passages: *rever know submission* refers to rascals who murdered the daughter of Prudence and here the annotation points at the gist of the story, that even murderers can be humble. This is in contrast with the other excerpted annotated with paraphrase and protagonist marker gloss, namely the *not. a lamentable hogelyn* that is located in "The Monk's Tale". This passage introduces *Erl Hugelyn / of Pize* (186v) who was imprisoned with his family for a sin that he did not commit. This contrast shows an interest of Hand D in the topic of justice. A paraphrase gloss is also attributable to this hand that is *A son born of Epicure* (7r). The narrator here introduces the Franklin, who is a worldly person ejoying life as much as possible. As Epicurus was a philosopher who held that pleasure is the pure happiness of like, it is understandable why the narrator calls him *Epiors / owen sone* (7r). Although the use of this metaphore cannot be told based on the annotation, it is for sure that annotator D understood it as it was paraphrased.

Hand E

Hand E highlights only moralizing passages with nota inscriptions. Although only four annotations are attributable to this hand, there is quite a variety of topics that are covered: anger, wrath, advice, wisdom and haste. Interestingly, this is the only hand that does not highlight anything connected to women. Because only indexing marginalia were used by this hand, it is ompossible to guess the interpretation of the reader.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Regarding the functional categories, A and B use mostly protagonist markers by producing running titles, which reflects that this must not have been the first book read by these annotators since they know an aid for reader orientation that was not present in Dd. The high

number of interpretive and summarizing gloss show that B must have been engaged deeply with the manuscript as he or she assigned time to rewrite passages to be able to return to them at one point. Indexing marginalia is used by all users, either as *nota*, *not* or a nota sign. This shows that this was regarded to be the easiest and also generally widespread way to highlighting passages. On the other hand, the fact that only B wrote a commentary gloss and quotes in Latin elevates him or her from all the other readers. Hand B expresses his attitudes in the most detailed way and seems to be the most learned.

Annotations by all hands mark up either female-related or moralizing topics. Athough most annotated passages aimed at moralizing, it is visible that there is quite an overlap between moralizing and story-like passages that point at an attempt to collect exempla. Only the scope of Hand D and E is reduced to this moralizing themes. A and B also annotate descriptive and story-like passages about love, science, heroes from the antiquity etc. Although A is regarded to be an early hand, B seems to be very different in several aspects from the other hands. Based on the intense moral interest, however, all of the hands must have been part of the same cultural era. As the provenance also showed, the same layer of the society owned the book throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth century encompassing university masters, bishops, lawyers etc. This functional categorization of glosses and aims of the passages showed the general use and annotating habits of each hand.

Structural queries

Whether the above detailed hands produced a system of annotation can only be revealed by the detailed analysis of the marginalia and the passages it refers to. In the database, these characteristics are defined by specific columns. The connections between these columns are scrutinized. The following are listed to mention only a few of these queries: recurring keywords in annotations and their relation to the type of marginalia with other graphic details, to their

functional categories, to their language, to their position on the folio, to the keywords in the passages and to the style of the passages.

To see whether there is a structural order in Dd, queries have to be made about the relation of marginalia and characteristics of the excerpts. From the queries, it is visible that different types of marginalia are not reduced to specific tales. On the othe hand, the genre correlates with the marginalia, but only in the case of running titles. The latter appear in nearly all the cases connected to religious tales, except for one that appears in a comedy: 118r. Running titles always annotate stories from antiquity about the relationship of man and woman. Furthermore, running titles are always in English.

Regarding the position on the folia, marginalia are mostly on the art outer margins in nearly equal proportion. Twentytwo marginalia can be found on the right side of rectos, while 20 marginalia can be found on the left side of versos. Only three marginalia are written in the inner margins; they are all on the versos. In addition, notas are mostly on the left side, and nota signs appear on both, but more often on the right side.

Queries about the content revealed much less connections. There is no bond between marginalia and aim of the passage, marginalia and the speaker, marginalia and the image of women, the speaker and the style of the passage, the appearance of antique reference and marginalia, the use of brackets and the topic, nota signs and the topic, nota inscriptions and the topic, the language and the topic and there is no such topic that is restricted to a specific type of annotation. From the previous chapters, however, the connection between the topic of the comments and the topic of the passages has revealed; namely that the commenters reflected on the main body of the text.

The distribution of hands

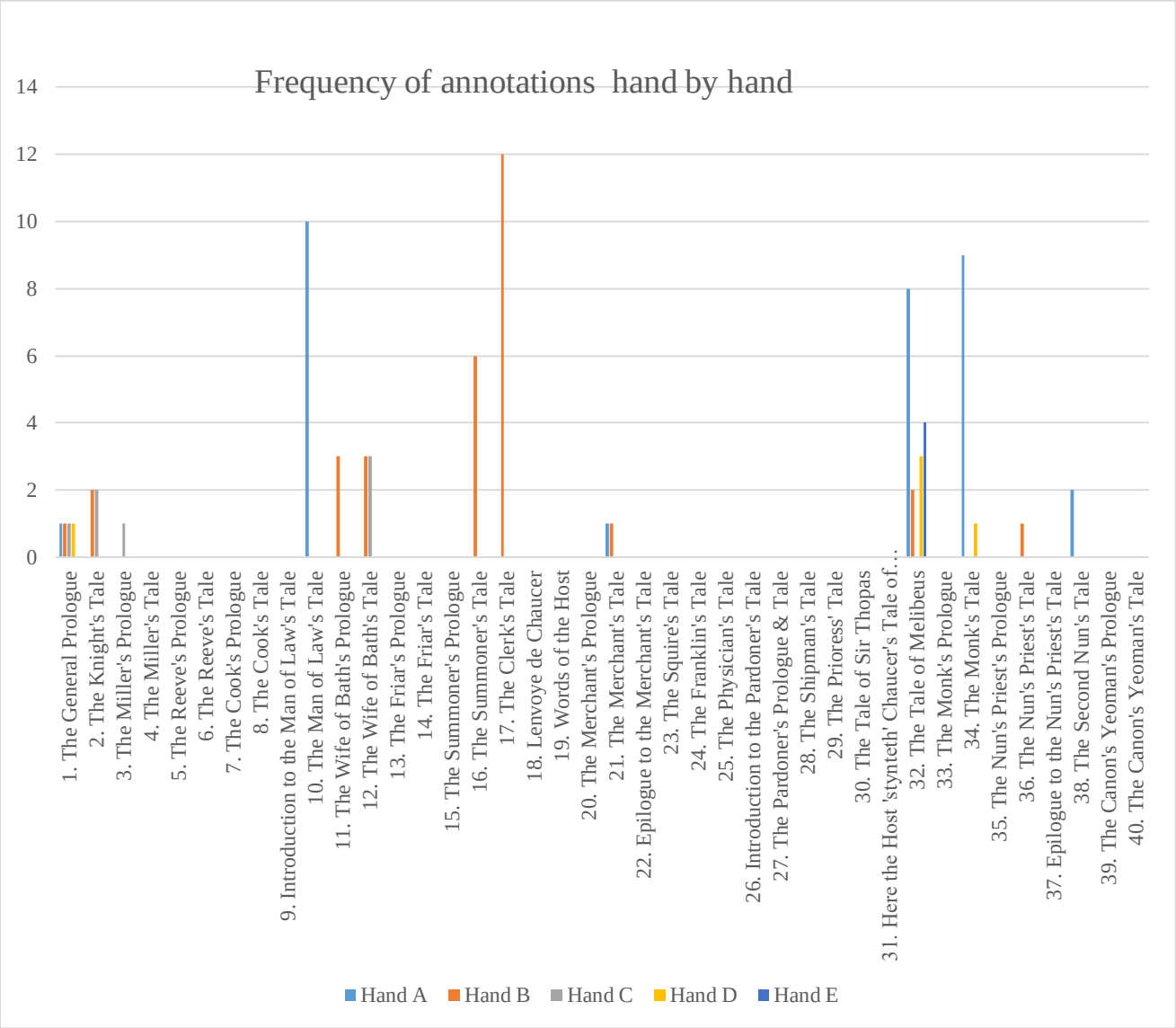
Regarding the distribution, it is visible that Hand A noted the most with 33 inscriptions, after that comes Hand B with 32 notes, then Hand C with 7 notes and Hand D with 5. The comments are concentrated in different parts of the manuscript. The first block is between 7r-20v, where A B C and D annotated the text; the second 38r-39v which is commented by C only, the third 55v-58r which comprises the annotations of A; then, after a huge gap, they continue on 113r-118r with the notes of A and B; again a big part is unmarked and then 161v-189v highlighted by A B D and E; this is followed by 195v-197r annotated only by A.

All in all, the annotations are found in six big bulks, which cover the whole manuscript. The quires are generally not related to the annotations. Most tales were commented by A and B, who annotated five tales, each in different parts of the manuscript, which shows a thorough engagement with the text. C and D also annotated more than one bulk, but their distribution is much lower since C annotated only until the twelveth tale out of the fourty, while D annotated only the first and the penultimate bulk. E is the only one present in one single tale. Therefore, it is observable that the number of annotations are proportionate to the distribution of hands in Dd.

The distribution of the annotated tales

The distribution of the annotations shows which tales were the most popular among the readers of Dd. Even though the “General Prologue” was commented four times, A, B, C and D comment on the main body of the text, meaning that all four of them read that part of the manuscript. “The Knights Tale”, “The Wife's Tale”, “The Merchants Tale”, “The Monks Tale” and “The Man of Law's Tale” were all read by exactly two commenters. Interestingly, the proportion of annotations in the “The Man of Law's Tale” and the “The Monk's Tale” is

similarly nine from Hand A compared to the one from Hand D. There is just one comment in each of these tales: “The Millers Prologue”, “The Wife's Prologue”, “The Summoners Tale”, “The Clerks Tale”, “The Nuns Priests Tale” and “The Second Nuns Tale”. These can be assumed to have been the least popular ones. Still, the “The Clerks Tale” is the second among all annotated tales based on the number of the annotations. The most popular was “The Tale of Melibee” read by all (A, B, D, E) commenters, altogether comprising 17 annotations, from which the most belong to Hand A.



After the overall image about the popularity of tales presented that "The Tale of Melibee" was the most compelling for nearly all readers, analysing the number of annotations hand by hand in each tale could be more informative about the individual preferences of annotators. These are primarily focused on "The Man of Law's Tale" (10 annotations) and "The Monk's Tale" (9 annotations) while other parts have only one to three annotations. Hand B seems to have been fascinated about "The Clerks Tale" (12 annotations) while the others bear marginalia between 1 to 6. There is no significant difference between the number of annotations regarding Hand B and C, only one in addition besides the sequence. The clearest data are provided by Hand E, as only one part, "The Tale of Melibee" was commented by it.

The common background of the annotators is also visible from the phenomenon that they all heavily annotated "The Tale of Melibee", which is the perfect combination of their interest; female and moral issues. "The General Prologue" is not surprising to be annotated by most readers, introducing all the topics through the description of each character. In "The Knight's Tale", "The Wife's Tale" and "The Monk's Tale" two annotator hands are observable in different proportions. Hand C is the only one seemingly not interested in "The Tale of Melibee", which is unreasonable as Hand C annotates passages that are similar topics to proverbs of Prudence, for example about good deeds or poverty and richness.

From this analysis it could be assumed that these individual tales present the difference between the interest of commenters. However, the content of annotation is what really presents the interest of the reader. Therefore, it is of crucial importance to map how the overall topic of the tale relates to the content of the annotation. In the following section I investigate the difference between the early and the late commenters' highlights in relation to the tale the annotations belong to.

Thematic analysis

With regard to the topic of the commented passages, it is obvious at first glance that mostly those passages are selected where moral teaching is made quite explicit or women appear. These moralizing passages instruct about virtues and, especially, about human relations. They contain references to the Commandments and Biblical stories. Commenters lead the reader or themselves when making key-word notes of passages or simplifying lengthy lists of works, these might be reminders for themselves. In certain cases, commenters give the protagonist a permanent epithet. In order to see the work/activity of commenters, this thematic classification of the notes will be followed in the analysis of the textual comments.

Genres as thematic categories of *The Canterbury Tales*

To understand what genres were known since the age of Chaucer, it is worth turning to John Lydgate who differentiated three main branches of literature: works about 'knyghthode loue and gentilesse', 'parfit holynesse', and 'ribaudye', literally meaning work about knighthood, love and nobility; about perfect sanctity; and about obscenity.[177] Derek Pearsall adapts these categories by renaming them as romances, religious tales, comic tales and fables.[178] Romances present stories about knights and nobility. Comedies reflects the complexity of 'present day' England, (the fourteenth-fifteenth century) in a satirical manner and give premises in the beginning to get on the same terms with the reader.[179] Moral message is very rare in comedies, yet Pearsall argues that Chaucer is among the exceptions and this is why he assigns exempla like "The Merchant's Tale" to comedies. Religious tales do not contain

[177] Chaucer and Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 61.

[178] Piero Boitani, Jill Mann, and Derek Pearsall, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, 2nd ed, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[179] Boitani, Mann, and Pearsall, 125–26.

ironic or comic elements, and the character's aim is mostly one single virtue.[180] Exempla and fable are quite similar to each other for they are both short narratives the aim of which is to illustrate some general truth; however, exempla are true stories, while fables are untrue stories which often require interpretation.[181] Subsequently, fables can be either part of comedies if they have a humorous tone, or can be closer to exempla if they do not and rather intend to show a proverbial knowledge about morals, human nature, fortune etc.[108]

This classification indicates themes much more precisely, which is the basis of queries in the database as readers are generally most occupied with themes and not formalities. As a novelty, the prologues will also be added to these groups in order to see the interest of the reader as a whole.

Thematic connection between the tales and marginalia

To map what the commenters used the text for and what this reflects about their education, it is crucial to compare the overarching topic and aim of a tale to the highlighted excerpt. I labelled both the tales and the prologues thematically to see the general content of annotated tales. The comparison is only possible if the tales and the excerpts with the comments are also categorised on the same basis, namely thematically. As themes of excerpts with their proportion were discussed above, Chaucer specialists realised these recurring topics based on which they defined the genre of the tales. Although I will turn to these genre names in order to label the themes of each tale easily, I will not use them as genres but indicators of the topic of the passage. Therefore, the excerpts will be compatible with comments to be compared.

[180] Robert Worth jr Frank, "The Canterbury Tales III," in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63, https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521815568.011.

[181] Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry*, 159.

Subsequently, the chapters will be either comedy or romance, or religious tale or tragedy. There is only one tale that does not suit any of these: "The Nun's Priest's Tale" which I call a moralizing animal fable.

General Prologue

Starting with the "General Prologue", it can be stated that primarily it falls within the scope of comedy, still no comic elements were highlighted by readers. Hand A focuses on a proverb, (highlighted passage) when highlighting that a priest should show a good example in order that people would learn from him (8v). On the contrary, later hands rather choose descriptive passages about literary works or people. Even though the annotators of this chapter do not follow the comic aspect, the primary aim of this tale is to introduce the characters of *The Canterbury Tales*. Annotators B, C, D highlight parts of individual descriptions (7r, 8r), which indicates that they did not reconsider the original message of the text but highlighted some details of that. Hand A is the only one who could find a moralizing passage in the General Prologue as well.

The Knight's Tale

"The Knight's Tale"is typical romance. Again, there is a difference between the hands since B only annotates passages that reflect romance elements. The first highlights the nature of the fight between Palamon and Arcite, "*the hounds striving for / the bone and lost"* (20v), while the other annotation is a personification, "*distresen amour"* (20v), meaning imprisoned love, which prefigures the sorrows that fortune brought to Arcite. Hand C annotates a moralizing passage that is about making virtue out of necessity (38r). There is also a rhetorical excerpt noted complaining about the amount of work that has to be done in order to finish the tale (13v). Therefore, it is visible that only B used the text for its original purpose.

The Miller's Prologue

"The Millers Prologue" cannot be regarded anything but comedy where the drunk Miller argues to tell his tale. Only C is occupied with this chapter and again; it is not the comic element that is marked by the annotator but a proverb about women, saying that the husband should handle the wife's private life as he does divine secrecy (39v).

The Man of Law's Tale

"The Man of Law's Tale" is a mixture of tragedy, romance, and religious tale. First, it seems to be a classical tragedy; many characters die in conflicts. Also, there is no happy ending; the love of the protagonists is fulfilled only for a short time, the husband dies soon after the resolution. However, the Christian woman staying faithful to God and praying constantly for peace produces the framework of a moral tale. Romance elements are the underlying chivalric love story and the high class society that is a must for romances. Although it is traditionally called a romance, grasping the most compelling topic is up to the reader. Solely A annotates this tale, highlighting mostly descriptions of the female protagonist, *Incipit fabula / Dame Custaunce /* (55v) and *Dame Custaunce* folio 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r). The *Nota of / gentylesse* (55v) also emphasizes a moral issue; that morality is connected to nobility. Therefore, it can be uttered that the annotated excerpt resonates primarily with the moralizing, saint-legend-like aspect of the tale; insofar A consistently looks for moralizing passages so far.

The Wife of Bath's Prologue

The "Wife of Bath's Prologue" is a controversial chapter because numerous exempla and proverbs are mentioned by the "Wife of Bath" which could refer to a moral focus. Still, it can be regarded as a comedy for these exempla and biblical allusions are all misinterpreted by Alison, not to mention that moral instructions are questionable from the Wife's mouth. B only comments on this part of the manuscript. B marks mostly story-like passages about the fruit of

marriage and female authority. There is only one interesting use of the chapter: commenting on the margin *bookes of the woes of maried wyfes* (74v), which summarises the long list of misogynistic books. This can also be seen as marking the lines, as a reminder, for further research, or suggested readings on wicked wives. All in all, B highlights messages in accordance with the original name of the prologue, namely comic elements.

The Wife of Bath's Tale

"The Wife of Baths Tale" is the anti-thesis of "The Knights Tale": a knight is humiliated in this story, yet the setting and the narrative reflect characteristics of romance. Both B and C annotate one proverbial and two story-like passages, however, only C's annotation can be regarded as clearly moral. B writes *nota generaliter* (meaning note this generality) for a passage about the urge of women to gain authority above their husband. C also highlights a passage about female authority, but his primary focus is on another couple of lines where he states alludes on the topic with writing *de paupertate* (80r), which can be regarded as a proverbial passage ir just pointing at the quotation. The other annotation by B *Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter* (78r) ("Is this knowing of yours so utterly of no account unless some one else know that you are knowing?") seems to be a satirical comment on the act of Midas's wife. All in all, it can be said that these annotators mostly follow the original style of the passage: that of comedy.

The Summoner's Tale

The Summoner tells the story of a friar who collects money in return for praying, though the prayers are sometimes very fast and hasty. Since this friar is an immoral character, the tale can be regarded as a comedy and not a religious tale, despite the fact that the protagonist is an ecclesiastical person. Commenter B must have realised the comic aspect; sarcastic notes appear on the margin, like *frier fart* (90v) twice and *not / a plesant gist / to a frier* (90v). On the other

hand, two moralizing passages are also noted, one about the first sin of Adam and Eve paraphrasing a text like *glotony the fall of man from Adam*; the other about humility of priests, which can also be regarded as a satirical reflection of the friar because this friar is not humble at all. Furthermore, there is an exemplum earlier referred to by the narrator that is recalled by Commenter B with the following annotation: *not / Lepidus capellus* (note Lepidus horse). Lepidus was a short-tempered Roman ruler, who killed his soldier because he thought the soldier had murdered one of his fellows. Another exemplum in the same tale is about the horse of a Persian King, Cyrus. The horse drowned in the river close to Babylon, and the king destroyed the channel of the river. Commenter B refers to these two exempla next to the following lines (91v):

> Now stod the lordes squyer / at his bord
> That carf his mete / and herd word by word
> Of al this thyng / of which I haue yow seyde

It cannot be decided whether B deliberately combined these keywords of the two stories or mixed them up accidentally in his annotation. However, these two exempla must have been appreciated among all by Commenter B, and when the narrator says "al this thing", Commenter B intended to remind the reader of these stories. These moralizing stories present the importance of patience and the virtue of temperance. All in all, it is visible that the irony of the story was grasped by B, but moralizing passages are also highlighted in equal proportion, not surprisingly, since the friar enumerates substantial amount of moral teaching.

The Clerk's Tale

"The Clerk's Tale" is a romance. Even though there is no knight in the tale, the setting and the aristocratic layer of the society present in the tale suit the criteria of romance. The female protagonist endures all tests and hardships from the husband, hence she can be regarded the hero of the tale. B only annotates this tale and the use cannot be pointed as only protagonist

markers appear in running titles (93r, 094r, 95r, 96r, 97r, 98r, 99r, 100r, 101r, 102r, 103r, 104r). Still, the female protagonist can be assumed to be the focus, because, apart from the first running title mentioning *marques of Hungary and Grissell,* only *Grissell* is kept as running title for later parts of the tale.

The Merchant's Tale

"The Merchant's Tale" is an unambiguous example of comedy; satirical tone is most emphatic in the tale, though the platonic love story of Damian and May reflect a romance line as well. A only commented on this tale. A provided once a running title (118r) with the name of the two men in rivalry, and afterwards marked a section about the lovesick of Damian. (113r) This annotation presents that it is not the right choice to tell May his woes; as a matter of course, moralizing tone can also be witnessed. From this evidence it can be said that Commenter A focused on the romance elements in the tale and not on the comic aspects that define this fabliau.

The Tale of Melibee

"The Tale of Melibee" clearly belongs to the religious tales, especially about female saint legends. Prudence, the wife of an aristocrat prevents his husband from taking revenge on their child's murderer. Commenter A, B, D and E also annotated some passages in the tale. Being the most popular tale among commenters, diverse annotations would be expectable, still seventeen (161v, 164r, 165r, 169v, 173r, 170r, 171r) out of the eighteen annotations are sayings and proverbs from ancient authors or from the Bible highlighting a general truth that serves as a guidance to virtuous life. All these excerpts are said in the tale by Prudence, the virtuous woman, who leads her husband in life. The only exception marks an episode of the tale that is also a moralizing passage. This passage is the speech of the murderers to the king asking for his mercy. Commenter D mentions "rever know submission" which means that even murderers

can present humility and regret (176r). Consequently, this tale has achieved its aim of presenting a moralizing story about a virtuous woman and other moral issues since commenters heavily annotated these aspects.

The Monk's Tale

"The Monk's Tale" is a series of tragic stories about men who were betrayed by their wives, hence fell from their position and lost their power. The only exception is the story of Cenobia, where the queen of Palmira is introduced. "The Monk's Tale" is similar to saint legends, as Cenobia, a virtuous woman resist to have sex with her husband, except for once so that she could get pregnant. Therefore, "The Monk's Tale" is on the verge of tragic and moralizing tales. Both Hand A and D commented this tale at descriptive parts, like the introduction of Holofernes (184r). Interestingly, D marked the passage about the unfairly treated Hugelyn (186v), while A mostly focused on female protagonists. Both the excerpt about Cenobia (181v) and about Hugelyn are marked with nota signs showing the focus of the annotators. In other cases, running titles and comments appear written by A. All in all, the overall moral tone is grasped by commenters, but the focus of A was more on the only example of a virtuous woman, Cenobia, while D highlighted an unfortunate, but virtuous man. However, in both annotators' glosses the tragic and the moral aspect appears,so the interpretation of Commenter A anf D reflect the original tone of the tale.

The Nun's Priest's Tale

"The Nun's Priest's Tale" is an animal fable about Chanticleer, the rooster. This tale can hardly be classified as a simple comedy; instead, it is an animal fable bearing moral teaching. The example is about the importance of believing in dreams instead of women. On the margins Commenter B writes beside a descriptive passage "melancholy dremes" referring to the gist of the story, still questioning it because melancholy dreams are not trustworthy

according to Chanticleer's wife. Therefore, this comment can serve as an argument against the message of the tale. All in all, the tale reached its goal because the commenter focused on the importance of dreams yet did not agree with the narrator.

The Second Nun's Tale

"The Second Nun's Tale" is a religious story about the life of Saint Cecilia. This saint's legend presents the morally upright and chaste Cecilia whose missionary devotion turns a lot of people into Christians. Although commenter A, again, uses the running title in the above-mentioned trend naming the protagonists, here the female name becomes the first, showing that Cecila is the most important character in the tale. Only running titles appear in this chapter, hence interpretation is not revealed.

The popularity of themes

Due to passages reflecting similar use, meaning that mostly proverbs and exempla about women and moral issues are annotated, readers most probably belonged to the same social strata and cultural environment, as mentioned above. However, to support this statement, the annotations have to be dealt with individually, grouping them according to their focus. The thematic categories revealed that mostly moral issues, passages about women were annotated in Dd, especially about female moral uprightness. Therefore, I will use four thematic groups as follows: moralizing not connected to women, virtuous women in the passage, immoral women in the passage and about women in general.[182] This categorization will reveal the ratio of topics in the main focus of the commenters.

[182] In the case of running titles, I attributed the annotation to a group based on the female protagonist. When a statement is said by a woman but it is irrelevant regarding the statement, I did not take into consideration the speaker in order to focus on the content as closely as possible. For example, in the "Tale of Melibee", Prudence tells proverbs one after the other. If it was not connected to women, I ignored that it was said by an emale protagonist.

In order to differentiate passages where women appear, I made a column that signals virtuous women in passages with a plus symbol, immoral women with a minus symbol and general statements about women with a zero. There are all together fourty-two annotations about women, from which thirty are about virtuous, seven are about immoral and five are general statements about women.

It is visible that annotations in high numbers appear only after the ”Introduction to the Man of Law’s Tale” and “The Second Nun’s Tale” is the last one where annotations appear in these popular topics. As discussed in the general distribution part, “The Nun’s Priest’s Tale” also contains one, but that is about dreams and not about moral or female topics. The most annotations can be found in “The Tale of Melibeus” about moral issues, and the lowest number of annotations appear in the “Wife of Bath Tale” and the “General Prologue”. “The Clerk’s Tale” is mostly about virtuous women, yet certain annotations appear about other moral issues as well. It is to be noted that “The Monk’s Tale” has quite a number of annotations both about virtuous and immoral women as well, similar to “The Man of Law’s Tale”. In “The Monk’s Tale”, a negative image of women is highlighted, while in the “The Man of Law’s Tale” it is the the opposite way. Passages about virtuous women and moralizing women in general are observable in the “The Tale of Melibee” which is the most popular among all tales. All in all, not only the appearance of glosses in specific tales but also the number of annotations regarding popular topics are worth further research.

In conclusion, the main focus of the readers of Dd was good women who are role-models for their society. In half of the annotated tales, women appear as negative figures and in the other half as positive ones.[183] Still commenters annotated mostly virtuous female figures.

[183] Compare women in the tales and women in the excerpt columns in the database.

Subsequently, the sixteenth-seventeenth century readers of Dd made an attempt to collect positive images about women against all odds, especially the low number of tales about virtuous women in Dd. Another phenomenon observable from this comparison is that most of the tales and prologues contain some exemplary character. Apart from romances, all genres have an exemplum or fable in the story. Therefore, it can also be stated that the reader was collecting short narratives which exemplify a "general statement", but mostly in religious respect. These two topics, namely moralizing and religious issues reign the annotations all along the manuscript.

To sum it up, the hands had different practices on reacting to the tales. Apart from moralizing tales, Hand A chose tales and even though they were generally not moralizing, the it found moralizing passages in them. On the other hand, B mostly complied with the aim of the tale. If the tale was assigned to be comic, B annotated comic elements. However, certain moral messages were also marked by B. As for Hand C, in half of the cases it accepted the original aim, ("The General Prologue", "The Wife of Bath Tale"), but in the other two Commenter C found moralizing passages in a romance and in a comedy. D chose his tales according to the aim; only moralizing stories were annotated by D, henceforth it was obvious to comply with the "rules". Similarly, Hand E chose only one moralizing tale, where E agreed with the original aim of the text, consequently moralizing passages were highlighted. As a result we can assume that the moralizing tendency was so strong that A and C commented romances and comedies in four tales ("The General Prologue", "The Knight's Tales", "The Miller's Prologue", "The Man Law's Tale") in a clearly moralizing manner.

The reception of Dd

Paleographically, two periods were defined when Dd was annotated. Hand A produced notes in the second half of the sixteenth century, while Hands B, C, D and E originate from the the early seventeenth century. After elaborating on the findings hand by hand, it will be detailed whether the annotators of Dd suit the reception history of Dd.

Hand A is a sixteenth century annotator who spoke both English and French and thirty -one marginalia are attributable to this annotator. The tales he or she commented are the "The General Prologue", "The Merchant's Tale", "The Man of Law's Tale", "The Monk's Tale", "The Second Nun's Tale" and "The Tale of Melibee". In these tales, he or she commented on women in twenty-two passages among the most are about iconic, virtuous women in running titles. Other moralizing topics also appear, such as virtues, advice, desire, anger, courtesy and nobility. The moralizing focus is clear since some annotations can be found in tales that are not moralizing at all. This hand provides an opinion only once, on 55v, when it reflects on the nobility of the female protagonist, again, supporting the interest in female topics. Hand A's annotating method is quite diverse as it combines nota inscriptions, comments, brackets and nota signs nearly in all possible permutations.

Hand B is an early seventeenth century hand which uses both English and Latin for annotations. He or she annotated the text thirty-one times. The tales commented are "The Clerk's Tale", "The General Prologue", "The Merchant's Tale", "The Nun's Priest's Tale", "The Summoner's Tale", "The Tale of Melibee" and "The Wife of Bath's Prologue" and "Tale" as well. Half of the passages highlighted are story-like passages, the other half moralizing, in accordance with the original aim of the chapter. Topics cover female authority, love, vice, ire, advice, friars and classical authors. Women are represented in twenty-one annotated passages, from which most are positive, meaning that virtuous women are mentioned in the excerpts.

Regarding the diversity of annotations, Hand B uses more combinations of annotating methods than anyone else. The opinion is observable in four or five glosses: fortune is mentioned two times in his annotated glosses, and in both cases it is in negative tone since annotator B finds that fortune is unpredictable. A different example is when B corrects a passage for censoring the content. The original genitalis is corrected into genitur. Sarcastic tone is also observable in his or her annotations when noting that wishing the death of the friar was a pleasant gesture.

Hand C originates from the late-sixteenth, early-seventeenth century. Altogether seven annotations are observable, and one comment in English and one in Latin. ”The General Prologue”, “The Knight’s Tale”, “The Miller’s Prologue” and “The Wife of Bath’s Tale” are annotated by this reader covering the topics of physics, nobility, richness and oxen. Women appear neutrally in two annotations with regard to female authority. Although some annotated tales belong to romances and comedies, mostly moralities are highlighted by C. Regarding the diversity of glosses, there is not much to mention, as mostly nota signs are written on the margins. Only two keywords are written additionally, not presumed to reflect a clear opinion.

Hand D is also an early seventeenth century hand, using English for annotation and Latin nota inscriptions in some cases. The five annotations written by B are to be found in the “The General Prologue”, “The Monk’s Tale” and in “The Tale of Melibee”. These tales are moralizing. Hence it is visible that B complied with the general message of the chosen tales. It can be traced in the fact that annotations reflect on rascals, vice, injustice and pleasure. Women do not appear in any of the annotations. Interestingly, even in these small number of annotations, Hand D uses a wide variety of signs: nota signs, nota, brackets, comments and the combination of the previous. In one occasion, even his or her opinion is expressed utterly; injustice happened to Ugolino, Earl of Pisa.

Hand E can also originate in the early seventeenth century. Annotations made by this hand are nota inscriptions in “The Tale of Melibee”. The topics these annotations reflect upon

are anger, wrath, advice, wisdom and haste. Women do not appear in these excerpts. Moralizing passages are glossed by this annotator, which shows that the reader agreed with the original aim of the text.

It can be concluded that it is only one of the five hands that can be dated to the sixteenth century, whereas the others can be presumed to have lived in the seventeenth century. Consequently, most of the annotations can be originated from the sixteenth century. Commenter A was mostly focused on virtuous women and other moralizing issues. In the seventeenth century, the same thematic aspects were also present even more emphatically. Yet Hand D and E present that there were seventeenth century readers of Dd who were not interested in female topics and annotated only moralizing excerpts. As it was already mentioned in the chapter dealing with the reception of Chaucer, religious interpretation regarding Chaucer was advertised by Protestants; significantly, *The Canterbury Tales* was on the approved list even during the period marking the ban on books. Therefore, it is probable that women have also had access to them, despite the fact that they were advised to read only pious works. The frequent annotation of female-related passages may refer to a female reader.

Since Chaucer did not adapt to the changing oeuvre of the seventeenth century literary norm, the number of Chaucer readers decreased significantly. The analysis of Dd shows that the sixteenth century reader of Dd (Hand A) reflects the general spectrum of Chaucer's reception from the sixteenth century, characterized by the high number of moralizing annotations. Female themes are commented in Dd not only by B as a seventeenth century annotator, but already by the sixteenth century annotator. At the same time, there are four distinct hands in Dd dating from the seventeenth century who heavily annotated Dd, even

though *The Canterbury Tales* did not fit the main literary trend.[184] These readers not only could read Middle English, but also interpreted the message of the work.

In conclusion, it is visible that the seventeenth century readers adopted the viewpoint of the sixteenth century annotator.[185] Therefore, the seventeenth century annotators of Dd were occupied with similar issues than the sixteenth century annotator. Consequently, female related issues appear with one of the commenter (B), while with the others the moralizing passages come to the forefront.

Although the seventeenth century readers of Dd cannot be regarded representative when drawing conclusions about the seventeenth century Chaucer-reception, they are informative about the evaluation of Chaucer in that age. The interpretation of annotations in Dd present that there was an audience of Chaucer's despite his lack of popularity in the early modernity. The research of provenance revealed that Dd in the seventeenth century was in the property of people educated in Oxbridge, who later on became masters of college and vicars. Although these people are not necessarily the annotators of Dd, the commenters of Dd must be looked for in the cultural and social surrounding of these people. All in all, there may be people who studied in Oxbridge and members of the clergy who appreciated works of Chaucer, also *The Canterbury Tales*.

This paper provided further data about the seventeenth century reception of Chaucer's, and I believe that similar case studies on reader annotation in manuscripts could tinge the seventeenth century valuation of Chaucer.

[184] Morse, "Popularizing Chaucer in the Nineteenth Century," 101.
[185] Edwards, "The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland," 5.

Conclusion

As a result of mapping details of the provenance and the dating of hands, a set of information has been revelaed regarding the audience and reception of Dd. The provenance defined the social layer the manuscript may have been owned by (aristocrats, college masters and members of the church), provided details of the owners' erudition and about the terminus ante quem of marginalia in Dd.

Paleographically two periods were defined when Dd was annotated. Hand A produced marginalia in the second half of the sixteenth century, while Hand B, C, D, E made annotations in the early seventeenth century. From the distribution of hands, it has been discovered that two tales are the most popular regarding the number of hands; these are the "General Prologue" and "The Tale of Melibee", as four hands annotated both chapters.

The thematic analysis of these annotations revealed the individual use of the manuscript. The annotations in Dd with high interest in moral tales resonated with the sixteenth century opinion about Chaucer. This finding is of crucial importance since most of the comments were written in the seventeenth century. Although Chaucer was generally not appreciated in the seventeenth century, this thesis revealed that among the annotators of Dd there were four hands from the seventeenth century who were deeply engaged with the content of *The Canterbury Tales* continuing the sixteenth century interpretation.

All in all, this thesis shed light on the importance of case studies regarding marginalia, since a more precise picture can be buildt about the reception of a literary work if researchers take into consideration reader commentaries and not only forms of re-invention and imitation.

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Appendices

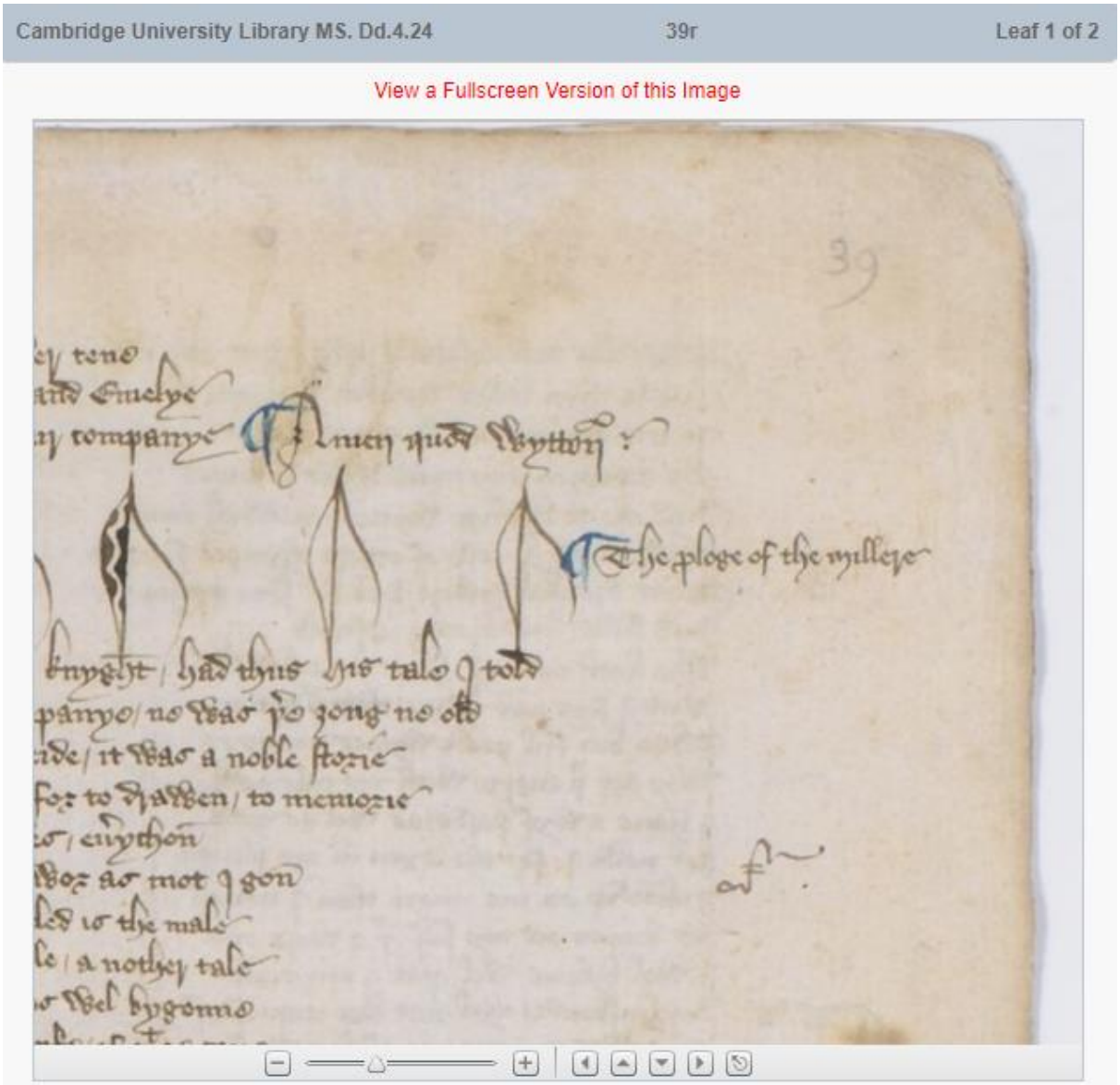

Figure 1: Wytton scribe inscription and nota sign by the scribe

Figure 2: Wyllyam Langtun

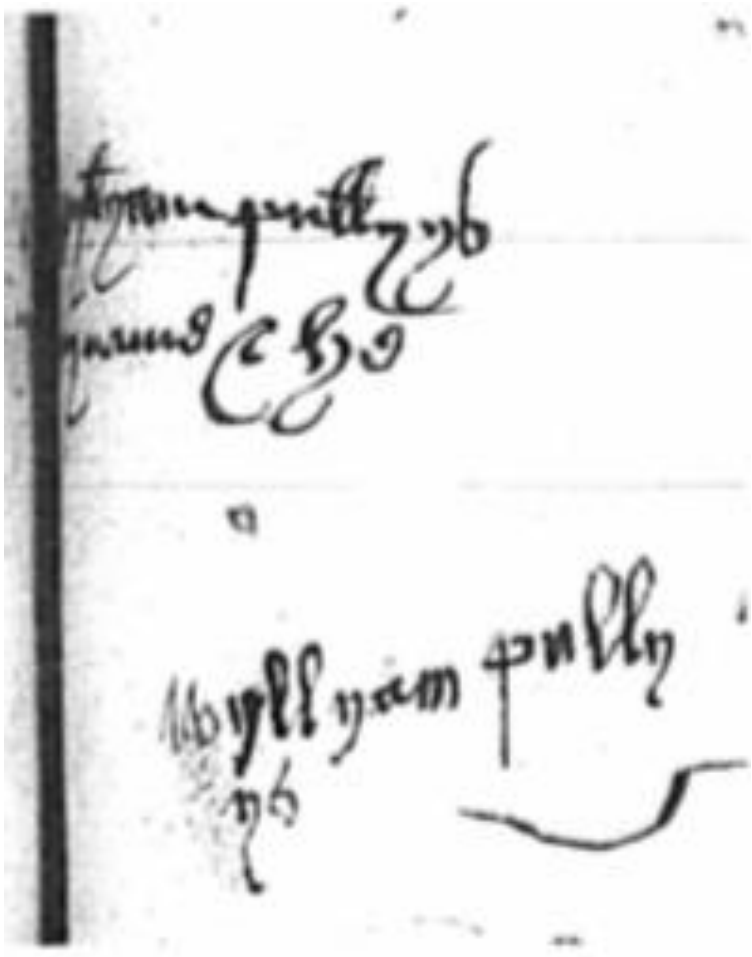

Figure 3: Wyllyam Pully

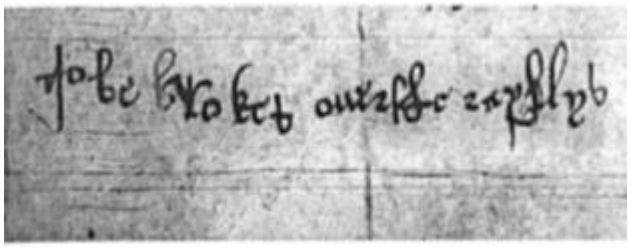

Figure 4: to be rokes ourselfe...

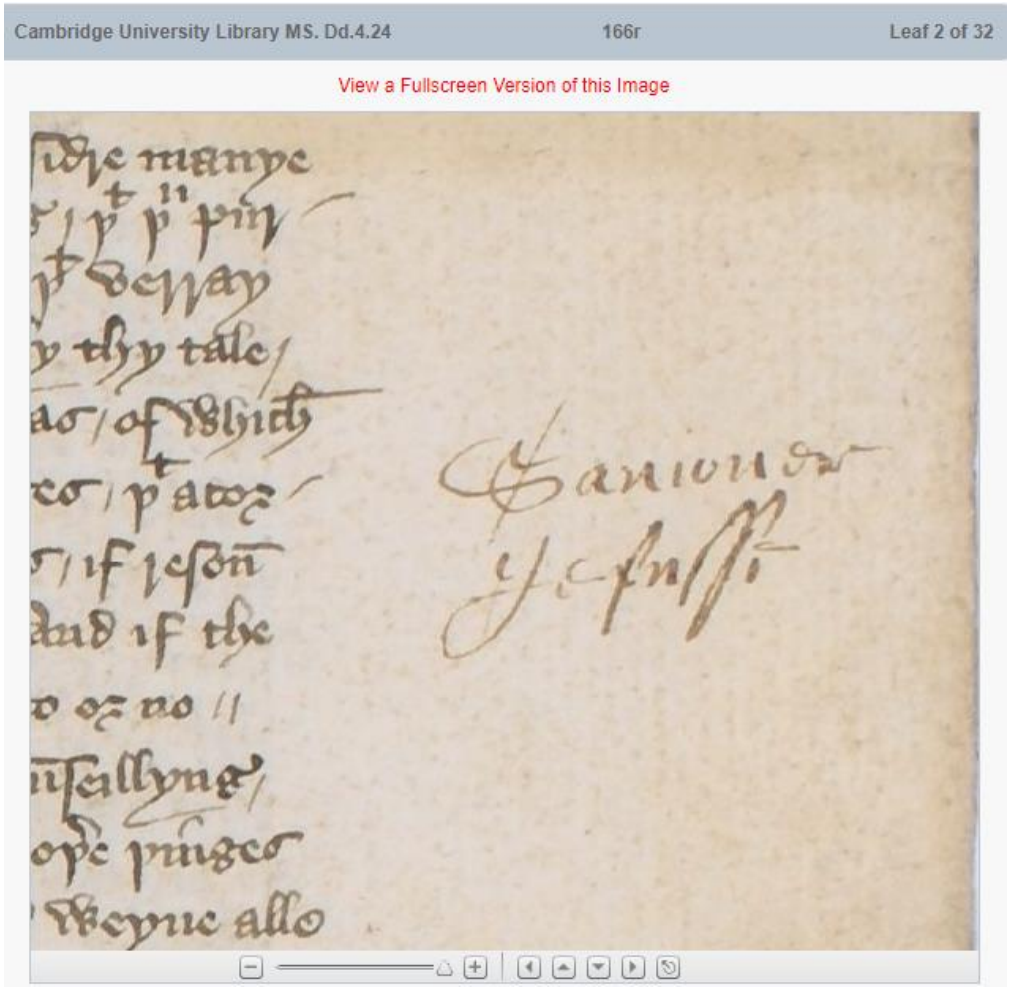

Figure 5: Saviour Jesus

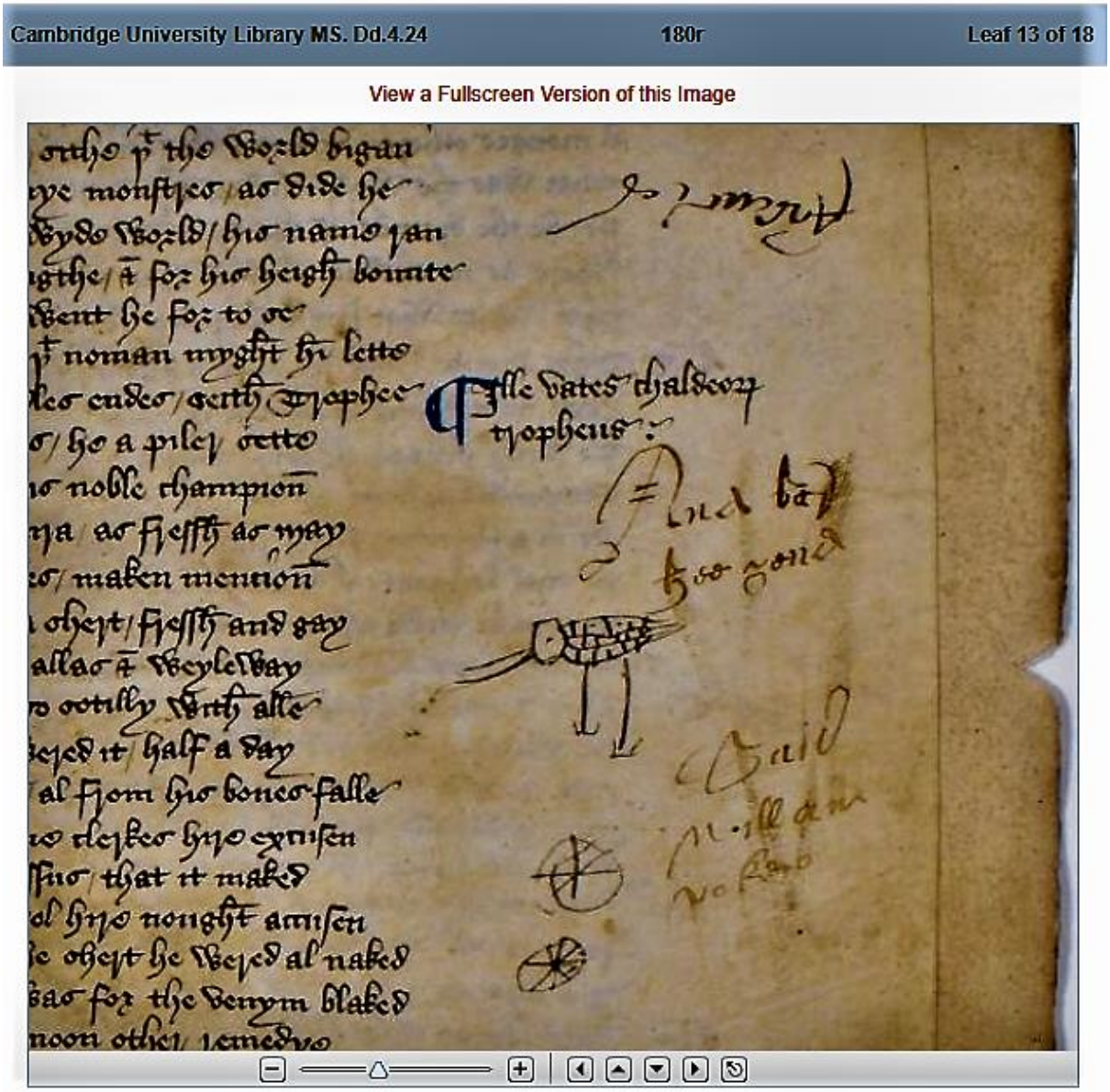

Figure 7: Said William Rokes

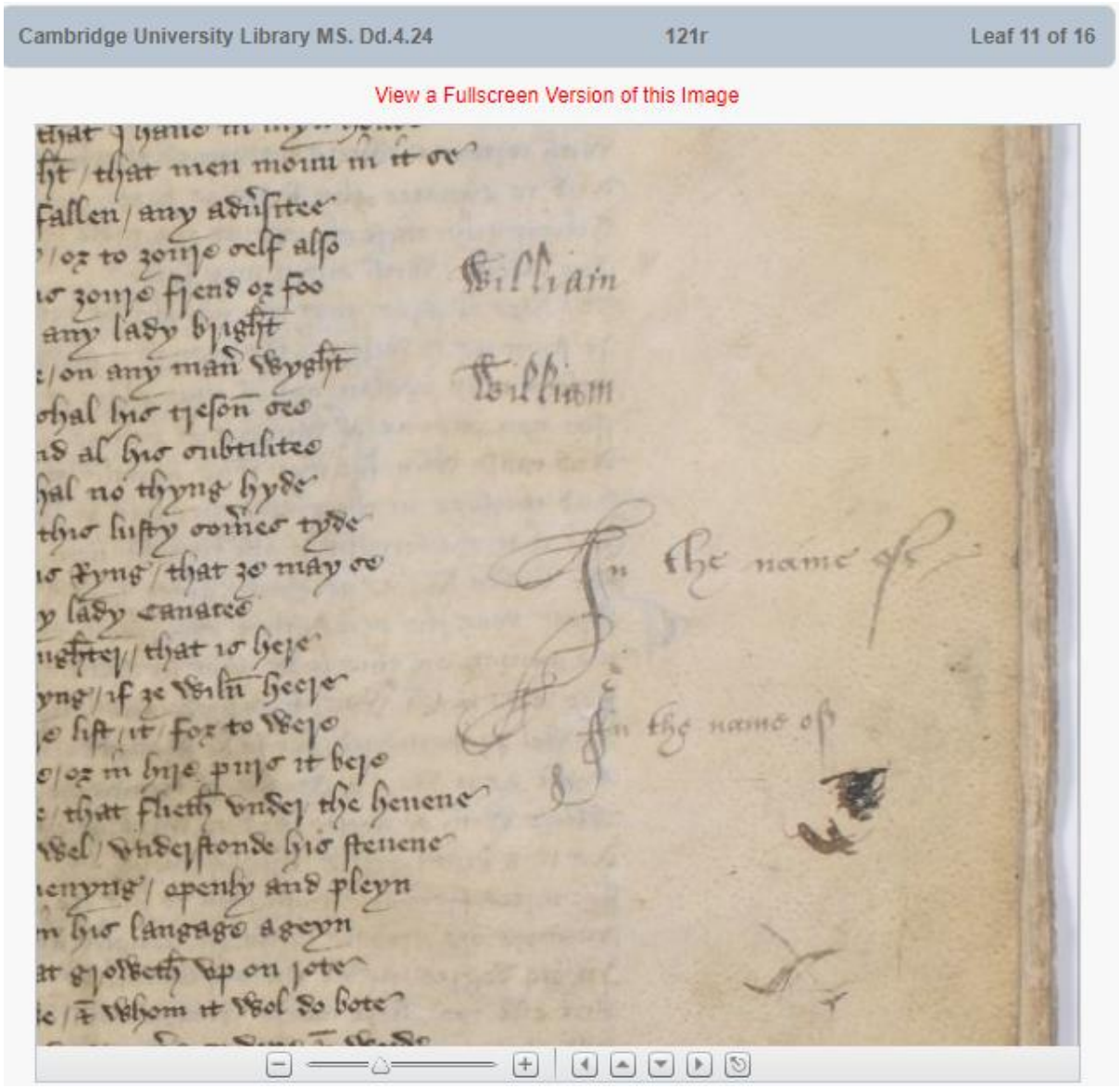

Figure 8: In the name of … William

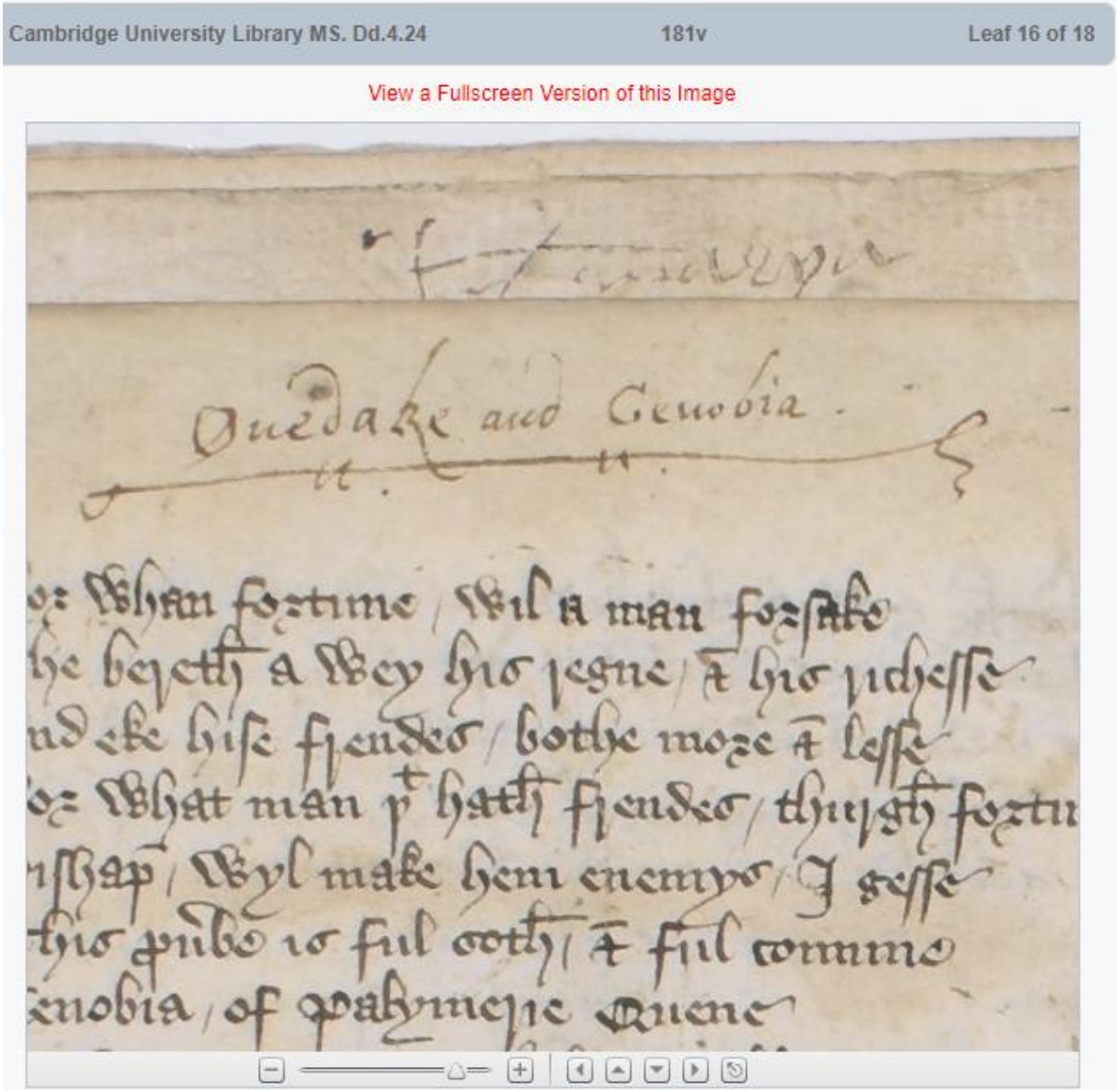

Figure 9: Onedake and Cenobia - Hand A

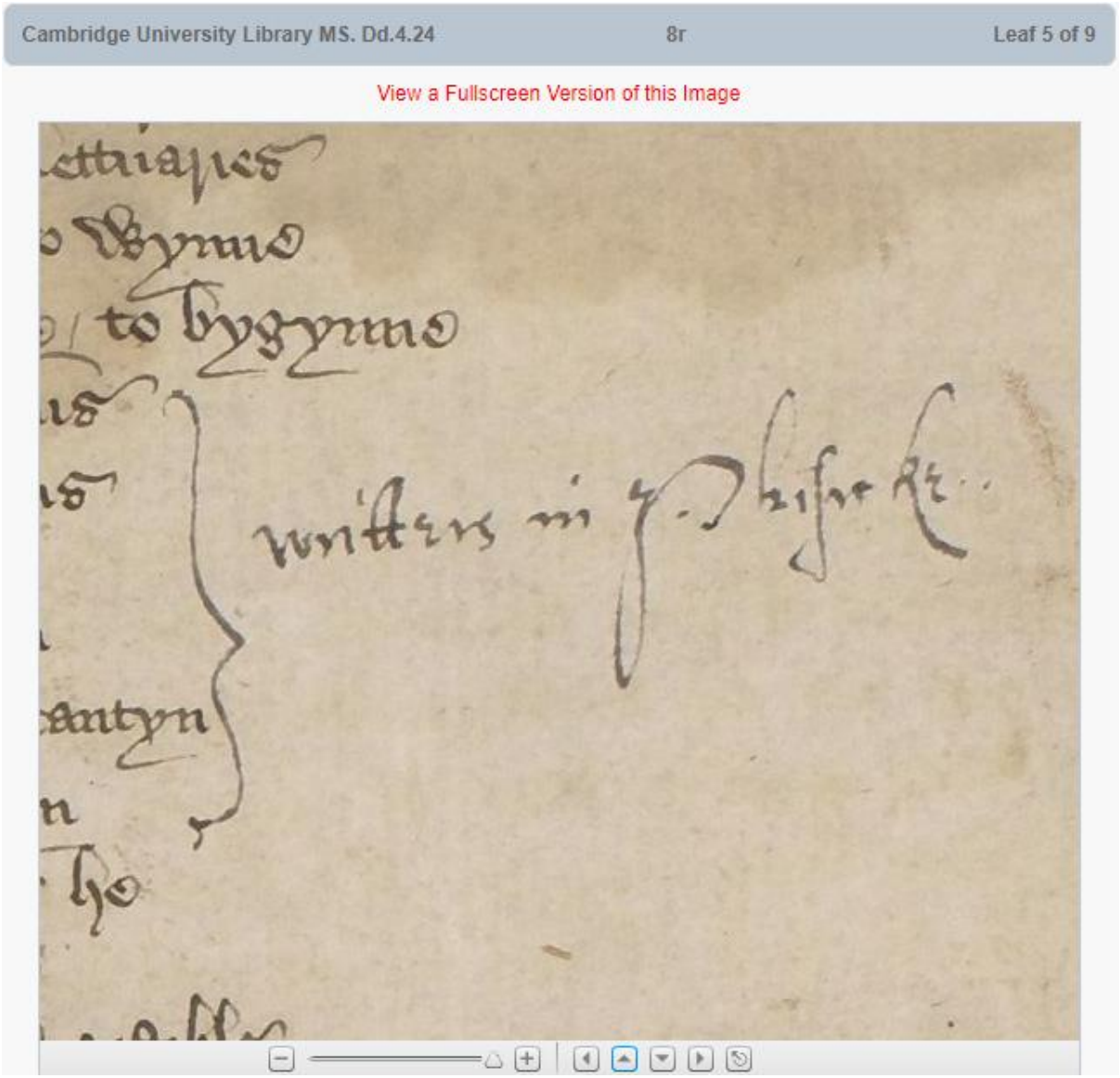

Figure 10: writers in phisike - Hand B

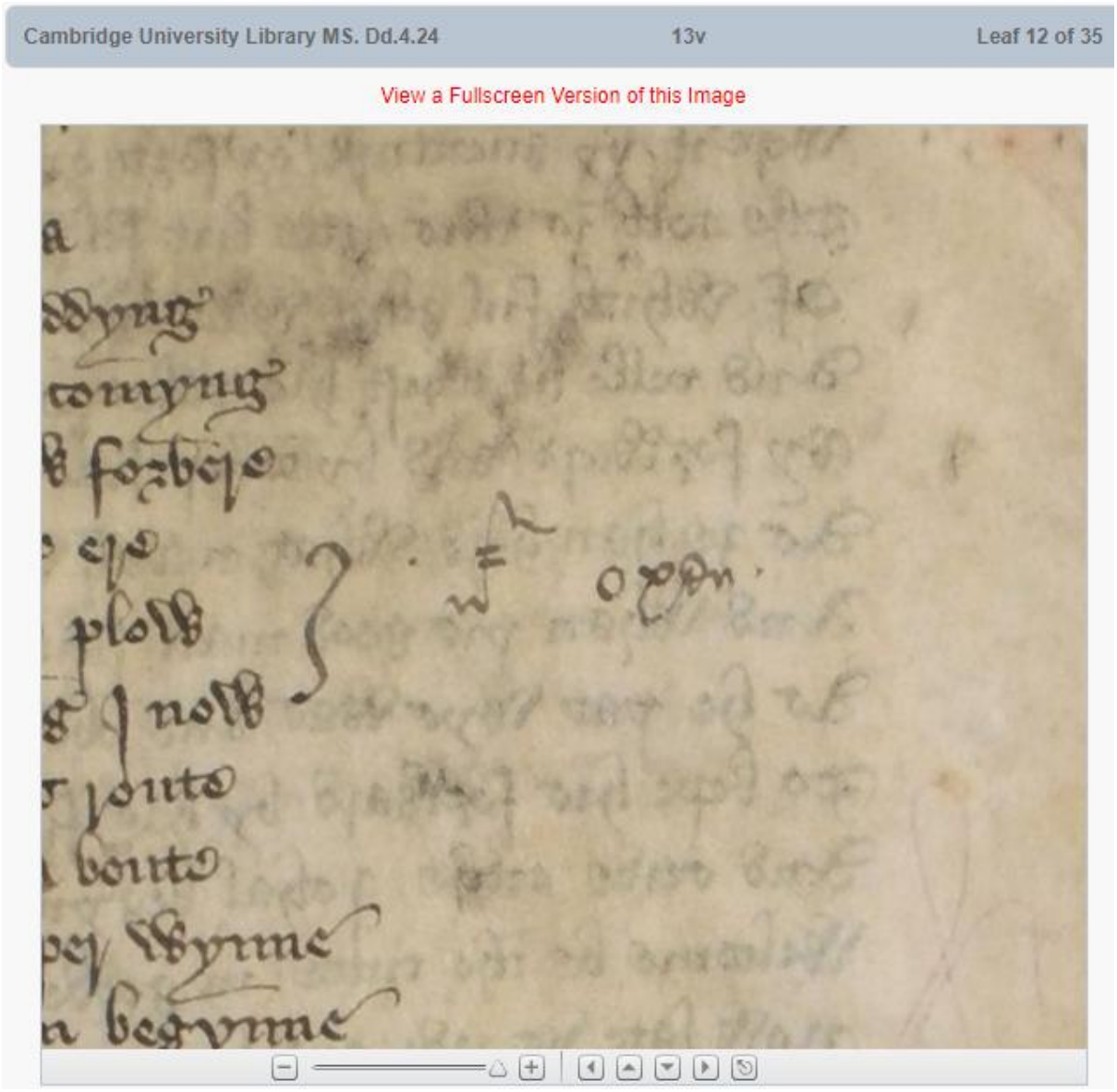

Figure 11: oxen - Hand C

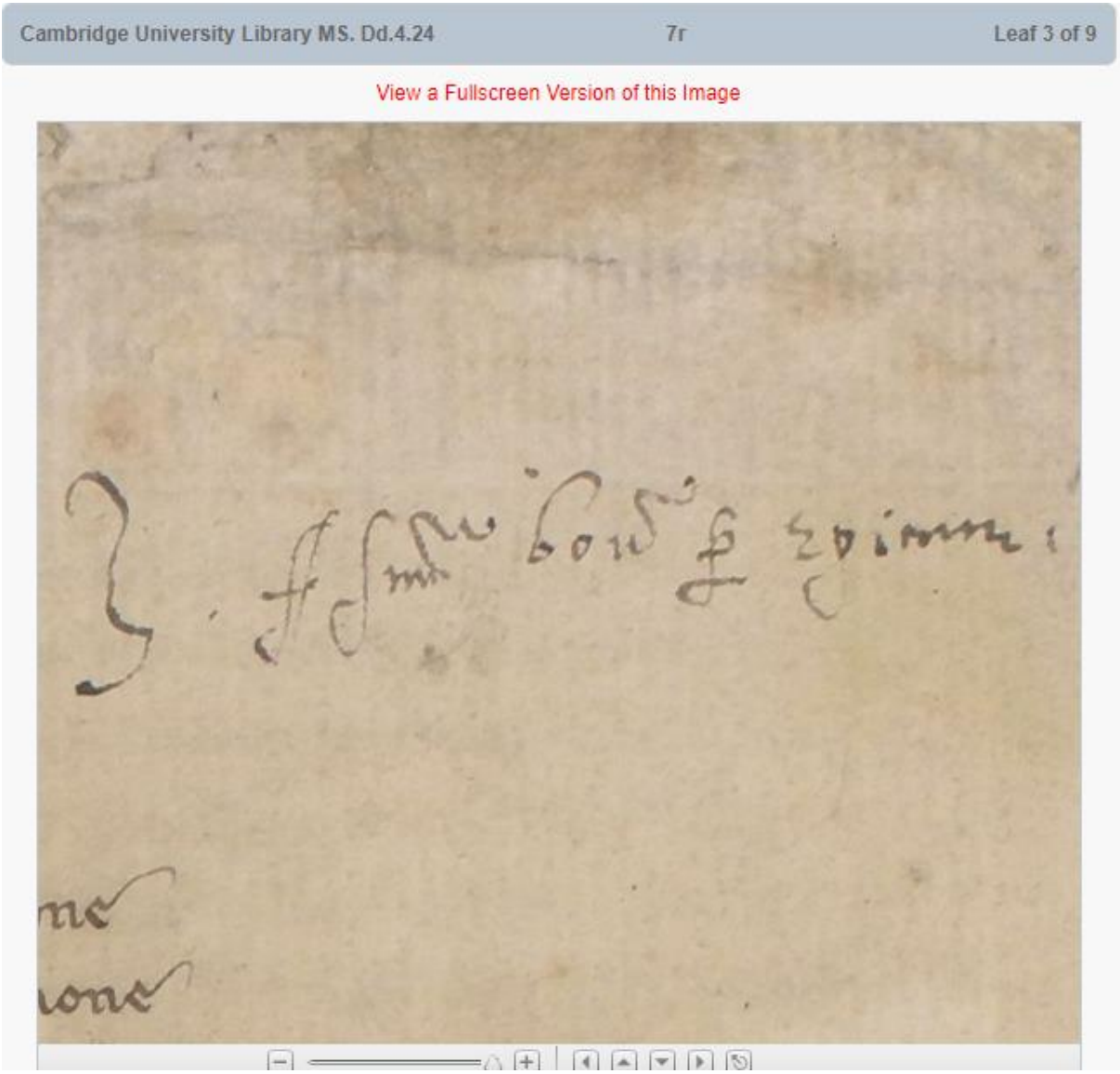

Figure 12: a sun born of Epicure – Hand D

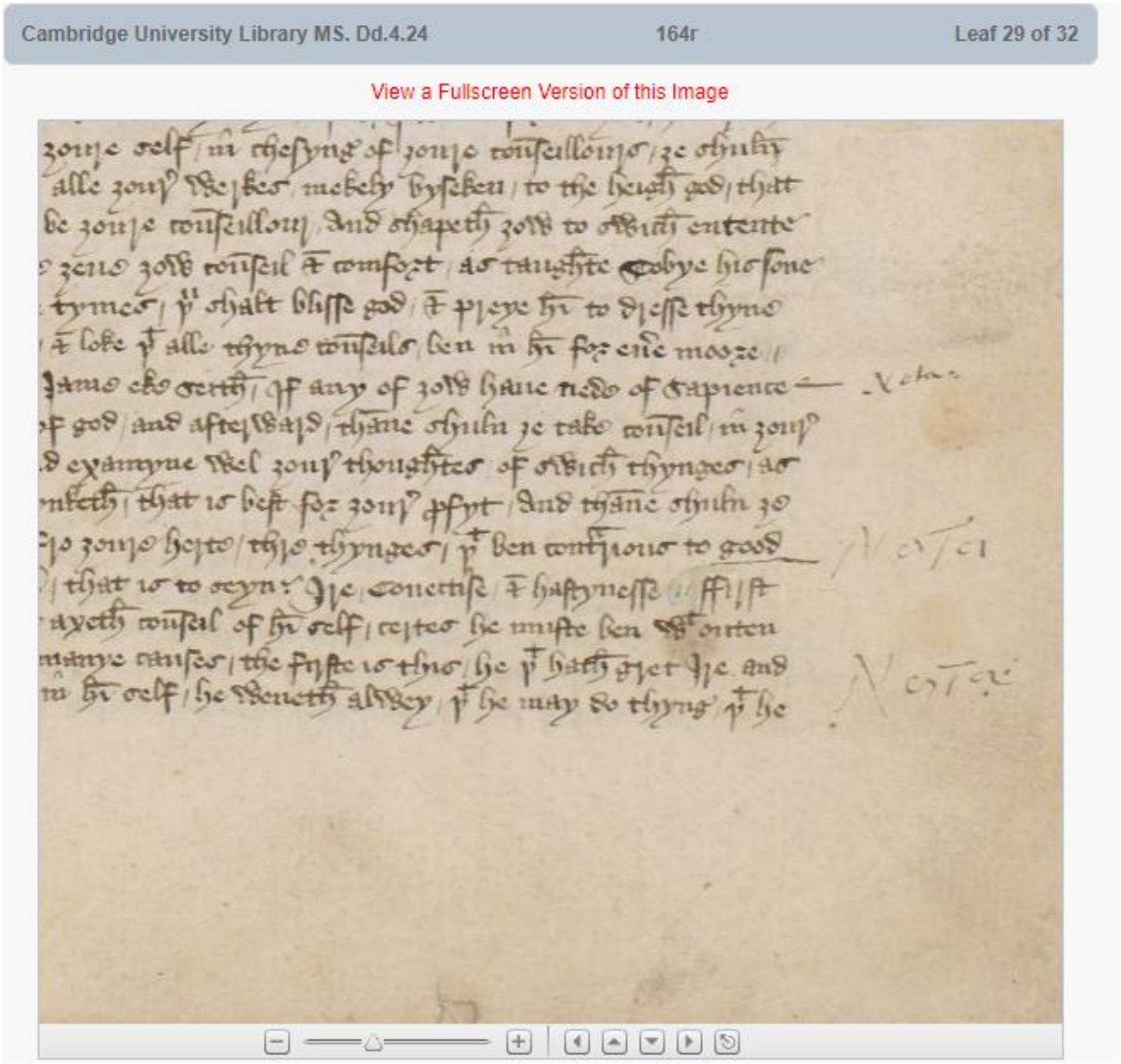

Figure 13: Nota – Hand E

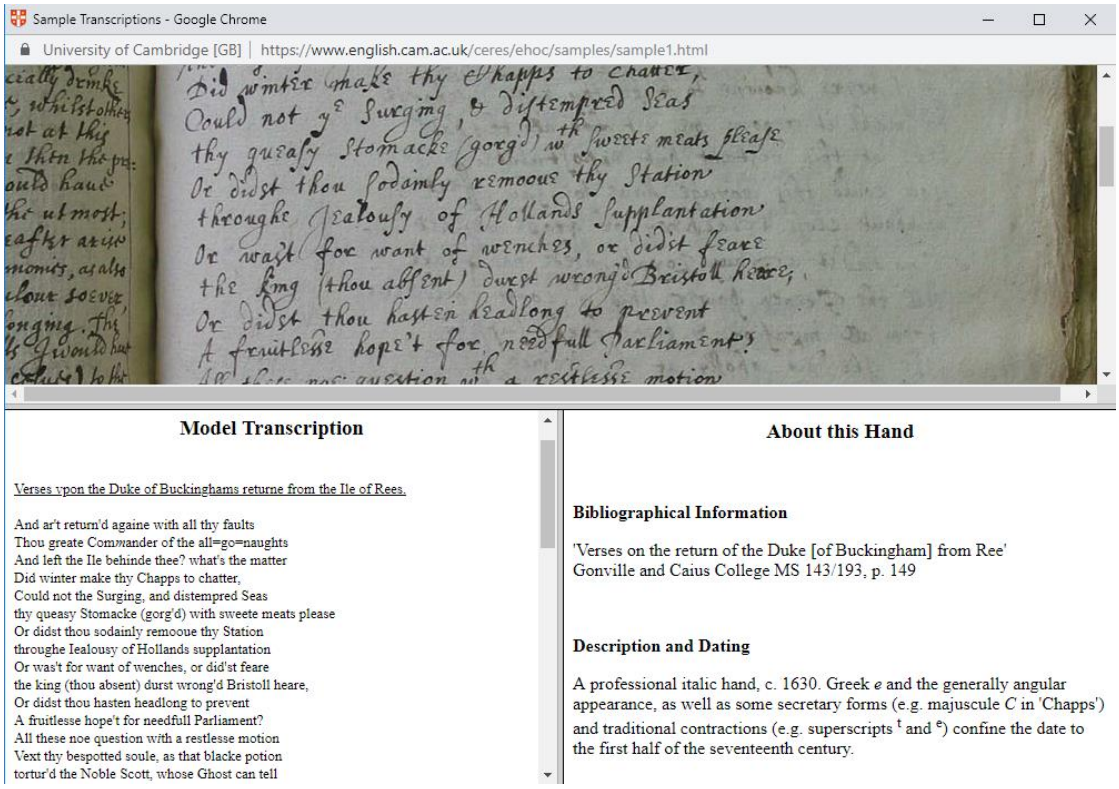

Figure 14: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 1

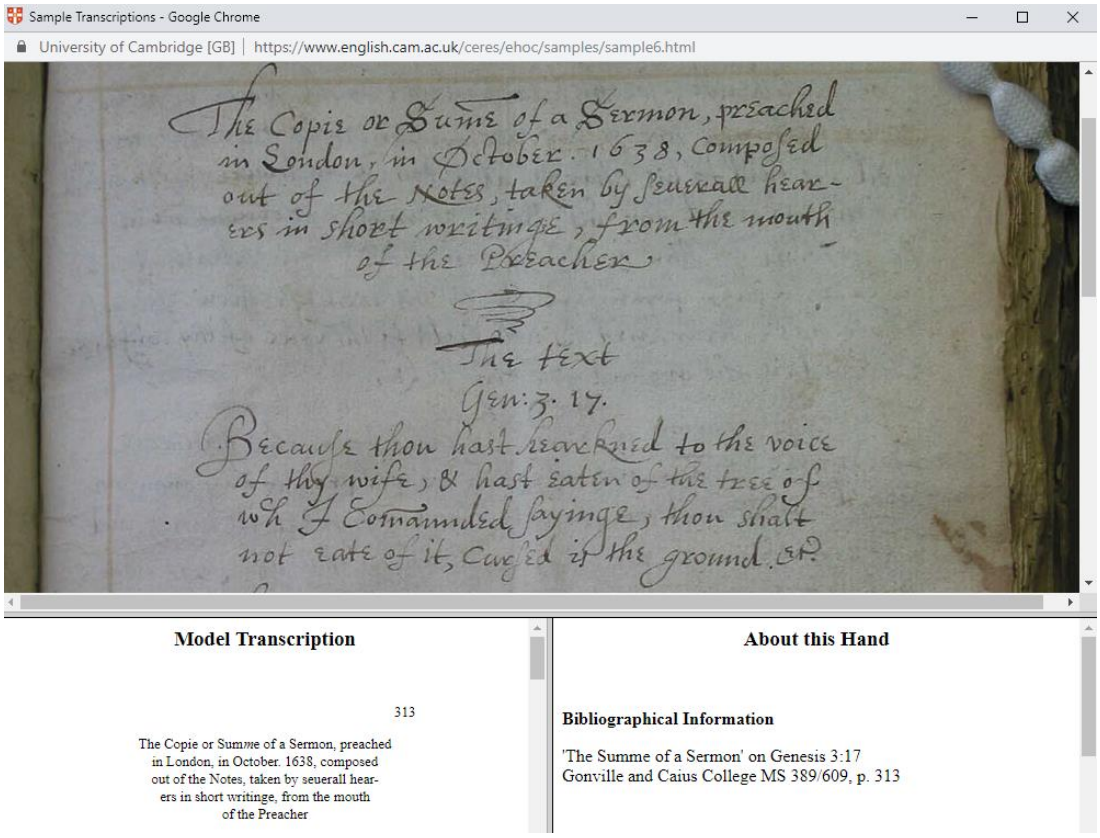

Figure 15: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 6

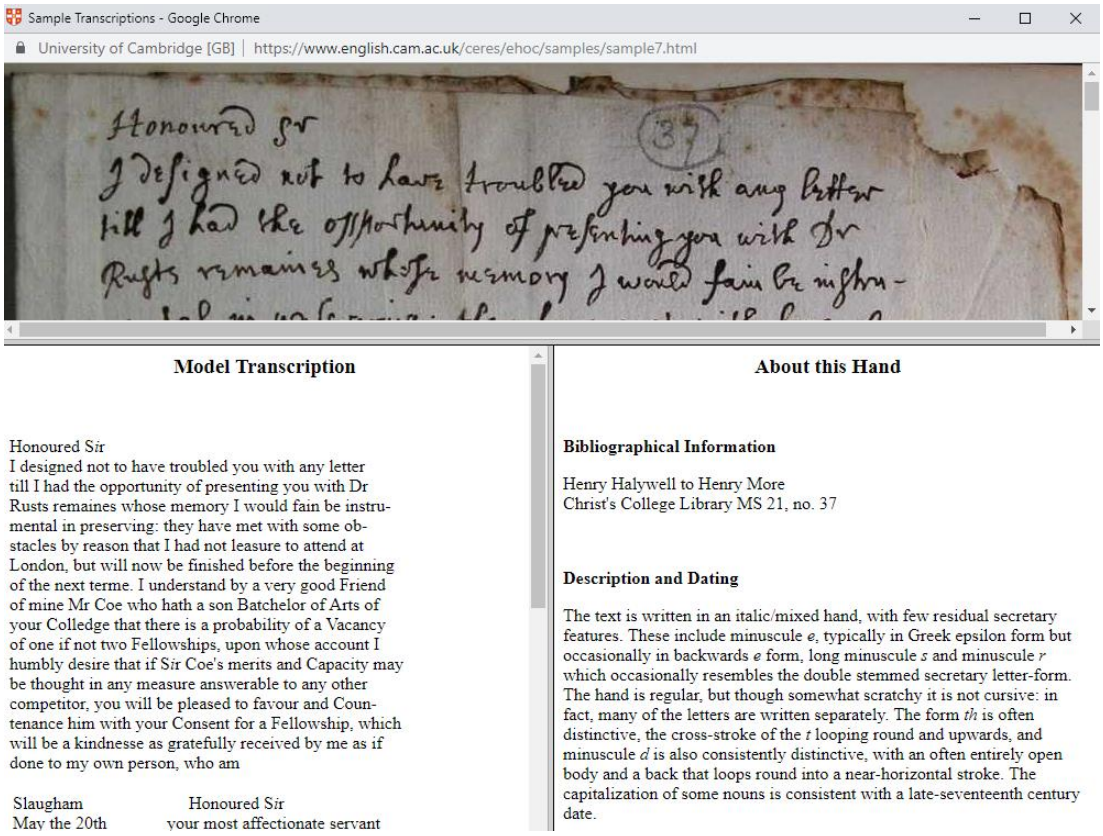

Figure 16: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 7

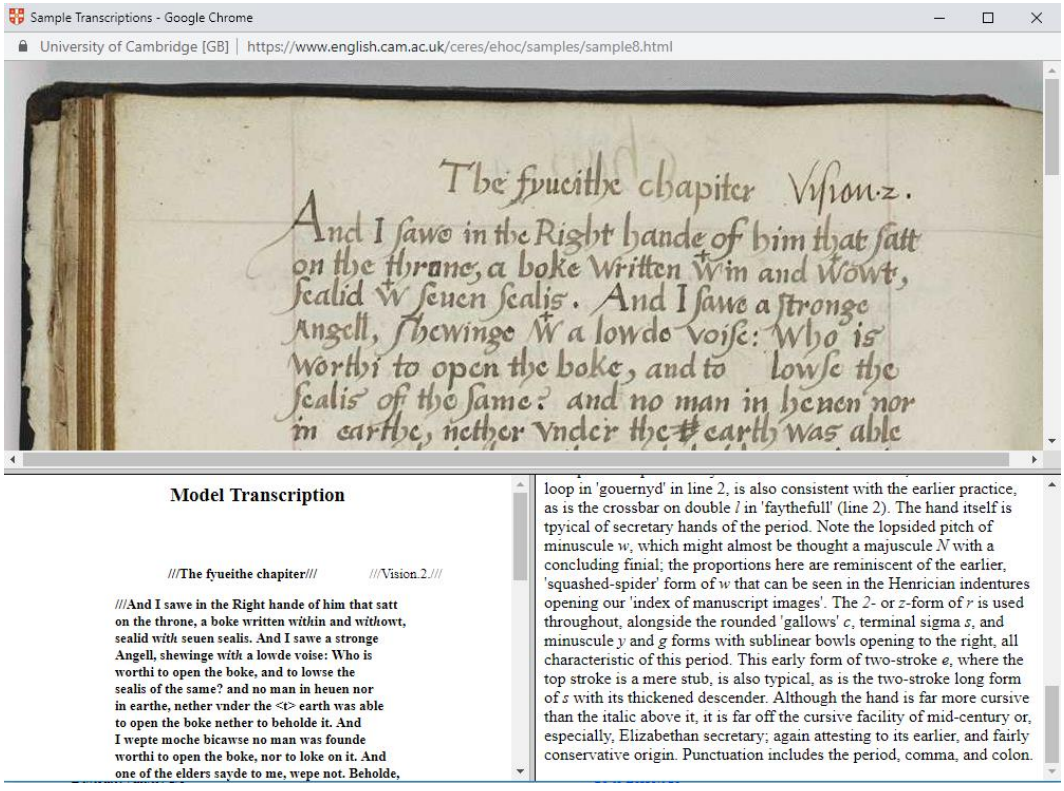

Figure 17: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 8

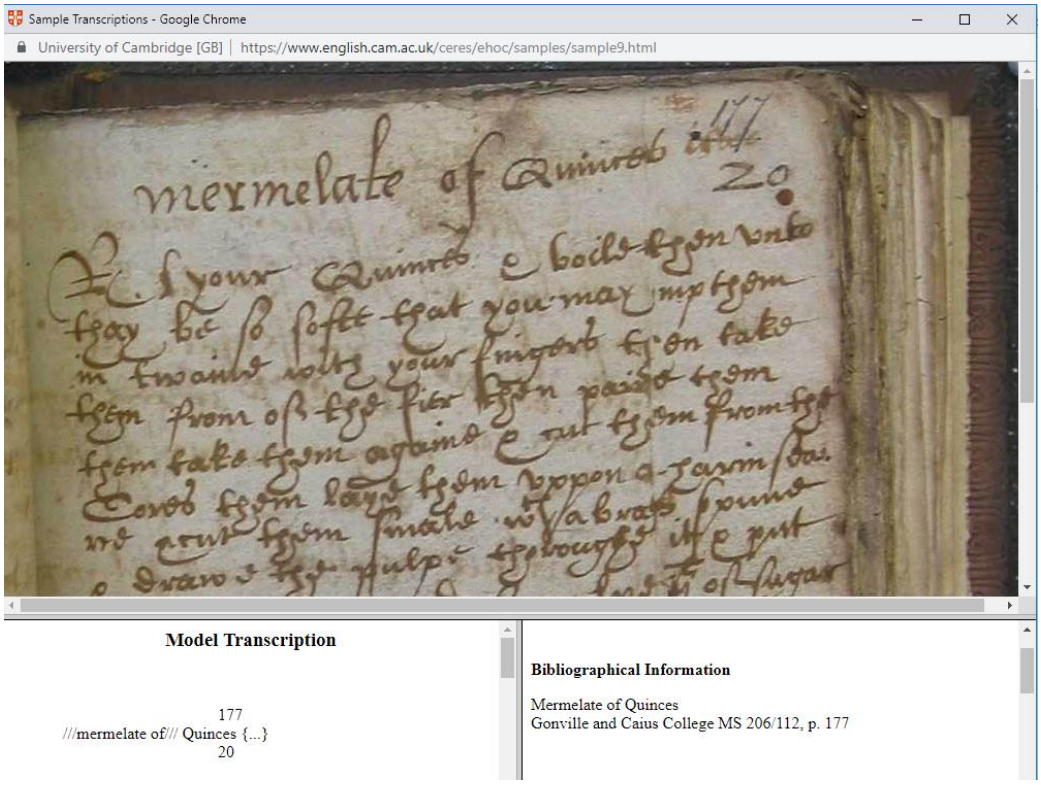

Figure 18: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 9

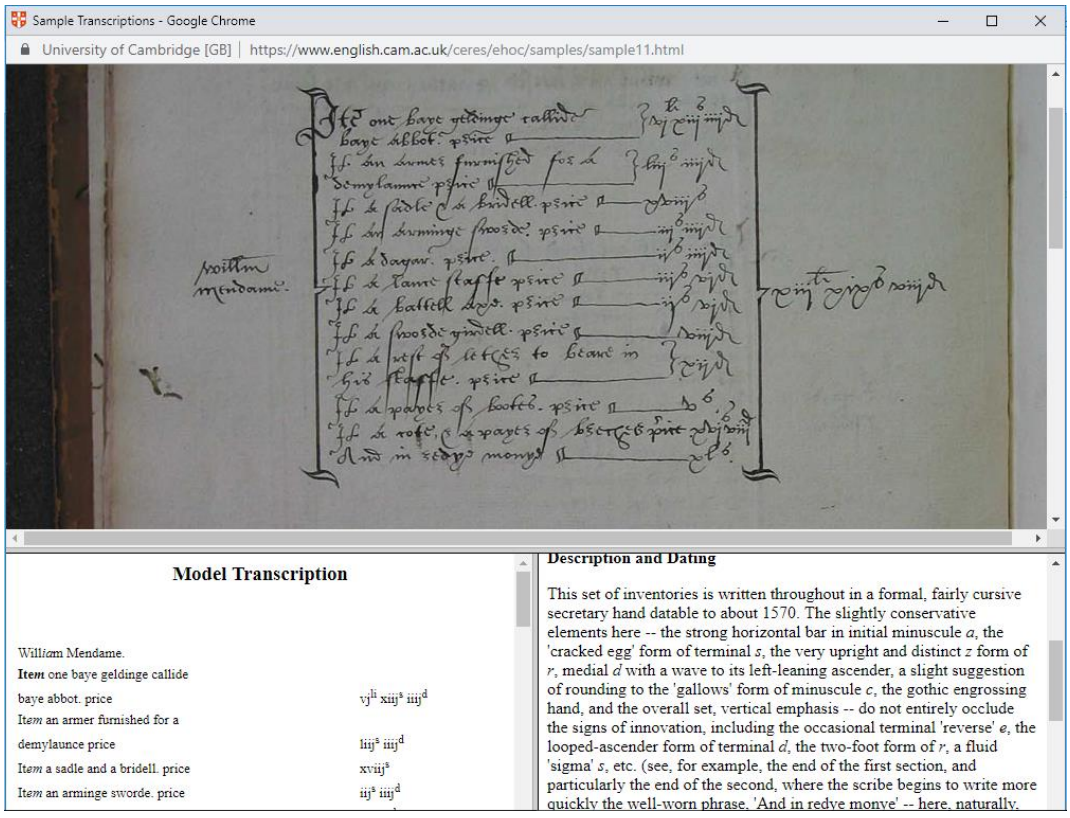

Figure 19: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 11

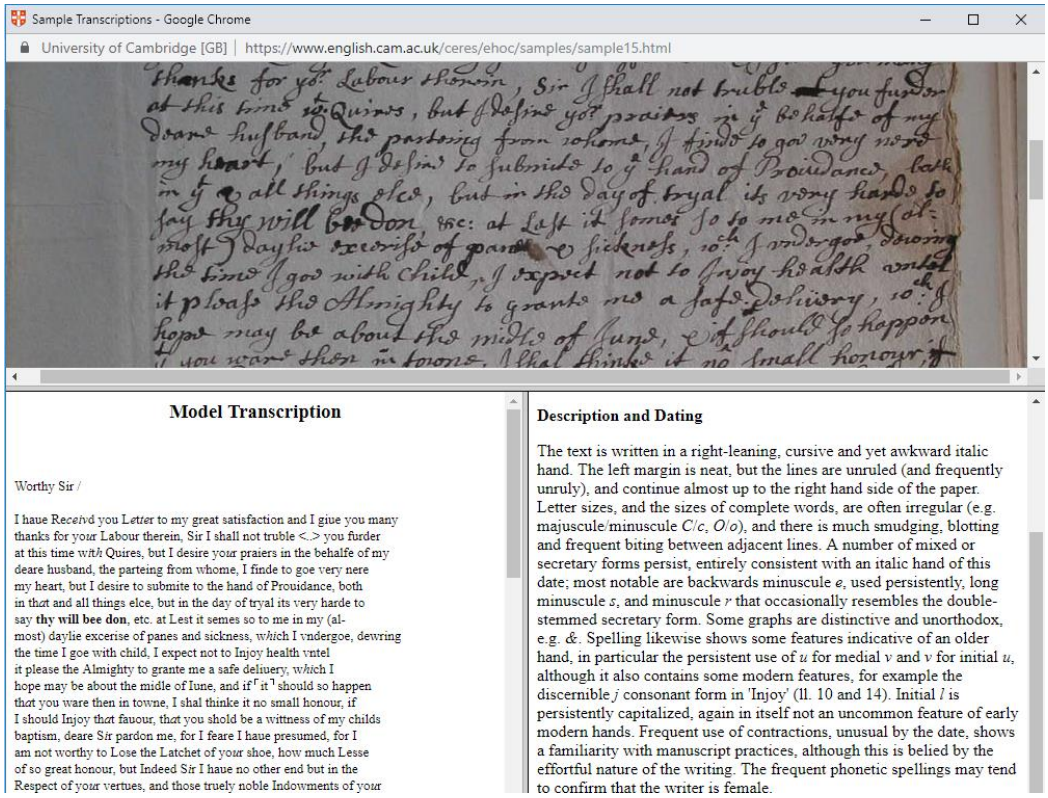

Figure 20: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 15

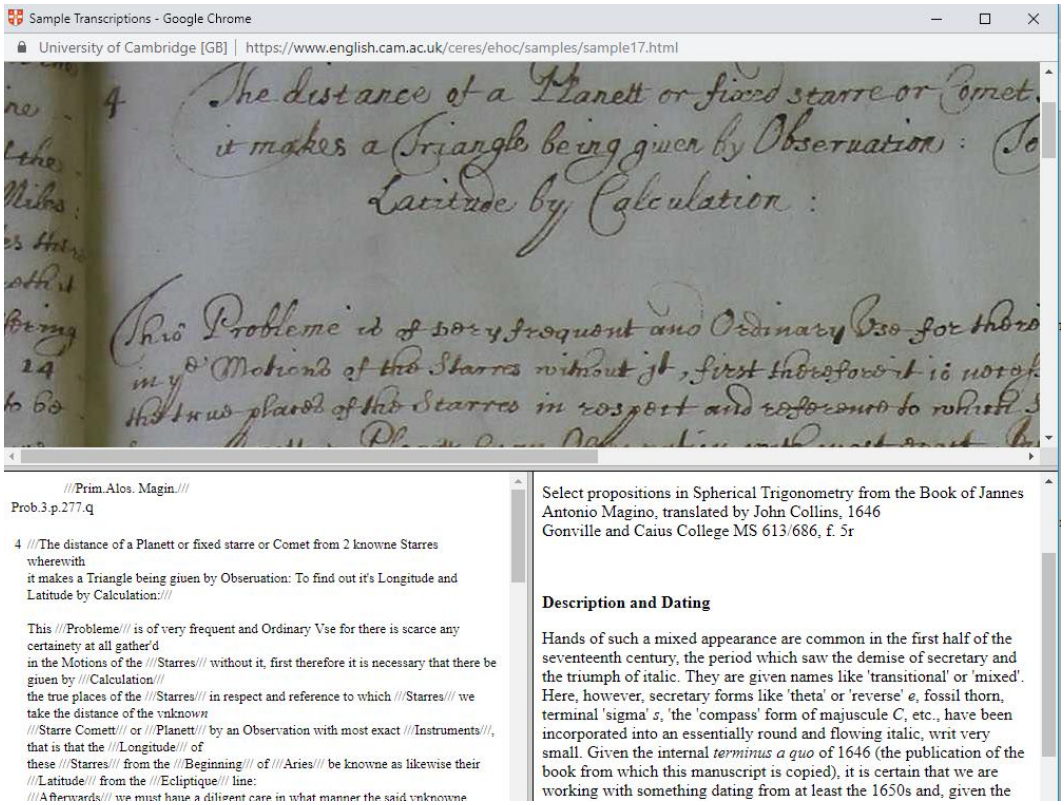

Figure 21: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 17

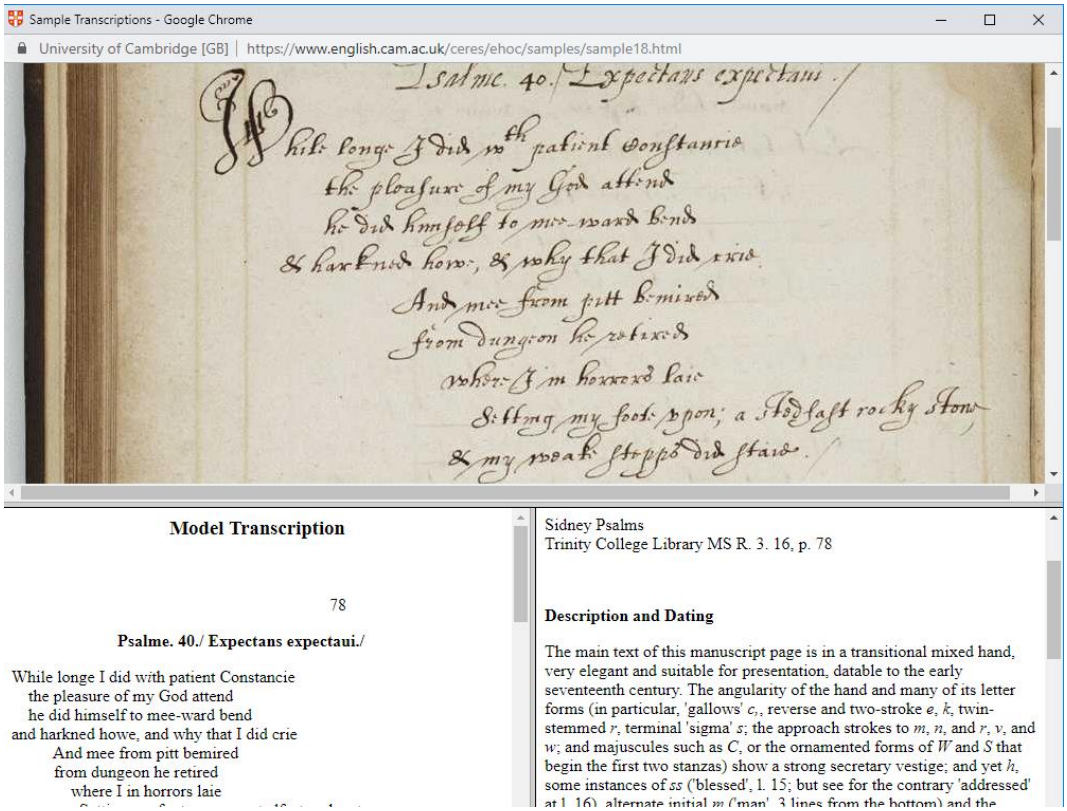

Figure 20: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 18

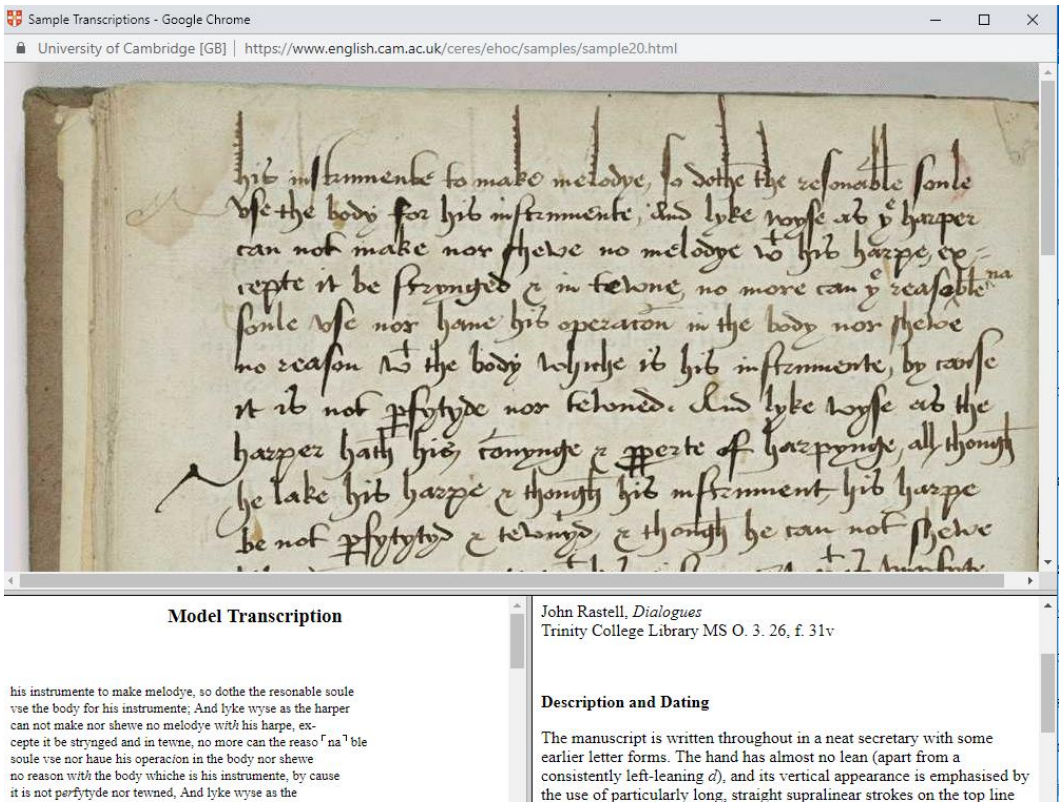

Figure 21: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 20

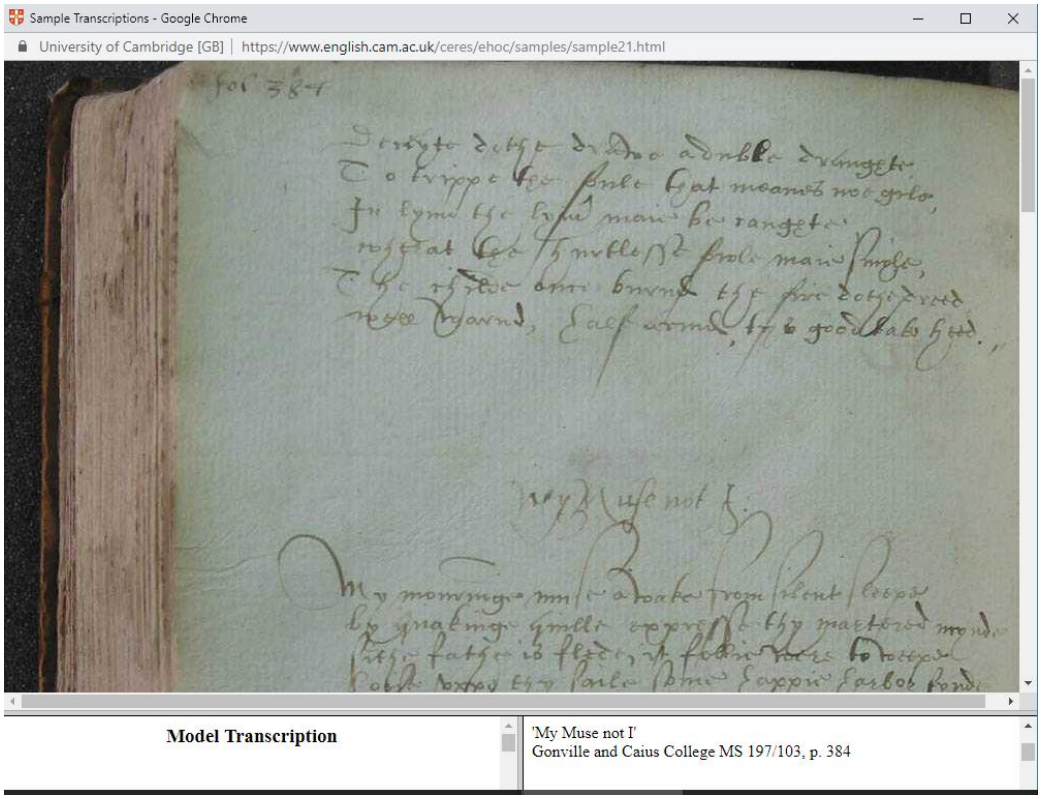

Figure 22: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 21

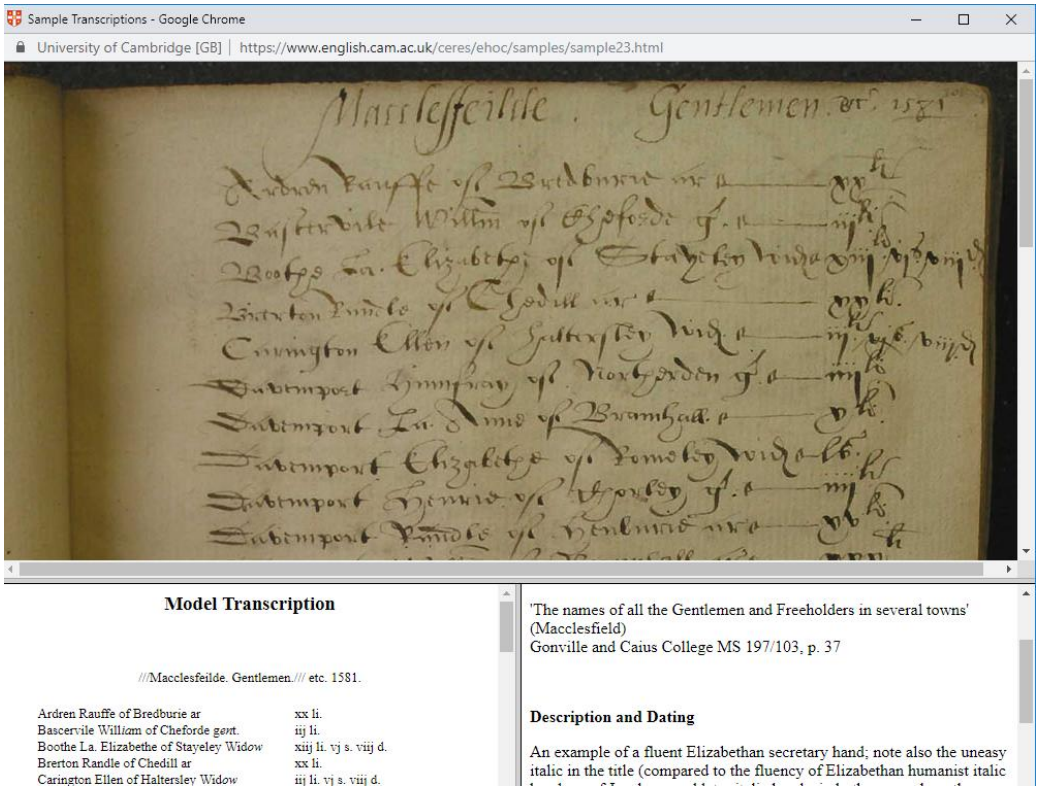

Figure 23: Andrew Zurcher, "Sample Transcriptions," Sample 23

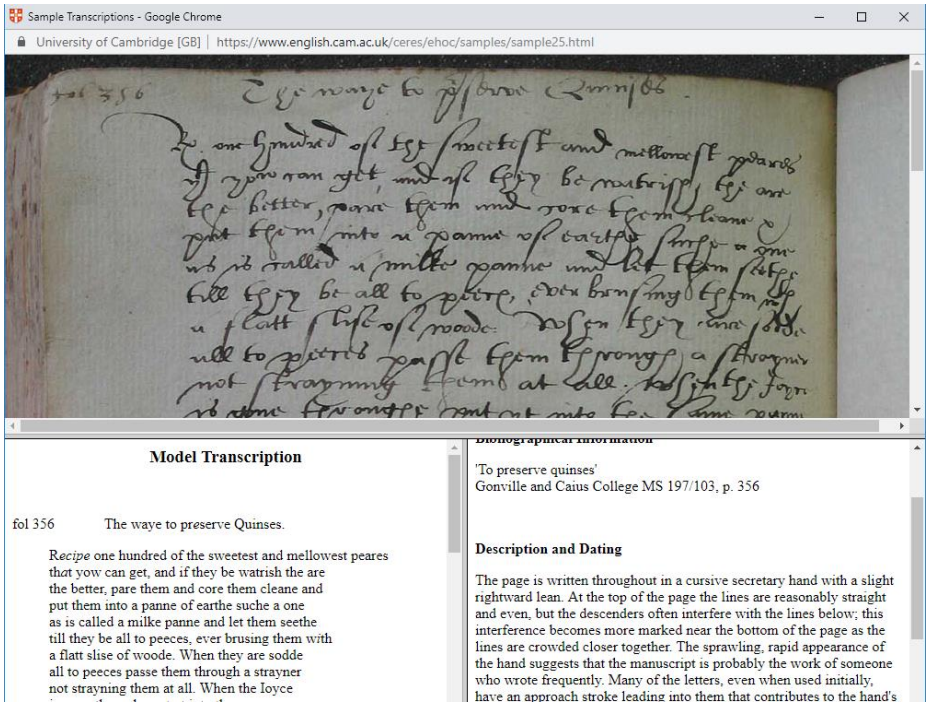

Figure 24: Andrew Zurcher, “Sample Transcriptions,” Sample 25

Reader annotations in Dd

marginalia	folio	Tale	Hand	transcription	highlighted passage translation	highlighted passage
comment	007r	GP	D	A son born of Epicure	336 For he was Epicurus' own son, 337 Who held the opinion that pure pleasure 338 Was truly perfect happiness.	For he was Epiors / owen sone That held opynyoū / that pleyn delit Was verray / felicite parfyt
comment	008r	GP	B	writters in Physike	429 He well knew the old Aesculapius, 430 And Dioscorides, and also Rufus, 431 Old Hippocrates, Haly, and Galen, 432 Serapion, Rhazes, and Avicenna, 433 Averroes, John the Damascan, and Constantine, 434 Bernard, and Gaddesden, and Gilbertus.	Wel knew he / the old Esculapiūs And deiscorides / and eke Rusus Olde ypocras / and Galyen Serapyoū / Razis / and Auyȝen Auuerrois / Dasmacien / and Costantyn Bernard / Gatisdeñ / and Gilbertyn
mark	008r	GP	C		443 Since in medicine gold is a restorative for the heart, 444 Therefore he loved gold in particular.	For gold in phisyk / is accordiaꝉ Therfore he loued gold / in speciaꝉ.
mark	008v	GP	A		500 That if gold rust, what must iron do? 501 For if a priest, on whom we trust, should be foul 502 It is no wonder for a layman to go bad; 503 And it is a shame, if a priest is concerned: 504 A shit-stained shepherd and a clean sheep.	That if gold rust / what shuld Iren do (For if a preest be foul / on whom we trust No wonder is / a lewed man to rust) And shame it is / if a preest take kepe To se a sheton shepherde / & a clene shepe
mark and comment	013v	KT	C	oxen	886 I have, God knows, a large field to till, 887 And the oxen in my plow are weak. 888 The remnant of the tale is long enough.	I haue god wote / a large felde to ere And weyke be the Oxen / in my plow The remenaūt of my tale / is long I now
comment	017r	KT	B	the hounds striving for / the bone and lost	1177 We strive as the hounds did for the bone; 1178 They fought all day, and yet their share was nothing. 1179 There came a kite, while they were so angry, 1180 And carried away the bone between them both.	We striue / as dide þe houndes / for þe bon That faught al day / and ȝet here part was non There cam a kyte / whyle þei were so wrothe And bar a wey þe bon / bytwen hem bothe
mark and comment	020v	KT	B	distresen amour	1488 Now I will turn again to Arcite, 1489 That little knew how near his trouble was, 1490 To which Fortune had brought him in the snare. 1491 The busy lark, messenger of day, 1492 Salutes the morning gray in her song, 1493 And fiery Phoebus rises up so bright 1494 That all the orient laughs because of the light, 1495 And with his rays dries in the groves 1496 The silver drops hanging on the leaves.	Now wyl I trne / to Arcite a geyn That litel wyst / how ny þt was his care Til þt fortune / had brought hī in þe snare The besy larke / the messanger of day Saleweth in hir song / the morwe gray And verray Phebus / riseth vp so bryght That al þe orient / laugheth of þe light And wt hise stremes / drieth in the greues The siluer dropes / hangyng on the leues
mark	038r	KT	C		3041 "Then is it wisdom, as it seems to me, 3042 To make virtue of necessity, 3043 And take it well what we may not escape, 3044 And namely that which is due to us all.	Than is it wysdom / as it thynketh me To maken vertue / of necessite And take it wele / þt we may nat escheue And namelich / þat to vs alle / is due
mark	039r	MiP	scribe		3114 Our Host laughed and swore, "As I may move about (I swear), 3115 This goes well; the bag is opened. 3116 Let's see now who shall tell another tale;	Oure host lough / and swor as mot I gon This goth a right / vnbocled is the male Lat se now / who shal telle / a nother tale
mark	039v	MiP	C		3163 A husband must not be inquisitive 3164 Of God's secrets, nor of his wife. 3165 So long as he can find God's plenty there, 3166 Of the rest he needs not enquire."	An husbonde / shal nat ben inquesitif Of goddes preuyte / ne of his wyf So he may fynden / goddes foyson there Of the remenant / nedeth nat enquere
running title	055r	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
running title	055v	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
comment	055v	MLT	A	exordio	151 Of the Emperor's daughter, Lady Custance	Of the Emperoures doughter / Dame Custaunce
nota and comment	055v	MLT	A	Nota of / gentylesse	162 In her is great beauty, without pride, 163 Youth, without immaturity or folly; 164 In all her deeds virtue is her guide; 165 Humility has slain in her all tyranny. 166 She is mirror of all courtesy; 167 Her heart is a true chamber of holiness, 168 Her hand, minister of generosity in giving alms.	In hire is heigh beaute / with outen pride 653outhe with outen greenheede / or of folye To alle hire werkes / vertu is hire gyde Humblesse hath slayn in hire / al tirannye She is myrour / of al curteisye Hir herte is verrey chaumbre / of holynesse Hir / and Ministre / of freedom / for almesse ¶ And al this voys was soth / as god is trewe
comment	055v	MLT	A	Incipit fabula / Dame Custaunce /	134 In Syria once dwelt a company 135 Of rich merchants, and moreover trustworthy and true, 136 That wherever they sent their oriental goods, 137 Cloth of gold, and satins rich in color. 138 Their merchandise was so serviceable and so novel 139 That every person has desire to trade 140 With them, and also to sell them their goods.	In Surrye whilom / dwelled a companye Of chapmen riche / and ther to sad & trewe That wyde where / senten here spicerye Clothes of gold / of satyn / riche of hewe 40Here chaffare was so thrifty / & so newe That euery wyght / hath deynte to chaffare With hem / & eke to sellen hem here ware
running title	056r	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
running title	056v	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
running title	057r	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
running title	057v	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
running title	058r	MLT	A	Dame Custaunce		
mark and comment	068v	WP	B	genitur (genitalis)	113 I will bestow the flower of all my age 114 In the acts and in fruit of marriage.	I wol be stowe / the flour of al myn age In the actes / and in the fruyt of marriage

bracket	072r	WP	B		440 One of us two must bow, doubtless, 441 And since a man is more reasonable 442 Than a woman is, you must be able to bear suffering. 443 What ails you to grouch thus and groan? 444 Is it because you want to have my pudendum all to yourself? 445 Why, take it all! Lo, have it every bit! 446 By Saint Peter! I would curse you, if you did not love it well; 447 For if I would sell my `pretty thing,' 448 I could walk as fresh (newly clothed) as is a rose; 449 But I will keep it for your own pleasure.	Oon of vs two / must bowen doutelees And sithe a man / is more resonable Than womman is / 3e must ben suffrable What eyleth 3ow / to grucche thus and grone It is for 3e wolde / han my queynte allone We take it al / lo haue it euerydele Petir I shrewe 3ow / but 3e loue it wele For if I wolde selle / my beal Chose I coude walke / as fressh as any Rose But I wol kepe it / for 3oure owen toth 3e be to blame / by god I seye 3ow soth
comment	074v	WP	B	bookes of the woes of maried wyfes	671 He called it Valerie and Theofrastus, 672 At which book he always heartily laughed. 673 And also there was once a clerk at Rome, 674 A cardinal, who is called Saint Jerome, 675 That made a book against Jovinian; 676 In which book also there was Tertullian, 677 Crisippus, Trotula, and Heloise, 678 Who was abbess not far from Paris, 679 And also the Parables of Salomon, 680 Ovid's Art, and many other books, 681 And all these were bound in one volume. 682 And every night and day was his custom, 683 When he had leisure and spare time 684 From other worldly occupations, 685 To read in this book of wicked wives. 686 He knew of them more legends and lives 687 Than are of good women in the Bible.	He cleped it valerie / and Theofaste At which book / he lough alwey ful fast And eke there was somtyme / a Clerk at Rome A Cardynale that hight / Seynt Ierome That mad a book / a geyn Iovynyan In whiche book eke / there was Tertulan Crisippus / Tortula / and helowys That was Abbesse / nat fer fro Parys And eke the parobles / of Salamoũ Ouydes art / and bookes many oon And alle theise were bounden / in o volume And euery nyght & day / was his custume Whan he had leiser / and vacacione From other worldly / occupacione To redyn in this book / of wykked wyues He knew of hem / moo legendes & lyues Than ben of goode wyues / in the bible
bracket	077r	WT	B		899 The queen thanks the king with all her might, 900 And after this she spoke thus to the knight, 901 When she saw her time, upon a day: 902 "Thou standest yet," she said, "in such condition, 903 That of thy life yet thou hast no assurance 904 I grant thee life, if thou canst tell me 905 What thing it is that women most desire. 906 Beware, and keep thy neck-bone from iron (axe)! 907 And if thou canst not tell it right now, 908 Yet I will give thee leave to go 909 A twelvemonth and a day, to seek to learn	The Quene thanketh the kyng / wt al hire myght And aftir this / thus spak she to the knyght Whan that she saw hire tyme / vp on a day Thow stondest 3et qd she / in swich array That of thy lif / 3et hast þu non seurte I gaunte the lif / if thow canst telle me What thyng is it / that wommen most desiren Be war / & kepe thyn nekke bon / from Ireñ And if þu canst nat / telle it me anoon 3et wol I 3eue the / leue for to goon A twelwemoneth & a day / to seche & leere

comment	078r	WT	B	Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter	975 She said; "to thee I tell it and no others;	Quod she / to the I telle it and no moo
comment	078v	WT	B	nota generaliter	1037 "My liege lady, without exception," he said, 1038 "Women desire to have sovereignty 1039 As well over her husband as her love,	My liege lady / generally qd he Wommen desiren / to han soueraignete As wel ouer hire husbonde / as hire loue
mark	080r	WT	C		1169 There shall you see clearly that it is no doubt 1170 That he is noble who does noble deeds.	There shul 3e sen expersse / that no dred is That he is gentil / that doth gentil dedis
mark and comment	080r	WT	C	de paupertate	1193 'The poor man, when he goes along the roadway, 1194 Before the thieves he may sing and play.'	The pore man / whan he goth by the wey Byfore the theues / he may synge & pley
mark	080v	WT	C		1236 "Then have I gotten mastery of you," she said, 1237 "Since I may choose and govern as I please?" 1238 "Yes, certainly, wife," he said, "I consider it best."	Than haue I get of 3ow / the maistrye qd she Syn I may chese / and gouerne as me list 3e certes wyf qd he / I holde it the best
comment	088r	ST	B	glotony the fall of man from Adam	1915 From Paradise first, if I shall not lie, 1916 Was man chased out for his gluttony; 1917 And chaste was man in Paradise, certainly.	Fro Paradys first / if I shal nat lye Was man out chased / for his glotonye And chast was man / in paradys certeyne
comment and nota	090v	ST	B	not / a plesant gist / to a frier	2121 This sick man grew well nigh mad for ire; 2122 He wished that the friar had been afire 2123 With his false dissimulation.	This syke man / wex my wood / for Ire He wolde that the frere / had ben a fire With his fals / dissimulacione
comment	090v	ST	B	frier fart	2135 Thus shalt thou swear on thy religious vows, 2136 Without fraud or quibbling."	Thus shalt þu swere / on thy professione With outen fraude / or cauellacione
mark	091r	ST	B		2187 God likes not that `Rabbi' men us call, 2188 Neither in market nor in your large hall."	God lyketh nat / that Raby men vs calle either in market / ne in 3oure large halle
comment and nota	091v	ST	B	not / Lepidus capellus	2243 Now stood the lord's squire at the board, 2244 Who carved his meat, and heard word by word 2245 Of all the things which I have told you.	Now stod the lordes squyer / at his bord That carf his mete / and herd word by word Of al this thyng / of which I haue 3ow seyde
comment	091v	ST	B	the tayle of the cart wheele and frier fart	2248 To you, sir friar, providing you be not angry, 2249 How this fart should evenly be divided 2250 Among your convent, if it pleased me." 2251 "Tell," said the lord, "and thou shalt have straightway 2252 A gown-cloth, by God and by Saint John!"	To 3ow sire frere / so 3e be nat wroth How that his fart / shulde euene deled be A monge 3oure Couent / if it lyked the me Telle qd the lord / & thow shalt haue a noon A govne cloth / by god and by Seynt Iohn
running title	093r	CT	B	marques of Hungary and Grissell		
running title	094r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	095r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	096r	CT	B	Grissell		

running title	097r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	098r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	099r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	100r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	101r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	102r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	103r	CT	B	Grissell		
running title	104r	CT	B	Grissell		
mark	113r	MeT	B		1869 I say, "O innocent Damian, alas! 1870 Answer to my question, in this case. 1871 How shalt thou to thy lady, fresh May, 1872 Tell thy woe? She will always say nay. 1873 Also if thou speak, she will thy woe reveal. 1874 God be thy help! I can no better say."	I seide / o seely Damyan / allas Answere to myn demaunde / as in this cas How shalt þu / to thy lady fressh may Telle thy woo / she wyl alwey sey nay Eke if þu speke / she wyl thy woo be wrey God be thyn helpe / I can no betyr sey
running title	118r	MeT	A	January and Damian		
mark	161v	ToMe	A		998 Wherefore we should, as well in the death of our children 998A as in the loss of our other earthly goods, have patience.	wherfore vs oughte as wel in the deth of oure children / as in the losse of oure goodes temporeles / haue pacience
mark	161v	ToMe	A		1003 Solomon says, `Do all thy business by taking advice, and thou shalt never repent.'"	Salamon seith / werke alł thynges by counseille / and þu shalt neuere repente
nota	164r	ToMe	A	nota	1058 And also, certainly, if I governed myself according to thy advice	I wol gouerne me by thy counseil / in alle thyng
nota	164r	ToMe	A	nota	1105 Here may you see that if women were not good, and their advice good and beneficial, 1106 our Lord God of heaven would never have made them, 1106A nor called them help of man, but rather confusion of man.	that if that wõmen weren nat goode / & here coũseil good & profitable / oure lord god of heuene / wolde neither han wrought hẽ / ne called hẽ helpe of man / but rathere cõfusioũ of man
nota	164r	ToMe	A	nota	1113A He says that `words that are spoken discretely and properly are honeycombs, 1113B for they give sweetness to the soul and healthfulness to the body.'	he seith þt wordes þt ben spoken discretly by ordynaũce / ben honycombes / for they ȝeuen swetnesse to the soule / & holsumnesse to the body /

nota	164r	ToMe	E	Nota	1121 And then shall you drive from your heart three things that are contrary to good advice; 1122 that is to say, anger, greed, and haste.	And thãne shuln ȝe dryue fro ȝoure herte / thre thynges / þt ben contarious to good counseil / that is to seyn ; Ire / Coueitise / & hastynesse
nota	164r	ToMe	E	Nota	1124 he first is this: he who has great anger and wrath in himself, he supposes always that 1124A he can do a thing that he can not do.	he þt hath gret Ire / and wrathe in hĩ self / he weneth alwey / þt he may do thyng / þt he may nat do
nota	164r	ToMe	E	nota	1119 Saint James also says: `If any of you have need of wisdom, ask it of God.' 1120 And afterward then shall you take advice in yourself, 1120A and examine well your thoughts of such thing as it seems to you best for your advantage.	Seynt Iame eke seith / If any of ȝow haue nede of Sapience axe it of god / and afterward / thãne shuln ȝe take coũseil / in ȝour self / and examyne wel ȝour thoughtes / of swich thynges / as ȝow thynketh / that is best for ȝour profyt
mark	164v	ToMe	A		1132A for evere the moore habundaunce that he hath of richesse, the moore he desireth.	For euere the more habundaunce þt he hath of richesse / the more he desireth
mark and nota	164v	ToMe	A	nota	1127 The third is this, that he that is angry and wrathful, as says Seneca, 1127A can not speak anything but blameworthy things, 1128 and with his vicious words he stirs other folk to anger and to ire	The thridde is this / that he þt is Irous & wroth / as seith Senek / ne may nat speke / but blameful thynges / 160 and with hise vicious wordes / he stereth oþere folk / to angre & to Ire
nota	165r	ToMe	E	Nota Nota oNo NNoota xxx yyy X Hrist b / but cn / Lord Jesus Christ	1173 for Solomon says, `Take no counsel of a fool, 1173A for he can not advise except in accordance with his own desire and his inclination.' 1174 The book says that `the characteristic of a fool is this: he easily believes harm of every person, 1174A and easily believes all goodness in himself.'	For Sala- mon seith / take no coũseil of a fool / for he ne can nat coũ- seille / but after his owen lust / & his affeccõn / the book seith / the proprete of a fool / is this ; he troweth lightly harm / of euery wight & lightly troweth al bounte / in hĩ self /
mark	169v	ToMe	A		1410 "Thy name is Melibee; this is to say, `a man that drinks honey.' 1411 Thou hast drunk so much honey of sweet temporal riches, and pleasures and honors of this world 1412 that thou art drunk and hast forgotten Jesus Christ thy creator.	Thy name is Melibe / this is to seyn / a man þt drynketh hony / þu hast dronke so muche hony / of swete temporel richesses & delices & honoures of this world / þ þu art dronken / & hast forgeten Ihũ cist þi creatur

comment	170r	ToMe	B	fortuna instabilis	1447 "Certainly," said Prudence, "if you will work by my advice, you shall not test Fortune in any way, 1448 nor shall you rely on or bow unto her, according to the word of Seneca, 1449 for 'things that are foolishly done, and that are in hope of Fortune, shall never come to a good end.' 1450 And, as the same Seneca says, `The more clear and the more shining that Fortune is, 1450A the more brittle and the sooner broken she is.'	Certes qd Pudence / if ȝe wol werke by my coũseil ȝe shuln nat assaie fortune by no wey / ne ȝe ne shuln nat lene or bowe vn to hire / after the word of Senek ¶ For thynges þt ben folily doon / And tho þt ben doon in hope of fortune / sh- uln neuere come to good ende ¶ And as the same Senek seith ; The more cler / & the more shynynge þt fortune is / the more brotel & the sonner broke she is /
mark	171r	ToMe	D		1489A do thee annoyance or grievance, endure it, 1490 for he that once has grieved thee, may another time relieve thee and help.' 1491 Yet I assume (for the sake of argument) you have both might and permission to avenge yourself	than þtu / do the a noye or greuaũce ; suffre hiõ / for he þtoones hath greued the / may another tyme releue the & helpe / ȝet sette I kas / ȝe haue bothe myght & licence / for to venge ȝow
mark and comment	173r	ToMe	B	qd [quod] nat...	1624 Afterward, in getting of your riches and in using them you must always have three things in your heart 1625 (that is to say, our Lord God, conscience, and good name).	Afterward in getyng of ȝour richesses / and in vsynge of hẽ / ȝe shuln alwey haue thre thynges in ȝoure herte / þ is to seyn ; oure lord god / Conscience / & good name
mark	176r	ToMe	D		1794 "There is an old proverb," said she, "which says that `the goodness that thou can do this day, do it, 1795 and abide not nor delay it not till tomorrow.'	There is an olde prouerbe quod she / seith ; þat the goodnesse þt þu maist do this day / do it and a bide nat / ne delay it nat til to morwe

mark and comment	176r	ToMe	D	rever know submission	1817 "Sir," said he, "we know well that we are unworthy to come unto the court 1817A of so great a lord and so worthy as you are. 1818 For we have so greatly transgressed, and have offended 1818A and done wrong in such a way against your high lordship 1819 that truly we have deserved the death. 1820 But yet, for the great goodness and gentleness that all the world witnesses of your person, 1821 we submit ourselves to the excellence and benignity of your gracious lordship, 1822 and are ready to obey all your commandments, 1823 beseeching you that of your merciful pity 1823A you will consider our great repentance and low submission 1824 and grant us forgiveness of our outrageous trespass and offense.	Sire quod he / we knowen wel / þt we ben vnworthy / to co- me to the court of so gret a lord / & so worthy as ȝe ben / For we han so gretly mystaken vs / & han offendid & a gilt in swich a wyse a geyn ȝoure heye lordshipe / þ trewely we han deserued the deeth / But ȝet for the grete goodnesse & debo- nairetee / þt al the world wytnesseth of ȝoure persone / we sb™- mitten vs to the excellence & benygnytee of ȝoure gacious lordshipe / & ben redy to obeye / to alle ȝoure comaundmẽ- tes / bysekynge ȝow / þt of ȝoure merciable pitee / ȝe wol consi- dere oure grete repentaunce & lowe submissioũ / & gaunte vs forȝeuenesse of oure outageous trespas & offence /
running title	179r	MoT	A	Sampson and Dalida		
comment	179r	MoT	A	Sampson and Dalida	2063 Unto his sweetheart Dalilah he told 2064 That all his strength lay in his hair,	Vn to his lemman Dalida / he tolde That in hise heeris / al his strengthe lay
running title	179v	MoT	A	"..."		
running title	180r	MoT	A	Hercules and Dianira		
running title	181v	MoT	A	Onedake and Cenobia		
mark and comment	181v	MoT	A	Le chastil dell Cenobia	2247 Zenobia, of Palmyra queen, 2248 As Persians write of her nobility, 2249 So worthy was in arms and so fierce 2250 That no person passed her in boldness, 2251 Nor in lineage, nor in other noble traits. 2252 Of the blood of kings of Persia is she descended. 2253 I say not that she had most beauty, 2254 But of her shape she could not be improved.	Cenobia / of Palymerie Quene 250As wryten Persiens / in here noblesse So worthy was in armes / & so kene That no wight passed hire / in hardynesse Ne in lynage / ne ĩ other gentillesse Of kynges blod of Perce / is she descended I sey nat / þt she had / moost fairestnesse But of hire shape / she myght nat ben amended
running title	182r	MoT	A	Sur Oneduke and Cenubia		
running title	184r	MoT	A	Oleferne		

comment	184r	MoT	A	et Judith son concubine	Concerning Holofernes 2551 Was never captain under a king 2552 That put more reigns in subjection, 2553 Nor was stronger in all things concerning the field of battle, 2554 In his time, nor greater of renown, 2555 Nor more arrogant in high presumption 2556 Than Holofernes, whom Fortune always kissed 2557 So wantonly, and led him up and down 2558 Until his head was off, before he knew it.	De Oliferno Was neuere capitaigne / vnder a kyng That Regnes moo / putte in subieccoũ Ne strengere was in feld / of alle thyng As in his tyme / ne grettere of renouñ Ne more pompous / in heigh persumpcioũ 470Than Olyferne / which fortune az kiste So lykerously / & ladde hĩ vp & doun Til that his hed was of / or that he wiste
comment and nota	186v	MoT	D	not . a lamentable hogelyn	2407 Of the anguish of Earl Ugolino of Pisa 2408 There can no tongue tell for pity. 2409 But a little way out of Pisa stands a tower, 2410 In which tower in prison he was put, 2411 And with him are his three little children; 2412 The eldest was scarcely five years of age. 2413 Alas, Fortune, it was great cruelty 2414 To put such birds in such a cage! 2415 He was damned to die in that prison, 2416 For Roger, who was bishop of Pisa, 2417 Had on him made a false accusation, 2418 Through which the people did rise against him	Of the Erl Hugelyn / of Pize the langor There may no tonge tellen / for pitee But litel out of Pize / stant a Tour In which Tour / in prisoũ put was he And with hĩ ben / hise litel children three The eldest skarsely / fyue ȝer was of age Allas fortune / it was gret crueltee Swich Briddes / for to putte / in swich a cage ¶ Dampned was he / to dye in þt prisoũ For Roger / which þt Busshope was / of Pize Had on hĩ mad / a fals suggestioũ Thurgh which the peeple / gan vp oon hĩ rise
comment	189v	NPT	B	malencholy dremes	2933 Right as the humor of melancholy 2934 Causes very many a man in sleep to cry 2935 For fear of black bears, or black bulls, 2936 Or else black devils will take them.	Right as the humour / of malencolie Causeth many a man / in sleepe to crie For fere of Blake Beres / or Booles blake Or elles blake deueles / þt wole hem take
running title	195v	SNT	A	Cecill and Valerian		
running title	197r	SNT	A	Cecill and Valerian		