

THE FEMALE AUDIENCE OF THE
MANUSCRIPTS OF CHAUCER'S
CANTERBURY TALES

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Abstract

This thesis revisits the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in order to piece together the evidence of women's involvement in the consumption and circulation of this work. The *Canterbury Tales* is often overlooked as a part of the literary diet of late medieval women. However, the background context of women's literacy and book usage suggests that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women had both the ability to read and the potential to be interested in the work. This thesis uses a new large-scale approach to the extant eighty-three manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in order to select a corpus with which to work and begins with an investigation of the internal and external evidence that indicates women used the manuscripts. It develops a new methodology and visualisations to map the social networks of women connected to the manuscripts and explores the localisation of each book in the select corpus to investigate how it affects these networks.

This thesis finds evidence that women used the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in an informal way, and the books were potentially kept in close proximity at home. Affluence is a common factor between these women, and they had social and familial connections to other owners of the work, implying participation in a network of awareness of the text. Late medieval and early modern women appear to play a more significant role in the consumption and circulation of the *Canterbury Tales* than at first expected. Book transmission is not always linear, and the mapping of networks with visualisations has aided in understanding the women who may have used these books. Ultimately, this thesis provides a new perspective on how the *Canterbury Tales* transcends a network of geographical and gender boundaries.

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Short Names and Sigils of the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*

Manuscript Shelf Mark	Short Name	Sigil
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21972 D (Merthyr)	Merthyr	Me
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt)	Hengwrt	Hg
Alnwick Castle, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, MS 455 (Northumberland)	Northumberland	Nl
Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 143 (Cardigan)	Cardigan	Cn
Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 46 (Phillipps 6570)	Harry Ransom 46	Ph1
Cambridge Trinity College MS R.3.19 (599)	Trinity College R.3.19	Tc3
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181	McClean 181	Fi
Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006	Pepys 2006	Pp
Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.15 (595)	Trinity College R.3.15	Tc2
Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.3	Trinity College R.3.3	Tc1
Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.4.24	MS Dd.4.24	Dd
Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.2.15	MS Ee.2.15	Ee
Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27	MS Gg.4.27	Gg
Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.3.26	MS Ii.3.26	Ii
Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.1.3	MS Kk.1.3	Kk
Cambridge, University Library MS Mm.2.5	MS Mm.2.5	Mm
Chatsworth House, Devonshire Fragment	Chatsworth	Ds2
Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College Library MS B.XXIII	Stonyhurst B.XXIII	St
Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer MS 48 (Phillipps 8136)	Bodmer 48	Ph2
Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 197	Hunter 197	Gl
Holkham Hall, Collection of the Earl of Leicester MS 667	Leicester 667	Hk
Lichfield, Cathedral Library MS 29	Lichfield 29	Lc
Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS 110	Lincoln 110	Ln
London, British Library MS Additional 10340	Additional 10340	Ad4
London, British Library MS Additional 25178	Additional 25178	Ad2

London, British Library MS Additional 35286	Additional 35286	Ad3
London, British Library MS Additional 5140	Additional 5140	Ad1
London, British Library MS Arundel 140	Arundel 140	Ar
London, British Library MS Egerton 2726	Egerton 2726	En1
London, British Library MS Egerton 2863	Egerton 2863	En2
London, British Library MS Egerton 2864	Egerton 2864	En3
London, British Library MS Harley 1239	Harley 1239	Ha1
London, British Library MS Harley 1704	Harley 1704	Hl1
London, British Library MS Harley 1758	Harley 1758	Ha2
London, British Library MS Harley 2251	Harley 2251	Hl2
London, British Library MS Harley 2382	Harley 2382	Hl3
London, British Library MS Harley 5908	Harley 5908	Hl4
London, British Library MS Harley 7333	Harley 7333	Ha3
London, British Library MS Harley 7334	Harley 7334	Ha4
London, British Library MS Harley 7335	Harley 7335	Ha5
London, British Library MS Lansdowne 851	Lansdowne 851	La
London, British Library MS Royal 17 D.XV	Royal 17.D.XV	Ry1
London, British Library MS Royal 18 C.II	Royal 18.C.II	Ry2
London, British Library MS Sloane 1009	Sloane 1009	Sl3
London, British Library MS Sloane 1685	Sloane 1685	Sl1
London, British Library MS Sloane 1686	Sloane 1686	Sl2
London, Royal College of Physicians MS 388	Physicians 388	Py
Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257	Longleat 257	Ll1
Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 29 part 2	Longleat 29	Ll2
Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 6709	Chetham's 6709	Ct
Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 113	Rylands Eng. 113	Ma
Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 63 (Oxford)	Rylands Eng. 63	Ox1
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS XIII.B.29	Naples XIII.B.29	Np
New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS Plimpton 253 (Phillipps 9970)	Plimpton 253	Pl
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum MS 249 (Morgan)	Morgan	Mg
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Barlow 20	Barlow 20	Bw

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 414	Bodley 141	Bo1
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686	Bodley 686	Bo2
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce d.4	Douce d.4	Do
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton Donat. 1	Hatton Donat. 1	Ht
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 600	Laud Misc. 600	Ld1
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 739	Laud Misc. 739	Ld2
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.86	Rawlinson C.86	Ra4
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 141	Rawlinson poet. 141	Ra1
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 149	Rawlinson poet. 149	Ra2
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 223	Rawlinson poet. 223	Ra3
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Arch. B.14	Selden Arch. B.14	Se
Oxford, Christ Church MS 152	Christ Church 152	Ch
Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 198	Corpus Christi 198	Cp
Oxford, New College MS D.314	New College D.314	Ne
Oxford, Trinity College MS Arch. 49	Trinity College Arch. 49	To1
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fonds Anglais 39	Fonds Anglais 39	Ps
Petworth House, The National Trust MS 7	Petworth	Pw
Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/1 (Phillipps 8137)	Rosenbach 1084/1	Ph3
Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/2 (Oxford)	Rosenbach 1084/2	Ox2
Princeton, University Library MS 100 (Helmingham)	Helmingham	He
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS El 26 C 9 (Ellesmere)	Ellesmere	El
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 140 (Phillipps 8299)	Huntington 140	Ph4
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 144	Huntington 144	Hn
Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 22 (Sion College)	Takamiya 22	Si
Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 24 (Devonshire)	Takamiya 24	Ds
Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 32 (Delamere)	Takamiya 32	DI
University of Chicago, Regenstein Library MS 564 (McCormick)	McCormick	Mc

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Although there remains a large extant corpus of eighty-three manuscripts, the *Canterbury Tales* is often overlooked when studies of late medieval women's reading are conducted. This thesis develops a new methodology for approaching the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* in order to visualise and map the social and geographical networks of women connected to the manuscripts, with a view to exploring the likelihood of late medieval and early modern women's access to the work. This approach could be considered part of the framework of 'cultural mapping', a term used by John J. Thompson, Stephen Kelly and Jason O'Rourke during their large-scale study of the corpus of *Brut* manuscripts. Thompson, Kelly and O'Rourke's project is in part a response to Ralph Hanna's call for an answer to the 'ultimate question manuscript studies need to face, the cultural move'.¹ Kelly and O'Rourke define cultural mapping as a development of a theoretical model for 'assessing textual production against the backdrop of variegated human cultural practices'.² Thompson asserts that cultural mapping has potential for 'establishing largely social and political cultural contexts for understanding manuscripts and texts'.³ This framework facilitates working with a large corpus of manuscripts and allows the exploration of 'the possibilities of geographical, social and textual mobility, transition, and exchange'.⁴ In response to Hanna's statement that 'local data is imperative – but only in so far as it contributes a larger picture',⁵ cultural mapping takes the small elements of manuscript scholarship such as marginalia, codicology and individual manuscript studies, and maps them against their socio-historical contexts, therefore discovering the 'cultural move'. This approach suits the study of the *Canterbury Tales* as it facilitates the asking of research questions that affect the corpus as a whole. This thesis maps the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts against the specific culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women's social networks and reading lives, but in doing that, creates a model for approaching the wide corpus of extant manuscripts in the context of their social networks. The initial findings suggested by the

¹ John J. Thompson, 'The Middle English Prose *Brut* and the possibilities of Cultural Mapping' in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), pp. 245-60 (p. 246). Ralph Hanna III, 'Analytical Survey 4: Middle English Manuscripts and the Study of Literature', *New Medieval Literatures*, 4 (2001), 243-67 (p. 248).

² Stephen P. Kelly and Jason O'Rourke, 'Culturally Mapping the Middle English Prose *Brut*: A Report from the "Imagining History" Project', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 6 (2001) 41-60, (p. 46).

³ Thompson, p. 260.

⁴ Thompson, p. 246.

⁵ Hanna, p. 248.

data are promising, with thirty manuscripts demonstrating some evidence of an association with women, over a third of the whole corpus of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. By linking the manuscripts with women and those women with one another, this thesis demonstrates the clear opportunities for late medieval and early modern women to access the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, and argues for a consideration of the work as part of these women's reading and book collections.

Ranging in date from c.1400 to c.1500, fifty-eight of the eighty-three extant manuscripts or manuscript fragments of the *Canterbury Tales* can be considered approximately complete in terms of their contents. They vary in levels of decoration, quality and cost. Fifty of the manuscripts or fragments are made of parchment, twenty-five of paper, and seven are a mixture of parchment and paper. The illumination of each manuscript ranges from nothing at all, through those with limited rubrication and paragraph marks, to expensive fully illuminated manuscripts with borders, vinets, champs and decorative initials. In addition to a variety of decoration, the manuscripts feature a wide range of extraneous marginalia such as dates, names, notes, drawings, bookplates, coats of arms and pressmarks. The potential settings for reading the *Canterbury Tales* suggest that the work was at hand in the aristocratic households of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where it was used for shared reading experiences by both adults and children. The initial survey of pre-existing data on the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts indicates that the extant marginalia is mostly sixteenth-century with approximately 375 instances. There are approximately 160 instances of fifteenth-century marginalia and under 100 examples which are not dated. Male-produced marginalia is dominant, with 60% of the extant fifteenth- and sixteenth-century marginalia produced by men compared to 7% produced by women. The appearance of marginalia later than the turn of the seventeenth century is rare, presumably because as time passed collectors and scholars wishing to protect the books replaced the active readership of the manuscripts.

The high number of extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* attests to its widespread contemporary circulation, and its significant impact on the late medieval book market. Furthermore, Chaucer's status as a well-known poet was maintained during the fifteenth century when the bulk of the manuscripts were produced, and this reputation continued into the sixteenth century and beyond. Initially, the evidence of a female audience for this corpus of manuscripts is not promising. There are no recorded examples of female ownership of the *Canterbury Tales* in the early fifteenth century,

although it is possible any evidence may not have survived.⁶ It is not that women could not read the work, the view that women were illiterate during the late medieval period has already been overturned by the work of a number of scholars.⁷ Potentially, illiteracy would remove women from the audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, or limit them to listeners only, but even as listeners the work would not have been inaccessible as long as there was someone who could read it aloud. If the manuscripts were widely circulated and women were able to read or indeed listen to someone else reading, why should they have avoided the *Canterbury Tales*? The presence of a small number of later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples⁸ indicates the possibility that some women did indeed own copies of the work, and suggests that a reconsideration of who read the text and how the manuscripts were used is needed.

This thesis will investigate the narrative of the female audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. To consider all the manuscripts of the work is an ambitious undertaking, therefore this thesis will also set out new ways of exploring and interpreting large volumes of qualitative manuscript data. The audience of the work can be initially defined as the recipients of the text, either via listening or reading. Due to the complexities of interpreting manuscript evidence, ‘access’ to the manuscripts is a key concept about which this thesis turns. Access to a text could mean an individual has heard it without ever seeing the written words. An individual’s access to a manuscript does not automatically mean they are its owner or reader, but it signifies the possibility of interaction between a manuscript and a person. This thesis will explore these possibilities of interaction between women and the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. By way of introduction, I will begin by exploring the links between the early audience of the *Canterbury Tales* and the later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century audience. Female literacy and involvement in the book market will also be taken into account in order to frame late medieval women’s likely participation in the audience of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. This background context will facilitate the outlining

⁶ Carol M. Meale, “‘Alle the Bokes That I Haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch’: Laywomen and Their Books in Late Medieval England”, in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 128-58 (p. 142).

⁷ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993). D.H. Green, *Women Readers in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘The “Gender Gap” Reconsidered: Manuscripts and Readers in Late-Medieval England’, *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 31 (2002), 239-62.

⁸ Meale, p. 142.

of the research themes which govern this thesis, and subsequently lead to the development of a new perspective on studying the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

1.1 The Early Audience of the *Canterbury Tales*

Chaucer was working on the *Canterbury Tales* during the last decade of the fourteenth century, probably the last decade of his life.⁹ During this period, he maintained associations with his administrative work and the court.¹⁰ The earliest audience of the *Canterbury Tales* are identified as Chaucer's contemporaries who listened to him perform the texts for the first time.¹¹ This group consisted of 'fellow gentlepersons and civil servants',¹² but there is some debate regarding the appearance of women in this early listening audience. Richard Firth Green urges us to imagine Chaucer as a court poet, 'reading to an audience which was primarily, if not exclusively, male'.¹³ However, despite his assertions, Green finds it necessary to acknowledge the high possibility that some women were present in Chaucer's early listening audience.¹⁴ Nicola McDonald takes into consideration Chaucer's potential associations with the women at court via his wife Philippa de Roet, lady-in-waiting to the queen.¹⁵ Additionally, contemporary records observe that Richard II called women to court and that Queen Anne spent a large proportion of her time with her husband, therefore McDonald argues that the queen's female attendants must have been 'a regular feature of court life'.¹⁶ Paul Strohm also expects that 'educated women of similar station' were likely to be present in Chaucer's early listening audience although in fewer numbers than men.¹⁷ When it is considered that women were unlikely to be civil servants, and more likely to be 'fellow

⁹ Douglas Gray, 'Chaucer, Geoffrey (c.1340–1400)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5191>> [accessed 10 December 2015].

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Richard Firth Green, 'Women in Chaucer's Audience', *The Chaucer Review*, 18 (1983), 146-54 (p. 146). Firth Green also considers the 'imagined audience' of readers; the audience whom Chaucer is thinking of while he is writing. I believe it is entirely possible that Chaucer may have included women in his 'imagined audience', particularly as Nicola McDonald presents a convincing argument for Chaucer's awareness of women in the audience of the *Legend of Good Women*. Nicola F. McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, Ladies at Court and the Female Reader', *The Chaucer Review*, 35 (2000), 22-42. However, an investigation into the internal workings of Chaucer's mind will not add any value to a study of the majority of the manuscripts which were produced after his death.

¹² Paul Strohm, 'The Social and Literary Scene in England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1-19 (p. 9).

¹³ Firth Green, p. 149.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 150.

¹⁵ McDonald, p. 25.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 27.

¹⁷ Strohm, pp. 11-12.

gentlepersons', it is possible to see the likelihood of their reduced numbers in the early listening audience, but the expectation of their presence has now been set.

Until relatively recently, it has been assumed that all the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were produced after Chaucer's death around 1400.¹⁸ If some of the manuscripts were produced *in vita*, there could have been overlap between the early listening audience and the early audience of the manuscripts. Working under the assumption that the earliest manuscripts were produced after Chaucer's death, and also acknowledging the relatively fragmentary state of the text, some scholars argue that a selection of the tales were circulating in some form prior to 1400.¹⁹ Others believe that manuscripts such as Hengwrt and Ellesmere²⁰ were created from fragments found in Chaucer's possession after his death,²¹ while still others prefer a combination of both situations.²² John Manly and Edith Rickert date the earliest manuscripts by their handwriting to no earlier than 1400.²³ However, Norman Blake contends that 'it is recognised by palaeographers that the dating of manuscripts by handwriting or other

¹⁸ A large quantity of scholarship has been written regarding the early circulation history of the *Canterbury Tales*. N.F. Blake, 'The Relationship between the Hengwrt and the Ellesmere Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*', *Essays and Studies*, 32 (1979), 1-18. Aage Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925). A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, ed. by M.B. Parkes (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 201-48. John Eadie, 'The Importance of Hengwrt: Two Studies', *English Studies*, 7 (1990), 322-34. Kathleen Forni, "'Queynte" Arguments: The Ellesmere Order may be the Most "Satisfactory" but is it Chaucer's?', *Chaucer Yearbook*, 5 (1998), 79-90. F.J. Furnivall, *A Temporary Preface to the Six Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales Part 1* (London: N. Trübner and Co, 1868). Simon Horobin, 'Editorial Assumptions and the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*', in *The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers*, ed. by Norman Blake and Peter Robinson (Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication, 1997), pp. 15-21. Charles A. Owen Jr., 'Pre 1450 Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*: Relationships and Significance', *The Chaucer Review*, 23 (1988), 1-29. Charles A. Owen Jr., *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991).

¹⁹ Ralph Hanna III, 'The Hengwrt Manuscript and the Canon of the *Canterbury Tales*', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 1 (1969), 64-84. Charles A. Owen Jr., 'The Alternative Reading of the *Canterbury Tales*: Chaucer's Texts and the Early Manuscripts', *PMLA*, 97 (1982), 237-50. M.C. Seymour, 'Hypothesis, Hyperbole and the Hengwrt Manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*', *English Studies*, 68 (1987), 214-19.

²⁰ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt) and San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS El 26 C 9 (Ellesmere).

²¹ Peter Robinson, 'Can We Trust the Hengwrt Manuscript?', in *Chaucer in Perspective: Middle English Essays in Honour of Norman Blake*, ed. by Geoffrey Lester (Sheffield: Continuum International Publishing, 1999), pp. 195-217. J.S.P. Tatlock, 'The *Canterbury Tales* in 1400', *PMLA*, 50 (1935), 100-39.

²² John Manly and Edith Rickert, as discussed by Germaine Dempster, 'Manly's Conception of the Early History of the *Canterbury Tales*', *PMLA*, 61 (1946), 379-415. Larry Benson considers the possibility of two versions of the *Canterbury Tales* of which an early one may have been either published or functioned as a working draft. Larry D. Benson, 'The Order of the *Canterbury Tales*', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 3 (1981), 77-120.

²³ *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, ed. by John Manly and Edith Rickert, 8 vols (Chicago University Press: Chicago University Press, 1940), I, pp. 148 and 268.

phenomena is not exact and that one might have to allow for a spread of twenty-five years around any posited date', thus implying the possibility of dating the earliest manuscripts during Chaucer's lifetime.²⁴ Estelle Stubbs acknowledges this twenty-five year date range, plausibly suggesting that four of the earliest manuscripts,²⁵ written by two scribes who potentially knew Chaucer,²⁶ 'could conceivably be dated within the lifetime of the poet'.²⁷ In addition to this factor, the border decoration of Ellesmere can be dated to the late fourteenth century.²⁸ Kathleen Scott argues that this decoration could be even later, suggesting a latest date of 1400 to 1405.²⁹ Based on this idea, and the likelihood that the borders of a manuscript would have been completed once the text was copied, Stubbs argues that parts of Ellesmere may have been overseen by Chaucer himself, and that the order of the manuscript is influenced by the order of Hengwrt.³⁰ She also observes that there is a 'disruption' in the decorative work in Ellesmere which falls after the Cook's Tale.³¹ On fol. 57v of the Hengwrt manuscript, at the same point in the text after the Cook's Tale, is the well-known comment 'of this cokes tale maked Chaucer na moore'. These details lead Stubbs to suggest that the scribes and Chaucer were working on and revising the *Canterbury Tales* but stopped abruptly at the poet's death.³² If, as seems to be the case, the earliest manuscripts originated during Chaucer's lifetime, then the previously discussed early listening audience may also have had the chance to read the *Canterbury Tales*.

A possible overlap between the early listening audience and the first audience of the manuscripts implies that there were a group of people with personal connections to Chaucer who may have been aware of the existence of the *Canterbury Tales* as a text in manuscript form. The social group who were the first readers of the *Canterbury Tales*

²⁴ N.F. Blake, 'Chaucer and the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 1 (1997), 96-122 (p. 103).

²⁵ Hengwrt, Ellesmere, London, British Library, MS Harley 7334 and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 198.

²⁶ Adam Pinkhurst and John Marchaunt, see also Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature 1375-1425* (York: York Medieval Press, 2013).

²⁷ Estelle Stubbs, "'Here's One I Prepared Earlier': The Work of Scribe D on Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 198", *Review of English Studies*, 58 (2007), 133-53 (p. 140).

²⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 566.

²⁹ Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), II, p. 142.

³⁰ Estelle Stubbs, 'Observations on the Hengwrt Chaucer', in *The Hengwrt Chaucer Digital Facsimile*, ed. by Estelle Stubbs (Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2000), Conclusion, para. 5 of 6.

³¹ Ibid, 'The Treatment of the Cook's Tale in Hg and El and its Significance for the Textual Tradition', para 7 of 17.

³² Ibid. 'Conclusion'.

are described by Derek Pearsall as ‘the Chaucer circle’.³³ Strohm considers the members of this ‘circle’ to be knights and civil servants who were contemporaries of Chaucer in age, making it unlikely that their lifespans would reach far into the fifteenth century.³⁴ Although the first possible readers of the extant manuscripts may not have been the same people, Strohm suggests that the six most complete pre-1420 copies of the *Canterbury Tales* ‘all seem to have been owned by persons with social positions more or less similar to those of Chaucer’s original circle.’³⁵ This group were not readers of Chaucer exclusively, they were becoming an ‘emergent public for English literary works.’³⁶ Those who participated in this ‘emergent public’ may have taken the first steps in promoting the *Canterbury Tales* via word of mouth and contributing to an awareness of the text amongst their social network. This spread of knowledge might then have fuelled demand, resulting in the production of further manuscripts. Did women play a role in this social network? As the production of the manuscripts increased during the fifteenth century, and the work continued to be read during the sixteenth, the likelihood of women’s involvement in the consumption and circulation of the text, while possible, remains to be examined.

1.2 The Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Audience of the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*

The majority of the extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were produced during the fifteenth century. Chaucer influenced a quantity of the literature produced during this period, which suggests that his works were well known in order to provide other writers with inspiration.³⁷ Considering the large number of extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, it is worth exploring the idea that there were an even larger number of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* produced during the fifteenth century. Michael Sargent attempts to estimate how many manuscripts were available in the first place, saying that the number of those that are extant ‘correlate approximately with the numbers of

³³ Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 181.

³⁴ Paul Strohm, ‘Chaucer’s Fifteenth-Century Audience and the Narrowing of the “Chaucer Tradition”’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 4 (1982), 3-32 (pp. 9-11). Paul Strohm, *Social Chaucer* (London: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 41-46.

³⁵ Strohm, ‘Chaucer’s Fifteenth-Century Audience’, p. 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 8.

³⁷ See Julia Boffey, ‘The Reputation and Circulation of Chaucer’s Lyrics in the Fifteenth Century’, *The Chaucer Review*, 28 (1993), 23-40. Julia Boffey, ‘Proverbial Chaucer and the Chaucer Canon’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1995), 37-47. A.S.G. Edwards, ‘The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland’, *Florilegium*, 15 (1998), 1-22.

manuscripts originally copied'.³⁸ For example, there are more extant copies of the Bible, the *Brut* and the *Prick of Conscience* than other texts so logically there were probably more to begin with.³⁹ The same idea can be applied to the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts as they are the next largest category of extant texts after the Bible, the *Brut* and the *Prick of Conscience*.⁴⁰ Crucially, Sargent asserts that manuscript survivals cannot be representative of the exact numbers which once existed, but ascribing patterns to random chance is unsatisfactory.⁴¹ There must have been a large number of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in circulation during the fifteenth century for eighty-three to have survived today.

As manuscripts were usually produced to meet demand,⁴² a large number of them could also be considered a direct reflection of demand, which is in turn fuelled by awareness of, and desire for, the text. When discussing the emerging circulation of late medieval books, Linne Mooney contends that 'earlier copies originated closest to the author and then spread further if the work attracted sufficient attention to warrant it'.⁴³ Strohm also acknowledges 'an enlarged fifteenth-century readership' for the *Canterbury Tales* and suggests that a 'progressive' increase in this readership is shown by the dissemination of the manuscripts.⁴⁴ An increase in fifteenth-century readers shows that during the fifteenth century, the *Canterbury Tales* gained and maintained an interested audience beyond the early listening audience and first readers of the manuscripts. The number of extant manuscripts produced during the fifteenth century suggests that the text attracted 'sufficient attention' to create demand. Another possible indication of high demand for the *Canterbury Tales* is the fact that it was one of the earliest books printed by Caxton.⁴⁵ Helen Cooper demonstrates that the early printers first produced works

³⁸ 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. by Linne Mooney and Margaret Connolly (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), pp. 205-43 (p. 212).

³⁹ Ibid. p. 212.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 206.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 213.

⁴² Regarding the *Prick of Conscience* possibly being made speculatively see Carol M. Meale, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production and Social Status', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 201-38.

⁴³ Linne Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', in *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 192-211 (p. 195).

⁴⁴ Strohm, 'Chaucer's Fifteenth-Century Audience', p. 13.

⁴⁵ With so many manuscripts to study, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to include printed versions of the *Canterbury Tales*, however the impact of printing on the manuscript market will be acknowledged when necessary during the discussion.

that already had a long manuscript tradition.⁴⁶ Additionally, Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs argue that ‘as a professional chooser of books Caxton can act as a touchstone for the popularity of a text.’⁴⁷ The existence of a long manuscript tradition of any work suggests there is already a demand for that particular text, thus making it a more lucrative choice for printers seeking works to print. As part of Caxton’s job was the selection of books for printing, he probably maintained up-to-date knowledge of the texts most likely to sell. Therefore his choice of printing the *Canterbury Tales* could reflect its popularity in manuscript form.

It is clear that there were a large number of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in circulation during the early fifteenth century, and this number increased over time, then dropped off at the advent of printing.⁴⁸ Caution must be exercised regarding the number of readers, because as Sargent advises, importance ‘might also attach to a written work without it being read’.⁴⁹ I agree that it is difficult to prove that a work was read without explicit evidence. However, the attachment of importance to a work, regardless of the ability to prove whether it was read or not, continues to demonstrate a potential group of consumers with an awareness of the text who could have created demand for the production of the manuscripts. The increased dissemination of the manuscripts during the fifteenth century indicates the presence of a wider audience in this period, beyond that of the early listening audience or the ‘Chaucer circle’. The previous section discussed the likelihood of the early audience of the manuscripts also being civil servants and members of the upper classes,⁵⁰ a trend which seems to have continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the work was translated into print.⁵¹ It appears that the later audience did not change in identity, but demand and

⁴⁶ Helen Cooper, ‘Literary Reformations of the Middle Ages’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed. by Andrew Galloway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 261-78 (pp. 265 and 71).

⁴⁷ Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, ‘Choosing a Book in Late Fifteenth-Century England and Burgundy’, in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1995), pp. 61-98 (p. 62).

⁴⁸ This increase and subsequent drop is suggested by the production dates of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, we have more manuscripts produced in the middle of the fifteenth century than the beginning, and comparatively fewer in the last quarter of the century. For production dates see Manly and Rickert, I.

⁴⁹ Sargent, p. 207.

⁵⁰ For a case study see Malcolm Richardson, ‘The Earliest Known Owners of “Canterbury Tales” Manuscripts and Chaucer’s Secondary Audience’, *Chaucer Review*, 25 (1990), 17-32.

⁵¹ See Alison Wiggins, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?’, *Library*, 7th ser., 9 (2008), 3-36. Alison Wiggins, ‘Frances Wolfreston’s Chaucer’, in *Women and Writing, c.1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 77-89.

ownership increased across an audience of similar social standing. The implication is that there was an awareness of the *Canterbury Tales* which could have been developed via a social network that formed over generations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

During the sixteenth century, the majority of the extant *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts were still in circulation. Chaucer's influence and the apparent popularity of the work continued even after production of the manuscripts was replaced by printing.⁵² The level of status Chaucer had is explained by Cooper as in 1532 the first edition of Chaucer's *Works* was published and to name it thus was 'the English equivalent of the Latin *opera*, the term normally reserved for the most authoritative Classical authors'.⁵³ By 1589 Puttenham refers to Chaucer as 'father of our English poets'.⁵⁴ It is clear that Chaucer's influence continued throughout the sixteenth century, his work was even used in pro-Reformation documents and survived the banned books doctrine which was enacted in 1540.⁵⁵ The purpose of the Protestant reformers was to seek 'historical validation for the overthrow of papal authority',⁵⁶ and part of the Protestant agenda involved ascribing Wycliffite works to Chaucer to make him appear as the 'forefather of the Anglican church'.⁵⁷ It seems likely that those who wanted to influence public opinion would use something which was already popular and influential for their own aims, in this case Chaucer's name and texts. Additionally, Cooper suggests that both Catholics and Protestants attempted to make use of Chaucer's texts for propaganda purposes after the Reformation, although the Protestants were more successful.⁵⁸ Thus Chaucer was known to both sides of the debate, demonstrating the continuation of widespread awareness of his work during the sixteenth century. If knowledge of the

⁵² For the impact of printing on the works of Chaucer see Julia Boffey, 'Chaucer's Fortune in the 1530s: Some Sixteenth-Century Recycling', in *Studies in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Texts in Honour of John Scattergood*, ed. by Anne Marie D'Arcy and Alan J. Fletcher (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), pp. 53-64. A.S.G. Edwards, 'Chaucer from Manuscript to Print: The Social Text and the Critical Text', *Mosaic*, 28 (1995), 1-12.

⁵³ Cooper, p. 274.

⁵⁴ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1999), p. 12. Derek Brewer acknowledges Puttenham's work as influential, although disregards it further due to a 'disregard of the possibility of sounding the final inflexions (usually -e), and failure to recognise the corruption of the texts'. Derek Brewer, *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Critical Heritage Volume 1 1385-1837*, (London, US: Routledge, 2002), p. 126. Despite the attribution to George Puttenham, Puttenham could be either Richard (1520?-1601?) or George (d. 1590), who were brothers. Ibid. p. 126.

⁵⁵ James Simpson, 'Chaucer's Presence and Absence, 1400-1550', in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. by Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 251-69 (pp. 265-66).

⁵⁶ Edwards, 'The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland', p. 13.

⁵⁷ Cooper, p. 274.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 274.

Canterbury Tales was a relatively common phenomenon, it would have been difficult for all women to avoid the work completely.

The reaction of audiences to Chaucer's work during the fifteenth century seems to have been generally conservative, with the more didactic tales being copied individually,⁵⁹ suggesting an interest in what A.S.G. Edwards terms 'the moral Chaucer'.⁶⁰ By the sixteenth century there emerges the possibility that the Jacobean 'backlash' against women's education hindered women's literacy,⁶¹ and Jacqueline Pearson also says that 'between 1500 and 1700 rates of female literacy seem to have been lower than male in all classes.'⁶² Pearson describes how during the sixteenth century women's reading was 'policed' and they were encouraged to consume devotional, instructional, and historical texts, in addition to texts about women's lives.⁶³ Erotic poetry, plays and romance fiction were considered unsuitable.⁶⁴ I do not think these restrictions would have meant the *Canterbury Tales* was out of bounds for women as there are enough tales which fit the description of 'devotional, instructional, historical and women's lives'⁶⁵ within the collection as a whole. Additionally, if Chaucer was seen as a 'moral' writer by the end of the fifteenth century and utilised by the pro-Reformation movement to revise historical information, his work may have seemed acceptable even during the restriction of women's reading during the sixteenth century. Alison Wiggins's study of Renaissance readers of printed works of Chaucer suggests that the printed corpus of books did have a female audience to some extent.⁶⁶ It seems unlikely a female audience for the printed *Works*, including the *Canterbury Tales*, would have sprung up separately from a female audience of the manuscripts of the work. Thus there is value in seeking the women who may have accessed the manuscripts themselves during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁵⁹ Simpson, p. 256.

⁶⁰ Edwards, 'The Early Reception of Chaucer and Langland', p. 8.

⁶¹ Jacqueline Pearson, 'Women Reading, Reading Women', in *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700*, ed. by Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 80-99 (p. 81).

⁶² Ibid. p. 80.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 81.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 81.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 81.

⁶⁶ See Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?' and 'Frances Wolfreton's Chaucer'.

1.3 Women as a Potential Audience for the *Canterbury Tales*

Thus far it seems likely that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, knowledge of the *Canterbury Tales* was a widespread phenomenon, and this knowledge was potentially fuelled by personal interactions across a social network of well-to-do individuals. Women during this period may have been unable to avoid awareness of the work, but how likely were they to have read the manuscripts? In her survey of privately owned English books from 1300 to 1450, Susan Cavanaugh summarises that 'literacy was widespread, that women were among the more important consumers of vernacular literature, and above all, that books perhaps were not uncommon household items'.⁶⁷ If this statement is the case, then the probability that women were consumers of the *Canterbury Tales* is high. The following section will examine how late medieval women acquired literacy and interacted with the book market, and how this activity makes them a potential audience for the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. It is important to note that some actions which demonstrate involvement with the book market, such as making a will to bequeath books or commissioning a text, are more likely to be conducted by women who possessed the wealth associated with being a member of the upper classes. Class distinctions and how they might impact on a woman's access to a manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales* will be examined in the next section.

Today literacy is defined as the ability to both read and write. However, during the period under discussion, reading and writing were separate skills,⁶⁸ and it was possible for an individual to vary in their level of ability in either subject. For clarity, the term literacy in this thesis is considered only to represent the ability to read.⁶⁹ Another aspect of medieval literacy is that often only those who knew Latin were considered literate.⁷⁰ When a woman is referred to as illiterate it may in fact mean that she cannot read and write in Latin, therefore it is possible for women to be literate in the vernacular despite the label of illiteracy. This discussion will consider literacy to include reading in the vernacular, as the *Canterbury Tales* is primarily in Middle English and comprehension of Latin is not essential for an understanding of the text.

⁶⁷ Susan H. Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300-1450' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), p. 19.

⁶⁸ Clanchy, p. 194.

⁶⁹ Writing will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4: In the Margins.

⁷⁰ M.B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers, Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1991), p. 275.

Women appear to have played a primary role in learning to read.⁷¹ Nicholas Orme argues that ‘by about 1300 it was possible to make the general statement that ‘woman teacheth child on book’,⁷² which suggests that generally women started the early literary education of children. It seems probable that girls were included because if teaching children was considered a woman’s role, then women would have both wanted and needed their daughters to be able to fulfil this role later in life, as it was also their responsibility to ensure girls were trained in the skills they would need as adults.⁷³

Overall, there was a general increase in literacy during the late Middle Ages which began earlier with the Anglo-Norman nobility of the twelfth century,⁷⁴ and has subsequently been attributed by Michael Clanchy to the domestication of the liturgical book.⁷⁵ It is of course important to remember that the ownership of books does not equal literacy,⁷⁶ particularly with reference to liturgical books due to the importance of piety. For example, Clanchy says that from the thirteenth century onward ‘everyone needed a prayer-book, their own interactive record of scripture whether or not they could read.’⁷⁷ Nevertheless, there seems to be a relationship between women, their religious books and teaching the early stages of reading. Psalters and Books of Hours were most likely used because they performed a double function; they were available and could be used for teaching and reading the prayers themselves.⁷⁸ It is also possible that as literacy increased, more women became literate and needed to teach their children, thus using their Books of Hours and perpetuating the tradition.

In addition to Psalters and Books of Hours, women often made use of other religious works, and were involved in patronage and commissioning both translations and new texts.⁷⁹ Although the general increase in literacy may have resulted in this phenomenon increasing during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it appears to have

⁷¹ Learning to read will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3: In the Home.

⁷² Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1989), p. 1.

⁷³ Orme, p. 161.

⁷⁴ Parkes, p. 276.

⁷⁵ Clanchy, p. 112.

⁷⁶ Alison Truelove, ‘Literacy’, in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester and New York: Manuscript University Press, 2005), pp. 84-99 (p. 88).

⁷⁷ Clanchy, p. 110.

⁷⁸ Nicola McDonald points out that learning to read is primarily inspired by piety and the first step towards becoming a good Christian. Nicola F. McDonald, ‘A York Primer and Its Alphabet: Reading Women in a Lay Household’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. by Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 181-97 (p. 186).

⁷⁹ See Innes-Parker, ‘The Gender-Gap Reconsidered’ and Felicity Riddy, ‘“Women Talking About the Things of God”: A Late Medieval Subculture’, in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 104-27.

had an established tradition, as studies such as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's on twelfth and thirteenth century hagiography demonstrate.⁸⁰ The association of women with religious books leads Green to argue that women were part of 'a literate culture dominated by religious and didactic writing.'⁸¹ Given the likely conservative fifteenth- and sixteenth-century attitudes towards the *Canterbury Tales* discussed in the previous section, it seems quite possible that the *Canterbury Tales* may have been included in this type of writing, although we should not assume that late medieval women were limited to reading religious and didactic texts only. There is some evidence that women owned non-devotional works such as texts by John Lydgate,⁸² the vernacular travelogue the *Three Kings of Cologne*⁸³ and also Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*⁸⁴ and *Troilus and Criseyde*.⁸⁵ It has been argued that women's libraries contained intellectual and theological books, tomes on natural history, historical subjects and the liberal arts.⁸⁶ Romances were also popular as entertainment⁸⁷ and as a reflection of contemporary ideas of what a female audience would respond to.⁸⁸ As there is evidence that some women owned other works by Chaucer, and women generally appear to have accessed a range of texts, it is difficult to assume the *Canterbury Tales* was not amongst works read by women.

How did late medieval women acquire the wide variety of books they seem likely to have read? One possibility is that they received them from other women or family members. There is evidence that upper class women who first taught their daughters to read went on to bequeath books to those daughters, along with female friends and other relatives, or religious houses of women.⁸⁹ One of the most important sources of evidence for female book ownership is their wills or testaments.⁹⁰ Women

⁸⁰ See Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "'Clerc u Lai, Muine u Dame': Women and Anglo-Norman Hagiography in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 61-85.

⁸¹ Green, p. 129.

⁸² Some of Lydgate's works were religious but Meale identifies a female audience for his secular works. Meale, p. 142.

⁸³ Julia Boffey, "'Many Grete Myraclys...in Divers Contreys of the Eest': The Reading and Circulation of the Middle English Prose *Three Kings of Cologne*", in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and et al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 35-47 (p. 47).

⁸⁴ McDonald, 'Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*', p. 34-36.

⁸⁵ Meale, p. 142.

⁸⁶ Green, p. 145.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 124. Parkes, p. 293.

⁸⁸ Flora Alexander, 'Women as Lovers in Early English Romance', in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 24-40 (p. 28).

⁸⁹ Green, p. 87-88.

⁹⁰ Meale, p. 130.

who made wills tended to be independent, such as widows who had no husbands to control their money and possessions.⁹¹ The lack of evidence for married women does not mean that they did not own books. Widows were more likely to leave recorded evidence of ownership, and if husbands acted on behalf of their wives in the book market, any evidence may simply appear as if they were acting for themselves.

Patronage is another way of acquiring books. Female literary patronage is fairly common from the twelfth century onwards, with noblewomen involved in the patronage of Anglo-Norman literature, in particular hagiography.⁹² Patronage can follow a political, personal or religious agenda, or be implemented with the desire for knowledge, educating children or entertainment.⁹³ Karen Jambeck notes that a female paradigm of literary patronage runs from grandmothers to mothers and daughters.⁹⁴ This paradigm lends support to two main traditions already discussed: the role of women in teaching children how to read and the bequeathing of books to other women.⁹⁵ Wives could also act in tandem with their husbands, and some manuscripts are a result of joint patronage between a husband and wife, for example the Wollaton Antiphonal (Nottingham MS. 250).⁹⁶ When considering evidence for patronage, it is worth remembering that dedications to women are often difficult to interpret, because they may indicate the hope of an author for patronage rather than showing an active commission by a woman. A case in point is Hoccleve's dedication to Joan Beaufort, Countess of Westmorland, in Durham, University Library MS. Cosin V.III.9.⁹⁷ The frequent inclusion of women in dedications, albeit potentially opportunistic, may show their interest in books was not unusual and they were regularly involved in the book market.⁹⁸

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 123.

⁹² Wogan-Browne, p. 61.

⁹³ June Hall McCash, 'The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. by June Hall McCash (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 1-49 (p. 17-23).

⁹⁴ Karen K. Jambeck, 'Patterns of Women's Literary Patronage: England, 1200-ca.1475', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. by June Hall McCash (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 228-65 (p. 236).

⁹⁵ These themes will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3: It Starts at Home.

⁹⁶ Alixe Bovey, 'The Wollaton Antiphonal: Kinship and Commemoration', in *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts: Texts, Owners and Readers*, ed. by Ralph Hanna III and Thorlac Turville-Petre (Rochester: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 30-40.

⁹⁷ Thomas Hoccleve, *A Facsimile of the Autograph Verse Manuscripts: Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino (California), MSS HM 111 and HM 744; University Library, Durham (England), Ms Cosin V.III.9* (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 2002), fol. 95v.

⁹⁸ Green, p. 191.

Thus, Cavanaugh's statement is vindicated, and women clearly played a major role in literate culture during the late medieval period. They taught children to read and participated in the book market in an active way via patronage as well as owning and reading a variety of different types of books. How does this activity affect whether women appear in the audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*? Women were able, and likely, to read in the vernacular, which gives the basic ability to read the text. Although there is a heavy emphasis on religious books as common reading material for women, the evidence that they owned non-religious books shows they could read anything. The extent of women's interaction with the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* has yet to be investigated in an exclusive way by scholars, but it is apparent that they possessed the skills and participated in the book market regularly enough that they probably would have come into contact with the work.

1.4 The Social Class of Literate Medieval Women

Participation in the book market was probably easier and more common for those who could afford it. During the late medieval period the noble household may have fuelled the shift in literacy away from the clerical centres.⁹⁹ At this time the trend arose for clerics to read silently and in private, and it appears that noblewomen may have also read in this manner in the privacy of their own households and withdrawing chambers.¹⁰⁰ Studies by Carol Meale and Priscilla Bawcutt have shown that these women had the wealth to afford books and education, and the leisure time in which to read,¹⁰¹ thus acting as 'cultivated readers.'¹⁰² They would have been wealthy and privileged enough to afford both good education and a wider variety of books.¹⁰³ Patronage was also practised by women who were financially independent.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, Meale observes that many of the 'finest psalters and books of hours' from

⁹⁹ Clanchy, p. 252.

¹⁰⁰ Green, p. 85.

¹⁰¹ See Priscilla Bawcutt, "'My Bright Buke": Women and Their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17-34 and Meale, 'Alle the Bokes that I Haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch'.

¹⁰² Malcolm Parkes defines three kinds of literacy in terms of the reader's purpose for reading. The first is the 'professional reader', who might be a scholar or a 'professional man of letters'. The second is the 'cultivated reader', who reads for recreation and the third is the 'pragmatic reader' who reads and writes in order to conduct business. Parkes, p. 275.

¹⁰³ Bawcutt, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ McCash, p. 7.

this period were produced for women,¹⁰⁵ which shows that female patrons possessed the wealth and desire for purchasing high quality books. Wealthier medieval women are more likely to have the time, money and leisure for reading, and are therefore more likely to be able to participate fully in the book market.

The nobility are not the only people who made use of books during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I have chosen to use the term aristocracy to define the upper classes of society during this period, including the changing royal family, noble families, the peerage and the gentry.¹⁰⁶ The gentry are included here because culturally, these groups appear to have had similar interests. In their study of gentlewomen's reading, Boffey and Meale argue that it is difficult to distinguish between the cultural interests of the nobility and the gentry, as their ranks are not fixed due to social mobility.¹⁰⁷ Thus there is a sense of the upper echelons of society being socially intermingled during the period in question. K.B. McFarlane also suggests that belonging to the upper classes relates in part to land ownership and being armigerous, and he also argues that to be considered upper class during this period is based on financial prosperity.¹⁰⁸ It must be acknowledged that Raluca Radulescu considers the use of aristocracy as an all-encompassing term to be inaccurate.¹⁰⁹ However, the focus of this study is on potential book owners and wealth enables the acquisition of books and education. Therefore the use of the term aristocracy summarises a group who are more likely to participate in the book market because they are more likely to possess resources for that purpose.¹¹⁰ With the increased likelihood of being culturally interested in the book market, and possessing the resources to participate, the aristocracy as

¹⁰⁵ Meale, p. 137.

¹⁰⁶ This definition is also in line with Michael Johnston's definition of aristocracy. Michael Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Julia Boffey and Carol M. Meale, 'Gentlewomen's Reading', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol III: 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellenga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 526-40 (p. 526).

¹⁰⁸ K.B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures and Related Studies for 1953* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Raluca L. Radulescu, *The Gentry Context for Malory's Morte Darthur* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), p. 3.

¹¹⁰ Prosperous merchant families would also share the same cultural interests and financial ability to purchase books. Patricia Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg, 'How Margaret Blackburn Taught Her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and et al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 217-36. McDonald, 'A York Primer and Its Alphabet: Reading Women in a Lay Household'. Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300-1500*, 2nd edn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), p. 247. I can only tentatively include merchants within the term aristocracy because it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate subtle class distinctions in more detail. For the purpose of this thesis however, merchants possess the cultural and financial power to potentially take part in the audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

defined here are more likely to be able to afford a manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*, and have the leisure time to enjoy it as a recreational text.

Aristocratic women appear more often in records, which may create a bias in the available evidence. When the names of these women appear in marginalia, they are often easier to identify because their names are likely to appear elsewhere in wills, parish records or peerage and baronage records. However there is a possibility that lower status women were able to participate in the book market to some extent. Nuns came from a variety of social backgrounds from lower status to royal families, and were encouraged to read.¹¹¹ Malcolm Parkes refers to the ‘expanding middle class’ who from the twelfth century onward experienced an increase in pragmatic literacy.¹¹² By the end of the fifteenth century women from this ‘expanding middle class’ can also be considered cultivated readers because they are documented as the owners of books which would have been beyond their means a century earlier.¹¹³ Additionally, Erik Kwakkel suggests that diverse levels of quality in production of manuscripts were probably caused by demand,¹¹⁴ therefore implying that those who could only afford cheaper manuscripts wanted them. The extant corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* varies in production quality. The potentially large number of contemporary copies of the work implies that cheaper versions could have been available to lower class women, although it remains to be seen whether any evidence will emerge to confirm this idea.

1.5 The Female Audience of the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*

This introduction has demonstrated the complexities of late medieval women’s active participation in the book market, and the need for a closer look into this issue, particularly surrounding the *Canterbury Tales*. Women’s presence in the audience of the work at the turn of the fifteenth century has been noted. This audience only increased in size as the fifteenth century turned into the sixteenth, and the *Canterbury*

¹¹¹ Bella Millett, ‘Women in No Man’s Land: English Recluses and the Development of Vernacular Literature in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 86-103 (p. 88).

¹¹² Parkes, p. 278.

¹¹³ Susan Groag Bell, ‘Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture’, in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 149-87 (p. 154). Clanchy, p. 234. McCash, p. 7. Meale, p. 216.

¹¹⁴ Erik Kwakkel, ‘Commercial Organization and Economic Innovation’, in *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 173-91.

Tales remained a well-known text. I suspect that this widespread knowledge must have been due to discussion amongst social networks and word-of-mouth promotion of the work. There also seems to have been continuity in the social status of the audience of the poem as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries passed and the manuscripts continued to circulate amongst similar people. The primary owners may be the aristocracy, although the possibility of the audience of the *Canterbury Tales* including the lower classes has been noted. Aristocratic women in particular had the means to be able to read and owned vernacular texts including works by Chaucer. They were also involved in the book market and literate culture, a culture which began to centre on the aristocratic household, the primary location of the women in question. There were clearly a large number of copies of the text in circulation during this period, not to mention the inevitable increase in numbers once the work was printed, and the manuscripts remained in use even after printing became an established medium. It is extremely unlikely that all women would have been totally ignorant of the *Canterbury Tales* as a work.

A number of research themes have arisen from the scholarship which sets the scene for this thesis. The first is the need for an examination of the evidence that women used the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The internal manuscript evidence needs to be revisited alongside any external evidence such as wills, in order to understand if, and how, women were making use of these manuscripts. The second theme considers the evidence of women's interest in the *Canterbury Tales*, some of which has already been addressed to some extent by the scholarship discussed above. Knowledge that women were able to read and interested in a variety of books speaks for their potential interest in the work. If the social networks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also promoted awareness of the *Canterbury Tales* then the evidence which connects the manuscripts to women and subsequently the women to the social networks must be explored. The third research theme investigates the identities of these women. The women who accessed the books will need to be identified where possible in order to understand fully how they fit into the network.

I propose to address these themes initially by devising a methodology (Chapter 2) which will facilitate the extraction of meaningful data from the whole corpus of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The methodology will address methods of making the evidence from the corpus accessible and the practicalities of mapping social networks in order to visualise findings and patterns. Chapter 3: In the Home, will focus

primarily on some of the ways women may have used the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* within their homes. This chapter investigates the life cycle of the medieval book in the home and where the *Canterbury Tales* fits into this cycle, building on the suggestion that women used books to facilitate the early education of children through to their bequests of books at the end of their lives. The chapter will look for evidence that the *Canterbury Tales* books were used for education, and also that they were bequeathed by or to women, either in their lifetimes or based on evidence in wills. Chapter 4: In the Margins will examine women's direct use of the manuscripts through the evidence of marginalia. The chapter will examine patterns in the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole before exploring the narratives found in the marginalia produced by women. Chapter 5: Family Networks examines the provenances of the manuscripts in order to ascertain whether any women could have used or been aware of them. Utilising the visualisation methods established by my methodology, the chapter will investigate how the families and manuscripts uncovered by my research are connected to one another and how these connections could form a social network with knowledge of the *Canterbury Tales*. Chapter 6: Localisation investigates the origins of the manuscripts with connections to women in order to understand how those origins and the identified women related to one another. This chapter will also make use of my visualisation technique in order to map further connections between manuscripts and families.

Although the occasional appearance of the *Canterbury Tales* in women's wills has been acknowledged, and women were known to have owned other works by Chaucer, a detailed investigation into whether and how women in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used the books has yet to be conducted. The possibility of the presence of women in the audience of the *Canterbury Tales* has been highlighted by this introduction, which suggests a return to the corpus of manuscripts to continue this investigation is needed. However, this project must be undertaken with the knowledge that the evidence which shows where the manuscripts have been, how they have been used and who has used them is myriad and often incomplete. Approaching the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in the manner which I have proposed above has the potential to draw out overarching patterns and make a vast body of information more easily accessible. The overall purpose of this thesis is to find an innovative way of looking at the corpus of manuscript evidence for the *Canterbury Tales*, and to examine how women were involved in the consumption and circulation of this Chaucerian poem.

Chapter 2: Methodology: Discussing Late Medieval Women and their Books

As I have argued in the introduction of this thesis, the possibility exists that late medieval women participated in the audience of the *Canterbury Tales*, and a way of examining the corpus of manuscripts to test this idea now needs to be developed. This chapter demonstrates the development of a methodology to find and manage manuscript evidence in the large corpus of extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The introduction also suggested the potential role social networks played in the spreading of awareness of the work, therefore this chapter also shows how manuscript evidence can be used to visualise social networks in a variety of ways. The first step will be to examine the practicalities of approaching a large corpus of manuscripts for a study of this nature, which will involve an initial survey of the provenances and marginalia of the whole corpus in order to create a selection of manuscripts with which to work. I will then explore the discussion and visualisation of networks, and how they will facilitate an understanding of the evidence found in the manuscripts. The chapter will finish with a summary of the initial data and its implications situated in the wider context of manuscript studies and book history. The result of this work is the creation of a valuable methodology which will enable an exploration of the narrative of the female audience of the *Canterbury Tales*, and will also have enough flexibility to answer further research questions about the corpus going forward.

2.1 The Discussion of Books: Practical Methodologies

One of the key elements of this research was a return to the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. Empirical research was an important part of approaching the manuscripts. Primarily, it consisted of reviewing available evidence, providing informed criticism of that evidence, and then framing answers to research questions from the data gathered. Basic empirical practice for the study of manuscripts includes palaeography, codicology, and making use of ‘the processes of dating manuscripts and determining their provenance’.¹ Manuscript study also includes consideration of internal codicological evidence, for example: colophons, dedications, signatures, other marginalia and textual variants. This internal manuscript information can then be

¹ Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. xiii.

collated with external evidence such as wills, archival records and biographical information.

There are some hazards of relying entirely on empirical research to study history which must be acknowledged.² Although classic empiricism considers that ‘sensory data or facts are the solid anchors of truth and scientific knowledge’,³ the same is not necessarily the case with manuscript studies, or history in general, because the extant evidence does not always represent the whole picture of the past. History must adapt the scientific idea that ‘all knowledge comes from experience’,⁴ because it is not possible for historians to observe the past directly.⁵ Problems relating particularly to manuscript studies include, for example, the hazards of using itemised lists in wills when not every book is always listed individually.⁶ Studying marginalia must take into account the instability and difficulty of interpreting any marks found in books.⁷ Another drawback to consider when looking for evidence of female access to manuscripts in particular is that it is impossible to determine the gender of anyone involved in the production of a book or the creation of marginalia without explicit evidence.⁸ These hazards can be counteracted with the use of inductive logic which is defined as follows:

As evidence accumulates, the *degree* to which the collection of true evidence statements comes to *support* a hypothesis, as measured by the logic, should tend to indicate that false hypotheses are probably false and that true hypotheses are probably true.⁹

Manuscript studies can make use of ‘true evidence statements’ to support a hypothesis, adding together all the known instances of evidence to understand what was happening in the past. For an example relating to the present thesis, evidence that women learned to read was discussed in the Introduction. The combination of this knowledge with

² For further information about the engagement of history and empiricism, see Lutz Raphael, ‘The Implications of Empiricism for History’, in *Sage Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. by Sarah Foot and Nancy Partner (Los Angeles, London, New Dehli, Singapore and Washington DC: SAGE, 2013), pp. 23-40.

³ Ibid. p. 25.

⁴ Ibid. p. 27.

⁵ Ibid. p. 27.

⁶ Cavanaugh, p. 14.

⁷ Wiggins, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?’, pp. 3-4.

⁸ Julia Boffey, ‘Women Authors and Women’s Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England’, in *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 159-82 (p. 171).

⁹ James Hawthorne, ‘Inductive Logic’, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by Edward N. Zalta, Spring 2017 edn, <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/logic-inductive/>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

evidence discussed in subsequent chapters such as that of wills and marginalia supports the hypothesis that women probably read the *Canterbury Tales*. Inductive logic facilitates the understanding of a bigger picture from a combination of pieces of empirically gathered evidence about each manuscript.

The first step to conducting empirical work in this manner was to facilitate the collection of data from the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The logical starting point for any enquiry into the manuscripts of the text is the work of John Manly and Edith Rickert. They completed their survey of all the extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in the 1930s, culminating in their edition of the *Text of the Canterbury Tales*, published in 1940.¹⁰ The primary aim of Manly and Rickert's project was to produce an archetype text created from all the textual variants in the manuscripts,¹¹ but in the process they also compiled descriptions of every manuscript. The aspect of their work of most use to this study was the manuscript descriptions and provenance data, because to date theirs is the only comprehensive survey of the provenance of the manuscripts which has ever been attempted. Many scholars have engaged with Manly and Rickert's invaluable contribution to Chaucer studies, both criticising and building upon it.¹² As Roy Vance Ramsey says, it is essential to acknowledge Manly and Rickert as an inevitable foundation for further research on the *Canterbury Tales*.¹³ Over-reliance on the work of Manly and Rickert must be avoided, but this thesis will reassess their catalogue in relation to women's relationship to the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

While Manly and Rickert's catalogue of manuscripts is arranged in such a way as to make the inclusion of all their data possible, it is not particularly accessible for those who require an overarching view of patterns and trends in the corpus as a whole. Thus the first practical step in this study was to recast the data provided by Manly and

¹⁰ Manly and Rickert, 8 vols.

¹¹ Ralph Hanna III, 'Problems of "Best Text" Editing and the Hengwrt Manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*', in *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature: Essays from the 1985 Conference at the University of York*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 87-94 (p. 92).

¹² Hanna, 'Problems of "Best Text" Editing'. Daniel Mosser, 'Corrective Notes on the Structures and Paper Stocks of Four Manuscripts Containing Extracts from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 52 (1999), 97-114. Peter Robinson and Elizabeth Solopova, 'Guidelines for Transcription of the Manuscripts of the Wife of Bath's Prologue', in *The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers*, ed. by Norman Blake and Peter Robinson (Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication, 1993), pp. 19-52. Roy Vance Ramsey, *The Manly-Rickert Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1994). Estelle Stubbs, 'Observations on the Hengwrt Chaucer'.

¹³ Ramsey, p. viii.

Rickert into a spreadsheet.¹⁴ Translating Manly and Rickert's catalogue in this manner was valuable in a number of ways. Firstly it provided an at-a-glance guide to their data on the manuscripts, which enabled their information to be re-evaluated and revised with ease. The spreadsheet facilitated searching and filtering on a variety of data points which will be outlined below. Further to research on the female audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* the search and filter function could be used to answer other questions on the corpus. The casting of the data in this way also enabled the creation of visualisations for both qualitative and quantitative work. For this research, I used the spreadsheet to select all the manuscripts with evidence that associated them with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women from the entire corpus which created a manageable sample to study in the form of a select corpus.¹⁵ The first priority was to identify any evidence which linked the manuscripts to women and single those books out for further study. I also made use of the spreadsheet in Chapter 4: In the Margins to compare the whole corpus with any patterns found in the select corpus.¹⁶

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
	Manuscript	Sigil	Date	Form	Contents	Order	Text	Dialect	Production	Scribe	15th-16th century women in provenance?	Manly and Rickert ref.
1	London, British Library MS Additional 5140	Ad1	1470-1500	Paper and parchment	CT, Siege of Thebes	a	Constant group En3	East midland	little supervision, few corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 29-33
2	London, British Library MS	Ad2	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	irregular	Closest to Ht	Western influence	supervision and many corrections	2-3 hands	yes	pp. 34-40
4	London, British Library MS	Ad3	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	a, disarranged	Closest to	East midland	supervision and many corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 41-47
5	London, British Library MS Additional 10340	Ad4	1400	Parchment	Boethius, Truth, CT	not mentioned	Written from memory	London	supervision and corrections in	not mentioned	no	pp. 48-51

Figure 2.1: Table headings for the full survey of Manly and Rickert's catalogue

The field *manuscript name* is self-explanatory, and a *date* field was essential, as it ensured awareness of how contemporary the marginalia was with the production date. Manly and Rickert's catalogue page numbers and assigned manuscript *sigil* have been included to aid reference. The remaining fields are as follows:

¹⁴ See Appendix 1: Survey of Manly and Rickert.

¹⁵ For an example of establishing a corpus of books to study see Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?'.

¹⁶ This approach was inspired by Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato's method of gathering and analysing data about manuscripts, known as quantitative codicology. This method involves defining the quantitative characteristics of the manuscripts to be studied, such as the dimensions and the number of pages, and the qualitative characteristics of the manuscript such as the general condition, the quality of production and the standard of presentation. Bozzolo and Ornato establish quantitative data definitions, gather their data from the sources and analyse it in spreadsheet format. Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour Une Histoire Du Livre Manuscrit Au Moyen Âge: Trois Essais De Codicologie Quantitative* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980). The *Canterbury Tales* manuscript data is primarily qualitative, and I have arranged my spreadsheets to function accordingly, which diverges from Bozzolo and Ornato's large-scale analysis of numerical data.

Form: Manly and Rickert discuss whether their manuscripts have been produced from paper, vellum or a mixture of both. This section was included in the event of variation in the evidence offered by manuscripts made from paper or a combination of paper and parchment. The term parchment was used rather than vellum as used by Manly and Rickert, because vellum is now considered to be specifically calf skin.¹⁷ Although manuscript form was not the primary concern of this thesis, I included it as a field here in the interests of creating a complete resource for the study of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts.

Contents: The contents of each manuscript were included as it was important to be able to consider the entire codex as a whole. This section consisted of a summary of the contents of each manuscript using Manly and Rickert's abbreviations for Chaucer's texts.¹⁸

Order: Manly and Rickert classified their manuscripts based on the order of the text.¹⁹ The table summarises their classification of each manuscript to facilitate comparison of the manuscripts based on order. Like the field *form*, *order* was included here with the intention of creating a complete resource.

Text: Manly and Rickert also classified the corpus according to the textual genealogical relationships between each manuscript.²⁰ This part of their work is an incredibly complex set of data to which Manly and Rickert dedicated the second volume of their work. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to analyse textual links in great detail, this section was included in the event that any of the manuscripts in the select corpus should be textually related to one another, which may indicate a similar provenance. Any textual links which facilitated an understanding of provenance are discussed in Chapter 6: Localisation.

Dialect: As dialect may contribute to the localisation of a manuscript which will be an important part of this study, Manly and Rickert's opinion of the dialect of each

¹⁷ Clemens and Graham, p. 9.

¹⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. xxiii.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 25.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 26. See also Manly and Rickert, II.

manuscript has been included in the table. However, it was beyond the scope of this research to conduct a detailed dialect assessment of each manuscript. As a result, primarily in Chapter 6: Localisation, I have supplemented the work of Manly and Rickert with more up-to-date scholarship such as the Late Medieval English Scribes project.²¹

Production: Manly and Rickert consider shop production to be indicated by corrections and supervision.²² I summarised their notes on correction, supervision and possible shop production in order to create an overview of their opinion of how much activity of this nature is demonstrated by the manuscripts. The accuracy of Manly and Rickert's remarks in relation to current scholarship and how it affects the select corpus is discussed in Chapter 6: Localisation.

Scribe: Scribal details were included in order to detect any instances of when scribes may have worked on multiple manuscripts or alongside other scribes. Like the section on dialect, this information was supplemented with additional information from the Late Medieval English Scribes project in Chapter 6: Localisation.

15th-16th century women in provenance: This section demonstrates with a simple 'yes' or 'no' whether any women are mentioned in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century provenance of each manuscript. The creation of this section allowed quick reference to any manuscripts which would contribute to this study and also summarised provenance details which were too extensive to include in this spreadsheet. Any female names in the marginalia of the manuscripts were considered part of the manuscripts' provenance initially, and a full survey of Manly and Rickert's detection of marginalia in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* was undertaken as part of the next step in the creation of the select corpus.

Marginalia was a key type of evidence which was omitted from the initial survey of Manly and Rickert's catalogue. It is important because it demonstrates the links between books and people. One of the primary uses of marginalia is working out

²¹ Linne Mooney, Simon Horobin, and Estelle Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*, <www.medievalscribes.com> [accessed 3 January 2017].

²² Manly and Rickert, I, p. 24. This idea will be addressed further Chapter 6: Localisation.

whether the manuscript has been read.²³ This study looked for evidence in the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* which showed that women responded to the text, in addition to any other marginalia created by women. In order to attempt to understand the full impact of marginalia by women in the select corpus, a survey of Manly and Rickert's findings of the marginalia in the entire corpus was conducted.²⁴ This survey provided a platform from which to launch investigations of individual instances of marginalia in the select corpus, as it was beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate the marginalia of each manuscript in full. Thus, with the primary purpose of acting as a starting point from which to select instances of marginalia to study, I created a spreadsheet of each instance of marginalia in the corpus of manuscripts as identified by Manly and Rickert, which can be found in Appendix 2. The secondary purpose of the spreadsheet was to provide statistics which act as a point of comparison between the whole corpus and the select corpus, such as the table and graph of instances of marginalia discussed in Chapter 4: In the Margins. The fields in Appendix 2 and policies for their completion were selected as follows:

Sigil: To identify each instance of marginalia the sigil rather than the full name of each manuscript was used to maintain concise viewing of the data.

Instances of marginalia: This field contains the description of the marginalia provided by Manly and Rickert. Anything additional which is not a scribal heading, gloss or colophon was included. For each example of marginalia, where the hands were acknowledged to be different, each different hand received its own entry in the spreadsheet.

Folio: The folio on which the marginalia occurs. Where Manly and Rickert have used page numbers or only stated a location in the text, that information was used instead.

Date: The approximate date of the marginalia. Transitional dates, e.g. 15-16th century, were also used where they occur in Manly and Rickert's notes. Where dates were more

²³ Roger Chartier observes that when investigating the 'intervention of readers' with the text it is useful to look for marginalia, handwritten annotations and manuscript errata. Roger Chartier, 'The Order of Books Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), 509-19 (p. 512).

²⁴ See Appendix 2: Marginalia Survey.

specific they were included in the relevant century which kept the number of different date categories low in order for the spreadsheet to work effectively. To keep the scope of the marginalia to be studied to a reasonable level, names dated '16-17th Century', '17th Century' and later were not included in this study. For ease of reference, conditional formatting was used to colour code the date cells to show the earliest date category as a pale colour and the latest date category as a dark colour.

Notes: The notes field allowed the addition of any extra information from Manly and Rickert's catalogue, such as to identify where the same name appeared in a different hand, or the hand matches an instance of marginalia on another folio in the manuscript, and also what medium the marginalia is written in if that information is available.

Gender: The gender field has been divided into male and female for instances of marginalia which contain names that have obvious genders, with the additional option of 'unknown' either for names which could belong to either gender, such as surnames written alone, or instances of marginalia that contain no name. For ease of reference, conditional formatting has been used to colour code the cells pink for a female name, blue for a male name and grey for an unknown name.

Type: Each entry was given a type in order to facilitate the analysis of the data. The categories relevant to this study are as follows: 'record of birth' for when the marginalia clearly records the birth of children; 'statement of ownership' for any overt statements of ownership such as 'I own this book'; 'name' for when an individual name occurs; 'note' for any marginalia with no name, that does not fit into the category of record of birth or statement of ownership; and 'name and note' for any notes of the same definition which also contain a name. Headings, glosses and catchwords were not included as they pertain to the production of the manuscript. If the scribes have produced content or material extraneous to these categories or the text then that was also included. The categories 'bookplate', 'colophon', 'coat of arms', 'drawing', 'place name' and 'press mark' act as signifiers for these types of marginalia where they occur, and may be of use for further research questions on the corpus of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts.

My Comments: Where the instance of marginalia was selected for further investigation this field has been populated. These comments demonstrate revisions and expansions of the information given by Manly and Rickert including transcriptions if the instance of marginalia was related to a female name either directly or in the context of other marginalia in the manuscript. This field also includes confirmation where I have found Manly and Rickert's statements to be correct. For clarity, the manuscripts which were not studied as part of the select corpus have had their 'My Comments' section blocked out. For ease of reference, if there is something to discuss regarding the instance of marginalia, the entire entry in the spreadsheet has been given red font.

Reference in Thesis: This field provides the page number of the discussion of this evidence in the main body of the thesis. For clarity, the manuscripts which were not studied as part of the select corpus have had their 'Reference in Thesis' section blocked out.

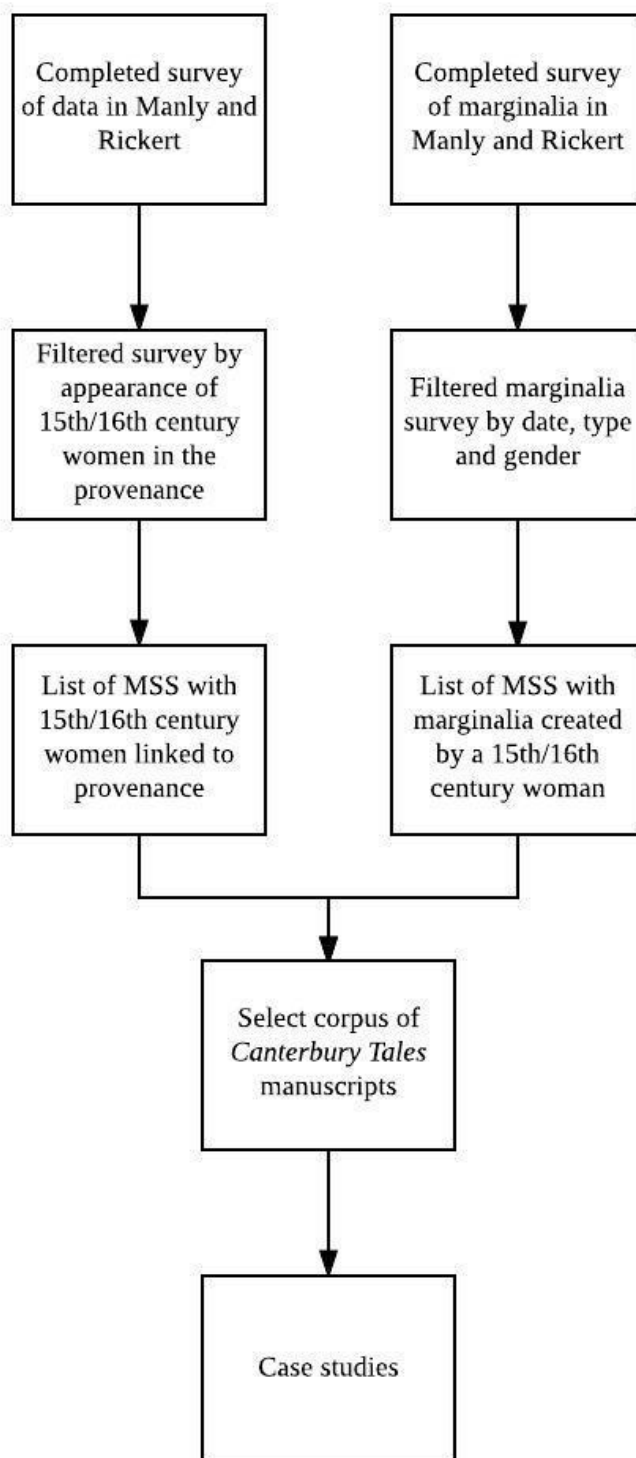


Figure 2.2: Process for the creation of the select corpus

The spreadsheet was used primarily during Chapter 4: In the Margins when the marginalia of the select corpus was studied in more depth. At the point of developing the methodology for this thesis, it assisted with the creation of the select corpus. Filtering the marginalia by date, type and gender, resulted in a list of manuscripts which contained marginalia created by a female writer during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of course, the absence of female marginalia does not mean the absence of female access to the manuscripts. To try and account for this potential gap I then filtered the initial survey of manuscripts to find any examples where women were discussed under provenance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but not necessarily noted in an instance of marginalia. The results of these two searches created my select corpus of manuscripts for further study.²⁵ Once the corpus for this study was selected, the next step was to create and complete individual case studies for each of the thirty manuscripts in order to expand upon the evidence indicated in the two surveys of Manly and Rickert's catalogue. These initial impressions were developed into empirical reports from which conclusions were drawn and networks were mapped. The aim of these case studies was to validate and synthesise any previous scholarship with my own research. For clarity, I created a report form to record and review information about the manuscripts.²⁶ Key information recorded in these case studies includes the date of the production of the manuscript, its contents, any key names and locations with which to associate the manuscript, the dialect and scribe of the manuscript in addition to details of its illumination, and most importantly its provenance and a full account of the evidence that the manuscript was accessed by women. Once all of the manuscript evidence was confirmed and clarified I moved on to archival investigation in order to contextualise the external evidence relating to the manuscripts. The report was designed to give a brief overview of the physical aspects of the manuscript alongside detailed information about marginalia and provenance. A full description containing a codicological breakdown of each manuscript was beyond the requirements of this study, and does not contribute anything further to research on the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. Using this report format for each case study greatly increased the accessibility of this body of information for this research, making it possible to see patterns emerging and develop visualisations of the data.

²⁵ See Appendix 3: The Select Corpus of Manuscripts.

²⁶ For an overview of the policies used to select fields for this report form see Appendix 4: Designing the Case Studies.

2.2 Linking Manuscripts and People: Visualising the Network

The introduction to this thesis found that social networks may have played a key role in the dissemination of knowledge about the *Canterbury Tales*, and the transmission of the manuscripts themselves. Thus, an understanding of the terminology of networks and then developing a way to visualise them was essential when interpreting the evidence found in the manuscripts. Network theory can be mathematical in approach,²⁷ but one of its primary aspects is that ‘the power of a network is proportional to the number and strength of its nodes and links’.²⁸ Thus, larger numbers of nodes with strong links between them mean a more powerful network. In the case of this study, where connections between the same women and copies of the *Canterbury Tales* were found, it indicated a strong network of social interaction and book transmission. Moving away from a mathematical approach, actor network theory is a sociological theory which relies on the ‘tracing of associations’²⁹ between nodes in the network.³⁰ Both actor network theory and communication network theory are reliant on large data sets in order to read patterns. The evidence found in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* was too unpredictable to form an appropriately large data set, but some of the terminology of actor network theory can be used to assist in the description of the social networks which feature manuscripts and people. Actors form the nodes of the network, and their interactions create the links between them, equating the entire network to society.³¹ The networks that I examined consist of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women and their families as the actors, with their family and personal relationships forming the links in the network. These links can be considered as enabling the transmission of knowledge about the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, and the books themselves.

The next step was to visualise networks which involved data about both manuscripts and people.³² This research benefitted from clear visualisations of the data

²⁷ For more details on the mathematical branch of network theory see Ted G. Lewis, *Network Science: Theory and Applications*, 2009 edn (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2009).

²⁸ Ibid. p. 21.

²⁹ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 5.

³⁰ Communication network theory is similar, seeking to describe the actions of ‘agents’ who make up the network. Peter R. Monge and Nashir S. Contractor, *Theories of Communication Networks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. xiii.

³¹ Bruno Latour, ‘On Recalling ANT’, in *Actor Network Theory and After*, ed. by John Law and John Hassard (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 15-25 (p. 18).

³² Robert Darnton stresses the point that diagrams assist with the understanding of ‘complex relationships’. Robert Darnton, “‘What Is the History of Books?’ Revisited”, *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), 495-508 (p. 504).

available because there was a lot of information and potential crossover between people and manuscripts which needed to be conveyed to the reader. By displaying the data accumulated in diagrammatic form it made patterns and conclusions easier to discern than a large number of case studies alone. The case studies were an essential step in gathering the information for these diagrams but there were a variety of tools available to visualise the evidence. As shown in Appendices 1 and 2, Microsoft Excel made an excellent starting point and was used to count and format qualitative data which enables the easy viewing and searching of general patterns. Large spreadsheets, while useful during the research phase and easy to interact with, do not translate well to the printed page. One way of interpreting data for the printed page using Excel is to make use of its graph function, which occurred in Chapter 4: In the Margins. Another way of interpreting data related to family networks was using genealogical visualisation software designed to produce family trees. I explored a variety of options when developing the most effective way of demonstrating social networks and manuscript data. When testing this software I used information from families linked to Egerton 2863.

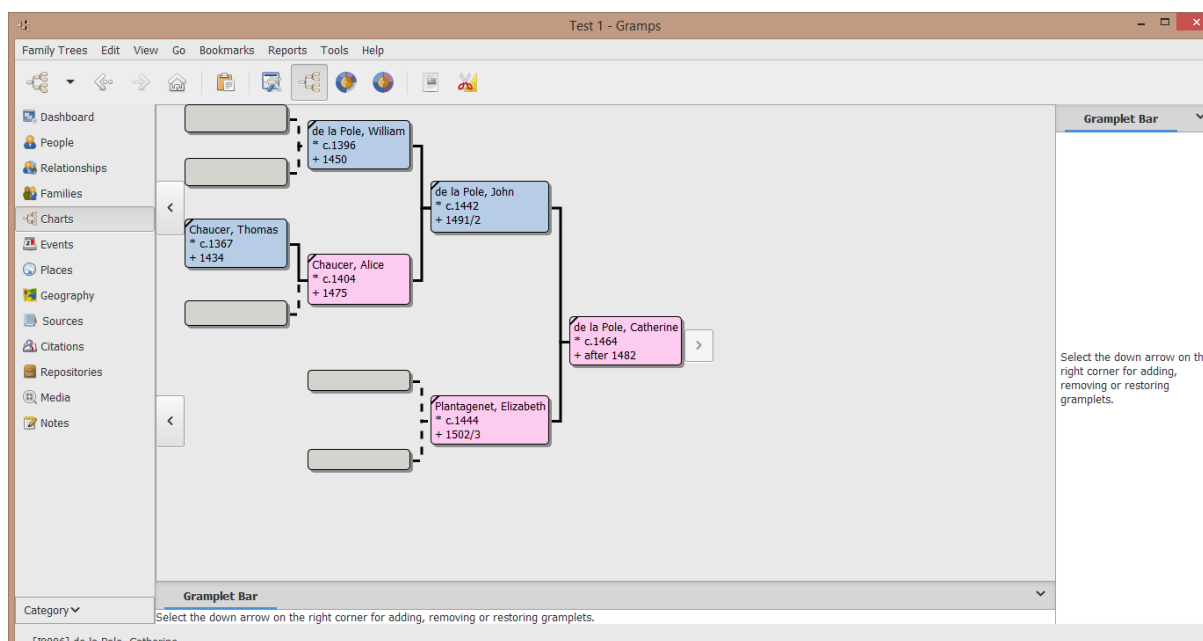


Figure 2.3: Gramps family tree

*Gramps*³³ was very flexible, allowing for text entries for dates of birth and death, notes to include manuscript ownership and a space for titles such as ‘second baron’ etc. However, it did not visualise very complex family trees, as it was only possible to view

³³ <https://gramps-project.org>.

one person at a time. Thus, while Gramps was a useful tool for research it was problematic when a full visualisation of a family tree was required.

*Legacy*³⁴ had a similar interface to Gramps, allowing freeform data entry that encompasses all the information I wanted to convey. Like Gramps, it also used GEDCOM files so I was able to transfer the same test document featuring Egerton 2863. Legacy had improved charting features compared to Gramps, but it was still quite simplistic and focused on the individual. Ideally I wanted to display many individuals and generations simultaneously.

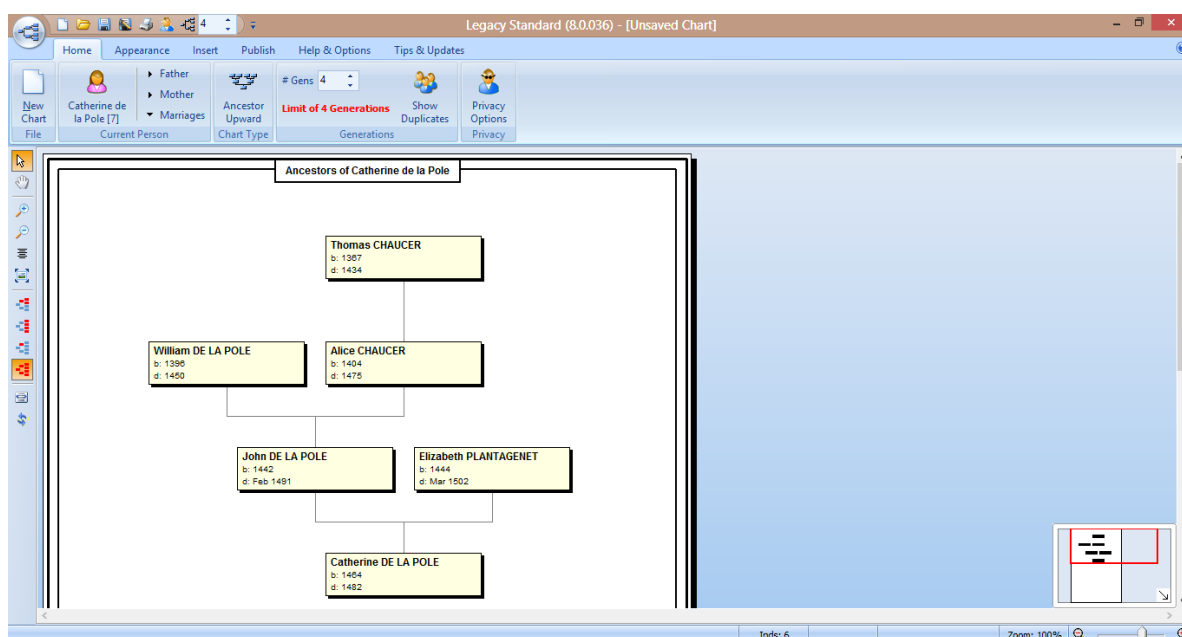


Figure 2.4: Legacy family tree

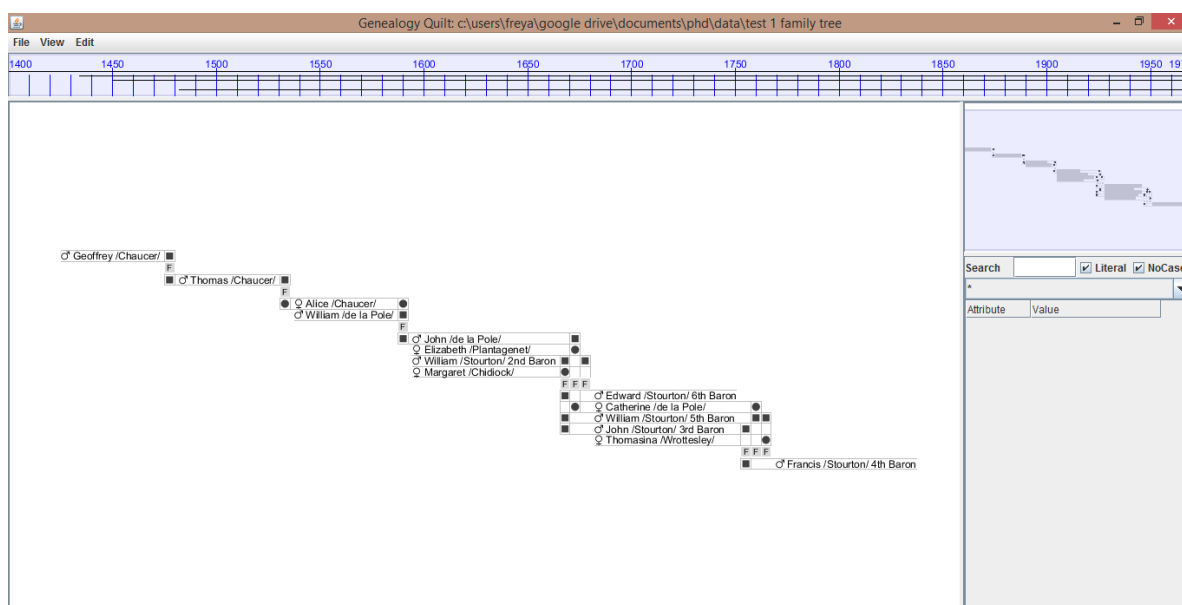


Figure 2.5: Geneaquilts family tree

³⁴ www.legacyfamilytree.com.

*Geneaquilts*³⁵ was intended to manage the visualisation of large genealogical data sets. I created a visualisation using the GEDCOM file I created in Gramps. While this software was useful for charting family connections between a large number of people and removed the problematic focus on the individual provided by Legacy, I needed to be able to account for multiple marriages, non-specific dates of birth and manuscript ownership. Where Legacy, Gramps and Geneaquilts were unable to visualise what I required, I used Lucid Chart³⁶ to manually create diagrams which encompassed all the data I wanted to display. This software provided me with the flexibility to create freeform diagrams which fit better with the inconsistent nature of manuscript evidence. Lucid Chart also facilitated diagrams that are not family trees and have different layers of meaning, such as in Chapter 6: Localisation where I compared families, manuscripts and production location. The example shows the connection of Thomasina Lady Stourton, who may have owned Egerton 2863, with Chaucer.

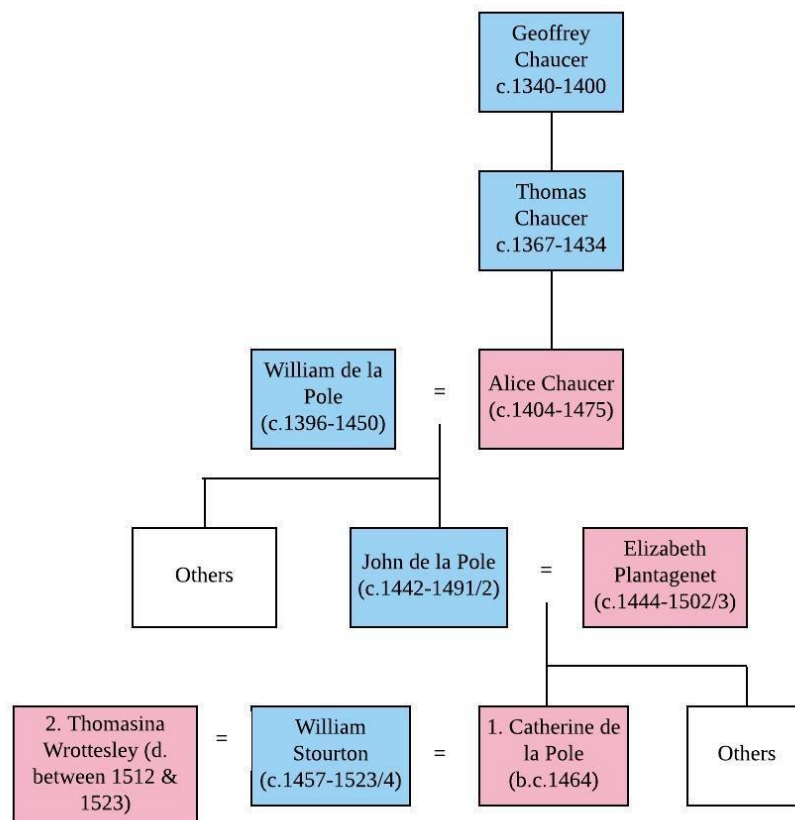


Figure 2.6: Lucid Chart family tree

³⁵ www.aviz.fr/geneaquilts.

³⁶ www.lucidchart.com. Lucid Chart is an open source alternative to Microsoft Visio, <https://products.office.com/en-us/visio/flowchart-software>.

Another useful tool which allowed a large degree of flexibility was *Scribblemaps*.³⁷ This web-based software enables the user to mark up and apply notes to Google Maps. In the test example I placed members of the families connected to Bodley 686 and Egerton 2863 at their known family seats and places of birth.³⁸ In Fig. 2.7 pink lines indicate personal connections and red lines link the House of Lords with people who were known to have been there. Not all of the people on the map have a confirmed connection to the two manuscripts, this example was intended as a demonstration of the possible networks which can be visualised. This tool also allowed for the mapping of locations associated with manuscripts.

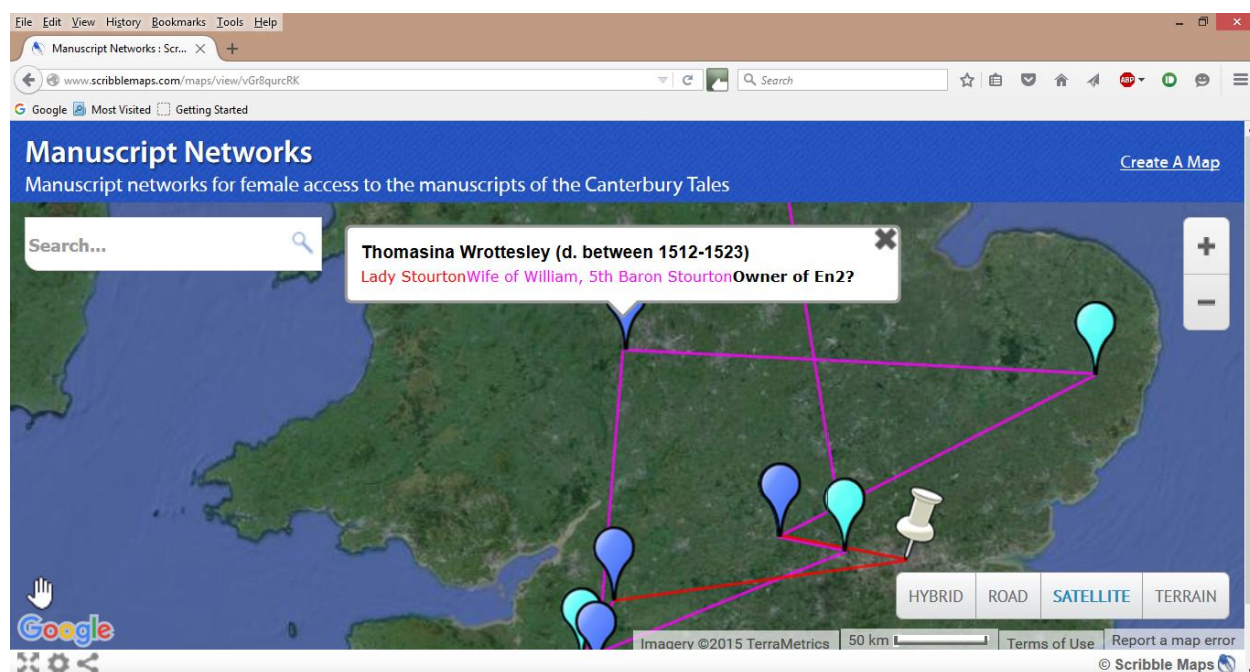


Figure 2.7: Scribblemaps network

Lucid Chart and Scribblemaps seem were the most flexible and appropriate for use with a varying corpus of evidence as was to be expected from studying manuscripts. They also made it easy to see the links between people in the emergent networks formed over time by family relationships, and to see the strength of the network based on the numbers of nodes and links.

2.3 Conclusions and the Bigger Picture

As the wider context of this study involved the examination of the material objects of the *Canterbury Tales* rather than hermeneutic practice to explicate the meaning of the

³⁷ www.scribblemaps.com/.

³⁸ See www.scribblemaps.com/maps/view/vGr8qurcRK.

text, I examined book history as a possible context in which to situate my work. Book history is defined concisely by Heidi Brayman Hackel as encompassing ‘three primary relations to texts: their production, distribution and reception.’³⁹ The study of the consumption and circulation by women of the material books containing the text of the *Canterbury Tales* seems to fit into these basic primary relations. However, considering manuscripts as part of the study of book history is not without its problems. Primarily, much of the scholarship surrounding book history focuses on printed books.⁴⁰ However, it is difficult to acknowledge printed books without manuscripts, as Hackel points out ‘even if the codex, rather than the scroll, is the defining object at the centre of the discipline, the story of the book clearly begins before Gutenberg’.⁴¹ Manuscripts are the forerunners of printed books and the overlap must be acknowledged in the same way that periods of history such as the ‘Middle Ages’ and the ‘Renaissance’ cannot be considered as distinct from one another.⁴² Although it was beyond the scope of this thesis to cover the printed copies of the *Canterbury Tales* in addition to the manuscripts, it must be considered that the text is well known for its transcendence of the manuscript-print boundary.

It is possible that Robert Darnton’s ‘general model’ of the study of book history as ‘a communications circuit’⁴³ between the producers and the users of books can be roughly applied to manuscripts.⁴⁴ It would be careless to group the study of manuscripts and printed books together without considering the differences, but there is a core of interdisciplinarity which is common to the study of both objects. Alexandra Gillespie considers the discipline to include a large number of theories and concepts including ‘social history, sociology, cultural studies, communications theory, the history of technology including digital technologies, antiquarian book collecting, library and archival science, publishing history and book trade economics, theories of text, and

³⁹ Heidi Brayman Hackel, ‘Practicing and Teaching Histories and Theories of the Book’, *Pacific Coast Philology*, 40 (2005), 3-9 (p. 3).

⁴⁰ See also Jonathan Rose and Ezra Greenspan, ‘An Introduction to Book History’, *Book History*, 1 (1998), ix-xi. Joan Shelley Rubin, ‘What Is the History of the History of Books?’, *Journal of American History*, 90 (2003), 555-75.

⁴¹ Hackel, p. 4.

⁴² Alexandra Gillespie acknowledges the continuity between manuscript and print. Alexandra Gillespie, ‘The History of the Book’, in *New Medieval Literatures*, ed. by David Lawton, Wendy Scase, and Rita Copeland (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 246-77 (p. 266).

⁴³ Robert Darnton, ‘What Is the History of Books?’, *Daedalus*, 3 (1982), 65-83 (p. 67).

⁴⁴ Darnton proposes this ‘general model’ based on the lifecycle of an individual book. The ‘communications circuit’ includes the author, publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller and reader. For Darnton, book history reflects how this general model interacts with economic, social, political and cultural systems at a given period of time. *Ibid.* pp. 75-8.

practices of textual editing'.⁴⁵ These theories and concepts are not exclusive to the printed book. Moreover they are wide ranging interdisciplinary techniques which can also be used to find meaning in manuscripts. Gillespie suggests that manuscript studies should engage with the history of the book,⁴⁶ arguing that the methodologies of medievalists are not cohesive with one another in the way that their counterparts studying later periods are.⁴⁷ Medievalists work in this way because of the fragmented nature of the evidence, caused by the age of the material and the quantities of evidence which may have been lost to the passage of time. The study of manuscripts requires a more flexible approach than that provided by prescribed models, but as Gillespie acknowledges, 'so long as the typically complex and fractured information yielded is not mistaken for 'objectivity', these processes constitute a way to think freshly about the history of the medieval book, and the history of the book as a field'.⁴⁸ Book history and manuscript studies are both interconnected and at odds with one another, and while my methods required flexibility to accommodate the evidence, Chapter 7: Conclusions consider what parts of my methodology could be used to model another study.

I believe my methodology succeeds primarily because although it is ambitious, it is practical and innovative. Scholarship has yet to undertake a digital approach to the whole corpus of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts of this nature. The language of network theory has not previously been applied to the movement of manuscripts between people, nor has the use of visualisations to reflect networks which include the transmission of manuscripts been attempted. The spreadsheets created an interactive dataset from which new observations and analysis can emerge. For this thesis in particular the case studies were the next step which enabled me to further explore the narrative of the female audience of the *Canterbury Tales*. Visualisations made the patterns and data more accessible and facilitate the development of my ideas regarding a network of women accessing the manuscripts. Ultimately, the methodological work I have done here could enable further projects and understanding of the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales*.

⁴⁵ Gillespie, pp. 246-7.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 260.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 259.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 276.

Chapter 3: In the Home: Women, Children and the *Canterbury Tales*

The domestic environment was central to early literacy and the process of learning to read in the home appears to have been a regular experience for both girls and boys. It is known that women transmitted books by bequest to and receipt from female friends and family members. These are all people most likely first encountered in the home. This chapter examines the use of the *Canterbury Tales* in these domestically inspired circles, from early educational experiences through lifetimes of informal book transmission to bequests after death. The first part of the chapter will investigate women's use of books as tools for primary education and whether any of the manuscripts in my select corpus were used by women or children for this purpose. The second part will investigate the continued transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* between women, including the use of wills and testaments, and any other evidence for these books being passed on during women's lifetimes. The findings of this chapter reveal the importance of book sharing and social networks as seen through the use of the *Canterbury Tales* by a number of sixteenth-century children and a variety of examples of transmissions of the work amongst women, both formal and informal. These findings continue to demonstrate the expectation laid out in the introduction that women were interested in the *Canterbury Tales* and demonstrate a number of different opportunities for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women to access the work.

3.1 Children and Manuscripts

Scholarship has frequently identified women as the primary educators of children, and the home as the first place of learning.¹ Medieval children began life in the care of the women in their household,² and women began to teach children to read before the general education of boys and girls diverged. Although girls may have attended nunnery schools,³ they would have been forbidden from going to university, therefore the domestic environment would have been the main place where all aspects of their

¹ See Groag Bell, p. 129. Michael Clanchy, 'Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?', in *Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser*, ed. by Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 129-54. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*. D.H. Green, *Women Readers in the Middle Ages*. Phillipa Hardman, 'Domestic Learning and Teaching: Investigating Evidence for the Role of 'Household Miscellanies' in Late-Medieval England', in *Women and Writing, c.1340-c.1650: The Domestification of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 15-33. Orme, *Education and Society*.

² Groag Bell, p. 161.

³ Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 80.

education occurred. Prior to the fifteenth century, the practice of mothers teaching their children to read was established both in England and the wider context of Europe, leading Michael Clanchy to argue that ‘it is probable that they had always been involved’.⁴ The *Sachsenspiegel*, a Saxon law book, indicates that books were considered part of women’s possessions as early as c.1220.⁵ If, as Phillipa Hardman argues, ‘the role of mothers as the first teacher of their children and the domestic environment as the place of early learning could be taken for granted among Chaucer’s fourteenth-century readers and audience’,⁶ then it is to be expected that the practice continued into the later period.

The *Sachsenspiegel* refers to women owning religious books, in particular psalters and primers.⁷ It forms part of a long tradition of prayer book ownership which began prior to the development of the regular form of books of Hours of the Virgin Mary in the thirteenth century.⁸ The significance of primers, in addition to their religious importance as ‘the layperson’s *primary* devotional manual’,⁹ is that they were the main tool used during the process of learning to read.¹⁰ The technique used during this process involved learning the sounds of each letter,¹¹ and then how to spell out the words starting with the prayer book, before moving on to other texts.¹² Latin played a major role in the earliest stages of literacy, and must have been a familiar language even to those who were not fluent.¹³ D.H. Green describes the first four levels of Latin literacy development. Firstly there is ‘phonetic literacy’ which involves reading without understanding, then reading and understanding common texts due to continued practice of them, such as frequently repeated liturgical texts.¹⁴ Phonetic literacy is followed by reading and understanding texts beyond common usage, and the final skill to be developed is ‘the ability to write and compose’.¹⁵ These skills could then be transferred

⁴ Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?’, p. 129.

⁵ Ibid. p. 129. Groag Bell, p. 155.

⁶ Hardman, p. 15.

⁷ Green, p. 123.

⁸ Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?’, p. 132.

⁹ McDonald, ‘A York Primer and Its Alphabet’, p. 181.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 181.

¹¹ Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?’, p. 131.

¹² Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 246.

¹³ Some women must have been able to read Latin as it was taught in nunneries into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), p. 59. One woman, Eleanor Hull, translated texts from Latin to English and owned a Latin Bible. Meale, p. 111.

¹⁴ Green, pp. 31-2.

¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 31-2.

to reading vernacular texts without the reader necessarily continuing to read Latin.¹⁶ Texts were also translated into the vernacular during this time, thus making them more accessible to those who were not fluent in Latin.¹⁷ It seems probable that women were more likely to possess fluent literacy in the vernacular and ‘phonetic literacy’ in Latin, but they must have been familiar with Latin due to the format of their early education.

Books of hours were a common type of book for women to own,¹⁸ thus if they were readily available, convenience may have led women to use them as teaching tools. The religious aspect of the books should not be overlooked, as the use of primers appears to fulfil two aspects of early education, the basics of reading and also the basics of prayer.¹⁹ For example, the illuminations in the Bolton Hours (York, Minster Library, MS Additional 2) suggest that Margaret Blackburn, who probably commissioned the book in the fifteenth century, used it with her daughters, not only as an aid to literacy but also to teach family and religious identity.²⁰ The long-established practice of women teaching their children continued with books of hours into the sixteenth century. Examples include the primer of Claude of France,²¹ which appears to have been created with the intention of educating a young girl,²² and Julia Boffey’s discussion of the use of an illuminated book of hours²³ by a mother to teach her son.²⁴

As the examples just given have suggested, aristocratic women are more visible as primary educators during this period.²⁵ Privilege would have made both teaching and learning to read easier. One advantage would be access to a designated space in which reading could take place. Clanchy suggests that women in well-to-do households had their own spaces in which to practise reading, either individually or as a group.²⁶ As women were the primary caregivers for small children, it is likely that children would

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 31.

¹⁷ See Riddy, p. 107 for the suggestion that women could have ‘taken the initiative in the process of translating Latin into the vernacular’.

¹⁸ Bawcutt, ‘My Bright Buke’, p. 23. McDonald, ‘A York Primer and Its Alphabet’, p. 182.

¹⁹ Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?’, p. 131. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 112. Cullum and Goldberg, p. 234. McDonald, ‘A York Primer and Its Alphabet’, p. 181.

²⁰ Cullum and Goldberg, p. 233.

²¹ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 159.

²² Pamela Sheingorn, ‘“The Wise Mother”: The Image of St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary’, in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 105-34 (p. 128).

²³ Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 37.

²⁴ Julia Boffey, ‘Lydgate’s Lyrics and Women Readers’, in *Women, the Book and the Worldly: Selected Proceedings of the St Hilda’s Conference 1993*, 2 vols, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), II, pp. 139-49.

²⁵ See the Introduction, section 1.4 for my definition of aristocracy.

²⁶ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 252.

have been part of this private reading environment, in which they would have developed familiarity with books and literacy.²⁷ Wealthier women would also have been able to afford more manuscripts for use in education. Members of the aristocracy often owned multiple books of hours,²⁸ which would have made the learning process easier as learners could study more easily with exclusive access to their own book.

The image of St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read is further evidence that women teaching reading was a concept familiar to both aristocratic women and the lower classes. This image was popular in art from the early fourteenth century to the Reformation.²⁹ Clanchy, Cullum and Goldberg note examples of pictures of St Anne with the Virgin Mary in aristocratic books of hours.³⁰ Susan Groag Bell argues that the representation by artists of ‘the most significant medieval female ideal, the Virgin Mary, as a constant reader was surely based on the reality of their patrons’ lives’³¹ adding that if the Virgin Mary is shown constantly reading then laywomen are justified in doing the same.³² Pamela Sheingorn suggests the same for the idea of mothers teaching their daughters; that the images reflect common practice while celebrating female literacy.³³ It seems most probable that the repeated image of St Anne teaching reflects that mothers did teach their daughters to read, particularly where wealth was no object to education. With regards to women with less material wealth, Sheingorn suggests that the image represents a cross-class concept because it was painted in churches and available in relatively cheap alabaster figures and panels.³⁴ William Robert McMunn shows that parents wanted their children to be literate using fourteenth century examples of villeins paying both a fine and the cost of education to send their sons to school without their lord’s permission.³⁵ This expense may not have been undertaken regularly on behalf of girls, but by 1500 many families may have had cheap ABC booklets to learn from at home.³⁶ Whilst it is difficult to document the practices of women at a lower class level, literacy was not unknown and it is plausible that children were taught to read if the resources were available.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 252.

²⁸ Cullum and Goldberg, p. 217.

²⁹ Sheingorn, p. 106.

³⁰ Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?’, p. 139. Cullum and Goldberg, pp. 218-19.

³¹ Groag Bell, p. 173.

³² Ibid. p. 173.

³³ Sheingorn, p. 131.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 131.

³⁵ William Robert McMunn, ‘The Literacy of Medieval Children’, *Children’s Literature*, 4 (1975), 36-41 (p. 39).

³⁶ Clanchy, ‘Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?’, p. 152.

Primers were not the only books used during early education in the home. Hardman suggests that ‘household miscellanies’ could also have been used to teach children.³⁷ She argues that because miscellanies were centred on the household, then it makes sense that they were also used in the teaching of children, although it is difficult to know for sure exactly how these miscellanies were used.³⁸ Nicholas Orme suggests that ‘a good guide to the literary activities of wealthy families is to be found in miscellanies or commonplace books,’³⁹ implying that this type of work can be equated to a family reading experience.

If household miscellanies were potentially used in the education of children, is it possible that the *Canterbury Tales* could have been used in this fashion? Initially the work could be considered a miscellany in its own right as it contains a variety of romances, fabliaux, fables, religious and didactic texts. In addition to well-known miscellanies such as the Findern manuscript⁴⁰ which contains some works by Chaucer, the textual tradition of the *Canterbury Tales* also contains instances of individual tales included in manuscripts with other works. In my select corpus of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, there are a number of instances of individual tales appearing within miscellanies. London, British Library MS Arundel 140 contains the Tale of Melibee bound with a number of other works, although the text itself appears to have been created independently of the other tales and then bound into the miscellany.⁴¹ Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 29 part 2 contains the Parson’s Tale amongst a collection of religious verse and prose, and both Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686 and Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 32 (Delamere) contain the whole *Canterbury Tales* alongside a large variety of other works including texts by Lydgate in the case of Bodley 686⁴² and Gower in the case of Delamere.⁴³ Austin, University of Texas, Harry

³⁷ Hardman, p. 16.

³⁸ Ibid. pp. 16-17.

³⁹ Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 276.

⁴⁰ Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.6.

⁴¹ Arundel 140 contains *Ypotys* (fols 1r-5v), *Sir John Mandeville’s Travels* (fols 5v-41r), *The Prick of Conscience* (fols 41r-146v), *The Legend of Guy of Warwick* (fols 147r-151v), *The Seven Sages* (fols 152r-165v) and the Tale of Melibee (fols 166r-181r). Manly and Rickert, I, p. 51.

⁴² Bodley 686 contains the *Canterbury Tales* (fols 1r-184r), *The Kings of England sithen William Conqueror* (fols 184v-186r), *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (fols 186r-187v), *A Dietary* (fols 187v-188v), *So as the Crabbe Goth Forward* (fols 190r-190v), *Ryght as a Rammes Horne* (fols 190v-191v), *A Wicked Tunge Wille Sey Amys* (fols 191v-193r), *The Legend of St Margaret* (fols 193v-200v), *The Legend of St George* (fols 200v-204r), *The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary* (fols 204r-208v), *A tretis of the daunce of Poulys otherwise called Makabre* (fols 208v-216r). Manly and Rickert, I, p. 64. Daniel Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue of the Pre-1500 Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales* (Birmingham: Scholarly Digital Editions, 2010) [on CD-ROM].

⁴³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 108.

Ransom Centre MS 143 (Cardigan) also contains texts by Lydgate alongside the *Canterbury Tales*,⁴⁴ and Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, MS 257 contains the Knight's Tale and the Clerk's Tale with Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*.⁴⁵ Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 24 (Devonshire), and Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.3.26 contain additional texts alongside the full *Canterbury Tales*.⁴⁶ Finally, Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27 appears to be an early collection of Chaucer's entire works. All of these manuscripts could be considered potential miscellanies with equal potential for sharing amongst families.

There are other reasons that children might have read the *Canterbury Tales*. It has been observed that there was no specific genre of 'children's literature' in the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ Children were considered adults at the age of seven, and must have been included in adult literary activities.⁴⁸ Orme notes that some texts were written with children and young people in mind, but that they tended to be didactic texts such as the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* or *How the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter*.⁴⁹ He suggests that 'most story literature was common to adults and children',⁵⁰ and argues that children would have read didactic literature, romance, stories with a moral, saints lives and fables, possibly including the *Canterbury Tales*.⁵¹ If children had a mostly similar literary diet to adults after they had learned to read, the widespread circulation of the *Canterbury Tales* implies that children may have read the book as well as adults. The *Canterbury Tales* may have been used with children, but the extant manuscripts need to be examined in order to investigate further. The preliminary survey of all the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* shows two manuscripts in the select corpus which demonstrate evidence of access by multiple children including girls. These are Princeton, University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections MS 100 (Helmingham) and Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.3.26.

When children's marginalia are noted in manuscripts it is due to a combination of what Lerer describes as unformed hands and the 'weird irrelevance' of the notes to

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 71.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 339.

⁴⁶ Devonshire contains the *Canterbury Tales* (fols 1r-274r) and Lydgate's *Life of St Margaret* (fols 275r-282r). Manly and Rickert, I, p. 117. Ii.3.26 contains the *Canterbury Tales* (fols 2r-237r) and *Bona Carta Gloriose Passionis Domini Nostril Jesu Christi* (fols 238r-240r). Ibid. p. 295.

⁴⁷ McMunn, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Bennett A. Brockman, 'Children and Literature in Late Medieval England', *Children's Literature*, 4 (1975), 58-63 (p. 58).

⁴⁹ Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 278-80.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 285.

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 278-84.

the text.⁵² Lerer's ideas seem plausible, although he also admits that 'children's writing [...] has no undeniably essential quality'.⁵³ In the face of this dilemma, Deborah Thorpe has taken another step towards defining children's marginalia in her study of fourteenth-century children's drawings in University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Kislak Centre for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, LJS MS. 361. She develops a way of classifying medieval children's drawings in the marginalia using developmental psychology.⁵⁴ Reassuringly, common sense is an aspect of this classification; drawings can be considered children's drawings if they 'look like' they are.⁵⁵ In marginalia which consist of notes, this idea is developed in the content of the note being plausibly childlike, such as the repetition of the words 'ded play' in the Helmingham manuscript.⁵⁶ Elements of writing noted by Thorpe which could be used to attribute both children's writing and drawing include aspects of inking such as ink quality, colour, thickness and consistency which indicate writing is not part of the original scribal work.⁵⁷ Another attribute discussed by Thorpe which could be used to suggest a child writer is style control because 'a child typically shows imprecision in pen control compared to even the most unskilled adult, reflecting their developing motor abilities'.⁵⁸ It remains to be seen how these qualities are reflected in the marginalia of MS li.3.26 and the Helmingham manuscript.

MS li.3.26 has a production date of approximately 1425 to 1450, although the marginalia suggesting it was used by children are dated to the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ The marginalia include pen trials on fol. 236r, a pen trial or possible alphabet on fol. 237r and a number of unclear spidery notes throughout the manuscript which correspond with Seth Lerer's idea of children's marginalia consisting of unformed hands and notes which are strangely irrelevant to the text. Most of the children to whom the marginalia have been attributed are male but on fol. 200v the names 'An Cock' and 'An Cok' are written in the same hand. Manly and Rickert note that on fol. 201v another hand has written 'An Cok ys my wyfe henrie dennye' and 'thys is her marke well what is this[?]

⁵² Seth Lerer, 'Devotion and Defacement: Reading Children's Marginalia', *Representations*, 118 (2012), 126-53 (p. 131).

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁵⁴ Deborah Thorpe, 'Young hands, old books: Drawings by children in a fourteenth-century manuscript, LJS MS. 361', *Cogent Arts and Humanities*, 3 (2016) <<https://www.cogentoa.com/article/10.1080/23311983.2016.1196864>>, pp. 5-10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 2.

⁵⁷ Thorpe, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Thorpe, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

for...that shrew[?] wreten[?].⁶⁰ While ‘ys my wyfe henrie dennye’ and ‘this is her marke...’ etc. are written in a different hand, the signature ‘An Cok’ on fol. 201v matches those on fol. 200v. The ink in which these remarks and signatures are written is a similar colour and similarly faded, possibly suggesting it was written at the same time by children using the manuscript together. Manly and Rickert mark, ‘in a more mature hand’,⁶¹ the words ‘I kan be huswife but not for hennrye denye’ at the top of fol. 201v. They imply that the hand is that of Anne Cooke, and as the hands mature these notes could represent a joke between the two children.⁶² The note on fol. 201v is now very faded, and although it is perhaps more mature in that it is more regularly formed than the other notes, it is impossible to ascribe it with confidence to the writer of the ‘An Cok’ signature. Anne Cooke may not have written about being a ‘huswife’ but the association of her name with Henry Denny’s in the marginalia suggests they were perhaps using the manuscript together as children during the sixteenth century.

Regarding the ownership of MS li.3.26, Manly and Rickert suggest that the manuscript was circulating at Henry VIII’s court during the mid-sixteenth century, and list a number of male names that appear in the margins and their associations with the court.⁶³ They note in particular that the families of Anne Cooke and Henry Denny were part of the court during this time; there was an Anne Cooke (1528-1610), the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and a Henry Denny, the son of Sir Anthony Denny (d. 1549), who may have been childhood contemporaries.⁶⁴ The intimacy of the families is evident. Henry Denny’s wife Elizabeth and the wife of Anne’s brother William Cooke were sisters.⁶⁵ Henry names William Cooke as his brother in law and executor in his will, and names a Frauncis Cooke as a witness.⁶⁶ The Anne Cooke (1528-1610) whom Manly and Rickert suggest has signed MS li.3.26 grew up to be Lady Anne Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579) and mother of Anthony (1558-1601) and Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Known for her translation of the Latin *Apologie of the Church of England* by John Jewel,⁶⁷ she was highly educated and was bequeathed her choice of

⁶⁰ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 298.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 298.

⁶² Ibid. p. 298.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 299.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 298.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 298.

⁶⁶ The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/58/250.

⁶⁷ Lynne Magnusson, ‘Bacon [Cooke], Anne, Lady Bacon (c.1528–1610)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/987>> [accessed 3 October 2016].

Latin and Greek volumes in her father's will.⁶⁸ On comparison with some of her holograph letters,⁶⁹ and even taking into account the difference between childhood writing and adult writing it is difficult to argue with certainty that the signatures in MS Ii.3.26 were written by the same person. The signatures contain a very large lower case *a* and spikey letters which do not correspond with the 'loose form of italic'⁷⁰ written by the adult Lady Anne Bacon. Although the writer of the marginalia in MS Ii.3.26 is probably not the Anne Cooke who went on to become Lady Bacon, the names Anne and Henry are common within the Cooke and Denny families⁷¹ so it is possible the manuscript was accessed by a relative of hers during this period. Even if Anne and Henry cannot be identified exactly, the manuscript remains an example of a *Canterbury Tales* in use by children as well as adults.

In comparison to MS Ii.3.26, the Helmingham manuscript contains a larger quantity of marginalia produced by children. The production date of the manuscript is 1420 to 1430, and as in MS Ii.3.26, the children's marginalia was added during the sixteenth century.⁷² It features the name Lionel Tollemache on fol. 59v in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand, most likely the fourth Lionel Tollemache.⁷³ Manly and Rickert note five Lionel Tollemaches, Lionel I (d. 1552), Lionel II (d. 1572), Lionel III (d. 1575), Lionel IV (d. 1612) and Lionel V (d. 1618).⁷⁴ As the Tollemaches have owned Helmingham Hall, the home of the manuscript, since the fifteenth century, it is presumed that the manuscript was in the household since around that time. The marginalia ascribed to children is wide ranging, including 'lists of things, words, dates and times'⁷⁵ in addition to notes, signatures and scribbles. Not all the notes are irrelevant to the text. There is evidence of copying words on fol. 12r where the word 'knight' is repeated at the top of the page next to the tale's title, Lionel IV has written 'squire' on fol. 59v next to his signature which appears on a page of the Squire's

⁶⁸ The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/59/110.

⁶⁹ Gemma Allen, *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, Camden Fifth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 10, 37, 40, 43.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 35.

⁷¹ M.C. Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), II, p. 60.

⁷² Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 257, 61. The manuscript is comprised of paper with a central parchment section (fols 166-202) which Manly and Rickert consider to be older than the paper, and indicative of an old fragment of the *Canterbury Tales* being supplemented from the same exemplar. However, Mooney et al. convincingly suggest that the manuscript was written entirely by the Beryn scribe, and the materials could be different ages, which is indicative of the whole manuscript being produced at roughly the same time. Mooney, Horobin, Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*. Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

⁷³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 261.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 261.

⁷⁵ Lerer, p. 131.

Tale and fol. 149r is an example of an almost complete copy of the last line on the page which is ‘and a man that is so dronklawe’. It is difficult to prove marginalia are textual response without further remark on the text,⁷⁶ but arguably these examples demonstrate that the writers of the marginalia at least paused over the manuscript long enough to copy out instances of its content.

Helmingham contains evidence that it was accessed by girls; Fol. 92v contains a note which reads ‘edward gosnold ded p feyte wyllame coegame with him pater elsabithe’, the name Elizabeth Symon appears on fol. 142r and fol. 165r reads ‘alsabatha carman haue rent of a pas a papar’. These children lived in the vicinity of the Tollemache family’s seat at Helmingham around 1545 to 1550, and were contemporaries of Lionel III.⁷⁷ The presence of the other children’s names, including those of girls, suggests that they were involved in the life of the manuscript as a group, perhaps learning or playing together. Further unclear notes can be found on fol. 6r some of which are upside down, making it possible to imagine a group of children gathered around the manuscript. Manly and Rickert consider Helmingham to be ‘an old and neglected family possession’, suggesting that ‘men who bought MSS in the 16 C did not buy them for children to scribble in’.⁷⁸ On the contrary, it is clear that the sixteenth-century children in question used the manuscript extensively, but it was not necessarily neglected. The name Lionel appears in multiple hands, and although there was a Lionel Symon living locally,⁷⁹ there were also a number of Lionels in the Tollemache family, implying that the manuscript could have remained available for children of successive generations to use. When the importance of Chaucer as a writer in the sixteenth century is considered,⁸⁰ it seems more likely that the Helmingham manuscript has been scribbled in by children because it was made available to them in the environment in which they were playing or studying, as a desirable text for them to access.

The marginalia of the two examples discussed here, MS li.3.26 and Helmingham, despite showing evidence that the manuscripts were used by children, do not reflect structured use alongside adults. Although the presence of alphabets and pen trials may indicate practising, it is not possible to confirm or deny whether the manuscripts were used as teaching aids. This sample of manuscripts is not large, in part

⁷⁶ See Chapter 4: In the Margins.

⁷⁷ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 262.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 266.

⁷⁹ Ibid. pp. 262-3.

⁸⁰ This idea is outlined in the Introduction.

because this thesis has by necessity focused on the manuscripts accessed by girls, but further examples may not have survived because children's books suffered from 'hard usage'.⁸¹ The evidence available suggests that the children who used Helmingham and MS li.3.26 may have accessed the *Canterbury Tales* in play, implied by the multiple names suggesting a group of children gathered together, and the silly comments in the marginalia such as Henry Denny referring to Anne Cooke as a shrew. Orme suggests that, in addition to the roles played by schools and religious houses, 'great households were other centres of education',⁸² a possible indicator that aristocratic children were taught together and spent time in groups. If the manuscripts were accessible to play with perhaps the children had already learned to read and that the *Canterbury Tales* was made available for them to use. The difference in time between the production dates of the manuscripts and the marginalia indicates that neither manuscript could have been commissioned specifically for any of the children. Instead, the continued importance of Chaucer into the sixteenth century could mean that the manuscripts were intentionally made available to the children because they were expected or encouraged to read his work. The extent of the marginalia throughout both books seems to imply that they were available to the children to use for an extended period of time. I remain convinced by the evidence here that the *Canterbury Tales* was a book accessed by children and adults alike, however it seems less likely that it was used as an early teaching aid and perhaps more that it was a secondary text, made use of once the basics were mastered.

3.2 Giving and Receiving Books

An important aspect of women's relationship with manuscripts was the sharing and bequeathing of books which can be seen as a continuation of the bonds formed when learning to read. In affluent households books seem to have been used early in life, bequeathed after death, and also probably passed between women throughout their lives. A number of preceding studies indicate that women in the late medieval period were giving books to one another. Patricia Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg discuss the increased likelihood of books generally being passed 'through the female line',⁸³ while Karen Jambeck describes this literary patronage between grandmothers, mothers and

⁸¹ Clanchy, 'Did Mothers Teach Their Children to Read?', p. 137.

⁸² Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 240.

⁸³ Cullum and Goldberg, p. 221.

daughters as a 'matrilineal paradigm'.⁸⁴ Carol Meale's extensive study of laywomen's books demonstrates amongst many examples that Princeton, University Library Garret, MS 168 (*Testament de Amyra Sultan Nichemedy*) contains the names of both Elizabeth and Cecily of York,⁸⁵ and Margaret Beaufort gave Elizabeth a copy of the *Scale of Perfection*.⁸⁶ In her extensive catalogue of medieval wills, Susan Cavanaugh finds Lady Alice West of Hampshire bequeathed to her daughter-in-law Joan in 1395, 'a masse book, and alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, english, and frensch, outtak the forsayd matins bookis that is bequethe to Thomas my sone'.⁸⁷ Nuns also shared books with one another and received books from relatives outside their religious houses.⁸⁸ Virginia Bainbridge notes that Sister Clemence Tresham, a nun at Syon Abbey, owned a psalter which also belonged to her aunt Rose Tresham, and Cecily, Duchess of York left books to her granddaughter Prioress Anne de la Pole.⁸⁹ These examples are primarily drawn from evidence found in marginalia, ownership inscriptions and wills. They show variety in the types of books which were transmitted between women. The women themselves are not all related in a linear way, sisters use the same book, and mothers-in-law appear to pass books to daughters-in-law as well as from aunts to nieces. Notably all the examples are privileged women, which may be an indicator of a culture of book sharing amongst the wider family networks of the aristocracy.

Wills are a valuable source of information for book transmission and bequests. During the late medieval period religious books were the most common type of book to have been bequeathed by both men and women.⁹⁰ Kate Harris argues that 'as a factor increasing the likelihood of a book's appearance in a will, intrinsic value is probably outweighed by devotional or liturgical content'.⁹¹ If the most expensive books are usually the ones mentioned in formal wills, then the variety in the levels of expense of

⁸⁴ Jambeck, p. 236.

⁸⁵ Meale, 'Alle the Bokes that I haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch', p. 145.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 145.

⁸⁷ Cavanaugh, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁸ Virginia Bainbridge, 'Syon Abbey: Women and Learning c.1415-1600', in *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c.1400-1700*, ed. by E.A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 82-103 (p. 87). C. Annette Grisé, 'Prayer, Meditation, and Women Readers in Late Medieval England: Teaching and Sharing through Books', in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. by Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 178-92.

⁸⁹ Bainbridge, pp. 86-7.

⁹⁰ Meale, 'Alle the Bokes that I haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch', p. 130.

⁹¹ Kate Harris, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 163-99 (p. 164).

the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts may suggest that it was less likely to appear as it was not always an expensively produced book. Another reason for the regular appearance of religious texts in wills is the possibility that bequests of religious texts were customary.⁹² Carol Meale observes that wills are formal and solemn, and ‘a sense of decorum could well account for the preponderance of religious over secular books amongst wills in general’.⁹³ Thus it is possible that the bequeathing of religious books was a gesture of piety and therefore the *Canterbury Tales* would not have been included even if it was a valued possession or an expensive copy of the work. It seems more likely that the format of wills influenced the content of the bequests, and there may be a pattern of secular books appearing less frequently in wills. Cavanaugh’s survey of privately owned manuscripts reflects this pattern, where on counting the books bequeathed by women I found eighty-one occurrences of religious texts, compared to sixteen instances of non-religious texts, and twenty-eight more general mentions of books where the content and number of books were unclear.⁹⁴ Another notable element of the format of wills and bequests is that ‘many more books were owned than actually mentioned’ in medieval wills,⁹⁵ therefore the absence of the *Canterbury Tales* from women’s wills cannot be considered a sign that they did not own them. Harris also notes that books may be ‘imperfectly described’ in wills,⁹⁶ and that the items which are included cannot cover the owner’s whole ‘lifetime of reading’.⁹⁷ Therefore, other evidence such as marginalia or ownership inscriptions needs to be examined to discover other books read by women, including the *Canterbury Tales*.

Some examples of bequests of romance books indicate that books other than religious texts were occasionally transmitted via wills. Green observes some fourteenth-century wills in which Isabella of France owned chansons de geste, Trojan romance, Arthurian texts, and books about Tristan and Percival.⁹⁸ Isabel, Duchess of York and Elizabeth Darcy both owned a Lancelot text and Elizabeth la Zouche owned both a Lancelot and a Tristan text.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Jennifer Goodman has used evidence from marginalia to link reading romances to women sharing books with their daughters.¹⁰⁰

⁹² Groag Bell, p. 157.

⁹³ Meale, ‘Alle the Bokes that I haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch’, pp. 130-1.

⁹⁴ Cavanaugh, pp. 38-955.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 14.

⁹⁶ Harris, p. 163.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 164.

⁹⁸ Green, p. 124.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 124.

¹⁰⁰ Jennifer R. Goodman, “‘That Wommen Holde in Ful Greet Reverence’: Mothers and Daughters

British Library MS Royal 14.E.iii contains two Grail romances and was made in the early fourteenth century. The manuscript contains the fifteenth-century signatures of Elizabeth Woodville, Elizabeth of York and Cecily of York.¹⁰¹ Goodman also argues that Margaret Beaufort commissioned *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* for Elizabeth of York.¹⁰² These examples could suggest that the teaching role of mothers established in the previous section in this chapter developed into a relationship which fuelled the sharing of books, and supports the idea that book sharing was not limited to the linear relationship of mother and daughter as in the case of Margaret Beaufort. Thus wills are clearly not the only evidence for shared reading and it is plausible that women shared or transmitted a variety of texts to one another. With this idea in mind we can turn to the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

In the first instance, John Manly and Edith Rickert note a quantity of wills which contain bequests of copies of the *Canterbury Tales*.¹⁰³ I sought examples featuring women as either the bequester or the recipient of the work.¹⁰⁴ The first example is a bequest from Sir Thomas Cumberworth to his grand-niece Annes (Agnes) Constable, in 1450/1. The will reads ‘I will my Nevew Robert Constabull [...] my blak buke yat my wiff withid me [...] And I will my nese Annes his wife haue a pare bedes of corall gawdid with gold & a ryng with A diademund yerin & my boke of the talys of cantyrbury’.¹⁰⁵ Thomas bequeathed a ‘litill rede primer lynyd with blak bawdelayn’ and a ‘red sawter lynyed with welwet’¹⁰⁶ but no other secular books besides the *Canterbury Tales*. This manuscript is potentially Petworth House, The National Trust MS 7, due to its associations with the Earls of Northumberland, to whom Agnes’s husband Robert Constable was serjeant-at-law.¹⁰⁷ There are three other manuscripts with possible claims to being Sir Thomas Cumberworth’s *Canterbury Tales*. Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 46 (Phillipps 6570) was owned by a descendant of Agnes Constable, but it is dated later than Manly and Rickert would suppose for a manuscript

Reading Chivalric Romances’, in *Women, the Book and the Worldly: Selected Proceedings of the St Hilda’s Conference 1993*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor, 2 vols (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), II, pp. 25-30.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 25.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 27.

¹⁰³ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 606-45.

¹⁰⁴ Cavanaugh’s survey of wills does not give any examples of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in bequests.

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Clark, *Lincoln Diocese Documents 1450-1544*, Early English Text Society 149 (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. pp. 50-1.

¹⁰⁷ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 413.

owned by Sir Thomas Cumberworth.¹⁰⁸ Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/1 (Phillipps 8137) and New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS Plimpton 253 (Phillipps 9970) both have textual links to Petworth but nothing else suggests they were owned by Agnes Constable, Thomas Constable or their associates.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Constable's *Canterbury Tales* appears amid a variety of valuable bequests. As it may be that manuscripts which have more monetary value are more likely to appear in wills, Petworth could be the most plausible manuscript ascribed to Sir Thomas and the Constables because it is the most lavishly decorated.

The second example is a bequest by a woman. The will of Lady Elizabeth Bruyn (d. 1471) of South Ockenden, Essex reads 'I will that Robert Walsall have the boke called Canterbury Tales and one gilt cup wt ye coveryng and one sparuer of silke and a dial of gold and ii hors in my stable and j double harpe'.¹¹⁰ Manly and Rickert suggest this large and expensive bequest indicates that Robert was perhaps closely related to Lady Elizabeth,¹¹¹ although the relationship is not reflected in her recorded family connections. The inclusion of the manuscript amongst other valuable items suggests it may also have had monetary value. The identity of the book has been suggested as London, British Library MS Additional 35286,¹¹² which is decorated but to a lesser degree than Petworth. It remains difficult to discern whether a bequest has been made based on monetary or sentimental value, even if the manuscripts mentioned in the wills can be identified with any certainty.

The third example is found in the 1508 will of Margaret Beaufort (d. 1509) which shows she owned a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* as well as Froissart, Gower, the Magna Carta and 'a greatte volume of velom named John Bokas lymned' and 'a grette volume of velom of the siege of Troy in Englissh'.¹¹³ She left to her chamberlain John St John 'a book of velom of Canterbury tales in Engliche'.¹¹⁴ This manuscript is possibly Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 24 (Devonshire), which is a very luxurious copy of the work, although the evidence given by Manly and Rickert has been difficult

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 420.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 609.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 612.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 612.

¹¹² Additional 35286 is linked to Robert Walsall and Elizabeth Bruyn via its provenance, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5: Family Networks.

¹¹³ Charles Henry Cooper, *Memoir of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge and London: Deighton Bell and Co and George Bell and Sons, 1874), pp. 132-4.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 134-5.

to confirm.¹¹⁵ What Margaret Beaufort's will indicates, and indeed the other two examples, is that some women did have copies of the *Canterbury Tales* in their possession. It is difficult to be certain of the motivations which lead the individuals here to include the *Canterbury Tales* in these three wills. It is also difficult to be sure that the extant manuscripts truly correspond with the wills to which they have been ascribed. These examples remain significant because they show books moving between men and women within a wider network than just their immediate family, including the estates of affluent people such as Margaret Beaufort. I will now examine the marginalia of some of the other manuscripts in my select corpus in which there are a number of examples suggesting that the manuscripts were passed from woman to woman, including mother to daughter, grandmother to granddaughter or a possible joint bequest of parents to daughter.

The back flyleaf of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181 contains the name of Joan Kent, who was the wife of Thomas Kent of the parish of St James Garlickhythe, London between 1460 and 1468. Manly and Rickert suggest that as the manuscript is not listed in Thomas Kent's will he passed it to Joan before his will was written.¹¹⁶ There is nothing in the manuscript to suggest that was the exclusive possession of Thomas Kent, it could very well have been a shared book as the evidence suggests that both Thomas and Joan had access to it.¹¹⁷ Joan Kent, formerly named Joan Dounton and Westwode from previous marriages, was also from the parish of St James Garlickhythe, and her will of 1460 indicates that she had a mass book and a psalter of her own which she bequeathed to her brother.¹¹⁸ This bequest may be formal but it further demonstrates the idea that women bequeathed books to a range of family members. Later, Joan sold all her husband's possessions to her daughter Isabella Dounton and Isabella's husband Robert Ballard.¹¹⁹ It is possible that McClean 181 was given to Isabella during her mother's lifetime because although it does not appear in the will of Ballard¹²⁰ there are the seventeenth-century signatures of two Max Dallinsons, one on fol. 1r and the other on fol. 159r. The elder of these two men was the step-grandson of a John Lambard who purchased the house of Isabella and Robert Ballard in

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 5: Family Networks for my discussion of the likelihood of the Devonshire manuscript's connection to Margaret Beaufort.

¹¹⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 167.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 4: In the Margins for further discussion of the marginalia of McClean 181.

¹¹⁸ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/9/211.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/11/465.

Spitelcombe in Kent.¹²¹ It seems likely that McClean 181 came into the possession of the Dallinsons via the house in Spitelcombe, meaning that Isabella may have brought or owned the copy of the *Canterbury Tales* used by her mother and step-father.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686 may have been passed from grandmother to granddaughter. There is a signature on fol. 139v which reads ‘Belthiam’ or ‘Belchiam’. Manly and Rickert believe this name can be associated with the Beauchamp family as ‘the c-form which looks more like a t̃ is not uncommon; and the spellings Bel-Champ, Belchamp [...] and Becham occur’.¹²² The word is not easily viewable now, but further investigation reveals no families or locations with names similar to Belthiam or Belchiam during the fifteenth century, and Beauchamp seems to be the closest approximation. Margaret Beauchamp (1404-1467) married John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury in 1425.¹²³ The name ‘Gryfyn’ occurs in a fifteenth-century hand on fol. 6r.¹²⁴ Manly and Rickert link the Griffin family to the Talbots via Nicholas Griffin, who became the ward of John De Vere, Earl of Oxford in 1486. Margaret Beauchamp and John Talbot’s granddaughter Margaret Talbot married George de Vere, John de Vere’s brother, before 1475.¹²⁵ If Bodley 686 ended up with Nicholas Griffin it may have passed from Margaret Beauchamp to her granddaughter Margaret Talbot. Margaret Beauchamp’s grandson Thomas Talbot was made her ward after the death of his parents, therefore it is possible that his sisters Elizabeth and Margaret were also wards of their grandmother for a time.¹²⁶ Margaret Talbot may have received the *Canterbury Tales* from her grandmother and taken it with her on her marriage to George de Vere whereupon it eventually fell into the hands of Nicholas Griffin.

The Hengwrt manuscript contains sixteenth-century evidence of being passed from mother to daughter. The manuscript contains a poem and a record of the births of the children of Eleanor Bannester which implies she owned or used the manuscript over a significant period of time.¹²⁷ Fol. 128v contains the names of Eleanor’s grandchildren

¹²¹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 167.

¹²² Ibid. p. 69.

¹²³ See Chapter 5: Family Networks for further discussion of why Margaret Beauchamp and John Talbot may have owned Bodley 686.

¹²⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 68.

¹²⁵ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Lindley to Moate)*, ed. by H.A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1932), p. 59.

¹²⁶ A.J. Pollard, ‘Talbot, John, First Earl of Shrewsbury and First Earl of Waterford (c.1387-1453), Soldier’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26932>> [accessed 4 Oct 2016].

¹²⁷ See Chapter 4: In the Margins for further discussion of Eleanor’s use of the manuscript.

by her youngest daughter Martha in two different hands. The father of these children, Andrew Brereton, writes a memorandum regarding paying one of his servants on fol. 152v. A comparison of these hands indicates that Andrew has not written the names of the children on fol. 128v, possibly meaning that one of the hands recording the names belongs to Martha or the children themselves. As Eleanor Bannester used the Hengwrt manuscript to record the names of her children, so the practice seems to have been continued by her daughter. The repeated examples of recording names, alongside the evidence of Andrew Brereton's access to the manuscript, suggests that Martha was in possession of Hengwrt during her marriage to Andrew, therefore she probably received it from her mother.

Eleanor and Martha's act of recording the names of their children could signify the importance of the Hengwrt manuscript to them personally. Both William Sherman and James Daybell have discussed women's participation in record keeping during the sixteenth century and beyond. Sherman observes that 'one of the most familiar (and pervasive) categories of manuscript inscription in printed books associated with women is family records',¹²⁸ while Daybell notes that 'traditionally, women have been identified as repositories of oral knowledge, the custodians of genealogical, family, and household memory and tradition bequeathed from one generation to the next'.¹²⁹ Although it remains more likely for family records to appear in Bibles and religious texts,¹³⁰ the appearance of such a record in a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* in this instance could further signify ownership of the manuscript by the women in question, as it is possible that they chose a book of their own in which to make their record. There are some further examples of family records in my select corpus of the *Canterbury Tales*,¹³¹ but the inconsistency of surviving examples such as this one could be accounted for by Daybell's observation that women's records were kept outside of muniments rooms, which was not conducive to their survival.¹³²

The final example, the Devonshire manuscript, contains three sets of heraldry which demonstrate that the manuscript was passed from mother to daughter during the

¹²⁸ William H. Sherman, *Material Texts: Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 59-60.

¹²⁹ James Daybell, 'Gendered Archival Practices and the Future Lives of Letters' in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 210-36 (p. 211).

¹³⁰ Sherman, pp. 59-60.

¹³¹ See Chapter 4: In the Margins, section 4.6: Sharing Books.

¹³² Daybell, p. 234.

mid-sixteenth century, approximately one century after the manuscript was produced. On fol. 274v at the end of the *Canterbury Tales* there is 'a shield in sixteenths, and beneath it the name 'Knyvet'.¹³³ The shield combines the arms of Sir Edmund Knyvett (d. 1539) and his wife Jane Bouchier (d. 1561).¹³⁴ Underneath the arms on the same folio is another shield and the name 'Walpole'.¹³⁵ On fol. 282v is a further shield with the motto 'Skarlet studio crescit sapientia'.¹³⁶ The daughter of Sir Edmund Knyvett and Jane Bouchier, Katherine Knyvett (d. 1595) married first John Walpole (d. 1557/8), and then Thomas Skarlet (d. before 1595). The presence of the shields of both her husbands suggest that Takamiya 24 was passed to Katherine by her parents, and remained in her possession through both her marriages.

Given the knowledge that not all books owned or read by an individual are likely to be itemised in their will, in tandem with the increased likelihood that bequests may be formal and consist of valuable books or religious books to demonstrate ones piety, it may simply be that the *Canterbury Tales* is less likely to appear as a bequest in a will, particularly for women. My select corpus reflects this idea as there are only three instances of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts appearing in wills which feature women during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These examples demonstrate the transmission of books to a wider network of family members than the expected matrilineal pattern, including men and more distant kin such as grand-nieces in the case of Thomas Cumberworth and Agnes Constable. The marginalia in four of the manuscripts in my select corpus show books being passed between women in a less formal way during their lifetime. These marginalia suggest that evidence of matrilineal manuscript transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* is more likely to be found in marginalia rather than wills, and more likely to occur during women's lifetimes or in an informal, unrecorded manner. Furthermore, there is an implication of women participating in a wider social network of book transmission.

3.3 Conclusions

This chapter has considered the significance of women's use of books for primary education and how books continued to be transmitted between women and other

¹³³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 120.

¹³⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, p.120.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 120.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p. 120.

members of their families during and after their lifetimes. The tradition of mothers teaching children to read at home was well established by the sixteenth century, particularly for the affluent, and this chapter set out to examine the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to see whether they fit into this learning environment. The evidence for household miscellanies being used for teaching children implied the possibility of the *Canterbury Tales* being used in household education. However, the usage of Helmingham and MS li.3.26 by sixteenth-century children suggests a more informal engagement with the manuscript during play. It seems possible that these manuscripts were available within the household to be accessed by children, and potentially also adults, which touches upon the idea of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* being part of a culture of shared books. The practice of book sharing continues even after death, as seen by the evidence of women bequeathing books to friends and relations, although it seems possible that bequests found in wills reflect formal or valuable bequests. The several examples of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts which demonstrate marginalia that suggest they were passed between women indicate both the importance of evidence outside of wills and suggest that the manuscripts were circulating between women in a less formal way. The examples of bequests of the work to and from other family members indicates a wider network of sharing than at first expected. The relationship between women, their books and their families continued beyond learning the basics of reading and the *Canterbury Tales* was part of women's lives in the informal and mostly unknown dialogues of everyday book consumption and transmission.

Chapter 4: In the Margins: Marginalia Produced by Women in the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*

Marginalia are central to the evidence which enables the discovery of women who accessed the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The previous chapter touched upon the importance of evidence written in the margins of the books, and this chapter examines the marginalia of the select corpus of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in more detail. The discussion starts with an examination of the definition of marginalia and how fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women learned to write in order to produce marginalia, then moves on to investigate the marginalia relating to women in the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales*. The findings of this chapter demonstrate a variety of examples of women's use of the select corpus seen through the extant marginalia, taking into account the difficulty of being certain that a manuscript was read, and exploring activity evidenced in the manuscripts that does not limit their use to reading alone. The chapter also argues for the examination of the absence of marginalia, and what this apparent lack of evidence could signify. The evidence examined here contributes to the wider narrative of late medieval and early modern women's use of and engagement with the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

4.1 In Search of Women's Marginalia

According to William Sherman, marginalia are 'notes written in the margins and other blank spaces of texts'.¹ This chapter will break down this definition, and also make use of the term annotation to define marginalia which suggest commentary on or engagement with the text. Evidence that people accessed manuscripts can be found in the range of different marks in the margins of books. H.J. Jackson asserts that "notes" are to be distinguished from asterisks, fists☞, exclamation marks, word by word translation, and similar signs of readers' attentions'.² It may not be not possible to guess the gender of a writer by their hand alone.³ In contrast, Heather Wolfe explains that 'the majority of women between roughly 1550 and 1650 used a non-cursive italic script' in part because it may have been easier and in part because it may have been fashionable.⁴

¹ William H. Sherman, *Material Texts: Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. xi.

² H.J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 23.

³ Boffey, 'Women Authors and Women's Literacy', p. 171.

⁴ Wolfe, Heather Wolfe, "Women's Handwriting" in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Laura Lunger Knoppers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp. 21-39 (p. 31).

Women were also recommended to use a Roman or round hand by late sixteenth-century writing manuals.⁵ Therefore, during the later period covered by this study it may be possible to identify a female writer by the type of hand used. However as many of the examples in my select corpus come from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it can also be expected to find secretary hand, as Wolfe also says that ‘both before and after English writing manuals began identifying the italic and Roman script as female scripts, women used secretary’.⁶ Thus, ascribing the types of markings described by Jackson to either men or women will probably be challenging. Due to this difficulty, my search for women’s marginalia in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* will by necessity focus on the instances of marginalia which consist of names and notes. Carol Meale finds that the only ‘incontestable evidence’ that a woman read a book ‘would be if she annotated it in her own hand’.⁷ Although I agree, I will also examine marginalia which is not necessarily annotation in order to try to draw out a narrative of how women may have used the books. Concrete evidence of ownership is also difficult to discern. Catherine Innes-Parker, in her examination of marginalia in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century vernacular devotional texts, suggests that ‘names in the margins simply indicate readers who have possessed the manuscript at isolated points in its history’.⁸ The appearance of names in the margins of a manuscript is not a certain indicator that the owner of the name was also the owner of the book, but I would consider names in the margins to show that a person had access to the book at some point, even if there remains no guarantee it was read.

Anonymous marks are not the only problems with marginalia to consider. It is of course possible that someone other than the owner of a name may have written that name in the margins of a manuscript. One example from the *Canterbury Tales* corpus is the snub ‘Margery seynt John ys a shrew’⁹ on the verso of the first flyleaf of the Ellesmere manuscript. This note has clearly not been written by Margery herself as her hand also occurs in the manuscript for comparison.¹⁰ Another well-known occurrence of this kind is in the Findern manuscript (Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.6) which contains, in addition to a number of other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century female names,

⁵ Ibid. p. 27.

⁶ Ibid. p. 33.

⁷ Meale, ‘Alle the Bokes That I Haue of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch’, p. 134.

⁸ Innes-Parker, p. 250.

⁹ Margery St John appears to be a relation of the Drury family who possessed Ellesmere in the sixteenth century. Manly and Rickert, I, p. 152.

¹⁰ The names appear on the first and fourth flyleaf.

‘the names of ‘Elisabet Koton’ and ‘Elizabet fraunceys’, which appear at the end of the romance *Sir Degrevant* in a hand which would seem to be that of the second of the two scribes who collaborated on copying the text’.¹¹ Julia Boffey questions whether the names relate to the scribes or the potential owners of the text, and reaches the apt conclusion that there is no way to tell.¹² These examples demonstrate the need to consider all possible interpretations of the available evidence, and also stress the importance of not overlooking the meaning of individual names placed in manuscripts. I will proceed by considering that all names were written by their owners, while remaining alert for evidence which indicates otherwise.

Although the debate whether women could read has been discussed at length, little has been said regarding whether they could write, a key skill for the production of marginalia. Writing was considered a separate skill from reading due to the difficulty of using parchment and quills.¹³ The separation of reading and writing skills suggests there were people who could read without being able to write. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there is the possibility of a reasonable number of readers who might not have produced any marginalia at all, as Derek Brewer suggests that by 1500 over half the population were able to read, ‘though not necessarily also write’.¹⁴ Clanchy observes that writing was learned by necessity at universities due to note taking requirements in lectures and reproducing essential texts.¹⁵ Women are immediately excluded from this learning environment, as only men could attend university. Hackel confirms that as the sixteenth century went on and girls could go to school they were still not taught how to write.¹⁶ Even by the end of the sixteenth century, learning to read continued to occur in stages resulting in varying ability and it was possible for women to learn how to read before or without learning to write.¹⁷ Women were not completely excluded from learning some writing skills. Clanchy considers the writing ability of ‘the average medieval reader’ arguing that they ‘may have been taught to form the letters of the alphabet with a stylus on a writing tablet’ but ‘would not necessarily have felt

¹¹ Boffey, ‘Women Authors and Women’s Literacy’, p. 170.

¹² Ibid. p. 170.

¹³ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 232.

¹⁴ Quoted by Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 128.

¹⁶ Heidi Brayman Hackel, ‘“Boasting of Silence”: Women Readers in a Patriarchal State’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 101-21 (p. 103).

¹⁷ Helen Smith, ‘*Grossly Material Things*’: *Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2012), p. 180.

confident about penning a letter or a charter on parchment'.¹⁸ During the later period however, Helen Smith gives numerous examples of early modern women taking notes on their reading.¹⁹

There are a variety of reasons why women who could write might simply choose not to. For example, the use of scribes was a status symbol. Josephine Koster-Tarvers addresses this practice in her discussion of the Cely, Plumpton, Paston and Stonor letters. She says 'the ladies of these families [...] were indeed very conscious of their rank' and 'they used secretaries as a sign of their social standing'.²⁰ In addition to a symbol of status, a scribe might also be employed by women because, as mentioned above, writing was a challenging skill to learn.²¹ Bennett describes the act of writing as 'difficult and lengthy an operation'.²² He suggests that letter writing was a challenging task for these women and it was preferable to use a scribe to write on their behalf where possible.²³ Examples include Margaret Paston's use of a scribe 'especially when she was growing old' and Agnes Paston apologising for her handwriting.²⁴ William Lomner signs a letter from himself to John Paston, 'By yowr wyfe' a mistake possibly showing the extent to which he acted as a secretary for Margaret Paston.²⁵ Koster-Tarvers confirms both the ability of these particular women and the challenges they experienced with writing, saying 'it is equally clear that they could produce manuscripts of their own when circumstances and their own temperaments so moved them, although occasional self-deprecating comments indicate their awareness of their letters' "unprofessional" appearance'.²⁶ The Paston letters provide further examples of similar occurrences. Elizabeth Brews appears to compose one letter herself but in the subsequent letter used

¹⁸ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 232.

¹⁹ Smith, pp. 185-8.

²⁰ Josephine Koster-Tarvers, "'Thys Ys My Mystrys Boke": English Women as Readers and Writers in Late Medieval England', in *The Uses of Manuscripts in Literary Studies: Essays in Memory of Judson Boyce Allen*, ed. by Charlotte Cook Morse, Penelope Reed Doob, and Marjorie Curry Woods (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 305-28 (p. 314).

²¹ Charles Kingsford notes that Elizabeth Stonor 'generally employed an amanuensis, but could write well enough if she pleased.' He goes on to say 'generally the country squires of Oxfordshire and their women folk, and the better class merchants of London could write with ease.' Charles Kingsford, *The Stonor Letters and Papers: 1290-1483* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1919), p. xlvi. The arguments of Koster-Tarvers and Bennett seem more convincing.

²² H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England: Studies in an Age of Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 115.

²³ Ibid. p. 116.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 116.

²⁵ James Gairdner, *The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509*, 6 vols (London & Exeter: Chatto & Windus James G. Commin, 1904), II, p. 148.

²⁶ Koster-Tarvers, p. 315.

an amanuensis,²⁷ and the Countess of Surrey adds ‘your faythefoull cosyene’ to the end of a letter written by a scribe.²⁸ Women’s mixed practice towards writing continues into the sixteenth century. Honor, Lady Lisle dictated her letters, of which she sent a large number.²⁹ Penelope, Lady Rich wrote a letter to Elizabeth I herself, having been taught to write alongside a wide variety of topics and skills by a Cambridge tutor in the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁰ It is apparent from these examples that some fifteenth- and sixteenth-century aristocratic women were able to write, but either due to social pressures or the difficulty of the act itself, often chose not to write at all. It may be that as marginalia are primarily for personal use that a scribe would be an unlikely assistant in their production, although the evidence of women’s multiplicity of approach to writing would lead me to expect their marginalia to perhaps demonstrate a variety of skill levels. It remains to be seen how and whether the marginalia of the *Canterbury Tales* corpus will reflect this expectation.

Where women’s marginalia include female names, there is the question of whether some women could only write their name and nothing else. During this period, the modern concept of a signature being essential for signing documents was not applicable because by 1300, ‘all freemen and even some serfs’ had seals,³¹ and Clanchy explains that a seal was equivalent to a modern day signature for legal documents.³² Some women signed their own documents, for example Margaret Beaufort signed ‘M Richmond’ from 1468 and ‘Margaret R’ from 1499,³³ and Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Shrewsbury owned her own seal and wrote a portion of her own will.³⁴ Although a lone name does not prove either way that it is the only thing a woman could write, it is difficult to ascertain further ability without additional examples of writing. The clear continuation of the trend of reading and writing being separate across both centuries suggests that any marginalia which is extant in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* will only be a small indication of the potential women who could

²⁷ Gairdner, VI, pp. 103-4.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 89.

²⁹ Boffey, ‘Women Authors and Women’s Literacy’, p. 165.

³⁰ James Daybell, ‘Women, Politics and Domesticity: The Scribal Publication of Lady Rich’s Letter to Elizabeth I’, in *Women and Writing, c.1340-c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture*, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 111-30 (p. 112).

³¹ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 233.

³² Ibid. p. 233.

³³ Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King’s Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 86.

³⁴ M.A. Hicks, ‘The Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford (D. 1478)’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), 19-38 (p. 22).

have read it. Pearson, in her discussion of women's literacy between 1500 and 1700 argues that 'literacy has traditionally been tested by the ability to write one's name: but in this period writing was taught separately from, and at a later stage than, reading, so that even the person unable to write her own name might have reasonably fluent reading skills'.³⁵ These remarks suggest that women who went on to learn how to write could only have done it if they were able to read, so those whose names appear in the margins of texts can perhaps be considered more likely to have read the book.

Despite the complexities surrounding the interpretation of marginalia, one key indicator that it demonstrates is that someone had access to the book at one time in order to make their mark on it. Examining each instance of marginalia individually to see what they can tell us may give an idea of the narrative of how the book was used by the writer of the marginalia. In order to obtain as complete an idea as possible of the marginalia in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* I used the spreadsheet Survey of Manuscripts developed in my methodology to search for patterns.³⁶ The information gathered from the spreadsheet gives an approximate picture of the proportions of marginalia created by men and women in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, allows a comparison of the quantity of women's marginalia compared to men's, and also a way to measure the amount of marginalia produced in each century.

³⁵ Pearson, p. 82.

³⁶ See Appendix 2 for the spreadsheet. See also Chapter 2: Methodology for a more detailed explanation of the policies used in the creation of the spreadsheet and the drawbacks of the data it presents.

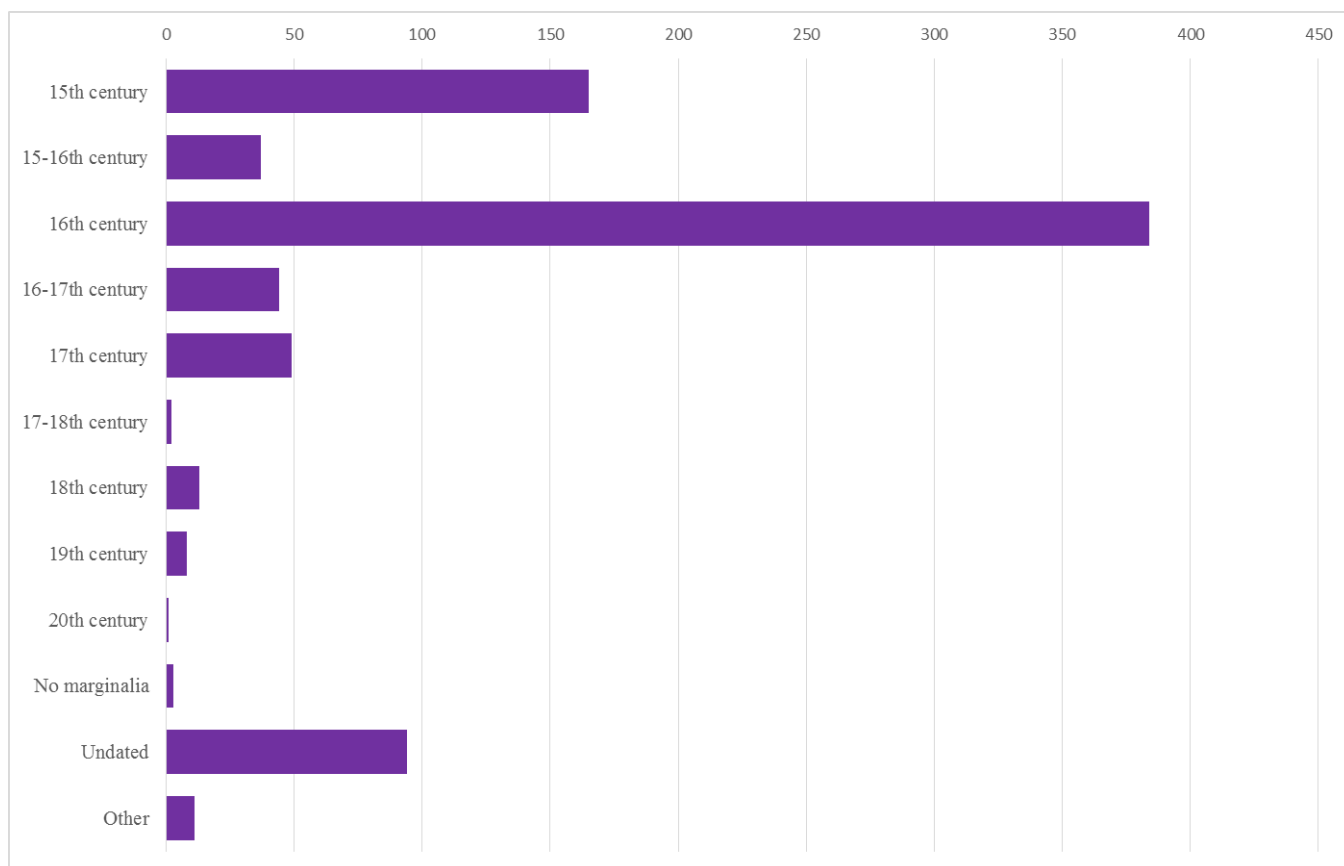


Figure 4.8: Instances of marginalia in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*

There are 809 instances of marginalia recorded by Manly and Rickert in the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. As the chart shows, most of them can be dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The categories ‘15th century’, ‘15-16th century’, and ‘16th century’ contain 73% of the occurrences of marginalia. Even taking into account the undated and unclear entries, the manuscripts with no marginalia and the entries which I have classified as ‘other’,³⁷ there is a clear majority of occurrences during the period under investigation. It also appears that the majority of the marginalia during this time was produced by men. Thirty-three percent of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century marginalia is produced by an unknown person, 2% can be considered a joint male and female entry, and 6% considered a female entry in comparison with 60% of the entries being ascribed to a male writer.³⁸

³⁷ ‘Other’ entries are classified as such because they represent a vague idea of dating such as ‘earlier’ or ‘later’ than other examples in the same manuscript.

³⁸ The percentages are rounded up.

	Name only	Name and note	Note only	Statement of Ownership	Record of Birth	Annotation	TOTALS
FEMALE							
15th century	10	4	0	0	0	0	14
15-16th century	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
16th century	12	5	0	1	2	0	20
TOTAL	22	10	0	1	2	0	35
MALE							
15th century	47	5	1	5	0	0	58
15-16th century	19	4	0	5	0	0	28
16th century	198	39	4	16	2	3	262
TOTAL	264	48	5	26	2	3	348
MALE & FEMALE							
15th century	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
15-16th century	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16th century	1	4	0	0	1	0	6
TOTAL	2	4	0	0	1	0	7

Figure 4.9: Types of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century marginalia

The table provides a breakdown of the different types of marginalia and the numbers of instances which can be ascribed to men and women during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It shows that there are hardly any annotations of the text across the whole corpus during this time. Marginalia appears to be more likely to consist of names, notes and poetry rather than an annotation of the text. As Sherman discovered in his survey, ‘literary texts turned out (on the whole) to be annotated far less frequently’ than those texts relating to religious controversy or the practice of law.³⁹ Although Sherman discusses Renaissance texts specifically, the time periods under discussion in his survey and here are similar enough to reflect similar practices. Wiggins further confirms by noting that there are parallels between how manuscripts are used and how Renaissance *Works* of Chaucer are used, ‘shared and circulated amongst communities of readers, passed down as family heirlooms, customised within households, and used as repositories for poems, genealogies, and other manuscript materials’.⁴⁰ Similar practices occur in contemporary printed books, as Boffey observes that ‘few individual readers have left remarks about their tastes, or annotated their books with anything more helpful than the occasional underlining or pointing marginal hand’.⁴¹ Andrew Taylor also notes that annotation is rare in England.⁴² Although it is beyond the scope of this study to

³⁹ Sherman, p. xiv.

⁴⁰ Alison Wiggins, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?’, p. 34.

⁴¹ Julia Boffey, ‘Manuscripts and Print: Books, Readers and Writers’, in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. by Corinne Saunders (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 538-54 (p. 539).

⁴² Andrew Taylor, ‘To His Secret Chamber: Reading and Privacy in Late Medieval England’, in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 41-61 (p. 51).

conduct a detailed analysis of every instance of marginalia occurring in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, these initial numbers suggest that while it was less common for women to write in these manuscripts, the large number of instances of marginalia which are not annotation suggest that it was not common practice in manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* for either women or men during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales*, the survey has shown that men appear to be more likely to produce marginalia such as names and notes as defined earlier. Heidi Brayman Hackel describes the reading practices of the medieval period as ‘gender-neutral’.⁴³ If this situation was the case, then we can perhaps consider that men and women were reading similar manuscripts but men were more likely to practice their name in the margins and thus leave evidence of their accessing the book. Hackel ascribes the lack of early modern women’s marginalia to ‘women’s habitual silence in the margins of their books’, potentially caused by early modern conduct texts discouraging women from marking books.⁴⁴ The lack of female produced marginalia appears to remain widespread in the sixteenth century as Wiggins also states that ‘women are often invisible in the margins and less assertive in claiming their ownership of Renaissance books’.⁴⁵ Another possibility for this lack of marginalia is the culture of women reading aloud to one another, common between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, which may have meant they were less likely to write in the margins because the books were being used communally.⁴⁶ If literary texts were more likely to be enjoyed in a group it would increase the audience but reduce the likelihood of an individual’s response being written alongside the text.

The survey in Appendix 2 has produced the following manuscripts which contain instances of marginalia to be investigated. They contain fifteenth- and sixteenth-century names or notes ascribed to women, including records of birth and statements of ownership:

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt)

Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 143 (Cardigan)

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181

Cambridge, University Library MS li.3.26⁴⁷

⁴³ Hackel, ‘Boasting of Silence’, p. 103.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 101.

⁴⁵ Wiggins, ‘What did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer’, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Hackel, ‘Boasting of Silence’, p. 108.

⁴⁷ The marginalia in Cambridge, University Library MS li.3.26 is discussed in Chapter 3: In the Home.

Lichfield, Cathedral Library MS 29
 London, British Library MS Arundel 140
 London, British Library MS Additional 35286
 London, British Library MS Egerton 2863
 London, British Library MS Harley 1758
 London, British Library MS Harley 7334
 London, British Library MS Harley 7335
 London, British Library MS Royal 18.C.II
 London, British Library MS Sloane 1685
 Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 141
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 223
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Arch. B. 14
 Princeton, University Library MS 100 (Helmingham)⁴⁸
 San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS El 26 C 9 (Ellesmere)
 Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 32 (Delamere)
 University of Chicago, Regenstein Library MS 564 (McCormick)

Although it is to be expected that men and women would have read the *Canterbury Tales*, it may be that late medieval women were less likely to produce any marginalia on these books. The next step is to examine the instances of marginalia which can be found in the corpus, and what they may represent, such as identifying the women using the books, textual response, writing practice, ownership and book sharing.

4.2 Identifying Women in the Margins of the *Canterbury Tales*

Out of the thirty-five instances of marginalia linked to women in the corpus of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* a handful of occurrences are of women who are not easily identifiable. One example is the fifteenth-century ‘Margrat barton graftn bilondel’ pasted onto the flyleaf of Lichfield 29 and repeated on the verso of the same flyleaf. There are also the fifteenth-century ‘Katheren’ on fol. 219r of Selden Arch. B.14,⁴⁹ and the sixteenth-century ‘Catren Perc’ or ‘Pert’ on fol. 179r of the McCormick manuscript.⁵⁰ No further evidence has been found to indicate the identity of these three women.

⁴⁸ The marginalia in Princeton, University Library MS 100 (Helmingham) is discussed in Chapter 3: In the Home.

⁴⁹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 497.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 358.

A further example of women with aristocratic connections can be found in Arundel 140 which contains a sixteenth-century note concerning the delivery of money to an Elizabeth Meresse by an Elizabeth Ayeloffe. Fol. 78r reads ‘Itm poun[es] Rendite | Elizabethe Meresse (?)’ and is signed by ‘Elizabeth Ayeloffe’.⁵¹ Manly and Rickert state that the note is about rent, although based on the word ‘rendite’ which is not a recorded usage for rent, it seems more likely it could be related to the verb *reddo*, *reddere* ‘to pay back’, and is therefore a record of a monetary exchange rather than a rent payment. The note on fol. 78r appears to be a record by Elizabeth Ayeloffe as a memorandum of her having paid money to Elizabeth Meresse. Arundel 140 contains the Tale of Melibee alongside a larger selection of non-Chaucerian texts which represent a miscellany of contents including romances, didactic literature and travel writing.⁵² The construction of the section containing the Tale of Melibee is different from the rest of the manuscript, the tale appears in a separate booklet which was ‘probably an unbound booklet before being bound with part 1’.⁵³ Wiggins’ study found that the Tale of Melibee is one of the ‘most frequently and heavily annotated’ tales in early modern printed copies of Chaucer’s works,⁵⁴ therefore its value as a tale may explain why the owners of Arundel 140 had the tale bound into a current miscellany of texts in their possession.⁵⁵ Although their note appears in the pages of the *Prick of Conscience*, the marginalia produced by Elizabeth Ayeloffe and Elizabeth Meresse are dated late enough that they were probably written there after the two separate manuscript sections were bound together, therefore if the manuscript was owned or used by either Elizabeth, it would have included the Tale of Melibee. No evidence has been found to identify Elizabeth Meresse and although there is a monument to an Elizabeth Ayloffe (1593-1629) in Norwell Church in Nottinghamshire which reads:

In eternal and sacred memory. Here lies Elizabeth, daughter of William Ayloffe, knight and baronet, of Bruttens, Essex, by Katherine, daughter and heiress of Thomas Sterne, esquire, of Melburne, Cambridgeshire. She was married to Gervase, son of Gervase Lee, formerly of Southwell, esquire, with whom she lived twice eight years and was blessed with twice eight children, equally of either sex. She died, in eager hope of the resurrection, 4th April 1629. She

⁵¹ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

⁵² They are *Ypotys* (fols 1r-5v), *Sir John Mandeville’s Travels* (fols 5v-41r), *The Prick of Conscience* (fols 41r-146v), *The Legend of Guy of Warwick* (fols 147r-151v), *The Seven Sages* (fols 152r-165v) and the Tale of Melibee (fols 166r-181r). Manly and Rickert, I, p. 51.

⁵³ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

⁵⁴ Wiggins, ‘What did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Copies of Chaucer?’, p. 16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 16.

left the earth for the stars. Beautiful in form, farewell.⁵⁶

The Elizabeth Ayeloffe referenced on the monument lived at the turn of the seventeenth century, which most likely means she was alive too late to have written the marginalia in Arundel 140. However, the inscription does indicate that she had family connections in Essex and Cambridgeshire, corroborating Manly and Rickert's identification of an Ayeloffe family based in Essex.⁵⁷ The addition of this note about money to Arundel 140 could suggest either the importance of the manuscript because it was sure to be kept as a record, or the unimportance if it was being used as note paper. Arguably it seems more likely that the manuscript was intended to be a record because, as observed by Sherman, early modern women were involved in organising 'goods, information, and history' in their households.⁵⁸ Therefore, this potential to be household record keepers suggests that either Elizabeth Meresse or Elizabeth Ayeloffe had their manuscript close at hand, both for reading and recording.

A number of women whose names are found in the margins of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* can be identified as members of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century aristocracy. Some make use of their titles, such as Lady Thomasina Stourton (Egerton 2863) and Lady Anne Grey (Harley 7334). Joan Kent (McClean 181) has an extant will which identifies her, and Maud Willoughby and Eleanor Stanley (Sloane 1685) have family connections to the Nevilles. There are some instances where the manuscripts contain examples of marginalia produced by women who are difficult to identify, but these women can still be connected to the aristocracy. A fifteenth-century example can be found in Royal 18.C.II, which has two notes in the same hand (fols 144r and 272r) containing the name 'Jane dovdingsels'. It has not been possible to trace Jane Dodingsells or D'Odingsells, but Royal 18.C.II was plausibly located in Ingestre in Staffordshire during the early sixteenth century,⁵⁹ and before 1458, an Eleanor D'Odingsells married Samson Erdeswick of Sandon.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the title of

⁵⁶ Norwell St Laurence: Monuments and Memorials' in *Southwell & Nottingham Church History Project* <southwellchurches.nottingham.ac.uk/norwell/hmonumnt.php> [accessed 3 January 2017].

⁵⁷ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 54.

⁵⁸ Sherman, p. 56.

⁵⁹ There is a name 'Phillip Chetwynd' on fol. 272v. The Chetwynds are consistently associated with Ingestre. Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

⁶⁰ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 491.



Figure 4.10: Map showing Ingestre, Sandon and Trusley

Odingsells of Trusley in Derbyshire was extinct, as the co-heiresses had married into the Coke and Piper families, by the mid-fifteenth century.⁶¹ Ingestre, Sandon and Trusley are close to one another (see Fig. 4.10) suggesting the possibility that Jane was a member of this extinct gentry family, as both the family and the manuscript appear to have been in the area at a similar time.⁶²

⁶¹ Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, *Magna Britannia: Volume 5, Derbyshire* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817), pp. xcix-cxi.

⁶² See Section 4.3: Textual Response in this chapter for a more in-depth analysis of Jane's marginalia.



Figure 4.11: Map showing Cotton, Chilton, Earl Soham and Earl Stonham

There is a sixteenth-century example of a woman with aristocratic connections in Harley 7335, which features a note on fol. 76v that reads ‘by me hanese[Agnes] Crane of Earl Sohm haue a merry master’. Manly and Rickert identify Agnes as an Agnes Crane of Chilton, in Suffolk, widowed in 1538.⁶³ This argument is based upon the association of Agnes’s trustees with other *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts,⁶⁴ and her husband’s ownership of land near Cotton Manor, which is another location with which Harley 7335 can be associated.⁶⁵ However, Lillian J. Redstone identifies a number of different Agnes Cranes living in Suffolk who were members of the gentry during the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ The spelling ‘Sohm’ could be either Earl Soham or Earl Stonham, both also in Suffolk within forty miles of Chilton (See Fig. 4.11), and both belonged to

⁶³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 236.

⁶⁴ H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Series 2, Volume 2, Henry VII* (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1915), No. 889. The families in question are the Drurys and Waldegraves who are associated with the Ellesmere manuscript.

⁶⁵ Manly and Rickert, I p. 236.

⁶⁶ Lillian J. Redstone, ‘Some Notes on Suffolk Manuscript Books’, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 20 (1928), 80-92 (p. 89-90).

Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.⁶⁷ Manly and Rickert make the implication that Agnes, with her reference to a ‘merry master’, was part of the Duke of Norfolk’s household at the time of her using the manuscript as he owned Earl Soham.⁶⁸ However, it seems more prudent to accept that Harley 7335 was available in one of the aristocratic households of the area and accessed by one of the several women named Agnes Crane, any of whom could have mentioned a ‘merry master’ without it being certain that it is the Duke of Norfolk.

In addition to these examples, the marginalia survey has drawn attention to some less plausible connections of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to aristocratic women. For example, it is known that Longleat 257 was owned by aristocrats because it contains the signature of Richard, Duke of Gloucester on fol. 98v.⁶⁹ Manly and Rickert suggest that the manuscript was written at Hempton and therefore belonged to Hempton’s patron Anthony Woodville,⁷⁰ however Jordi Sánchez Martí gives a different early provenance of York.⁷¹ This revised provenance does not support Manly and Rickert’s suggestion that the fifteenth-century ‘Elizabeth’ on fol. 108r could be that of Elizabeth Scales, whose family had a positive relationship with Anthony Woodville.⁷² Elizabeth is too common a name, both in the general population and in association with Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to say with any certainty where that name has come from in this manuscript. Thus, the association of Longleat 257 with Elizabeth Scales is no longer plausible.

Similarly, Rawlinson Poet. 141 contains the phrase ‘sainsy [si ainsy?] est margurite’ on fol. 66r in a fifteenth-century hand which could translate as ‘if thus is Margaret’.⁷³ Manly and Rickert suggest this note is ‘possibly comparing Margaret Walwen to Griselda’, as the comment is added in the Clerk’s Tale.⁷⁴ Margaret is linked to Rawlinson Poet. 141 by virtue of her owning lands in Shropshire where the manuscript may have originated. An examination of the manuscript reveals that the

⁶⁷ ‘Earl Soham’, in *A Survey of Suffolk Parish History*, ed. by Wendy Goult <<https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Data/Sites/1/media/parish-histories/earl-soham.pdf>> [accessed 3 January 2017], p. 3. ‘Earl Stonham’, in *A Survey of Suffolk Parish History*, ed. by Wendy Goult <<https://heritage.suffolk.gov.uk/Data/Sites/1/media/parish-histories/earl-stonham.pdf>> [accessed 3 January 2017], p. 4.

⁶⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 236.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 341.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 342.

⁷¹ Jordi Sánchez Martí, ‘Longleat House MS 257: A Description’, *Atlantis*, 27 (2005), 79-89.

⁷² Manly and Rickert, I, p. 342.

⁷³ My translation.

⁷⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 453.

surname Walwen does not occur in order to corroborate this argument, and although Margaret is an example of a woman with wealth to afford the book, her connection to Rawlinson Poet. 141 is tenuous at best.

Another problematic provenance offered by Manly and Rickert is found in Rawlinson Poet 223. There is the sixteenth-century signature of Ann Taylor on fols 43r and 249r of Rawlinson poet. 223, the writer of which Manly and Rickert ascribe to an Ann Taylor who held Horley Manor near Reigate in Surrey.⁷⁵ Ann is linked to the manuscript by her neighbour Thomas Hull,⁷⁶ whose name, 'T Hull', may appear on fol. 240r of the manuscript. Thomas Hull did hold the manor of Godalming, twenty miles to the west, at the same time Ann Taylor inherited Reigate in 1563.⁷⁷ However, by the following year Ann and her husband George had conveyed their portion of Horley Manor to one of the other coheirs,⁷⁸ suggesting they were perhaps never resident and rendering it difficult to consider them certain neighbours of Thomas Hull. Both names are too common to argue their association with the manuscript with much certainty. Manly and Rickert also note that all the names associated with Rawlinson poet. 223 'were related to the Staffords',⁷⁹ although there are no marginalia directly connected to anyone with the name Stafford in the manuscript.

The examples discussed so far have raised the problematic issue of the sparse and vague nature of some of the evidence and the need to attribute evidence from Manly and Rickert with caution. Nevertheless, they show that the women who can be identified as accessing the manuscripts are often aristocratic. Even individual names with no additional evidence imply the presence of women in the audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. This section has also touched upon how marginalia demonstrates different uses of the manuscripts, such as the case of Elizabeth Ayeloffe and Elizabeth Meresse. In either scenario it shows how the *Canterbury Tales* was in easy reach of the female writers of these marginalia.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 470.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 470.

⁷⁷ 'Parishes: Godalming', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*, ed. by H.E. Malden (London: Victoria County History, 1911), pp. 24-42. 'Parishes: Horley', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*, ed. by H.E. Malden (London: Victoria County History, 1911), pp. 200-208.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 200-208.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 470.

4.3 Textual Response

One of the major problems with studying marginalia is that it is impossible to confirm anyone named has read the manuscript unless they state explicitly that they have or write some kind of textual response, defined earlier as annotation. The marginalia survey found four manuscripts which contained evidence that could be considered annotation:

Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.4.24

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181

London, British Library MS Harley 1758

London, British Library MS Harley 2251

Of these four instances, the note in MS Dd.4.24 is written in an unidentified hand and those in Harley 2251 were written in a hand that also signs a male name elsewhere in the manuscripts.⁸⁰ McClean 181 and Harley 1758 both contain instances of marginalia with a chance of female production, so were examined further as part of the manuscript case studies. Harley 1758 contains three instances in a fifteenth-century hand of the comment ‘fabula bona’⁸¹ on fols 56v, 57r and 128r. The manuscript is linked to one fifteenth-century woman, an unidentified ‘Mawde’ whose name appears almost in the binding on fol. 110r. However, on comparison the occurrences of ‘fabula bona’ while all in the same hand do not match the hand of Mawde. The case studies also produced two further manuscripts with instances of marginalia which suggest textual response, these are London, British Library MS Egerton 2863 and London, British Library MS Royal 18.C.II.

The marginalia in McClean 181 are complex. There are two names on the end flyleaf of the manuscript reading ‘Thomas Kent’ and ‘Dounton Mastres the wyf of T Kent’. Joan Dounton married Thomas Kent between 1460 and 1468, based on the fact that the will of her previous husband, Thomas Dounton, is dated 1460⁸² and the will of Thomas Kent is dated 1468/9.⁸³ It is estimated that the manuscript was made c.1450-

⁸⁰ In MS Dd.4.24 there is a comment on fol. 150r which reads ‘By cawse thys book ys off gret sobstans hyt ys mengled with lyke pastimes but ffor no wyse men but ffor jilles and boyes by cawse it ya all of knaues and toyes’. The writer appears to be suggesting the frivolous nature of the *Canterbury Tales*. In Harley 2251 there are comments and suggestions such as ‘Good Readyng’, ‘read this again’ and ‘remember’ signed by ‘Jo: Bra’ and ‘JB’ on fols 76v, 155v, 186v.

⁸¹ Translated as ‘good story’. My translation.

⁸² The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/4/354.

⁸³ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/5/49.

1468 which places the approximate date of the marginalia very close to the approximate date of the manuscript, suggesting that Thomas and Joan were early owners. Written next to and beneath the two names on the end flyleaf are two notes which read ‘bonus liber est iste’⁸⁴ and ‘qui scripsit paruum bonum scit’,⁸⁵ both of which seem to be a response to the text. Further inspection of McClean 181, Cotton Cleopatra F.vi and Cotton Titus E.vi revealed that the two notes, and the words ‘the wyf of T Kent’ are in a hand which matches Thomas Kent’s signature. However, while the names ‘Dounton Mastres’ and ‘Thomas Kent’ are both in the same hand, it is different from that of Thomas Kent’s. Could it be that Joan herself wrote the names, and Thomas added the two comments and the clarification of her name? The mixture of the two hands in the same piece of marginalia suggests the possibility of a joint reading experience where Thomas Kent appears to have read the *Canterbury Tales* with interest, and was potentially joined by his wife.

Royal 18.C.II contains two notes by the same woman dated to the fifteenth century.⁸⁶ Fol. 144r reads ‘considure to trwe herte [drawing of a heart] q’ iane dovdingsels’ and on fol. 272r is ‘take paciens in your herte q’ Jane dovdynsels’. The content of the notes might be considered moral encouragement rather than annotation. Fol. 272r is an end flyleaf and the note is randomly placed. However, the note on fol. 144r is squashed against the main text in a manner which could indicate the correspondence of the comment to the section of text which is part of the Clerk’s Tale regarding the return of Griselda’s children. The placement close to the text seems to indicate that the comment is more than a random pen trial, it could be a comment from Jane about the constancy or ‘trwe herte’ of Griselda, suggesting that Jane may well have read the text. Another interpretation of the marginalia is that another person is quoting Jane D’Odingsells, indicated by the repeated use of the abbreviated ‘q’ for ‘quod’, which could suggest the communal use of the manuscript. The multiple instances of writing associated with Jane D’Odingsells in Royal 18.C.II could in part be an example of a woman making a comment on the text of the *Canterbury Tales*. Furthermore they may also mean she had access to the book for a reasonable amount of time in order to produce these marginalia, or she had her comment recorded by someone who was part of a group that were sharing the manuscript.

⁸⁴ Translated as ‘this is a good book. My translation.

⁸⁵ Translated as ‘who wrote this knows a little good’. My translation.

⁸⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 491.

The final example of possible textual response is evidence from the turn of the sixteenth century, although further investigation has revealed it to be problematic. Manly and Rickert ascribe two notes in Egerton 2863 to Lady Thomasina Stourton whose name appears throughout the manuscript.⁸⁷ The transcription of the note on fol. 101v reads: tomas | A mydes his hond | he lete | the frere a fart'.⁸⁸ On comparison to the nearby text this is an exact copy of a line from the Summoner's Tale which also contains a character called Thomas. The transcription of the note on fol. 103v reads: 'herre begenneth | the storry off | greschell'.⁸⁹ The note appears next to the Clerk's Tale which features Griselda. Both of these notes could be considered examples of response to the text as fol. 101v is a selection of transcribed text, and fol. 103v explains the contents of the tale. However, on further comparison with other signatures of Lady Thomasina which occur throughout the manuscript the hand of fols 101v and 103v is not a match with hers. The hand that writes the notes is spikier than Lady Thomasina's repeated signature and forms *s* and *a* in a consistently different manner; Thomasina uses a long *s* and an *a* with a round bowl rather than a spiky bowl. There is a note in her hand on fol. 147r but it appears to read 'gras ys my dys yer truwlyn'⁹⁰ which is both difficult to decipher and impossible to relate to the text. Nevertheless, the extent of the marginalia produced by Lady Thomasina remains indicative of her extended access to the manuscript.

The examples discussed above correspond with Sherman's findings that literary texts were less likely to contain annotation than religious or law texts. It transpired that most of the annotation potentially associated with women in this corpus was found to be written by a man or unknown individual, or there was a question of whether it was truly textual response. These examples represent an absence of evidence that women annotated copies of the *Canterbury Tales*, yet it is still possible to observe a narrative of interaction between individuals and manuscripts. The marginalia discussed here shows that women like Lady Thomasina, Joan Kent and Jane D'Odingsells remained actively involved in the life cycle of these copies of the *Canterbury Tales*. They may have read the manuscripts over an extended period of time, accessed them in a communal environment or shared them with other family members. Therefore, there is an

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 140.

⁸⁸ Transcribed as 'Thomas | Amid his hand | He left | The friar a fart'. My transcription.

⁸⁹ Transcribed as 'Here begins | the story of | Griselda'. My transcription.

⁹⁰ Uncertain meaning. Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

implication that during the course of studying this material, attention needs to be paid to the ‘gaps’ in the evidence, with the possibility of discovering a further narrative. As will be seen, annotation is not the only way in which women can interact with the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

4.4 Writing Practice

Thus far, names have been used to identify women who were using the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. Catherine Innes-Parker introduces the idea that names can also be pen trials.⁹¹ If the writer of a name is testing their pen the implication is that they will go on to write something else, whether it is external to the manuscript in which the pen trial occurs or further marginalia. Pen trials and other notes could also be handwriting practice, as it is known that writing was a challenging skill to learn. It is difficult to discern whether an individual name alone was truly pen trial but there are two manuscripts in the select corpus which lend themselves to the discussion of writing practice, London, British Library MS Egerton 2863 and London, British Library MS Sloane 1685.

As mentioned in the previous section, Egerton 2863 contains the name ‘Thomasina Lady Stourton’ repeated on fols 9r, 54r, 78r and 116r. Lady Thomasina married William, fifth Baron Stourton sometime between 1483 and 1501. She is mentioned by her brother as Lady Stourton in his will of 1502⁹² and the fifth Baron Stourton’s first wife Catherine de la Pole died around 1482.⁹³ Lady Thomasina is last mentioned in another brother’s will of 1512,⁹⁴ but does not appear in her husband’s will of 1522,⁹⁵ implying that she was dead before this time. A man named William Knoyell left a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* to his kinsman William Carraunt in 1502, which may have been Egerton 2863.⁹⁶ William Carraunt was a cousin of William, fifth Baron Stourton and died in 1516, therefore if Egerton 2863 was his manuscript it was given to or accessed by Lady Thomasina sometime between 1502 and her death between 1512

⁹¹ Innes-Parker, p. 250.

⁹² Charles Botolph Joseph Mowbray, *History of the Noble House of Stourton: Of Stourton in the County of Wilts.* (London: Elliot Stock, 1899), p. 276.

⁹³ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Skelmersdale to Towton)*, ed. by Geoffrey H. White, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1953), p. 304.

⁹⁴ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/17/309.

⁹⁵ Mowbray, pp. 278-9.

⁹⁶ F.W. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383-1500)* (London: Somerset Record Society, 1901), p. 20.

and 1522. The repetition of Lady Thomasina's name could be a sign of practising writing, and she also adds a note on fol. 147r.⁹⁷ The random placement of her name throughout the manuscript suggests she had extended access to it, or it was perhaps easy for her to access because it was in regular use.

An example of writing practice and interaction between two women is found in Sloane 1685, dated to the fifteenth century. Amongst other marginalia, one of the back flyleaves contains the names 'T Neuill' followed by 'Mawd Wyllwghby' and 'Alyanor stanley'. These two women were sisters-in-law, as Maud was married to Eleanor's brother Sir Thomas Neville.⁹⁸ Further examination of the manuscript shows that Maud writes: 'amen when good wylle better may be quod | Maud Willoughby | Ane reina [...]' [...],⁹⁹ and Eleanor also writes 'amen when good wylle better may be quod | Alyanor Stanley | Ane reina'.¹⁰⁰ The hand of Maud is clearly more practised than that of Eleanor which looks unsteady, giving the appearance of Eleanor copying the phrase written by Maud. There are a number of different letter forms in the phrase which would provide a variety of shapes to practice; almost all the vowels are included, along with *m*, *w*, *b*, *y*, *g* and *q*. It seems possible that the difference in skill between Maud and Eleanor could mean that Maud wrote the phrase with the purpose of creating writing practice for her sister-in-law, or they were practising together, and potentially sharing access to the book.

Both examples here show marginalia being added to the manuscript with an alternative purpose to that of textual response. Lady Thomasina Stourton's marginalia shows she had access to the manuscript for a reasonable period of time, while Maud and Eleanor seem to have been using their book together. Indirectly these two case studies show that the manuscripts were most likely in regular use by these women. It seems unlikely that Lady Thomasina Stourton, Maud Willoughby or Eleanor Neville would have actively searched out an unused manuscript for unstructured and seemingly random writing practice. It is more likely that they turned to the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to practice writing because the books were in use and therefore close by and easily accessible.

⁹⁷ See section 4.3 Textual Response for a discussion of the note.

⁹⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 507.

⁹⁹ 'Ane reina' can be translated as 'old sinner' in the Latin vocative, which suggests Maud is signing her phrase with the self-inflicted title 'old sinner'.

¹⁰⁰ My transcription.

4.5 Ownership

It is difficult to confirm whether a name appearing in a manuscript is an indicator of ownership. There is one explicit sixteenth-century statement of ownership by a woman in Harley 7334 which has in fact been written by a man. On fol. 286v is written ‘Anne Grey Wife to the lord John Grey and dowghtor to Wyllyam Barlee Esquier owith this book’, dated 1556 and signed E.W. E.W. is Edward Waterhouse, a member of Lady Anne’s household, and named in her will.¹⁰¹ The inscription seems to have been written on Lady Anne’s behalf, and it seems plausible that she was sharing the book with him and a number of others.¹⁰²

There are other examples of marginalia from which ownership can be inferred. The sixteenth-century names of the Drury family are recorded in Ellesmere. On fol. 1v is written: ‘Robertus Drury miles. William Drury miles. Robertus Drury miles. Domina Jarmin. Domina Jarningham. Domina Alington’.¹⁰³ These are the names of a family of possible later owners, Robert Drury (d.1535), his two sons William and Robert, and three daughters, Anna, Bridget and Ursula.¹⁰⁴ That this note is a statement of ownership is suggested by the formality of the Latin, and the placement of the whole family’s names at the opening of the manuscript. The recurrence of the names ‘Domina Jernegan’ and ‘Domina Alington’, which are the married names of Bridget and Ursula, on the recto of the second flyleaf, suggests that these two women continued to use the manuscript. Based on the colour of the ink, the names may have been written in the same hand as each other, or at the same time in similar hands. However, the hand is different to that which recorded the names of the whole family in Latin on fol. 1v. The continued use of Ellesmere by Bridget and Ursula suggests that it was easily accessed by them.

Finally, in Lichfield 29 there is a suggestion of a possible fifteenth century female owner. The recto of the old flyleaf of the manuscript contains what Manly and Rickert aptly describe as ‘a very narrow strip of vellum’ that reads, in a fifteenth century hand,¹⁰⁵ ‘Margrat barton graftn bilondel’ and the name is repeated on the verso of the same flyleaf. As previously noted, it has not been possible to link Margaret with other

¹⁰¹ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/40/229.

¹⁰² See section 4.6 Sharing Books.

¹⁰³ Translated as ‘Robert Drury knight. William Drury knight. Robert Drury knight. Mistress Jarmin. Mistress Jarningham. Mistress Alington’. My translation.

¹⁰⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 152.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. pp. 325-6.

known owners or locations of the manuscript. However, the ‘narrow strip of vellum’ on the flyleaf appears to have been pasted in the location of a bookplate or ownership mark. Both these forms of claiming books became popular later, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁶ The placing of the name could indicate ownership, as it has been purposefully added to the old flyleaf in on a separate parchment strip.

In comparison to the twenty-six overt statements of ownership of the *Canterbury Tales* by male names (see Fig. 4.9) during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the one explicit example here seems to suggest that women were less likely to claim ownership of the work in the same manner. This absence of ownership claims could be due to the reasons discussed above; that women had mixed writing ability or were discouraged from writing in books. Another possibility is that they were encountering the text in a shared environment, a symptom of which might also be discouragement from producing marginalia. Two of the three examples, Harley 7334 and Ellesmere, are indicative of communal use amongst a mixed group of men and women. Could it be that women did not consider themselves ‘owners’ of books? Even the statement in Harley 7334 is written by a man, it may be that communal literary experiences were more important or more common for women, and is therefore a possible reason for the absence of ownership statements in the evidence.

4.6 Sharing Books

The practice of sharing books is not isolated to the corpus of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. Alison Wiggins describes printed Renaissance copies of Chaucer as ‘a shared and supervised resource’.¹⁰⁷ Julia Boffey also observes marginalia in London British Library MS Additional 17492 produced by the ladies attendant on Anne Boleyn at the court of Henry VIII, including poems, names and notes.¹⁰⁸ There are similar examples of marginalia in the select corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* which are related to women and suggest they were sharing the manuscripts. Some examples of books potentially used in this way which have already been examined are the two hands of Thomas and Joan Kent in McClean 181, and the joint handwriting practice of Maud Willoughby and Eleanor Neville in Sloane 1685. The Cardigan manuscript contains

¹⁰⁶ David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 1994), p. 38.

¹⁰⁷ Wiggins, ‘What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?’, p. 25.

¹⁰⁸ Boffey, ‘Women Authors and Women’s Literacy’, p. 173.

marginalia suggesting it was used within the Mantell family during the sixteenth century, including the name ‘Joyce Mantell’ on fol. 14r.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the sixteenth-century name ‘Margerite Hassall’ occurs on fol. 20r of the Delamere manuscript, amongst other male names of the same time and family throughout the manuscript.¹¹⁰

The Drury family appear to have been sharing the Ellesmere manuscript with friends and relatives during the sixteenth century. In addition to the previously mentioned signatures of Anna and Bridget Drury, ‘Margery’ in one hand is repeated on the versos of the first and fourth flyleaf. ‘Margery Seynt John’ appears in a different hand next to ‘Margery’ on the fourth flyleaf. A Margery St John can be identified as the niece of George Waldegrave, the first husband of Anna Drury, later Anna Jermyn.¹¹¹ Margery herself also had a daughter named Margery¹¹² which may account for the repetition of the names in different hands. The repeated references to Margery suggest the manuscript was used by these women amongst others over a reasonable period of time.

The best example in the select corpus of a shared book within a household is Harley 7334. The marginalia suggest the book was shared amongst the household and relatives of Lady Anne Grey who has already been mentioned as the owner of the manuscript in 1556.¹¹³ As described earlier, on the back flyleaf of Harley 7334 is the inscription ‘Anne Grey Wife to the lord John Grey and dowghtor to Wylliam Barlee Esquier owith this book’, dated 1556 and signed E.W for Edward Waterhouse.¹¹⁴ Heidi Brayman Hackel observes a number of examples of seventeenth-century ownership inscriptions by women, but they all follow the format of a name followed by a date or a version of the phrase ‘her book’.¹¹⁵ Although the women studied by Hackel are writing a century later than Anne Grey’s ownership inscription, which may account for their increased numbers, by comparison the inscription on fol. 286v of Harley 7334 seems to

¹⁰⁹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 76.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 114.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 152.

¹¹² Alfred David, ‘The Ownership and Use of the Ellesmere Manuscript’, in *The Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Martin Stevens and Daniel Woodward (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1995), pp. 307-26 (p. 314).

¹¹³ An earlier instance of a woman using the manuscript was perhaps an Elizabeth Hampden whom Manly and Rickert find has written her name throughout Harley 7334, citing fols 6v, 18v, 58r, 73v, 82v, 124r, 147r, 195r, 202v, 214v, with a ‘Jane Pawlett’ alongside on fol. 82v. Manly and Rickert, I, p. 229. These are all very difficult to make out but are confirmed by Mosser who amends the folio of the signature on 73v to 74r. Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

¹¹⁴ This is fol. 286v.

¹¹⁵ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 217, 168.

be a long statement to make. The inscription also varies from common examples found in a survey of ownership inscriptions conducted by Daniel Wakelin of 163 more manuscripts contemporary to the *Canterbury Tales* corpus. Wakelin finds that a fifth of the manuscripts in his study contain inscriptions reading *liber* followed by the owner's name in the genitive ('Name's' book) and another fifth have either *iste liber constat* (This book belongs to 'name') or *iste liber petinet* (This book pertains to 'name') and an owner's name.¹¹⁶ Why then, has Edward Waterhouse written Anne Grey's ownership inscription in such a way? The book was shared amongst Anne Grey's household, and Edward Waterhouse may have wanted to make a statement about the true owner of the book. Perhaps Lady Anne Grey requested he make the inscription, or perhaps he gave the book to her. It is not clear why Anne Grey's ownership inscription differs from other more standardised ones, both by being longer and more biographical and also written on her behalf. Edward Waterhouse may have been trying to make a statement about his standing with Lady Anne, particularly when other examples of marginalia in Harley 7334 demonstrate that he was sometimes at odds with other users of the manuscript.

There are a number of instances of marginalia throughout the manuscript that reflect the activity of the people who shared it. I have examined the following examples in order to investigate whether they reflect reading or group discussion of the text. The most prolific name to appear in Harley 7334 is the name Elizabeth Kympton which appears in four different hands. Fol. 61r reads '1557 Elizabeth Kympton Edward Waterhows' in the hand of Edward Waterhouse who wrote the ownership inscription on fol. 286v. Still on fol. 61r, another hand has written 'Elizabethe | Elizabethe Kympton | John Brograve | Edward Waterhows'. These notes appear in the Tale of Gamelyn and are written in quite large letters down the right margin, but they do not bear any obvious connection to the text. Could this list of names represent a place marker to show where this group of people had read to? Or as the names are written by two different hands perhaps one hand copied the actions of the other, although it is not possible to know which one.

In the same hand, but different from those on fol. 61r is 'Elizabeth Kympton' on fol. 129r and 'mrs kimpton is like to have an ill name by mr waterhous but she cares not

¹¹⁶ Daniel Wakelin, 'Thys ys my boke': Imagining the Owner in the Book', in *Spaces for Reading in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Mary C. Flannery and Carrie Griffin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 13-33 (p. 21).

a [remainder rubbed away] on fol. 187r.¹¹⁷ The name on fol. 129r is written large with an untidy scrollwork style line around the signature and it is also accompanied by large cross hatch or grid style scribbles which may be written with the same medium. As with the names on fol. 61r., the placement of Elizabeth Kympton's name could be a place marker in the Clerk's Tale rather than an interaction with the text. The longer comment about 'mrs kympton' and 'mr waterhous' on fol. 187r occurs in the Pardoner's Prologue, at a point where the Pardoner is discussing how he publicly defames sinners. Although what Mrs Kympton has done to earn her 'ill name' is not mentioned, the Pardoner's Prologue may have inspired the writer of the marginalia. Below this remark on the same folio is also 'And yf yt be so playne Anne Barlee that ys my name' in another hand. Although there are no marginalia in Harley 7334 that have been proved to have been written by Lady Anne herself, Manly and Rickert ascribe this name to Lady Anne's sister-in-law, niece or great-niece, all named Anne Barlee,¹¹⁸ but alternatively it could be Lady Anne herself using her maiden name. Anne Barlee's couplet is written parallel to, and rhymes with, 'For though I telle not his proper name | Men schal wel knowe that it is the same', therefore it could be interacting with the text, although it is not clear whether Anne Barlee's comment relates to the note about Elizabeth Kympton and Edward Waterhouse above it.

Yet another hand has written 'Mrs Kympto[n] shall have an ill name by Mr Waterh[ows] but she cares not a turd and yet she is a gentlewo[man] Clerly enoug[h] how say you she kna[ves?]' on fol. 81r.¹¹⁹ This comment occurs in the Man of Law's Tale and is limited to the margin created by the text showing through from the other side of the page. This placement creates distance between the text and the comment, therefore removing the impression that it is an interaction with the text. Elizabeth Kympton appears to have been a member of Lady Anne's household, she was bequeathed three shillings and a 'gowne of black damask' in Lady Anne's will of 1558. Clearly her name has been written by Edward Waterhouse twice, and even assuming one of the other three hands belong to her, there remains two other hands producing repetitions of her name. It is clear that the margins of Harley 7334 were not always being used for discussion of the text, and there is no underlining or marking of the text

¹¹⁷ 'Detailed Record for Harley 7334', in *British Library Catalogue*
 <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_7334> [accessed 3 January 2017].

¹¹⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 226.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 226.

that correspond with the comments mentioned, but the book was obviously well circulated. When the gossip nature of the remarks on fols 129r and 81r are considered, it seems to reflect the manuscript being shared amongst a group of people, perhaps within a household, or made easily available for anyone to access.

During the same period and later in the sixteenth century, the manuscript was also used by the Brograve and Leventhorpe families who were relatives of Lady Anne Grey, and these family groupings include women in the marginalia.¹²⁰ The name ‘Anne Leu[enthorpe]’ appears on fol. 147r, although part of the signature is trimmed away. Thomas Leuenthorpe writes ‘ffeare the Lord and thow shalt prosper. Tho: Leuenthorpe 1564’ on fol. 286v beneath the ownership inscription written by Edward Waterhouse in 1556. Immediately after the end of the Parson’s Tale on fol. 286r, Thomas Leventhorpe writes a Latin poem which is not mentioned by Manly and Rickert, ending it with ‘When I am gone, and owt of Syght | Remember me, that this dyd Wryght | Tho: Leuenthorpe 1564’. He also writes ‘Tho: Leuenthorpe 1564’ at the top of the folio. Fol. 287v reads ‘Malus mortem, Bonus vitem magis formiat | Tho. Leuenthorpe’,¹²¹ a statement which has a similar theme to the last two paragraphs of the Parson’s Tale about wanhope and penance. Underneath the inscriptions by Edward Waterhouse and Thomas Leventhorpe on fol. 286v another hand writes ‘Simeon Brograve’ and ‘Dorothie Brograve’ and a statement of John Brograve’s ownership of Harley 7334 which reads:

John Brograve the eldere gent owith this book witness John Leventhorpe gent
Thomas Meade gent Simeon Brograve gent John Brograve the younger gent
Joan Brograve Bridget Brograve Charles Brograve Thomas Alline
John Rawlinson Robert Coates John Hodson and many other.

An explanation for these particular marginalia could be that Simeon and Dorothie Brograve owned the manuscript which was then passed to John Brograve, and one of them wrote the inscription to commemorate this transmission. The fact that the name John Brograve appears with the names of Elizabeth Kympton and Edward Waterhouse in the same hand on fol. 61r could imply that the Brograves also accessed the

¹²⁰ There is also a ‘Janet Bro’ on fol. 284v which could be associated with the Brograves but this seems to be in a fifteenth-century hand rather than a sixteenth-century one and has not been possible to identify further.

¹²¹ A good man avoids a wicked death instead of fearing it. My translation.

manuscript during the general period of its use by Lady Anne's household, especially as there is both an elder and a younger John Brograve. These extensive and communal marginalia could suggest the books were readily available, and certainly reflects that men and women alike were able to access this *Canterbury Tales*.

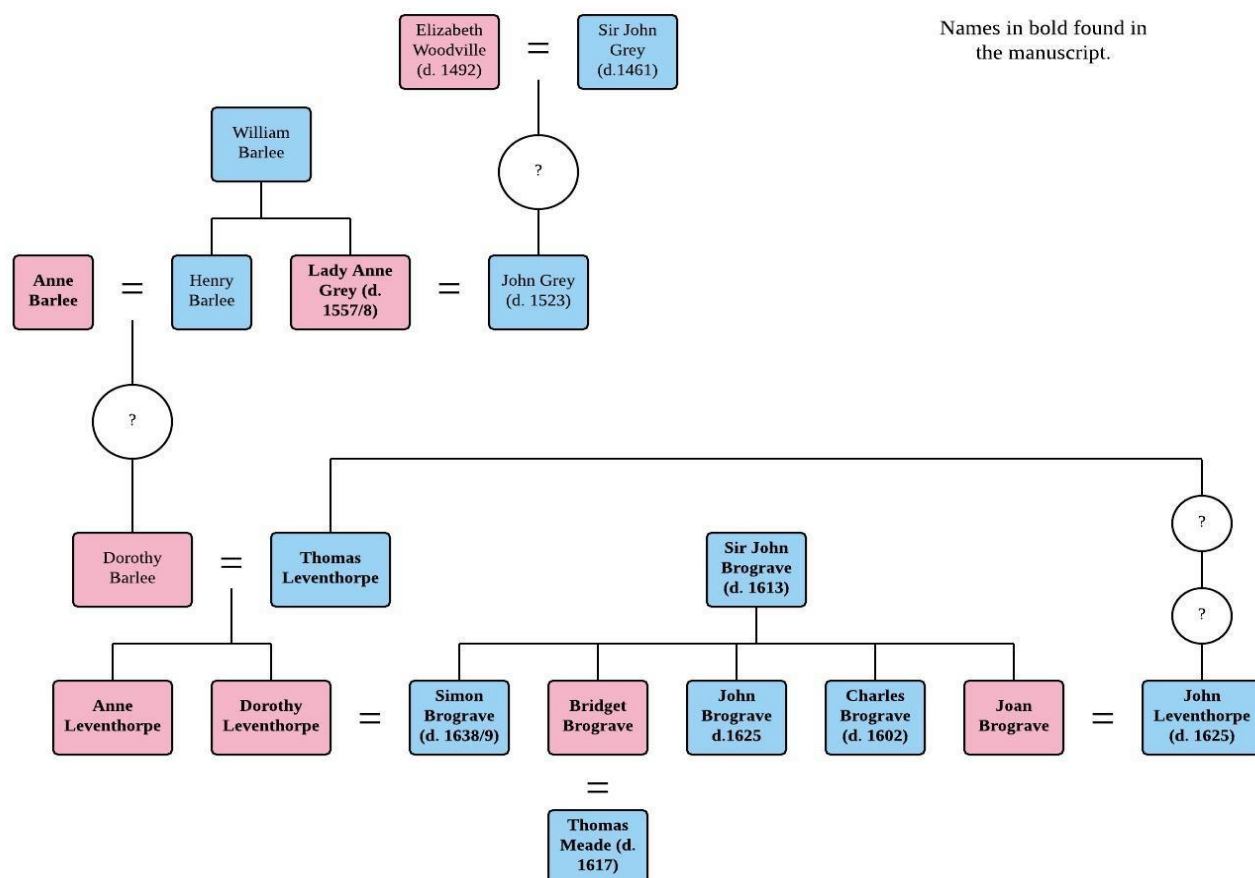


Figure 4.12: Harley 7334 family tree

The marginalia survey made it apparent that some of the manuscripts in the corpus were used to record the births of children. Where names of members of a family are recorded in this manner it could mean that the manuscript was being used as a record. Egerton 2863 contains a record of some boys born in the sixteenth century on fol. 84r: Morryse Worth, 1563; Frauncis Worth, 1565; Henry Worth, 1567; and John Worth, 1574.¹²² There are two further examples in Harley 1758 and Hengwrt which plausibly suggest women were using the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to create records in their own hands. On fol. 126v of Harley 1758 is the inscription 'Jane Oteley the dawther of

¹²²Although Frances/Francis can be a male or female name, on this occasion Manly and Rickert identify Frauncis Worth as a boy. Manly and Rickert, I, p. 141.

Adam Otley and marye his wieff was babtysed 30 nov 1548 Edward Fox and the faire Jane weare lawfull married 9 September 1561' and below this note is the beginning of a list of the names of Jane and Edward's children including places of birth and godparents: Maria Foxe, 1567; Susanna Foxe, 1568; Sara Foxe, 1569; Edmund Foxe, 1570; and William Foxe, 1572. On comparison to an inscription signed by Edward Foxe on fol. 231r, it is apparent that all the marginalia on fol. 126v is in his hand. On the opposite page, fol. 127r, three further hands complete the record of the Foxe children's births. The first hand adds George Foxe, 1573, and a second hand adds Roger Foxe, 1574. Finally, a third hand adds the remaining children: Thomas Foxe, 1575; Ambrose Foxe, 1576; Tobias Foxe, 1577; Richard Foxe, 1578; Martha Foxe, no date; Frances Foxe, 1582; Margery and Sara Foxe, 1584; and Katherine Foxe, 1585. This hand may be that of Jane Oteley, because it identifies Frances Foxe as 'filia mea',¹²³ and the hand of the children's father has already been noted on the preceding folio.

The Hengwrt manuscript contains a family record which spans three generations. There is a poem on fol. 128v, which is ascribed to Eleanor Bannester by a different hand to that which wrote the poem.¹²⁴ On fol. 165r there is a list of Eleanor's five children: Richard Banestar, 1571; Elenor Banestar, 1573; Frauncis Banestar, 1575; Elizabeth Bannester, 1576; and Martha Banester 'XX year of qene Elyzabeth' (1578/9). All the entries but that of Elizabeth Bannester match the hand ascribed to Eleanor Bannester on fol. 128v. Eleanor Banester's record of her children in Hengwrt implies she was a regular user of the manuscript herself, and perhaps that she planned to share the manuscript with her children. This idea is further corroborated by the continuation of the record by Eleanor's youngest daughter Martha Brereton, whose own birth is recorded on fol. 165r. The births of her children are recorded on fol. 128v under the poem by Eleanor Bannester: Ellen Brereton, 1605; John Brereton, 1606; Frances Brereton, 1609; Richard Brereton, 1611; and Ann Brereton, 1612. The hands look different for each entry, although all of them have similarities and are broadly italic. It also seems that any of the hands that wrote the entries for John, Frances or Richard could have written 'per Ellenor Banestor the grandmother of this undernamed children' underneath Eleanor's poem. Martha could be one of the hands since the father of the

¹²³ Translated as 'my daughter'. My translation.

¹²⁴ The poem reads: [page eaten away] in tender age, hath most in [...]re [page eaten away] [...]eth alwas to keepe he [erased] [page eaten away]re:: wherfore, in age who greatly longes [page eaten away]n self good seed to sowe :::'. My transcription.

children, Andrew Brereton, writes a note on fol. 152v, and his hand does not match any on this folio. An alternative interpretation is that since each hand is different yet similar, there could be a family resemblance or a reflection of similar methods of learning to write which means that each child perhaps wrote their own name.

The evidence in Sloane 1685, McClean 181, Harley 1758, Harley 7334, Ellesmere and Hengwrt demonstrates that copies of the *Canterbury Tales* were being passed amongst women or shared between groups of people including women. The varied and extensive names in these manuscripts imply that communal use was not an uncommon occurrence. Furthermore, these manuscripts contain both fifteenth-century evidence (Sloane 1685, McClean 181) and sixteenth-century evidence (Harley 1758, Harley 7334, Ellesmere and Hengwrt). The sixteenth-century evidence for shared manuscripts is more prolific and also includes the recording of names which initially suggests that these manuscripts were intended to be kept, revisited and shared, and further attests to their importance to those who were using them.

4.7 Conclusions

At the outset of this chapter, the initial findings of previous studies such as those by William Sherman, Josephine Koster-Tarvers, Alison Wiggins and Heidi Brayman Hackel suggested that women who learned to read may also have learned to write to some extent, but they were somewhat unlikely to produce marginalia. This apparent lack of marginalia produced by women during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could be caused by lack of opportunity due to the books being used communally, or little inclination due to varied writing ability. There is in particular a general lack of annotation of literary texts during this period, including annotations by male writers. Using the Marginalia Survey in Appendix 2 to develop a picture of the corpus of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole has shown findings which are concurrent with these prior studies. The absence of annotation during the period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not an exclusively female trait, but rather a pattern across the corpus as a whole. Fifteenth- and sixteenth- century marginalia form the bulk of the marginalia in the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales*, but examples produced by women account for only a small percentage of what is there. Taken at face value, this evidence could initially suggest that fifteenth- and sixteenth- century women were not accessing these manuscripts. However, a number of case studies in this chapter have

shown this not to be the case, thus signifying that the absence of marginalia produced by women in the corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* is not indicative of their absence from the audience of the manuscripts.

Although the evidence available is limited, it is illuminating because it provides a glimpse into the possibility that the manuscripts were in close proximity to the women who accessed them. Furthermore, examples drawn from the case studies of my select corpus show that marginalia do not have to be annotation in order to provide a narrative about how the books might have been used. The lack of evidence is a complex issue, but it can be clarified somewhat by examining the narratives of both the available and absent evidence. Where names appear in the margins of the books, even if they are pen trials, they indicate access to the manuscript even where it remains impossible to prove whether the book was read. It seems more likely that these women would have made use of the margins of a manuscript they had immediately to hand, perhaps because they were reading it. Many of the examples in this chapter have indicated that books were shared, which is also suggestive of the manuscripts being kept in close proximity, readily available to be used. Harley 7334 is a good example of a manuscript circulating in a household, and Ellesmere, McClean 181, Cardigan, Delamere, Sloane 1685, and Egerton 2863 probably circulated amongst families.¹²⁵ Additionally family records such as those in Harley 1758 and Hengwrt suggest an intentionally permanent way of creating marginalia. It seems unlikely a record would be made in a book which was neglected or never intended to be looked at again. In both manuscripts there is the implication that the birth records, and therefore the *Canterbury Tales*, will be revisited or that the manuscripts were in regular use. It is significant that the extant marginalia suggest women may have been making regular use of these manuscripts and keeping them in close proximity during their daily lives. This conclusion resonates with Sherman's findings that 'a large percentage of the notes produced by readers had no obvious connection with the text they accompanied, - but nonetheless testified to the place of that book in the reader's social life, family history, professional practices, political commitments, and devotional rituals'.¹²⁶ Although women may have been less likely to overtly claim their ownership, they still played a role in the life cycle of the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹²⁵ Sharing books amongst networks will be examined in more depth in the next chapter.

¹²⁶ Sherman, p. xiii.

Chapter 5: Family Networks

Thus far this study has focused on instances of personal interaction with individual manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. These interactions between manuscripts and people are part of larger networks of families and libraries. This chapter examines the identities and family connections of the women linked to the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in more detail and focuses on the extant evidence which identifies fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women linked to the provenances of the manuscripts in the select corpus. It investigates whether the *Canterbury Tales* were part of any libraries which belonged to the families of these women and maps the connections between these families and their copies of the *Canterbury Tales* using the techniques outlined in my methodology. The findings of this chapter establish a clearer picture of how the work was circulating amongst the aristocracy of the period, and further demonstrate a network of aristocratic women who had the opportunity to access the text.

A number of factors lead to the assumption that the *Canterbury Tales* were most likely available to aristocratic women because they were circulating in wealthy households.¹ It is known that by the fifteenth century, the focus of literacy (including teaching and the consumption of texts) had expanded from the monastic church to the noble household.² There is also evidence that women, particularly those of the aristocracy, were involved in the circulation of books: Susan Groag Bell demonstrates with reference to earlier and widespread European examples that medieval noblewomen took books with them when they married and left their family homes.³ Nicholas Orme does not discuss women specifically but he does imply that books in circulation were not exclusively seen by men.⁴ As a result, it is difficult to believe that aristocratic women were particularly excluded from literary culture. Additionally, it is probable that the extant numbers of books including the *Canterbury Tales* are merely a sample of what could possibly have been available to the aristocracy. This idea is corroborated by Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs's suggestion that '30-40 service books would be usual for a leading English aristocrat', based on a comparison of the number of service books belonging to Thomas Duke of Gloucester at the beginning of the fourteenth century and the numbers belonging to Cecily Neville at the end of the same century.⁵

¹ See Chapter 1: Introduction for my definition of the aristocracy.

² Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 252.

³ Groag Bell, p. 173.

⁴ Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society*, pp. 154-5.

⁵ Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, p. 88.

Sutton and Visser-Fuchs use these numbers to estimate that the extant books belonging to the 'Yorkist royal family', (Edward IV, Elizabeth Woodville and their extended families) would have numbered around 400 books between them.⁶ It would appear that by the fifteenth century it was expected for a king, duke or leading aristocrat to have a collection of books and 'any wealthy person followed suit'.⁷ Thus the precedent has been set by both men and women for aristocratic families to be book owners and to encourage the circulation of books. There were clearly more books available in circulation than are survive today, and the eighty-four extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* indicate that this text was also regularly available.

What is the purpose of seeking to establish whether the *Canterbury Tales* appears within libraries? Firstly, when referring to the books of aristocratic lay families, the term 'library' needs some clarification. It appears it is more common to find evidence for what Jenny Stratford and Teresa Webber define as 'small clutches of books' rather than organised libraries.⁸ They prefer 'book collection' as a term, because libraries in the traditional sense are more common from the fifteenth century onwards.⁹ Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier argue that aristocratic libraries differed from religious libraries, containing vernacular stories, 'popular' texts, devotional books in Latin, and by the fifteenth century, Greek humanism and Latin classical books.¹⁰ The large numbers of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in circulation may suggest that it would be a likely choice for an aristocratic book collection. An interest in literature in general could also suggest a receptive attitude to the *Canterbury Tales*. If a family which is linked to a copy of the work can be shown to be involved with owning and circulating other books, then it is plausible that they would also have shared and circulated the *Canterbury Tales*.

The focus of the chapter will be on the books of aristocratic lay families rather than religious libraries for a number of reasons. Firstly, religious and academic libraries are already better documented and better understood in comparison to the libraries of

⁶ Ibid. pp. 62-3.

⁷ Ibid. p. 79.

⁸ Jenny Stratford and Teresa Webber, 'Bishops and Kings: Private Book Collections in Medieval England', in *Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland vol. I: to 1640*, ed. by Elizabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 178-217 (p. 178).

⁹ Ibid. pp. 215-17.

¹⁰ Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, *The History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Paris: Polity Press, 1999), p. 20.

lay families.¹¹ Additionally, none of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in the select corpus demonstrate any evidence that they were located in a religious house or connected to any women in religious orders.¹² All the identifiable women linked to manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* are linked to the aristocracy. Barbara J. Harris explores aristocratic female networks which began as women moved around from an early age with girls being sent to other households for education.¹³ Even after marriage, couples were quite likely to remain living in a parental household which created new family connections.¹⁴ They also maintained links with more distant relatives and local neighbours.¹⁵ Natal family remained most important, and it appears that women remained in contact with their families.¹⁶ This continued contact shows that aristocratic women in particular participated in a social network which could have provided an impetus for a network of book circulation. Thus, the chapter will focus on the implications of the circulation of the *Canterbury Tales* amongst networks of aristocratic laywomen.

The evidence has been grouped into family ‘clusters’, which are not distinct from networks of other families or books, but arise out of the verifiable evidence offered by the manuscripts in the select corpus. Carol Meale and Julia Boffey have already conducted a similar investigation into the books and personal connections of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century gentlewomen.¹⁷ They suggest that ‘the charting of the connections of individuals is suggestive of the multiple and fluid networks to which gentlewomen might have had access, and by which their reading might have been shaped’.¹⁸ I will now begin my own ‘charting’ of the connections of the individual women and their families connected to copies of the *Canterbury Tales* in order to see if it is possible that these ‘multiple and fluid networks’ may have enabled the reading and circulation of the *Canterbury Tales* by women.

¹¹ Stratford and Webber, p. 182.

¹² Harley 7333 may have been produced in a religious house in Leicester but it has not been included as it does not exhibit any evidence of a connection to women. See Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 207-18.

¹³ Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450-1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 175.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 175.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 175.

¹⁷ See Boffey and Meale.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 531.

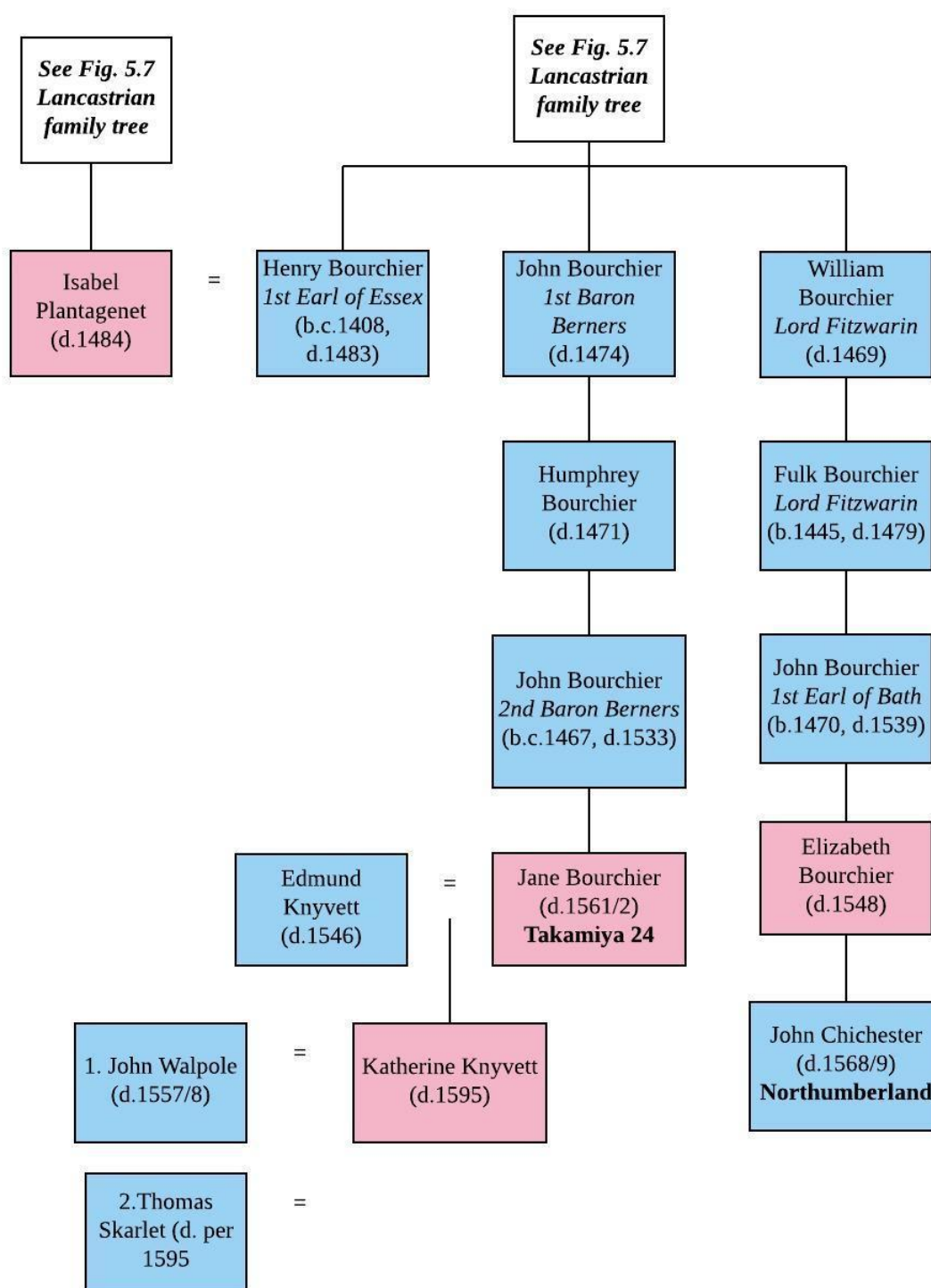


Figure 5.13: Bourchier-Knyvett family tree

5.1 The Bouchier and Knyvett Families

The first ‘cluster’ of families includes the Bouchiers and Knyvetts, who can be linked to sixteenth-century evidence in the Northumberland 455 and Takamiya 24 manuscripts. The Knyvetts were a minor gentry family who married into the Bouchier family during the sixteenth century. The Bouchiers were widespread, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century branches of the family being descended from the five children of Sir William Bouchier, count of Eu (c.1374-1420) and Anne of Woodstock (c.1382-1438), granddaughter of Eleanor de Bohun. The family tree shows three branches of the Bouchier family; Henry Bouchier (c.1408-1483), first Earl of Essex, John Bouchier (d.1474), first Baron Berners and William Bouchier (d.1469), Lord Fitzwarin.

Northumberland 455 is linked to Elizabeth Bouchier (d. 1548) via its provenance. The manuscript is dated 1450 to 1470, and includes the unique Tale of Beryn.¹⁹ The earliest evidence of an owner of Northumberland 455 is Elizabeth’s son, Sir John Chichester (d.1568/9) who ‘claims ownership’²⁰ on fol. 153v, writing ‘John Chichester booke’. The date of the manuscript makes it impossible for Chichester to have been the original owner, therefore he must have acquired it from someone or somewhere else. Manly and Rickert suggest that the Essex dialect of the manuscript indicates it may have been ‘carried West’ by Elizabeth Bouchier from her family’s base in East Anglia.²¹ They consider it ‘unlikely’ that John Chichester bought Northumberland 455 because he was ‘a zealous leader of the reformed church in Devon’ and his wife ‘was not of a family known to have been interested in books’.²² I have been unable to substantiate the idea that John Chichester may have held an anti-Chaucer stance. Furthermore, the use of Chaucer for pro-Reformation propaganda seems to suggest that a position of pro-Reformation beliefs does not automatically result in an avoidance of Chaucer’s work,²³ perhaps more likely the opposite. Regarding Chichester’s wife Gertrude Courtenay,²⁴ she was the daughter of William Courtenay, a

¹⁹ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 387-8.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 392.

²¹ Ibid. p. 395.

²² Ibid. p. 395.

²³ See the introduction of this thesis.

²⁴ A.D.K Hawkyard, ‘Chichester, John (1519/20-68), of Great Torrington, Youlston and Raleigh, Devon’, in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558*, ed. by S.T. Bindoff (1982) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/chichester-john-151920-68#footnote10_3aoxbao> [accessed 14 January 2017].

knight and member of Parliament,²⁵ therefore well off enough to afford education and books, although her personal interests cannot be confirmed. The likelihood that Elizabeth Bouchier was the owner of Northumberland 455 is reduced, as there is the possibility that Chichester acquired it from elsewhere. However, it remains the case that she is connected to two individuals who did own a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, her son John Chichester and her cousin Jane Bouchier (d. 1561). Jane is linked to Takamiya 24, which contains a shield on fol. 274v that combines Jane's arms with the arms of her husband Sir Edmund Knyvett (d. 1546). The manuscript was produced around 1450 to 1460, and contains the *Life of St Margaret* by Lydgate in addition to the *Canterbury Tales*.²⁶ As with Northumberland 455, the age of the manuscript means Sir Edmund Knyvett and Jane Bouchier were not the original owners of the book. The combined arms could also mean that Takamiya 24 was considered a joint possession of both Jane Bouchier and her husband.²⁷

Seeking for any possible libraries that the Bouchiers and Knyvetts might have had access to or of which these *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts might have been a part leads to evidence to suggest that books were regularly in the possession of members of the Knyvett family. The name Knyvett appears on the final leaf of a copy of the romance *Guy of Warwick*,²⁸ and a copy of *Troilus and Criseyde*.²⁹ It also appears in a *Constitutiones* recorded at the Benedictine abbey of Saint Mary the Virgin in Reading,³⁰ and Thomas Knyvett (1545/6-1622) gave a *Herbarium* to the Benedictine abbey of St Edmund in Bury St Edmunds.³¹ Although all these instances are independent rather than being part of a recorded library or collection, Jane Bouchier and Sir Edmund Knyvett's grandson Sir Thomas Knyvett (c.1539-1618) of Ashwellthorpe in Norfolk had a large library.³² Alison Wiggins observes that 'Anne Knyvett (d. 1541), daughter of Sir William Knyvett (b. 1440) of Buckenham Castle, owned a copy of *Generydes*'.³³ Anne

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 117.

²⁷ Chapter 3: In the Home discusses the extant evidence in Takamiya 24 which suggests that the manuscript was passed from Jane Bouchier and Sir Edmund Knyvett to their daughter Katherine.

²⁸ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 107/176.

²⁹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61.

³⁰ Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.9.38.

³¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 130.

³² It included what is now known as the Findern manuscript (Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.6) amongst 70 manuscripts and 1,400 printed books. David McKitterick, *The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, c.1539-1618* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1978), pp. 2, 32.

³³ Alison Wiggins, 'The Manuscripts and Texts of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. by Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2007), pp. 61-80 (p. 78).

Knyvett perhaps also owned a book of works by Lydgate which were bound together on her marriage to John Thwaites between 1480 and 1490 and decorated with coats of arms.³⁴ Books have been associated with wedding gifts and bridal trousseaux,³⁵ thus making plausible the suggestion that the Knyvett-Bourchier shield on fol. 274v of Takamiya 24 may have been added for the marriage of Edmund Knyvett and Jane Bourchier.

The Bourchiers also appear to have shared an interest in books. Estelle Stubbs suggests that Isabel Plantagenet, the wife of Henry Bourchier (c.1408-1483) first Earl of Essex, commissioned the *Legend of St Mary Magdalen*.³⁶ She goes on to indicate that Isabel was the sister of Elizabeth, the mother of Sir John Chichester, and a cousin of Jane Bourchier.³⁷ However, although Elizabeth and Jane were cousins, Isabel died in 1484, and would have been their great, great aunt (see Fig. 5.13). Elizabeth Bourchier is depicted at prayer with a book open in front of her in a monumental brass in St Brannocks Church in Braunton, Devon.³⁸ Jane Bourchier's father John (c.1467-1533) is depicted in a portrait holding a book.³⁹ Both images could suggest a desire to promote a reputation as bibliophiles.

So far this cluster has given one example of a probable female owner of the *Canterbury Tales*, Jane Bourchier.⁴⁰ Her cousin Elizabeth's ownership is plausible but less certain, however Elizabeth's son is known to be an owner of the work which could place her in close proximity to the manuscript, particularly if one considers that medieval women kept in contact and often resided with their close family. Both Elizabeth's and Jane's family, and the family Jane married into have other books linked to them, but there are no known libraries with the exception of that of Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe who did not have a *Canterbury Tales*. In families where evidence for book ownership spans generations is suggestive of an inheritance of receptive attitudes

³⁴ Manly and Rickert, I p. 78.

³⁵ Bawcutt, p. 29. David N. Bell, 'The Libraries of Religious Houses in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland vol. I: to 1640*, ed. by Elizabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 126-51 (pp. 143-47).

³⁶ Estelle Stubbs, 'Clare Priory, the London Austin Friars and Manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*', in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. by A.J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 17-26 (p. 19).

³⁷ Ibid. p. 19.

³⁸ James P. Carley, 'Bourchier, John, Second Baron Berners (c.1467-1533)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58930>> [accessed 26 September 2013].

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 4: In the Margins for a discussion of Jane's daughter Katherine's possible ownership of Takamiya 24.

to literary texts, even if there is no official book collection as such. Even when women such as Elizabeth Bouchier cannot be directly linked to manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* by marginalia they can still be linked to the text by their proximity to other owners.

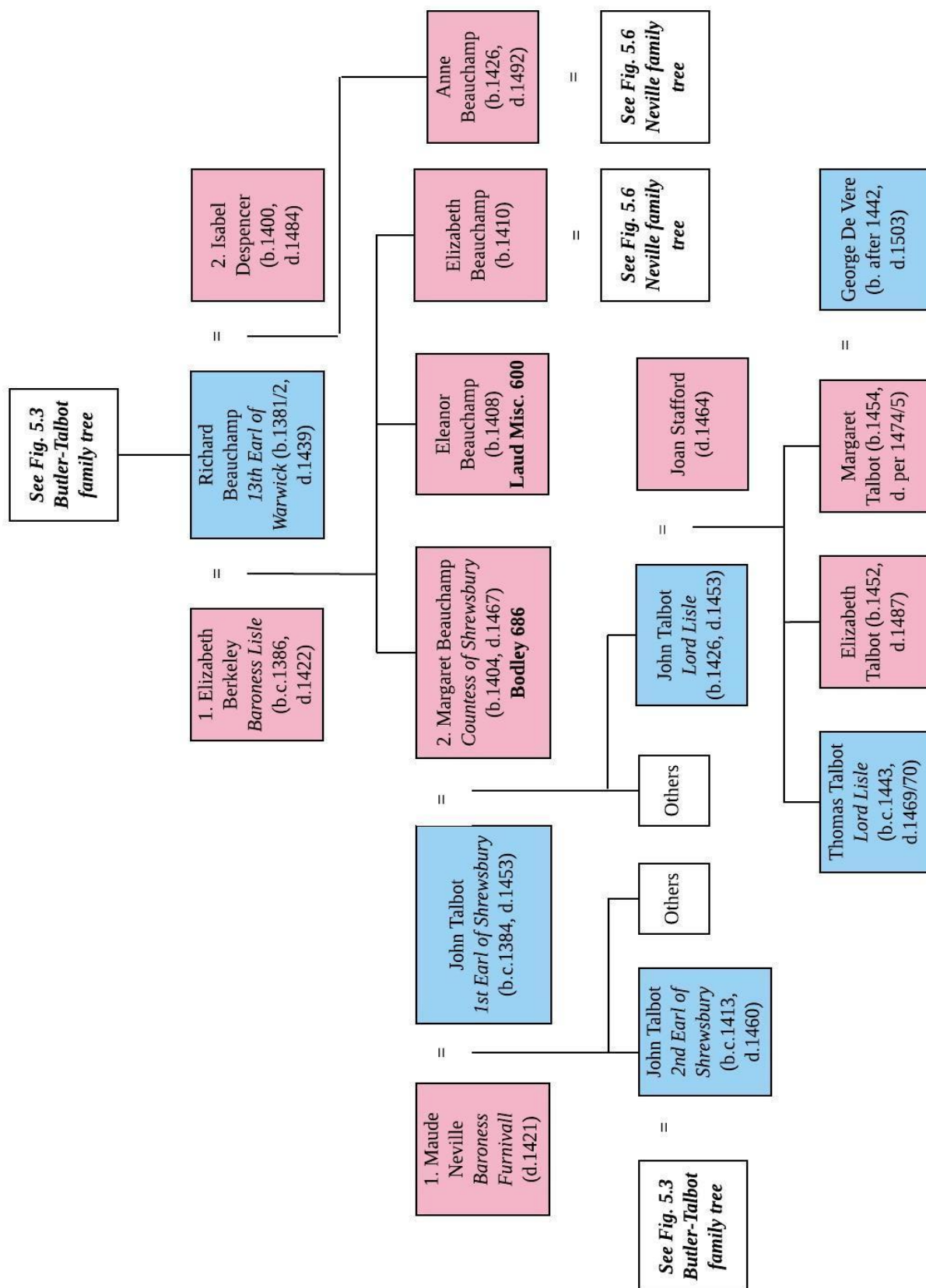


Figure 5.14: Beauchamp-Talbot family tree

5.2 The Beauchamp, Berkeley, Talbot and Butler Families

The Beauchamp, Berkeley, Talbot and Butler (or Botiller) families can be linked together in a network which features Bodley 686, Laud Misc. 600, Additional 35286 and MS Mm.2.5. The Beauchamps were a widespread family in the fifteenth century but I will focus in particular on the branch of the family who were the Earls of Warwick prior to Richard Neville ‘The Kingmaker’ (1428-1471) inheriting the earldom in 1449. The Berkeley family are linked to the Beauchamps by Elizabeth Berkeley (1386-1422), wife of the thirteenth Earl of Warwick, and Baroness Lisle in her own right. The Talbot family were the Earls of Shrewsbury from John Talbot’s (c.1387-1453) creation as the Earl in 1442. Finally, the Butlers were the Earls of Ormond, Ireland, until the fifth Earl James Butler (1420-1452) was also created the first Earl of Wiltshire in 1449. Together these families create a complex network in which four manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* can be located (see Fig. 5.14).

Bodley 686 has previously been discussed as an example of a manuscript which potentially passed from grandmother to granddaughter.⁴¹ Although the marginalia in this manuscript has been considered,⁴² another reason to see Margaret Beauchamp as a possible owner of Bodley 686 involves a re-examination of Manly and Rickert’s suggestion that the manuscript ‘might have been made for a woman’.⁴³ Arguably the date and contents of the manuscript indicate the possibility that Bodley 686 may have been commissioned in commemoration of the marriage of Margaret and John Talbot or as a book for them to share. The manuscript was made around 1430 to 1440, not long after the marriage of Margaret and John in 1425. The addition of the name Belthiam or Belchiam on fol. 139v⁴⁴ possibly account for the fact that Margaret may have continued to live with her natal family after marriage, as she remained in the Beauchamp household when John Talbot was captured in France (1429-1433).⁴⁵

The contents also provide further links to the John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp. In addition to the *Canterbury Tales*, the manuscript contains a collection of other poems by John Lydgate on a variety of themes:

⁴¹ See Chapter 3: In the Home.

⁴² See Chapter 4: In the Margins.

⁴³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 69.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 3: In the Home.

⁴⁵ Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 115.

1. The Kings of England sithen William Conqueror
2. Stans Puer ad Mensam
3. A Dietary
4. So as the Crabbe Goth Forward
5. Ryght as a Rammes Horne
6. A Wicked Tunge Wille Sey Amys
7. The Legend of St Margaret
8. The Legend of St George
9. The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary
10. Here begynneth a tretis of the daunce of Poulys | otherwise called Makabre⁴⁶

According to Meale, there is evidence of medieval women's interest in the works of Lydgate, both secular and devotional.⁴⁷ It is also true that 'poems to patron saints of the same name were fashionable',⁴⁸ and appropriately, the *Legend of St Margaret* has been included. The *Legend of St Margaret* is addressed to 'noble princesses and ladyes of estate | And gentilwomen lower of degree',⁴⁹ which could increase its relevance to Margaret Beauchamp, who was known to have been interested in Lydgate.⁵⁰

Additionally the manuscript includes the *Legend of St George* which refers to the founding of the order of the Knights of the Garter.⁵¹ John Talbot was made a Knight of the Garter during the year preceding his marriage to Margaret,⁵² therefore it is plausible that this work is included in reference to him. Furthermore, in a book of hours he commissioned, John Talbot is shown with St George rather than his name patron.⁵³ The remainder of the contents includes a broad range of educational and entertaining topics. Devotional reading is covered by the two saints' lives, the 'Daunce of Poulys' and 'The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary' which also encourages reading.⁵⁴ 'A Dietary' and 'Stans Puer ad Mensam' (The Child at the Table) are about conduct and health. *Puer* is the masculine use of the word child. However, as Nicholas Watson has demonstrated in

⁴⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 64.

⁴⁷ Meale, 'Alle the Bokes That I Haue', p. 142.

⁴⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 69.

⁴⁹ John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate Part II: Secular Poems*, ed. by Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS, o.s. 192 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 193.

⁵⁰ Henry Noble MacCracken, 'The Earl of Warwick's Virelai', *PMLA*, 22 (1907), 597-607, (p. 599).

⁵¹ John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate Part I: Religious Poems*, ed. by Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS, e.s. 107 (London: Oxford University Press, 1910), p. 145.

⁵² Pollard, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵³ Catherine Reynolds, 'The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E.VI', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. by Jenny Stratford (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 1993), pp. 109-16 (p. 115).

⁵⁴ Lydgate, p. 268.

his study of the owners and readers of the *Ancrene Wisse*, gendered addresses in texts seem to have little influence on the genders of their actual owners.⁵⁵ Further texts in Bodley 686 include ‘Kings of England sithen William Conqueror’, a history, and ‘So as the Crabbe Goth Forward’ and ‘Ryght as a Rammes Horne’, which are satires about the state of the world. Finally ‘A Wicked Tunge Wille Sey Amys’ advises readers to disregard the wicked words of others. The entire contents of Bodley 686 appears to demonstrate a miscellany of guidance, morality and entertainment. It would be imprudent to consider it a certainty, but Margaret Beauchamp and John Talbot would have been likely candidates for interest in the *Canterbury Tales*, and may have owned Bodley 686.

When considering the ownership of other books by these families, a search for evidence of libraries related to the Beauchamps and Talbots has shown that Margaret Beauchamp and John Talbot were owners and patrons of luxury manuscripts. The best known association of the Talbots with books is John Talbot’s presentation of the Shrewsbury book, a book of romances and treatises⁵⁶ to Margaret of Anjou in 1445, shortly after it was produced.⁵⁷ Ostentatiously, there is an image of the presentation scene featuring John Talbot on fol. 2v of the manuscript.⁵⁸ This folio and a number of other illuminated pages also contain the arms of Margaret Beauchamp alongside those of her husband.⁵⁹ Notably, Catherine Reynolds observes that Margaret usually used a seal on which her arms remained separate from those of her husband.⁶⁰ Thus the joining of arms could indicate a joint effort on the part of Margaret and John in the presentation of the book. It is also possible that the Shrewsbury book was initially being produced for Talbot himself when he altered the book to better suit Margaret of Anjou.⁶¹ In addition to the use of Margaret Beauchamp’s arms, there are some aspects of the manuscript that may indicate that Talbot intended his wife to use the manuscript as well. Anne Hedeman argues that ‘the poem beginning “mon seul desir” and the clump of

⁵⁵ Nicholas Watson, ‘With the Heat of the Hungry Heart: Empowerment and *Ancrene Wisse*’, in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 52-70 (p. 62).

⁵⁶ London, British Library, MS. Royal 15 E.VI.

⁵⁷ Pollard, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁸ ‘Detailed Record for Royal 15 E VI’, in *British Library Catalogue* <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18385>> [accessed 11 February 2015].

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Reynolds, p. 109.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 109.

blooming daisies (marguerites), which could refer to Talbot's wife Margaret as easily as to Margaret of Anjou, recalls the arms and emblems in the prayer book painted by the Talbot illuminators for John and Margaret'.⁶² Hedeman explains that the motto *mon seul desir* and daisies are also used in this prayer book.⁶³ The Shrewsbury book was perhaps initially begun with Margaret Beauchamp in mind, but further changes were made once the book was repurposed for Margaret of Anjou.⁶⁴ The book of hours just mentioned, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 40-1950, and a further one, National Library of Scotland, Blairs College, MS 1 were also made for John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp.⁶⁵ Both of these books of hours were worked on by the same Rouen-based illuminator as Royal 15 E.VI.⁶⁶ Kathleen Scott describes them as 'the only known set of "his" and "hers" manuscripts'.⁶⁷ A matching set of books of hours is a lavish statement of wealth and prestige, the implication being that John and Margaret had shared interests, which seems to have included book ownership. Their likely interest in expensive manuscripts could extend to Bodley 686 as it is one of the more luxurious *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts.

Another *Canterbury Tales* manuscript, Laud Misc. 600 can also be potentially connected to Margaret Beauchamp's sister Eleanor, Duchess of Somerset (d.1467), another daughter of Richard Beauchamp, thirteenth Earl of Warwick. On fol. 114r is possibly the word 'Bedmin...' in fifteenth century drypoint, which may be related to the manor of Bedminster near Bristol, which was held by Eleanor, around the time of her death.⁶⁸ The manor of Bedminster originally belonged to the Berkeleys until 1416 therefore Eleanor would have become owner of the manor as part of her inheritance from her mother Elizabeth Berkeley.⁶⁹ Eleanor was married to Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset (1406-1455) before 1436,⁷⁰ and Laud Misc. 600 was produced 1430 to 1450. In addition to being produced at a similar time, Bodley 686 and

⁶² Anne D. Hedeman, 'Collecting Images: The Role of the Visual in the Shrewsbury Book (Bl Ms. Royal 15 E.VI)', in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, ed. by Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), pp. 99-119 (p. 109).

⁶³ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 40-1950.

⁶⁴ Raluca Radulescu, 'Preparing for Her Mature Years: The Case of Margaret of Anjou', in *Middle Aged Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Sue Niebrzydowski (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 115-38 (p. 126).

⁶⁵ Reynolds, p. 113.

⁶⁶ 'Detailed Record for Royal 15 E VI', *British Library Catalogue*.

⁶⁷ Scott, p. 257.

⁶⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 313.

⁶⁹ Anton Bantock, 'Bedminster', *Bristol and Avon Family History Society Journal*, 106 (2001)

<<http://www.bafhs.org.uk/bafhs-parishes/other-bafhs-parishes/52-bedminster>> [accessed 22 March 2017].

⁷⁰ *Complete Peerage of England (Skelmersdale to Towton)*, p. 53.

Laud Misc. 600 have similar dialect and illumination features.⁷¹ In theory the shared production history could suggest the manuscripts were acquired from the same place, perhaps because the book producer was already known to the family.⁷²

A search for books owned by the Beauchamp and Berkeley families is revealing. In addition to their brother Henry Beauchamp's possible ownership of the Warwick Hours and Psalter,⁷³ Margaret and Eleanor Beauchamp's parents, Richard, thirteenth Earl of Warwick and Elizabeth Berkeley, were both known to be interested in literature. Richard Beauchamp himself composed a *virelai* found in London, British Library, MS Additional 16165.⁷⁴ Additional 16165 was not made specifically for the Beauchamps, but was worked on by John Shirley, Richard Beauchamp's secretary, and Ryan Perry argues that it could have been intended for someone in the '*Beauchamp affinity*', the network of gentry and assistants surrounding the administration of the Beauchamp estates.⁷⁵ Christine Carpenter considers it unlikely that the poem was composed by Richard himself, describing him as 'an apparently prosaic man' and preferring the possibility that the work was written by John Shirley.⁷⁶ However there is evidence to the contrary, as Margaret Connolly states that 'Richard Beauchamp himself was a commissioner of texts, apparently ordering Lydgate to compose a verse pedigree of Henry VI's claim to the throne of France'.⁷⁷ Susan Cavanaugh also notes that Richard Beauchamp owned a manuscript containing poems by Froissart.⁷⁸

Richard Beauchamp's wife and Margaret and Eleanor's mother Elizabeth Berkeley commissioned a verse translation of *De Consolatione* of which the result was heavily based on Chaucer's *Boece*.⁷⁹ Elizabeth's father Thomas, fifth Baron Berkeley was himself a 'patron of English literature',⁸⁰ and was heavily involved in literary

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 53.

⁷² This idea is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6: Localisation.

⁷³ See also Chapter 6: Localisation.

⁷⁴ Ralph Hanna III, 'John Shirley and British Library MS Additional 16165', *Studies in Bibliography*, 49 (1996), 94-105 (p. 95).

⁷⁵ Ryan Perry, 'The Clopton Manuscript and the Beauchamp Affinity: Patronage and Reception Issues in a West Midlands Reading Community', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 131-59 (p. 135).

⁷⁶ Christine Carpenter, 'Beauchamp, Richard, Thirteenth Earl of Warwick (1382-1439)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1838>> [accessed 11 February 2015].

⁷⁷ Connolly, p. 15.

⁷⁸ Cavanaugh, p. 80.

⁷⁹ Hanna III, 'John Shirley and British Library MS Additional 16165', p. 101.

⁸⁰ Cavanaugh, p. 90.

culture and the commissioning of translations.⁸¹ John Trevisa, was a chaplain and clerk for Thomas, fifth Baron Berkeley, and translated the *Polychronicon* for him.⁸² As Elizabeth appears to have continued in her father's patronage of literature,⁸³ it is feasible that she encouraged her children in similar interests. Thus, there is further potential for her daughters Margaret and Eleanor to have been interested in the *Canterbury Tales*. The *Canterbury Tales* manuscript Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 22 (Sion College) is also linked to a branch of the Berkeley family during the sixteenth century,⁸⁴ but has no specific connections to women.

⁸¹ See Ralph Hanna III, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage', *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 878-916.

⁸² Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 197.

⁸³ Cavanaugh, p. 91.

⁸⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 502-3.

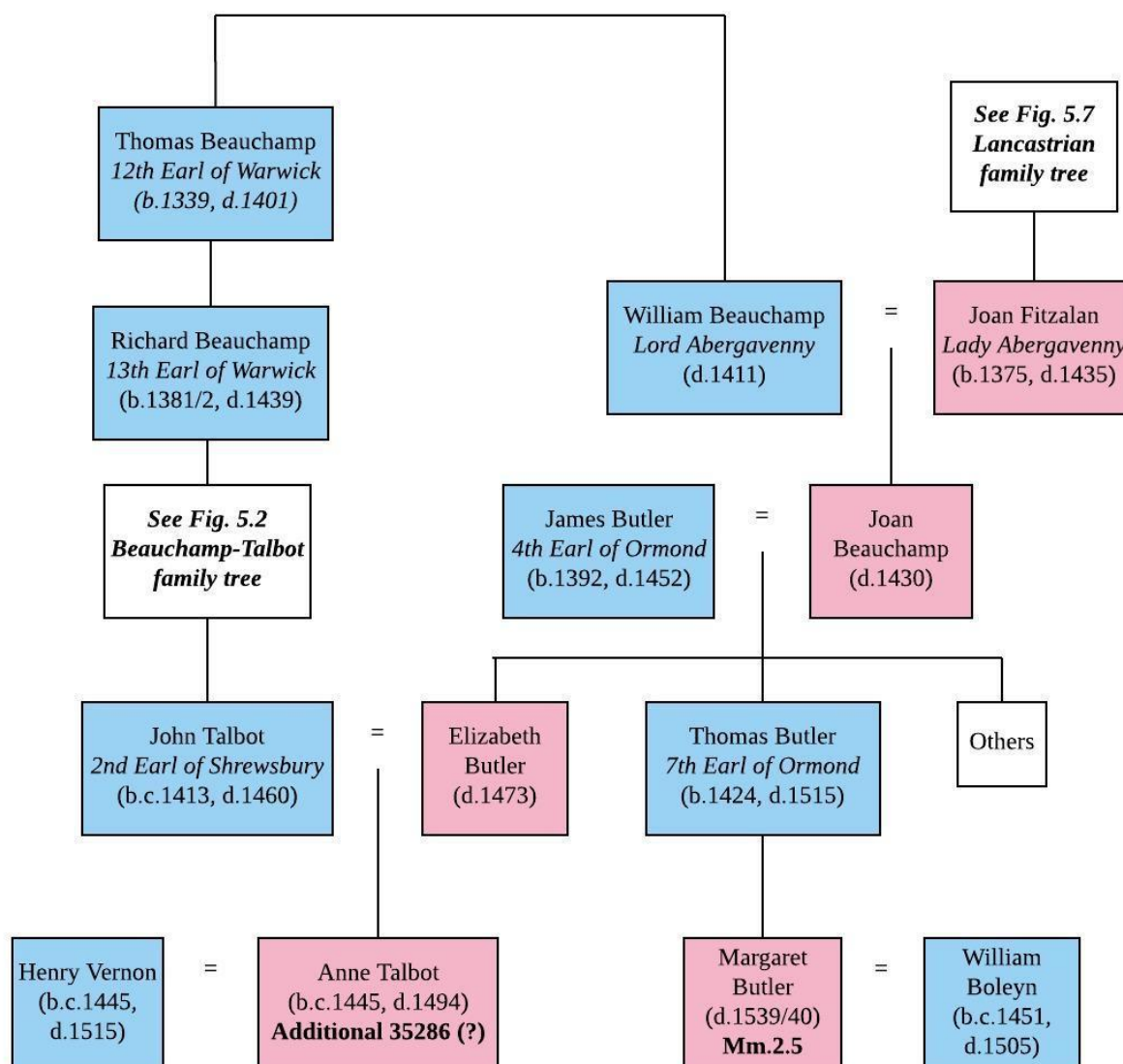


Figure 5.15: Butler-Talbot family tree

The third of the four *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts linked to the Beauchamps, Berkeleys, Talbots and Butlers is Additional 35286, which was produced around a similar time to Bodley 686, 1430 to 1450. This manuscript may have belonged to, or perhaps been accessed by, Anne Talbot (c.1445-1494), granddaughter of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury by his first wife, Maud Neville, Baroness Furnivall (d.1421) (see Fig. 5.15). Manly and Rickert state that ‘on f. 180b is a very doubtful “Anne Vernun b[oke?]”, which looks 16C’.⁸⁵ Daniel Mosser contradicts this description, describing the signature as ‘A[four minims][?ww][six minims] B[?vn]’.⁸⁶ He argues that Manly and Rickert’s description ‘does not seem a likely construction. There are

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 45.

⁸⁶ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

several other trial “A” and “B” graphs in the margins by the same writer; this might suggest that the minims and other strokes are merely otiose’.⁸⁷ After consulting Additional 35286 I think that the marks are a phrase rather than otiose strokes, the word ‘Anne’ is possible but ‘Vernun boke’ is less likely and the writing is too faded to be certain whether it has any true purpose. Nevertheless, Manly and Rickert assert that ‘if the name “Anne Vernun” were certain, it might point to ownership by Anne Talbot, daughter of the second Earl of Shrewsbury (c.1413-1460), which is worth investigating further’.⁸⁸

In order for the manuscript to reach Anne Talbot, Additional 35286 may be the *Canterbury Tales* bequeathed by Lady Elizabeth Bruyn to Robert Walsall in her will of 1471.⁸⁹ The manuscript contains a possible reference to South Ockenden in Essex where Lady Elizabeth Bruyn lived.⁹⁰ If Additional 35286 was the manuscript given to Robert Walsall, he may have transported it north to Staffordshire where Anne Vernon could have come into contact with it. Manly and Rickert confirm that Robert Walsall held lands close to the Vernon’s lands in Staffordshire and was remotely related to them via marriage.⁹¹ The Vernon’s main seat was Nether Haddon in Derbyshire, which is much further north than the cluster marked on the map, but they were a rich family who owned land in both counties.⁹² I have not been able to confirm Robert Walsall’s exact estates but he may have originated from Walsall itself,⁹³ and Hilton is one Vernon estate which lies quite close to Walsall.⁹⁴ Further names in Additional 35286, mainly from the Agard family and their relations, continue into the sixteenth century and can be linked with areas around Lichfield and Uttoxeter.⁹⁵ Mosser also connects the manuscripts to Cheshire.⁹⁶ Although only further archival work in these counties could confirm Anne Vernon’s connection to Additional 35286, what is known is that the manuscript was circulating in households in the area she lived during the time that she was a resident. She also had family connections to other women who may have owned or accessed

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 47. See also Fig. 5.3.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 613.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 612.

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 612.

⁹² Susan Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, 1983), p. 201.

⁹³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 612.

⁹⁴ See Fig. 5.4.

⁹⁵ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 45.

⁹⁶ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

copies of the *Canterbury Tales*. Anne Talbot would have been a near contemporary of the first Earl of Shrewsbury's other grandchildren, one of whom was Margaret Talbot (1454-1474/5) who has been linked to Bodley 686. Family connections would have meant that Anne could have known more than one person with access to a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, increasing her chances of accessing the text.



Figure 5.16: Map showing Uttoxeter, Hilton, Lichfield and Walsall

Anne Talbot may have also had a connection to the final family and manuscript in this cluster, the Butlers and their associated *Canterbury Tales* manuscript Cambridge, University Library Mm.2.5 (see Fig. 5.15). Anne Talbot was the cousin of Margaret Butler (d.1539/40), who can be linked to this copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, although MS Mm.2.5 is dated around 1450 to 1460, so it is unlikely that Margaret Butler was the very first owner. The name 'Brokyssby' appears on fol. 119r, and Manly and Rickert have linked this signature to a John Brokesby who was related to Henry Brokesby, a favoured steward of Joan, Lady Abergavenny (d. 1434).⁹⁷ M.C. Seymour argues that the Brokesby who wrote in the manuscript must be the earlier, Bartholomew Brokesby (d.

⁹⁷ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 369.

1448) who was the executor of Lady Joan, however given the date of the manuscript it is more likely that he died before it was produced.⁹⁸ MS Mm.2.5 was produced too late to be connected any further to Henry Brokesby or Lady Joan. However, it is worth noting that Lady Joan's husband, William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny (d.1411) was the uncle of the thirteenth Earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp.⁹⁹ Manly and Rickert suggest that one of Lady Joan's grandsons might have been the original owner, either James Butler (d. 1471), John Butler (d. 1478) or Thomas Butler, seventh Earl of Ormond (d. 1515).¹⁰⁰ The wife of James Butler, fifth Earl of Ormond was Eleanor Beauchamp, granddaughter of the thirteenth Earl of Warwick, daughter of Eleanor Beauchamp who may have owned Laud Misc. 600¹⁰¹ and niece of Margaret Beauchamp who has been linked to Bodley 686. The Butlers also owned some other manuscripts. London, British Library MS Harley 2887 is dated c.1460; contemporary with both Margaret and her father Thomas, and it contains illuminations with the Butler family heraldry.¹⁰² Margaret's grandfather James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond (1392-1452) also had James Yonge's English translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* (*The Governance of Princes*) dedicated to him.¹⁰³

The link between Mm.2.5 and Margaret Butler is drawn from another name in the manuscript, 'Wyllyam Boleyn' on fol. 190r, only visible under ultra violet light.¹⁰⁴ Margaret is the daughter of Thomas Butler, seventh Earl of Ormond (d. 1515), and married William Boleyn (1451-1505) in 1476.¹⁰⁵ Therefore it seems possible that she took the manuscript with her on her marriage, and it passed subsequently into the Boleyn family. Richard Beadle observes this transmission to be plausible, as the scribe Geoffrey Spirleng copied the *Canterbury Tales* manuscript Glasgow, Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 197 (U.1.1) from MS Mm.2.5 somewhere in or near

⁹⁸ M.C. Seymour, II, p. 60.

⁹⁹ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Ab-Adam to Basing)*, ed. by Vicary Gibbs, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1910), p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 369-70.

¹⁰¹ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Oakham to Richmond)*, ed. by H.A. Doubleday, Duncan Warrand, and Lord Howard de Walden, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1926), pp. 128-9.

¹⁰² 'Detailed Record for Harley 2887', in *British Library Catalogue*, <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8765&CollID=8&NStart=2887>> [accessed 22 March 2017].

¹⁰³ Cavanaugh, p. 116.

¹⁰⁴ Seymour, II, p. 61.

¹⁰⁵ *Complete Peerage of England (Oakham to Richmond)*, p. 137.

Norwich during the period 1475 to 1476.¹⁰⁶ William Boleyn owned a Norfolk seat, Blickling, thus Margaret Butler could have been in residence with the manuscript at the time it was loaned to Geoffrey Spirleng. Even if the manuscript originally belonged to William Boleyn, Margaret was ideally placed to access it.

This cluster of manuscripts has demonstrated a variety of ways in which the books in question can be linked to the families with whom they are associated. These links include contents, location and a wide variety of family relationships. Each of the families discussed, the Beauchamps, Berkeleys, Talbots and Butlers are known to have owned other books including literature, further supporting the potential for a receptive aristocratic environment for the transmission of the *Canterbury Tales*. As with the Bouchiers and the Knyvetts discussed in the previous section, this interwoven network of families shows that women can be linked to copies of the *Canterbury Tales* both directly and also by links to other possible owners formed from relationships in the family network.

5.3 The De Vere, Drury, Grey and Barley Families

The De Vere, Drury, Grey and Barley families can be connected to the Ellesmere and Harley 7334 manuscripts. Harley 7334 is connected to the Drurys, but also the Grey and Barley families who are related to the Woodvilles. The De Veres had been the earls of Oxford since 1141 when the first Earl was created.¹⁰⁷ The Drurys were a gentry family who rose to prominence during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁸ The Woodvilles are well known as the Earls Rivers, and the family from which Edward IV's Queen Elizabeth came from. The Greys descended from Elizabeth Woodville and her first husband Sir John Grey (c.1432-1461).¹⁰⁹ During the sixteenth century the Greys married into the Barley family who were gentry from Albury in Hertfordshire. It is possible that these families were familiar with others previously discussed, as well as other known book owners such as the Pastons. In particular, the De Veres are linked to

¹⁰⁶ Richard Beadle, 'Geoffrey Spirleng (c.1426-c.1494): A Scribe of the *Canterbury Tales* in his Time' in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays presented to M.B. Parkes*, ed. by P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997) pp. 116-46 (p. 118).

¹⁰⁷ David Crouch, 'Vere, Aubrey (III) De, Count of Guînes and Earl of Oxford (D. 1194)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28204>> [accessed 22 April 2017].

¹⁰⁸ Joy Rowe, 'Drury Family (Per. 1485–1624)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73909>> [accessed 22 April 2015].

¹⁰⁹ Rosemary Horrox, 'Grey, Sir Richard (D. 1483)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11547>> [accessed 22 April 2015].

the Talbots as the nephew of the thirteenth Earl of Oxford was married to the granddaughter of John Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury. The Pastons may have known the Knyvetts who were also based in Norfolk.¹¹⁰ Edmund Paston married Katherine, the great-granddaughter of Jane Bouchier and Sir Edmund Knyvett who are discussed above,¹¹¹ and there are mentions of Knyvetts in the Paston letters.¹¹² The lands of Thomas Knyvett are mentioned in John De Vere's will as adjoining some of his lands,¹¹³ which adds a further link to the network.



Figure 5.17: Map showing Castle Hedingham, Hawsted, Hawkedon and Bury St Edmunds

Returning to the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, during the fifteenth century the Ellesmere manuscript was perhaps owned or accessed by the De Vere family, and also perhaps accessed by the Pastons before passing into the possession of the Drurys by the sixteenth century. This suggestion is based on the poem in the opening folios of

¹¹⁰ Wiggins, 'Frances Wolfreston's Chaucer', p. 77.

¹¹¹ McKitterick, p. 17.

¹¹² Gairdner, II, p 282. IV, p. 20. V, p. 152.

¹¹³ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/17/379.

Ellesmere which is a tribute to the house of De Vere,¹¹⁴ and the note on fol. 175r which reads ‘John Hedgeman of Hawkedoun in the Countie of Suff’. Hawkedon is close to the Drury’s house at Hawsted, and approximately 20 miles east of Castle Hedingham, the seat of the De Veres.¹¹⁵ The motto of the Paston family also appears on the flyleaves of Ellesmere.¹¹⁶ The names of some sixteenth-century members of the Drury family and their relatives and associates appear throughout the manuscript.¹¹⁷ Ralph Hanna and A.S.G. Edwards also note that the confraternity of Bury Abbey included the Drurys, Pastons and De Veres,¹¹⁸ which suggests that in addition to their homes being close together the three families may have had other opportunities to mix with one another. The appearance of these names and notes in Ellesmere could be indicative of the possibility that the manuscript was circulating amongst this network and eventually settled on the Drurys in the sixteenth century.

There is evidence to suggest that the De Veres were book owners themselves and there may have been a large book collection associated with the family. In particular, John De Vere (b.1442-d.1513), thirteenth Earl of Oxford owned a chest of French and English books.¹¹⁹ Additionally, in his will he left a ‘mass-book’ to Colne priory where he was buried.¹²⁰ To his wife he left ‘his second antiphoner, two grayles (one of the best, another of the worst), three processioners, and a legend complete’.¹²¹ His ‘best antiphoner’ was left to the church of Stoke by Nayland in Suffolk.¹²² Another book linked to the De Veres, London, British Library MS Arundel 119,¹²³ may have been shown to or shared with another aristocratic family, the De La Poles. Hanna and Edwards argue that the *ordinatio* and page layout of Arundel 119 may have been influenced by the page layout and *ordinatio* in Ellesmere. Comparison shows that they are indeed very similar. Arundel 119 was perhaps made for William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk who married Alice Chaucer in 1430.¹²⁴ The De la Poles may have seen

¹¹⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 154-5.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 155.

¹¹⁶ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 4: In the Margins for an in-depth discussion of this marginalia.

¹¹⁸ Ralph Hanna III and A.S.G. Edwards, ‘Rotheley, the De Vere Circle, and the Ellesmere Chaucer’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1995), 11-33 (p. 19).

¹¹⁹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 157.

¹²⁰ TNA, PROB 11/17/379.

¹²¹ Sir William H. St John Hope, ‘The Last Testament and Inventory of John De Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford’, *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914-15), 275-348 (p. 281).

¹²² Ibid. p. 286.

¹²³ A presentation copy of Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes*.

¹²⁴ Hanna and Edwards, pp. 16-17.

Ellesmere and been influenced in their choice of decoration, or the manuscripts came from the same producer. It is probable that Alice Chaucer was already aware of the *Canterbury Tales* because she was the granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer.¹²⁵ This example suggests conversations occurred amongst the aristocracy regarding manuscript production and shows that the network of families with the potential to transmit knowledge and texts of the *Canterbury Tales* is wider than the instances discussed here.

The Pastons are also known to be a family of book owners. John Paston II (b.1442-d.1479) was notable in creating a specific booklist of English books which included Chaucer and romances, although it does not reference the *Canterbury Tales*.¹²⁶ Some examples of Paston women interacting with books include an instance in 1461 when 'John I wrote to his wife [Margaret] asking her to send him a package of books the titles of which are unspecified'¹²⁷ and when 'John II wrote in 1472 asking his elder brother to send the copy of the *Siege of Thebes* which belonged to his sister Anne'.¹²⁸ Both letters show the Paston women taking roles in book circulation; in 1461 Margaret clearly did not need to be told which books to send, either she was already aware or made the selection herself, and in 1472 Anne was clearly a manuscript owner in her own right. In addition to these family exchanges, the Pastons participated in a wider network of book transmission. G.A. Lester observes that 'a striking feature of the Pastons' use of books is the widespread lending and borrowing in which they engaged'.¹²⁹ The examples are extensive, and include that 'as early as 1434 Agnes had a copy of the *Stimulus Conscientiae* in her possession' and Anne's *Siege of Thebes* was lent to the Earl of Arran.¹³⁰ It seems unlikely that manuscript circulating behaviour was exclusive to the Pastons and their associates, instead the aristocracy in general were probably loaning books to one another on a wider scale.

The close connections between the De Veres and the Drurys increase the likelihood that Ellesmere was transmitted between the two families. Robert Drury, whose name appears on the flyleaf of Ellesmere, was the Speaker of the House of

¹²⁵ Alice Chaucer can be linked to Harley 7335 which is discussed below with other family connections to the Chaucers.

¹²⁶ *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century Part 1, Early English Text Society SS.20*, ed by Norman Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 516-18.

¹²⁷ G.A. Lester, 'The Books of a Fifteenth Century English Gentleman, Sir John Paston', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 2 (1987), 200-17 (p. 212).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 212.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 216.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 161.

Commons in 1495.¹³¹ He was also the executor of the will of John de Vere (b.1442-d.1513), thirteenth Earl of Oxford.¹³² Two of Robert Drury's sons-in-law, Giles Alington and George Waldegrave, were wards of the same John De Vere.¹³³ Like the De Veres, the Drurys are also noted as owners of other manuscripts, including a variety of literature. Sir Robert's father Roger Drury left his son William (d. 1536) 'ij English books called Bochas of Lydgate's making'.¹³⁴ There is a Vulgate Bible at Christ's College Cambridge¹³⁵ which contains 'a register of the Drury family'.¹³⁶ A Robert Drury donated a book of Latin homilies to Gonville and Caius College¹³⁷ in 1568.¹³⁸ Finally, London, British Library, MS Harley 4826 contains a title page and epitaph by Sir William Drury (d. 1579).¹³⁹ This William Drury seems likely to be the same gentleman who is named alongside his sisters in Ellesmere. The network of aristocracy created by the De Veres, Pastons and Drurys is similar to the 'Beauchamp affinity' outlined above, a network of privileged people mixing together and potentially sharing their mutual interest in manuscripts.

By the sixteenth century, the Drurys are connected to the families associated with Harley 7334, the Grey and the Barley families. Robert Drury married his second wife by 1531, and she is described as follows:

Anne, daughter of Edward Jerningham of Somerleyton, Suffolk, and successively widow of Lord Edward Grey (*d.* in or before 1517); one Berkeley; and Henry Barley of Albury, Hertfordshire, who died on 12 November 1529. After Drury's death, she married a fifth husband, Sir Edmund Walsingham, and died in 1558.¹⁴⁰

The mother of Margaret and Eleanor Beauchamp who may have owned Bodley 686 and Laud Misc. 600 respectively was Elizabeth Berkeley. Edward Grey (d.c.1517) may have

¹³¹ Herbert C. Schulz, *The Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1966), p. 47.

¹³² Hanna III and Edwards, p. 15.

¹³³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 157.

¹³⁴ Hanna III and Edwards, p. 15.

¹³⁵ Cambridge, Christ's College, MS 4.

¹³⁶ Hanna III and Edwards, pp. 15-16.

¹³⁷ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 423.

¹³⁸ Hanna III and Edwards, pp. 15-16.

¹³⁹ Harley 4826 contains Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund*, Burgh's *Secreta Secretorum* and Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*. 'Detailed Record for Harley 4826', in *British Library Catalogue* <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8714>> [accessed 21 March 2017].

¹⁴⁰ Patricia Hyde, 'Drury, Sir Robert (b.before 1456, d.1535)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8097>> [accessed 11 February 2015].

been a brother of John Grey (d.1523), who was the husband of Anne Grey (d.1557/8), the owner of Harley 7334. Like Henry Barley who married Anne Jerningham, Anne was from the Barley family of Albury in Hertfordshire, as recorded in her will.¹⁴¹ One of Robert Drury's daughters by his first marriage, Bridget, was also married to a member of the Jerningham family. The family seats of the Knyvetts and the Jerninghams were also only twenty miles apart.¹⁴² This example demonstrates the extent to which family networks were intermixed, and shows that there are clearly many unrecorded opportunities for manuscripts to circulate amongst families.

Harley 7334 continued to be used by the sixteenth-century descendants of Anne and John Grey. Anne Grey's husband John was the grandson of Elizabeth Woodville.¹⁴³ The Woodvilles were a well-known book owning family.¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth is known to have owned an *Hours of the Guardian Angel*,¹⁴⁵ and she and her daughters also seem to have owned a book of French Arthurian romances.¹⁴⁶ British Museum, Harleian MS 4331 is a book of the works of Christine de Pizan which seems at different points in time to have been in the possession of Elizabeth Woodville, her mother Jaquetta de Luxembourg and her brother Anthony Woodville.¹⁴⁷ Anthony Woodville himself both translated documents and wrote poetry in addition to patronising William Caxton.¹⁴⁸ Thus the network of book ownership expands to link the families of the sixteenth century to their fifteenth- and even fourteenth-century predecessors.¹⁴⁹

This cluster of manuscripts and families demonstrates that the individual networks in this chapter are not isolated, as the De Veres can be linked to the Talbots by marriage, and the Pastons to the Knyvetts by both marriage and location. These families also show how many nodes and links of a family network might be unrecorded, such as in the case of the Grey and Barley families. According to K.B. McFarlane, part of a

¹⁴¹ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/40/229.

¹⁴² Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, p. 205.

¹⁴³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 255.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 4: In the Margins for a discussion of Anthony Woodville's links to Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257.

¹⁴⁵ See Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth-Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel Presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville', in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. by Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 230-65.

¹⁴⁶ London, British Library MS Royal 14 E. III.

¹⁴⁷ Martha Driver, 'Women Readers and Pierpont Morgan MS M.126', in *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. by Malte Urban (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 71-108 (p. 99).

¹⁴⁸ Michael Hicks, 'Woodville, Anthony, Second Earl Rivers (c.1440-1483)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29937>> [accessed 11 February 2015].

¹⁴⁹ This idea will be explored further in section 5.5 Connections to Chaucer.

family's membership of the aristocracy was fuelled by adequate resources, which appears to be reflected in book ownership.¹⁵⁰ Distinctions are not based on the minutiae of rank and gender, those who can afford books circulate them amongst one another. This behaviour is exhibited by the Pastons in particular, but the Drurys and De Veres may also have participated, by, for example, circulating the Ellesmere manuscript.

5.4 The Neville and Kent Families

The next cluster of families and manuscripts features the Nevilles and the Kents, who can be linked to Sloane 1685 and McClean 181. Sloane 1685 is linked to the Nevilles, who were a powerful family controlling various estates in the north of England during the period. The branch of the family discussed here descends from Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland (c.1364-1425). McClean 181 was likely owned by Joan Kent and her husband Thomas Kent, in 1444 appointed 'secondary of the privy seal office and clerk of the king's council'.¹⁵¹

Sloane 1685 is a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* which is directly associated with members of the Neville family. On fol. 223r amongst a great deal of marginalia are the names 'T Neuill', 'Mawd Wyllwghby' and 'Alyanor stanley'. 'T Neuill' appears to be Thomas Neville (d.1460), son of the fifth Earl of Salisbury and brother of Richard Neville (b.1428-d.1471), sixteenth Earl of Warwick.¹⁵² 'Mawd Wyllwghby' refers to Maud Stanhope, 'widow of Robert Lord Willoughby de Eresby (d. 1452)', and wife of Thomas Neville.¹⁵³ 'Alyanor Stanley' refers to Eleanor Neville, sister of Thomas Neville and first wife of Thomas Stanley (b.1433-d.1504), Earl of Derby.¹⁵⁴ The marginalia which associate Maud and Eleanor to the manuscript were probably created between the late 1450s and 1460. Eleanor was married to Thomas Stanley by the late 1450s,¹⁵⁵ and her name is signed Stanley in the manuscript. Maud married Thomas

¹⁵⁰ See Introduction for a discussion of the social class of literate women.

¹⁵¹ Roger Virgoe, 'Kent, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15422>> [accessed 15 August 2014].

¹⁵² Manly and Rickert, I, p. 507.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 507.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 507.

¹⁵⁵ Michael J. Bennett, 'Stanley, Thomas, First Earl of Derby (c.1433–1504)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26279>> [accessed 11 February 2015].

Neville in 1453 but he died in 1460.¹⁵⁶ The later provenance of the manuscript suggests it may have continued in the possession of Maud.¹⁵⁷

The Nevilles are associated with a number of other manuscripts. Richard Neville (b.1428-d.1471), Earl of Warwick may have owned Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire MS fr. 166.¹⁵⁸ Catherine Innes-Parker describes Cecily Neville, (b.1415-d.1495) as a ‘well-known patron of devotional literature’.¹⁵⁹ Charles Owen considers the possibility that the *Canterbury Tales* manuscript Royal 18 C.II may have belonged to Anne Neville (d.1480), Duchess of Buckingham, aunt of Sir Thomas Neville.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that the name of Anne’s son in law Thomas Cobham (d.1472) occurs on fol. 272v of Royal 18 C.II,¹⁶¹ and there are two ‘inquisitions post mortem’ on fol. i.v relating to the lands of Elizabeth Neville (d.1422), wife of Sir John, third Baron Neville.¹⁶² The family interest in books can be traced back to Joan, Countess of Westmorland who was potentially a patron of Hoccleve and is known to have owned a number of other books.¹⁶³

Eleanor Stanley died before 1471,¹⁶⁴ and was buried in the parish of St James Garlickhythe, in London.¹⁶⁵ The Kent family who owned McClean 181 were also residents of this parish. Thomas Kent’s will is dated 1468/9 and Joan Kent’s will is dated 1492.¹⁶⁶ Thomas Kent (c.1410-1468/9) was a well-educated and well-travelled gentleman who held a number of court positions in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Kent also knew the Earl of Warwick, Eleanor’s brother, who owed him money.¹⁶⁸ There is

¹⁵⁶ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Tracton-Zouche)*, ed. by H.A. Doubleday, Duncan Warrand, and Lord Howard de Walden, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1926), pp. 665-6.

¹⁵⁷ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Manly and Rickert link the name ‘Thomas Markham’ on fols 83r and 122r to Maud Willoughby as there are a number of Thomas Markhams amongst the descendants of Maud’s father’s first wife. These gentlemen were residents of Burton Constable in Yorkshire, and a number of other residents of the town seem to have written their names in Sloane 1685. Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 508-9.

¹⁵⁸ See Livia Visser-Fuchs, ‘The Manuscript of the Enseignement De Vrai Noblesse Made for Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick in 1464’, in *Medieval Manuscripts in Transition: Tradition and Creative Recycling*, ed. by Geert Claassens (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 337-62.

¹⁵⁹ Innes-Parker, p. 258.

¹⁶⁰ Owen, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, p. 40.

¹⁶¹ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 490-1.

¹⁶² Seymour, I, p. 143. The implications of these will be discussed in the Localisation chapter.

¹⁶³ Cavanaugh, pp. 602-3.

¹⁶⁴ Bennett, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁶⁵ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Dacre to Dysart)*, ed. by Geoffrey H. White, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1953), p. 207.

¹⁶⁶ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/9/211 and The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/5/49.

¹⁶⁷ Virgoe, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁶⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 167.

some possibility that Eleanor may have known the Kents, demonstrating the varied connections between individuals and the multiplicity of the social networks of the day.

Joan and Thomas Kent were also interested in books. Joan Kent's will indicates that she had a mass book and a psalter of her own which she bequeathed to her brother.¹⁶⁹ Thomas Kent owned a large library of 'canon- and civil-law books',¹⁷⁰ and there is also evidence of his writing and signature on official government documents which have been collated into the following manuscripts:

London British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra F.v, *Acts of the Privy Council, 20-36 Henry VI*

London British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra F.vi, *Privy Council Transactions 1441-1458*

London British Library, MS Cotton Galba B.I, *Records and Papers concerning England and Flanders, 1341-1473*

London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus E.vi, *Rotuli Parliamentorum Anis 18-39 Hen V*¹⁷¹

A survey of these manuscripts shows Kent's notes and signatures alongside the names Talbot, Bouchier and Willoughby, which could demonstrate his association with these families, even if only in an official capacity. This evidence further establishes the intertwined nature of late medieval aristocratic society, there were clearly many unrecorded opportunities for people to meet, and book owners with the potential for association with one another seem to have been relatively common. This network exhibits the same qualities as the preceding networks, such as the families in question being known book owners, and the existence of complex connections which are difficult to record. The family tree (Fig. 5.18) shows how the Nevilles can be connected to a number of other likely *Canterbury Tales* owners. The Kents and the Nevilles may have been aware of one another, and the possibility that Thomas Kent worked with members of the Talbot, Bouchier and Willoughby families connects him to all the preceding clusters of families who have been linked to *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, PROB 11/9/211.

¹⁷⁰ Virgoe, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁷¹ This manuscript is labelled Hen V but refers consistently to the reign of Henry VI.

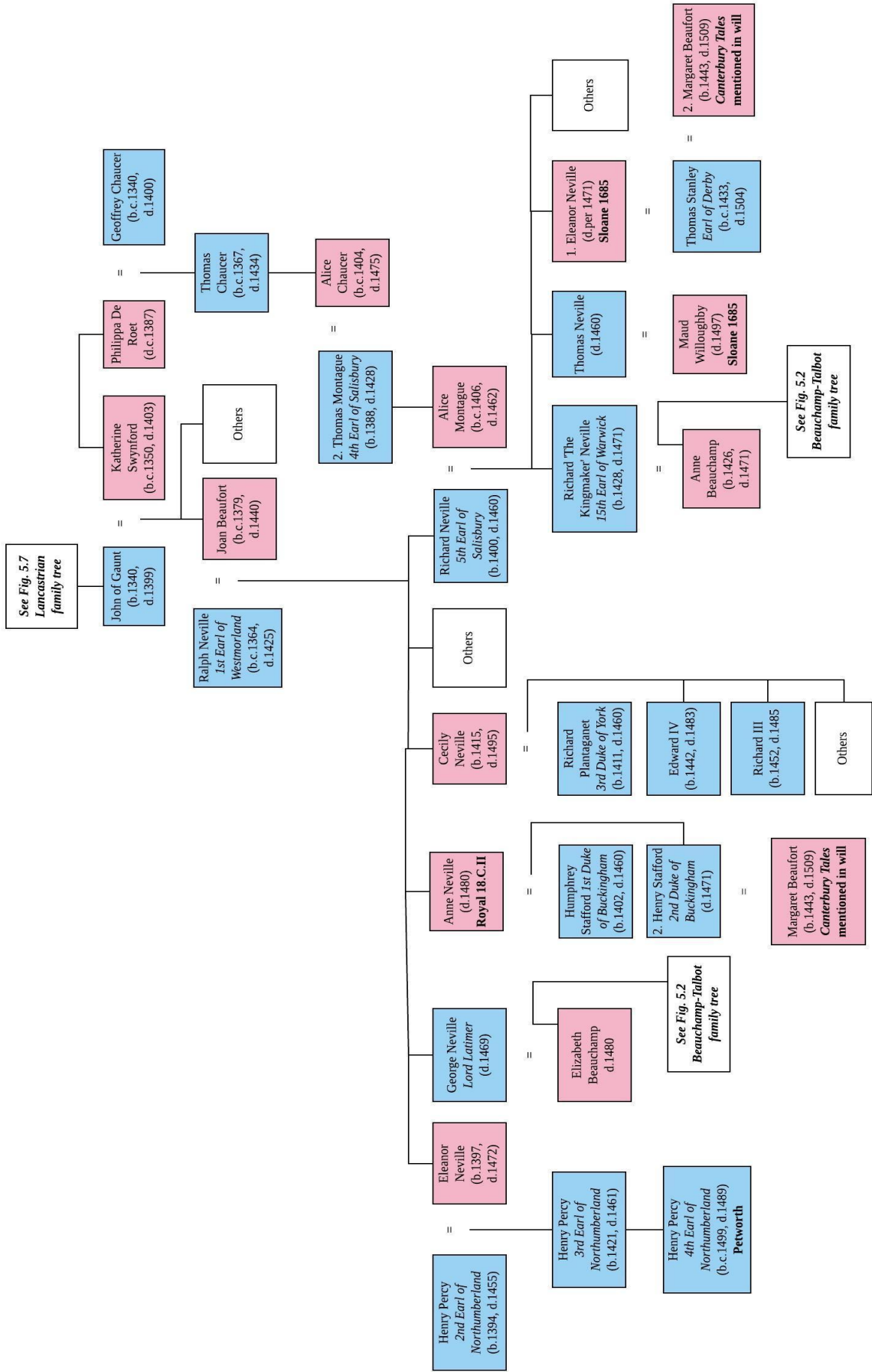


Figure 5.18: Neville family tree (including connections to Chaucer)

5.5 Connections to Chaucer and the House of Lancaster

Thomas Chaucer (c.1367-1434) and his daughter Alice Chaucer (c.1404-1475) were most likely aware of the *Canterbury Tales* and it is possible to speculate that they may have facilitated its promotion with this knowledge.¹⁷² Both Thomas and Alice were known to be interested in literature and were probably patrons of Lydgate.¹⁷³ William de La Pole, Alice's third husband, is known to have owned a copy of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, and both he and Alice made donations to Lydgate's abbey at Bury St Edmunds.¹⁷⁴

Fig. 5.18 shows how the Chaucers fit into the network of families associated with the select corpus of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. They were entrenched in the networks of book owning, intermarried aristocracy who have been described throughout this chapter. In addition to the diagram, Ralph Hanna observes that London, British Library MS Additional 16165 'provides the unique copy of Lydgate's "Departing of Thomas Chaucer"'¹⁷⁵ and could reference a commission where Thomas Chaucer worked with Richard Beauchamp, thirteenth Earl of Warwick, and father of Eleanor and Margaret Beauchamp. Sir Walter Hungerford, who is linked to MS Dd.4.24,¹⁷⁶ must have been familiar with Thomas Chaucer. Thomas Chaucer is recorded as holding

¹⁷² Estelle Stubbs has suggested that Harley 7335 was owned by Alice Chaucer. Stubbs, 'Clare Priory', p. 22. Manly and Rickert consider the signature on fol. 12v 'Explicit q' Robert blake' to be in the same ink and hand of the scribe. 'Explicit q' robart blake de Cotton' is also written on fol. 58r. Cotton Manor was owned by the De La Poles and was the birthplace of Alice Chaucer's third husband William de La Pole. Manly and Rickert, I, p. 235. Although the manuscript can be linked to the area because the marginalia suggests Harley 7335 was in the household of the Duke of Norfolk by the sixteenth century there is little evidence to corroborate a personal connection to Alice Chaucer.

¹⁷³ Brusendorff, pp. 37-8.

¹⁷⁴ Cavanaugh, pp. 236-7.

¹⁷⁵ Hanna, 'John Shirley and British Library MS Additional 16165', p. 101.

¹⁷⁶ On fol. 8r of Dd.4.24 is the name 'Hungerford'. It is difficult to connect this name to any specific members of the Hungerford family, in part because it may have been written by a scribe, but the manuscript was produced during Sir Walter's lifetime. He was known to be an educated man who was fluent in Latin, French and English. Charles Kightly, 'Hungerford, Walter, First Baron Hungerford (1378-1499)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14181>> [accessed 4 September 2013]. He also had an interest in reading poetry and theology. Hicks, p. 24. Manly and Rickert link the later provenance of the manuscript with a Richard Mervyn, the son of John Mervyn who assisted with the management of the Hungerford estates. Manly and Rickert, I, p. 104. J.L. Kirby, *The Hungerford Cartulary Part Two: A Calendar of the Hobhouse Cartulary of the Hungerford Family* (Chippenham: Wiltshire Record Society, 2007), pp. 73, 108-9, 11-20, 22-26. Although Manly and Rickert state that John Mervyn married Mary Hungerford, this is not apparently the case. Weaver, p. 193. The manuscript may have belong to Sir Walter's daughter-in-law Margaret Hungerford but although she was an educated women it has been difficult to prove the association. However appearance in Dd.4.24 of name reinforces the association of the manuscript with the Hungerford family in general.

responsibility for arranging the marriage of Eleanor Moleyns,¹⁷⁷ who married Sir Walter's grandson Sir Robert, third Baron Hungerford, therefore he must have had communications with the Hungerfords in order to make this arrangement.

Alice Chaucer accompanied Margaret of Anjou on her journey to England, and Raluca Radulescu uses the 'similarity between the list of books surviving after Alice's death and the various books associated with Margaret' to suggest that they may have shared literary discussions.¹⁷⁸ Alice Chaucer was also for a time the step-mother of Anne Montague, the mother of Eleanor and Thomas Neville who sign Sloane 1685.¹⁷⁹ Alice was considerably younger than her husband, and would have been of a similar age to her step-daughter Anne, which may have inspired communication between the two.

The owners of Egerton 2863 can be linked to both Alice and Thomas Chaucer. William Stourton's first wife Catherine de la Pole was Thomas Chaucer's great-granddaughter. His father William,¹⁸⁰ second Baron Stourton was the speaker at the House of Commons in 1413, between the years that Thomas Chaucer was the speaker in 1411 and 1414.¹⁸¹ Both William Stourton and his son John, third Baron Stourton were keepers of Petherton Forest, succeeding Geoffrey and Thomas Chaucer.¹⁸² Finally before 1445, William Carraunt who was the earliest owner of Egerton 2863 and John, third Baron Stourton were trustees for John Beaufort, Joan Beaufort's nephew and Thomas Chaucer's first cousin.¹⁸³ Understanding that this network of aristocracy could have been culturally receptive to new works of literature implies that families who were familiar with the Chaucers may have had an awareness or interest in the *Canterbury Tales*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ The *Calendar of Patent Rolls* reads 'the king now grants the said custody and the marriage of the said heir to Thomas Chaucer esquire.' *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry VI Vol. II 1429-1436* (London: Mackie and Co., 1907), p. 156.

¹⁷⁸ Radulescu, 'Preparing for Her Mature Years', pp. 125-6.

¹⁷⁹ See Fig. 5.18, Neville Family Tree.

¹⁸⁰ Like other members of the aristocracy mentioned in this chapter, the Carraunts, Stourtons and their associates were also book owners. William Carraunt (1395-1476) was the steward of Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorset, and also owned London, British Library MS Additional 11748. Innes-Parker, p. 260. Petronell Wrottesley, the sister in law of William, fifth baron Stourton, owned Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 322. George Wrottesley, *History of the Family of Wrottesley of Wrottesley, Co. Stafford* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1903), p. 240.

¹⁸¹ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 614-15.

¹⁸² Ibid. p. 615.

¹⁸³ Ibid. p. 615.

¹⁸⁴ The *Canterbury Tales* manuscript Gg.4.27 is speculatively linked to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and brother of Henry V by Manly and Rickert. They suggest that the manuscript may have been made in Holland for his wife Jacqueline of Hainault (although this marriage was ruled to be invalid in the eyes of the church in 1428. Martyn Atkins, 'Jacqueline, suo jure countess of Hainault, suo jure countess of Holland, and suo jure countess of Zeeland (1401-1436)', *Oxford Dictionary of National*

If it is considered that some of the earliest manuscripts may have been produced *in vita*,¹⁸⁵ then those members of the aristocracy who were aware of Geoffrey Chaucer may also plausibly be considered part of the social network outlined in this chapter. In the late fourteenth century, the writing of the *Book of the Duchess* indicates Lancastrian patronage of Chaucer.¹⁸⁶ Norman Blake suggests that during the period after the death of Richard II when the Lancastrian monarchs were trying to gain support from the middle classes for their political endeavours, Chaucer's works were utilised 'as part of their Anglocentric policy'.¹⁸⁷ This usage shows an awareness of Chaucer's work amongst the Lancastrian aristocracy at this early stage. Most of the book owning families in this chapter can be traced back to John of Gaunt,¹⁸⁸ or his father Edward III. In the fourteenth century, a number of known aristocratic book owners have family connections to this network, including Richard II, Thomas of Woodstock and the Bohun sisters Mary and Eleanor.¹⁸⁹ Henry IV and Henry V, both related to John of Gaunt and Mary de Bohun, were book owners.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Karen Jambeck lists a number of powerful women with literary interests, who can also be linked to this network, Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick, Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, Joan Beaufort, Countess of Westmorland, Cecily Neville, Duchess of York and Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Shrewsbury.¹⁹¹ Increased literacy, the advent of printing and the decrease in the cost of manuscript production encouraged the aristocracy to be interested in books, but there appears to be a culture of literary interest inherited by the networks of the descendants of Edward III, in particular John of Gaunt. The family

Biography (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14181>> [accessed 26 September 2013]) as when she died in 1437 she had 'six English books which were sold to an English merchant because no one understood them' and one was described as an 'oude ystorien' which may have been the MS Gg.4.27. Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 170-82. Although Jacqueline's will indicates an interest in literature and manuscripts a number of studies have localised Gg.4.27 to East Anglia, and there is little else to suggest an association with her. See R.A. Caldwell, 'The Scribe of the Chaucer MS, Cambridge University Library Gg.4.27', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 5 (1944), 33-44; Takako Kato, 'Corrected Mistakes in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27' in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 61-87; *Poetical Works: A Facsimile of CUL MS Gg.4.27*, ed. by M.B. Parkes and Richard Beadle, 3 vols (Norman, OK, Pilgrim Books: 1979-1980); Jacob Thaisen, 'Orthography, Codicology, and Textual Studies: The Cambridge University Library, Gg.4.27 "Canterbury Tales"', *Boletín Millares Carlo*, 24-25 (2005-6), 379-94.

¹⁸⁵ See Introduction.

¹⁸⁶ Simpson, p. 256.

¹⁸⁷ Blake, 'Geoffrey Chaucer and the Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales' p. 106.

¹⁸⁸ Cavanaugh provides a full list of John of Gaunt's books. Cavanaugh, pp. 474-76.

¹⁸⁹ Cavanaugh provides a full list of the Bohun's books. Cavanaugh, pp. 106-12. See also Stratford and Webber, p. 207; McFarlane, p. 243 and Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 290.

¹⁹⁰ Stratford and Webber, p. 210.

¹⁹¹ Jambeck, pp. 233-44.

network of book owners who are both connected to copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and linked to the Lancastrians is very widespread. Each of the figures which demonstrate a cluster of families and *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts (Figs 5.13, 5.14, 5.15 and 5.18) can be linked to one another or back to Fig. 5.19, signifying the strength of the network. The introduction suggested that social networks may have promoted an awareness of the *Canterbury Tales*, and it appears that not only is the tradition of book ownership strong in this network, but as are the ties to Chaucer, the direct source of the text.

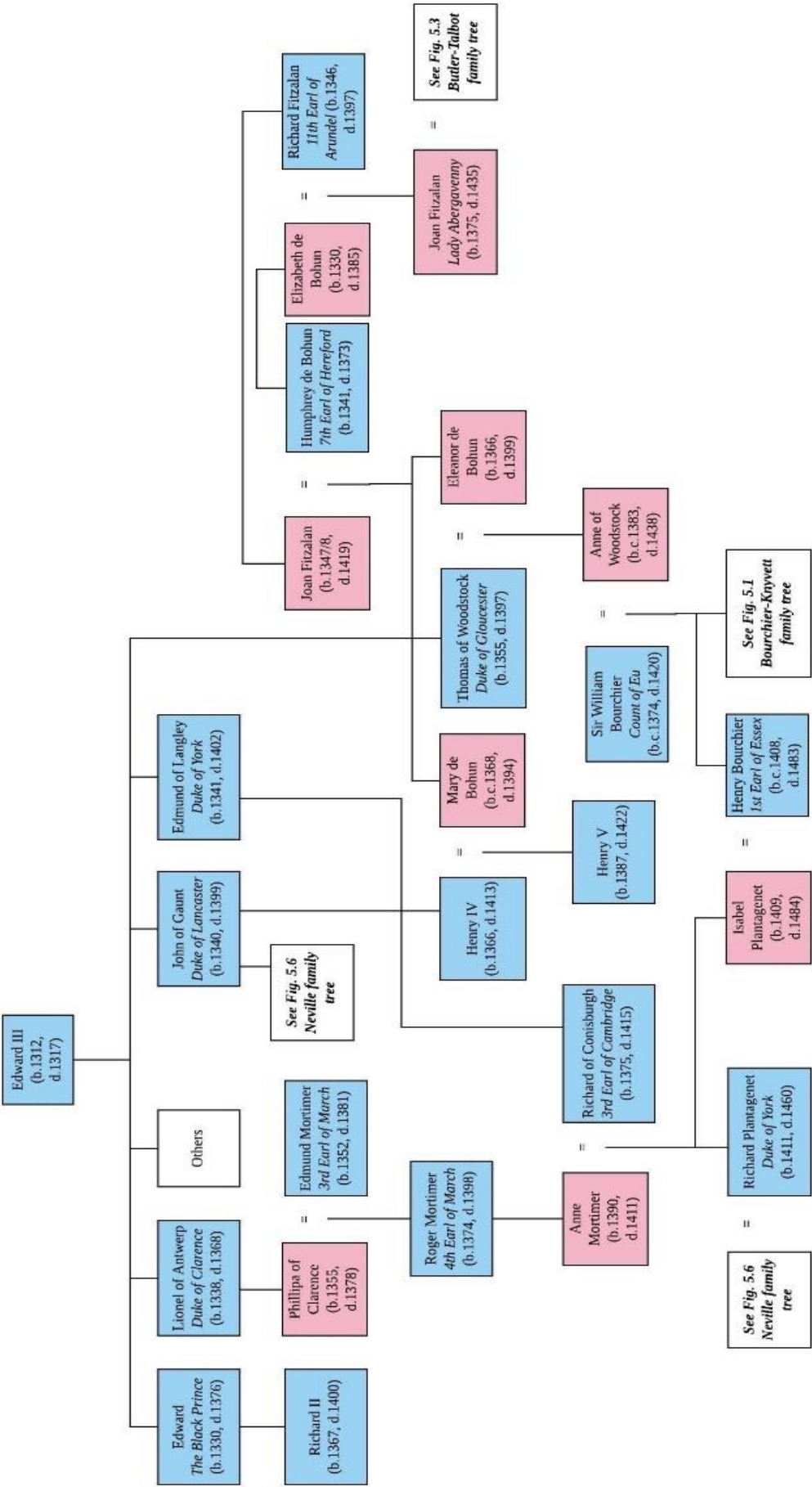


Figure 5.19: Lancastrian family tree

5.6 Conclusions: An Accessible Text

One of the first avenues of investigation undertaken by this chapter was to examine the extant evidence which identifies fifteenth- and sixteenth- century women linked to the provenance of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in the select corpus. Some of the manuscripts and their connected families were divided into four ‘clusters’. In summary; the Bouchiers and Knyvetts are linked to Northumberland 455 and Takamiya 24. The Beauchamps, Berkeleys, Talbots and Butlers are linked to Bodley 686, Laud Misc. 600, Additional 35286 and MS Mm.2.5. The De Veres, Drurys, Greys and Barleys are linked to Ellesmere and Harley 7334, and finally the Nevilles and Kents are linked to Sloane 1685 and McClean 181. The evidence consisted of marginalia in part, and occasionally content such as in the case of Bodley 686, but family ties and similarities of location also link women to copies of the *Canterbury Tales*. A further aim was to try and understand whether the *Canterbury Tales* was part of any larger book collections which belonged to the families of these women. Although there were a few exceptions, the manuscripts found to be owned by the families discussed here on the whole did not appear to be more than individual instances of ownership or haphazard book collections. Stratford and Webber point out that privately owned books are less likely to survive.¹⁹² This lack of survival is perhaps because of the disorganised nature of book ownership or because private books were often in circulation, which reduced their chance of survival. The *Canterbury Tales* certainly appears to be part of this haphazard circulation of books amongst the aristocracy.

A key theme in this chapter has been the exploration of an aspect of the medieval book market which is more often than not invisible in the extant evidence and thus very hard to measure. The family trees allow us to begin to form a tangible measurement of personal interactions around manuscripts which we know must have happened but have no way of detecting in extant documents. One major aspect of the diagrams is that they have demonstrated that a number of families with women who have links to the *Canterbury Tales* are related to the well-known and powerful book owners of the house of Lancaster. The promotion of Chaucer’s work by the Lancastrians, and participation of three generations of Chaucers, Geoffrey, Thomas and Alice, in this social network further emphasises the possibility that an awareness of the *Canterbury Tales* could have spread throughout the network from an early stage of the

¹⁹² Stratford and Webber, p. 181.

text's existence. The royal family may have set the precedent for book ownership during the fourteenth century, an attitude which could have filtered through generations of intermarried aristocracy. Combined with the increased accessibility of books during the fifteenth century, this activity appears to have led to a situation where books such as the *Canterbury Tales* could have transcended the class distinctions within the aristocracy, and been circulated amongst those with shared interest and sufficient affluence. There are further connections between these affluent book owners, such as men who held government or administrative roles which brought them into contact with one another. Given the large amount of intermarriage within the network, and the probability that women took their books with them when they married, it also seems likely that women were part of the circulation of texts around the country.

In this chapter, even in situations where the marginalia which links women to a manuscript is not completely verifiable, the women in question are linked via their relationships to other women with associations to *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts. The diagrams play a key role in visualising the connections between women and manuscripts. Taken as a group, they show how many women in the network are only a few 'steps' away from a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*. Taken as part of a likely bigger picture, they show that these families are merely the start of a map in which we have yet to understand fully all the links and nodes in the network of connections belonging to the late medieval aristocracy. The aristocratic networks around which the *Canterbury Tales* must have circulated certainly appear to be 'multiple and fluid'. The *Canterbury Tales* was easily accessible by a network of aristocracy with both the potential to be interested in the work and a probable awareness of its existence. Therefore women from book owning families in which an owner of the *Canterbury Tales* can be found are not only linked by their relationships to other owners of the text but also have an increased chance of seeing the work in an atmosphere where it would have been welcome and possibly shared.

Chapter 6: Localisation

Localisation is often a contentious aspect of book production, as it can be difficult to discern with certainty where books were made. If the origins of a manuscript are understood, they can be compared to the rest of the known provenances which will enable an understanding of any potential contact between the book producers and the earliest women associated with the manuscripts. This chapter investigates how the *Canterbury Tales* fits into the overall context of manuscript production during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in both the provinces and London and then examines the origins of the manuscripts in the select corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* in comparison to their provenance. The results of this investigation show that the social networks mapped in the previous chapter are expanded by demonstrating the families who are connected via the origins of their manuscripts. This chapter also finds patterns in the origins of the select corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* in relation to their known owners furthering an understanding of how these patterns affect the networks of the select corpus as a whole.

6.1 Provincial Production of Manuscripts

To define book production as ‘provincial’ is to localise it outside of London, either in urban centres or, as Linne Mooney has suggested, in universities, monasteries, or with scribes working in provincial locations.¹ By the fifteenth century, evidence gathered by A.I. Doyle suggests that provincial book production had an established tradition dating primarily from the thirteenth century onward.² Doyle’s evidence is based on the occurrence of job titles such as ‘scrivener’, ‘book maker’, ‘stationer’ and their variants in city records.³ Further examples include the suggestion that until the end of the fourteenth century, Oxford demonstrates more evidence than London as a centre for book production.⁴ By this time there was also an organised guild in York for artisans involved in the production of manuscripts.⁵ Doyle identifies further urban centres in

¹ Mooney, ‘Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes’, p. 194.

² A.I. Doyle, ‘The English Provincial Book Trade before Printing’, in *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain*, ed. by Peter Isaac (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 13-29 (p. 14).

³ Ibid. pp. 15-22.

⁴ This idea is based on Graham Pollard’s unpublished data. Ibid. p. 17.

⁵ M.A. Michael, ‘Urban Production of Manuscript Books and the Role of University Towns’, in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 168-94 (p. 191).

Cambridge, Norwich, Lincoln, Winchester, Durham, and Newcastle.⁶ Ralph Hanna adds Worcester and general areas in west and north Yorkshire to this list during the period 1300 to 1380.⁷ Although manuscript production peaked during the fifteenth century,⁸ this evidence demonstrates that by the time the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were being produced, they were already part of a long tradition of countrywide book production.

Provincial production was not exclusive to cities. In addition to his survey of urban centres, Doyle argues that individuals with the ability to produce books were a regular feature of life:

It ought to be realised that there were clerks from at least the middle of the thirteenth century in every locality of a few villages, who could be called on to make books as well as documents and might do a good job if they could get the materials and knew the conventions of structure and presentation.⁹

It is difficult to estimate the number of these possible clerks during this period, but this statement gives the impression that they were numerous and spread across the country. M.A. Michael further suggests that the production of diocesan service books would mean that ‘nearly every commercial centre and certainly every cathedral town’ would have required book producers such as ‘scriveners, parchment-makers and bookbinders’.¹⁰ Thus the probability of book producers working in the commercial and cathedral towns suggests that there were more locations where books could be produced than the key centres listed above.

Manuscripts were also produced in locations such as the country households of the aristocracy.¹¹ Michael Johnston suggests that the gentry of the period would have needed to access and create documents in order to manage their estates.¹² Both clerks and priests with the skills to produce documents would have been available in these households, and may have been asked to copy out literary texts in addition to their normal work.¹³ Household production continued into the sixteenth century even after

⁶ Doyle, pp. 15-22.

⁷ Ralph Hanna III, *London Literature 1300-1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 2.

⁸ Harris, ‘Patrons, Buyers and Owners’, p. 172.

⁹ Doyle, p. 23.

¹⁰ Michael, p. 193.

¹¹ Boffey, ‘Manuscripts and Print’, p. 542.

¹² Johnston, p. 28.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 125-7.

printing replaced the main bulk of manuscript production, albeit the manuscripts produced during this later period may have been more likely to be ‘copies written by the authors themselves’ or ‘specialised texts appealing to a particular audience – an individual, a household or a family’.¹⁴ As all the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts in the select corpus were produced in the fifteenth century they may not be implicated directly, but it is worth considering the possibility that some of them were made in a household.

It is clear that manuscripts produced in the fifteenth century were part of a long and widespread tradition which continued to some degree after the introduction of printing. Although London increased in prominence during this time, it is arguably unrealistic to consider that the centres detailed above simply stopped producing manuscripts. Feasibly, those with the skills to produce books were available almost anywhere. It seems reasonable to expect that at least some of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* may have been produced in the provinces, particularly given the association of most of the manuscripts in the select corpus with the aristocracy, many of whom owned provincial estates.

6.2 Manuscripts Produced in London

Manuscripts produced in London are not isolated from the provinces. Ralph Hanna cites the Auchinleck manuscript as an example of early London production.¹⁵ It contains over forty vernacular texts, and was produced in London around 1330 to 1340.¹⁶ During the period before 1400 Hanna suggests the centres of book culture to which other production centres are ‘provincial’ are the university towns,¹⁷ which corresponds with A.I. Doyle’s suggestion that Oxford was more prolific for book production during this period. The Auchinleck manuscript serves as a reminder that prior to the fifteenth century London was also producing manuscripts like the other urban centres noted above. In the same way that the provincial centres such as Oxford and York cannot be discounted as locations where books were produced during the fifteenth century, so London should not be discounted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

¹⁴ Mooney, ‘Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes’, p. 210.

¹⁵ Hanna, *London Literature*, p. 1.

¹⁶ Laura Hibbard Loomis, ‘The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340’, *PMLA*, 57 (1942), 595-627 (p. 601).

¹⁷ Hanna, *London Literature*, p. 5. It should be noted that in Hanna’s argument, provincial means ‘peripheral to the centre of culture’ rather than ‘outside London’.

The fifteenth century London book trade has been the focus of much scholarly debate regarding how books were produced there. John Manly and Edith Rickert promote the concept that there were lots of manuscript workshops in the city where scribes worked to produce books, like a commercial factory. Although Manly himself did not offer a summary of the implications of his data relating to the production of the *Canterbury Tales*, Germaine Dempster summarises that ‘at least three quarters of the surviving copies bear what Manly considers the earmarks of shop production’, and also explains that Manly believed most shops existed in London.¹⁸ Shop production is defined in this case as regularity in manuscript features such as writing, spelling, pagination, decoration, quires, paper or parchment, ruling, incipits or excipits, and an absence of ‘such unconventional features as approving comments in the scribe’s hand in the margins, etc.’.¹⁹ The scribes who worked on such manuscripts were considered by Manly and Rickert to be working in ‘shops run by book-dealers’.²⁰ Signs of supervision are also used by Manly and Rickert to indicate shop production,²¹ such as in Harley 1758, Harley 7334, and Sloane 1685.²² On the whole, it seems that Manly and Rickert made a basic assumption that there were large numbers of manuscript workshops in late medieval London.

In contrast, more recent studies have presented convincing arguments that manuscripts in London were bespoke productions created on an ad hoc basis rather than produced factory-style from large scriptoria. Daniel Mosser argues that Manly and Rickert did not understand booklet production, which led them to assume that books were produced in large commercial scriptoria rather than the ad hoc, piecemeal and bespoke trade suggested by varied codicological evidence.²³ For example, in their examination of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall consider that to account for the disjointed nature of the text, scribes must have received their exemplars piecemeal.²⁴ As an alternative to scriptorium production, Parkes and

¹⁸ Dempster, p. 404.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 404.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 399.

²¹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 24.

²² Ibid. pp. 200, 20, 505.

²³ Daniel Mosser, ‘A New Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*’, in *The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers*, ed. by Norman Blake and Peter Robinson (Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication, 1993), pp. 75-84 (p. 76).

²⁴ A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall, ‘The Manuscripts of the Major English Poetic Texts’, in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 257-78 (p. 263).

Doyle suggest there was a pool of ‘independent practitioners’ in London who were available to employ on an ad hoc basis, which explains the existence of both uniformity and diversity in extant manuscripts.²⁵ The next question is where were these ‘independent practitioners’ conducting this ad hoc and bespoke book production?

In an in depth investigation of the city records of the period, C. Paul Christianson has found evidence in property transactions and parish records that the book trade was focused on the area of Paternoster Row and St. Paul’s Cathedral.²⁶ Linne Mooney suggests that London scribes and their colleagues may have worked in small shops.²⁷ This situation appears to be the case around Paternoster Row and St Paul’s, as M.A. Michael demonstrates at least sixteen ‘book artisans’ recorded in this area in the early fifteenth century, including ‘text-writers, book binders and at least seven illuminators’.²⁸ Mooney also argues that many scribes ‘were not members of the Textwriter’s Guild’ and worked in their homes rather than shops.²⁹ Writing the words of a manuscript requires a small amount of equipment compared to other steps in the book making process, and is therefore suited to home industry.³⁰ In addition to their homes, Parkes suggests other locations in London where scribes may have worked which are similar to those mentioned for the provinces, such as ‘ecclesiastical establishments.’³¹ Ecclesiastical locations must have supported the scribes required in order to produce their documents and records, although some of the scribes must have been members of the religious communities themselves.³² Another possibility suggested by Parkes is that ‘sometimes commercial scribes worked in accommodation provided by their clients’,³³ a phenomenon which must have occurred in both London and the provinces when clerks were employed by families.

Further to defining the locations where scribes worked, Mooney notes two kinds of scribe, commercial and professional. Commercial scribes are defined as those making

²⁵ Doyle and Parkes, pp. 239-41.

²⁶ C. Paul Christianson, ‘Evidence for the Study of London’s Late Medieval Manuscript-Book Trade’, in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 87-108 (p. 89).

²⁷ Linne Mooney, ‘Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London’, in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. by Linne Mooney and Margaret Connolly (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), pp. 183-204 (p. 184).

²⁸ Michael, p. 187.

²⁹ Mooney, ‘Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London’, p. 184.

³⁰ Mooney, ‘Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes’, p. 190.

³¹ M.B. Parkes, *Their Hands before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 50.

³² Ibid. p. 50.

³³ Ibid. p. 50.

a living copying for the bespoke book trade.³⁴ This type of scribe occurs later in the fifteenth century when the demand for books was such that it was possible to survive on an income based solely on book production.³⁵ They could have worked in their own shops, such as those described around Paternoster Row and St Paul's. Professional scribes are those who make a living writing for alternative reasons than the bespoke book trade, they could be scriveners, clerks or secretaries for wealthy people.³⁶ It is also possible that scribes worked as Clerks of the Privy Seal, Chancery and Exchequer; as they were lodged outside the city limits they could copy books in their own homes in addition to their daily work.³⁷ Mooney and Stubbs have identified a group of scribes working at the London Guildhall during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, including Adam Pinkhurst, Thomas Hoccleve and John Marchaunt.³⁸

Stationers play another important role in book production in London. The term stationer originated from the organisation of the University *pecia* system.³⁹ Oxford stationers bought and sold books for the university to enable the *pecia* system which was used to reproduce university texts.⁴⁰ This activity was essential for students, who were among the earliest consumers of books prior to the increase in widespread demand.⁴¹ Graham Pollard suggests that the term stationer as a book trader or organiser of book production seems to have come into use from the introduction of printing.⁴² However, there are examples of stationers as book dealers in London and Oxford from the thirteenth century.⁴³ Pollard also argues that by the fifteenth century it appears that 'leading members of the Company [of Stationers] were shopkeepers employing a number of craftsmen in the different states of book production'.⁴⁴ Thus it seems likely that stationers were operating in London during the fifteenth century and could be

³⁴ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 193.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 193. Although London is not listed as one of the earlier urban centres of manuscript production, the nature of the production of the Auchinleck manuscript indicates the existence of scribes in London. Laura Hibbard Loomis suggests it is 'difficult to believe' that the people who worked on it were part of a household or a monastic scriptorium. Loomis, pp. 600-1. The earlier London scribes may also have been working in an ad hoc manner.

³⁶ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', pp. 192-3.

³⁷ Mooney, 'Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London', p. 194.

³⁸ See section 6.4 Guildhall Scribes for further discussion of these scribes.

³⁹ Michael, p. 171.

⁴⁰ Doyle, p. 17.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 17.

⁴² Graham Pollard, 'The Company of Stationers before 1557', *Library*, 4th ser., 18 (1937), 1-37 (p. 2).

⁴³ Doyle, p. 17.

⁴⁴ Pollard, p. 15.

considered part of the pool of ‘independent practitioners’ suggested by Parkes and Doyle.⁴⁵

Distinctions between individual job roles in the book producing community are not completely straightforward. Christianson looked at a large amount of data in London records and archives and found 254 citizens involved in book production with jobs such as textwriter, limner, bookbinder, parchmener, stationer, apprentice and also servants to those of the listed trades.⁴⁶ He lists one textwriter who is also a draper but does not include painters, printers and importers; therefore there is the potential that an even larger number of people were involved in the book trade in London.⁴⁷ Additionally, Pollard argues that stationers and bookbinders in London appear to be part of the same organisation by 1422, and textwriters and limners also bound and sold books.⁴⁸ That the artisans involved in book production had more than one job reflects the idea that multiple tasks could be completed by one individual, but also implies the flexible nature of the work, and confirms the existence of ad hoc production. Furthermore, Pollard argues that there is no evidence for a wholesale book trade until after the introduction of printing,⁴⁹ which suggests that selling books alone was not a sole occupation until after that point. Once the introduction of printing had occurred, Mooney suggests that professional scribes were not limited to copying only those works which went on to be printed and continued to thrive.⁵⁰

During the course of the fifteenth century, there is evidence that scribes moved from outside London to work in the city. Mooney points out that some scribes with provincial dialects may be based in the city rather than their place of origin.⁵¹ Scribes were freely allowed to practise in London if they were clerks of the city government, or members of the Textwriters’, Scriveners’ or other city guilds. Migrants to London were more restricted.⁵² Mooney suggests that these scribes would work outside the city walls or in ‘liberties’ which were extra-parochial sites within the city.⁵³ The movement of provincial scribes into London indicates that there were opportunities to acquire training in the provinces, but that work was possibly more readily available in the city. The

⁴⁵ Doyle and Parkes, pp. 239-41.

⁴⁶ Christianson, p. 88.

⁴⁷ Ibid. pp. 88-9.

⁴⁸ Pollard, pp. 12-14.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 16.

⁵⁰ Mooney, ‘Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes’, p. 193.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 195.

⁵² Ibid. p. 202.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 204.

survey of Manly and Rickert's catalogue shows that most of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were not considered by Manly and Rickert to have been produced by scribes with London dialects.⁵⁴ The majority are described as East Midland, which suggests that the scribes were regularly from further afield than London, regardless of where the manuscripts were actually produced. Simon Horobin confirms the potential for scribes to be copying manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in London despite their dialect.⁵⁵ However, he advises that Manly and Rickert's methods of discerning dialect are limited,⁵⁶ therefore it is essential to proceed with caution and seek further verification wherever possible.

6.3 Production of Literary Works Including the *Canterbury Tales*

London was central to the production of secular, vernacular literary manuscripts.⁵⁷ Linne Mooney observes that the scribes who copied 'literary' texts such as those by Langland, Gower, Chaucer, Hoccleve and Lydgate all seem to have been in or near London.⁵⁸ Derek Pearsall and A.S.G. Edwards argue that the early fifteenth century heralded the increase of 'routine commercial production of English vernacular literature', observing that prior to this period, the main subject of vernacular writing is devotional.⁵⁹ Mooney elaborates that the evidence for commercial literary manuscript production is limited 'before the third quarter of the fifteenth century'.⁶⁰ These arguments suggest that as the fifteenth century progressed, commercial demand for literary texts increased, peaking approximately at the time printing was introduced. With the increase in commercial production, it seems much more probable that the literary texts were copied to sell, rather than being solely for the personal use of the scribes.

The increase in commercial production of literary texts suggested by Pearsall and Edwards indicates considerable demand for this kind of text.⁶¹ Michael Sargent plausibly argues that extant numbers of manuscripts 'correlate approximately with the

⁵⁴ See Appendix 1: Survey of Data in Manly and Rickert.

⁵⁵ Simon Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), p. 64.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 60.

⁵⁷ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 192.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 192.

⁵⁹ Edwards and Pearsall, p. 257.

⁶⁰ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 192.

⁶¹ Edwards and Pearsall, p. 258.

numbers of manuscripts originally copied',⁶² therefore large numbers of extant copies of literary works such as the *Brut*, the *Confessio Amantis* and the *Canterbury Tales* suggest there was a demand for this kind of manuscript. Most of the extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were produced towards the middle of the fifteenth century which is approaching the peak time for manuscript production indicated by Sargent.⁶³ Although patterns in the distribution of the *Canterbury Tales* cannot be expected to reflect the entire book market, only seventeen out of eighty four were produced approximately after the introduction of printing,⁶⁴ which could indicate both the decline in manuscript production after this time, and also that subsequent printed copies answered the demand for the work.

Scribes were more likely to be working on an individual basis rather than in large teams in scriptoria,⁶⁵ which allows for the possibility that some individuals' work could be dedicated solely to vernacular literature. However, Mooney confirms that the most prolific literary scribes in particular exhibit little evidence of participating in mass manuscript production.⁶⁶ She suggests that where small shops existed, they were more likely to produce the most lucrative types of books as their primary output; such as 'indulgences, Bibles, Latin rites, breviaries, books of hours, primers, other schoolbooks, university set texts and so forth'.⁶⁷ Religious texts are already understood to be popular,⁶⁸ and the commercially successful nature of religious books was also reflected after the introduction of printing, as printers continued to produce devotional texts.⁶⁹ The implication is that the production of literary manuscripts may have been a sideline to the production of religious books in shops, or the scribes who produced the literary books were working on something else entirely as their main line of work. According to Mooney, it appears that the scribes copying vernacular literary texts 'were not

⁶² Sargent, p. 212.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 236.

⁶⁴ Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006; Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.15 (595); Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19 (599); Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 5140; Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 197; London, British Library MS Additional 5140; London, British Library MS Harley 2382; London, British Library MS Sloane 1009; London, British Library MS Sloane 1686; London, Royal College of Physicians MS 388; Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 6709; Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 113; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 739; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.86; Oxford, Trinity College MS Arch. 49; San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 144; Tokyo, Takamiya Collections MS 22 (Sion College).

⁶⁵ See section 6.8 on the Beryn Scribe for a possible exception.

⁶⁶ Mooney, 'Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London', p. 184.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 184.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 3: In the Home.

⁶⁹ Mooney, 'Locating Scribal Activity in Late Medieval London', p. 184.

professional text writers at all' in that they were not members of any London guild.⁷⁰ They possessed scribal skills, but were either foreigners or people who were not children of Londoners and therefore could not be part of the guilds in the city.⁷¹ Pollard discusses in depth the legalities of who was allowed to be a member of a text writing guild in London and how those who were not members of a guild found ways to copy texts in or around the city, working in ecclesiastical establishments or extra-parochial sites.⁷² Other literary scribes were not 'commercial' but worked as scribes or clerks in London or Westminster.⁷³ The development of literary copying as a sideline may reflect a sudden increase in demand for literary texts which was dealt with by those with the skills to meet that demand. As the demand peaked printing was introduced, which may have prevented the widespread development of large scriptoria with the main purpose of producing vernacular literary manuscripts.

With regard to the *Canterbury Tales*, Owen states that no early manuscripts of the work contain evidence of 'having been produced in a shop by a team of scribes turning out manuscript copies to meet heavy demand'.⁷⁴ However there is one very important group who seem to have produced a number of the literary manuscripts of the day including the *Canterbury Tales*. Mooney and Stubbs link a group of scribes working in the London Guildhall in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a number of vernacular literary manuscripts including the *Canterbury Tales*. This group of scribes includes Thomas Hoccleve, Adam Pinkhurst and John Marchaunt.⁷⁵ Mooney and Stubbs argue for the Guildhall being a 'central repository' of literary texts that the scribes were possibly copying in their spare time.⁷⁶ It seems probable that the Guildhall scribes were responding to demand and were successful due to their central location. The production of the *Canterbury Tales* in addition to their usual work suggests that interest in the *Canterbury Tales* was high enough that prolific production must have been lucrative, or the scribes had a personal interest in promoting the text themselves.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 185.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 185.

⁷² See Pollard.

⁷³ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 201.

⁷⁴ Owen, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, p. 53.

⁷⁵ Mooney and Stubbs. The work of Pinkhurst and Marchaunt in relation to my select corpus will be discussed below.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 140.

6.4 The Guildhall Scribes and Associated Manuscripts

Adam Pinkhurst, previously labelled Scribe B by Malcolm Parkes and A.I. Doyle,⁷⁷ has been convincingly established as the scribe of both Hengwrt and Ellesmere by Linne Mooney.⁷⁸ Pinkhurst's position as scribe of the two earliest manuscripts would mean he was perhaps personally familiar with Geoffrey Chaucer due to the likelihood of the manuscripts being produced *in vita*.⁷⁹ Mooney and Estelle Stubbs confirm that Pinkhurst was a member of the Scriveners Guild and a clerk of the Guildhall between c.1370 and 1410.⁸⁰ He writes in a London English dialect,⁸¹ suggesting he was local to the city. Pinkhurst is a prime example of a scribe working professionally who copied literary manuscripts as a sideline to his main job because he also worked on the following manuscripts:

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 392D - *Boece*

Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.17 (353) - *Piers Plowman*, *Form of Living*, anonymous poem

London, British Library MS Additional 35287 - *Piers Plowman*

Hatfield House, Herts, Cecil Papers Box S/1 - fragment of *Troilus*

Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.3.2 - *Confessio Amantis*

Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.1.3 pt 20 - fragment of *Canterbury Tales*⁸²

John Marchaunt is a scribe in a similar situation to Pinkhurst, although his dialect, localised as Central West Midland/Oxfordshire by Manly and Rickert,⁸³ and South West Midlands/Northern by Mooney et al,⁸⁴ suggests he was one of the many scribes who travelled to London to work. Initially labelled Scribe D, John Marchaunt was identified as one of the hands (alongside Hoccleve and Pinkhurst) who produced the Trinity College *Confessio Amantis*.⁸⁵ More recently, Mooney and Stubbs have confirmed his hand in a large number of manuscripts and established his identity as a clerk of the Guildhall between 1380 and 1417.⁸⁶ He has written in whole or part a number of vernacular literary works, as follows:

⁷⁷ Doyle and Parkes.

⁷⁸ Linne R. Mooney, 'Chaucer's Scribe', *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 97-138.

⁷⁹ See the Introduction of this thesis.

⁸⁰ Mooney and Stubbs, p. 67.

⁸¹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 151.

⁸² Mooney and Stubbs, pp. 68-9.

⁸³ Manly and Rickert, p. 96.

⁸⁴ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs.

⁸⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2 (581). Doyle and Parkes, p. 215.

⁸⁶ Mooney and Stubbs, p. 38.

Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2 - *Confessio Amantis*
 London, University Library MS V.88 – *Piers Plowman*
 London, British Library Additional MS 27944 – *De Proprietatibus Rerum*
 London, British Library MS Harley 7334 – *Canterbury Tales*
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 198 – *Canterbury Tales*
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 902 – *Confessio Amantis*
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 67 – *Confessio Amantis*
 Oxford, Christ Church College MS 148 – *Confessio Amantis*
 New York, Columbia University Library MS Plimpton 265 – *Confessio Amantis*
 London, British Library MS Egerton 1991 – *Confessio Amantis*
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 294 – *Confessio Amantis*
 Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library MS Taylor 5 - *Confessio Amantis*
 Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 103 - *Prose Brut*⁸⁷

Marchaunt was copying vernacular manuscripts alongside his main work as a clerk and attorney for the whole of his career.⁸⁸ Parkes and Doyle think that he may have been the supervisor of some or all of these manuscripts as he has written some catchwords or directions to the artist or rubricator in every book,⁸⁹ which suggests that he was overseeing proceedings to some degree. He may also have known Chaucer, based on codicological evidence in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 198 (*Canterbury Tales*) which suggests it was possibly being edited during Chaucer's lifetime.⁹⁰ It seems likely that Adam Pinkhurst and John Marchaunt were familiar with one another, as they worked as clerks of the Guildhall at the same time.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 38.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 57.

⁸⁹ Doyle and Parkes, pp. 216-18.

⁹⁰ Mooney and Stubbs, p. 63.

⁹¹ Stubbs, 'Here's One I Prepared Earlier', p. 139.

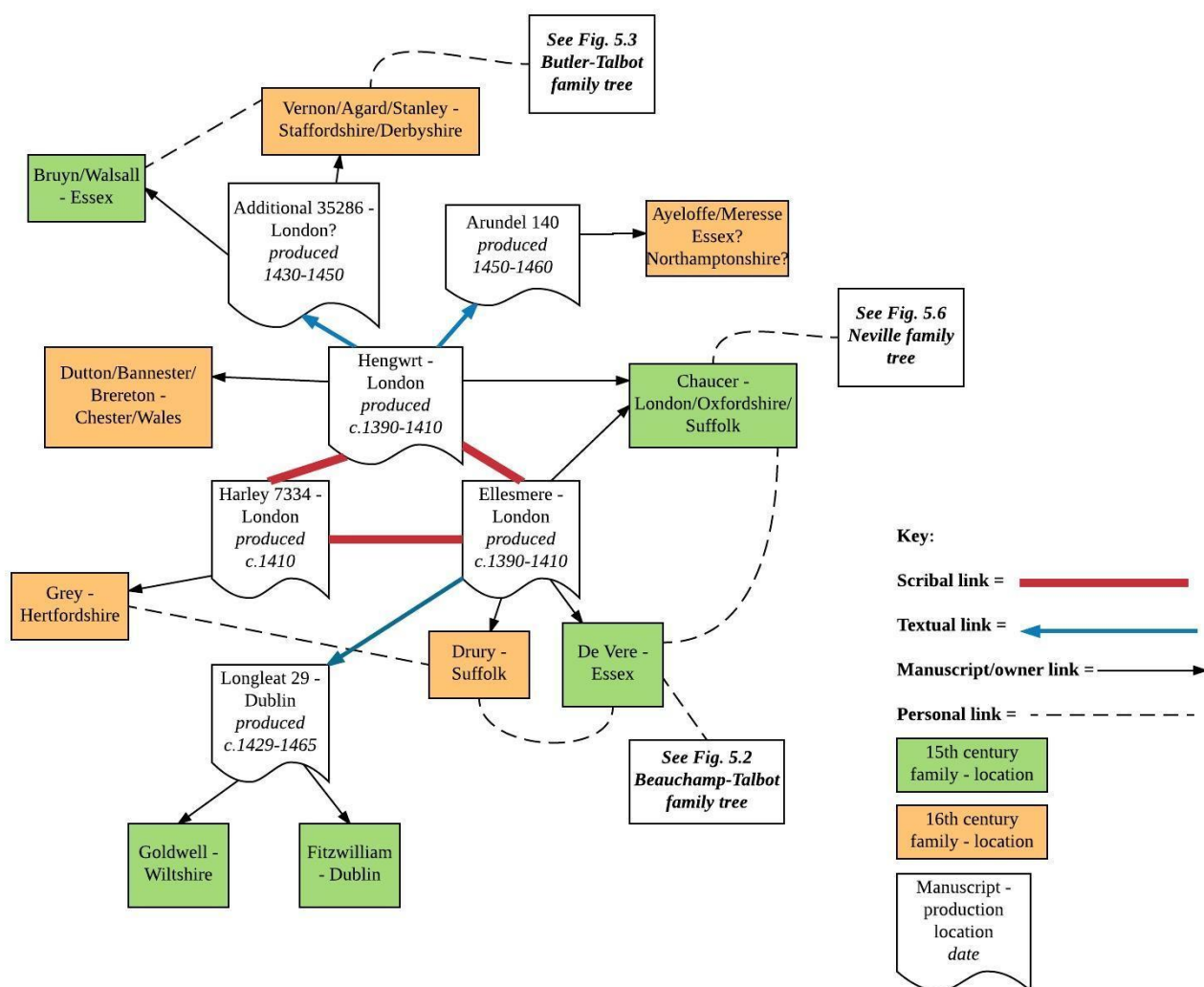


Figure 6.20: The Guildhall manuscripts and associated manuscripts

The identification of the scribes Adam Pinkhurst and John Marchaunt localises the production of the Hengwrt, Ellesmere and Harley 7334 manuscripts to London. Fig. 6.20 shows how the three manuscripts can be connected to the social network which links the women associated with the select corpus. Although Hengwrt and Ellesmere can be linked to Geoffrey and Thomas Chaucer by virtue of their early production,⁹² their fifteenth-century provenances are difficult to discern. The earliest known owner of Hengwrt is the sixteenth-century Fulk Dutton (d. 1558) who was a draper and mayor of Chester.⁹³ He was associated with Philip Egerton whose wife was the grandmother of Eleanor Bannester who wrote in the manuscript later in the sixteenth century.⁹⁴ Hengwrt seems to have remained in the area as some of the births of Eleanor's grandchildren are

⁹² See the Introduction for further information regarding the *in vita* argument.

⁹³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 279.

⁹⁴ Ibid. pp. 279-80.

recorded as taking place in both Chester and Wales.⁹⁵ Ellesmere may have been owned by the De Vere family in the fifteenth century, based on the poetic tribute to them found in the opening folios of the manuscript, alongside marginalia relating to other families located close to their seat in Essex.⁹⁶ The earliest known owners are the sixteenth-century Drury family. The manuscript was accessed by the daughters of Robert Drury, the executor of John De Vere thirteenth Earl of Oxford,⁹⁷ making the transmission of the manuscript from the De Veres to the Drurys plausible. The earliest provenance of Harley 7334 is uncertain, but its first known owner is Lady Anne Grey of Albury in Hertfordshire. She owned the manuscript at least between 1556 and 1558, and it remained in her family. It is probable that Hengwrt, Ellesmere and Harley 7334 were all initially owned by aristocratic families, as their later provenance shows that they continued to be owned in that social strata.⁹⁸

It is notable that even the earliest owners of these three manuscripts are not based in London, which implies that manuscripts were regularly taken away from their production location by their aristocratic owners.⁹⁹ Pinkhurst and Marchaunt are probably the earliest scribes to begin to meet the demand for copies of the *Canterbury Tales*, working alongside their day jobs in the Guildhall. This production work must have been financially lucrative, or a point of special interest for them to devote their free time to it. The Guildhall was the busy administrative centre of the Lord Mayor of London only three miles from Westminster, which could have enabled contact with both the wealthy merchant classes and the aristocracy who had connections to Parliament and the court. The scribes working at the Guildhall may have acted as a catalyst for spreading the word about the *Canterbury Tales*, creating demand, therefore generating more work. Pinkhurst's and Marchaunt's connections to Chaucer and each other mean they can be considered part of the network represented in the diagram, and would have gained financially from spreading awareness of literary texts such as the *Canterbury Tales* to people who were potential buyers. Additionally, Mooney and Stubbs link the Guildhall clerks to John of Gaunt through their support of John of Northampton,¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt), fol. 128v.

⁹⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 154-5.

⁹⁷ Hanna and Edwards, p. 15.

⁹⁸ See Chapter 5: Family Networks.

⁹⁹ Hanna finds the same pattern in his study of ten London-produced manuscripts. Hanna III, *London Literature*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Mooney and Stubbs, pp. 138-40.

providing a further link between the producers of the earliest extant manuscripts and the networks described in the previous chapter.

As the diagram shows, there are three examples from the select corpus of manuscripts which were both produced later in the fifteenth century and have textual links to Hengwrt and Ellesmere. Firstly, Additional 35286 is dated approximately twenty to thirty years later than Hengwrt and Ellesmere and therefore is more likely to have been worked on by the next generation of scribes. Mooney et al. suggest the dialect is ‘Chaucerian/W mids’.¹⁰¹ In order for the Chaucerian dialect to be detected, the scribe could either be from London or using an exemplar produced there. This idea is augmented by Mosser’s observation of ‘the influence of London English [...] and Chancery Standard’¹⁰² on the dialect. Simon Horobin notes that during the course of the fifteenth century the language in London changed to become more standardised, but manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* preserve spellings from the earliest point in the tradition.¹⁰³ The use of Chancery standard could show that the scribe of Additional 35286 was familiar with that type of language, perhaps, like Pinkhurst and Marchaunt, because they were working in an administrative or government role while copying Additional 35286. This example could further imply the continuation of attempts by professional scribes to meet continued demand for the *Canterbury Tales*. Alternatively, it could indicate that some exemplars remained in London and were used to produce further textually-similar manuscripts, or that a scribe working elsewhere was preserving the London forms of the text. There is nothing to confirm precisely where Additional 35286 was produced, although the earliest owner of the manuscript may have been a Lady Elizabeth Bruyn of South Ockenden in Essex (d. 1471),¹⁰⁴ during the fifteenth century. Similar to the manuscripts by the Guildhall scribes, Additional 35286 contains more prolific sixteenth-century evidence indicating its continuation in aristocratic circles. South Ockendon is relatively close to London, but the other names in the manuscript show that it had reached Staffordshire and Derbyshire by the sixteenth century.

The second example, Longleat 29, has a likely Dublin production, but it is placed here due to the textual affiliation of the included Parson’s Tale with Ellesmere.

¹⁰¹ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹⁰² Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

¹⁰³ Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 612.

The manuscript appears to have been written by an Irish legal scribe named Nicholas Bellewe who was working in Dublin in the middle of the fifteenth century, which corresponds with the production date of Longleat 29.¹⁰⁵ Theresa O'Byrne has found his hand in over seventy-five extant documents originating in Dublin,¹⁰⁶ and it was previously understood that the same hand wrote both Longleat 29 and Oxford Bodleian Library MS e. Musaeo 232.¹⁰⁷ Manly and Rickert suggest that Longleat 29 reached the collection at Longleat House in Wiltshire via Elizabeth Goldwell, the daughter of a John Goldwell who died in 1465, and whose name appears on fol. 168r.¹⁰⁸ O'Byrne supports this provenance, while also arguing that Nicholas Bellewe initially produced Longleat 29 for an Anglo-Irish aristocratic woman called Ismaia Fitzwilliam, and it was perhaps returned to him when she died in c.1445.¹⁰⁹ Within the next decade the manuscript had passed to John Goldwell, who was a mercer.¹¹⁰ Goldwell may have come into contact with Bellewe in Dublin as Bellewe and his relatives lived and worked in the area known as Merchant's Quay, and were 'intimately involved in shipping'.¹¹¹ Adam Pinkhurst was also known to have worked for the Mercers,¹¹² which could be of significance when it is considered that Stephen Partridge suggests that Longleat 29 and Ellesmere may have had the same exemplar.¹¹³ O'Byrne points out that 'communication between government offices in London and Dublin necessitated frequent shipments of documents back and forth',¹¹⁴ and it seems probable that literary manuscripts may also have travelled in this way, which further supports the case for a network of communication fuelling manuscript transmission.

¹⁰⁵ Theresa O'Byrne, 'Manuscript Creation in Dublin: The Scribe of Bodleian E. Museo MS 232 and Longleat MS 29', in *New Directions in Medieval Manuscript Studies and Reading Practices: Essays in Honor of Derek Pearsall*, ed. by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, John J. Thompson, and Sarah Baechle (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), pp. 271-92 (p. 286).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 273.

¹⁰⁷ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 346. Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*. S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse: Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth was married firstly to Sir William Nottingham and secondly to Richard Pole, who both owned land in close to Longleat in Wiltshire. Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 347-8.

¹⁰⁹ O'Byrne, p. 286.

¹¹⁰ Ogilvie-Thomson, p. 273.

¹¹¹ O'Byrne, p. 288.

¹¹² Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹¹³ Stephen Partridge, 'Designing the Page', in *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 79-103 (p. 97).

¹¹⁴ O'Byrne, p. 288.

The third manuscript is Arundel 140, containing the Tale of Melibee. Manly and Rickert place the text closest to Additional 35286.¹¹⁵ Mooney et al identify the dialect as Lincolnshire,¹¹⁶ therefore Additional 35286 has a Chaucerian/London dialect, which could suggest that it is the scribe's own dialect that is reflected in the work of Arundel 140. This manuscript is dated 1450 to 1460, much later than Hengwrt and Ellesmere, and a little later than Additional 35286 and Longleat 29. The earliest traceable provenance of Arundel 140 is sixteenth-century, so there is nothing to indicate its earlier origins. The continued similarities in text with an alteration of dialect could be a reflection of either the continuation of scribal movement into the city which produced further manuscripts, or the transmission of London-related exemplars across the social network which then allowed manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to be produced in the provinces in the later fifteenth century.

The six copies of the *Canterbury Tales* addressed here lack direct evidence to link the women who are known to have accessed them with the scribes who wrote the manuscripts. However, the diagram builds on the networks illustrated in the previous chapter, demonstrating that even the sixteenth-century families associated with these manuscripts maintain their links in the network of other owners of the *Canterbury Tales*. The evidence suggests that early in the history of the text provincial aristocratic families must have been aware that they could acquire copies from London, as even the early names associated with the manuscripts are families based outside the city. The provenance of Longleat 29 shows that network connections could stretch as far afield as Dublin. There is also the possibility, as the Guildhall seems to have been used as a repository of literary exemplars,¹¹⁷ that some manuscripts remained in London and were used as exemplars for further work. The dialectal association of Additional 35286 with London suggests that the practice of professional scribes producing literary works may have continued after the time of Pinkhurst and Marchaunt, while the use of a potentially London-based exemplar for the tale within Arundel 140 demonstrates the potential for exemplars to have circulated to the provinces by the late fifteenth century.

¹¹⁵ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 53.

¹¹⁶ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹¹⁷ Mooney and Stubbs, p. 140.

6.5 The Petworth Scribe

Like Adam Pinkhurst and John Marchaunt, the Petworth scribe is an example of a scribe working in a professional capacity who has also copied vernacular literature. Mooney observes that the Petworth scribe kept accounts for the London Guild of Skinners for over twenty years,¹¹⁸ which indicates that they were working in London. As the scribe's dialect is Worcestershire/Gloucestershire,¹¹⁹ it appears this scribe moved to London to work. The Petworth Scribe wrote all or part of the following manuscripts:

Lichfield, Cathedral Library MS 29 – *Canterbury Tales*

Sussex, Petworth House, The National Trust MS 7 – *Canterbury Tales*

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 18.1.7 – *The Mirror*

Tokyo, Waseda University, MS NE 3691 – *The Mirror*

Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 307 – *Confessio Amantis*

London, British Library, MS Arundel 119 – *Siege of Thebes*

London, British Library, MS Sloane 3507 – *Siege of Thebes*

Oslo, Schøyen College, MS 615 – Walton's translation of Boethius

Tokyo, Takamiya MS 54 – *South English Legendary*

London, Guildhall MS 21692 – Skinners book¹²⁰

Lichfield 29 and Petworth both feature in the select corpus. Manly and Rickert consider the illumination in Lichfield 29 to be similar to that of Petworth.¹²¹ Seymour agrees that the limner probably worked on both manuscripts.¹²² The approximate production dates of 1420 to 1430 for Petworth and 1430 to 1450 for Lichfield 29 suggest that the Petworth scribe and the limner were working together or in contact for a reasonable period of time. The dates of these two manuscripts also show that they were produced later than Hengwrt, Ellesmere and Harley 7334, suggesting that, as with Additional 35286, scribes continued to work on literary manuscripts as a sideline to other scribal work after the time of Pinkhurst and Marchaunt.

¹¹⁸ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 202.

¹¹⁹ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹²⁰ Mooney, 'Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes', p. 202.

¹²¹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 333.

¹²² Seymour, II, p. 89.

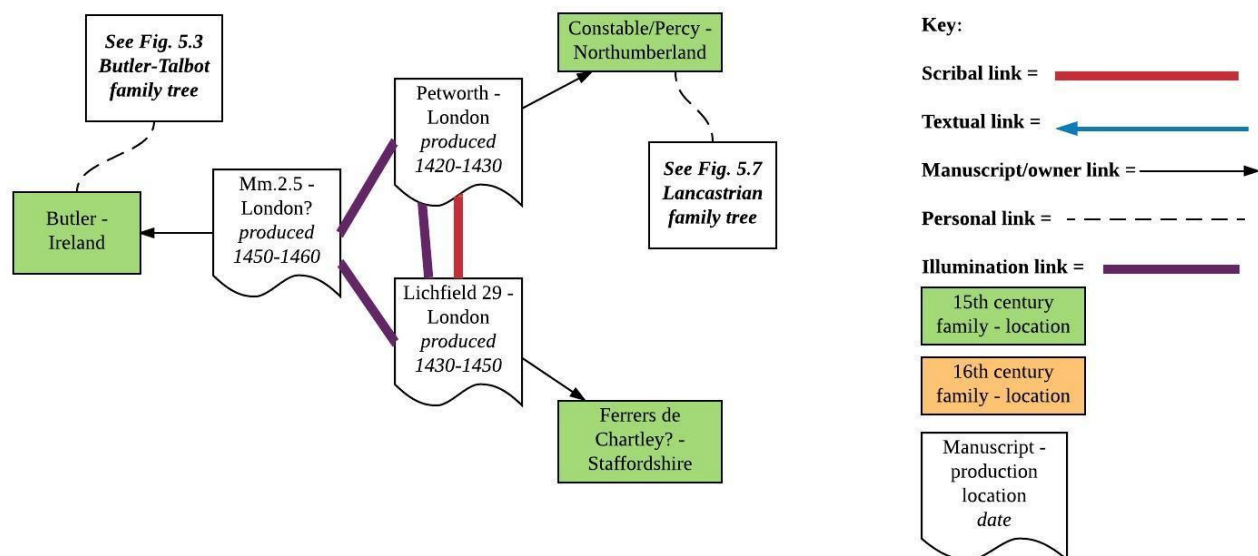


Figure 6.21: The Petworth Scribe's manuscripts and associated manuscripts

Petworth appears to have been owned by the Percy family in the late fifteenth century. On fol. 307v are the arms 'quarterly Percy, Poynings, Fizpayne and Bryan' circled by a Garter, belonging to Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland, who joined the Order of the Garter in 1474 (d. 1489).¹²³ To reach the Percys, the manuscript may have been bequeathed by Sir Thomas Cumberworth in 1451 to his grand-niece Annes, wife of Robert Constable. Constable was a serjeant at law and 'the Earl's man of business and executor'.¹²⁴ Cumberworth's bequest could instead be the fragmentary Phillipps 6570 manuscript,¹²⁵ due to the fragments containing the signature of a John Eglesfeld who was probably the great grandson of Annes Constable.¹²⁶ If Petworth is not the manuscript bequeathed to Annes then it could still be considered an example of a manuscript most likely acquired from London by an aristocratic family with a provincial base. Henry Percy spent some of the 1460s imprisoned in London,¹²⁷ and as the diagram shows the Percys are also linked to the network of aristocratic families with further connections to copies of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Lichfield 29 is linked to the select corpus by the early name 'Margrat barton graftn bilondel' pasted onto the flyleaf. It may have been in the possession of the

¹²³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 413.

¹²⁴ Ibid. pp. 414-15.

¹²⁵ Austin, Texas, The Harry Ransom Center, pre-1700 MS 46 (Phillipps 6570, Ph1).

¹²⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 609.

¹²⁷ Steven G. Ellis, 'Percy, Henry, Fourth Earl of Northumberland (c.1449–1489)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/article/21935>> [accessed 2 April 2017].

Ferrers de Chartley family in the fifteenth century due to a coat of arms drawn on the front flyleaf which is not part of the original illumination of the book.¹²⁸ Although it has not been possible to develop the connection between Margaret and the Ferrers de Chartley family any further, by the seventeenth century Lichfield 29 was in the possession of the Duchess of Somerset, a direct descendant of the family. To reach the Duchess of Somerset, the manuscript was probably owned by an aristocratic family and remained in circulation amongst aristocratic circles. As part of his imprisonment in the 1460s, Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland was a ward of Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (c.1423-1469),¹²⁹ whose brother-in-law was Sir Walter Devereux, first Baron Ferrers de Chartley (c.1432-1485).¹³⁰ The manuscripts are both considered to have been produced before the 1460s, so it is unlikely Sir Walter Devereux was influenced by Henry Percy, but it is important to note the potential for many alternative connections between individual manuscript owners.

One further manuscript can be linked to London via the Petworth scribe. MS Mm.2.5 was produced around 1450 to 1460,¹³¹ and was decorated in the same style ‘but perhaps slightly later’¹³² than the Petworth manuscript. As it is known that the Petworth scribe was working in London, it is plausible that the limner was as well, which could indicate that MS Mm.2.5 may also have been produced in London. The manuscript is also textually related to Petworth,¹³³ which could suggest it was made from an exemplar circulating locally. Although the earliest indication of female access to MS Mm.2.5 is sixteenth century,¹³⁴ the manuscript is linked to the Butler family in its early provenance, who have strong connections to Ireland despite the probable London production of the manuscript. Therefore, MS Mm.2.5 continues to fit the emerging pattern of manuscripts acquired from London moving to the provinces.

¹²⁸ This coat of arms is described by Manly and Rickert as follows: ‘Vairy on a chief a lion passant guardant, with traces of a crest showing the claws and one wing of a bird; perhaps an eagle. Traces of red suggest that the vary was intended for or and gu. or arg. and gu. No yellow is visible at present; but the vellum itself might have been regarded as either yellow or white’. Manly and Rickert, I, p. 327. Consultation with Lichfield 29 reveals this statement to be accurate.

¹²⁹ Ellis, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹³⁰ R.A. Griffiths, ‘Devereux, Walter, First Baron Ferrers of Chartley (c.1432–1485)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/view/article/50222>> [accessed 2 April 2017].

¹³¹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 365. Mooney et al give the date as 1425-1450. Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹³² Manly and Rickert, I, p. 366.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 366.

¹³⁴ Mm.2.5 may have been accessed by Margaret Butler, grandmother of Anne Boleyn.

The Petworth and Lichfield 29 manuscripts demonstrate production of manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* alongside professional work by a scribe a generation later than Pinkhurst and Marchaunt. MS Mm.2.5 also shows that the production of the work continued in London into the mid-fifteenth century. All three manuscripts can be associated with aristocratic families who were based in the provinces, some as far away as Ireland, and the diagram indicates where they can be connected to the wider network of families who are linked to the select corpus. These findings imply that provincially based aristocratic families continued to acquire copies of the *Canterbury Tales* from London well into the fifteenth century.

6.6 The Hooked-g Scribes

The Hooked-g Scribes are a group of two main scribes and their collaborators who produced a large quantity of literary manuscripts known as the ‘Devonshire group’.¹³⁵ The Devonshire group manuscripts are as follows:

Oxford Bodleian Library MS Lyell 31 - *Confessio Amantis*
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 223 - *Canterbury Tales*
 Tokyo, Takamiya MS 24 - *Canterbury Tales*
 Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.3 (532) - *Canterbury Tales*
 Oxford, Magdalen College MS 213 - *Confessio Amantis*
 London, British Library MSS Harley 7184 - *Confessio Amantis*
 Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.b.29 - *Confessio Amantis*
 London, British Library MS Royal 18.D.vi - *Troy Book*
 Princeton University Library, Taylor MS 6 - Trevisa: *Polychronicon*
 London, Lambeth Palace MS 256 - *Fall of Princes*
 London, British Library MS Additional 21410 - *Fall of Princes*
 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 2 - *Fall of Princes*
 Tokyo, Takamiya MS 30 - *Fall of Princes*¹³⁶

A.S.G Edwards and Derek Pearsall believe that the scribes of these manuscripts were based in London during the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and note that the manuscripts vary in levels of elaborateness.¹³⁷ The scribes are known as the ‘hooked-g

¹³⁵ See Linne R. Mooney and Daniel W. Mosser, ‘The Case of the Hooked-G Scribe(s) and the Production of Middle English Literature c.1460-c.1490’, *The Chaucer Review*, 51 (2016) 131-50.

¹³⁶ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

¹³⁷ Edwards and Pearsall, p. 265.

scribes' because the 'g graph is characteristically formed with an otiose crescent flourish added to the tail'.¹³⁸ Linne Mooney and Daniel Mosser have recently identified four collaborative hands alongside the two main scribal hands of Hooked-g Scribe 1 and Hooked-g Scribe 2.¹³⁹ Manly and Rickert argue for one scribe throughout Takamiya 24,¹⁴⁰ and consider this manuscript to be made in the same shop as Rawlinson Poet 223,¹⁴¹ Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.3 (532),¹⁴² and Oxford Bodleian Library MS Lyell 31.¹⁴³ Mooney and Mosser have since confirmed that Hooked-g Scribe 2 was responsible for writing all four of these manuscripts.¹⁴⁴ As a group, it seems likely that if multiple scribes produce a similar distinctive writing feature, they must have been working or training together. Holly James-Maddocks expands our knowledge of the working environment experienced by the Hooked-g scribes with an examination of the limners who worked alongside them.¹⁴⁵ The movement of two of the limners from East Anglia to London and their work on multiple manuscripts with the Hooked-g Scribes suggests that the two principal scribes maintained 'fixed collaborative relationships' which could reflect the struggle to meet demand for the works they were producing.¹⁴⁶ The Hooked-g Scribes continue the developing trend that demand for the *Canterbury Tales* and other vernacular literature was such that it was lucrative for groups of scribes to produce multiple copies.

¹³⁸ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

¹³⁹ Mooney and Mosser, p. 138.

¹⁴⁰ Contains the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹⁴¹ Contains the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹⁴² Contains the *Canterbury Tales*.

¹⁴³ Contains the *Confessio Amantis*. Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 117-19.

¹⁴⁴ Mooney and Mosser, p. 149.

¹⁴⁵ See Holly James-Maddocks, 'The Illuminators of the Hooked-g Scribe(s) and the Production of Middle English Literature c.1460-c.1490', *The Chaucer Review*, 51 (2016), 151-86.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 175.

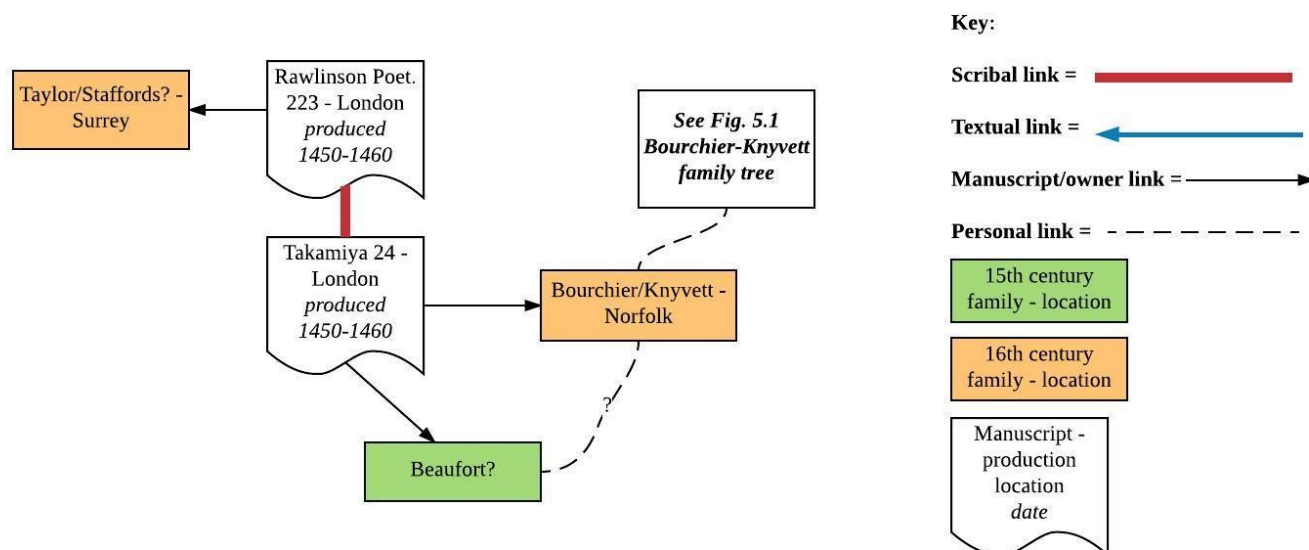


Figure 6.22: Hooked-g Scribe 2's manuscripts and associated manuscripts

Takamiya 24 and Rawlinson Poet 223 are manuscripts produced by Hooked-g Scribe 2 during the mid-fifteenth century which feature in the select corpus. Rawlinson Poet 223 was perhaps owned in Pembroke in the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Takamiya 24 is linked by Manly and Rickert to Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (d.1509), known to have owned a *Canterbury Tales* from her will.¹⁴⁸ They argue as follows:

The identification is suggested by the elaborate expensiveness of the MS and by the inclusion at the end of a poem on St Margaret, the patron saint of the Countess. The date suggested by the writing, illumination, and general style of the MS would fit the date of the marriage of the Lady Margaret with the Earl of Richmond (c. 1455), and suggests that it might have been a wedding present; she was a great lover of books.¹⁴⁹

Manly and Rickert also suggest that Takamiya 24 reached its known sixteenth-century owners, Jane Bourchier and Edmund Knyvett from Margaret Beaufort via John St John, the chamberlain to whom she bequeathed a *Canterbury Tales*, and who was a cousin of Jane's father.¹⁵⁰ It has been difficult to verify this information further, and M.C. Seymour states that there is 'little to support' this argument.¹⁵¹ The Caius *Guy of Warwick* belonging to the Knyvetts has the same artist as Oxford, Bodleian Library MS

¹⁴⁷ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 469.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 621.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. pp. 621-2.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. pp. 621-22.

¹⁵¹ Seymour, II, p. 240.

Bodley 283,¹⁵² which has links to Margaret Beaufort's mother Margaret Beauchamp of Bletso, although it is not certain she owned it.¹⁵³ As seen on the diagram, copies of the *Canterbury Tales* by Hooked-g Scribe 2 can be linked to sixteenth-century aristocratic owners based in the provinces. The Knyvetts and the Bouchiers also provide a link to the wider network of families. Once again manuscripts originating in London are shown to still be circulating amongst aristocratic families by the sixteenth century. Furthermore, even if the connection to Margaret Beaufort cannot be confirmed, the diagram demonstrates another possible link in the network of aristocratic women, their families and copies of the *Canterbury Tales*.

6.7 Other London Manuscripts

There are three other manuscripts with likely London production which do not correspond with the groups of scribes listed above. The first manuscript is MS Dd.4.24, and what appears to be the scribe's name 'Wyttton' appears in the text on fols 39r, 47r and 92r.¹⁵⁴ Manly and Rickert consider the scribe of MS Dd.4.24 to be an amateur.¹⁵⁵ The manuscript itself, although traditionally considered a good text which has been amended by the scribe,¹⁵⁶ has been previously viewed as a 'provincial manuscript'.¹⁵⁷ For example, Charles A. Owen describes the creator of MS Dd.4.24 as a 'compiler, editor, scribe, patron, reader', indicating that they produced the manuscript for their own personal use.¹⁵⁸ Judith Tschann supports Manly and Rickert, arguing that the irregularities in the manuscript and the lack of supervision indicate that the manuscript was not made in a professional shop.¹⁵⁹ In contrast, Orietta Da Rold says that the palaeographical evidence suggests the scribe was not working in a university

¹⁵² Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 107/176. Wiggins, 'The Middle English Guy of Warwick', p. 64.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 75.

¹⁵⁴ Orietta Da Rold, 'Paleographical Considerations', in *The Dd Manuscript: A Digital Edition of Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24*, (2013) <<http://www.chaucermss.org/dd?version=single&manuscript=Dd&action-background&id=358>> [accessed 4 September 2013]. 5.9 para. 1 of 7

¹⁵⁵ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 102.

¹⁵⁶ Orietta Da Rold, 'The Significance of Scribal Corrections in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*', *The Chaucer Review*, 41 (2007), 393-438 (p. 394).

¹⁵⁷ Orietta Da Rold, 'The Quiring System in Cambridge University Library MS Dd.4.24 of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*', *Library*, 7th ser., 4 (2003), 107-27 (p. 110).

¹⁵⁸ Owen, *The Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁵⁹ Judith Tschann, 'The Layout of Sir Thopas in the Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Cambridge Dd.4.24 and Cambridge Gg.4.27 Manuscripts', *The Chaucer Review*, 20 (1985), pp. 1-13 (p. 5).

environment.¹⁶⁰ She observes some similarities with the hand of Adam Pinkhurst which could imply the scribe was a professional in London.¹⁶¹ Da Rold also points out that Wynton is a popular surname in London.¹⁶² It seems very likely that MS Dd.4.24 was produced there, and it may have been owned by the Hungerford family who have connections to both London and the Chaucers.¹⁶³ The manuscript is very early, of a similar age to Hengwrt and Ellesmere, which demonstrates Pinkhurst and Marchaunt were not the only early copiers of the *Canterbury Tales*, and also that other scribes than those of the Guildhall provided manuscripts to aristocratic families.

The other two manuscripts, Bodley 686 and Laud Misc. 600, in addition to being produced at a similar time (1430 to 1450), have similar dialect and illumination features.¹⁶⁴ They have been linked to Margaret Beauchamp, and her sister Eleanor Beauchamp respectively. Daniel Mosser notes that the illuminators who worked on Bodley 686 also worked on Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.893 which is known as the 'Beauchamp' or 'Warwick' Hours and Psalter.¹⁶⁵ In her study of M.893 Kathleen Scott says 'the (erased) signature *Warrewyk* and motto '*de servyng causyth*' on f. 12 indicates ownership at an early date but not necessarily patronage by Henry Beauchamp (b. 1425-d.1446)'.¹⁶⁶ Henry Beauchamp was the half-brother of Margaret and Eleanor Beauchamp. According to Scott this manuscript was made in London 'no later' than 1430.¹⁶⁷ Although Henry Beauchamp may not have purchased the M.893 manuscript himself, the similarities in production time and illumination could imply the family's repetition of business with the same manuscript producers in London. In addition to procuring manuscripts from London, Boffey notes that John Shirley, the secretary of Richard Beauchamp, thirteenth Earl of Warwick, produced books for the family.¹⁶⁸ John Shirley did not produce these copies of the *Canterbury Tales*, which is a further indication that families were not limited as to where they acquired their manuscripts from.

¹⁶⁰ Da Rold, 'The Significance of Scribal Corrections', p. 410.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. p. 411.

¹⁶² Da Rold, 'Paleographical Considerations', 5.9 para. 6 of 7.

¹⁶³ See Chapter 5: Family Networks.

¹⁶⁴ *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant (Skelmersdale to Towton)*, ed. by Geoffrey H. White, 2nd edn (London: The St Catherine Press, 1953), p. 53.

¹⁶⁵ Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

¹⁶⁶ Scott, p. 251.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 251.

¹⁶⁸ Boffey, 'Manuscripts and Print: Books, Readers and Writers', pp. 542-4.

6.8 The Beryn Scribe and Associated Manuscripts

The work of the Beryn Scribe (or scribes) is an isolated occurrence of manuscript production in a scriptorium, and the evidence also defies certainty as to whether it was located in London or in East Anglia. Large scriptoria were unlikely to have existed in great numbers, but Linne Mooney and Lister Matheson put forward an argument for a scriptorium in which the Beryn Scribe worked.¹⁶⁹ They consider evidence for commercial scriptoria to include standard exemplars, supervision and ‘repeated collaboration’.¹⁷⁰ Mooney and Daniel Mosser identify the hand of the Beryn scribe in the following manuscripts:

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, MS 225 – *Prose Brut*

Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.1.3 (Part 10) – Lydgate’s *Life of Our Lady*

London, British Library, MS Harley 1337 – *Prose Brut*

London, British Library, MS Harley 6251 – *Prose Brut*

Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland MS 455 (Northumberland) - *Canterbury Tales*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 50 – *Prose Brut*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 11 – *Prose Brut*

Oxford, St John’s College, MS 57 – *Parliament of Fowls, Prick of Conscience, London Chronicle*

Princeton, University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections MS 100 (Helmingham) - *Canterbury Tales*¹⁷¹

Both the Northumberland and Helmingham *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts feature in the select corpus. Although Manly and Rickert initially identify two hands in Helmingham,¹⁷² Mooney et al ascribe the entire manuscript to the Beryn Scribe.¹⁷³ Simon Horobin confirms this attribution with a study of the linguistic and palaeographic similarities between the two manuscripts.¹⁷⁴ Both Helmingham and Northumberland are dated around the middle of the fifteenth century, and Mooney and Mosser are undecided as to whether the scriptorium can be located in London or an East Anglian centre. A

¹⁶⁹ Linne R. Mooney and Lister M. Matheson, ‘The Beryn Scribe and His Texts: Evidence for Multiple-Copy Production of Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Library*, 4th ser., 4 (2003), 347-70 (p. 362).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 353-4.

¹⁷¹ Linne Mooney and Daniel Mosser, ‘More Manuscripts by the Beryn Scribe’, *The Chaucer Review*, 49 (2014), 39-76 (pp. 39-40).

¹⁷² Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 256-7.

¹⁷³ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹⁷⁴ Simon Horobin, ‘The Scribe of the Helmingham and Northumberland Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales’, *Neophilologus*, 84 (2000), 457-65, (p. 463).

London scriptorium would have been in operation at the same time the Petworth Scribe was working. The Petworth and Hooked-g Scribes show professional scribes continued to meet demand for vernacular texts including the *Canterbury Tales* in London during the decades after Pinkhurst and Marchaunt. Thus, the establishment of a provincial scriptorium may have been more likely in order to fill a gap in demand.

All the scribes who worked on these manuscripts have used the same Essex dialect, and three of the manuscripts contain similar illumination.¹⁷⁵ The work of the Beryn scribe has been seen in multiple copies of prose *Brut* manuscripts made with the same exemplar,¹⁷⁶ causing Mooney and Matheson to argue that this evidence is the best of its kind ‘for a scriptorium where literary works were being copied’.¹⁷⁷ Mooney and Mosser go on to suggest that ‘the consistent use of provincial spellings might argue for

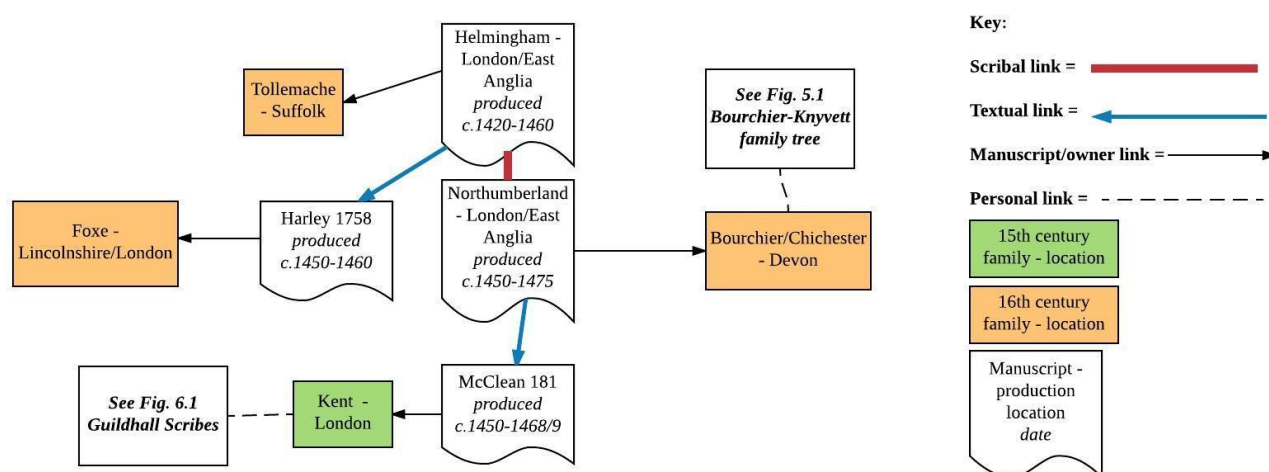


Figure 6.23: The Beryn Scribe's manuscripts and associated manuscripts

an East Anglian centre of production aimed at the provincial market’.¹⁷⁸ Scriptoria were not common practice during this period, which suggests that demand for texts such as the prose *Brut* and the *Canterbury Tales* was such that it was lucrative for this group of scribes to work together frequently.

The earliest identified owners of both Helmingham and Northumberland are sixteenth-century aristocratic families. These families are the Chichesters, who have links to the Bouchiers, in the case of the Northumberland manuscript, and the Tollemaches in the case of the Helmingham manuscript. Both the Bouchiers and the

¹⁷⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 50; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Hatcher Library, MS 225; and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 11. Mooney and Matheson, p. 362.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 355-7.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 354.

¹⁷⁸ Mooney and Mosser, ‘More Manuscripts by the Beryn Scribe’, p. 41.

Tollemaches have seats in East Anglia, which could support the localisation of the production and early ownership of Helmingham and Northumberland. Mooney and Mosser note that all the manuscripts by the Beryn Scribe were ‘owned by members of the lesser nobility and knightly classes, merchants, and civil servants’.¹⁷⁹ They also point out that these other owners are not geographically linked,¹⁸⁰ so while there is a possibility that the two *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts were purchased from a convenient proximate scriptorium, it is clear the Beryn scribe and their cohort were doing business on a wider scale.

There are two further manuscripts in the select corpus which can be linked to the Helmingham and Northumberland manuscripts; McClean 181 and Harley 1758. McClean 181 has been identified by Mooney as close to Northumberland in text¹⁸¹ and is also similar in date (1460 to 1468/9). The textual similarities and similar dates could suggest that McClean 181 was made using a similar exemplar. The earliest owners of this manuscript, Thomas and Joan Kent, were residents of London, in the parish of St James Garlickhythe.¹⁸² Kent was a courtier, and had numerous opportunities to find out about the *Canterbury Tales*. For example, he may have known Thomas Hoccleve, as they both worked in the Office of the Privy Seal.¹⁸³ Kent worked there after Hoccleve, but he had been working in the service of the king since 1409.¹⁸⁴ There is a chance that Kent had also come into contact with Adam Pinkhurst or John Marchaunt earlier in his career, as they are also known to have worked with Hoccleve.¹⁸⁵ Kent’s ownership of a *Canterbury Tales* that did not certainly originate in London demonstrates that there may have been other options available to those wishing to purchase a copy of the work.

The second manuscript, Harley 1758, was also produced around the same time as Northumberland and McClean 181, and can be linked to an exemplar of the Helmingham manuscript.¹⁸⁶ The scribe of this manuscript also worked on London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 135 (*Confessio Amantis* and *Regiment of Princes*),¹⁸⁷ which could imply that they, as with the other scribes discussed above, were trying to meet

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 360.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 360.

¹⁸¹ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

¹⁸² The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/9/211 and The National Archives (TNA): PROB 11/5/49.

¹⁸³ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 168.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 168.

¹⁸⁵ Doyle and Parkes, p. 236.

¹⁸⁶ Rosalind Field, “‘Superfluous Ribaldry’: Spurious Lines in the Merchant’s Tale”, *The Chaucer Review*, 28 (1994), 353-67 (p. 357).

¹⁸⁷ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs.

demand for vernacular literary manuscripts. Harley 1758 was certainly owned at the end of the sixteenth century by Edmund Fox and then his son and daughter-in-law, Edward and Jane Fox.¹⁸⁸ The Fox family appear to be primarily resident in Shropshire,¹⁸⁹ and although Edmund Fox was fellow of Lincolns Inn he is such a late owner it cannot have much bearing on the localisation of the manuscript. Earlier, the manuscript was possibly owned by a John Pemberton, prebendary of St Paul's in 1472,¹⁹⁰ but further investigation locates him at the manor of Caddington Major in Bedfordshire.¹⁹¹ Although connected to an exemplar of the Helmingham manuscript, Harley 1758 did not necessarily originate or stay in London.

Of the four manuscripts linked to the Beryn Scribe, Northumberland and Helmingham probably originated in a scriptorium located in London or East Anglia. Regardless of location, although particularly notable if provincial, the repeated production of the same works suggests this scriptorium must have been known to consumers as a provider of manuscripts. Charting the origins of both McClean and Harley 1758 has been challenging, but their textual links to the two *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts produced by the Beryn Scribe shows that exemplars from which similar texts were produced must have been in wider circulation than it is possible to discern exactly. Harley 1758 and McClean 181 were not produced by the Beryn Scribe and may not even have originated in the same location, which shows the widespread and itinerant nature of the manuscripts by the mid-fifteenth century. This transmission could only have happened by people creating demand via word of mouth, and as the diagram shows, this small network of scribes, families and manuscripts are linked to the wider social network in multiple places.

6.9 Provincial Production of the *Canterbury Tales*?

It has become apparent that a reasonable number of the earliest *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts were produced in London, and London continued to be a significant source for the text during the course of the fifteenth century. The introduction of this chapter suggested that it is possible that copies of the *Canterbury Tales* were also produced in

¹⁸⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 204.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 204.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 205.

¹⁹¹ 'Prebendaries: Caddington Major', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Volume 5, St Paul's, London*, ed. by Joyce M. Horn (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1963), pp. 23-5.
<<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1300-1541/vol5/pp23-25>> [accessed 2 April 2017].

the provinces. The Beryn Scribe and their cohort have shown this potential to be realised to some extent, if it is considered they were perhaps working in East Anglia. Michael Johnston has found evidence in provincially produced compilations of romances that they were produced by scribes with a dialect similar to the location of the earliest known owners.¹⁹² He suggests that gentry in the provinces acquired their literature from local scribes either living nearby or employed within households.¹⁹³ While this type of acquisition may be the case for compilations such as the Findern manuscript, Johnston's argument does not give the gentry credit for interest in works outside their compilations.¹⁹⁴ It remains to be seen whether any further manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were produced in the provinces.

Some of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in my select corpus contain only sixteenth-century evidence to suggest their provenance, which is too far removed in time to be successfully used to localise the production of the books. These include Cardigan, Delamere and Selden Arch B.14.¹⁹⁵ Others with fifteenth-century evidence are equally challenging to localise. For example, Sloane 1685 has a Staffordshire dialect,¹⁹⁶ and the earliest people to access the manuscript appear to be the Neville family based on marginalia featuring the names of Thomas Neville, his sister Eleanor and his wife Maud.¹⁹⁷ The Neville lands were primarily northern, and the later provenance suggests the manuscript was in Burton Constable in Yorkshire.¹⁹⁸ Without any other evidence to confirm localisation, Sloane 1685 is equally likely to have been produced in Staffordshire, or by a Staffordshire scribe who had moved to another location. Two further manuscripts, Rawlinson Poet 141 and McCormick, were both produced in the mid-fifteenth century, are textually closely linked to one another but have different dialects.¹⁹⁹ The dialect of Rawlinson Poet 141 is localised to Shropshire and contains some fifteenth-century names who can be associated with the area, which

¹⁹² Johnston, p. 98.

¹⁹³ Ibid. p. 123.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. pp. 98-9.

¹⁹⁵ Cardigan has a 'standardised/S.E. Suffolk/N.Essex' dialect and was in Kent in the sixteenth century. Delamere has a Kent dialect, and was in Cheshire by the sixteenth century. Selden Arch B.14 has a 'Chancery Standard' dialect and was in London by the sixteenth century. Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*. Both Cardigan and Selden Arch B.14 could have remained in the area which corresponds to their scribal dialect but there are too many other factors such as the movement of scribes and the passing of a century of time to guarantee this idea.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ The provenance of Sloane 1685 is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5: Family Networks.

¹⁹⁸ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 508-9.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. pp. 356-8, 450-2. See also Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

could suggest the work of a local scribe.²⁰⁰ The dialect of McCormick is described as ‘W.Oxon’ by Mooney et al, but it too has only sixteenth-century evidence to indicate its provenance. It is likely that provincial production may be difficult to confirm in some cases.

Harley 7335 is one of two manuscripts in the corpus in which the origins of the scribe may correspond with the earlier provenance of the book. Produced in the mid-fifteenth century, Manly and Rickert consider the signature on fol. 12v ‘Explicit q’ Robart blake’ to be in the same ink and hand as the scribe. ‘Explicit q’ robart blake de Cotton’ is also written on fol. 58r, described as ‘similar to the first’ but ‘greatly degenerated’ and perhaps ‘the writing of an old man’,²⁰¹ suggesting that the manuscript remained with Robert Blake for a period of time. Cotton was a manor in Suffolk which was owned by the De La Poles.²⁰² Encouragingly, there is an instance of sixteenth-century marginalia in Harley 7335 which could point to the manuscript’s use in Earl Soham or Earl Stonham,²⁰³ only fourteen miles away from Cotton, and may show the manuscript was in the area. The dialect of the manuscript is confirmed by Mooney et al as ‘Chaucerian/W.Essex/W. Kent’,²⁰⁴ which could either suggest that Robert Blake was preserving Chaucerian forms,²⁰⁵ or was resident in Cotton when he produced the manuscript.

The second manuscript which may have a corresponding early provenance and production location is Longleat 257. The manuscript has a production date of 1450 to 1479, and contains the signature of Richard Duke of Gloucester on fol. 98v.²⁰⁶ Richard must have signed his name between 1461 and 1483,²⁰⁷ as this period of time was when he bore the title Duke of Gloucester, prior to becoming King Richard III. Jordi Sánchez Martí argues that the prevalence of green in the decoration of the manuscript suggests it may have been produced in Yorkshire as this use of colour is a characteristic of manuscripts from the county during the period.²⁰⁸ From 1465 Richard was in the care of

²⁰⁰ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 453. See also Chapter 4: In the Margins

²⁰¹ Ibid. p. 235.

²⁰² Estelle Stubbs suggests this manuscript may have been made for Alice Chaucer, and I have discussed why this is unlikely in Chapter 5: Family Networks.

²⁰³ See Chapter 5: Family Networks for a discussion of this evidence.

²⁰⁴ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

²⁰⁵ Horobin, *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition*, p. 72.

²⁰⁶ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 340-1.

²⁰⁷ Sánchez Martí, p. 79.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 81.

Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick ‘until at least 1468 or the beginning of 1469’.²⁰⁹ The Neville household Middleham Castle is in the north-east of Yorkshire, and Richard’s time in the area corresponds with Sánchez Martí’s dating of the border illumination in Longleat 257.²¹⁰ Furthermore, Manly and Rickert state that Longleat 257 may have been copied from Egerton 2863,²¹¹ which could imply an even wider circulation of manuscripts around the provinces, as the evidence points to Egerton 2863 being produced somewhere in the south-west of England. The manuscript is written in a North Norfolk/Lincolnshire dialect,²¹² likely indicating a scribe who moved from their location of origin. The evidence for provincial production is found in a group of manuscripts in which A.I. Doyle has identified the scribe of Egerton 2863 and ‘all of which have a Devonshire or Southwestern provenance’:²¹³

London, British Library MS Harley 45 - *Speculum Vitae*

University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book & Manuscript Library MS Codex 198 (MS English 3) - *Speculum Vitae*

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 291- *Vegetius*, English translation by Walton²¹⁴

Egerton 2863 was accessed at the turn of the sixteenth century by Lady Thomasina Stourton.²¹⁵ Although Lady Thomasina cannot have been the original owner of the manuscript, the likely original owner was William Carraunt, the steward of Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorset,²¹⁶ whose grandson of the same name may have passed his copy of the *Canterbury Tales* to Lady Thomasina or her husband, who was his cousin. If the scribe of Egerton 2863 also wrote other manuscripts with similar locations demonstrated in their provenance, then it is plausible that they were working somewhere in the southwest, and that is where these manuscripts, including Egerton 2863, originated from.²¹⁷ That the southwest has not been noted as a centre for provincial production, yet

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 81.

²¹⁰ Ibid. p. 81.

²¹¹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 341.

²¹² Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

²¹³ Quoted in Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ See Chapter 4: In the Margins.

²¹⁶ Innes-Parker, p. 260.

²¹⁷ Harley 45 was owned by a Margaret Brent and an Elizabeth Pickering in the fifteenth century. ‘Detailed Record for Harley 45’ in *British Library Catalogue*, <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=4598>> [accessed 2 April 2017]. Douce 291 contains the heraldry of the Chalon family. Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*. The Chalons were based in Plympton in Devon and also related to the Beauchamps.

appears to have yielded these manuscripts, supports the arguments of Michael and Doyle outlined above which suggest the people able to produce manuscripts were available in numerous settlements. It also implies that scribes could move anywhere to work, they did not only travel into London.

Royal 18.C.II demonstrates different evidence of possible provincial production. The manuscript has a Gloucestershire dialect,²¹⁸ and the earliest marginalia, the names Jane D'Odingsells (fifteenth-century) and Phillip Chetwynd (sixteenth-century), suggests that the manuscript was in Staffordshire and Derbyshire during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The binding yields some more promising information, as it contains documents identified as 'inquisitions post mortem' relating to lands belonging to 'Elizabeth Lady Neville, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, who married Sir John Neville, eldest son of Ralph Earl of Westmorland and his first wife Margaret daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford',²¹⁹ thus making her the aunt of Thomas and Eleanor Neville whose names appear in Sloane 1685. The writing on the binding is badly worn but it is possible to make out that Cottingham in Yorkshire is referred to, further reinforcing the Neville connection with the north of England. Although it is not possible to use dialect to fully understand the localisation of Royal 18.C.II, the use of household documents in the binding of a manuscript suggests household production as it seems unlikely that a binder working remotely from the household would have access to these documents. If the manuscript was made in a northern household, it shows that scribes around the country did not necessarily have to be local in order to be working at a provincial estate.

MS Ii.3.26 was produced around 1430 to 1450, and has a south Lincolnshire/North Norfolk dialect.²²⁰ Manly and Rickert note the potential earliest owner as a 'John Barun' whose name appears on fol. 240v.²²¹ John Baron is recorded in the Lincoln Register of Bishop John Chedworth c.1462 as he and several other men from Amersham in Buckinghamshire whose names also appear in MS Ii.3.26 had 'proceedings for heresy' raised against them.²²² It is possible that John Baron was

'Chalons, Sir Robert (d.1445), of Challonsleigh in Plympton, Devon', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (1993) <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/chalons-sir-robert-1445>> [accessed 2 April 2017].

²¹⁸ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

²¹⁹ Manly and Rickert, I, p. 492.

²²⁰ Mooney, Horobin, and Stubbs, *Late Medieval English Scribes*.

²²¹ Manly and Rickert. I, p. 300.

²²² Ibid. p. 300.

resident in Lincolnshire as Bishop Chedworth was known as a rigorous persecutor of Lollards in his diocese.²²³ The Lincoln Register indicates that John Baron owned three books, including the *Canterbury Tales*.²²⁴ The later provenance of MS Ii.3.26 suggests it circulated to London as many of the sixteenth century names in the manuscript can be linked to Henry VIII's court.²²⁵ The evidence in MS Ii.3.26 does not present a completely convincing case for localised production in Lincolnshire. However, it is indicative that people and manuscripts could move between London and the provinces which implies a more fluid network of literary manuscript transmission that was initially implied by Johnston's ideas.

Despite the suggestion of the potential for manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* to be easily and widely produced in the provinces, only four manuscripts additional to those by the Beryn Scribe have been considered possible provincial productions, Harley 7335, Longleat 257, Egerton 2863 and Royal 18.C.II. The remaining manuscripts were not necessarily produced provincially, but it is not possible to localise them properly. The movement of scribes is such that it is difficult to prove the localisation of a manuscript based on dialect alone without further supporting evidence. Contrary to Johnston's implicit argument that those in the provinces relied on local scribes for locally produced works, the four examples here show that scribes did not only move to London from their places of origin, but around the country, and manuscripts had the potential to follow suit. The provinces are not separated from London, rather it seems that networks of the producers of the *Canterbury Tales* are as intertwined and difficult to pin down as the networks of aristocracy who owned the copies of the work.

6.10 Conclusions

At the outset of this chapter, I stated that the aim was to examine the localisation and provenances of the select corpus in order to discover patterns, and how these patterns affect the networks described in Chapter 5: Family Networks. Placing the *Canterbury Tales* into the overall context of book production during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries led to the expectation that some of the manuscripts could have been produced in the provinces for aristocratic patrons such as those discussed in the previous chapter,

²²³ Alan B. Cobban, 'Chedworth, John (d. 1471)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/view/article/5205> [accessed 2 April 2017].

²²⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, pp. 300-1.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 299.

as well as the indication that lots of literary manuscripts were produced in London. The select corpus appears to have successfully reflected this expectation; out of the twenty-nine manuscripts discussed here,²²⁶ eleven of them are known to have been produced in London.²²⁷ Two of these are associated via their text with the other London manuscripts.²²⁸ Seven have been potentially localised to the provinces,²²⁹ with a further three associated with these manuscripts.²³⁰ Finally six manuscripts do not contain enough evidence to be localised convincingly, and therefore remain unknown.²³¹

Other patterns include the difficult fact that there is a gap in the evidence between the fifteenth-century production dates of the manuscripts and their earliest verifiable provenance or marginalia which is sixteenth-century. Furthermore, even where the earliest evidence of ownership or access in the manuscripts can be dated to the fifteenth century, there has been little to show direct contact between the scribes and the earliest owners of the manuscripts. However, one thing that the select corpus of manuscripts have in common is that regardless of production location, all the manuscripts were in the possession of aristocratic families by the sixteenth century, and, where it can be discerned, the majority of these families were not tied to the locations where the manuscripts were produced. Thus, it is implied that geography, as noted by Mooney and Mosser in their discussion of the Beryn Scribe, is not a barrier to purchasing a book, and it seems that people who could afford manuscripts would be able to purchase them regardless of their location. The prevalence of London as a location to acquire books, as well as the continued work on the *Canterbury Tales* by the possibly provincial Beryn Scribe demonstrates a continued demand for the work during the fifteenth century. The repeated evidence that each manuscript was owned by an aristocratic family implies that they circulated consistently among these networks, and the aristocracy propelled demand and awareness of the work via word of mouth and personal connections.

A further implication of the manuscripts reaching provincial locations away from their places of production is that their aristocratic owners may have acquired

²²⁶ The thirtieth manuscript in the select corpus, MS Gg.4.27 has not been included here due to the unlikelihood of its association with an identifiable woman. See Chapter 5: Family Networks.

²²⁷ Bodley 686, Dd.4.24, Ellesmere, Harley 7334, Hengwrt, Laud Misc. 600, Lichfield 29, Mm.2.5, Petworth, Rawlinson Poet. 223, and Takamiya 24.

²²⁸ Additional 35286 and Arundel 140.

²²⁹ Egerton 2863, Harley 7335, Helmingham, Longleat 257, Northumberland and Royal 18.C.II.

²³⁰ Harley 1758, Ii.3.26, and McClean 181.

²³¹ Cardigan, Delamere, McCormick, Rawlinson Poet. 141, Selden Arch. B.14 and Sloane 1685.

copies of the *Canterbury Tales* with the intention of taking them back to their provincial estates. This narrative could be the case for any production location, but it is clear that it was particularly the case for the London-based book producers. Lots of vernacular literary manuscripts including the *Canterbury Tales* originated in London and we know from writing such as the Paston Letters and studies such as Johnston's work on romance compilations that the aristocracy went to London for access to the legal courts.²³² Those who were members of Parliament or associated with court would also have needed to travel to London. It is probable that the people doing most of the travelling in these cases were men, but so far this thesis has demonstrated that the social networks and possible demand for the *Canterbury Tales* does not exclude women.

Although a special connection between scribes and the women associated with the *Canterbury Tales* has not been a common theme, the diagrams in this chapter support the work of the previous chapter in demonstrating that aristocratic families linked to the work are part of an extensive network of personal connections to one another. The diagrams provide further links in the form of connections to producers of multiple copies of the *Canterbury Tales*. If the process of localising all the manuscripts and examining their owners' connections was completed for the entire corpus of the *Canterbury Tales*, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to achieve, it can be reasonably expected that a network diagram with many nodes and links would emerge which continued the pattern of aristocratic ownership with no geographical barriers. Furthermore, the work here also supports the conclusions of the previous chapter in that personal connections propel the circulation of the *Canterbury Tales*, and there are many more personal connections between the aristocratic families of the period than the extant evidence will ever allow to be mapped.

²³² Johnston, p. 92.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis has investigated the evidence which suggested the presence of a female audience in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, and further examined the involvement of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century aristocratic women in the consumption and circulation of the work. This chapter summarises the findings of the entire thesis by mapping out the discovery of the research themes and outlining the possibilities for further work. From the outset, I sought to elaborate on the idea that women did not own or were not interested in the *Canterbury Tales*, a perception drawn from a lack of conclusive ownership inscriptions in the manuscripts. This study supports what was already known about the important role played by aristocratic women in manuscript transmission, building on work by Susan Groag Bell, Julia Boffey, Catherine Innes-Parker and Carol Meale.¹ Furthermore, it has created an interactive resource in the form of the spreadsheets found in Appendices 1 and 2. Manly and Rickert's data on the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* is now accessible in an alternative way. This work created a starting point from which the information can be updated and amended if required, something that this thesis has done wherever possible by re-examining evidence both internal and external to the manuscripts. The mapping of family trees and other network diagrams has proved to be an effective way of modelling data about manuscript provenance. This modelling and the basic tenet of network theory which shows that the more links and nodes in a network, the stronger it is, has enabled the exploration of sometimes 'invisible' evidence such as social connections and their implications for the medieval book market. This methodology has proved a successful way of thinking about the female audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

The opening argument of this thesis was that affluent women were a part of literate society and culture during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and during this time the *Canterbury Tales* was also a significant and widely circulated work. The study was subsequently governed by three research themes. The first of these was an examination of the evidence that women used the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. This theme was initially addressed by examining whether the circulation of the manuscripts overlapped with one of women's domestic roles, that of the primary educator and first teacher of reading to children. I found that the evidence from the

¹ Groag Bell, pp. 149-87; Boffey, 'Women Authors and Women's Literacy', pp. 159-82; Innes-Parker, pp. 239-62; Meale, 'Alle the Bokes That I Haue', pp. 128-58.

manuscripts in the select corpus demonstrated unstructured use by children, perhaps reflecting that the work was made available to them once they had mastered the basics of reading, but not implying that it was used as a teaching aid. As children most likely read similar books to their parents when they were available, which could imply that the whole family could be involved in the consumption of the *Canterbury Tales*.

A further key aspect of examining women's use of the manuscripts was an investigation of the marginalia of the corpus. Although some women possessed the ability to write, most women during the period appear to have been unlikely to respond to literary texts via marginalia due to lack of ability, lack of inclination, or lack of opportunity because the books were read aloud in a shared environment. This behaviour suggests the potential for a larger number of women to have experienced the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* than the extant evidence suggests. Furthermore, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there is little annotation in literary texts by either men or women. The corpus of the *Canterbury Tales* reflects this finding, as on the whole there is very little fifteenth- and sixteenth- century annotation. Over a third of the entire corpus of *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts contains marginalia by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women. The nature of the marginalia is such that it seems unlikely that it would have been written on books kept especially for the occasion. Idle name jotting, writing practice, notes and children's scribbles seem more likely to occur on a book that was within easy reach because it was often in use. An exception could be considered in the recording of the births of children, but that also implies the attachment of a certain level of preservation and importance to a manuscript.

The second research theme was a consideration of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women's interest in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. In part, this theme is reflected in the evidence which demonstrates that the *Canterbury Tales* was bequeathed in wills or transmitted in other ways by or to women. Although when compared to religious books the *Canterbury Tales* was a more unusual choice for a female bequest, the internal manuscript evidence demonstrated the apparent opportunities for the books to be passed informally between women and a variety of their relatives during their lifetimes. The relatively limited examples of the *Canterbury Tales* could imply a particular interest on the part of their donors or recipients. Furthermore, these findings suggested the participation of women in book transmission across a wider social network of relatives and associates. Exploring the wider social network involved a re-evaluation of provenance evidence which implied women's

interest in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The introduction demonstrated this interest as a possibility which stemmed from awareness of the work originating with Chaucer's earliest audiences who may have included women. This awareness, produced by word of mouth, could have led generally to further demand which subsequently fuelled the production of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* across the fifteenth century. Awareness of the *Canterbury Tales* would not have automatically translated into interest in the work, but women's interest seems likely to have been developed through awareness formed from a network of personal relationships with others with similar interests. This wider social network became even more apparent as the examination of family networks showed that copies of the *Canterbury Tales* were in close proximity to a number of women via their family connections and relationships with others who are also associated with copies of the work. The networks demonstrate a large number of personal connections, such as family, marriage or location, between women linked to manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. Given women's central role in the family and the home and their potential general interest in books, it is not unreasonable to consider women might also have been central to discussions regarding books or held a personal interest in the *Canterbury Tales*. There were also family connections which linked back to Chaucer himself as well as known royal bibliophiles, which could indicate a culture of literary book interest which permeated generations of aristocracy.

The aristocracy played a key role in the third research theme which explored the identities of the women who used or were interested in the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The introduction discussed the potential for women of lower status accessing the manuscripts, but the evidence led to a focus on aristocratic women who, by virtue of privilege, are more likely to produce evidence of using the books. These women are more likely to be able to afford books and education, and therefore more likely to be able to create marginalia, they also have better resources for providing primary reading lessons and writing wills. Most of the women with links to manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* were identified as aristocratic or as having possible links to aristocratic households. The social networks which have been discussed as fuelling demand for the *Canterbury Tales* consist of aristocratic families, and it is amongst these same networks that the manuscripts in the select corpus are known to have circulated. Furthermore, studying the localisation of these manuscripts indicated that many of them

were transmitted away from their original production locations to provincial aristocratic households, the primary domain of aristocratic women.

This project has been ambitious, taking into account the evidence of thirty *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts of the extant eighty-four, and during the course of this study a number of possible avenues of research have come to light which may provide the potential for future work. The obvious ideal study would be revisiting the provenances of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts which were not included in the select corpus in order to expand on and develop the provenance data completed by Manly and Rickert in the early twentieth century. My thesis, and catalogues such as those by M.C. Seymour and Daniel Mosser have developed the provenance information of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* in an ad hoc way.² A methodologically updated foundation of provenance information about this corpus of manuscripts would no doubt assist many scholars. In the context of this study it would further what has already been achieved by facilitating the expansion of the network diagrams to include even more manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* and to examine their transmission across generations of aristocratic families. Any further personal connections between women linked to the manuscripts would be demonstrated, and build upon the picture of an interconnected aristocratic society during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, augmenting my work and that of Julia Boffey and Carol Meale.³ Furthermore, expanding the network to include all families associated with the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* might develop our knowledge about how children accessed the manuscripts,⁴ or if any more can be said about female readers from the lower classes. Using my methodology, a similar mapping of the families connected to other works of Chaucer, or other literary manuscripts might shed some further light on how these manuscripts were used and circulated.⁵ It might also be beneficial, albeit an equally large scale project, to apply the methodologies used here to the corpus of *Canterbury Tales* incunabula,⁶ in order to see whether the printed corpus reflects or deviates from the findings of my thesis.

² Seymour, *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts*, 2 vols. Mosser, *A Digital Catalogue*.

³ Boffey and Meale, 'Gentlewomen's Reading', pp. 526-40.

⁴ Further to Seth Lerer, pp. 126-53.

⁵ Further to Boffey, 'Lydgate's Lyrics and Women Readers'; McDonald, 'Chaucer's Legend of Good Women'; Meale, 'Alle the Bokes That I Haue'. Sherman.

⁶ Further to Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', pp. 3-36.

In summary, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century women had a potential interest in and likely awareness of the *Canterbury Tales*. There is evidence that they kept the books at home in close proximity, had social and familial connections to other owners of the work and the books were frequently transported to the aristocratic household. When this evidence is considered, it emerges that women may have played a more significant role in the consumption of the *Canterbury Tales* than at first expected. This thesis has made clear the opportunities for late medieval women to access the text, given its wide circulation and importance, which altered but did not lessen as the fifteenth century turned into the sixteenth. I have contributed a move towards adding the *Canterbury Tales* to the picture of texts which feature in late medieval women's book collections and developed a methodology which facilitates the corpus-wide study of the extant manuscripts within their social networks. Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated how re-evaluating areas where there appears to be little extant evidence can have illuminating results. Book transmission is not always linear and the mapping of networks has aided in extrapolating information about the women who may have used these books. The undertaking of visualisations has made the circulation of the manuscripts of the select corpus and the families and women who may have accessed them more visible. I have also achieved a clarification of a number of Manly and Rickert's mentions of marginalia, which proves the benefit of revisiting their work. Over the course of this thesis it has become apparent that the *Canterbury Tales* transcends a network of geographical and gender boundaries. If we look between the lines of the network it is possible to see the potential female audience of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Appendix 1: Survey of Data in Manly and Rickert¹

Manuscript	Sigil	Date	Form	Contents	Order	Text	Dialect	Production	Scribe	15th-16th century women in provenance?	Manly and Rickert ref.
London, British Library MS Additional 5140	Ad1	1470-1500	Paper and parchment	CT, Siege of Thebes	a	Constant group En3	East midland	little supervision, few corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 29-33
London, British Library MS Additional 25178	Ad2	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	irregular	Closest to Ht	Western influence	supervision and corrections	2-3 hands	no	pp. 34-40
London, British Library MS Additional 35286	Ad3	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	a, disarranged	Closest to Ha5	East midland	many corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 41-47
London, British Library MS Additional 10340	Ad4	1400	Parchment	Boethius, Truth, CT	not mentioned	Written from memory	London	supervision and corrections in Boethius	not mentioned	no	pp. 48-51
London, British Library MS Arundel 140	Ar	1450-1460	Paper	Mel plus others	n/a	not mentioned	East midland	no supervision, corrections	Different hand in Mel	yes	pp. 52-54
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 414	Bo1	1450-1480	Paper	CT	Same as Ph2	a/d	Northeast midland	Uncertain, shop	1 hand	no	pp. 58-63

¹ Appendix 1 is also included in digital format on the CD.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686	Bo2	1430-1440	Parchment	CT, Lydgate works	a	Incomplete	Southwest midland	Lots of corrections	2-3 hands	yes	pp. 64-70
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Barlow 20	Bw	1450-1480	Parchment	CT	d	Group d*	West midland-north	supervision and corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 55-57
Oxford, Christ Church MS 152	Ch	1460-1470 (hands 1 & 2), c.1500 (hand 3)	Paper	CT, Lydgate	irregular	varied	London	no supervision, some corrections	3 hands	no	pp. 85-91
Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 143 (Cardigan)	Cn	c.1450	Parchment	CT, chronological table, Lydgate	a	Ancestor of group Dd	Central midland	shop	3 hands	yes	pp. 71-78
Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 198	Cp	1410-1420	Parchment	CT	c	Group c	Central west midland	2 supervisors, shop	1 hand similar to Ha4	no	pp. 92-99
Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 6709	Ct	1490	Paper and parchment	SNT and Prt	n/a	Copied from Cx2	As Cx2	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand 'William Cotson'	no	pp. 82-84
Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.4.24	Dd	1400-1420	Paper and parchment	CT	a	Subgroup Dd of a	East midland	no supervision, corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 100-107

Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 32 (Delamere)	Dl	1450-1460	Parchment	CT, Gower, other	d	Group d*	East midland	no supervision, some corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 108-116
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce d.4	Do	1450-1470	Paper	Prologue	n/a	Same as Gg	London	n/a	1 hand	no	pp. 124-125
Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 24 (Devonshire)	Ds	1450-1460	Parchment	CT, Lydgate Life of St Margaret	a	Group En1	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand similar to Ra3, Tc1 and Clumber Gower	yes	pp. 117-121
Chatsworth House, Devonshire Fragment	Ds2	1430-1450	Parchment	MLT	n/a	Group Ra2	East midland	n/a	1 hand	no	pp. 122-123
Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.2.15	Ee	1470-1500	Paper	MLT plus others	n/a	Close to groups En3 and Bo1	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	2-3 hands	no	pp. 126-129
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS El 26 C 9 (Ellesmere)	El	1400-1410 (CT)	Parchment	CT, contents, Truth	a	alone	London	supervision, few corrections	1 hand same as Hg	yes	pp. 148-159
London, British Library MS Egerton 2726	En1	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	a	Subgroup Dd of a	East midland	little supervision,	2 hands	no	pp. 130-135

								some corrections			
London, British Library MS Egerton 2863	En2	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	d	Group d	Central west midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 136-142
London, British Library MS Egerton 2864	En3	1460-1480	Paper	CT, Siege of Thebes, list	a	Constant group En3	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 143-147
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181	Fi	1450-1468/9	Parchment	CT	d	Mainly group d*	West midland - northern	some supervision, some corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 160-169
Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27	Gg	1420-1440	Parchment	Works of Chaucer	a	varied	East midland - Norfolk	supervision and corrections	1 hand (CT)	yes	pp. 170-182
Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 197	Gl	1476/7	Paper	CT, Purgatory of St Patrick	d	Copied from Mm	East midland - Norfolk	little supervision, corrections	2 names scribes	no	pp. 183-188
London, British Library MS Harley 1239	Ha1	1450-1470	Parchment	Troilus, KtT, MLT&P, WBT, CIT, FkT	a	Exemplar of Ps	Northern	few corrections	1 hand (CT)	no	pp. 189-197
London, British Library MS Harley 1758	Ha2	1450-1460	Parchment	CT	d	Group d*	West midland - Shropshire	supervision and corrections, shop	3 hands,	yes	pp. 198-206

London, British Library MS Harley 7333	Ha3	begun 1450-1460	Parchment	Secular lit. PF, CM, other Chaucer works	b	Group d*	West midland	varied corrections	6-9 hands	no	pp. 206-218
London, British Library MS Harley 7334	Ha4	c.1410	Parchment	CT	unique	Large composite group	Central west midland	supervision and corrections, shop	1 hand similar to Cp	yes	pp. 219-230
London, British Library MS Harley 7335	Ha5	1450-1470	Paper	CT	a	Group Ad3	East midland	no supervision, some corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 231-237
Princeton, University Library MS 100 (Helmingham)	He	1420-1460	Paper and parchment	CT	b	Group b	East midland - northern	no supervision, no corrections	2 hands	yes	pp. 256-265
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt)	Hg	1400-1410	Parchment	CT	unique	With El/independent	London	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand same as El	yes	pp. 266-283
Holkham Hall, Collection of the Earl of Leicester MS 667	Hk	1440-1450	Parchment	CT	irregular	Group En3	East midland - north Essex and Suffolk	no supervision, corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 284-288
London, British Library MS Harley 1704	Hl1	1460-1470	Paper and parchment	PrT, others	n/a	Closest to Mc	East midland	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 238-240

London, British Library MS Harley 2251	HI2	after 1464	Paper	PrT, others	n/a	Group c-d*	like Py and Ry1	no supervision, no corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 241-244
London, British Library MS Harley 2382	HI3	1470-1500	Paper	Prt, SNT, others	n/a	unclear	East midland	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 245-248
London, British Library MS Harley 5908	HI4	1430-1450	Parchment	Part of CIT	n/a	Same as Ha3	East midland	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 249-250
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 144	Hn	1480-1500	Paper	Mel, MkT, others	n/a	Group Ha4-Ld1	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 289-294
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton Donat 1	Ht	1450-1460	Parchment	CT	d	Close to Ra2, Hg, Ad2, d	East midland	some supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 251-255
Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.3.26	Ii	1430-1450	Parchment	CT, Bona carta gloriose ...	d	Group b*	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	2 hands, 1 for each work	yes	pp. 295-301
Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.1.3	Kk	1420-50 (CT)	Paper and parchment	PrT, others	n/a	Group cd*	London	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand similar to Hg, El	no	pp. 302-303

London, British Library MS Lansdown 851	La	1410-1420	Parchment	CT	c	From Cp/Sl2	Northern	some supervision, some corrections, shop	1 hand	no	pp. 304-308
Lichfield, Cathedral Library MS 29	Lc	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	d	Group d	East midland	little supervision, few corrections, shop	2 hands	yes	pp. 322-328
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 600	Ld1	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	As Ha4	Group d*	West midland	supervision and corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 309-314
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 739	Ld2	1470-1490	Parchment	CT	d	Copied from/close to Ry2	Western/Northern	no supervision, corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 315-321
Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257	Ll1	1450-1470	Parchment	Arcite and Palamon, Griselda, others	n/a	Copied from/close to En2	Northern features	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 339-342
Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 29 part 2	Ll2	1420-1430	Parchment	PsT, others		From El ancestor	Central midland	no supervision	multiple hands	yes	pp. 343-348
Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS 110	Ln	1430-14500	Parchment	CT	b	With Ra3, Tc1, group a, group En1	West midland (hand 1), East	corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 329-338

	midland (hand 2)										
Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 113	Ma	1483- 1485	Paper	CT, others	a	From Cn exemplar	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 349- 355
University of Chicago, Regenstein Library MS 564 (McCormick)	Mc	1440- 1460	Parchment	CT	irregular	Close to/exemplar of Ra1, Group b*	Western border	little supervision, some corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 356- 360
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21972 D (Merthyr)	Me	c.1400	Parchment	Parts of Nun's Priest Link and Tale	n/a	Close to Dd	East midland	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand same as El Hg	no	pp. 361- 364
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum MS 249 (Morgan)	Mg	1450- 1460	Parchment	CT	d	Derived from Lc	East midland	no supervision, corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 372- 375
Cambridge, University Library MS Mm.2.5	Mm	1450- 1460	Parchment	CT	d	Group Pw	North midland	little supervision, some corrections, shop	1 hand	yes	pp. 365- 371
Oxford, New College MS D.314	Ne	1450- 1470	Parchment	CT	b	Group b	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 381- 386

Alnwick Castle, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, MS 455 (Northumberland)	Nl	1450-1470	Parchment	CT, Tale of Beryn	irregular	3 sources	East midland - northern	no supervision, corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 387-395
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS XIII.B.29	Np	1457	Paper	Griselda, others	n/a	varied	East midland - north	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 376-380
Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 63 (Oxford)	Ox1	1440-1450	Parchment	CT fragment	b	Group b	East midland - northern	little supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 396-398
Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/2 (Oxford)	Ox2	Same as Ox1	Same as Ox1	Same as Ox1	Same as Ox1	Same as Ox1	Same as Ox1	Same as Ox1	same as Ox1	no	Same as Ox1
Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 46 (Phillipps 6570)	Ph1	1450-1470	Paper	CT fragments	n/a	close to Gg	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 415-420
Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer MS 48 (Phillipps 8136)	Ph2	1450-1470	Paper	CT	a	Matches Bo1	Northeast midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 421-426

Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/1 (Phillipps 8137)	Ph3	1430-1450	Parchment	CT	d	Subgroup Pw	Southeastern (hand 1), West/Southwest midland (hand 2)	supervision, corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 427-432
San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 140 (Phillipps 8299)	Ph4	1450-1480	Paper	CIT and others	n/a	Group Ad3 and Ra3-Tc1	East midland - north	no supervision, few corrections	5 hands CT	no	pp. 433-438
New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS Plimpton 253 (Phillipps 9970)	Pl	c.1430-1450	Parchment	Me endlink, Sq headlink	n/a	Close to Mm	Western influence	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand similar in Ad2	no	pp. 447-449
Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2006	Pp	1470-1500 (CT)	Paper	Mel, PsP PsT, Ret and others including by Chaucer	n/a	Group a	East midland	no supervision, no corrections	5-6 hands, 2 in CT	no	pp. 406-409
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS	Ps	pre 1440/1 422-36	Paper	CT, contents	a	Same exemplar as Ha1	North midland	corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 399-405

Fonds Anglais 39											
Petworth House, The National Trust MS 7	Pw	1420- 1430	Parchment	CT	d	subgroup Pw	Northwest midland	no supervision, corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 410- 414
London, Royal College of Physicians MS 388	Py	1460- 1480	Paper	CT	b	Vaguely derived from Hg	Northern	no supervision, shop	1 hand also did Ry1	no	pp. 439- 446
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 141	Ra1	1450- 1460	Parchment	CT	irregular	close to/copied from Mc	West midland	little supervision, few corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 450- 454
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 149	Ra2	1460- 1470	Parchment	CT	d	with Ht/variable	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	6 hands	no	pp. 455- 460
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 223	Ra3	1450- 1460	Parchment	CT, Fragmen t of Troy book	irregular	with Tc1 and Ln	East midland - northern	some supervision, no corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 461- 471
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.86	Ra4	after 1483	Paper and parchment	miscella ny, CkT	n/a	Varied	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand CT	no	pp. 472- 475

London, British Library MS Royal 17 D.XV	Ry1	1450-1470 (CT)	Paper	CT, others	d	varied	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	2 hands	no	pp. 476-484
London, British Library MS Royal 18 C.II	Ry2	1420-1450	Parchment	CT, List of tales	d	group d	West midland	supervision, few corrections	2 hands	yes	pp. 485-493
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Arch. B.14	Se	1450-1470	Parchment	CT	irregular	varied	London?	supervision, corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 494-500
Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 22 (Sion College)	Si	1460-1490	Parchment	CIT plus B	n/a	Close to Ha4, Gg, ancestor of Cn	East midland	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand	yes	pp. 501-503
London, British Library MS Sloane 1685	SI1	1420-1450	Parchment	CT	d	Group d*	West midland/northern	supervision, corrections	4 hands	yes	pp 504-509
London, British Library MS Sloane 1686	SI2	1480-1490	Paper	CT	c	Group c	East midland - north	supervision, corrections, shop	1 hand similar to Ra3	no	pp. 510-514
London, British Library MS Sloane 1009	SI3	1477-1496	Paper	Mel	n/a	close to El	East midland	no supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 516-518
Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College Library MS B.XXIII	St	1440-1460	Parchment	Mel	n/a	Group cd*	Northern?	no supervision, no corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 519-521

Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.3	Tc1	1450-1460	Parchment	CT	b	Ra3-Tc1	East midland	little supervision, few corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 522-526
Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.15 (595)	Tc2	1480-1500	Paper	CT, others	b	from Cx1	As Cx1	supervision, corrections	not mentioned	no	pp. 527-531
Cambridge Trinity College MS R.3.19 (599)	Tc3	after 1478	Paper	MkT and P, others including by Chaucer	n/a	from the printed Caxton	As Cx1	no supervision, no corrections, shop	different hands for different works	no	pp. 532-534
Oxford, Trinity College MS Arch. 49	To1	1461-83	Paper	CT	irregular	Lc-Ha2, d*	East midland - northern	no supervision, many corrections	1 hand	no	pp. 535-544

Appendix 2: Marginalia Survey¹

Sigil	Instance of Marginalia	Folio	Date	Notes	Gender	Type	My Comments	Reference in thesis
Ad1	A shield argent 3 choughs (beckits) two and one, sable beaked and legged gules	2r	15th century		unknown	coat of arms		
Ad1	"Yower"	269r	16th century	dry point	unknown	name		
Ad1	"Thomas Curties"	116v	16th century		male	name		
Ad1	"Thomas Darsy"	116v	16th century	smudged	male	name		
Ad1	"Insignia Henrici Dean Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis sub Henricc 7"	2r	18th century		male	note		
Ad1	"alce[?]" preceded by an I with a stroke above it.	70v	15th century		unknown	unclear		
Ad2	"Dorothe Borothe"	1r	17th century		female	name		
Ad2	"Johs Pavly"	82v	15th century		male	name		
Ad3	The date 1570	161v	16th century		unknown	date		
Ad3	A drawing of a man's head with a bunch of leaves in his mouth	131v	16-17th century		unknown	drawing		
Ad3	"Henry Derbye de Derbye glouer"	21v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ad3	"John"	127r, 134r, 236r	undated		male	name		
Ad3	"Water"	177r	undated		unknown	name		
Ad3	"E Ward" and many H's	109r	undated		unknown	name		
Ad3	"William Agard"	131v	16-17th century	different hand to fols 92r and 99v	male	name	Full note reads 'Here my mooste hartye commendations	p. 106

¹ Appendix 2 is also included in digital format on the CD.

							Johane me Commended unto yon and to in lovinge and vere friend Wylliam Agard'	
Ad3	"George Heyginbothom of Marpull" twice	131v	16-17th century		male	name		
Ad3	"Roland Rudgley" various spellings	62r, 161r, 238v	16-17th century		male	name		
Ad3	"Roland Rudgley" the "right honer" of the books	152r	16-17th century		male	name		
Ad3	"ales fermer"	224r	16-17th century	Possibly Roland Rudgley's hand	female	name	Comparison with Roland Rudgley's hand shows this hand is larger and looser than that which writes Roland Rudgley on fols. 62r, 161r, 238v and 152r.	
Ad3	"Ane fermer"	224r	16-17th century	Possibly Roland Rudgley's hand	female	name	This is the same hand as writes 'ales fermer' above. It does not seem to be Roland Rudgley's hand. Not investigated further as it falls outside of the date categories for this study.	

Ad3	"Anne Vernun B[oke?]"	180v	16th century	very doubtful	female		The word 'Anne' is possible but the rest doubtful. The marks could be a phrase rather than otiose strokes but the writing is now too faded to be certain of its purpose.	pp. 105-106
Ad3	"gulihemus Agardus" with 1571	92r	16th century		male	name	Full note reads 'Ano 1571 and in this year of years xiii of Elizabeth gulihemus Agardus'	p. 106
Ad3	"William Agard"	99v	16th century	different hand to fol. 92r	male	name	Possible 'William' at the bottom of the page, different hand to fols 92r and 131v.	p. 106
Ad3	"John Agarde"	37v	16th century	read by ultra-violet light	male	name	No longer visible.	p. 106
Ad3	"Charles Agarde"	28v	16th century		male	name	As described.	p. 106
Ad3	"Roger Mapperly"	126r	16th century		male	name		
Ad3	"Richerd Normenton of Ashburne"	166r	16th century		male	name		
Ad3	"Who may trust in fortune"	192r	15th century		unknown	note		
Ad3	Two lines of verse beginning "I in study standing"	93r	16th century		unknown	note		
Ad3	"Hocden"	44v	undated		unknown	place name	Possibly for South Ockenden.	p. 106
Ad3	"Mr Whythall"	204r	16-17th century		male	statement of ownership		

Ad3	"...ry grammer"	79v	undated		unknown	unclear		
Ad3	"grammer"	58v	undated		unknown	unclear		
Ad4	Coat of Arms twice	41v	15th century	matches coat of arms in Lc	unknown	coat of arms		
Ad4	"Mr John Kirtto merchaunte"	21v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Thomas Whitbie"	33v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Thomas Whytbe"	40v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"John de la Marsh"	5r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Roger Hill of Dodley" corrected to "Dodney"	42v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Willyam Whethill servante to the worshipful mrs Kyrrton vidue"	43r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Thos Offley"	2r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Thomas wyllyam Robart Rychard"	4r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"John Bell"	25r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"George Glouer dwylleng wt Mr Nychelys merchand of the Steepole at Calys"	2r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Mr Nyccolas"	42v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Henry Clyfton gentleman seruante vnto my lady dansey"	2v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Randull Threbody"	35v, 42r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Robert Threbody"	40v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Randull"	2r	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	"Randul and Robert"	3v	16th century		male	name		
Ad4	allusion to "Fraunces Myddelmore"	41v	16th century		unknown	name and note		
Ad4	A cipher repeated three times, with a remark signed Randull Threbody	1v	16th century		male	name and note		

Ad4	An agreement between "Lawrence Nobye of Middlesex gente" and "Raffe Lyttelwourthe yoman" of Essex	42v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ad4	"honny soit qui"	36v	undated		unknown	note		
Ad4	"throp halle"	41v	16th century		unknown	place name		
Ad4	"Stephanus Kyrton me possidet"	1r, 2r, 41v	15-16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ad4	merchant's marks	26r	16th century	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ad4	"occupacyon" several times	41v	16th century		unknown	unclear		
Ar	"John Hill"	156r	16th century		male	name		
Ar	"Elizabeth Ayeloffe" signed to "Ten pounds rendite"	78r	16th century		female	name and note	Fol. 78r reads 'Itm poun[es] Rendite Elizabeth Meresse (?)' and is signed by Elizabeth Ayeloffe.	p. 69
Bo1	"...Reimes Is mi name"	p.157	16-17th century		unknown	name		
Bo1	"W. Remes"	p1	16-17th century		unknown	name		
Bo1	"I Reymes"	p.5	16-17th century		unknown	name		
Bo1	"Ro Rey..."	p.214	16-17th century		male	name		
Bo1	"Bryston"	p.191	16th century	red crayon	unknown	name		
Bo1	"R Marham"	p.1	16th century		unknown	name		
Bo1	"per me Edmundum reymes""	p.168	16th century		male	name		
Bo1	"Coutbarde"	p.80	16th century		unknown	name		
Bo1	"per me Edmundum reymes", "Anno mdij", "Thomas"	p.178	16th century		male	name		
Bo1	"...Edmundu' Reymes...Somerton"	p.284	16th century		male	name		

Bo1	"Rafe Marham"	p.291	16th century		male	name		
Bo1	"John Deye"	p.16, p.12, p.60	16th century		male	name		
Bo1	"Master Abingdon"	front cover	15th century		male	name		
Bo1	"John Paston"	inside front cover, p.16, p.198	15th century		male	name		
Bo1	"Thomas Helmes is an onest man"	p.46	16-17th century		male	name and note		
Bo1	"Thomas Helmes is a knaue"	93, 349	16-17th century		male	name and note		
Bo1	allusion to John Deye signed "Wyll'm Langwad"	p.144	16th century		male	name and note		
Bo1	Quotations from Troilus and Legend of Good Women	p.434	15th century		unknown	note		
Bo1	Quotations from the Book of the Duchess	inside back cover	15th century		unknown	note		
Bo1	Quote from Troilus	p.434	15th century		unknown	note		
Bo1	"J hs Pastuns boke"	p.129	15th century	upside down, dry point	male	statement of ownership		
Bo2	"Jho"	21r	15th century	crayon	male	name		
Bo2	"Gryfyn"	6r	15th century	dry point	unknown	name	As described, but very faint.	p. 55
Bo2	"Belthiam" or "Belchiam"	139	15th century		unknown	name	Manly and Rickert do not specify recto or verso but there is a faint name could once have shown 'Belthiam'	p. 55

							or 'Belchiam' on fol. 139v.	
Bo2	"Frauncis Upton"	106r	16th century		unknown	name		
Bo2	"Thomas Smythe"	173r	15th century	ink	male	name		
Bo2	"Amor vincit omnia" capped with "Mentiris quod pecunia"	216v	undated		unknown	note		
Bo2	"This is George Vpton His booke"	55r	16-17th century		male	statement of ownership		
Bw	Coat of arms two cross crosslets with space for a third on a chief	93r	undated		unknown	coat of arms		
Bw	Coat of arms shield parted per pale, one cross crosslet with space for two more	73r	undated		unknown	coat of arms		
Bw	"Wyllyam Dubledae" with a paraph	84v	16th century		male	name		
Bw	"Per me Johannem Wekes", a couplet of English verse and the beginning of a legal document dated 34 Elizabeth	259v	16th century		male	name and note		
Bw	"Thy masters booke fothe socrne thy name To scribe therin then cease for shame"	259v	16th century		unknown	note		
Bw	"My masters booke will geve me lefe To scribe ther in y ask no le fe"	259v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ch	Flower spray with two leaves	C30, F760, B162, E1525	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ch	Hand	D515, D1109, H310, H351, B991, E1525	15th century		unknown	drawing		

Ch	"Johannes Peyto Verney Baro Willoughby de Broke"	1r	18th century		male	name		
Ch	"Thomas Vause"	72r	15th century		male	name		
Ch	"Grayce and good manners maketh man"	1r	15th century		unknown	note		
Ch	"But who louethe him that no good cann"	1r	16th century		unknown	note		
Ch	Repeated motto of Winchester School	151v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ch	"Joh Long' Liber"	350r	17th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ch	"Mounster"	1r	16th century		unknown	unclear		
Cn	"Thomas Gylles Estre"	262r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Wyll'm Selk"	89v	15-16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Dowland"	36v	15-16th century		unknown	name		
Cn	"Robert John"	102r	undated		male	name		
Cn	"Boclande"	308v	16-17th century		unknown	name		
Cn	"Johannes Cooper"	308v	16-17th century		male	name		
Cn	"roger"	308v	16-17th century		male	name		
Cn	"John Smith"	308v	16-17th century		male	name		
Cn	"Crystofe"	308v	16-17th century		male	name		
Cn	"Christian Brudenell"	41r	17th century		female	name		
Cn	"Thomas Brudenell"	10r, 179r, 217r	17th century		male	name		
Cn	"A Brud"	308r	17th century		unknown	name		
Cn	"Joyce Mantell"	14r	16th century		female	name	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
Cn	"Thomas Parker de Estre"	262r	16th century		male	name		

Cn	Thomas Gylles"	197r, 267r, 280r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"[Steu?]en thornne"	280r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Wyll...boyse"	280r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Harr' Lloyd"	182r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"...hamond"[?]	280r	16th century		unknown	name		
Cn	"harr' ffloyde"	223r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Thomas Richard"	308r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Henry Mantell"	192v	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Thomas Mantell"	237r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	Henry Mantell and Thomas Mantell	200r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Bar. Goge"	262r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	"Mantell"	179v, 217r	16th century		unknown	name		
Cn	"per me George Wode"	188r	16th century	read by ultra-violet light	male	name		
Cn	"Robert Brudenell"	217r	16th century		male	name		
Cn	A note signed "Florence McCaleb" saying Cn was used by Caxton	flyleaf	19th century		female	name and note		
Cn	"auditor"	308v	16-17th century		unknown	unclear		
Cp	A scale ornament in red crayon followed by "Sh" and a spider's web	79v	undated		unknown	drawing		
Cp	"Burle"	146r	15th century	dry point	unknown	name		
Cp	"Liber C.C.C. Oxon Ex dono Gulielmi Fulman A.M. hujus Collegii quondam socius"	1r	17th century		male	statement of ownership		
Cp	red crayon sketch of a W	177v	undated		unknown	unclear		

Ct	"This boke was compiled [in VIII Henrici VI] by Dan John Lydgate Monke of Burye and written by the hondis of William Cotson [de Dunstaple] Canonicus to the honoure lawde and worshippe of almighty Godde and of owre Blessid lady his moder and all the saynts whos lyvis shall folowe as hitte shall be shewyd so-as hitte is chaptord Script. 1485-1490"	Inside front cover	19th century	copy of older inscription	unknown	name and note		
Ct	"Explicit vita sancta Virginis et martiris scripta per manus Domini Willelmi Cotson Cote [stroked with red] Canonici In mense Marcii anno domini M1o CCCCLXXXmo"	170r	15th century	hand of the scribe	male	name and note		
Dd	"By cawse thys booke ys off gret sobstans hyt ys mengles wt lyke pastimes but ffor no wyse men but ffor Jilles nad boys by cawse it ys all off knaues and toys"	150r	16th century		unknown	annotation		
Dd	A sketch of the head of a man wearing a fish, with something pouring from his mouth and a skeleton arm coming from his throat holding a winged serpent	150r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Dd	"Richard Meryvn"	38r	16th century		male	name		
Dd	"Hungerford"	6r	15th century		unknown	name	Potentially written by a scribe.	p. 113 (note).
Dd	"William" twice	121r	16th century		male	name		
Dd	"William Rokes"	180r	16th century		male	name		
Dd	"Wyllyam Pulley"	150r	16th century		male	name		
Dd	"Wyllyam Pulley"	150r	16th century		male	name		
Dd	"Rokes"	120v	16th century		unknown	name		
Dd	a scribble addressed to "Mayster Wrooth"	144r	16th century		male	name and note		
Dd	"In dei nomine Amen anno domini M CCCCC X"	136r	16th century		unknown	note		

Dd	"Wyllyam Langtun" claims ownership	146r	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Dd	"nota La Chastite dell Cenobia"	181v	16-17th century	same hand as fols 161r and 184r	unknown	unclear		
Dd	"Sur Onedake"	161r	16-17th century	same hand as fol 181v and 184r	unknown	unclear		
Dd	"et Judith son concubine"	184r	16-17th century	same hand as fols 181v and 161r	unknown	unclear		
DI	"William Hassall"	49v, 92r, 111r, 114v, 115r	16th century		male	name	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
DI	"John Hassall"	92v, 121r	16th century		male	name	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
DI	"Richard Hassall"	117r, 136v	16th century		male	name	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
DI	"Thomas M'son"	78r	16th century		male	name		
DI	"Richard Hassall"	140v	16-17th century		male	name	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
DI	"Mary Croxton"	5r	17th century		female	name		
DI	"George Croxton"	5r	17th century		male	name		
DI	"Prychyard"	5r	17th century		unknown	name		
DI	"Randul"	20r	16th century		male	name		
DI	"John"	20r	16th century		male	name		
DI	"Margerite hassall"	20r	16th century		female	name	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
DI	"To his lovyngre frend Richard Smithe"	57r	16th century		male	name and note		

DI	A reference to "John Middilt[on?] of Su..."	156r	16th century		male	name and note		
DI	"hic est liber meaus" "William Hassall"	115r	16th century		male	statement of ownership	Possible indicator of a shared book.	p. 82
DI	"Thomas Wad"	76r	16th century		male	name		
Do	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE		
Ds	A shield in sixteenths, "Knyvett" below	274v	16th century		unknown	coat of arms	In this instance it was not possible to view the manuscript or digital images so I have taken Manly and Rickert at their word.	p. 57
Ds	A shield with "Walpole" below and "Viuat tandem veritas qd Walpole" above	274v	16th century		unknown	coat of arms	In this instance it was not possible to view the manuscript or digital images so I have taken Manly and Rickert at their word.	p. 57
Ds	A shielf with a lion rampant, tongued and clawed, "Skarlet Studio crescit sapientia" below	282v	16th century		unknown	coat of arms	In this instance it was not possible to view the manuscript or digital images so I have taken Manly and Rickert at their word.	p. 57
Ds	"Of your charite praieth for the Writer of this book. Explicit"		15th century	colophon	unknown	colophon		

Ds	"Hamon le Strange"	front flyleaf	17th century		male	name		
Ds	"Hamon le Strange" followed by "Ou bien ou rien"	back flyleaf	17th century		male	name and note		
Ds2	"xxijli vs iij d at whetsontyde Johan fearnelay fee payde and vs to tonge and ijs to Syr Thomas danby for Snellienges"	1r	16th century		male	name and note		
Ds2	"by John ffernelaye vnpaid at Mart 96 viijs vijd his patant discharged" and "He ff...l."	2r	16th century		male	name and note		
Ds2	"James Cordinglay lent to yow iij li (to-li struck out) xcs iij d"	2v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ds2	"vchyns[?] of N[?]orthland hows xxs xd"	2v	16th century	different hand from the other fol. 2v example	unknown	note		
Ee	A drawing of a woman (torn), a shepherd with a crook and pipe, and a sheepfold with sheep	19v	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ee	A drawing of a fool with bells and a bauble	20v	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ee	A drawing of a head	59r	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ee	A drawing of a landscape with rabbits coming out of their holes	59r	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ee	A drawing of a game with balls, several figures of men and a woman, with legends in dress suggesting time of Henry VII	81r	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ee	A fish with "E R" either side of a plant, an escutcheon with a paraph and "E R" again.	18r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Ee	"Edward Hobdin"	80r	16th century		male	name		
Ee	"Hovmffrey Seldon"	76v	16th century		male	name		

Ee	"Edemonde Co.te"	76v	16th century		male	name		
Ee	"Jon Hodge"	78r	15th century		male	name		
Ee	"Wylliam fisher"	78r	15th century		male	name		
Ee	"Rychyrd withom"	78r	15th century		male	name		
Ee	"Thom"	18r	15th century		male	name		
Ee	A note on twelve bishops and an inscription in Welsh	112v	undated		unknown	note		
Ee	"franc' heyley owe this Booke ho can say nate none but one", sums and a reference to Lais	46v	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ee	"ff....ffishsh"	18r	15th century		unknown	unclear		
El	"Henricus Drury Miles"	147v	16th century		male	name		
El	"per me Thomam Badbeye"	flyleaf ii.v	16th century		male	name		
El	"Willem Dethe"	169v	16th century		male	name		
El	"Mr Edmond Bedingfelde at Wighton"	flyleaf vi.v	16th century		male	name		
El	"Rycher Challes"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		male	name		
El	"Robert Wytipole" or "Nytipole"	179r	16th century		male	name		
El	"George Smith"	48r	16th century		male	name		
El	"Thome Randell, [Rey]nold Gregorye, Nycholas Henold"	52r	16th century		male	name		
El	"Edward Waldegrave"	1v	16th century		male	name		
El	"Thomas Clalthorpp of"	1v	16th century		male	name		
El	"Robertus Drury miles. William Drury miles. Robertus Drury miles. Domina Jarmin. Domina Jarningham. Domina Alington"	1v	16th century		male and female	name	This is correct. The recto of the second flyleaf also contains repetitions of the names 'Domina Jerningham' and 'Domina Alington'.	p. 80

							This is on the verso of the first flyleaf. 'Margery' in the same hand also appears on the verso of the fourth flyleaf. A second hand writes 'Margery Seynt John' next to 'Margery' on the fourth flyleaf.	
El	"Margery"	1v	16th century		female	name		p. 82
El	"John Hedgeman"	64r, 64v	15th century		male	name		
El	"John Hedgeman of Hawkedoun in the Countie of Suff'...man..."	175r	15th century	read by ultra-violet light	male	name	Very faint but as described.	p. 111
El	"Will'm Duke"	no fol.	16th century		male	name		
El	"John Neve of Oxenborowe in comt' norff"	48r	16th century		male	name		
El	Poem signed "per Rotheley"	flyleaf ii.v-iv.r	15th century		unknown	name and note		
El	"1 DVRVM 5 PATI 68" and two verses signed "R North" and "RN"	flyleaf iv.r	16th century		unknown	name and note		
El	"1 DVRVM 5 PATI 68" and "R North"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		unknown	name and note		
El	Two verses signed "R N"	flyleaf v.r	16th century		unknown	name and note		
El	An erased scribble about Thomas Duke of Norfolk	48r	16th century		unknown	name and note		
El	"Margery seynt John ys a shrew"	1v	16th century		unknown	name and note	This is written in a different hand to either of the two hands who write Margery on the first and fourth flyleaves.	p. 60

El	"In winters miste" signed "per me Henricum Payne", paraph with "IHC"	130r	16th century		male	name and note		
El	A note addressed to "Thomas Newman" signed "William Deniston"	flyleaf vi.r	16th century		male	name and note		
El	"confusion E R of your working"	opposite Rotheley poem	16th century		unknown	note		
El	"take thou this treatise thi time therin to vse to thende thou truly taste thes treasures tobteyne trifle not in travaylin thi time for to abvse take and tye but turne and try thi purpose tatteyne."	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		unknown	note		
En1	Bookplate of "Edward Haistwell of the Middle' Templ Esq. MDCCXVIII"	flyleaf	18th century		male	bookplate		
En1	A drawing of a figure with a halo and gown, above a small circle enclosing a 5-leaved flower	43r	15th century	brown plummet	unknown	drawing		
En1	Grotesque head of a woman	198v, 206r	15th century		unknown	drawing		
En1	"my lord Cobham" twice	158v	15-16th century		male	name		
En1	"Radolphus Pe"	229r	15th century	cut off by trimming	unknown	name		
En1	"roberd"	144r	undated		male	name		
En1	"Thomas"	163v	undated	trimmed	male	name		
En1	"Brotherton"	1r	16th century		unknown	name		
En1	"oon" attached to capital M	158v	15th century		unknown	unclear		
En1	Red crayon marks	118v, 124r, to 160r and beyond	undated		unknown	unclear		
En2	A quartered shield with two flowers above	174r	undated		unknown	coat of arms		

En2	Drawings of animals	34r, 64v, 153r, 156v, 190r	undated	crayon	unknown	drawing		
En2	Sketch	149r	undated	dry point	unknown	drawing		
En2	"Crystopher" twice	16r	16th century	dry point	male	name		
En2	"George Roceter"	140r	16th century		male	name		
En2	"hugo worth [nearly stroked out] humfrye worth wrought this"	38v	16th century		male	name		
En2	"John"	45v, 157v, 162v, 184r	16th century		male	name		
En2	"dodyngton"	141r	15-16th century	dry point	unknown	name		
En2	"ffardinando Bye"	215r	16-17th century		male	name		
En2	Variants of Thomasina Lady Stourton and other scribbles	9r, 12v, 54r, 77v, 78r, 101v, 112v, 116r, 147r	15-16th century		female	name and note	F.101v reads 'tomas A mydes his hond he lete the frere a fart' and is not Thomasina's hand but the same hand as writes 'herre begenneth the story off greschell' on f.103v. The olther folios contain 'Thomasina Lady Stourton' with the exception of f.147r which reads 'gras ys my	p. 77

							dys yer truwlyn' in the same hand.	
En2	"This book formerly belong'd to the Priory of Southwick in Hampshire and was given by Richd Norton Esqr to his Bro' John Chichely Esqr Mr John Urry of Christ Church Oxon made us? Of this Mss in his Edition of Chaucer printed at London 1721 Vide Preface Artle X"	Third front flyleaf	18th century		unknown	name and note		
En2	"Jhon Aston[?] iij d", "Rychcherd Jolyn j d", "Thomas Marlur iij", "Tomas Welles d", "Jhon broke ij", "Water forrst[?] ii", "Rychcher felipis iii", "Willim clarkes".	117v	16th century		male	name and note		
En2	"Morryse 1563, ffrauncus 1565, Henry 1567" with astrological signs	84r	16th century		male	record of birth	The day and dates of their births are also noted.	p. 86
En2	"John 1574"	84r	16th century		male	record of birth	Added after Morryse, Ffrauncus and Henry in a similar style but in a different hand.	p. 86
En2	Illegible scribbles	117v	undated	dry point	unknown	unclear		
En3	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE		
Fi	"Bonus liber est iste" and "Qui scripsit paruum bonum scit"	end flyleaf	15th century		unknown	annotation	Written close to the names 'Thomas Kent' and 'Dounton	p. 76

							Mastress' but written in the same hand which writes 'the wyf of T Kent'.	
Fi	"Thomas Kent" and "Downton Mastress the wyf of T Kent"	end flyleaf	15th century		male and female	name	Thomas Kent' and 'Downton Mastress' are written in a different hand to that which writes 'the wyf of T Kent'	p. 76
Fi	"Tho. Sly"	front flyleaf verso	16-17th century		male	name		
Fi	"Max Dallinson"	159r	17th century	different hand to fol. 1r	male	name	This is correct.	p. 54
Fi	"Max Dallinson"	1r	17th century	different hand to fol. 159r	male	name	This is correct.	p. 54
Fi	"Peter Sandes"	99r	undated		male	name		
Gl	Bookplate of the Hunterian Library Glasgow	front cover	undated		unknown	bookplate		
Gl	"Roger blyte"	108v	16th century		male	name		
Gl	"Tho Martin"	front cover, 115v	17-18th century		male	name		
Gl	"Given me Mr John White of Ipswich, Surgeon"	front cover	undated		unknown	name		
Gl	A table of contents and two notes concerning the MS in the hand of Peter le Neve	flyleaf ii	17-18th century		male	note		
Gl	A clipping from a sales catalogue	flyleaf ii	18th century		unknown	note		

Gl	A memorandum concerning land, mentioning "bastes grene" and Calmans feld"	120v	16th century		unknown	note		
Gl	"Francis Boke"	55v	16th century		unknown	statement of ownership		
Gl	"E P" and other letters		late	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ha1	"Vestre magnifice et generosissime dominacionis humilimus seruiens et ser [abbreviated and smudged] Orate[sic] heremita de Grenewych' mundo quasi totaliter segregatus ac mentibus suorum fortune amicorum et hominum per oblitus"	106v	15th century	colophon	unknown	colophon		
Ha1	"John Bentley"	40r	16th century		male	name		
Ha1	"Luke parcar"	21v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ha1	"parker" and "luke par"	101v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ha1	"R P" and "P Parke[r?]"	98r	15th century	same shade of crayon used for ruling	unknown	name		
Ha1	"Raffe parcar"	54r	15th century		male	name		
Ha1	"Homfraye deryke is a knaue", "Houmfraye dethik is a knaue...soo" and "Houmfray dethike dux omnium malorum"	107v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ha1	"Who can not wepen' lerne"	42r	15th century		unknown	note		
Ha1	"a ha my joye"	14r	16th century		unknown	note		
Ha1	"Lucas parker ows this boke wytnes Robert Parker" twice	107r	15-16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ha2	"fabula bona"	56v, 57r, 128r	15th century		unknown	annotation	This is correct, all three instances are in the same hand	p. 75

							but they do not match the other hands in the book.	
Ha2	Drawings of a rose and carnation	36v	16th century		unknown	drawing		
Ha2	"Rychard"	223v	15th century	brown crayon	male	name		
Ha2	"Edoardus ffoxus[?]"	232r	16th century		male	name		
Ha2	"Rogerus ffoxus"	2r	16th century		male	name		
Ha2	"Edwardus Ffoxus"	232r	16th century		male	name		
Ha2	"Wylliam Grynfyl"	231v	16th century		male	name		
Ha2	"quod Cornhyll"	231r	15th century		unknown	name		
Ha2	"Mawde"	110r	15th century		female	name	This is correct.	p. 75
Ha2	"Pembyrton"	230v	15th century	dry point	unknown	name		
Ha2	"brookes"	114v	undated		unknown	name		
Ha2	"Richard Babyngton of Bewsey"	201r	undated	read by ultra-violet light	male	name		
Ha2	"Ad. Baynes"	228v	17th century		male	name		
Ha2	"Jane Oteley the dawther of Adam Otley and Marye his wieff was baltised 30 Nov 1548 Edward ffoxo and the faire Jane weare lawfull married 9 September 1561"	126v	16th century		male and female	name and note	Written in the hand of Edward Fox.	pp. 86-87
Ha2	"aue maria graci"	184r	undated		unknown	note		
Ha2	"Corpus Christi 1679"	200r	17th century		unknown	place name		

							I have transcribed only their names and dates: In Edward Fox's hand is Maria Foxe, 1567; Susanna Foxe, 1568; Sara Foxe, 1569; Edmund Foxe, 1570; and William Foxe, 1572. F.127r has three further hands: Hand 1 writes George Fox 1573. Hand 2 writes Roger Fox 1574. Hand 3 (likely Jane Oteley) writes Thomas Foxe, 1575; Ambrose Foxe, 1576; Tobias Foxe, 1577; Richard Foxe, 1578; Martha Foxe, no date; Frances Foxe, 1582; Margery and Sara Foxe, 1584; and Katherine Foxe, 1585.	
Ha2	The names of Edward and Jane Fox's 16 children born between 1567 and 1585.	126v, 127r	16th century		unknown	record of birth		pp. 86-87
Ha2	Edmundus ffox t[he] p[o]ssessor [o]f"	232r	16th century		male	statement of ownership	As described but almost cut off the top of the flyleaf.	pp. 86-87

Ha2	"Edwarde ffoxewe the this booke ex dono Patris sui" and "Edwardus ffoxus Possidet hunc librum ex dono Patris sui"	231r	16th century		male	statement of ownership	My translation of ex dono Patris sui' is 'a gift from his father'. The remainder of the marginalia on this folio is in the hand of Edward Fox including a paragraph of verse which I have not transcribed.	pp. 86-87
Ha2	"Thys boke belong...To me Edmond' ffoxewe felow of lyncoll' Inne"	232r	16th century	over an erasure	male	statement of ownership	This is correct.	pp. 86-87
Ha3	A rebus of a stock in a tun	32v, 45v, 190r, 192r (twice), 189r	15th century	rubric	unknown	drawing		
Ha3	A fish followed by the letter R	45v	undated		unknown	drawing		
Ha3	Sketches showing a hand in a bishop's sleeve holding a pen	190r, 192r	undated	crayon	unknown	drawing		
Ha3	"Geoffrey Ithell"	133r	16th century	same hand as fols 143r, 60r, 43r	male	name		
Ha3	"Thomas"	60r	16th century	same hand as fols 133r, 143r, 43r	male	name		
Ha3	"Robert Smyth"	43r	16th century	same hand as fols 133r, 143r, 60r	male	name		
Ha3	"Stoughton"	41r	15th century	rubric	unknown	name		
Ha3	"R Wood"	198r	undated		unknown	name		
Ha3	"R Fish" written with the Stoughton rebus	45v	undated		unknown	name		

Ha3	"James Richardson"	93r	16-17th century		male	name		
Ha3	"Jon Grene"	168v	15th century		male	name		
Ha3	"Doctor Peni writ this boke"	150r	15-16th century		unknown	name and note		
Ha3	A short group of rhymed proverbs, mainly from Chaucer signed "Quod Impingham"	122r	15th century		unknown	name and note		
Ha3	"Edward Mor[cut off] is a knaue"	200r	undated		unknown	name and note		
Ha3	A scribble concerning "R de Bosco knight"	199r	16th century		unknown	name and note		
Ha3	An expense account at London and Lambeth, including a supper and dinner for "pretye"	59r	16th century		unknown	note		
Ha3	"charly"	119v	15th century	red crayon	unknown	place name		
Ha3	"Je...Ith..."	143r	16th century	same hand as fols 133r, 60r, 43r	unknown	unclear		
Ha4	A shield with a chevron and an object above	202v, 192v, 194v	15-16th century		unknown	coat of arms		
Ha4	"He Barrle"	166r	16th century	dry point	male	name		
Ha4	"Jhon Marcant"	144r	16th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Jhon Marka"	180r	16th century	two hands	male	name		
Ha4	"for Andreu"	71r	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Jhon Thomlyn"	165v	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Jhon Thomsun"	284v	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Janet bro..."	165v	15th century		female	name	This is correct.	p. 85 (note)

Ha4	"Elizabeth Hampden"	6v, 18v, 58r, 73v, 82v, 124r, 147r, 195r, 202v, 214v	15th century	ink and dry point	female	name	I struggled to make the name Elizabeth Hampden out, but Daniel Mosser confirms the presence of marginalia by amending the folio from 73v to 74r.	p. 82 (note)
Ha4	"Jane Pawlett"	82v	15th century		female	name	A word which could be 'Pawlett' appears on this folio.	p. 82 (note)
Ha4	"Henry Sidney" twice	170r	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Anne Leu[enthorpe]"	147r	16th century		female	name	This is correct.	p. 85
Ha4	"Anne Barlee"	187r	16th century		female	name	Full note reads 'And yf yt be so playne Anne Barlee that ys my name'	p. 84
Ha4	"Simon Masse"	284v	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"and for Thome brustone"	286v	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Johns Brustone"	286v	15th century		male	name		
Ha4	"Wyllm brustone"	286v	15th century		male	name		

Ha4	"ffear the Lorde, and thou shalt prosper. Tho: Leuenthorpe. 1564 Simeon Brograve Dorothe Brograve" several Latin quotations follow then "John Brograve the eldere gent. oweth this booke witnesses John Leventhorpe gent. Thomas Meade gent. Simeon Brograve gent. John Brograve the yonger gent. Joene Brograve. Bridgete Brograve. Charles Brograve. Thomas Alline. John Rawlinson. Robert Coates[?]. John Hodson. and many other"	286v	16th century		male and female	name and note	'ffear the Lorde, and thou shalt prosper. Tho: Leuenthorpe. 1564' is in one hand. 'Simeon Brograve' and 'Dorothe Brograve' along with 'John Brograve...and many other' are in another hand. A further hand writes the Latin quotations.	p. 85
Ha4	"1556 Anne Grey Wife to the lord John Grey and dowghtor to Wylliam Barlee Esquier owith this book EW"	286v	16th century		female	statement of ownership	Manly and Rickert assert this is in the hand of Edward Waterhouse. As the hand signs EW and matches the hand on fol. 61r which also writes '1557 Elizabeth Kympton Edward Waterhouse'. Manly and Rickert do not mention Elizabeth Kympton.	p. 82
Ha4	"My lady Greyes Boke"	169r	16th century		unknown	statement of ownership	The hand appears to be different to the other hands	

							noted in this manuscript.	
Ha4	"Chawc"	200r	15th century	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ha4	"Tovt pvr lamvr"	150v, 152v	15th century	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ha4	Two large S's	42v	undated	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ha4	"Bess..."	42v	undated	red crayon	unknown	unclear		
Ha5	"Robert Coluelle"	6r	16th century		male	name		
Ha5	"John Blechenden"	6r	16th century	different hand to fol. 6r	male	name		
Ha5	"John Nabbes"	39r	15-16th century		male	name		
Ha5	"heffelld" or "herfelld"	139v	15th century		unknown	name		
Ha5	"Jen[Jon?] hay ward"	75v	15th century		male	name		
Ha5	"Blechenden" twice	129v	16th century	different hand to fol. 129v	unknown	name		
Ha5	"Explicit q' robart blake de Cotton a'[?] m d" [cut off]	58r	15-16th century	degenerated hand of the scribe	male	name and note	Plausibly in the same hand as 12v.	pp. 119, 156
Ha5	"By me hanese[Agnes] Crane of Earl Sohm haue a merry master"	76v	16th century		female	name and note	This is correct.	p. 72
Ha5	"Explicit q' Robart blake"	12v	15th century	hand of the scribe	male	name and note	Plausibly in the same hand as 58r.	pp. 119, 156
Ha5	memoranda concerning "Wyllm Hayward"	99v-100r	15th century		male	name and note		
Ha5	Cipher	17v, 18v	15th century		unknown	note		
Ha5	"Tant quant q' viuray a warwyk"	34r	15th century		unknown	note		
Ha5	"pryncys [princess] offe youthe"	139v	undated		unknown	note		
Ha5	"C restyth"	34r, 139v	15th century		unknown	unclear		

Ha5	"n aygh su ansy"	53v	15th century	mirror writing	unknown	unclear		
Ha5	various h's	88v, 106v	15th century		unknown	unclear		
Ha5	"pryncys delalaner" or "delalauer, delalanez, delalauetz"	139v	15th century		unknown	unclear		
Ha5	"...poly"	42r	15th century		unknown	unclear		
He	Dates 1580 and 1581	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		unknown	date		
He	"Jaffery Lord"	130v, 141r	16th century	child	male	name	The name 'Jaffery Lord' appears on f.130v and 'Jaffery Lord ded play' on f.141r. They are in different hands. The use of 'ded play' implies the writer is a child.	
He	"Robert Lord"	45v	16th century	child	male	name	The phrase 'Robert Lord ded play' appears on f.45v. The use of 'ded play' implies the writer is a child.	
He	"Gregory Lord"	130v, 141r	16th century	child	male	name	The name 'Gregory Lord' appears on f.130v in the same hand as wrote 'Jaffery Lord' but does not seem to appear on f.141r.	
He	"Thomas Wade"	6r, 97r, 173r, 133r, 149r	16th century		male	name		

He	"John Wade"	70r, 129r, 133r, 149r	16th century		male	name		
He	"Thomas"	no fols	16th century	over twenty occurrences, in the hand of Thomas Wade	male	name		
He	"Lionel Symond"	13v, 51r, 130v	16th century	child	male	name	This is correct. All the entries seem to be in the same hand.	
He	"Lionelus Symond"	40r, 78v, 93r	16th century	child	male	name	Plausibly the same hand as appears on fols 13v, 51r, 130v, perhaps at different stages of development. Fol. 40r reads 'Lyonelus Symond the lofe of gode shal be spoen to people that they shall [unclear]' and is the least practised. Fol. 78v reads 'Lyonelus symond ded playe'. Fol. 93r reads 'Lionelus Symond' upside down.	
He	"Thomas Symond"	137v	16th century		male	name		
He	"Robert Petter"	37v	16th century		male	name		
He	"Tobyas..Tovell"	flyleaf iii.r	16th century		male	name		

He	"Tobias"	169r, 174v	16th century		male	name		
He	"Thomas tovel"	flyleaf iii.r	16th century		male	name		
He	"Anthony Cale" or "Cole"	127r, 128r	16th century		male	name		
He	"Master Carmen stward"	111r	16th century		male	name		
He	"Samuel"	132v	16th century		male	name		
He	"Danuel Wylson"	132v	16th century		male	name		
He	"Samuel" and "Danuel"	37v, 148r	16th century		male	name		
He	"Frances Copper"	162r	16th century	child	male	name	Fol. 162r reads 'Frances copper ded play'. In the same hand as writes 'Frances copper ded play in the church' on fol. 215r.	
He	"John Hyam"	9r, 133r, 139r	16th century	child	male	name	E Gosnold' appears twice on fol 9r but not 'John Hyam'. 'Jhon' and 'Jhon Hyam' appear on fol. 133r. There are multiple repetitions of 'J' on fol. 139r.	
He	"Lyonell Tallemache" and "Squyer"	59v	16-17th century	child	male	name	This is correct.	p. 47
He	A monogram of the name Lionel Tollemache	164v	16-17th century	child	male	name	This is correct.	
He	"Elizabeth Symon"	142r	16th century	child	female	name	This is correct. It is difficult to tell whether it is in the same hand as writes Elizabeth Carmen on fols.	p. 48

							70r, 128r and 165r, possibly the same hand or different children who have had the same teacher.	
He	"Elizabeth Carmen"	70r, 128r	16th century	child	female	name	Fol. 70r reads 'elisabeth carmen ded play'. Fol. 128r only Elsab is now visible. Both in the same hand as worte 'alsabatha carmen haue rent of a pas a papar' on fol. 165r.	p. 49
He	"edward gosnold ded p feyte wyllame coegame with him pater elsabithe"	92v	16th century	child	male and female	name and note	This is correct. The words are written vertically in the left hand margin and take up a lot of space. They are smudged/blurred together in places.	p. 48
He	"alsabatha carman haue rent of a pas a papar"	165r	16th century	child	female	name and note	This is correct. In the same hand as writes Elizabeth Carmen on fols 704 and 128r.	p. 48
He	"Jhon hyam ded playe with a knif on his foryde [forehead] with the poynte W"	91r	16th century	child	male	name and note	This is correct.	
He	"franses copper ded play in the chirch"	215r	16th century	child	male	name and note	This is correct. In the same hand as writes 'Frances	

							copper' on fol. 162r.	
He	memorandum of a debt owed "by John Styl yeman of Stonum Suff" to "Robert Carlo, yeman"	171v	16th century		male	name and note		
He	A table of the times of sunrise and sunset through June	flyleaf iii.r	15-16th century		unknown	note		
He	"honor Thy father and Thy mother"	116v	16th century	child	unknown	note	Could be either the hand of Lionel Symond or one of the Elizabeths.	
He	"batayll"	117v	16th century		unknown	unclear	There are more words after the word 'batayll' which is in either the hand of Lionel Symond or one of the Elizabeths.	
Hg	A drawing of a head with a coronet	123r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Hg	A drawing of a cap and a single plume	153v	undated		unknown	drawing		
Hg	"Gilbard Nelsoun"	44r	16th century		male	name		
Hg	"James fraire" and "Wllm Dymmocke"	171r	16th century		male	name		
Hg	"Stokes"	85v	15th century	red crayon	unknown	name		

Hg	A memorandum by "Andrew Brereton of Llanvairiscaird in the Countie of Carnarvon gent" to pay a servant on 20 Dec. 1625	152r	17th century		male	name and note	Full note reads 'Memorandum that I Andrew Brereton of Llanvairiscaird in the countie of Carnavon gent [?] and [?] only indepted unto William ap Robeart searvant unto the said Andrew Brereton in the some of twentie shillings to bee paid to the said William ap Robeart the twentieth day of december 1625'. The works 'Memorandum that I Andrew Brereton' and 'Andrew Brereton' are repeated underneath in the same hand but different ink.	p. 56, 88
Hg	A moral quatrain signed "Per Ellenour Banestor"	128r	16th century		female	name and note	Transcribed as '[page eaten away] in tender age, hath most in [...]re [page eaten away]re:: wherfore, in age who greatly longes [page	p. 87 (note)

							eaten away]n self good seed to sowe :::'	
Hg	A form of writ addressed to the Keeper of the castle and gaol of Chester, authorizing the transfer of a prisoner named "Ralph Hot" (remainder eaten by rats) to the gaol in Lancaster to be tried, dated temp. Elizabeth and signed "T R H"	169v	16th century	same hand as fol. 144v	male	name and note		
Hg	"the graundmother of this vnder named Children"	128r	16th century		unknown	note	Similar to the hands which list the children below.	p. 87
Hg	"Ellen", 1605, "at Newington Beyond london", "John", 1606, "Christened att St Petters Church in Chester"; "Frances", 1609, "at llanver neare Carnarvon"; "Richard", 1611, "att llanver"; "Ann", 1612, "in llanvire"	128r	17th century	multiple hands	male and female	record of birth	The hands are italic and similar but look different for each entry. Any of the hands that wrote the entries for John, Frances or Richard could have written 'per Ellenor Banestor the grandmother of this undernamed children'.	p. 87
Hg	"Richard Banestar", 1571, "Elenor Banestar", 1573, "fraunces Banestar", 1575	165r	16th century		male and female	record of birth	Written in Eleanor Banestar's hand.	p. 87
Hg	"Elizabeth Bannester", 1576	165r	16th century		female	record of birth	A different hand to the other names on fol. 165r.	p. 87

Hg	"Martha Banester...XX year of gene Elyzabeth 15"	165r	16th century		female	record of birth	Written in Eleanor Banestar's hand.	p. 87
Hg	"Omnia Transibunt nos ibimus ibitur ibunt" and "Johes Barcomsted gen' huius libri Magister et Verus et solus possessor T[Teste] G N"	144v	16th century	same hand as fol. 144v	male	statement of ownership		
Hg	"ffouke Dutton huius ly[bri] est possessor" with a paraph	87r	15th century	read using ultra-violet light	male	statement of ownership	Just visible on the folio.	p. 138
Hg	"buihth"	13v	15th century	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Hk	"white"	13v	16th century	red crayon	unknown	name		
Hk	"whit"	26r	16th century	dry point	unknown	name		
Hk	Statement of ownership by "[H]erry Doyle" with witnesses "Thomas Doyle". "Phelip Doyle", "Jhon Coket"	86v	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
H11	"John" and a name ending in "ton"	24r	undated		male	name		
H11	"Manning"	61r	16th century		unknown	name		
H12	comments and suggestions such as "Good Readyng", "read this again" and "remember" signed by "Jo: Bra" and "J B"	76v, 155v, 186v	16th century		male	annotation		
H12	"Do not Reade thys but hyde your eye"	149v	16th century	same hand as fols 76v, 155v, 186v	male	annotation		
H12	"Nycolas Skyner"	9r	16th century		male	name		
H12	"Jon" or "James Adams" and a few unintelligible scribbles	26v	undated		male	name		
H12	Notes by John Stowe	229r	16-17th century		male	note		
H12	Added lines by John Stowe	260v	16-17th century		male	note		

HI2	Tiny letters among the rubricated flourishes "Q[?]od Do an"	87v	undated		unknown	unclear		
HI3	"John Welham"	80r	15th century	upside down	male	name		
HI3	"ffincham"	40r	15-16th century		unknown	name		
HI3	"Wyllm Hert"	128r	15-16th century		male	name		
HI3	"hodge [space] ffincham"	64r, 64v	15th century		unknown	name		
HI3	"Deo gras" and "Jesus Maria"	end of text	15th century		unknown	note		
HI4	R plus four minims and g	Rim of gemel	15th century		unknown	unclear		
Hn	"John Skynner"	outside cover	16th century		male	name		
Hn	"John Skynnyr of farnham"	inside back cover	16th century		male	name		
Hn	"Th Sayer"	flyleaf iv.v	17th century		unknown	name		
Hn	"Th Sayer me tenet 7 decembris [cross] 1617"	flyleaf ii.r	17th century		male	name and note		
Hn	"John Thyll[eras.] John tyllowth for ij bowsyllys off wy...the pres..xxiiij d"		16th century		male	name and note		
Hn	Notes by John Stowe	1r, 9v	16-17th century		male	note		
Hn	"Thys ys ye medysyn yt ye kynges grace vsythe every day"	150v	16th century		unknown	note		
Hn	Notes possibly by William Thynne	81r	16th century		male	note		
Hn	"Iste confessor domyni. Iste lyber pertene the Nicolaus Serll"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ht	"William Hurst"	9r	16th century		male	name		
Ht	"William Shirley" or "Shelley"	124r	16th century		male	name		
Ht	"John Day"	208r	16th century		male	name		

Ht	"Charles Hatton"	flyleaf	17th century		male	name		
Ii	"Barron" and "these were...Roger Noreys"	238r	15th century		male	name		
Ii	"John Barun"	240r	15th century		male	name		
Ii	"Willm Cooke"	188r	16th century		male	name		
Ii	"Edward..[illegible]"	188r	16th century		male	name		
Ii	"Edmund Cook"	124r	16th century		male	name		
Ii	"Thomas Tyldesley"	196r, 204r	16th century		male	name		
Ii	"Thomas Breton wrete thys"	201v	16th century		male	name		
Ii	"[Br]eton yoman [of t]he garde vnto [th]e genes magi..."	236v	16th century		male	name		
Ii	"Ann Cock" and "An Cok"	200v	16th century		female	name	This is correct.	p. 46
Ii	"An Cok ys my wife henrie dennye"	201v	16th century		male and female	name and note	An Cok' written in the same hand as writes the name on fol. 200v. 'ys my wife henrie dennye' is written in a different hand.	p. 46
Ii	"I kan be huswife but not for henrye denye"	201v	16th century		female	name and note	Very faded but does not necessarily match the signature of Anne Cook.	p. 46
Ii	Politico-historical notes	237v	15th century		unknown	note	Too early to be written by Anne Cook or Henry Denny.	
Ii	A quotation from "Chaucer's Prophecy"	161v	17th century		unknown	note	Too late to be written by Anne Cook or Henry Denny.	

Ii	A latin medical charm and some English verses	240r	undated		unknown	note	Not written in the same hands as the notes relating to Anne Cook and Henry Denny.	
Ii	"thys is her marke well what is this[?] for...that shrew[?] wreten[?]"	201v	16th century		male	note	Written in the same hand as writes 'ys my wife henrie dennye'.	p. 46
Ii	"Thys ys George towkars bowke lent to hym by George Herrollde surgentt the ffyrst day of Awgust Anno Domini 1558"	239v	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ii	"Don Pero lasso de castilla"	167r	16th century		unknown	unclear		
Kk	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE		
La	"Anthony Brydges"	255v	16th century	surname restored by temporary reagent	male	name		
La	"Medoltun"	115r, 187r, 17r	15th century	dry point	unknown	name		
La	"Symond"	98r	15th century		unknown	name		
Lc	A shield beside an illegible name and a paraph	flyleaf recto	15th century		unknown	coat of arms		
Lc	Coat of arms vairy on a chief a lion passant guardant, traces of a crest with claws and one wing of a bird	flyleaf recto	15th century		unknown	coat of arms	This is correct. The Late Medieval Scribes project describes the lion as a lion rampant but a lion passant guardant seems more accurate.	p. 145 (note)

Lc	Marginal hands	B991, D515, D1109, H310, H351	undated		unknown	drawing		
Lc	Marginal sprays	B162, F760, E1525, C30	undated		unknown	drawing		
Lc	"Thos[?]. . . dley [?]. y howes"	294v	15th century		male	name		
Lc	"Margrat barton graftn bilondel"	flyleaf recto	15th century		female	name	As described, on a separate piece of pasted-in parchment.	p. 144
Lc	"Margrat"	flyleaf verso	15th century	same hand as flyleaf recto	female	name	This is in the same hand as the flyleaf recto and there are also two repetitions of 'Mar' in the same hand below.	p. 144
Lc	"R of M'farmer[?] the xiiij day of..."	flyleaf verso	undated		unknown	name		
Lc	"Tooe there were yt Hir behyld and would haue donne so euer But happy men, yea Happy Twise yf they had donne so neaur [cross] E Diher"	flyleaf recto	16th century		unknown	name and note		
Ld1	"George Borden" and "George Marly"	131v	16th century		male	name		
Ld1	"Jon"	131v	16th century		male	name		
Ld1	"Syl[ves]ter"	131v	16th century		male	name		
Ld1	"Edward Payne"	268r	16th century		male	name		
Ld1	"Helpperle" and "Hepperel"	131v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ld1	"S...Bayt" or "Hayt"	131v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ld1	Dedication to Laud signed John Barkham	17th c leaf verso	17th century		male	name and note		

Ld1	"y haue cause Salle"	67r	15-16th century		unknown	note		
Ld1	Table of contents compared with printed edition	1r	17th century		unknown	note		
Ld1	"Bedmin..."	114r	15th century	dry point	unknown	place name	Very faint but there are drypoint markings on this folio.	p. 102
Ld1	"Liber Guilielmi Laud Archiepi' Cantuar' et Cancelarij Uniuersitatis Oxon' 1635"	17th c leaf recto	17th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ld1	Tracings of a coin of James I	146r, 148r	17th century		unknown	unclear		
Ld2	A drawing of a man with a long forked beard	54v	16th century		unknown	drawing		
Ld2	"John Harrington"	152v	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"George Gascoinge" and "Gascoigne" twice	218v	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"John Gallibrand"	112v, 220r	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Robert Hoclie"	220r	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Mr John Brodsha"	157r	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Richardus Jonsun"	159v, 211r, 96r	16th century	varied spellings	male	name		
Ld2	"Robard Jhonson"	80v	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Robart"	82v, 133v	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Jhonson" preceded by a sign which may mean "Mr"	27v, 45v, 179v	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Master Jonsun"	231r	16th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Anthony Moreman"	121v	16-17th century	name occurs several times	male	name		
Ld2	"Christopher Gray"	166r	16-17th century	name occurs	male	name		

				several times				
Ld2	"Bowen"	166r	16-17th century		unknown	name		
Ld2	"Nata Maermaduke Blakston"		17th century		male	name		
Ld2	"Megges"	218v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ld2	"Churchyard"	219r	16th century		unknown	name		
Ld2	"frauncis harwodd"	81v, 140r	16th century		unknown	name		
Ld2	"Jhonson"	2r	16th century		unknown	name		
Ld2	"Roger le Strange" and writing	96v, 77v, 229v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ld2	"Peter Lowthe" twice and writing	96v, 116v, 149v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ld2	"Sum lyber Richardus[sic] Jonsun"	54v	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ll1	Shields with unfinished coats of arms	1r, 2v, 135r	undated		unknown	coat of arms		
Ll1	Zodiacal drawing	5r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Ll1	Sketch of a head	54r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Ll1	Design sketched for the capital	96v	undated		unknown	drawing		
Ll1	Dragon sketched for the capital I	176r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Ll1	"tant Le desieree R Gloucestre"	98v	15th century		male	name	As described.	pp. 73, 156
Ll1	"Thomas"	108r	15th century		male	name	Used by Manly and Rickert to argue for a connection to the Scales family but this is not plausible.	p. 73

							Used by Manly and Rickert to argue for a connection to the Scales family but this is not plausible.	
L11	"Elizabeth"	108r	15th century		female	name		p. 73
L11	Notes on the number of towns in England	211v-212r	15th century		unknown	note		
L11	Six stanzas of doggerel"	107v	undated		unknown	note		
L11	"The Order how a Jentyلمان husher shall serve his greit master"	109r	undated		unknown	note		
L11	A note and "and Br...rye"	108r	undated		unknown	note		
L11	four H's followed by 'hempton in the Co'	107r	15th century		unknown	place name		
L11	"A"	108r	15th century		unknown	unclear		
L11	Blank but ruled with various scribbles	107r	undated		unknown	unclear		
L11	Erased scribble	110r	undated		unknown	unclear		
L12	Armorial bookplate with the motto "J'ay bonne Cause" of "The Right Honble Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth Baron Thynne of Warminster 1704"	Inside front cover	18th century		male	bookplate		
L12	A drawing of a four legged base supporting a vertical rod entwined by a serpent"	1v	undated		unknown	drawing		
L12	"Joh[s] Golew[e?]ll"	168r	15th century		male	name		
L12	"Constat Johni Thynne" plus a paraph	2r	16th century		male	name		
L12	Brief notes on Corpus	2v	undated		unknown	note		
L12	Brief quotations from the Fathers and 8 lines of English verse with the side notes "Memento" and "Confessio"	3r	undated		unknown	note		
L12	An old press mark	2r	15th century		unknown	press mark		
L12	"..d..wel"	4r	15th century		unknown	unclear		

Ll2	Faint and illegible scribbles	Front and back flyleaves	undated		unknown	unclear		
Ln	"auerey"	213r	15th century		unknown	name		
Ln	"bewyck"	86v	15th century	dry point	unknown	name		
Ln	"ppegode" and "ffayer"	52r	15th century		unknown	unclear		
Ma	"Newhede" and "John Hull Esquyre in Com' Deuon' John Denys gentylman in Com' Deuon'"	196r	15th century		male	name		
Ma	"Johns Persee"	1v	15th century		male	name		
Ma	"Johannes Brode"	2r	15th century		male	name		
Ma	"John Stephyn"	17r	16th century		male	name		
Ma	"John Hull customer of Exceter and Dartmouthe" and "John Hull Esquyre in Com' Deuon"	196r	16th century		male	name		
Ma	"Johnes Hull Esquyre"	194v	16th century	same hand as fol. 185v	male	name		
Ma	"John Hull de Londe" and "Johns Cutelar"	196v	16th century		male	name		
Ma	"Morys Denys" and "Daynton"	196r	15th century		unknown	name		
Ma	"Daynton" repeated	196r	15th century		unknown	name		
Ma	"Dynam"	129r	16th century		unknown	name		
Ma	A couplet addressed to "Jhon Hull" concerning a "grete howle" in his "slife" repeated thrice	194v, 195v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ma	A note signed "By me your frynde to ys pore" "John Hwll"	195r	16th century	same hand as couplet	male	name and note		
Ma	Copy of a note about John Hull	195v	16th century	same hand as fol. 194v	male	name and note		
Ma	"Wills Lay Juliana vxor eius Wills Cristian et Cristians Pater et mater eiusdem Julian'[sic]"	196r	15th century		unknown	note		

Ma	"Iste liber Constat Johanni Brode Juniori"	194r	15th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ma	"Johannes Broode constat iate liber"	2r	15th century		male	statement of ownership		
Mc	Sketch of a bearded face	37r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Mc	Sketch of a bearded man	83r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Mc	"Jhames Noke"	64r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"And", "Robard" and "Jham..."	141v	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"George..."	54v	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Thomas Paramore of Wortham"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century	upside down	male	name		
Mc	"Edmundo Harewel[l]"	146r, 148r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Edmonde" twice	153r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Rychard Harewell"	157r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Thomas Baskervyle Miles vic' Com' Wigorn' Omnibus Ballijs" repeated	182v	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Thomas Baskervyle"	179r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Thomas"	1r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"Jhone Poulethe"	72r	16th century		male	name		
Mc	"xpofer White"	182v	undated		male	name		
Mc	"Catren Perc.." or "Pert"	179r	16th century		female	name	Not possible to make any further connections with the manuscript.	p. 68
Mc	Scribbles and a reference to a a book "Moscouia Regum Suecie Liber Baroni Herberstein", words in Greek, Welsh, Latin and French regarding Howel, King of the Welsh, some drawings and a memorandum concerning sums of money which name "Bowton"	flyleaf ii.v	16th century		unknown	name and note		

Mc	Moral quatrain in English addressed to "Baskabylya"	131v	16th century		unknown	name and note		
Mc	"XPS" and "HIS" several times	flyleaf i.v	undated		unknown	note		
Mc	A cutting from a catalogue of William Andrews, a Bristol bookseller	flyleaf ii.r	19th century		male	note		
Mc	Exercise in Latin verse	end flyleaf	16-17th century		unknown	note		
Mc	"This is Edmundes [H]arewell Boke"	176v	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Mc	"svshes"	152r	16th century		unknown	unclear		
Me	"Lewis ap Jones", "Lewis ap Williams" and "Lewis ap [followed by an illegible word]"	3r	15th century		male	name		
Me	"Robert Lewis"	2r	18th century		male	name		
Me	"A' R Williams, 1708"	2r	18th century		unknown	name		
Me	"Richard Williams" sometimes with "Bedwlwyn" and "1810" repeatedly	flyleaves and cover	19th century		male	name		
Me	"Richard Williams 1847"	inside front cover	19th century		male	name		
Me	"Howell Williams Pont y Cerdin"	inside front cover	19th century		male	name		
Me	"R. L. Carne"	title page	undated		unknown	name		
Me	"Richard Williams, 1810"	title page	19th century		male	name		
Me	"Robert Lewis, 1723"	title page	18th century		male	name		
Me	Four verses copied twice and assigned to "Tudr Aled in the year 1490"	3r	15th century		male	name and note		
Me	Every page contains quotations in Welsh by three or more hands	except 1r	15th century		unknown	note		

Me	"Robert Lewis ejus liber ex Dono Jon Willms de Pony-y-Gwiddil Ano 1707"	3r	18th century		male	statement of ownership		
Me	"Rev L.C. Simons, Merthyr Mawr Rectory, Bridgend, Glamorganshire	title page	20th century		male	statement of ownership		
Mg	"C Aschams"	46r	undated	dry point	unknown	name		
Mg	"Sara Jones to her Suster"	4v	16-17th century		female	name and note		
Mg	English scribbles	5r, 167v, 168r, 268v, 270r	undated		unknown	note		
Mg	Many scribbles in English and Latin	69r, 231r, 232r	16-17th century	same writing as fol. 4v	female	note		
Mg	"[This MS] came from [the fami]ly of Congreve the initials of [which] can be seen stamped [?] on the back"	front flyleaf verso	comparatively modern		unknown	note		
Mg	"R O E" 4 times	232r	undated		unknown	unclear		
Mm	"Wyllyam Boleyn"	190r	15th century	dry point	male	name	Very faint drypoint markings. Seymour confirms this is visible under ultra violet light.	p. 105
Mm	"Johan Poyntz" partly repeated	155r	16th century		male	name		
Mm	"ele ama homble Brokyssby"	119r	15th century	dry point	unknown	name and note	This is correct.	p. 103
Ne	"Explicit Tractatus Galfridi Chauser de Gestis peregrinorum versus Cantuariam"	311v	15th century	colophon	unknown	colophon		
Ne	"fermer Wyll'm"	43v	16th century	brown crayon	male	name		
Ne	"Wyll'm fermer"	126v	16th century	ink, possibly the	male	name		

				same as fol. 43v				
Ne	"Anthony Shute"	178v	16th century		male	name		
Ne	"Ant Gage"	104r	16th century		male	name		
Ne	"Hvmfrey Ward"	69r	16th century	dry point	male	name		
Ne	"humf"	70v	16th century		male	name		
Ne	"Gage"	177r	16th century		unknown	name		
Ne	"Moynyngs"	115v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ne	"die S. Stephani hic"	opposite C679	15th century		unknown	note		
Ne	"wyll god and I shall quoth A et alyas"	311v	later than colophon		unknown	note		
Ne	"an inaccurate copy of the distich that Caxton is said to have caused to be inscribed on Chaucer's tomb"	311v	later than colophon		unknown	note		
Ne	A Latin distich embodying the "Fallere, flere, nere, mentiri, nilque tacere" satire	311v	17th century		unknown	note		
Ne	Eight lines in couplets of Welsh verse, the first signed "qd dd[=David] ap Edmwnd"	311v	16th century		male	note		
Nl	"Nomen Autoris presentis Cronica Rome Et translatoris Fillius ecclesie Thome"	End of Tale of Beryn	15th century	colophon	male	colophon		
Nl	"John Pasmore"	56r, 117r, 132r, 239v	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"John Poule"	116r	16th century		male	name		

Nl	"Thomas Hucchyns", full name, initials or monogram	105r, 109r, 114r, 117r, 120v, 121r, 128r, 120v, 135r, 140r, 157r, 187r, 205r, 210r, 231r, 232r, 235r, 237r, 237v, 272r, 281r	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"John Hucchyns, Richard Hucchyns, Samuells Huchhyns"	152v	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"John Hucchyns, Willm Hucchyns"	275r	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"John Hucchyns" or "John"	66r, 121r, 225r, 237r, 237v, 239v	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"Thomas Webber" and "Thomas Hucchyns" together	130v	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"George Webber"	163r	16th century		male	name		
Nl	"John Walshe", "George Wilkie", "Wyllyam Warde", "John Vynnel", [=Fynnell, Fennell[?], "harry bryght", "John daue" [Davy], "John Collins", "John Holomore", "Thomas Norm[an?]", "Richard Court[enay?], and "xpofer" [surname Christopher]		16th century		male	name		

Nl	"George bobocome"	109r	17th century		male	name		
Nl	"Thomas Webbren[sic] scripsit hoc teste lectore" plus "Thomas Hucchyns" and "John Hucchyns"	236v	16th century		male	name and note		
Nl	Many designs of "I H S"	107r, 173r, 205r, 210r	16th century	same hand as Thomas Hucchyns	male	note		
Nl	Sir John Chichester claims ownership	153v	16th century		male	statement of ownership	The note reads 'John Chichesters boke'	p. 94
Nl	"I H S"	137v, 140r	16th century	different hand to Thomas Hucchyns	unknown	unclear		
Np	A drawing of a man's head and shoulders	p.21	17th century		unknown	drawing		
Np	Some drawings with the words "Questo manuscritto in lingua tedesca [corrected later to 'inglese'] l'ho hanuto da Diomede di Leonardis e fu primieramente"	flyleaf ii.r	17th century		unknown	drawing		
Np	A drawing of an indeterminate quadruped with a bird on it's back, above a scroll with words in Italian	p.22	undated		unknown	drawing		
Np	"Explicit ffinus[sic]", "Hic pennam fixi penitent me si male scripci qd Mprf[More]", a tiny sketch of a long-eared quadruped, "Ao dmo' 1457[Arabic]". The line below has the digits 1-10, below that is the envoy of Lydgate's satirical poem "Beware of Doublesnesse"	p.146	15th century	hand of the scribe	unknown	name and note		
Np	"Hic explicit Libeus Disconyus He that lovyth well to fare Ever to spend and never spare But he have the more good His here wol grow throw his hood Quod More."	p.113	15th century	hand of the scribe	unknown	name and note		

Ox	"[M]aster James"	A4365 (Miniature of Cook)	17th century		male	name		
Ph1	"Will'm Dene"	13r	15th century		male	name		
Ph1	"John Egllysfelld"	20v	16th century		male	name		
Ph1	"Thomas Devenysh"	16r	16th century		male	name		
Ph1	"Hamen dy[=Amen dit?] Cotye"	11v	15th century		unknown	name		
Ph2	"Mr Frost Mr harrye ffynche"	169v	16th century		male	name		
Ph2	"Jhon payn"	163v	17th century		male	name		
Ph2	"R Peny"	123v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ph2	"Itm all the ade endes [i.i. odd ends?] that is howyng me yn chellame a monge my fryndes Itm first symond mockt howes me xxx s Itm more wyllam myre hoes me xxxv s Itm more edware welles of godmassame howe me x s"	90v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ph2	"Rychard Howell wyttnes at the sealyng"	155v	16th century		male	name and note		
Ph3	A note signed "T F F" (T.F. Fenwick) about the MS	flyleaf iii.v	modern		male	name and note		
Ph3	"This Book cost 2d the doing"	80v	18th century		unknown	note		
Ph4	A drawing of a jug between "Je bony an" and "Je plaise an"	110r	15th century		unknown	drawing		
Ph4	"William Marshall"	165r	16th century		male	name		
Ph4	"Thomam Smythe de Wyllton"	112v	16th century		male	name		
Ph4	"Thomas Mason"	112v	16th century		male	name		
Ph4	Dated 18 Elizabeth, "Wyll James", "Henry Diszell"[?], and "Jhon Hadlam"	113r	16th century		male	name		
Ph4	"Har ri gar de nar" 3 times	169v	15-16th century		male	name		

Ph4	"Maister Joh'n Hammwltone in Seint Jeyllis Parishe with ought cripulgat"	122v	undated		male	name		
Ph4	"Henry haworth"	169v	undated		male	name		
Ph4	"ego Wyllm's Tornar scripsitt hic"	100r	15-16th century		male	name and note		
Ph4	Several bits of Latin including "propria manew me Thomam Smythe de Wylton"	112v	undated		male	name and note		
Ph4	A note by "William Marshall, amerar" of London dated 16 Dec, 19 Henry VIII including "bivdeley" or "ane other place were my lade prynses consell lyethe" and "my lorde of exetor", "mastar doktor bernele", "Rychard base notare", "Rychard Jonson setezen and habardashar of london and yeman of the chambar wt my lord feres", "William Kartar, armerar", "Rychard Welles"	97r	16th century		male	name and note		
Ph4	A note dated 1521 mentions "John Skit" and "mastar breges", "Nycolas Slendon" and "Rogear Otley"	166r	16th century	same hand as William Marshall	male	name and note		
Ph4	A note of the "p'sett" [proceeds?] of scavagyng gaderid by Robard Actun and Wyll'm Marshall' including "John More, the Cutlar nexte the flowredeluse, Mygghell the ffrutrare, John pachet[Paget?], Rychard lyne, Thomas Alen, Robbard Actun, Nicolis Krystin, Rychard Alen, and John Bartun"	164v	16th century	same hand as William Marshall	male	name and note		
Ph4	"Thys Boke hys whon[one] and crystes cers hys a noder he that steles they boke thake[take] they thodor"	169v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ph4	"This is Master Turnars Boke testes Johan Dolman Jamys Crock and Master Harrewood gentillman"	169v	15-16th century		male	statement of ownership		

Pl	"W Ley" 3 times	2v	17th century	read using ultra-violet light	unknown	name		
Pl	"Tho Ayin" or "Aquin"	end flyleaf	17th century		male	name		
Pl	"Apr. 18, 1651" and "G Ley"	2v	17th century		unknown	name and note		
Pl	"Memoriale Biblicum" twice	2v	17th century		unknown	note		
Pl	"Sacra Ars vid. Sub:Peb[? Plus 5 letters] ff[?] 12 [written over] 2 [?]Greich. Sq: [7 illegible letters] 28 3 [?]vita Pati[?] Dr Tho. Aquin[?]"	opposite 1263-6	17th century		male	unclear		
Pp	The anchor bookplate and motto of Samuel Pepys	p.391	17th century		male	bookplate		
Pp	"Johes Kiriell"	p.377	15th century		male	name		
Pp	Some verses	p.210	late		unknown	note		
Pp	"Salve Sancta par" and "aue gra plen"	p.271	undated		unknown	note		
Pp	"A collation of these MSS Fragments of Chaucer No.1074B wth his Printed Works, No.1281", four pages of defects of the MS	p.392	17th century		unknown	note		
Pp	"Iste liber constat Will'mo ffetypace mercerij lond"	p.391	15-16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Pp	"Iste liber Constat Thome W"	p.391	late		male	statement of ownership		
Pp	Some scribbles	p.190	undated		unknown	unclear		
Ps	Double J upside down	72r	undated		unknown	unclear		
Pw	A coat of arms quarterly Percy, Poynings, Fitzpayne, and Bryan, encircled by a Garter	307v	15th century		unknown	coat of arms	This is correct.	p. 144
Py	Crosses	173v, 182r, 184r, 190r,	undated	dry point	unknown	drawing		

		220r, 274r, 290r						
Py	A square containing a double St Andrew's cross	142r	undated		unknown	drawing		
Py	"William Ladbroke"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		male	name		
Py	"Rychard Stacy" [Story?]	305v	16th century	dry point	male	name		
Py	"Thomas Smyth[e?]"	52r, 271r, end flyleaf	16th century		male	name		
Py	"Thomas Felde"	flyleaf ii.v, end flyleaf	16th century		male	name		
Py	"William Renold"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		male	name		
Py	"Christopher Robinson"	end flyleaf	16th century		male	name		
Py	"William Renold"	flyleaf i.v	16th century		male	name		
Py	"Christopher Robinson"	flyleaf i.v	16th century		male	name		
Py	"Josua Roche" with a flourish	250r	17th century		male	name		
Py	"Jane Lawrnce is my name and with my pen I wret this same If that"	flyleaf ii.v	17th century		female	name		
Py	First 5 lines of the prologue, sums, cipher reading "Rychard Teeseworthe ys a knaue an a monke hedyd knaue and so shall he dye"	end flyleaf	16th century		male	name and note		
Py	"ISTELIB'MATEUSWIDMARPOWELL WILLIAM RENOLD"	flyleaf ii.v	16th century		male	name and note		
Py	"In primus[sic] capitule...margere dawe she that hathe..."	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		unknown	note		
Py	Indenture dated 21 Aug 1536	flyleaf ii.v	16th century		unknown	note		
Py	"London"	flyleaf ii.r	16th century		unknown	place name		

Ra1	"Circ 1440"	flyleaf ii.v	modern		unknown	date		
Ra1	An oblong frame containing "I M" "Jamys stokys" and "Wellington"	84r	15th century	dry point	male	name		
Ra1	"Henry Arund"	72e	15th century		male	name		
Ra1	"Rych..."	19r	15th century		male	name		
Ra1	A name	1r	late		unknown	name		
Ra1	"sainsy [si ainsi?] est margurite"	66r	15th century		female	name and note	Not enough corroborating evidence to link this marginalia to a specific woman.	p. 73
Ra1	"expenses at Cambridge"	93v	15th century		unknown	note		
Ra1	A medical prescription	1r	16th century		unknown	note		
Ra1	Old label "649 Chaucer's Tales MSS. On Vellam[sic]"	inside back cover	undated		unknown	note		
Ra2	A mostly erased copy of a writ dated 1607, concerning Northumberland, Derbyshire and counties in Wales, with names "Sir John Ke...perley[?]", "John Kedwales[?]", "Sir John Vescy[?]", "John Deverell[?]"	91r	17th century		male	name and note		
Ra2	Scribbles in Lating and English signed "Mr Joh Anthonie"	136v	16-17th century		male	name and note		
Ra2	"deliuered in the presense of us being [the double sixpenny stamps] John Reeve Att[?] in Watling streete John Chaplin [plus notary's mark] Sam[?] Rowell[?] Jun[?]"	outside cover	18th century		male	name and note		
Ra2	"2. 2. 0."	137v	undated		unknown	unclear		
Ra3	"b" to the left of a shield with a saltire, something illegible to the right	128r	15th century	dry point	unknown	coat of arms		
Ra3	Shield with a saltire	44v, 45v	15th century		unknown	coat of arms		

Ra3	"John Opowell"	270v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ra3	"T Hull"	240r	16th century		unknown	name	This is correct.	p. 74
Ra3	"Ann Taylor"	43r, 249r	16th century		female	name	This is correct.	p. 74
Ra3	"John Cowland"	270r	16-17th century		male	name		
Ra3	"...rwke"	169v	15th century	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ra3	Two large S's	54r	15th century	dry point	unknown	unclear		
Ra4	"Iste liber constat [blot, covering 'mihi'?] Wyllmus Aylysburry monachus Sancti Saluatoris de Bermudesay"	no fol. given	15th century	colophon of "Passio Domini"	male	colophon		
Ra4	"Wyll'm Warner þe son of tom's warner" twice	87v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ra4	"Thomas Roff[ensis?]"	80r	15-16th century		male	name		
Ra4	"John [?] Samson"	51v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ra4	"Hamond John"	51v	15-16th century		male	name		
Ra4	"Lord William Howard" now blacked out	30r	17th century		male	name		
Ra4	"Randal Drewe" crossed out	1r	late		male	name		
Ra4	"Knox Ward"	1r	18th century		male	name		
Ra4	"Quod Quene Elizabeth"	155v	undated	after 'Myne hert is set vppone a lusty pynne'	unknown	note		
Ra4	"Explicit per Johannem Reve ffree"	186r	15th century	hand of the scribe	male	note		
Ra4	"In officina ex [opposite...?] Quene Chiringe"	140r	undated		unknown	unclear		
Ry1	"John Burgh"	311r, 326v	16th century		male	name		
Ry1	"Robert Brough"	322v	16th century		male	name		
Ry1	"William Angewill"	302r	16th century		male	name		

Ry1	"Edward Hale" 4 times	97r	16th century		male	name		
Ry1	"Amen q' Myssygur"	344r	15-16th century		unknown	name		
Ry1	"Thomas Yarburgh"	338r, 341r	16-17th century		male	name		
Ry1	"q' langeley"	326v	17th century		unknown	name		
Ry1	"Thomas Are" or "Ayre"	166r	17th century		male	name		
Ry1	"Anthony fferre his bok amen and so god saue the King Amen"	148v	17th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ry1	"John Burgh" claims ownership	332r	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Ry2	Neville saltire on a shield	20v	15th century	dry point	unknown	coat of arms		
Ry2	"Thomas Cobham"	272v	16th century		male	name		
Ry2	"Thomas Parker"	272v	16th century		male	name		
Ry2	"Edward"	2r	undated		male	name		
Ry2	"Hary" and "Katerin"	2r	undated	Possible reference to the King and Queen.	male and female	name		
Ry2	"Stanley"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Manfeld"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Mountford"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Gedney"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Sayer"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Seyer"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Malyfount[?]"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Allot"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Herdyswyke"	272v	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Barbur"	3r	16th century		unknown	name		
Ry2	"Russell" followed by "W" or a flourish	5r	16th century		unknown	name		

Ry2	"Mayble Darcy"	272v	16th century		female	name	This is in the same hand as the names written near it on the same folio which are 'Manfeld', 'Seyer' and 'Chetewyn'. All the names including 'Mayble' and 'Darcy' are separated in such a way as suggests a possible list of surnames rather than Mabyale Darcy being a full name.	
Ry2	"Phillip Chetwynd" with "Quod Deus vult" translated into French "Come Dieu vault" and written backwards	272v	16th century		male	name and note	This is correct.	p. 70
Ry2	Initials or name of Phillip Chetwynd sometimes with "Cuerpo e bueno" or motto alone	141r, 147r, 162r, 162v, 164r	16th century		male	name and note		
Ry2	"Considur to trwe herte[drawing of a heart] q' iane dovdynsels" and a flourish	Opposite E1079	15th century		female	name and note	This is correct.	p. 76
Ry2	"Take paciens in your herte q' Jane dovdynsells"	272r	15th century		female	name and note	This is correct.	p. 76
Ry2	Two inquisitions post mortem concerning the lands of Elizabeth Lady Neville. "Elizabeth qui fuit [vxor?] Joh'is Neuyl' chiualer", and "An..Hen..A.....primi", and the names of some of her lands; also "Rad'us Neuyl' est fil' et heres".	front flyleaf verso	15th century		female	name and note	Further consultation shows that Cottingham in Yorkshire is	p. 158

							possible to make out.	
Ry2	"Amor vinsit omnia mentiris qd pecunia" and a couplet in English signed "qd Barbur"	2r	undated		unknown	name and note		
Ry2	Some didactic verses	1r	15th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	Names of planets	2r	undated		unknown	note		
Ry2	Other verses	3v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	Cipher	272v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	"Souuenaunce"	272v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	"Fortuna Fortitudo"	272v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	"In domino confide"	272v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	"Ever one"	272v	16th century		unknown	note		
Ry2	"b"s	68v, 211v	15th century		unknown	unclear		
Ry2	"AB"	152r	undated		unknown	unclear		
Se	A circle from which extends upward a three-transomed cross between "O Mater Die" and "Memento Mei" and "T. H" each side of the foot of the cross	209v	16th century		unknown	drawing		
Se	"Edmund La Cleark"	127r	16th century		male	name		
Se	"Rychard Der"	226r	16th century		male	name		
Se	"W Mohon"	18r	15th century		unknown	name		
Se	"Katheren"	219r	15th century		female	name	Not possible to make any further connections with the manuscript.	p. 68
Se	Monogram of "Henry"	311r	undated		male	name		
Se	"Eleison"	209v	16th century		unknown	name		

Se	Calendar, at September 10 "Obitus Willmi Heed anno x' 1518 in die veneris hora quarta ante soll[sic]"	2r	16th century		male	name and note		
Se	Reference to "Rychard Dear" and "Thomas"	262r	16th century		male	name and note		
Se	Church music	Front and back flyleaves	15th century		unknown	note		
Se	"I ioy in grefe"	102v	16th century		unknown	note		
Se	"This is the earliest Bodley Canterbury Tales circ 1440"	front flyleaf	19th century		unknown	note		
Se	A draft of a writ authorising the seizure of five deer in a royal park of the King and Queen in Kent, to be sent to Whitehall, Jan 16th	311r	undated		unknown	note		
Se	Memorandum "marg perles cccv golde stones clvj..."	311v	undated		unknown	note		
Se	Reference to "Mandere de Loundes"	311v	undated		unknown	note		
Se	"This is the booke of Mr Clarke gentleman of ye quen maiestyes foutmen", stroked through and partly repeated	311v	17th century		male	statement of ownership		
Se	"Pertinet Thomam Heed ciuis Londonarium"	209v	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Se	"This boke Johan h.de"	312r	15th century		male	statement of ownership		
Si	Two bills, including "This bill maide the Twentie daye Be it knowen vnto all men by this presente writing that I william Cooke of Leiceter[?] in the County of warwike gentleman doth owe vnto Morris Barckley knight one of the Quenes Maiesties....."	78r	16th century		male	name and note		
Si	Two other bills in separate hands, one dated 1547	78r	16th century		unknown	name and note		

Si	"Part of Sr Geffry Chaucers Poems of his Canterbury tales J S [?]" and "C 9"	1r	late		unknown	note		
SI1	"T Neuill" with a paraph	223r	15th century		male	name	This is correct.	p. 79
SI1	"John Vere"	223r	15th century		male	name		
SI1	"yr louyng Master Syr Wylliam Musgraue"	156r	16th century		male	name		
SI1	"Sampson Mallory"	169r	16th century		male	name		
SI1	"Mawd Wyllwghby"	223r	15th century		female	name	Further investigation shows a phrase: 'amen when good wylle better may be quod Alyanor Stanley Ane reina'	p. 79
SI1	"Alyanor stanlay"	223r	15th century		female	name	Further investigation shows a phrase: 'amen when good wylle better may be quod Maud Willoughby Ane reina'	p. 79
SI1	"Thomas Wentworth"	222v	16-17th century		male	name		
SI1	"Thomas Markham"	83r	17th century		male	name		
SI1	"Thomas Thomlynson"	146v	16-17th century		male	name		
SI1	"Edward Baynham"		16-17th century		male	name		
SI1	An address "to my wellbelouid ffreynd George Smythe of Burton Constable"	16r	16th century		male	name and note		
SI1	A reference to "John Smyth"	68r	16th century		male	name and note		
SI1	"Knarysbrought" and "burrobrege"	156r	16-17th century		unknown	place name		

SI2	"Will Walter"	1r	17th century		male	name		
SI3	"John Huntindyne" and "J H"	28v	15th century		male	name		
SI3	"John Wyallkye"	28v	15th century		male	name		
SI3	"Georges Samson"		16th century		male	name		
SI3	"R. Wermestr"	28v	15th century		unknown	name		
SI3	An account of moneys paid to "the Coll' of Lodelowe", the "Collec' of ames...[?]", "...Kenel[?]", "S Anton'...", "Thom Canterbur'", "...Trinite et Tof...", "the frers of Hereford", "Tybsford", "burton lasar"	57v	15th century		male	name and note		
SI3	"I had of myele[?] ys myeff ij boschele and pecc' of hot' and a wyekys bord."	57r	15th century		unknown	note		
St	"Thomas Bellot armiger libri est verus possessor teste Mathaeo Bellot anno 1570", repeated adding that Matthew is the son of Thomas	67r	16th century		male	statement of ownership		
Tc1	"The reaste not to be fownde though sought in diuers places."	After F670	16th century		unknown	note		
Tc2	Monogram "TW"	5r	16th century	crayon	unknown	name		
Tc3	"thom rych"	240v	15th century	dry point	male	name		
Tc3	Two names that are illegible	247v	undated		unknown	name		
To	"John Wright skripsi the hoc"	292v	15th century		male	name		
To	"Rondull Wryght"	133r, 242r	16th century		male	name		
To	"Ryc Leche"	113r	15-16th century		male	name		
To	"Edmund Bynnyt"	1r	15-16th century		male	name		
To	"Edmund boydell"	295v	15-16th century	same as fol. 1r	male	name		
To	"Bynnt"	295v	15-16th century	same as fol. 1r	male	name		

To	"homfrye"	295v	15-16th century		male	name		
To	"Johannis Leche est bonus puer quen deus amat", "Aftur this follows the squire tale amen quod Johes leche", "Si mea penna valet melior mea littera fiet.", "He that in youth no gud kanne, In age selden ys thrifty man" and "Kyng Edwart the iiiijth aftur the conquest of Englund", pen trials including "Johannes" with an ornate capital.	39v	15-16th century		male	name and note		
To	"Edmunde Boydell est bonus puer", "John Boydell and william standelay thomas tochet henr' wekested hue bole[bold?]"	1r	15-16th century		male	name and note		
To	"Liber Johis Leche"	295v	15-16th century		male	statement of ownership		
To	"Besenesse" repeated	1r, 295v	undated		unknown	unclear		

Appendix 3: The Select Corpus of Manuscripts

Thirty manuscripts which contain 15th-16th century evidence linking them to women, either via provenance or marginalia.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 392 D (Hengwrt)

Alnwick Castle, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland MS 455 (Northumberland)

Austin, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Centre MS 143 (Cardigan)

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 181

Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.4.24

Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.4.27

Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.3.26

Cambridge, University Library MS Mm.2.5

Lichfield, Cathedral Library MS 29

London, British Library MS Additional 35286

London, British Library MS Arundel 140

London, British Library MS Egerton 2863

London, British Library MS Harley 1758

London, British Library MS Harley 7334

London, British Library MS Harley 7335

London, British Library MS Royal.18.C.II

London, British Library MS Sloane 1685

Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 29 part 2

Longleat House, Marquess of Bath MS 257

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 600

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 141

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 223

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden Arch. B. 14

San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library MS El 26 C 9 (Ellesmere)

Petworth House, The National Trust MS 7

Princeton, University Library MS 100 (Helmingham)

Tokyo, Takamiya Collections MS 24 (Devonshire)

Tokyo, Takamiya Collection MS 32 (Delamere)

University of Chicago, Regenstein Library MS 564 (McCormick)

Appendix 4: Designing the Case Studies

In order to make a wide variety of information about a large corpus of manuscripts accessible for research purposes, the base structure of each case study was carefully considered to ensure it was consistent and constructive. This report format enabled the synthesis of previous scholarship on each manuscript alongside extra research added by myself in order to study the data as a whole.

Opening sections intended to facilitate reference

Manuscript name and sigil

The sigil assigned to each manuscript by Manly and Rickert was included for ease of reference to other scholarship on the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. The sigil was used throughout the case studies for brevity.

Date

The date of each manuscript was initially taken from Manly and Rickert, and dating by Mooney et al was also included if it differed from Manly and Rickert. Knowing the approximate date of each manuscript was essential, not only for an awareness of how they relate to one another chronologically, but also in order to tell how close in time any evidence of access was to the date of production.

Key names

Key names were potential owners or people with their names written in the manuscript. They were considered in more detail in the provenance and evidence sections.

Key family connections

Key family connections were other relevant people connected with the manuscript owners. For example, other owners of different *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, the Chaucers or other known patrons of the work.

Key locations

Key locations included the place where the manuscript was produced if it was known, or any locations indicated by evidence relating to people linked to the manuscript, such as potential owners.

Principal sections to facilitate study and comparison of manuscripts

Contents

As in the initial survey of the entire corpus, when the manuscript contains works other than the *Canterbury Tales*, these were also noted in the contents. This section also contained further details of the contents of a manuscript if it included an individual tale alongside other texts rather than a full version of the *Canterbury Tales*. This information demonstrated whether the majority of the select corpus were full text copies

of the work or individual tales, and drew attention to any other variations in the composition of manuscripts containing the *Canterbury Tales*.

Text

This section discussed the textual group based on word order as devised by Manly and Rickert, conflating the fields *order* and *text* in the original table into one section. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to conduct a detailed textual analysis of each manuscript in the select corpus, the textual group was included to draw attention to any manuscripts which could be linked textually in the event of corroborating evidence for female access to the books.

Dialect

Dialect was included in order to assist with the localisation of each manuscript which may have provided evidence to indicate the early provenance of the books. Where Mooney et al conducted a more detailed localisation of the dialect than Manly and Rickert, this information was included.

Form

As in the original survey of Manly and Rickert's catalogue, the material from which the manuscript was constructed was included in the event of any variation in the evidence offered by manuscripts made from paper or a combination of paper and parchment. This study used the term parchment rather than vellum as used by Manly and Rickert, because vellum is now considered to be specifically calf skin.

Illumination

Basic details of illumination were included to give an impression of whether the manuscript was richly decorated or of a plainer design. It was beyond the scope of this study to conduct a detailed analysis of the illumination of each manuscript, but these details gave a general context of the expense of each manuscript. Identifying those who worked on the illuminations could also assist with localising the books.

Scribe

Scribal details were included in order to aid localisation of each manuscript, in case this information had any bearing on the evidence of early provenance.

Provenance

Only the provenance corresponding with the period under discussion (the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) was included in this section in order to maintain the focus of the study. Where the provenance of each manuscript contained key evidence to demonstrate potential female access to the book, it was instead included in the 'evidence of female access' section below.

Evidence of female access

This section included any evidence, either internal or external, that the manuscript was accessed by women. This section too contained evidence up to the sixteenth century as per the preceding section on provenance.

Further information

The further information section covered any other details which were relevant to the manuscript and the period under consideration, such as unique tales or textual variations.

Images

This section included images for reference purposes.

Contacts

The contacts section recorded any contacts made in order to research the manuscript, such as people working in archives or university libraries.

Bibliography

As much of the reports synthesised scholarship on each manuscript, each report had an individual bibliography for ease of referencing other studies.

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