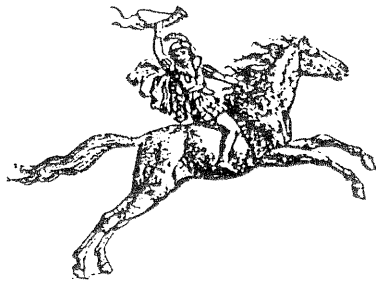


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# Appropriating the Middle Ages Scholarship, Politics, Fraud

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# Franciscus Junius reads Chaucer: But Why? and How?

*For Larry Benson and Derek Pearsall*

Rolf H. Bremmer Jr

Franciscus Junius F(rancisci) F(ilius), that eminent seventeenth-century Dutch philologist,<sup>1</sup> is perhaps best known in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, and foremost as a collector and copyist of Old English texts and manuscripts. Shortly before his death he generously bequeathed his collection to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where they have since been kept as the Junius Manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> The value of these documents has changed little in the course of time, and they serve much the same function for us today as they did for Junius, who firmly upheld the humanist principle of *ad fontes*. His edition (1655) of the famous Caedmon Manuscript, now Junius 11, for example, is the first published book of Old English poetry.<sup>3</sup> Besides Anglo-Saxon, he was equally active in the study of related Old Germanic languages, especially Old High German; this activity resulted, among other feats, in the publication of a thorough investigation into the vocabulary of Williram of Ebersberg's paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*,<sup>4</sup> and in the preparation for the press of a similar work on the Old High German *Tatian*, a synopsis of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke; this project also included an edition of the text.<sup>5</sup> His *opus magnum* was his edition of the Codex Argenteus, which contained Bishop Wulfila's fifth-century translation of the Gospels in Gothic, in conjunction with a revised edition of the West-Saxon Gospels, and accompanied by a voluminous Gothic dictionary.<sup>6</sup> Lexicography, indeed, was the main aim of his philological endeavours; besides the Gothic dictionary, several others – including a copious Old English–Latin one in two volumes – though well-nigh completed for the press, remained unpublished.<sup>7</sup>

Junius's *Etymologicum Anglicanum* was only brought to the press almost seventy years after his death by Bishop Edward Lye.<sup>8</sup> Not only did Lye prefix a Life of Junius to the dictionary proper, he also included testimonies to the excellence of the *Etymologicum* from George Hickes ("certainly a better work than Skinner's *Etymological Dictionary* [of 1668]"), Humphrey Wanley ("a very elaborate and most useful work"), Bishop William Nicolson ("a work. . . which will be also of singular use to our English Antiquary") and Bishop White Kennett ("The want of a new edition [of Somner's Old English dictionary of 1659] would indeed be superseded, could the world at last enjoy the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* completed by Fr. Junius").

Less familiar among neophilologists is Junius's first publication, *De pictura veterum*, which dealt with a completely different subject, viz. a learned and detailed analysis of the visual arts of the Romans and Greeks. *De pictura* not only reveals the author's intimate knowledge of the depth and breadth of Classical literature, but also his sensitivity for the visual and literary arts. The book had a profound influence on the spread of Neoclassical aesthetical ideals, and has earned Junius the distinction of being one of the first modern art-theoreticians.<sup>9</sup>

Hardly anyone in the field of English studies, however, is aware of Junius's having spent considerable energy on Middle English language and literature<sup>10</sup> – this ignorance, no doubt, being due mainly to his never having published any monograph on the subject. Yet Junius, it would seem, was as fully at home with Chaucer as he was, for example, with the Old English poems contained in the Caedmon Manuscript. It is the purpose of this paper to bring Junius's Chaucer researches into the spotlight. In doing this, I shall discuss the motivation of this aspect of Junius's philological pursuits, together with the methods which he employed.

#### *Chaucer's reputation amongst Dutch seventeenth-century philologists*

Perhaps we should not be surprised to hear about Junius's interest in Middle English literature. After all, he lived in England consecutively from his thirtieth to his fiftieth years, in the household of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, as tutor to the latter's son and, afterwards, grandsons. This position caused him to move among the cultural and political elite of England. Open-minded as he was, he became completely acculturated to the English way of life, developing a taste, among other things, for such sixteenth-century authors as Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser.<sup>11</sup> Later on in his life, after his return to Holland in 1642, he frequently visited England, and, when he was eighty-three, he

again took up residence in that country. He died in the house of his nephew Isaac Vossius in Windsor, in 1677, at the age of eighty-six, and was buried in St George's Chapel there.

Junius, however, was neither the first nor the only Dutchman in the seventeenth century to have taken a keen interest in the medieval literary heritage of England. The honour of being the first to show familiarity with Chaucer must go to Richard Verstegen. Verstegen's life, much like that of Junius was intricately tied up with England, although his career differed much from that of the later author. Verstegen was born in London in c.1550, of Dutch descent. He studied at Oxford, but because of his ardent Roman-Catholic convictions, was forced to leave the country in the 1580s. He spent the rest of his life mainly in Antwerp, and it was there, in 1605, at the publishing house of Robert Bruney, that he published his *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities. Concerning the Most Noble and Renowned English Nation*. This book may deservedly be seen as the first textbook on Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest England in English. Verstegen's main concern was to show the English nation that their roots were Germanic rather than Celtic or Romance, as was the current opinion. By comparison with his contemporaries, his knowledge of Old English was formidable, and he was the first to print a lengthy Old English–Modern English glossary.<sup>12</sup>

When, in chapter five "Of the Great Antiquitie of Ovr Ancient English Tovng," he comes to dwell on the origin of the term "Romance," Verstegen explained that Frenchmen and Spaniards used to call verses written in their vernacular (as opposed to Latin) *Romances*, or "Roman tongue," and he illustrated this, for example, by referring to Jean de Meung's *Romant de la Rose*, "afterward translated by Geffrey Chaucer with the tytle of *The Romant of the Rose*." Likewise, he has been informed that Walloons who live in the district of Liège say to strangers: "*parlé Romain*," by which they mean: "speak French."<sup>13</sup> From the Conquest onwards, many Romance words had entered the English language, which left an ineradicable effect upon the language, Verstegen claimed:

Some few ages after [i.e. the Conquest] came the poet *Geffrey Chaucer*, who writing his poesies in English, is of some called the first illuminator of the English tongue: of their opinion I am not (though I reuerence *Chaucer* as an excellent poet for his tyme). He was in deed a great mingler of English with French, vnto which language by lyke that hee was descended of French or rather Wallon race, hee caryed a great affection.<sup>14</sup>

Whilst admitting Chaucer's greatness as a poet, Verstegen had greater difficulties in following those who acclaimed Chaucer as the first author to have given splendour and lustre to the English language.<sup>15</sup> Such a claim, in his opinion, would be too much honour for a poet who "mingled," not to say corrupted, pure English with French words, and in so doing helped to obliterate the Germanic texture of the language. Verstegen continued by claiming that the situation had grown ever worse since Chaucer's time, so much so that in his own days foreigners did not even consider English to be a language in its own right, but "the scum of many languages." According to Verstegen, the English had borrowed so many words from other languages, that "yf wee were put to repay our borrowed speech back again, to the languages that may lay claim to it; we should bee left litle better then dumb, or scarcely able to speak any thing that should be sencible." Verstegen's argument ended with a plea for a proper use of English, avoiding French words as much as possible. To do so, a thorough awareness of the Germanic roots of the language was needed, and that is why he concluded this chapter with the afore-mentioned Old English–English glossary, amounting to twenty-seven pages, illustrating simultaneously what words had disappeared from the language to be replaced by French loans, and what words, though changed by time, had survived.

Verstegen's *Restitution* was a great success, and went through several reprints in the seventeenth century, though not every reader agreed with his critical assessment of the mixed character of the English language. George Tooke, in 1647, boasting of the advantages of the foreign element in English, scorns Verstegen who "will indeed upbraid *Chauc[er]* with it [viz. the foreign element] as prejudicial; and anothere Netherlander has objected our English to me, for made up of several shreds like a Beggars Cloake."<sup>16</sup> The growing animosity between England and Holland, which would lead to three naval wars that century, is barely hidden in these lines. Tooke casually alludes to Verstegen's Dutch origin in the words with which the second spokesman are indicated: "anothere Netherlander." The latter's opinion of the mixed quality of the English language expressed in tailor's terminology stands in a long tradition of such comments.<sup>17</sup> Thomas Fuller, in his *Church History* of 1655,<sup>18</sup> also signals Verstegen's censure upon Chaucer's language:

Indeed, Verstegan, a learned Antiquarian, condemns [Chaucer], for spoiling the purity of the English tongue, by the mixture of so many French and Latin words. But he who mingles wine with water, though he destroys the nature of the water, improves the quality thereof.

Where Verstegen saw the abundance of Romance loanwords in English as a detriment to that language, Fuller appreciated their presence as an improvement.<sup>19</sup>

Verstegen's *Restitution* was also read in Holland by historians with a particular interest in England's past, and the author's opinionated remarks did not fail either to generate or fortify their prejudice against the debased quality of English. Perhaps not surprisingly, we find that both Verstegen and Chaucer were staple diet for the small, if active, number of Dutch Anglo-Saxonists. One of those was Johannes de Laet (1581–1649), another major Dutch Anglo-Saxonist, as we know from the auction catalogue of his library.<sup>20</sup> De Laet is a typical representative of the Dutch seventeenth-century merchant-scholar. Having completed his studies at the University of Leiden in 1603, he settled in London, of which town he became a denizen citizen in 1604 upon his marrying a London girl of Dutch descent. After the death of his young wife in 1606, he moved again to Leiden in 1607, where he lived until his death. From there, he visited England at least twice, in 1638 and 1641.<sup>21</sup> Not only was he deeply interested in a wide range of scholarly disciplines, he also appears to have developed some interest in contemporary English literature, especially in that characterised by religious or moral overtones. De Laet's library was well-stocked and included, beside numerous English theological books mostly of Puritan character, Owen Feltham's *Resolves* (London, 1636), Francis Bacon's *Essayes* (London, 1634) and *The Temple* (Cambridge, 1634), by the metaphysical poet George Herbert. He also owned a copy of Thomas Speght's edition of Chaucer of 1602, but we have no idea how de Laet appreciated Chaucer as a poet. Nor do we know whether he annotated his Chaucer copy, because, after the auction of de Laet's library in 1650, all traces of this book have been lost. It would seem, though, that de Laet was especially interested in the linguistic side of Chaucer. In the 1630s and 1640s, de Laet was deeply involved in a competition to bring out the first Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Other competitors were Sir Henry Spelman, Abraham Wheelock and Sir Simonds D'Ewes. At least once in his correspondence with D'Ewes, de Laet illustrates with the help of Chaucer that the meaning of words is not static but changes through time.<sup>22</sup> It also appears, from his correspondence with the Danish antiquary Ole Worm, that de Laet shared Verstegen's low opinion of the mixed character of English – the *Restitution* was also included in his library. De Laet knew that at least some of the Anglo-Saxons when they invaded Britain, originated from Denmark and had brought their language along with them; therefore it occurred

to him that the people who were living in, or close to, Denmark, might use that language in a less corrupted way than did the English in his day.<sup>23</sup>

Further evidence of an acquaintance with Chaucer in the Low Countries at this time appears from the writings of Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1602–1653), professor of History and Rhetoric at Leiden. Boxhorn was a man of broad scholarly interests, one of which was comparative linguistics. He was also acquainted with Old English, and indeed intended to publish on the Anglo-Saxon laws, of which he possessed an edition.<sup>24</sup> In an appendix to his edition of a chronicle of the province of Zeeland, whose capital is Middelburg, he illustrates the town's flourishing international trade in the fourteenth century by quoting from Chaucer's portrait of the Merchant in the *General Prologue*, though – curiously – he attributed the lines to John Gower:

In these times Middelburg flourished greatly in trade, which was carried on from England to Zeeland, and from Zeeland to England. I have learnt this from an English author and knight, called John Gower, who lived under Richard II, by that name, King of England, and who wrote many remarkable poems, dying in 1402. . . . *His reasons spake hee full solemnely // Shewing alway the encrease of his winning // He would the Sea were kept for any thing // Betwixt Middleborough and Orewely.*<sup>25</sup>

How Boxhorn came to confuse Chaucer with Gower is not clear to me, but the appreciative tone of the quality of Gower's / Chaucer's work is striking for someone whose mother-tongue was not English. It may well be that de Laet, a good friend of his, alerted him to Chaucer's mentioning Middelburg in these lines.

Finally, I should like to call attention to Jan van Vliet (alias Janus Vlitius; 1622–1666), another Dutch Anglo-Saxonist, who also made a study of Chaucer. Van Vliet was especially interested in Chaucer's language, and he compiled a glossary of some 225, usually unreferenced words, most of which, upon closer scrutiny, appear to be hapax in Chaucer. Apparently, van Vliet had a keen eye for such exceptional words. His work, therefore, can best be seen as belonging to the study of so-called "hard words" in Chaucer which was beginning to emerge in the seventeenth century, although etymology also played a part, as appears from his frequently adding cognate forms from Dutch, Danish and contemporary English.<sup>26</sup> Van Vliet, by the way, also was familiar with Verstegen's *Restitution*, to which he occasionally refers in his unpublished studies.<sup>27</sup>

### *Junius's appreciation of Chaucer*

It is against this ambivalent background of the current opinion concerning the allegedly dubious quality of Chaucer's language, on the one hand, and, on the other, of Chaucer's well-established reputation as a great poet, that we must view Junius's work on Chaucer. Exactly when Junius took up his study of Chaucer is difficult to determine. From his heavily annotated copy of Sir Philip Sidney's collected works, preserved in the Leiden University Library, and which he extensively used for *The Painting of the Ancients* (1638) – his own, English translation of *De pictura*<sup>28</sup> – it appears that Junius was already familiar with Chaucer's reputation as a great poet in the late 1630s. While reading Sidney's famous essay, *The Defence of Poesie*, Junius underlined those passages that seemed of particular interest to him. Sidney comes to treat of Chaucer at the point where he discusses the difficulty of expressing thoughts in words. Quoting a line from Ovid, *Quidquid conabor dicere, Versus erit* ("Whatever I shall try to say, will be a verse"), Sidney carries on: "Neuer marshalling it [i.e. thought] into any assured ranke, that almost the Reader cannot tell where to find themselues." From this point on, Junius underscored the following:<sup>29</sup>

*Chawcer* vndoubtedly did excellently in his *Troilus* and *Creseid*; of whom truly I know not whether to marruell more, either that he in that mystie time could see so clearly, or that wee in this clear age, goe so stumblingly after him. Yet he had a great want, fit to be forgiuen in so reuerent an Antiquitie.

According to Sidney, and apparently with Junius's subscription, Chaucer is looked upon as an excellent poet, albeit one suffering from a "great want." To Sidney, according to Derek Brewer, this would seem to imply "the absence of the dominant criteria of Neoclassical taste, i.e. regularity, unity of plot and tone, realism, moral improvement, [and] high seriousness of the poetic *vates*."<sup>30</sup>

In any case, Junius resumed and intensified his Chaucer studies after he had finally seen his edition of the Gothic and West Saxon Gospels through the press in 1665. On 3 June, 1667, he wrote to his friend and pupil, Thomas Marshall, to thank him<sup>31</sup>

for the comment upon Chaucer, which I finde not otherwise then I expected, seeing I knew not how to looke for a commentator<sup>32</sup> that should give anie light to Chaucers old language, and

so putt us in a way for to understand better the meaning of that inventive poët.

What exactly Junius had asked Marshall for is not clear, for the letter in which he had addressed Marshall about Chaucer has not been retrieved. It is possible that there was no letter at all, but he had raised the question during one of their meetings. However it may be, three points raised by Junius in this letter require some clarification. Junius needed a commentator to “give anie light to Chaucers old language.”<sup>33</sup> From these words it becomes clear that Junius looked upon Chaucer as a writer of a bygone age, whose language could no longer be readily understood, and hence was no longer capable of being read meaningfully. Such a supposition would be in line with the opinion prevailing in the seventeenth century. The phrase “anie light” also seems to suggest that Junius had only just embarked on Chaucer, and that therefore any help in coming to grips with Chaucer’s text was welcome to him. Most interestingly, it is not so much the Middle English language as such that is the object of Junius’s curiosity. Had that been the case, Junius could just as easily have resorted to other manuscripts in his library, such as Wycliffe’s translation of the New Testament (MS Junius 29), *The Prick of Conscience* (MS Junius 56),<sup>34</sup> or a Lydgate anthology (Leiden University Library, MS Vossius Codex Gallicus Q 9); as for the *Ormulum* (MS Junius 1), Junius, like his contemporaries, probably considered its language to be Old English.<sup>35</sup> What mattered to him was the unlocking of the full significance of Chaucer’s language, the restoring of corrupted passages, as well as the providing of a commentary – where necessary – to elucidate certain passages. This was because Chaucer was a poet who, more than any other, *deserved* to be studied. To Junius – and here we have an appreciative evaluation of Chaucer the author – he was an “inventive poët.” This qualification, for Junius, referred to “invention,” a concept in Rhetoric which he had frequently used in his *Painting of the Ancients*, and on which he expounded in great detail in its Book III, ch. 1, 1–6. According to Fehl and Fehl, the term has three meanings in Junius’s writings: (1) The act of finding – inventing or conceiving – an appropriate and just means to present a subject in a way that will ring true; (2) the faculty of invention; (3) the result, that is the conceit, especially the developed conceit in the mind of the artist as he means to represent it or as he has represented it.<sup>36</sup>

Essential for “invention,” according to Junius, was the artist’s proper use of his memory and his imagination. To his creative work the artist should bring, in as skilful and orderly a manner as he can, whatever he has observed with his senses or has read in authoritative writers. “Invention,”

then, implied qualities which for us would be subsumed under “imagination,” “creativity” or “originality,” but also certainly “craftsmanship.” It was the opposite of “convention,” the ideal of imitating one’s predecessors as much as possible. Junius, it is clear, was fully aware of Chaucer’s prominent position amongst other medieval English authors as an innovator.

Some six months after he had written to Marshall, Junius again referred to Chaucer, this time in a letter of 3 February 1668 to his friend and fellow Anglo-Saxonist, Sir William Dugdale.<sup>37</sup> The second Anglo-Dutch Sea War (1665–1667) had been concluded a few months earlier, and Junius was musing about the negative effects which the war was having on the book and publishing-trade. The passage gives us some further insight into his motivation and method:<sup>38</sup>

Thus sitting still, as dwelmed by the universal confusion of manie nations, two or three yeeres are slipped away over my head stealingly; which in these high yeeres [Junius was seventy-seven by then!] I find to be more then six in my younger years, though I was not altogether idle since I returned to the Hague from Dordrecht [this was early in 1666]. But first of all gott my great worke of Teutonic Glossaries in a perfect order for the presse; but seeing them as it were lie dead by me, I had neither heart nor lust to hoorde up more workes of that nature in my studie; but for a change I took your archpoet Chaucer in hand; and though I thinke that in many places he is not to bee understood without the help of old manuscript copies, which England can afforde manie, yet doe I perswade my selfe to have met with innumerable places, hithertoo misunderstood, or not understood at all, which I can illustrate. To which work I hold the Bishop of Dunkel his Virgilian translation to be very much conducing, and in my perusing of this prelate his book (to say so much by the way) I stumbled upon manie passages wherein this wittie Gawin doth grosly mistake Virgil, and is much ledd out of the way by the infection of a monkish ignorance then prevailing in Church and common wealth; yet is there verie good use to be made of him. All this mentioned change of worke gave me a sweet entertainment, and was to me some kind of solace to my grieffe in the most sad times.

This is admittedly a long quotation, but I will show how well it serves to reveal Junius’s frame of mind.

It would seem that Junius, after the publication in Dordrecht in 1665 of the Gothic Gospels and Gothic Glossary – his greatest undertaking – had fallen into a state of dejection. True, he had finally come round to preparing yet another lexicographic project for the press, a comparative Germanic dictionary on which he had been working off and on for almost ten years, but due to the economic situation in Holland he was not in a position to furnish the money necessary to have it published. This in its turn discouraged him from carrying on with his other lexicographical projects, of which the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* was the most ambitious one. In this temporary stalemate position he had taken up reading the “archpoet” – in the sense of “principal poet”<sup>39</sup> – which promised to be an enjoyable diversion. But blood is thicker than water, and before long the philologist in Junius had taken over from the leisurely reader. As he read, Junius gradually became aware that Chaucer’s text as he found it in Speght’s edition frequently could, and indeed should, be emended – in other words, was greatly in need of a critical text edition. This, however, could only be achieved by collating that edition with the oldest available manuscripts. This realisation betrays Junius the humanist, and a true member of the Leiden school of text editors.

As a student at Leiden,<sup>40</sup> Junius had been trained in the method of textual criticism promoted especially by Joseph Scaliger – whom he had personally known – of how to establish a classical text’s most authentic redaction by collating all extant manuscript versions and selecting from these the best textual variants. Sometimes, in the absence of reliable textual witnesses, resort had to be taken to conjecture in order to make sense of a passage. Since Junius was living in The Hague at the time when he took up the serious study of Chaucer, the option of collating Chaucer manuscripts, of which he realised there must be many in England, was not open to him. Hence, the only alternative for emending what he thought were nonsensical passages was conjecturing improvements, conjectures sometimes based on his familiarity with English, whether Old, Middle or contemporary, or simply based on intuition and common sense.

Even without the indispensable Chaucer manuscripts, Junius felt sufficiently confident to explain many passages that had hitherto remained obscure. When he mentioned the Chaucer he took “in hand,” he was no doubt alluding to the then standard edition by Thomas Speght, *The Workes of Our Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer*, which had appeared in 1598, and again, revised, in 1602. Speght’s edition was based on that of William Thynne, first published in 1532, and reprinted in 1541, 1550 and, expanded with some new items by John

Stowe, in 1561.<sup>41</sup> Speght had been the first Chaucer editor to accommodate the reader by providing a lengthy introduction to Chaucer the man and his work, an extensive glossary, as well as some annotations to clarify certain obscure passages. Since Speght’s 1602 edition, however, no dramatic progress had been made in Chaucer studies, and the passing of time had only contributed to rendering Chaucer less and less accessible.

What Junius appears to have had in mind, when he wrote to Dugdale, would seem to have been some kind of commentary on Chaucer. I cannot help thinking that such a commentary would have looked much like his *Observationes* on Williram’s Old High German Paraphrase of the Song of Songs. The latter book came out in 1655, and was the first fruit of his Germanic studies. These “Observations” are mainly concerned with discovering the precise meaning of Williram’s use of words. According to Junius, the precise meaning of a word could only be established by comparing it with as many cognates as possible – the older, the better. To him, the etymology of a word was the key to its original meaning. Junius compiled other such “Observations,” notably on the Old High German Tatian (MS Junius 13 and 42) and on the Old English Caedmon poems (MS Junius 73\*), both of which remain in the Bodleian Library unpublished.<sup>42</sup>

#### *Junius’s annotations in Speght*

Junius’s annotated copy of Speght’s Chaucer edition (now Bodleian Library, Junius MS 9) does not show signs of having been read by someone who merely sought a pleasant diversion. Everything rather points to Junius taking his approach to Chaucer seriously and professionally. The way Speght’s edition was printed, without proper numbers to refer to the individual texts, and provided with foliation numbering – excluding the prefatory matter and the *General Prologue*, beginning only with “Fol. 1” with the *Knight’s Tale* – instead of continuous pagination, made it a tool that was too crude for Junius to work with. Instead, he set about clarifying matters. First of all, the structure of Speght’s edition had to be laid bare. To this end, Junius provided the individual items in its two tables of contents with an appropriate numbering. Furthermore, rather than numbering the pages consecutively, Junius opted for a more convenient solution and numbered continuously at the bottom of each page the individual columns (two per page) containing the actual text of Chaucer’s works, beginning with the *General Prologue*. As the columns themselves in Speght’s folio edition were too long for his purposes – the greatest length is fifty-five (unnumbered) lines – he subdivided them

mentally into “*i, m, s,*” indicating “*infra, medio, supra,*” respectively. Having applied this system of column numbering and column subdivision, Junius was ready to embark on a detailed reading of the text. His heavy cross-referencing gives ample evidence of this purpose. For his convenience he added an octavo quire of ten sheets at the end of his copy on which he wrote down a detailed “*Syllabus operum hoc libro Chauceri contentorum,*” with references to the appropriate column numbers.

It appears that Junius’s approach to Chaucer’s language was above all heuristically based. Some examples may illustrate this observation. In line 36 of the *General Prologue*,<sup>43</sup> “*Or* that I ferther in this tale pace,” Junius underscored “*Or*” and wrote in the margin: “27, s. 46, m.” Following these references, we find in column 27 (*KnT* 1155): “For paramour I loued her first *or* thou,” with a cross-reference to “1, i.” and in col. 46 (*KnT* 2209): “The sonday at night, *or* day began to spring,” with further cross-references to “1, i. 35, i. 49, i. 51, i.” Following this lead to col. 35, we find line 16 (*KnT* 1595): “Chese which thou|wilt, or thou shalt not astert.” Apart from a slightly pedantic vertical line indicating a space between “*thou*” and “*wilt,*” Junius wrote “*for*” in small letters over “*or.*” His reading meanwhile had taught him, we must assume, that *or* in Chaucer could be a variant of “*ere, before,*” but that in this particular line that meaning did not apply. He therefore felt sufficiently confident to read “*for,*” a reading now found in all editions.

As we have seen in his letter to Dugdale, Junius boasted that he had “met with innumerable places, hitherto misunderstood, or not understood at all, which I can illuminate.” His emendation of “*or*” to “*for*” illustrates such an illumination. Time and again, we see Junius venturing a better reading, ranging from simple to ingenious. Simple but sensible are the following: col. 28 (*KnT* 1206) Duke ~~Theseus~~ let him out of prison” (*KnT* 1206) into *Theseus*; in col. 89 (*MLT* 92) he suggested improving “*Piriades*” to “*Piërides*”; in col. 112 (*SqT* 10) “*Surrie*” to “*Russie.*” Slightly less obvious was his emendation of Speght’s “*The vertu expulsed*” (col. 56, *KnT* 2749) to “*expulsive*”, or “*Denmark*” in col. 219 (*FranT* 801: “*In Denmark, ther his dwelling was*”) into “*Penmarke.*” Modern editions confirm that Junius was justified in making such alterations. Notably clever was the emendation / explanation he gave for the following line in col. 31 (*KnT* 1374–75):

Of Hereos, but rather lyke many  
Engendered of humours melancolike

For *Hereos*, Junius suggested to read “*Eros*, i.e. Cupido,” while for *many*, his suggestion was “*Manie*, i.e. Phrenesis.” The same information, basically,

is still found in the *Riverside Chaucer* edition. It is difficult to resist the temptation to tabulate all the felicitous emendations made solely by intuition, without any help from a manuscript, which all lead me to the conclusion that Junius was a reader with a sensitive eye, discerning awkward places in the text he was reading. Of course, he also sometimes blundered, even though he might be right in spotting a corrupted text. Where the *Riverside Chaucer* text of *KnT* 2075 has “*This goddess on an hert ful hie seet,*” the line in Speght’s text in col. 44 reads “*This goddess full well vpon an hert shete.*” Junius underlined the last word and wondered in the margin: “*videtur contractum ex she sete sedebat*” [“It seems [this word] is contracted from *she sete* ‘sat’.”] Occasionally, Junius ventured an explanatory note. After Constance had been rescued from the shipwreck, she was able to communicate with the constable who had saved her, but “*A maner latin corrupt* was her speche.” At this line in col. 98 (*MLT* 519), Junius wrote, whether in earnest or jokingly I cannot say: “*Italian.*” However, modern editors also add an explanatory note at this line.

One of the aspects of Chaucer’s language as it was known to Junius through Speght’s edition was its bewildering amount of spelling variants. Such a state of affairs ran counter to his idea that a language should have some kind of uniform appearance. From Junius’s work on Old English and Old Frisian, as Kees Dekker has demonstrated, we know that when he was copying texts he often silently eliminated spelling variants so as to achieve a greater uniformity of forms.<sup>44</sup> That is why he noted in the margin of col. 883 (*Bo* ii, p3, 43) at a line containing the word *warned*: “*malum werned.*” Apparently, *warned* was the form to be preferred because it concurred with the English of his own day, and therefore *werned* was “*ugly.*” In Speght’s version, *MLT* 1095 reads: “*That all was redy he loked besily.*” Junius was rightly puzzled with this reading, and wrote in the margin of col. 110: “[*ege* ‘read’] *And already he cam, and looked busily.*” At three points in this (infelicitous) emendation he modernised the spelling. Similarly, for Speght’s “*As is depainted in the certres about*” (*KnT* 2037), Junius, in col. 43, proposed to emend *certres* into “*starres.*” His guess was right, but in Chaucer’s English the spelling was *sterres*, according to the *Riverside Chaucer*.

Another word that Junius found fault with appears in the following quotation (col. 48; *KnT* 2290): “*A crowne of a grene oke vnseriall.*” Here Junius was not satisfied with a mere conjecture, but also added his arguments: “*l. ceriall. for cerrus is a kinde of tree like an oke, and bereth maste. Vide Plinium.*” This reference to Pliny provides a good indication of how Junius was reading and interpreting Chaucer, viz. through the filter of the Classical authors. And these he seemed to know by heart,

dozens of them. Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* was of course a well-known text in the seventeenth century, but what is striking is that the word *cerrus* occurs only three times in it.<sup>45</sup> This classical baggage, then, emerges regularly from the margins of Junius's Chaucer copy, through one or several quotations from or references to such famous works as: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Fasti* and *De arte amoris*; Vergil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics*; Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*; Seneca's *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium*, *De clementia*, and *De beneficiis*; Juvenal's *Satires*; Horace's *Ars poetica* and *Epistolae*; Plautus's dramatical works *Truculentus* and *Pseudolus*; Terence's *Eunuchus*; Tibullus's *Eligiae*; Petronius Arbiter's *Satyricon*; Ausonius's *Ludus septem sapientium*; Cato's *Distichs*; or to works now lesser known but well read in the Renaissance, such as: Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae*; Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*; and Publilius Syrus's *Sententiae*. There is one lengthy Greek citation, from Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, with which Junius identified the source of the opening lines of the *Parlement of Foules*. Junius also occasionally quoted from or referred to early Christian works, such as: Origen's *Hymn on Mary Magdalene*; Prudentius's *Hymn to the Holy Virgin*; and St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. On only one occasion did he write a reference to the Gospel of St. Matthew, a remarkably low figure for someone who had studied theology and had served as a minister of the Divine Word.<sup>46</sup>

Junius's annotations on the whole rarely give meanings of words. An example such as the following is exceptional: "That cost of gold largely a fother" (*KnT* 1908). The underlined word is given the following definition in the bottom margin of col. 40: "a fother is a twentie hundred weight, which is a cartes or waines load." The reason why hardly any glosses are to be found among his annotations is that he included these in a separate glossary, now Junius MS 6, which was erroneously subtitled by an eighteenth-century librarian as *Dictionarium Veteris Linguae Anglicanae*, i.e. "Dictionary of the ancient English Language." As this two-column glossary of ninety-eight folios contains few etymological remarks or references to cognate languages, contrary to Junius's usual practice in his dictionaries, it appears to have been conceived of as being intended only for the disclosing of Chaucer's language.

For a proper understanding of the latter, the most obvious approach for Junius was to consult Speght's list of hard words, appended at the very end of his edition. Speght's list, however, is highly eclectic, and does not give any line or page reference whatsoever. Junius's definition of "Fother," for example, is not to be found in the 1602 edition.<sup>47</sup> As a matter of fact, Junius never referred to Speght's glossary, whereas he did mention other

lexicographic authorities, such as Gilles Ménage, *Les origines de la langue françoise* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1650); a glossary of barbaric, i.e. vernacular, words in Matthew Paris's chronicles, appended to the revised edition of 1640;<sup>48</sup> Henry Spelman's *Archaeologus*, a voluminous dictionary of Germanic words in Latin texts;<sup>49</sup> the *Etymologicum linguae Latinae* (Amsterdam, 1665) of his brother-in-law Gerard Vossius; and, occasionally, his own published and unpublished lexicographical works, e.g. his *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, mentioned three times.<sup>50</sup> Not altogether surprisingly in the context of Chaucer, references to Junius's *Glossarium Gothicum* are conspicuously rare. I have found only one: in col. 1011 (*LGW* 1289) at "shapeth" Junius noted down "Vide Goth. gloss. in *skapian*." What is striking, though, is that for all his unrivalled knowledge of Old English, Junius drew no parallels in his Chaucer marginalia with words from that language. Only on one occasion did he refer to Old English. In col. 677 (*Tr* 2.1495), the text has "And al this thing he told him word and end," where he marked it with a sign referring to the top margin. There he wrote: "And all this thing he told him word and end. Omnino lege ord and end. Ac vide Observationes nostras ad Willeramii paginam 248, ubi agimus de Saxonico *ord*." Indeed, on that page Junius discussed the meaning of Old English *ord*, including the collocation *ord 7 ende* which he translated with "*initium ac finem*."<sup>51</sup> He suggested therefore that Chaucer's phrase is a corruption of the Old English one, an opinion still held today.<sup>52</sup> References to non-lexicographical works are rare. In col. 1144 (*HF* 689–91: "And mo berdes. . . Ymade,"), Junius remarked: "Vide Gatakeri Cinnum, p. 323 partis primæ." Modern editors still give a note at these lines to explain the expression "to make a beard" as "to cheat."<sup>53</sup>

A clever way of tackling Chaucer's language was by means of another, related text. For this purpose, Junius diligently used Gavin Douglas's *Eneados*, a Middle Scots versified translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*. This work had the advantage of allowing Junius to compare it with the Latin source text. Junius esteemed Douglas for his "wit," a term comparable to "inventive" as he applied it to Chaucer. No matter how much Douglas might have erred in his translations through "monkish ignorance" – what Junius means is that from a humanist point of view Douglas's Latin was defective – it proved of great help to him in understanding Chaucer, and reading these two authors even gave him "sweet entertainment" and "solace" in those dark, depressing days. Among the Juniana in the Bodleian Library, the 1553 edition of Douglas's *Eneados* has also been preserved; it is heavily annotated with references to both Vergil's Latin text and to Chaucer: Junius rarely read without a pen.<sup>54</sup> Instrumental, too, for his reading of



Chaucer was his consultation of the French text of the *Roman de la Rose*. At the top of this text in Speght's edition, Junius wrote the title "*Le Rommant de la Rose*, imprimé à Paris l'an 1528. fol. 1." Throughout the text of Chaucer's translation of the *Roman de la Rose*, Junius wrote numbers in the left-hand margin corresponding to the numbers of the pages ("feuillet") of the French edition of 1529. As no edition of *Le Rommant de la Rose* is known for the year 1528, the latter date is probably a mistake, and Junius must actually have used the 1529 edition. This supposition is borne out not only by Junius's referring to the latter edition in the *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, for example, s.v. *saylours*,<sup>55</sup> it is also confirmed by his sparingly annotated copy of this edition, which I recently discovered in the Leiden University Library.<sup>56</sup> Junius, whose father was French, was as proficient in French as he was in English, and must have found the French text a welcome help in his reading of Chaucer's version of the *Roman of the Rose*. Interestingly, it is only for his marginal annotations to the *Roman* that he seems to have consulted Gilles Ménage's *Les origines de la langue françoise*, and that four times in all.

For his reading of Chaucer's *Boece*, Junius could, of course, rely on his great familiarity with Boethius's Latin text, as he has indeed been shown to have done.<sup>57</sup> Throughout the text in Speght, Junius inserted the appropriate section numbers of the prose and metrical subdivisions. On occasion, he observed that Chaucer's Latin exemplar had suffered from textual corruption. For example, where in col. 919 (*Bo* iii. m9, 39–40), Speght has "into thy strait seat", Junius remarked: "Interpres noster legit angustam pro augustam," or in col. 931 (*Bo* iii. p12, 73–74) at "he is as a key and a styere": "Interpres noster legisse videtur clavis pro clavus." As for the post-Classical sources, Junius seems to have been unaware of, or indifferent to, Chaucer's great indebtedness to, for example, Boccaccio, Dante and Deschamps.

Before reaching this point, I have mentioned several books carrying Junius's annotations in the Leiden University Library, something that requires an explanation. Until recently, it was generally assumed that Junius had bequeathed his entire library to the Bodleian Library, an assumption probably deriving authority from the remark in the Bodleian's *Summary Catalogue* that Junius donated "his philological collections" to Oxford University.<sup>58</sup> In view of the forty-five printed books included among the Bodleian Junius collection of 122 items – original manuscripts, transcripts, commentaries and lexicographical works, quite a few of which were ready for the press – this would be a poor library for a scholar who in his published and unpublished work displayed such an intimate knowledge of both Classical authors and secondary, contemporary literature.

Over the past decade it has become clear that Junius in fact bequeathed only a small portion of his library to the Bodleian, mainly books concerning Germanic philology and dictionaries of various Germanic languages. The major part of his collection, including the theological and Classical books, but also books of which he possessed two copies, was inherited by his nephew, Isaac Vossius, who incorporated them within his own vast library.<sup>59</sup> Upon Isaac's death in 1689, Leiden University purchased the collection from Vossius's heirs, and since 1690 these books and manuscripts have formed an invaluable part of the university library. Over the past ten years, some forty books in the Vossius collection have been identified as items formerly belonging to Junius. A problem complicating the identification is that Junius did not mark his books with his signature or with any other sign of ownership. It is only his annotations in them that betray his ownership, and sometimes, scholars have failed to recognise his hand. Since one of the stipulations of Vossius's heirs was that each book of the collection should be marked as such – and indeed they usually carry a printed strip on the title page "*Ex bibliotheca Cl. V. Isaaci Vossii*" – Junius's hand-writing has been misidentified. So it happens that the annotations in the only Middle English manuscript in the university library of Leiden, a fifteenth-century anthology of poems by John Lydgate – but also including Chaucer's short poem *Truth* – were erroneously attributed to a "hand from the second half of the sixteenth century."<sup>60</sup> In fact, the hand is clearly and unmistakably Junius's. His annotations mainly concern short titles in Latin, based on an English table of contents written on the front fly-leaf.

For example, where the list of contents has "The Danish warres in Ethelstans time with the story of Guy of Warwicke," Junius wrote at the top of the text "Danica invasio regnante Ethelstano, una cum historia Guidonis de Warwik" (p. 17). At one point in the manuscript we can see how Junius familiarised himself with the script. As is known, Junius took a particularly close interest in the presentation of text. Especially for his philological publications he had made a variety of type fonts, enabling him to use the Gothic uncial for Gothic words, the insular script for Anglo-Saxon, runes for Old Norse and a variety of black-letter types for contemporary languages.<sup>61</sup> On p. 232 of the "Leiden Lydgate," which was left blank by the scribe, we can see how Junius tried to imitate the fifteenth-century hand of the scribe by copying on an empty page the title and three stanzas from the facing page. The result is fair enough.

*Epilogue*

Taking Junius's study of Chaucer into consideration, we can see a three-pronged approach:

- (a) he strove towards establishing a better text by making the spelling uniform and by improving corrupt passages by way of conjecture;
- (b) he compiled a glossary to be used as a key to words which were obscure or had become obsolete. Meanings were established either by comparing one passage in Chaucer's texts with one or more other passages, with Gavin Douglas's Middle Scots and with the *Roman de la Rose*, or with the help of existing lexicographical works;
- (c) he identified sources and analogues of certain passages through his vast knowledge of the Classics.

More than a century ago, the Harvard Chaucer critic Mark Liddell, with evident enthusiasm, announced his discovery of Junius's Chaucer material in the Bodleian in a less than one-page article in the English gentleman's monthly *The Athenaeum*, and suggested that Junius intended to prepare a new Chaucer edition.<sup>62</sup> Although modern scholars have regularly repeated this suggestion on Liddell's authority,<sup>63</sup> I seriously doubt whether Junius ever fostered such an ambition. Junius was certainly aware of the need for a new edition, and he was undoubtedly qualified to carry it out, but he simply could not comply with the most important condition: he lacked authoritative manuscripts with which to establish a reliable scholarly text based on collation and emendation.<sup>64</sup> The best that he could have achieved would have been a commentary, a kind of "Observations on Chaucer." Death, however, prevented him from bringing the material together into a coherent monograph.

When Junius donated his most valuable philological treasures to the Bodleian, part of his stipulation was that his works that were ready for the press should be published. Indeed, shortly after his death, a group of Oxford scholars, including Bishop John Fell and Thomas Marshall, both devoted friends of Junius, set about carrying this out.<sup>65</sup> On 26 July 1684, Marshall sent the following report (naturally in Latin) from Lincoln College, Oxford, to Isaac Vossius in Windsor, where the latter was canon:<sup>66</sup>

Most illustrious Sir,

On the occasion of having sent this, I have not been able to ensure you how much progress we have made in preparing the collected works of Mr. Junius of blessed memory, with which purpose a *Lexicon Septentrionale* [Dictionary of Northern

Languages] will be compiled. The work has been almost finished by a certain good editor; nothing, as far as I know, will stop its completion, except the Observations on Chaucer by the excellent author [i.e. Junius]. This Chaucer is with me amongst other works left by the illustrious Junius. Its running marginalia refer the Reader to an enriched Index, which I have long and much searched for here in vain. Lest this great work [i.e. the *Lexicon Septentrionale*], moreover to be printed at our not mediocre expenses, be published incomplete and mutilated in this part, I may hope that you will leave not unseen to us the copy of the Index of this Chaucer, which is now part of your most instructive library.

This was written in haste, Yours obligingly, Thomas Marshall.

What exactly Marshall is referring to here is not entirely clear: he appears to have Junius's annotated Speght edition, and he must have had the Chaucer glossary. But what does he mean by "the enriched Index"? Curiously, Junius's Oxford copy of the 1598 Speght edition is lacking the "old and obscure words of Chaucer explained," together with the other end items, viz. "The French in Chaucer translated," "Most of the Authours cited by G. Chaucer in his workes, by name declared," "Corrections of some faults and Annotations vpon some places," "Faults escaped," and the final note. These pages were cut out, but the stubs still testify to their formerly having been there. As we have seen, Junius also owned a copy of the 1602 Speght edition, which still has the expanded glossary intact, but this copy contains far fewer annotations in his hand,<sup>67</sup> of which two are worthy of mention. The first is an explanatory note on fol. 113, 4 (*RR* 1093): "Worth all the gold in Rome and Frise," where Junius wrote in the margin "intellige Phrygiam." Whether by experience – he had spent some time in Friesland<sup>68</sup> – or, more likely, through his knowledge of the Classics, Junius realised that "Frise" did not refer here to the northernmost area of the Netherlands, but was rather an allusion to Phrygia, the opulent kingdom of Midas.<sup>69</sup> The other remark shows Junius's impatience with the way Chaucer mutilated Classical names. On fol. 181, 3 (*Tr* 5.1792): "Of Uergil, Ouid, Homer, Lucan, and Stace," he wrote right below this line: "In lingua Anglicana ejus orthographiæ ingens est diversitas, multisque erroribus obnoxia est" ["In his (i.e. Chaucer's) English language the variety of spelling is enormous, and liable to many errors"]. In seventeenth-century Dutch, most likely with Junius's approval, these names had been restored from their vernacular to their Latin forms. At the same time, Junius made his remark to apply to Chaucer's spelling in general.

The printing quality of his 1602 copy was rather poor, and throughout the book Junius has dotted the “i”s where the dot did not appear, and touched up letters that had come out printed only half, occasionally correcting a printing error along the way. We can also see Junius employing a method of cross-referencing similar to that in his Oxford copy, but he did not apply the consecutive column numbering. Instead, he used Speght’s folio numbering with the refinement of dividing each folio into four columns, so that, for example, “3, 2” refers to “fol. 3, col. 2.” Since Junius’s Chaucer glossary (MS Junius 6) throughout displays the reference system as set up in his Oxford copy, it is clear that he obtained his 1602 copy only when he had advanced very far in his Chaucer project – too far in any case to find it convenient to make adjustments. In what measure Junius used the 1602 edition to improve the text of that of 1598 is a moot point. Some of Junius’s improvements in the latter copy can also be found in print in the edition of 1602, and he may have carried them over into his working copy without proper acknowledgement; but many other of his corrections are not to be found in the second edition. Concerning Speght’s revised text, Derek Pearsall remarked that “[m]any of them are obvious and straightforward. . . and could have been introduced independently by an intelligent editor with an ear for Chaucer’s verse.”<sup>70</sup> Junius qualifies as such an intelligent reader, if anyone does.

Junius’s 1602 copy does not include the “Enriched Index” that Marshall referred to in his letter to Isaac Vossius. Could Marshall have been referring to a separate copy-book containing a list of annotations? On over fifty occasions, the margins in the Oxford Speght copy bear a note saying *vide Annotationes*, as if Junius had compiled a list of notes which were too large to write down in the margin. Most of these brief notes, forty-five to be precise, are to be found in the part containing the *Canterbury Tales*, the remainder being scattered over the other texts. For example, such references appear at *palmers* (col. 1; *GP* 13), *Magike naturell* (col. 10; *GP* 416), or *ascendent tortuous* (col. 94; *MLT* 302).<sup>71</sup> None, however, are found in the margins of the *Roman of the Rose* or Chaucer’s translation of Boethius’s *De consolacione*, as if Junius had other explanatory resources for these texts that made annotations redundant. What Marshall had not noticed is that all these references relate to Speght’s “Corrections and some faults and Annotations vpon some places,” appended at the very end of his 1598 edition. These pages, as we have seen, were removed from Junius’s Oxford copy. In the 1602 edition, Speght had incorporated the “Annotations,” which served much the same purpose as the modern explanatory notes, into his revised glossary.<sup>72</sup> Much to our disappointment, the glossary and annotations cut out from

Junius’s 1598 Speght are exactly what is missing among his legacy to the Bodleian, with the result that we can only guess to what extent Junius might have “enriched” these pages. It is, however, still possible that we may yet be able to gain an idea of the kind of annotations it would have contained, presumably on sheets added to the pages he had removed from his 1598 copy. At the top of col. 253, Junius – or the early eighteenth-century binder<sup>73</sup> – pasted a rather large slip of paper, with a comment on *CYT* 1047–51 which runs as follows:

Chaucerus 254, i.

Beleveth this as siker as your crede.

God thanke I, and in good time it be saied,

That there nas never man yet evill paied

For gold ne silver that he to me lent:

Ne never falsehede in mine harte I ment.

Observe hoc in loco illam bene precandi formulam, qua utebantur se suaque impensius laudaturi, ad invidiam deprecandam vel ad advertendum fascinum, in good time be it saied, Absit verbo invidia.

Prorsus ut vetustiores Romani præfiscine vel præfiscini dicebant; est enim præfiscine ex præ et fascino, atque ad verbum sonat ἄ βασιάντως ac citra invidiam. Vide his doctissimi Vossii etymologicum Latinum, in Fascinum.<sup>74</sup>

Such an explanatory note is precisely appropriate, and, though somewhat verbose, contains essentially the same information as that of the *Riverside Chaucer*.<sup>75</sup> The only difference is that Junius reveals his etymological mind by adding a remark on the derivation of *præfiscine*, with reference to his brother-in-law’s huge Latin etymological dictionary, published posthumously in Amsterdam and London in 1662.

Isaac Vossius, unfortunately, was not able to help Marshall. The *Lexicon Septentrionale* was never brought to the press – the fruits of Junius’s learning were simply too large to handle – but it is preserved unfinished in the Bodleian Library among the Fell manuscripts.<sup>76</sup> There can be little doubt, though, that Chaucer studies would have been furthered considerably in the eighteenth century, if Junius’s annotations to Chaucer had been published, preferably in conjunction with his glossary. As this was not the case, Chaucer criticism virtually had to start all over again in the nineteenth century – in particular concerning allusions to or hidden quotations from Classical authors. In this respect it is curious that the anonymous editor of Urry’s Chaucer edition – this was in

fact Timothy Thomas<sup>77</sup> – played down the quality of Junius's Chaucer studies:<sup>78</sup>

There is a copy of the Edition 1597 [sic] with MS. notes of Junius in the Bodleian Library amongst his MSS (N<sup>o</sup>. 5121.9) but neither did those notes nor his other Papers there of that nature (which I likewise consulted) afford that assistance which might be expected from so great a Name; most of them being very imperfect, or drawn up rather for his own use than for the information of others.

One of Urry's intentions with his edition had been to demonstrate the sources of Chaucer's learning. Timothy Thomas, however, had not been able to find anything concerning this part of the project amongst Urry's papers, apart from a note which identified the source of *Eight Goodly Questions with Their Answers*, the poem (now no longer considered part of the Chaucer canon) printed in Speght's edition immediately before the *General Prologue*, as being Ausonius.<sup>79</sup> The same had been done by Junius, who wrote over the first line of each stanzaic question the name of Ausonius together with the original question in Latin. Is it possible that Urry, a student of Christ Church College, had seen Junius's annotated copy? One of the preparatory steps he had taken towards his edition was to write a letter, on 5 December 1711, to consult the doyen of historical linguists, George Hickes, upon whose advice he studied the Junius Manuscripts in the Bodleian, as Hickes had informed him that "an Edition of Chaucer was there in great measure in [Junius's] hands."<sup>80</sup> But apart from his possible indebtedness to Junius's identification of Ausonius, Urry's edition shows no trace of having seized the opportunity to make use of the rich material he had had in his hands.

Junius's detailed occupation with Chaucer, nevertheless, was not wholly without impact. Many of his lexicographical observations found their way into his *Etymologicum Anglicanum*. In all, this dictionary includes some 468 illustrations from Chaucer, seventy-nine of which were added from his handwritten Chaucer glossary (MS Junius 6) by his editor Edward Lye, as is indicated by square brackets.<sup>81</sup> These entries show Junius to have read Chaucer with empathy and care, and, on occasion, with a little mischievous delight for the bachelor he was (see Appendix II). Impressive though the amount of Chaucer quotations in his *Etymologicum* may seem, it must be viewed against Junius's Chaucer glossary which contained about 4,000 entries, almost twice as many as did Speght's glossary in the 1602 edition.<sup>82</sup> As it is, Junius did not manage to

finish his glossary, since his pious wish, expressed in the second entry (on *A per se*), was never fulfilled. Having compared the use of this expression in both Chaucer and Douglas, Junius went on with a quotation, in Greek, from Revelations 1: 8: "I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, etc.," and continued, in Latin:<sup>83</sup>

What the Highest Judge of things wanted to indicate with this statement, you can clearly gather from the following words, viz. that God is the same, and always has been and will be from now on; accordingly, his promises are certain and unchangeable. These [promises] also tell me to hope that this project of mine will one time be carried to a conclusion, (which project) the inexhaustible giver of all good things, God, has granted that the day has dawned for me to undertake it.

Oh happy morning! The evening, however, was not given to Junius to see, but would we not all wish for the same productive longevity that the Highest Judge bestowed upon this great philologist?

## Appendix I

In this list, I have recorded only the source identifications which Junius made to those works by Chaucer in Speght's edition which are now recognised as canonical, with the exception of the first item. Identifications are marked † when they are accepted by Robinson's 1957 edition, and marked \* when accepted by the *Riverside Chaucer*.

*Eight Goodly Questions with their Answers*

Above stanzas 2 to 9, Junius wrote down in Latin the question, and the beginning of the answer from Ausonius. At the third stanza he wrote: "Auson. explicat hic dictum Seneca epistola CIII: Ab homine quotidianum periculum. etc."

†At col. 27 (*KnT* 1162: "Loue is a gretter law. . ."): Boëth. III de Consol. metro 12; Quis legem det amantibus? Major lex amor est sibi.

†\*At col. 31 (*KnT* 1387: "His slepy yerd. . ."): Somniferam virgum vocat Ovidius Metam. I, 672. vide quoque Metam. II, 736.

†\*At col. 35 (*KnT* 1625–26: "Full soth is saied, that loue ne lordship / Woll nat his thankes haue any feliship;"): Non bene eum sociis regna Venusque manent. Ovid. III de Arte, versu 564.

At col. 38 (*KnT* 1773–75: "fie / Upon a lorde that woll haue no mercie, / But be a Lion both in worde and dreede"): Non decet Regem sæva nec inexorabilis ira. Vide Senecam de Clementia.

†At col. 38 (*KnT* 1798–99: "Now loketh, is not this a great folie? / Who may be a foole, but if he loue;"): Mimijambus P. Syri; Amans quid cupiat, scit; quid sapiat, non videt. Plautus Pseudolo, Act. I, Sce. 3; – non jucundum est, nisi amans facit stulte.

†\*At col. 43 (*KnT* 2056: "Calistope"): Ovidius II Fast. versus 158. sicuti et II Metam. versu 409.

†\*At col. 43 (*KnT* 2065: "Atheon"): Actæon. Ovidius Trist. II, vers. 105. et Metam. III, 190.

†\*At col. 43 (*KnT* 2070: "Athaland"): Atalanta & Meleager. Ovid. Metam. VIII, 299.

†\*At col. 49 (*KnT* 2389: "Whan Uulcanus had caught the in his laas"): Ovid. Met. IV, 184. & II de Arte, versu 180.

At col. 50 (*KnT* 2448: "In elde is both wisdome and usage;"): Seris venit usus ab annis; Ovid. Metam. VI, 29.

At col. 61 (*KnT* 3029–30: "in youth or else in age. / He mote be dedde, a king as well as a page"): Mors per omnes it; Seneca ep. XCIII.

At col. 65 (*MilT* 3227–28: "He knew nat Cato (for his wit was rude) [parentheses added by J.] / That bad men wed her similitude;"):

Solon apud Ausonium: Par pari jugator conjux: quicquid impar, dissidet.

At col. 103 (*MLT* 776–77: "There dronkenesse reigneth in any rout, / There nis no counsaile hid, [comma added by J.] withouten dout."): Horat. Quid enim ebrietas designat? sic.

†\*At col. 122 (*SqT* 518: "a tombe is all the faire aboue;"): Matth. XXIII, 27.

At col. 158 (*WBT* Prol 572–74: "I hold a Mouses wit not worth a Leke? That hath but one hole to sterten to, / And if that faile, than is all idoe;"): Plautus Trucul. Actu IV, scena 4; Cogitato, mus pusillus quam sit sapiens bestia, / Ætatem qui uni cubili nunquam committit suam, / Quia si unum ostium obsideatur, aliud perfugium gerit.

At col. 169 (*WBT* 1117: "Christ wuld we claimed of him our gentilnesse;"): Aurelii Prudentii Hymnus in laudem Romani martyris; Generosa Christi secta nobilitat viros. &c.

\*At col. 170 (*WBT* 1183–84: "Glad pouerte is an honest thing certaine, / This wol Seneck and other clerkes saine;"): Honesta res est, læta paupertas. Seneca epist. II.

†\*At col. 170 (*WBT* 1192–94: "Iuuenal saith. . .: The poore man, whan he goeth by the way / Before theues, he may sing and play;"): Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

At col. 170 (*WBT* 1195–97: "Pouert is. . . / A great amender eke of sapience;"): Bonæ mentis soror est paupertatis; Arbitr.

At col. 186 (*SumT* 2067: "And up the string he pulled to his ere"): Virgil IX Æneid: Ecce aliud summa telum libravit ab aure.

At col. 212 (*CIT* 993–94: "That him to seen þe people had cauȝt plesance, / Commendyng now the Marques gouernance;"): Claudianus, Mobile mutatur semper cum Principe vulgus.

At col. 219 (*FranT* 829–31: "By processe, . . . / Men mowen so long grauen in a stone, / Till some figure therin printed be;"): Quid magis est durum saxo? quid mollius unda? Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua. &c. Ovidius I de Arte. v. 477.

At col. 230 (*FranT* 1409: "The eight maidens of Melesy also"): Vide Aulum Gellium.

At col. 487 (*Rom* 343–45: "For who so sorrowful is in harte, / Him lust not to plaie, . . . ne to sing;"): Difficile est tristi fingere mente jocum. Tibullus Eligia 6 libri. Tertii. vide locum.

†\*At col. 578 (*Rom* 5234–35: "For good dede done through praier / Is sold and bought to dere iwis;"): Seneca de benef. II, 1.

†\*At col. 668 (*Tr* 2.1030–36: "For though the best Harpour upon liue / . . . and of his strokes full;"): Citharoedus ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem. Horatius de Arte.

- †\*At col. 716 (*Tr* 3.1634: “As great a craft is to kepe well as winne.”): Ovidius circa initium libri II de Arte am. Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta. / Casus inest illic, hic erit artis opus.
- †\*At col. 724 (*Tr* 4.197: “O Juuenal lord, trew is thy sentence.”): Juvenalis Satyra X, circa finem Satyræ(;) Permittes ipsis expendere Numinibus, quid / Conveniat nobis rebusque, sit utile nostris: / Nam pro quæundis aptissima quaque, dabunt Di/ Carior est illis homo, quam sibi — &c. Socrates humanæ sapientiam quasi quoddam terrestre oraculum, nihil utora a Diis immortalibus petendum arbitrabatur, quam ut bona tribuerent. Quia ii clemum scirent quid uniuque esse utile. &c. Val. Maximum VII, 1.
- At col. 725 (*Tr* 4. 258–59: “That wonder is the body may suffise / To halfe this wo, which that I you deuise.”): Mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit humor; Juvenalis Satyra X, versu 32.
- At col. 730 (*Tr* 4.501: “O death, that ender art of sorowes all,”): mors ultima linea rerum est. Horat libro Primo, epist. 16.
- †\*At col. 730 (*Tr* 4.503–04: For sely is that death, . . . / That oft ycleped, cometh and endeth pain.”): Mors hominum felix, quæ nec se dulcibus annis / Inserit, et miseris sæpe vocata venit. Boëthius libro I, metro 1.
- †\*At col. 749 (*Tr* 4.1408: “Eke drede fond first goddes, I suppose.”): Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor; Arbiter.
- †\*At col. 754 (*Tr* 4.1645: “That loue is thing ai full of busie drede.”): Res est solliciti plena timoris Amor. Ovidius, Penelope Vlyssi. vers. 12.
- †\*At col. 838 (*LGW* 1690: “The great Austyn,” etc.): Vide Augustinum libro I de civitate Dei, cap. 19.
- †\*At col. 848, before the opening line of the Legend of Philomena (*LGW* 2282): Vide Boëthium de Consolatione philosophiæ et confer cum initio hujus legendæ.
- †\*At col. 1011, written over the first line (*PF* 1): ὁ βίος βραχυς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ, ὁ καιρὸς ὄζυς, ἡ δὲ πείρα σφαλερὴ, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπὴ — Tale est initium aphorismorum Hippocratis.
- At col. 1016 (*PF* 225: “In such arraie as when the Asse him shent”): Ovid. Fast. 1, 437.
- †\*At col. 1017 over stanza (*PF* 275–77: “And Bacchus. . . lay Cupide”): Terentius Eun. Act IV, sce 5. Verbum herile verum hoc est: Sine Cerere et Libero fringat Venus.
- †At col. 1018 (*PF* 343: “The Oule eke, that of deth the bode bringeth;”): Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen; Ovid. Met V, 555. Tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo; Met XV, 791.

- At col. 1018 (*PF* 353: “The Swalowe, murdrer of the Bees smale”): Virg. Georg. IV, 15.
- At col. 1018 (*PF* 358: “The waker Gose;”): Ovidius Met XI, 600.

## Appendix II

THINGS videntur Chaucero dici illæ pulchrarum feminarum partes, quibus sunt id quod sunt, quibusque viros ad sui amorem præcipue pelliciunt. **Let Ladies worken with her things.** RR. 6037. Huic affine quoque est Chaucerianum **bellechose**, pro quo tamen idem Chaucerus aliquanto post **bely chose** scribit.

— If I wolde sell my belle-chose,

I couth walken as fresh as any rose.

W.B. 447.

— he couth so wel me glose,

Whan that he wold, he had my bely-chose,

That though he had me bete on every bone,

He couth winne agen my love anon.

ibid. 509.

Ac priore quidem in loco **bellechose** videtur satis manifeste Bellam rem, posteriore vero Rem ventris denotare: eadem compositionis ratione, qua huic nostro Poetæ Ma.T. 114 **bely naked** est Totus nudus. i.e. “Ita ut quisque nostrum e bulga est matris in lucem editus,” ut loquitur Lucillius apud Nonium. Latinis etiam Res denotabat Veneream rem. . . .

(From this point Junius proceeds to dwell extensively on Latin, French, Dutch and, especially, Old English words for “things” and “copulation.”)

[“‘THINGS’ seems to be what Chaucer calls those parts of beautiful women by which they are what they are, and with which they especially entice men to love them. . . . Related to this (word) is also the Chaucerian **bellechose** for which the same Chaucer writes **bely chose** a little later. . . . But in the former passage **bellechose** seems quite manifestly to denote ‘beautiful thing’, whereas in the latter it means ‘belly thing’: using the same way of writing as when in our Poet (*MeT* 1326) **bely naked** is ‘completely naked’; i.e. ‘Just as each of us is given to light from the mother’s belly,’ as Lucillus says in Nonius. In Latin ‘Thing’ signified ‘what pertains to sexual love’ . . .”]

(N.B. The phrase *bely chose* rests upon an error in Speght’s edition.)

## NOTES

1. See Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, ed., *Franciscus Junius F.F. and his Circle* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1998), as well as Sophie van Romburgh's contribution to the present volume. A shorter version of this paper was read at the 34th International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May, 1999. Part of my researches on Junius were conducted at Harvard University when in 1994 I held the post of Erasmus Professor of Dutch History and Culture as a guest of the Department of English and American Literature. Hence my dedication. I would like to thank Bart Veldhoen, Sophie van Romburgh, Alasdair MacDonald and Kees Dekker for their help and suggestions.

2. F. Madan, H.H.E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 2: 11 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 962–90, nos. 5113 to 5232\*. For a further discussion of a number of these items, see E.G. Stanley, "The Sources of Junius's Learning as Revealed in the Junius Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library," in Bremmer, *Junius and his Circle*, 159–76. The description in SC of the Junius MSS is much in need of revision.

3. Franciscus Junius F. F., *Caedmonis Monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesis ac praecipuarum Sacrae paginae Historiarum* (Amsterdam: Christophel Cunrad, 1655). Also available in a facsimile edition with an introduction by Peter J. Lucas, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* vol. 3 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000).

4. Franciscus Junius F. F., *Observationes in Willeramii Abbatis Francicam Paraphrasin Cantici canticorum* (Amsterdam: Christophel Cunrad, 1656), also available as a facsimile edition with an introduction by Norbert Voorwinden, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* vol. 1 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992).

5. The text proper and part of Junius's commentary were published posthumously by Johann Phil. Palthen, *Tatiani Alexandrini harmoniae Evangelicae antiquissima versio Theotisca* (Greifswald: Johann Wolfgang Fickweiler, 1707). Also available as a facsimile edition with an introduction by Peter Ganz, *Early Studies in Germanic Philology* vol. 2 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993).

6. Franciscus Junius F. F., *Quatuor D. N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglosaxonica* (Dordrecht: Hendrik and Johan van Esch, 1665); and *Gothicum Glossarium* (Dordrecht: Hendrik and Johan van Esch, 1665).

7. MSS Junius 2 and 3. On this dictionary, see Kees Dekker, "That Most Elaborate One of Francis Junius': An Investigation into Francis Junius's Hand-written Old English Dictionary," in Timothy Graham, ed., *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University Press, 2000), 310–54.

8. Franciscus Junius F. F., *Etymologicum Anglicanum ex autographo descripsit & accessionibus permultis auctum edidit* Edwardus Lye (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1743; facsimile repr. Los Angeles: Sherwin and Freutel, 1970). The original, in two volumes, is MSS Junius 4 and 5. The testimonies are to be found on p. \*E3v.

9. Franciscus Junius F. F., *De pictura veterum* (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1637). Junius himself translated this book into both English and Dutch as *The Painting of the Ancients* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1638) and *De Schilderkonst der Oude* (Middelburg: Zacharias Roman, 1641), respectively. Junius completed an enlarged revision of *De pictura* which was published posthumously by Johannes Georgius Graevius, augmented with Junius's *Catalogus artificum*, unpublished until then, a kind of encyclopaedia of Classical art and artists (Rotterdam: Van Leer, 1694). For a modern edition with an excellent introduction, see Franciscus Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art*. Vol. 1: *The Painting of the Ancients*, Vol. 2: *A Lexicon of Artists and Their Works*, ed. and transl. Keith Aldrich, Philipp Fehl and Raina Fehl (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), and Franciscus Junius, *De pictura veterum libri tres (Rotterdam 1694). Edition, traduction et commentaire du livre I*, ed. Colette Nativel (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1996).

10. With the exception of a brief, exploratory study by Johan Kerling, "Franciscus Junius, 17th-Century Lexicography and Middle English," in R.R.K. Hartmann, ed., *LEXeter '83 Proceedings. Papers from the International Conference on Lexicography at Exeter, 9–12 September 1983* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1984), 92–100.

11. See Judith Dundas, "A Mutuall Emulation': Sidney and *The Painting of the Ancients*," in Bremmer, *Junius and His Circle*, 71–92.

12. On Richard Verstegen, or Verstegan, see extensively Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "The Anglo-Saxon Pantheon According to Richard Verstegen (1606)," in *The Recovery of Old English*, ed. Timothy Graham, 147–75. Add to the secondary literature mentioned there: Christine Fell, "Norse Studies: Then, Now, and Hereafter," in Anthony Faulkes and Richard Perkins, eds., *Viking Revaluations: Viking Society Centenary Symposium 1992* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1992), 85–99.

13. Verstegan, *Restitution*, 200.

14. Verstegan, *Restitution*, 203–04.

15. OED s.v. *illuminator* (4): "one who makes resplendent or illustrious," with reference precisely to this passage in Verstegen.

16. George Tooke, *The Belides, or Eulogie of that Noble Martialist Major William Fairefax*. . . (London: [n.p.], 1647), 22.

17. This notion already had some tradition in the Netherlands. As early as the first quarter of the sixteenth century, a Frisian chronicler remarked that "gente Anglice moderne mixtum est idioma, nam ex Teutonico, Phrisionico, Gallico et ex alijs quibusdam linguis consarcinatum" (the present-day English people have a mixed vocabulary, for it is patched together from German, Frisian,

French and various other languages). See my "Late Medieval and Early Modern Opinions on the Affinity between English and Frisian: The Growth of a Commonplace," *Folia Linguistica Historica* 9 (1989): 167–91, at 172–73.

18. *The Church-History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII* (London: John Williams, 1655), Bk IV, p. 152.

19. On Tooke and Fuller, see Caroline F.E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1375–1900* (Cambridge: CUP, 1925; repr. New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), 1: 225 and 230, respectively.

20. See Paul G. Hoftijzer, "The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649)," in Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Paul Hoftijzer, eds., *Johannes de Laet (1581–1649): A Leiden Polymath*, special issue of *Lias: Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas* 25/2 (1998): 201–16.

21. On de Laet, see extensively Bremmer and Hoftijzer, above.

22. On de Laet's part in the making of an Anglo-Saxon dictionary, see, with further references, Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of his Life," in Bremmer and Hoftijzer, 139–64, at 154–62. His letter to D'Ewes, dated 24 August 1640, is British Library, MS Harley 374, fol. 154; and cf. J.A.F. Bekkers, *The Correspondence of John Morris with Johannes de Laet (1634–1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1970), xxiii.

23. *Olai Wormii et ad eum doctorum virorum epistolae, medici, anatomici, botanici, physici & historici argumenti: Rem vero literariam, linguasque & antiquitates Boreales potissimi illustrantes*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1751), II, no. 781 (De Laet to Worm, 4 April 1642): "Quia autem scio Anglo-Saxones illos e parte Dania in Angliam venisse, eoque linguam portasse, venit in mentem, non posse me auxilium melius expectare, quam ab iis qui illas partes aut saltem illis incolunt, e quibus illi primum venerunt, quique ad huc eandem linguam incorruptius, quam hodie Angli utuntur." See Bremmer, "The Correspondence of Johannes de Laet," 158–59.

24. See Kees Dekker, *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 1999), 213–14. Boxhorn owned an edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws as appears from the auction catalogue of his library, *Catalogus variorum et insignium librorum, celeberrimi ac eruditissimi viri Marci Zueri Boxhornii. . .* (Leiden: Petrus Leffen, 1654), where it is listed as no. 6 in the section "Libri Rariores & Manuscripti" as "Veteres Anglorum Leges. Saxonicum cum interlineari versione Latine & Notis marginal. viri Erudit. in Script.," an annotated copy, therefore, indicating Boxhorn's engagement with the topic. This entry does not allow us to identify the book as the original edition of William Lambard's *Archaionomia* (London: John Day, 1568), or Abraham Wheelock's revised edition of this book (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1644), though its listing in the section "Rare books" invites one to think of the former possibility. Boxhorn also possessed John Spelman's *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum* (London: R. Badger, 1640) and two (!) copies of Verstegen's

*Restitution*, but the catalogue lists neither Gower nor Chaucer, at least not in any recognisable form.

25. Marcus Z. Boxhorn, *Chronijck van Zeelandt, eertijds beschreven door d'heer Johan Rygersbergen, nu verbeterd, ende vermeerderd* (Middelburg: Zacharias Roman, 1644), II, 170: "Te deser tijdt heeft Middelburch seer gefloreert in koopmanschappe, die van Engelandt op Zeelandt, en van Zeelandt op Engeland sterck gedreven wierdt. Dit leert my een Engels schrijver ende Ridder, ghe-naemt Ian Gouwer, die onder Ritsaert den tweeden van dien naeme, Conink van Engelant gheleeft, ende vele aardige Dichten gheschreven heeft, ghestorven in het jaer 1402. . . ."

26. Van Vliet's glossary, headed "E Chaucero," is preserved in London, Lambeth Palace MS 738, fol. 276 r+v. See further Dekker, *Origins*, 138, 251, 314–15. For further information on van Vliet, see extensively Dekker's book.

27. For example, Dekker, *Origins*, 167, 321–23.

28. Dundas, "Mutuall Emulation," *passim*.

29. Sir Philip Sidney, *In Defence of Poesie*, in his *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 4th edn. (London: 1613), 513 [Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 766 A 15].

30. Derek Brewer, *Chaucer: The Critical Heritage, Vol. I: 1385–1837* (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 118.

31. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 134, fol. 8. Thomas Marshall (1621–1685) studied theology at Lincoln College, Oxford, and came to Holland in 1650 to serve as a minister to the English Company of Merchant Adventurers first in Rotterdam, and later, from 1656 to 1669, in Dordrecht. During his time in Dordrecht, he became befriended with Junius. In 1669, Marshall was appointed Master of Lincoln College, Oxford, and it was most probably because of Marshall that Junius settled in Oxford towards the end of his life. Marshall cooperated with Junius on the publication of the Gothic Gospels, taking care of the edition of and commentary on the West-Saxon Gospels that faced the Gothic text. On Marshall, see *Dictionary of National Biography* 36: 247–48; Vivian Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 275–80; and Kees Dekker, "The Old Frisian Studies of Jan van Vliet (1622–1666) and Thomas Marshall (1621–1685)," in Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, Thomas S.B. Johnston and Oebele Vries, eds., *Approaches to Old Frisian Philology*. Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 49 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1998), 113–33, at 121.

32. *OED*, 2a: "A writer of expository comments or critical notes on a literary work; the writer of a commentary." First attestation 1641.

33. Possibly, Junius used "anie" here as the equivalent of Dutch *eenig* in the sense of "some".

34. On these two manuscripts, see Stanley, "Sources," 163, 167.

35. Dekker, *Origins*, 169, 250.

36. Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art*, ed. and transl. Aldrich, Fehl and



Fehl, I, 395. See also p. [liv]: “. . . *invention*, that is, the choice of subject and the appropriateness of the manner in which it is to be treated.”

37. On William Dugdale (1605–1686), see *DNB* 16: 136–42. Like Junius, Dugdale was also employed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.

38. The letter is printed in William Hamper, ed., *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*. . . (London: Harding, Lepard, 1827), 146.

39. “archpoet,” first recorded according to the *OED* in 1612 with the meaning of “principal poet.” Junius’s usage of the word would be the third in the seventeenth century, and, as far as I can see, he is the first to apply it to Chaucer. Elsewhere he calls Chaucer “poëtarum Anglorum olim princ[eps] (in former times the foremost of the English poets),” *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, s.v. *a per se*.

40. On Junius’s education, see C.S.M. Rademaker, “Young Franciscus Junius: 1591–1620,” in Bremmer, *Junius and his Circle*, 1–17, at 4–10.

41. See Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works 1532, with Supplementary Material from the Editions of 1542, 1561, 1598 and 1602*, facsimile edition, ed. D.S. Brewer (London: Scholar Press, 1978), Introduction; Johan Kerling, *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries. The Old-Word Tradition in English Lexicography down to 1721 and Speght’s Chaucer Glossaries* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1979), chap. 3; and especially, Derek Pearsall, “Thomas Speght,” in Paul G. Ruggiers, ed., *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1984), 71–92.

42. On the former, see Peter Ganz, “Ms. Junius 13 und die althochdeutsche Tatianübersetzung,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 91 (1969): 28–76; the latter is published in facsimile as an appendix to Lucas’s facsimile edition of Junius’s *Caedmon* (see above, note 3).

43. All my references to the Speght 1598 edition are by Junius’s column numbering. For the standard edition, I have consulted Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), including the conventional abbreviations for Chaucer’s individual texts. For the appendix to this article I have also consulted the edition upon which the *Riverside Chaucer* is based, F.N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957). Especially in their explanatory notes, these two editions differ at times.

44. Kees Dekker, “Francis Junius (1591–1677): Copyist or Editor,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000), forthcoming.

45. The word *cerrus* occurs only four times in the entire electronic corpus of Classical and late-Classical Latin texts (*Pandora*), of which thrice in Pliny’s *Natural History* (§ 17 l. 4, § 19 l. 2, § 218 l. 10). The other instance is to be found in Vitruvius’s *De architectura* (Bk II, ch. 9, § 9 l. 4). In both works, which Junius had extensively used for his *De pictura* and *Catalogus artificum*, *cerrus* is each time identified as a kind of oak. Interestingly, *cer(r)ial* is hapax in Chaucer.

46. For a complete survey of Junius’s source identifications, see the appendix below. On the recovery of Chaucer’s indebtedness to the Classics, see

Richard L. Hoffman, “The Influence of the Classics on Chaucer,” in Beryl Rowland, ed., *Companion to Chaucer Studies*, rev. edn. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 185–201.

47. That it was a word in need of elucidation by that time appears from its lengthy treatment in the glossary with Urry’s edition (see note 64).

48. *Historia maior, iuxta ex. Londinense 1571 verbatim recusa*. . . (London: Richard Hodgkinson, Cornelius Bee and Lawrence Sadler, 1640). The glossary, on pp. 267–310, was compiled by William Watts, and contains nineteen references to Chaucer – hitherto unnoticed as far as I know – in the following entries: *Anelaciuss*, *Aurifrisia*, *Brennium*, *Brudatus*, *Burdare*, *Burdones*, *Burnettus*, *Capa*, *Cointises*, *Cordewon*, *Costrelli*, *Escheccum*, *Gisarma*, *Goliardensis*, *Grisei*, *Haubercum*, *Heuses*, *Parvisium*, and *Ribaldus*. The copy in Leiden University Library [406 A 6], shows no visible signs of Junius having consulted it.

49. *Archaeologus in modum glossarii ad rem antiquam posteriorem, continentis Latino-Barbara peregrina, obsoleta et novatae significationis vocabula* (London: Alice Warren, 1625). The Leiden University Library copy [362 A 2] is Junius’s own heavily annotated copy. At the end of his Oxford Speght copy, a small octavo quire has been pasted, on which Junius identified all the five occurrences in which Spelman referred to Chaucer.

50. They are, in order of occurrence: *rote* (col. 5; *GP* 236), *Epicure* (col. 8; *GP* 336), and *tapinage* (col. 618; *Rom* 7361). Inspection of *rote* in the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* is illuminating. Here Junius calls it “Musicum instrumentum”. After a quote of the relevant passage in Chaucer, he mentions Laurence Nowell who, in his (unpublished) “A.Saxonic[um] exegetic[um],” s.v. *rote*, appears to refer to precisely this locus in Chaucer, calling it “a kind of harp.” Junius then proceeds to adduce further supporting evidence from Old English and Old High German to consolidate Nowell’s explanation.

51. *Observationes in Willeramii* (1655).

52. Cf. *Riverside Chaucer*, 1036, note on *Tr* 2.1495.

53. Cf. *Riverside Chaucer*, 983. Junius’s reference is to Thomas Gataker, *Cinnus. Sive adversaria miscellanea*. . . (London: J. Flescher and L. Sadler, 1651), a voluminous kind of exegetical encyclopaedia on the Bible. On this Cambridge theologian, see *DNB*. I had access only to the edition included in Gataker’s posthumous *Opera critica* (Utrecht: F. Halma, 1697–98), where Chaucer’s beardless Pardoner is mentioned in the commentary on *Hym*. 49: 13. Junius made a similar note on the additional quire, [fol. 396r]: “qualis apud Chaucerum Indulgentiarum proxeneta: Gatakeri Cinnus, pagina 196 – parte prima.” Gataker’s reference to Chaucer has not been noticed before, as far as I know.

54. *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the famose Poete Virgill Translatet. . . into Scottish metir bi. . . Gawin Douglas* (London: [William Copland], 1553). Junius’s copy is Bodleian Library, MS Junius 54; cf. Stanley, “Sources,” 167. Junius, in his censure of Douglas’s command of Latin, did not take into account that Douglas had to work with a Vergil edition much inferior in quality to the one he himself was familiar with. In all likelihood, Douglas translated from the edition by

Jodocus Dadius Ascencius (Paris, 1501). "Many 'howlers' in Douglas's translation are attributable to imperfections in Ascencius's edition," according to Priscilla Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas. A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 97–102. Junius also compiled a glossary of Douglas's Middle Scots, now MS Junius 114.

55. In the margin of his Oxford Speght copy (col. 495), Junius wrote "In poemate Gallico dicuntur *batelleurs*, vide Menagium, in *Bastelleurs*." With Menagium, Junius referred to Gilles Ménage, *Les origines de la langue françoise* (1650), which served as one of the models for his *Etymologicum Anglicanum*.

56. *Le Rommant de la Rose nouvellement Reueu et corrige oultre les presedentes Impressions* (Paris: Galliot du pre, 1529) [Leiden University Library 1369 G 6].

57. Much earlier, Junius had copied the Old English translation of Boethius's *Consolation* from MS Cotton, Otho A. VI, one of the manuscripts to be damaged in the Ashbourne House fire. He published the passage from the OE Boethius in his *Observationes in Willeramii*, 46–47 and 229–30. The entire text was published posthumously from Junius's transcript (now MS Junius 12) by Christopher Rawlinson, *An. Manl. Sever. Boethi Consolationis Philosophiae libri V. Anglo-Saxonice redditi ab Alfredo, inchyto Anglo-Saxonum Rege*. Ad apographum Junianum expressos. . . (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1698). His transcripts of the *Metres* are published in facsimile by Fred C. Robinson and Eric G. Stanley, *Old English Verse Texts from Many Sources: A Comprehensive Collection*. EEMF 23 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1990), item nr. 5.

58. Madan et al., *Short Catalogue*, 962.

59. In 1656, Junius boasted to Dugdale of Isaac's library: "my kinsman Vossius is held to have a more exquisite librerie of rare bookes, and especially of manuscripts, then anie other private man in all High and Low Germanie." Cf. Bremmer, "Retrieving Junius's Correspondence," 213. Junius lived together with Isaac in The Hague from 1652 until Isaac's move to England in 1673, when he was appointed Canon of Windsor. Junius followed his nephew to England in 1674. It was in Isaac's house in Windsor that Junius died on 17 November 1677.

60. J.A. van Dorsten, "The Leyden 'Lydgate Manuscript,'" *Scriptorium* 14 (1960): 315–25. The manuscript is MS Vossius Codex Gallicus Q 9.

61. Cf. Peter J. Lucas, "Junius, His Printers and His Types: An Interim Report," in Bremmer, *Junius and His Circle*, 177–97.

62. "Junius's Edition of Chaucer," *The Athenaeum* (12 June, 1897): 779.

63. For example, Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (New York: MacMillan, 1908; repr. 1933), 508; Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 253; Madan, *SC*, 962; William L. Alderson and A.C. Henderson, *Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1970), 41; Kerling, *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries*, 16–17, 20 (but denied in Kerling, "Junius," 97); Dekker, *Origins*, 96 n.235.

64. This was done by John Urry, *The Works: Compared with the Former Editions, and many valuable MSS., / Geof. Chaucer; out of which, three tales are added which were before printed by John Urry, together with a glossary; to the whole*

*is prefixed the author's life, newly written, and pref.* (London: B. Lintot, 1721). On this edition, see Alderson and Henderson, *Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship*, chapter 5.

65. See Richard L. Harris, ed., *A Chorus of Grammars: The Correspondence of George Hickes and his Collaborators on the Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium* (Toronto: PIMS, 1992), 6–8.

66. Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS III E 10, 37: "Cl. Vir, Hac data occasione, non potui non Te certiorum facere quantos progressus fecerimus in digerendis D. JUNII τοῦ μακροῦτος Collectaneis, ad conficiendum Lexicon Septentrionale paratis. Opus jam pene ad umbilicum est productum a dispositore quodam Germano: nec aliquid, quod sciam, desineratur ad ejusdem perfectionem, praeter summi Authoris Observata ad Chaucerum. Ipse Chaucerus, inter alia Cl. JUNII legata, penes me est: cujus perpetua Marginalia Lectorem relegant ad Indicem locupletatum, diu multumque a me hic frustra quaesitum. Ne itaque opus hoc grande, et sumptibus nostris non mediocribus imprimendum, hac ex parte imperfectum prodeat ac mutilum; sperare licet Te nobis non invisurum copias *Indicis illius Chauceriani, qui jam* pars est instructissimae tuae Bibliothecae. Hoc raptim scribebat, Tui observatissimus Tho. Mareschallus. Oxoniae e Coll. Lincoln. Julii 26 1684."

67. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 364 A 13; the annotations in this copy were erroneously attributed to Isaac Vossius by Johan Kerling, cf. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "Retrieving Junius's Correspondence," in Bremmer, *Junius and His Circle*, 199–235, at 233.

68. See Philippus H. Breuker, "On the Course of Franciscus Junius's Germanic Studies, with Special Reference to Frisian," in Bremmer, *Junius and His Circle*, 129–57, at 139–41.

69. A similar suggestion was made independently by Albert S. Cook, "Two Notes on Chaucer," *Modern Language Notes* 31 (1916): 441–42, at 442. Both Robinson and the *Riverside Chaucer* are reluctant to adopt this interpretation, but unjustifiably so, cf. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "Friesland and Its Inhabitants in Middle English Literature," in Nils R. Århammar et al., eds., *Miscellanea Frisica. A New Collection of Frisian Studies* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 357–70, at 363–64.

70. Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 87.

71. Most of the words at which Junius placed this reference are not included in his *Etymologicum Anglicanum*.

72. Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 89–90.

73. The book was evidently rebound after Junius's death: towards the end annotations disappear in the gutter and marginal notes have been partly lost through trimming.

74. "Observe in this place that formula for wishing well, which people used to use when they were about to praise themselves or their achievements immoderately, to ward off envy or to avert witchcraft, *in good time be it said*; may envy not attend upon the word. Precisely as the more ancient Romans said *præfiscine* or *præfiscini*; for *præfiscine* is from *præ* and *fascin[um]*, and corresponds

to the word *abaskantōs* and without envy. See about this the most learned (Gerard) Vossius's *Etymologicum Latinum*, s.v. *fascinum*."

75. See p. 950: "*in good time*: A formula to avert evil consequences, similar to 'touch wood'."

76. Bodleian Library, MSS Fell 8–18; Madan et al., *Short Catalogue*, nos. 8696–8706. In the early eighteenth century another attempt was made to publish the dictionary, and finally a much abbreviated version, compiled by Edward Lye, was published in 1772, see Dekker, *Origins*, 305 n. 30.

77. Alderson and Henderson, *Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship*, 97–103.

78. Urry, *The Workes*, "Preface," sig.L4, M1.

79. Urry, *The Workes*, "Preface," sig.I4.

80. Alderson and Henderson, *Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship*, 93 and n. 43.

81. Hammond, *Chaucer*, 508; Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 390, remarks: "Continuous reference to Chaucer," but cites only four entries. On Junius's use of Chaucer in his *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, see also Alderson and Henderson, *Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship*, 35.

82. The glossary in the 1598 edition contained 2034 entries, increased in that of 1602 to 2607). On Speght's glossaries, see Kerling, *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries*, ch. 3; on the scope of Junius's glossary, see Kerling, "Junius," 95–97.

83. *Etymologicum Anglicanum*: "Quid vero hac locutione significare voluerit Summus rerum arbiter, ex sequentibus manifeste colligas: Deum nempne eundem & esse & semper fuisse ac porro futurum esse; proinde quoque certa atque immutabilia esse ejus promissa; quae me quoque sperare jubent ad finem aliquando perductam iri hanc nostram operam, ad quam inchoandam hunc mihi diem illucescere passus est inexhaustus bonorum omnium largitor Deus."