A LINGUISTIC AND CODICOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF GLASGOW, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, HUNTERIAN S.1.7

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I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Jeremy Smith of Glasgow University,

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction.

The purpose of this study is to examine the scribal practice of the copyist responsible for the production of two manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis, Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS. S.1.7 and Pierpont Morgan, M.125. Through an interdisciplinary approach, involving comparative linguistic and codicological analyses of these manuscripts, this study seeks to characterise – if possible, distinctively - the output of our scribe.

Following the methodology outlined in LALME (1986), the linguistic analysis concentrates on the language of the scribal texts, and tests the theory that a single scribe was responsible for the production of both manuscripts. The study examines the various linguistic differences evident in the spelling system of each manuscript and attempts to explain such diversity in terms of the relationship between language and exemplars. The degree to which this linguistic information is indicative of textual relationships of the manuscripts within the Confessio Amantis tradition is also considered in this investigation.

The linguistic data collected from each manuscript build a corpus of spellings that can be used in a comparative analysis with those established for other Confessio Amantis manuscripts by Smith (1985). In the same investigation, Smith reconstructs the archetypal language of Gower, and the process by which this was achieved is outlined in 1.3.

The codicological analysis of Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS S1.7 and Pierpont Morgan M.125 focuses on an examination of the paleographical data available from each. Paleography has traditionally provided a means of assessing the data and provenance of a manuscript. Within this context, I identify the script of our

manuscripts according to the definitions established by Parkes (1969), and place it within the handwriting tradition of the fifteenth century.

However, my preliminary investigation is based largely on the work of McIntosh (1974, 1975), who believes that graphetic items (individual letter/word shapes), like their linguistic counterparts, can provide unique information on a single scribe. This analysis, then, provides details of individual letterforms and their various realisations within the text of each manuscript, with a view to isolating features that may be considered unique to our copyist. These data can further be used to test whether both manuscripts are the work of a single scribe.

This type of graphetic analysis has yet to be developed and implemented to the same degree as the linguistic analysis outlined above. Thus this study provides a preliminary example of how the analysis should be attempted and the kind of conclusions that can be drawn from such a study. This is an introductory study in the sense that it provides an insight into the ways in which graphetic analysis can be implemented in manuscript studies and, more importantly, outlines the way in which such practices may be developed in future studies.

1.1. The Theoretical Background - LALME

The starting point for any survey of late Middle English manuscripts with a focus on language is The Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (LALME). LALME covers England and parts of Wales and Scotland, dependent on the availability of source materials. The period that it spans is approximately one hundred years, from 1350 to 1450, although some material has been admitted from outwith this period owing to a lack of information from certain of the source areas.

In their collaborative work on the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English McIntosh et al expanded the theoretical boundaries of the field, urging change and the

implementation of new ways in which to approach the study of Middle English Dialectology. The methodology developed and implemented in the research of LALME augmented the core evidence for Middle English dialectology and opened up a whole range of possible applications, for example, in textual criticism and in the wider field of historical and cultural studies.

LALME established theoretical premisses that are now central to the study of medieval dialectology, stressing, for example, the significant differences between the spoken and written modes. Whereas modern dialectology is based on the spoken usage, the study of the language of Middle English is dependent on written information only. In the past, texts were studied solely in an attempt to recover the spoken dialects of medieval England. However, LALME found that the written language should be examined in its own right, 'not just as an imperfect reflection of the "primary" spoken language.' (M. Laing, English Language Lecture, Glasgow University, May 1997).

Moreover, LALME established that regional dialects could not be compartmentalised into strict geographical areas, but instead should be viewed as part of a continuum of overlapping distribution. An important part of the methodological approach of the dialectal survey, and of prime importance to this discussion was that it gave linguists the means by which to analyse and describe scribal behaviour. Previous to LALME, McIntosh had made a plea for calling for the compilation of a register of scribes, based upon the palaeographical and linguistic characteristics of individual scribes. He believed this should involve the construction of graphetic profiles - recording the idiosyncratic ways in which individual scribes executed letter forms - and linguistic profiles - based on the way in which copyists responded to their

exemplars. This was a far more detailed and scientific approach to scribal outputs than had ever before been considered or, indeed, believed possible.

1.1.2. In the past, scholars of historical dialectology generally viewed scribal output as worthless because it was often so many removes from the authorial original. It was believed that the process of copying and recopying by various scribes over the years, with each imposing their own form of language on the exemplar, would have made the resulting text too much of a mixture to provide useful linguistic information. It was thought that only texts that could be attributed to a single person of known linguistic origin could yield any profitable information;

> As a matter of course, the language of a copy was assumed to be a one-off conglomerate, to which an author and any number of intervening scribes, as well as the present copyist, had contributed; it was the language of a MS, but not of any one person or place. (Benskin, 1981: xxix)

Thus the documents used for dialectological study tended to be those written in the hand of the authors themselves - authorial autographs - whose language, apparently untampered by the contamination of any scribal interference, was considered to be in some way 'pure'. (Smith, 1996:29)

> for philological purposes, any text other than a holograph was held to be untrustworthy. (Benskin, 1981:xxix)

This view had a detrimental effect on the number of texts available for study as in only a few cases are the origins of an author known and the manuscripts of his work that survive are almost never in his hand.

Other texts of known origin and, therefore examined, were official and legal documents. Yet these tended not to yield very interesting linguistic information and, of course, were limited in the types of words that they contained. Their linguistic items were typically from the legal domain, and generally excluded otherwise common Middle English words, like 'SHE', 'FIRE' and 'WORLD'. McIntosh's early investigations, however, contravened this received opinion and his findings have been central to the investigation carried out in LALME.

1.1.3. Methodology of Scribal Behaviour

McIntosh realised that scribal behaviour could be categorised according to the way in which scribes responded to the exemplar in front of them. He found that they did one of three things;

A. A scribe may copy the exemplar letter by letter, reproducing exactly what was written in front of him. Generally this *litteratim* copying is rarely found in Middle English texts, although it is relatively more common in the earlier part of the period.

B. The language of the exemplar is translated into the dialect of the scribe copying the text, incurring many modifications to the orthography, the morphology and the vocabulary. This is commonly found in Middle English texts and two scribes are known to have made explicit mention of this practice. (Benskin, 1981)

C. A scribe may write in a mixture of the above approaches. Commonly this type of scribe is a progressive translator, starting out as a *litteratim* copyist, but moving into translation as he gains confidence. Again, this is a common practice in Middle English texts.

It is important to understand that these categories are not mutually exclusive but instead form a continuum ranging from literatim (letter for letter) copying to full

translation.

> scribal behaviour is multifarious, but organised around certain governing principles and not random (Smith,1985:3)

Type C consists of all the behaviour that cannot reasonably be defined as A or B, and consequently this category reflects many different types of scribal output. One manifestation of Type C behaviour is the progressive translator, a copyist who begins by copying a text letter for letter, but gradually starts to translate the text into his own dialect. The behaviour of the progressive translator thus exemplifies copying that is 'something between Type A and Type B';

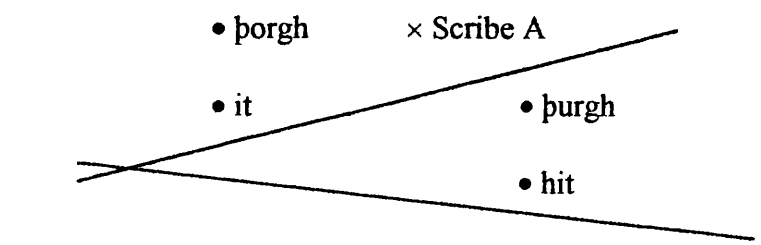
> for the first few folios or so, he produces a text of which the language is not his own, but that of his exemplar. As he gets used to his copy text, so he converts with increasing fluency the language of the subsequent text into his own
>
> (Benskin and Laing, 1981:66)

A second Type C usage that is, perhaps, more difficult to discern from the scribal text is that of constraint. In **constrained selection** a scribe copying of a text from outwith his dialect area will suppress his habitual forms, but reproduces the forms of the exemplar only if they are familiar to him. Alien, or exotic, forms are <u>not</u> reproduced, but instead are replaced with the scribe's habitual and functionally equivalent forms.

At this point it would be useful to introduce the notion of 'repertoires' - the term used to describe the choice of variables within a scribe's linguistic system. Benskin and Laing (1981) establish that a scribe's linguistic system consists of both an **active** and a **passive repertoire**. The active repertoire comprises forms that are

spontaneously used by the scribe in writing, normally consisting of forms common to the area in which he lives.

The passive repertoire of a copyist is made up of those forms that are familiar to the scribe, yet are not part of his spontaneous usage. For example, such forms are likely to bet he usages found in adjacent communities to that in which he lives. This phenomenon is more clearly illustrated in schematic terms. In the following diagram the lines indicate distributional boundaries, corresponding roughly to geographical boundaries. Thus in the community to which Scribe A belongs, þorgh and it are dominant forms. However, the neighbouring communities use different forms for the same items;



(fig.1)

In the above example, 'it' is part of the active repertoire of Scribe A.

However, in copying a text written in the language of the neighbouring community, Scribe A will suppress his habitual form 'it' and instead write 'hit', as this form is part of his passive repertoire. Similarly, he will reproduce the form 'þurgh', also found in the neighbouring dialect. However, Scribe A will reject the form 'þorugh' as it is alien to him, and therefore not available within his system. The scribe is likely to replace this exotic form with his habitual form 'þorgh'.

Constrained selection also requires the scribe to copy with greater frequency forms that are minor variants in his dialect - that is, the relative frequency of forms in

the scribal dialect is altered through constrained usage, so that the copyist 'alter(s) substantially the relative frequencies of forms that are functionally equivalent' (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol. 1: 18) to his habitual forms. Again, this linguistic phenomenon is best described by example, and in LALME constrained selection is illustrated in the scribal behaviour of a hypothetical Scribe C, copying exemplar X (McIntosh et al, 1986 Vol.1)

ITEM	C	X	X-constrained C
IT	**it**	**itt**	**itt**
THEY	**þai, þei, þey**	**þai, þay**	**þai, þay**
MUCH	**moch**	**mykel**	**moch**
WHICH	**wych, ((wilk))**	**wych, wilk**	**wych, wilk**
EACH	**iche, ech**	**iche, ilke, ylk-a**	**iche**

In the above example, C suppresses his spontaneous forms **it**, **þei**, **þey** and **ech** in response to the forms in X. Thus the influence of the exemplar excludes forms normally expected in the scribal dialect. Moreover, Scribe C changes the frequency of his forms for the item WHICH. Thus when copying X the copyist writes **wych** and **wilk** with equal frequency, although **wilk** is a minor variant in his spontaneous usage. However, the exotic form **myhkel** is rejected in favour of the scribe's habitual form **moch**.

The above examples are, of course, a simplification of a highly complex process. In practice, the responses of constrained scribes to their exemplars are altered by various types of 'interference' (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol. 1: 19). For

example, the repertoire of a scribe could be extended by the repeated copying of a variety of exemplars from different areas of the country;

> ...the active repertoire of a professional scribe could, perhaps partly as a result of copying the same work repeatedly, become extended to a greater degree. (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol. 1: 22)

Thus with reference to the earlier example (fig.1), Scribe A could include 'þorugh' as part of his repertoire; for he may have learnt this form through the repeated copying of a text originating from the dialect area of this form.

Constrained Selection and Relict Forms

A **relict** form is an exotic that does not appear in the scribal *dialect*, yet is evident in the scribal *text* due to the prevalence of this form in the exemplar - relicts are forms outwith the scribe's linguistic system. Constrained selection, however, 'operates within the limits of the active and passive repertoires' (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol.1: 19) to the exclusion of alien forms; that is, constrained selection works within the scribe's linguistic system. As exemplification of this phenomenon is 'not well handled by narrative description (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol. 1: 19), the following table was constructed by the editors of LALME. It shows the relative frequencies and occurrences within scribal texts of relict forms.

ITEM	S-active repertoire -Spontaneous usage	EXEMPLAR	S-COPY -Constrained Usage
A (forms a_1- a_3)	a_1, a_2, a_3	a_1	a_1
		a_2	a_2
		a_3	a_3
		a_1, a_2	a_1, a_2

		a_1, a_3	a_1, a_3
		a_2, a_3	a_2, a_3
		a_1, a_2, a_3	a_1, a_2, a_3
B (forms b_1 - b_3)	b_1 ((b_3))	b_3 ((b_1))	b_3 ((b_1)), perhaps tending to b_3, b_1
C (forms c_1, c_2)	c_1	c_2	c_1 (perhaps tending to **relict** c_2)
D (forms d_2, d_3)	d_2	d_3	d_2 (perhaps tending to **relict** d_3)

Thus, where the scribe in the above table generally replaces the exotic form C_2 with his own spontaneous form of C_1, in some instances he copies (probably accidentally) the C_2 form in front of him.

Relict items are distinguishable in a scribal text by their often-limited relative frequency, as relicts are rare occurrences in a text, and occasionally by the geographical origins of the form - that is, if the form is not congruent with the major items of the text. It is, however, often difficult to ascertain a form that is a genuine relict from one that is part of the scribal dialect and, therefore, a product of constrained selection. In terms of Scribe A and his usage of 'þorugh', this form could be described as a relict form, yet, as we have seen, it id equally possible that the form is now a learnt part of his repertoire. In the latter case, then, 'þorugh' would constitute a minor variable in the scribal dialect.

In cases such as these it is useful to study the comparative distribution of functionally equivalent forms - the less widely distributed a form is, the more likely it

is to be a relict form. As, essentially, the forms of constrained selection and relict usage are part of the same continuum, it is often the case that the identification of a form as either one or the other in a text is strictly a question of the judgement of the individual.

1.1.4. As exemplified in the description above, McIntosh shifted the emphasis from the language of the author of the text to that of the scribe, and this was found to be just as good. However, copyists of the medieval age are generally anonymous, therefore making their origins difficult to establish. McIntosh overcame this problem by devising the fit-technique, whereby scribal profiles could be used in the same way as authorial products had been previously.

When devising the fit-technique, McIntosh's work on the dialectology of modern Scotland proved to be pivotal. In the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, McIntosh compiled and posted dialectal questionnaires to homes throughout Scotland. The results were then mapped out according to the information supplied by the source. In an experiment, McIntosh found that these results could be mapped out to a small area, even if the name and address of the informant were removed. This was achieved be comparing the dialectal characteristics of the informant with that of an anchor text - a text that could be firmly localised.

This proven discovery procedure was then applied to Middle English, where local documents of acted as anchor texts and a matrix of language of known origin was created. This is a self-refining process, and the more dialects you fit, the more information that is gathered, and the margin of error is decreased. It has now been reduced to an area of within ten miles. (Laing, M. English Language Lecture, Glasgow University, May 1997.)

These insights by McIntosh have validated the use of scribal profiles and have ensured that texts can be studied on a much wider scale, with a mass of new documents, such as literary works, now available for examination in extraordinary detail. Thus the fit-technique has proved pivotal in the description of the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis tradition, enabling Samuels and Smith to reconstruct the language of the John Gower, an essential step in the exposition of the manuscript tradition. McIntosh's findings, moreover, helped construct a description of the circumstances in which Gower's notoriously idiosyncratic linguistic habits may have developed. Furthermore, this is a description that is supported by the biographical details of the author's life. A more detailed discussion of Gower's language and its relevance to the language of the scribe of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7 can be found in Chapter Two.

1.3. The publication in 1986 of the research work LALME uncovered the massive diversity in dialect, in both spoken and written mode, that is characteristic of the Middle English period. In practical terms this vast linguistic variation means that texts from this period are localisable. Writers had no literary standard in which to write and instead, whenever they had to write in English, they wrote in the dialect of the area to which they belonged.

However, by the end of the fifteenth century, texts are no longer so easily localised because of, as Samuel writes, the impact of standardisation on the language. The process by which Middle English develops from a diverse multiplicity of dialects to a single literary standard is often ignored by many language historians. They instead present a scenario whereby there is a growth in prestige of one variety, London English, which is then adopted by the printers and thus develops Modern English. However, as Smith points out in his essay The role of communicative

function in the standardisation of written English, 1350-1500, this is an oversimplification that fails to reflect the complex and dynamic process of standardisation.

1.3.1 Criteria for a standard language

Before any discussion of standardisation in Middle English can be begun, it would be helpful to first offer some explanation of what defines a 'standard language'. At what stage does a usage cease to be dialectal and is understood to be a standard language? This question has caused some confusion among scholars. The varying interpretations of standardisation are examined by Dieter Stein in his recent study. (Stein, 1994)

In the wider sense of the term, a 'standard' language is any regional or localised norm that achieves prestige and functions in a combination of the following situations;

(1) as a written language

(2) as a literary language

(3) as a religious language

(4) as a language of education and science

(5) as a language of the law courts, parliament

(6) as a natural language

(7) as the language of the mass media

(Stein, 1994: 2)

This definition fails to reflect the complexity of the process of standardisation, and consequently encompassed varieties that are arguably not standard languages. Scholars looked to develop a more refined and restricted definition of a standard

language in order to avoid the problems caused by the wider interpretation. Einar Haugen developed a constitutive process in order to describe the process by which a standard language is created. This consists of **selection, codification, elaboration** and **acceptance**. A particular usage is selected. The chosen variety may already have an important function within a commercial or political centre, or indeed may be an amalgam of various dialects. This choice, often, is driven by social and political factors. The selected variety will gain prestige and will also be used as a signal of social status, reflecting prestige on those who speak it.

Once the variety has been selected, it then undergoes codification. In this, the orthography and grammar of the variety become established as the 'correct' usage. This is achieved either by an Academy, as in France in the eighteenth century, or through the educational system and in grammar books. Thus, a writer is encouraged to avoid native usages and to reproduce those of the selected variety.

Elaboration involves the extension of the uses of the variety, making available for use in official documentation of the government, parliament and in educational and scientific books. It will also at this point begin to appear in the literary works of the period.

Finally, the variety must be accepted as the prestige variety reflecting social status in the community. The variety will now become established as the national language of the country, and carry the symbolic function as a unifying force in the country, an indication of its independence from other countries. It is important in studying the development of the English language that such criteria have been established as it enables a more technical approach to the problem of standardisation.

1.3.2 The Written and Spoken mode

An intrinsic feature of the process of standardisation is the mode of transmission and here too clarification of terms is very important.

It is essential that a distinction is first drawn between the written mode and the spoken mode. In the written mode, a standard language is distinguished by a fixed spelling, lexical and grammatical system that has developed from the prescriptive writings of scholars in the eighteenth century. When an individual writes in a standard language it reflects his educational ability and aligns him with other users of the language- acts as a marker of social status. As Smith writes;

> To use written Standard English is to signal competence in a set of established rules enforced by a normative educational system..... (Smith, 1996:65)

With reference to the spoken mode, the term standard language is more difficult to define. Spoken standard English can be defined as a system of grammar and lexis that can be used for any register of the language. However, it is not possible to associate the notions of fixity to the spoken mode. For the spoken mode can be expressed in a variety of different accents, including Welsh, Scottish, Australian and American. For some linguists, a definition of Standard English will include reference to the accent Received Pronunciation. This is an accent, from the South East of England, which is perceived to be prestigious and hence is termed standard.

However, Smith establishes that English accents only ever reach a state of **focus** as opposed to the **fixity** of the written mode. In brief, speech is a realisation of certain phonemes, and thus speakers only ever approximate towards a certain accent. As an example, although the R. P. accent is often linked with prestigious expression of English, it cannot be described in terms of a standard language. It competes with other accents, such as Standard Scottish English, and cannot, therefore, be described

as a fixed norm. Social pressures often gear the choices made by an individual. Speakers will gravitate towards the accent if they wish to align themselves with the upper-classes of English society, or conversely deviate from the accent as a signal of working-class solidarity. Thus, the R. P. accent is not a fixed set of shibboleths but rather is a sort of mean towards which other speakers gravitate, or deviate from. Received Pronunciation cannot be termed standard, but is in fact standardised;

> .... Received Pronunciation may be considered to be standardised or focused rather than standard or fixed: a centripetal norm toward which speakers tend, rather than a fixed collection of prescribed rules from which any deviation at all is forbidden.....
>
> (Smith, 1997:4)

These concepts are central to an understanding of the process by which modern English developed, in particular the developments in the orthographic tradition of English.

1.3.3 'Standard' languages in Old and Middle English.

At certain points during the history of English, the function of one variety of the vernacular was extended to the degree that scholars have identified these varieties as standard languages.

During the Old English period, the variety Late West Saxon was used in official government documents of the Anglo-Saxon state. It was also the dialect in which great literary and religious works were written, such as the homilies of the writers Ælfric and Wulfstan. In the terms of the wider deffinition of a standard language, seen earlier, the governmental, religious and literary functions of Late West Saxon appear to validate its status as a standard language. Indeed, scholars have tended to identify this variety as 'standard Old English'. However, as Smith

establishes in his study of standardisation, Late West Saxon is a focused usage that never attained fixity;

> It was thus a focused usage, selected, elaborated and accepted for employment outside its area of origin (although never, as far as is known, codified)
>
> (Smith, 1997(1): 4)

Following the Norman Conquest, the English vernacular was displaced from use in official contexts. Documents concerning the government and the state were composed in Latin and French and these languages were considered the prestigious forms of expression in the country. The English vernacular, lacking any national function, became essentially parochial in function and form. English was still used for education and religious instruction but this was parish-based and, therefore, carried out in the dialect of the area. A significant consequence of this is that a written variety was readily open to modification in order to reflect the spoken dialect of the area in which the document was being produced. Thus the many written varieties characteristic of the Middle English period developed. The question of which of these dialects provided the basis for Present Day English depends on the interpretation of standardisation. Which language had the prominence and prestige to form the basis of Modern Standard English? To answer this question it is necessary to look at the dialects commonly labelled 'standard' languages during the Middle English period.

In a discussion of the standardisation process in the Middle Ages, one dialect has been notoriously difficult to categorise in terms of standardisation. The

consistency and prominence of the AB dialect has confused scholars in their attempts to define its status, leading to vague definitions of it as a 'sort of standard'

The AB variety was first identified by Tolkien, when he recognised that the language used in two manuscripts, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402 and MS Oxford, Bodleian Library 34, was the same. The variety was subsequently found in a number of other, mainly religious, texts; 8 versions of the didactic work Ancrene Wisse, various Saint's lives, prayers and addresses, known respectively as Hali Meiđad and Sawles Warde, the Katherine Group of homilies and the Wooing-group.

The dialect area of this variety has long been recognised as conservative, continuing the traditional methods of book-production and copying that were in place during Old English times. There is then a close association with Late West Saxon and Shepherd examines this in his study of the language of the Ancrene Wisse. He outlines the traditional features of AB dialect that reflect its relationship to Old English, stating that the Middle English variety;

> retained many features of the traditional vocabulary, syntax and idiom of OE homiletic prose. Certain conventions of spelling.... demonstrate the conscious acceptance of a scribal system
>
> (Shepherd, 1972; xv)

This continuance of the tradition of Late West Saxon has led to the definition of the AB dialect as a standard literary language. However, in his article 'Standard Language in Early Middle English', Smith analyses to what extent, if at all, this interpretation of the AB dialect can be regarded as valid.

Using the definition of standardisation established by Haugen, Smith finds that the AB dialect was neither elaborated nor accepted. In terms of function, the AB dialect was restricted, and thus although the dialect was used in religious texts these

English versions were intended to be for the use of lay-people. If the intended audience were to be of a noble status the work was translated into Latin or French, as is exemplified by the extant copies of the Ancrene Wisse. That the dialect was not acceptable for all registers is also exemplified by its absence from government documents.

Moreover, Smith establishes that the AB dialect was neither selected for imitation outwith its place of origin, nor was it ever codified. This evidence demonstrates that the AB dialect cannot be described as a standard language because it fails 'in fulfilling any of the criteria established by Haugen, even to the limited extent achieved by Late West Saxon...'(Smith, 1997(2): 7). There appears to have been various attempts at reorganisation of the orthographic system, based on conventional Old English usages of the local area. The AB dialect is just one of a number of varieties resulting from this reorganisation.

1.3.4 The Later Middle English Period - The standardisation process begins

Towards the end of the Middle English period, the process of standardisation began. The vernacular had begun to be used in a national context, in that it was now available for use in state and government documentation. Consequently, the language was required to be intelligible on a national rather than regional level. Thus the extension of the functions of the vernacular necessitated the standardisation of English.

In his study Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology Samuels identified four types of 'standard' language emerging during the latter stages of the Middle English period. These types were prominent at different times and they also had different, perhaps even genre-distinct, functions. That is, each was commonly

used for a particular purpose - for example, type 3 seems to have been used mainly for literary purposes. The incipient types, as Samuels referred to them, are as follows;

Type I; Found from the middle of the fourteenth century, this type, sometimes referred to as the Central Midlands Standard, is found in a large number of manuscripts identified with the Wycliffite movement. Its characteristic forms include **sich** SUCH, **mych** MUCH, **ony** ANY, **silf** SELF, **3ouun** GIVEN, and **si3** SAW.

Type II; This type is found in nine texts from the mid-fourteenth century and is the language of Auchinleck manuscript. It is from the greater London area and displaced the earlier London English. It is essentially Southern English with a marked Essex element. Norfolk and Suffolk elements are found in it, such as **-ande** and **þerk**. However, the main characteristic items are **werld** WORLD, **þat ilk(e)**, **ilch(e)** THAY VERY, **noiþer, noþer** NEITHER, **þei3** THOUGH, **þai, hij** 'they'.

Type III; This is perhaps best-known as the language of the Chaucerian manuscripts such as 'Ellesmere' and 'Hengwrt'. The language is found in texts copied in London from the late fourteenth century, some of which refer to matters concerning London. The volume of documentation copied in this language ensures that there are frequently attested forms, many of which are identical to Modern English written forms. The typical forms of Type 3 are **world, neither, though, they, nat** NOT, **swich(e), bot, hir(e)** THEIR, **thise** 'these', **thilke, that ilk(e)** THAT VERY, **yaf** GAVE.

Type IV; Generally known as 'Chancery Standard', this is the language used for the mass of government documents produced by the government Chancery. It can thus be dated to the post 1430 period. Its characteristic forms are **gaf** GAVE, **not, but, such(e), theyr(e)** THEIR, **thes(e), thorough, þorowe** THROUGH, **shulde** SHOULD.

A direct comparison of these usages should not be attempted because the types emerged in different ways and performed different functions. As a result, they also had varying impact. Thus, for example, although Types I and IV were 'widely copied outside their area of origin', Type III appears to have been in use primarily in London and appears to have been reserved solely for use in art-poetry.

An important point to note is that this breakdown of the usages current in and around London during the Middle English period cannot take into account the spelling practices of all writers. Thus, the literary manuscripts of John Gower display an idiosyncratic spelling tradition that has been established by Samuels and Smith to be a unique mixture of the dialects of Kent and Suffolk.

These usages represent standardised forms of written language and are not standards - the orthographic system, lexis and grammar of these types are focussed rather than fixed, and none display the uniformity that is characteristic of present-day written English. This non-uniformity is exemplified in the variation of forms that exists within the corpus of texts associated with each type. For example, although one Type I text reads *suche*, another text of this type may read *siche*. Thus, no one text can be described as being wholly representative of a certain type.

This occurred because scribes had no prescriptive model to follow and instead focused on a particular dialect, reproducing the forms of that type to a certain degree but also using forms outwith that usage. Although this variation was not as great as

existed between other dialects of the Middle English period, the evidence of such variation at all indicates that these were not standard usages.

In his work The Emergence of Standard English, J.H. Fisher contends that the institutionalisation of English was the mechanism by which the vernacular was standardised.

> I have become increasingly convinced that Standard Modern English did not just 'happen' but that it was, and is, the result of formal institutionalisation.....
>
> (Fisher, 1996:1)

This view suggests that the language of government and bureaucracy - a variety of Chancery - is the immediate forerunner to Present-day English and indeed, when one looks at the forms of this usage, it is evident that many are identical to their present-day forms. This approach suggests that there was a wholesale replacement of regional forms by the prestigious 'standard' language. This, although logical, is not, however, borne out by the evidence. In his analysis of the manuscript traditions of both Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis by Gower, Smith has discovered that this pattern of replacement is not found.

The Canterbury Tales was a work produced for, and subsequently enjoyed by, the noble classes, and ownership of the manuscripts of the Tales indicates that this remained the case well into the fifteenth century. In such a prestigious work, it would, therefore, be reasonable to expect that the prestigious emerging 'standard' should have considerable impact on the linguistic make-up of the texts. However, analysis of fifty manuscripts from the fifteenth century reveals that there is only a 'slight general movement towards Chancery Standard forms...but the process is neither complete nor decisive.' (Smith,1996: 73)

A significant feature that is made apparent by this study is an increase in the use of colourless dialectal forms. These are forms that are non-localisable as they have no dialectal distinctiveness, but have a wide distribution in Middle English. These colourless usages develop when a writer replaces gross provincialisms by equivalent forms that are in use over a wider dialectal area. The evidence of the Confessio Amantis tradition also conflicts with the simpler notion of transference from one type of language to another.

1.3.5. Gower and Standardisation

A characteristic feature of the manuscripts of Gower is the strong orthographic tradition, whereby idiosyncratic features of Gower's dialect become conventional through sustained use. This Gowerian spelling tradition is seen in the fifteenth century copies of Confessio Amantis, Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS. S.1.7. and Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. However, there appear in these manuscripts forms that are evidence of the new emerging standard. Yet these are not Chancery Standard forms and this is established in the following table. This indicates the main forms of the Chancery standard, as identified by Samuels, in comparison to the forms found in the manuscripts of Chaucer, Gowerian archetypal forms, as reconstructed by Samuels and Smith (1988), and the two manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis, Glasgow and Pierpont Morgan;

	CHAUCER	**CHANCERY STANDARD**	**GOWERIAN ARCHETYPES**	**GLASGOW AND MORGAN MSS.**

GIVE	**yaf**	**gaf**	**3af**	**3af**
NOT	**nat**	**not**	**nought, nou3t**	**nought, nou3t, not**
BUT	**bot**	**but**	**bot**	**but**
SUCH	**swich(e)**	**such(e)**	**such(e)**	**such(e), swich(e)**
THEIR	**hir(e)**	**theyr(e), þeir(e), þair(e), her**	**her(e)**	**her(e)**
THESE	**thise**	**thes(e)**	**þese**	**þese, þise, these**
THROUGH	**þorow(e), thorough**	**þurgh**	**þurgh**	**þurgh, þorough**
SHOULD	**sholde**	**shulde**	**scholde**	**scholde, schulde**

The forms for SUCH and THESE is coincidentally the same in the Gowerian spelling tradition as in the Chancery variety. These forms should therefore be discounted from the analysis. Similarly, THEIR cannot be viewed as a distinctive Chancery form because it is found in the Gowerian tradition also.

Having made the necessary modifications, it can be seen by this table that the impact of Chancery on the language of the manuscripts has been slight. The main difference between the archetypal forms to those found in the Glasgow and Morgan Gower is in the use of the form **but** rather than **bot**. Forms that can maybe be identified as of the Chancery standard appear only as minor variants in the two manuscripts, that is **not, thes(e)** and **schulde.** The influence of the Chancery Standard on the language of the Glasgow, and Morgan Gower can, therefore, be said to be minimal, as the language remains mainly Gowerian. The evidence of these two

manuscripts therefore contradicts the notion of any comprehensive replacement of regional forms by the Type Four variety.

Indeed, in his study of the Confessio Amantis tradition, Smith finds that none of the manuscripts are written in pure Chancery Standard. Moreover, although there is over time a general movement towards the use of forms typical of the Type IV variety, most of the manuscripts 'present a mixture of Gowerian and dialectal forms', as in the Glasgow and Morgan manuscripts.

As in the Chaucerian manuscript tradition, these dialectal forms are colourless dialectal forms, forms that had a wide distribution and thus were communicatively effective in a way regional forms were not. It must be stressed that this system was not uniform and there remained lots of variation between forms. The longevity of the use of colourless forms indicates that this was, however, a successful means of communication. As the use of colourless forms persisted, and the functions of the vernacular expanded, so the grosser provincialisms were discarded. There, therefore developed a social awareness of forms that were acceptable and those that were not. The development of this attitude was the ultimate impetus to the use of a standard language, based on a variety of the Chancery Standard.

The identification of individual copyists in the Middle English period has led to many interesting discoveries and hypotheses concerning the manuscript traditions of the works of some of the most influential writers of the period, Chaucer, Langland and Gower. The complex and often confusing process of textual transmission in the manuscript traditions of the Canterbury Tales, Piers Plowman and Confessio Amantis have each been to some degree made more accessible owing to a better understanding of the scribal behaviour of one of the most prolific copyists of the period, identified as Scribe D. (Smith, 1985).

In Chapter 2 a linguistic profile of the scribe of Glasgow, University Library and Pierpont Morgan, M. 125 shall be compiled and analysed with reference to the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis. Further, the linguistic output of this scribe will be examined in the Middle English context and the scribal behaviour of the scribe shall be described in more detail. In his study of 1985, Smith suggested that the scribe of Glasgow Gower was carrying out a 'gentle modernisation' of the text, hence the presence of forms characteristic of the new emerging standard. This theory shall be examined further in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

1.1 This chapter will provide a close analysis of the scribe of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7 using the methodology provided by McIntosh et al. In the first section, a linguistic profile of the scribe will be compiled, and this will be used to identify the scribal type of the Glasgow Gower copyist with reference to McIntosh' scribal types. The linguistic information will be used to test the theory that the Glasgow Gower scribe was also responsible for the production of the Pierpont Morgan, MS.125.

The results of the questionnaire will then be used to assess the textual tradition of the Confessio Amantis manuscripts, and the position of both these manuscripts within this tradition.

The second section of this chapter will focus on the handwriting of the copyist. The copyist will be placed within the handwriting tradition of the mediaeval period, a study that will use the notions and terminology of the traditional palaeographical approach. However, this study will also explore the possibilities of the graphetic approach as postulated by McIntosh. This analysis produces a graphetic profile, compiled of individual letter-forms that can be regarded as perhaps idiosyncratic to the copyist.

This analysis is a preliminary investigation, and as such is comparatively limited in scope. However, the information will provide useful information not only about the copyist in question, but also the value of graphetic analysis as an investigative tool.

A previous study of the Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7 and Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125 analysed only Books Three and Six of the manuscripts. The scope of this study enables the compilation of a fuller linguistic analysis of the whole manuscript, enabling any shifts and changes in scribal practice to be charted more

thoroughly. This, in turn, will lead to a description of the type of scribe that our copyist is, according to the categories devised by McIntosh.

1.2 Following the practice of the Middle English Dialect Survey Team, linguistic questionnaires were compiled, and these consisted of a predetermined list of approximately sixty items. According to the recommendations of McIntosh et al, a linguistic questionnaire should consist of sufficient variant items to ensure comparability with other texts. Also, an LP questionnaire should display awareness of the distinction between (a) phonological features, that is, features that appear to reflect the characteristics of a spoken language system. For example, **etes**:**eteþ**; **vox**:**fox** and (b) features that carry no 'phonic' implications, such as **sche**:**she**; **it**:**itt**.

This is important in matters of rhyme and alliteration, as a scribe may alter his normal scribal behaviour to reproduce spoken language items rather than written ones. The linguistic items chosen should consist of 'four different classes of evidence; graphological (**mi3t**:**might**); phonological (**stan**:**ston**); morphological (**rideþ**:**rides**) and lexical (**dark**:**mirk**).' (McIntosh et al, 1988: 7)

Before I begin a discussion of the results, it may be necessary to offer definitions for a few terms.

Mischsprache; These are characterised by forms which do not cohere in a single dialect area, but instead present a mixture which would not be expected in terms of geographical mapping. These forms represent the linguistic interventions of different scribes on the archetypal language of the text.

Pseudo-Mischsprachen; This is a commingled text resulting from insufficient attention by the investigator to particular possibilities. For example, a scribe may be

copying from different manuscripts and reproduces their linguistic differences, so producing a composite text.

Constrained Usage This occurs when a scribe suppresses his own habitual usage to reproduce forms in his exemplar. However he will only do this to the extent that the forms are recognisable to him, and will reject alien or 'exotic' forms

Relict; A form not part of a scribe's own dialect, but an exotic that is perpetuated from an exemplar, whose dialect differs from that of the copyist.

1.3 The Questionnaire

I analysed 500 lines of text at the beginning of each Book of the manuscripts, and subsequently read the remainder of each book, checking for forms not found in the main tranche. There is found to be a close correspondence between the main forms of the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan and the following is a list of the main forms found in both manuscripts;

þese; **þe**; **he**; **his**; **sche**; **hir** HER; **þei**; **hem**; **her** THEIR; **such**; **which**; **ech**; **man**; **eny**; **ben**; **is**; **doþ**; **goþ**; **schal, schalt** SHALL(sg); **schul(l)** SHALL(pl); **scholde**; **wolde**; **wol**; **ax-** ASK; **wiþ**; **fro**; **after**; **brenne, renne**; **-ende**; **þan** THEN; **þough**; **-self**; **þilke**; **a3ein**; **3it**; **togidre**; **er, tofore** BEFORE; **were(n)**; **hih(e)**; **yhe**; **þenk-**; **litel**; **-es**; **-ed**; **might(e)**; **lasse**; **whan**; **ferst**; **chirch**; **dede**; **cam**; **clepe**; **but**; OE y - **i, u, e, y**; **or.....or, neiþer/nouþer**

.....ne '(N)EITHER.....(N)OR; Contracted forms of 3rd person singular

There is a similar correspondence of forms that appear only as minor variants in the manuscripts. The following are a list of these forms;

þese, þeise, thes(e); the; twoo; þai, þay; þe which(e), the which(e) amon, mon; be, been ARE; **gooþ** GOES; **wilt; ask-; with; from, fram; tho, þan, þenne** THEN; **-selue, seluen** SELF; **þes ilk(e), þat ilk(e); þe while, oþerwhile; togider; afore** BEFORE; **not; high(e), heih; i3e(n), y3en; þink-; -yng(e), -ing(e), -ande, inde; litil; -ede, id, -t (-ed); when, whenne; did(e); first(e); owne, owen; 3oue; suster; ony** ANY; **schuld; her** THEIR; **mykel.**

There are other minor forms that are restricted to each manuscript. Those of the Glasgow Gower are **wiln; tigidre, togedur; ar, biforn; yen, eihe; þynk, þunk** THINK; **litul; yaf.** Those of the Morgan manuscript are **dooþ** DOES; **þat which; togidres; before; both(e); iye, ey3en; own; þen** THEN.

In order to understand the dialect of the scribe of Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan it is necessary to establish the various linguistic influences upon the scribe when copying the manuscript, for example, the language of the exemplars that he was copying. This initially necessitates a description of the archetypal language of the Confessio Amantis, that is, the language of Gower.

1.4 Gower's Language

The orthography of Gower persists throughout the manuscript tradition of the Confessio Amantis and it was in a study by Samuels and Smith in 1981 that these linguistic features were first isolated and proved to be the spellings of the author himself.

Samuels and Smith found that textually independent passages in the earliest manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis tradition share exactly the same linguistic characteristics. The Trentham manuscript copy of another Gowerian work, In Praise of Peace, also displays these idiosyncratic features. It was concluded that this set of characteristics were representative of the archetypal language of Gower's works in English.

Using the methodology of the Middle English survey team, Samuels and Smith analysed the language and found that it falls into two strata, which do not belong to any one dialect area. The Kentish stratum is characterised by such features as **oghne**, OWN adj.; **soster** SISTER; contracted forms of the 3rd person singular e.g., **takþ**; **-ie-** spellings as the reflex of OE e, eo, as in **lief**; and **þerwhiles þat** WHILE. A more detailed localisation of the stratum was made possible by the occurrence of features characteristic of North- West Kent; **syh** 'SAW', **wich** 'WHICH' and the reflex of OE y in **u**, as in **hull** 'HILL'.

The second stratum evident in the orthography of Gower is that of SW Suffolk, and can be localised more precisely in the triangle bounded by Bury St Edmunds, Clare and Lavenham by characteristics like **boþen** BOTH; **-h-** as in **myhte**; **3oue** GIVEN and **or...or** EITHER.... OR.

The co-occurrence of two linguistic strata in one manuscript is usually explained as a reflection of the input of two different scribes. However, Samuels and Smith dismissed this possibility, proving textually that each stratum was indeed a component of the dialect of the author himself;

> in each stratum there is at least one feature that is proven

by metre to be authorial. (Samuels and Smith, 1981:17)

This mixed dialect, characteristic of Gower is then an example of Spontaneous Mischsprache, which occurs when a man lives in one area and moves onto another, retaining his native forms but also incorporating those of the new area.

1.5 These findings confirm the analysis carried out in the previous study by Smith (1985), in which he concluded that the language of these manuscripts was mainly Gowerian, although colourless dialectal forms are also present. Colourless dialectal forms are those that cannot be isolated to one specific area, but are widespread throughout the country. For example, Map 1 illustrates the widespread use of the forms **hit** and **it**. (See map 1) These non-locatable place forms were an important step in the development of Standard English and early in the fifteenth century were probably viewed as the more fashionable usage. Thus, in his study Smith suggested that the scribe of Glasgow Gower was carrying out a 'gentle modernisation' of the text, hence the presence of forms characteristic of the new emerging standard, as discussed in Chapter One.

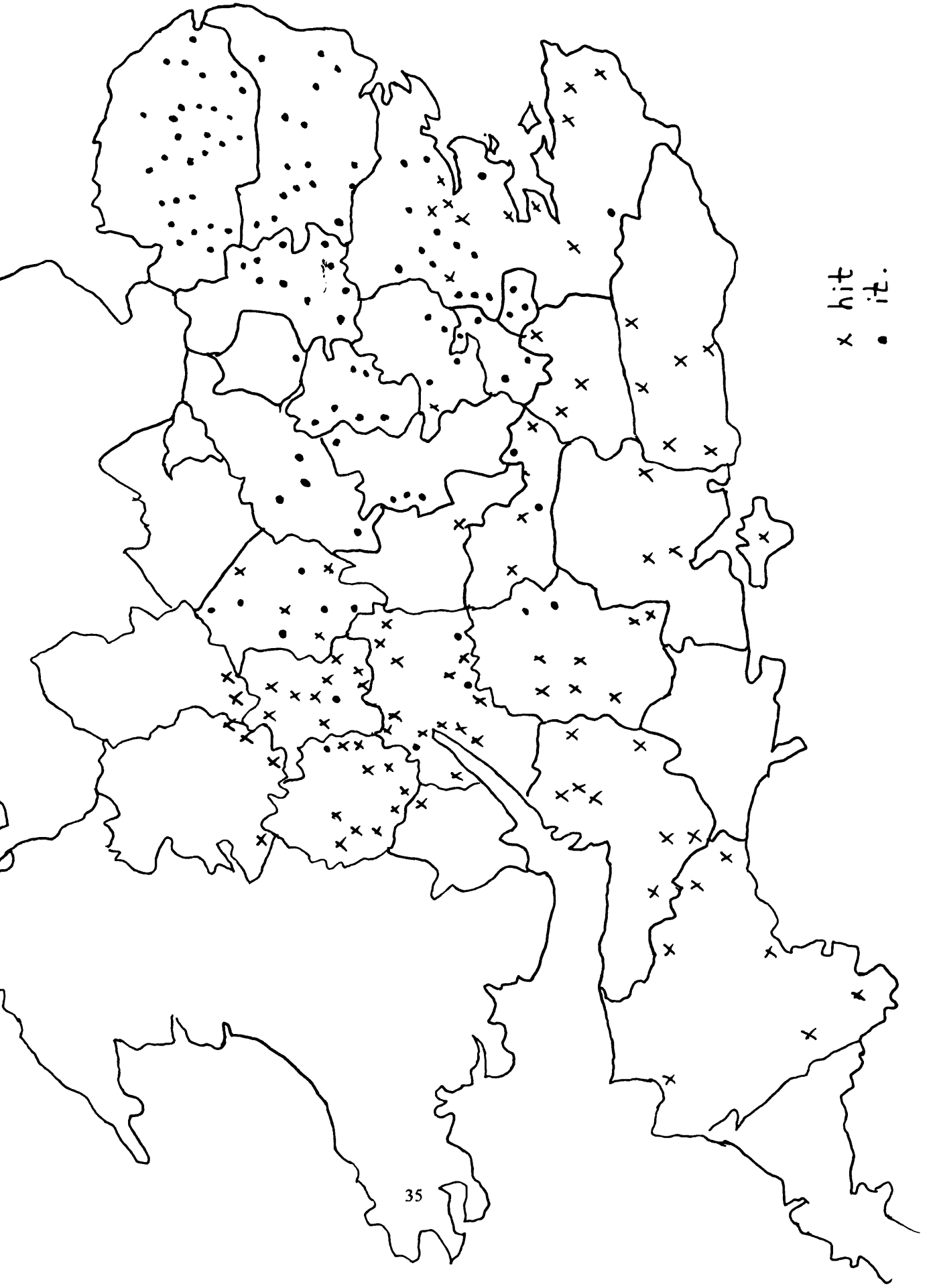
1.5 The Evidence of the Manuscripts

Linguistic evidence collected from both the Glasgow University Hunterian MS S.1.7 and Pierpont Morgan M.125 suggest that the scribal behaviour of our copyist could reasonably be explained in terms of constrained selection. As with many scribes of the Confessio Amantis tradition, the copyist generally attempts to reproduce the Gowerian archetypal language as closely as possible. Yet, at certain points in each manuscript, item for item are replaced by their functionally equivalent dialectal variant.

Thus, in Glasgow Gower, the form 'nou3t' increasingly replaces the Gowerian archetypal form 'nought', to the point where it is the major variant in Book 7. This

IT (WHEN SOLE FORMS IN MSS)

REPRODUCED FROM SMITH 1985 : 697.



instance reflects the changing frequencies of forms incurred through constrained selection. A similar, if more pronounced, replacement of 'nought' by 'nou3t' is witnessed in the Pierpont Morgan MS, in which 'nou3t' becomes the main variant in Books 6,7 and 8.

On the evidence of Pierpont Morgan alone it would be tempting to suggest that the copyist is a progressive translator. However, as the evidence of both Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan shows, the replacement of forms is not consistent but occurs intermittently, sometimes in the space of one folio, and then reverting to the archetypal form. This suggests that the switch in form is driven by a change in exemplar.

This theory is supported by similar switches found in items like OWN (**oughne-own(e)**), TWO (**tuo-two**), ARE (**ben-are/art**), EYES (**yhe(n) - eihe, ihe, i3e, y3e(n), yghe(n)**), THEN (**þanne - þen(ne)**) and THINK (**þenk(-) - þink(-)**).

The scribe is constrained by the tradition he is writing in to reproduce the Gowerian archetypal forms, yet it is important to note that these forms in themselves had widespread usage in the area of production of the manuscripts, namely London. For example, although the Gowerian archetypal form for SUCH is **such (e)**, LALME shows that this form is a major variant in the documents and manuscripts produced in London during the Middle English period. (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol.1 44)

It is evident that the Gowerian archetypal forms were available in the scribal dialect as part of the copyist's linguistic system. However, the ability of the scribe to accommodate colourless dialectal forms, witnessed in the shifts of usage, show that such forms as **nou3t**, **two**, **i3e**, **eihe** and **schulde** were also available within the repertoire of the scribe.

Again, LALME illustrates that, for example, both the Gowerian archetype **scholde** and the colourless dialectal variant **schulde** were common forms in London and the adjacent areas, and would, therefore have been familiar forms to the scribe. (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol.2: 110) (See Map Two). Similarly, the many variant forms for EYES, found in both Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan are common variants in the London area. (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol. 2:266)

1.6 Explicit Evidence for Constraint

The concept of **constraint** has been discussed in detail in Chapter One, and proves to be an important notion in the analysis of the scribal habits of this copyist. That the changes in linguistic form are not a result of, for example, *literatim* copying is found in a number of errors corrected by the scribe in the Glasgow Gower. In Books 7 and 8 of this manuscript, the scribe changes the form **suster** to **soster** by means of a stroke along the top of the -u-. A similar correction is made in one instance to the -u- of **schulde**, which is changed to read **scholde**. This suggests not only that the scribe was constrained by the exemplar to reproduce the forms **soster** and **scholde** at these points in the copying process, but that the -u- forms comprise his spontaneous usage. This evidence would appear to reveal that the -u- forms, and perhaps the more 'modern' forms of the emerging standard, comprised the active repertoire of our scribe. It has been found that **suster** is a more common form than **soster** in London at this time. (McIntosh et al, 1986 Vol. 1 434)

As with similar instances of constrained selection, it is notoriously difficult to discern the active and passive repertoires respectively. The above evidence perhaps suggests the active repertoire. However, the passive repertoire of our scribe may also be evident in our linguistic analysis.

SHOULD

A number of minor variants have been retained in positions corresponding to those in the Fairfax manuscript, although not in any consistent or complete way. Thus, although the archetypal Gowerian form is **whanne**, on occasion the Fairfax manuscript has **whenne**.

At particular points in both the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan, the scribe has reproduced these forms, regardless of the form of the same item immediately preceding or following it. The following table illustrates this point;

Book Two	Fairfax	Glasgow Gower	Pierpont Morgan
line 803	**whanne**	**whanne**	**whanne**
line 1147	**whenne**	**whenne**	**whenne**
line 1583	**whenne**	**whenne**	**whenne**
line 1997	**whan**	**whanne**	**whan**
line 2039	**whanne**	**whan**	**whan**
line 3135	**whenne**	**whenne**	**whenne**

Similarly in Book Two, there is correspondence in the forms for the item 'SUCH';

Book Two	**Fairfax**	**Glasgow Gower**	**Pierpont Morgan**
line 504	**swiche**	**suche**	**suche**
line 562	**swich**	**swich**	**swych**
line 566	**swich**	**such**	**such**
line 568	**swich**	**swich**	**swych**

Book Three			
line 1236	**swiche**	**swich**	**swiche**

Other instances of similar correspondence can also be recorded in table form, where, for example, the archetypal form **tofore** BEFORE is replaced by the emerging standard form 'before'

Book Two	**Fairfax**	**Glasgow Gower**	**Pierpont Morgan**
line 569	**before**	**before**	**before**
line 573	**befor**	**before**	**before**
Book Three			
line 1604	**sawh**	**saugh**	**sawh**
line 1605	**sawh**	**saugh**	**sawh**
Book Four			
line 93	**thenne**	**þenne**	**þenne**
line 1336	**when**	**when**	**when**
Book Five			
line 614	**whenne**	**when**	**when**
Line 1077	**whenne**	**when**	**when**

These forms are accommodated by the scribe, although in comparison with the earlier evidence, the forms **swiche**, **before** and **when(ne)** would seem to be exotic to the repertoires of the Glasgow and Morgan scribe. As exotic forms that have been included

in the copying of the exemplar, these forms should be classed as relict forms continued from the archetypal manuscript.

This close association to Fairfax Manuscript mirrors the pattern found in two manuscripts Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmenana, MS Bodmer 178 and London, British Library, MS Harley 3869. These are late 15th century texts whose language reflect such a close correspondence to the archetypal manuscript that Smith (1985) identifies the language of Harley 3869 to be 'essentially identical with that of the Fairfax Manuscript' (Smith 1985:151). In view of the fact that such third recension texts are modified first recension copies, it is perhaps possible that the copyist of Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan stands at the beginning of this tradition.

This evidence would strongly suggest that these forms are indeed relicts. Yet, when studying the relative frequencies of **swiche**, **before** and **whenne** it is important to realise that these are all widespread forms in London during this period. **Before** and **swiche** are Chaucerian forms and **when** has widespread currency in London at this time, as the emerging standard form (McIntosh et al 1986 Vol. 2: 236)

It is equally possible, then, that these forms could be part of the constrained usage of the scribe, as they are likely to have been everyday and familiar forms. This example underlines the inherent difficulties in distinguishing between constrained usage and the occurrence of genuine relicts.

1.7 Relicts

In the case of the forms **oughne**, **-ende** and **þerwhiles þat**, it is possible that relict usage is the closest definition. These are not common forms in the Middle English period in London or the surrounding areas. For example, in the instance of OWN, **own(e)** is the

major variant in London . The form **þerwhile(s) þat** is also relatively uncommon, its functional equivalent **whil(es)** having greater currency during this period.. The present participle is more commonly represented by **-ing(e), yng(e)** than the form **-ende**, found throughout Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan .

The evidence of the distribution for these forms suggests that they may be instances of genuine relicts, although this cannot be proven. The lesser distribution of these forms suggests that they would not have been familiar to the copyist, and in the case of **oughne** this is supported by the occurrence of the form **ougne** in Book 5 of the Glasgow Gower. This attempt at the archetypal form suggests that the form is certainly not part of his habitual usage, and it does not seem likely to have been part of his passive repertoire either.

In his study of 1985, Smith identifies a Northwest Midland layer, appearing as the occasional relict, in some of the manuscripts of the first and second recensions. In the archetypal manuscript, Fairfax and our manuscripts the forms appear as follows (Smith 1985: 313)

	Fairfax	**Glasgow Gower**	**Pierpont Morgan**
I. 1682	**-ende**	**-ande**	**-and**
3025	**-ende**	**-end**	**-ende**
II. 760	**-ende**	**-ende**	**-ende**
2251	**mochel**	**mykel**	**mykel**
III. 1969	**-ende**	**-ande**	**-ande**
1994	**mochel**	**mochil**	**mochel**
V. 936	**-es**	**-es**	**-es**

2989	**-es**	**-es**	**-es**
VII. 4118	**-es**	**-us**	**-us**
4593	**-es**	**-es**	**-es**
VIII. 136	**-es**	**-es**	**-es**

There are a couple of additional forms, found in Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan, that may also be relicts of this Northwest Midland layer. In both manuscripts, the main form for MAN is **man**. However, in Glasgow Gower we find the sole occurrence of **amon**, and in Pierpont Morgan man is similarly replaced by **mon** in a single instance. In Book 2 of Glasgow Gower there is seen the sole occurrence of **hit**, in contrast to the main form **it**. The exclusion of these forms, **mon** and **hit** from the London dialect, and their limited frequency in the manuscripts suggests that these are, indeed, relict forms copied from the now-lost Northwest Midland exemplar.

This information is not only instrumental in establishing the relationship between Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian, S.1.7 and Pierpont Morgan, MS 125, but can also delineate the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis manuscripts as a whole.

In terms of the textual transmission of the manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis, it is important that the language of Gower be viewed in its linguistic context. For although the Middle English period is characterised by the great diversity of dialects, the fifteenth century sees the beginning of the process of standardisation, whereby this diversity was gradually eradicated and Standard English was established as the national norm. The texts of the period, including many copies of the Confessio Amantis and other such literary works, are the only evidence as to the onset and development of this

process. Such texts provide, therefore, a valuable insight into the varied ways in which scribes coped with the conflicting demands of the authorial language of the text, as in the case of the Confessio Amantis tradition, and the linguistic features of the more fashionable emerging standard.

1.8 Textual Transmission of the Confessio Amantis.

> Every text has its own history could be taken as the key axiom which underlies - or should underlie - philological practice. To refer simply to diatopic.....or diachronic .....variation in texts is not enough; texts need to be contextualised, so that the true status of the information they contain may be ascertained. (Smith, 1996: 15)

Recent studies in historical dialectology have emphasised the importance of combining both textual and linguistic based approaches, ensuring that the text is not studied in a vacuum, but is provided with a context. This kind of study can have wider implications for the study of medieval literature. Thus a linguistic investigation of a particular text can provide unique and valuable information as to mediaeval methods of book production and the dissemination of the finished texts.

Consequently, this study has focused on a linguistic investigation of Glasgow University Library, (Hunter S.1.7) and Pierpont Morgan Library (M.125), with a view to throwing a little more light on the complex textual tradition of the Confessio Amantis.

The manuscript tradition of the Confessio Amantis, containing approximately fifty texts, is the fourth largest collection of a single poem from the Middle English

period and is surpassed in number only by the Prick of Conscience, Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and Langland's Piers Plowman.

At the time when Macaulay produced his seminal work on the Confessio Amantis, linguistic and textual evidence from these contemporary manuscript traditions was relatively poorly studied. However, the recognition of the evidential value of non-autograph texts (McIntosh 1962, 1963) means that recent scholarship has tended to focus on these comparatively large manuscript traditions. Thus analysis of the texts of the Canterbury Tales and Piers Plowman, for example, has produced a greater understanding of authorial and scribal practices and methods of book production during the medieval period. This knowledge can now be usefully employed to inform the study of the Confessio Amantis tradition.

In the study of the complex relationships between manuscripts of a large tradition, it is perhaps an additional confusion for the modern reader to understand how many different versions of one poem can continue to be copied throughout the same period. For, unlike the present day process of publishing, whereby a second edition containing authorial revisions supersedes the first edition, the situation during the Middle English period was very different. A medieval author, who probably did not retain an original copy, had first to gain access to a copy of his poem - and this copy in itself could be a corrupt version of the work. Large-scale revisions in the form of addition of blocks of new material, excision of unwanted material and the subsequent reorganisation of material would then be carried out on this text. Any scribal errors spotted by the author would presumably be corrected, although he could choose to carry out corrections only in those areas in which he was carrying out revisions, or he could check his entire work - a

less likely scenario. Revisions were generally not, then, carried out in an ordered and systematic fashion.

This new copy or edition would then be made available to the reading public but it did not supersede the first edition, and the two would exist and continue to be copied side by side.

1.9 An Example; The 'Piers Plowman' Tradition

This process of rolling revision is exemplified in the 80 extant manuscripts of the Piers Plowman tradition. Kane and Donaldson show that when he came to revise the text into what is today called the C-version, Langland took a corrupt manuscript of the earlier B text and then, presumably by erasure and substitution of leaves, converted it into the new text he wanted.

Skeat originally identified three versions of Langland's poem, the A, B and C versions. However, it has also been long recognised that certain copies of the poem do not reflect the shape of any of these three versions. For example, close examination of the Huntington Library MS reveals it to be a conflation of all three versions of the poem. Similarly, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 851, identified as a C-version manuscript, is actually only a C text in its second half. The first section of the poem is believed not to have been written by Langland at all. As Russell states;

> The shape of the first part of the poem is not, I believe, of the kind that was authorially produced. It appears to be the characteristic product of the editor or editing scribes....(Russell, 1969: 27-28)

This description of MS Bodley 851 is a long-standing, and until recently unchallenged, view of the opening section of the text. However, Rigg and Brewer

postulate that the text shows no characteristics of the conjoint text and in fact demonstrates an early, perhaps draft, version of Piers Plowman, produced before the A text. Other texts have been shown to be so-called conjoint versions, produced by an editor or scribe aware that there were a number of versions of the text in circulation - a text of this type is composed of different parts of each version.

The combination of authorial revision, scribal error and editorial invention makes for a complex and often confusing textual situation. This is reflected in the fact that much debate on the Piers Plowman tradition centres on what passages can definitely be ascribed to Langland and what has been produced by a scribe. Further, two or more authors have sometimes been postulated by some scholars.

This need for distinction between author and scribe defined the way in which Kane and Donaldson approached the study of Piers Plowman in the 1970's. This study redefined the process of recension, shifting emphasis from the objective stemmatic theory to a more subjective analysis of the texts involved. The stemmatic theory of recension, based on shared errors, was developed in the nineteenth century as a means of providing a scientific and, supposedly, more trustworthy, analysis of the relationship between manuscripts. However, Donaldson, in his essay 'The Psychology of Editors of Middle English Texts' attacks this stemmatic process on the basis that this approach ignores the human factor present in book production. Scribes were capable of producing errors independently of each other, thus undermining the validity of the shared errors theory. Similarly, he argued that it is fairly unlikely that the author would have created a fair copy free from errors in the first instance.

In an attempt to avoid the inherent limitations of the stemmatic process, Kane and Donaldson make adjustments to the text, based on their knowledge of the way in which Langland wrote. That is, in a return to the approach of critics before the 19th century, Kane and Donaldson believe that editors should put more faith in their own critical judgement, even when this contravenes the evidence found in the manuscripts. Kane states that conjectural emendation,

> is practised when an editor rejects the evidence afforded by his manuscripts and in defiance of this proposes as the lost original a reading for which no manuscript evidence exists.
>
> (Kane, 1989: 150)

Through close examination of the manuscripts of the Piers Plowman tradition, they proved that the C-revision of the text was produced from a corrupt B-version, and also that this revision was never completed - the last two passus of the C text are direct copies of the final passus of the B-version. This, then, suggests that medieval authors did not retain an authoritative copy and subsequently had no easy access to their works.

The distinction between *usus scribendi* and *usus auctoris* enables Kane and Donaldson to spot the different kinds of revision that could be carried out by a medieval author, ranging from the small alterations of a word or sentence to the large-scale additions and modifications. The study by Kane and Donaldson not only encouraged a move away from reliance on the stemmatic process, but also illustrated the benefits of looking at a subject in a different way. Although often criticised for their approach, their studies have provided invaluable insight into how a medieval author produced his work. That, of course, is only half the story, for an understanding of the textual transmission of

a poem necessitates a study of the production methods employed to get these works into circulation.

1.10 The Canterbury Tales and the Method of Medieval Book Production

The Canterbury Tales comes down to us through about eighty manuscripts, dating from the entire period of the fifteenth century - there is no copy of the work extant from Chaucer's time (Cooper, 1996: 1). The evidence of these manuscripts suggests that, as with Langland's work, the Canterbury Tales is an unfinished poem and the various manuscripts reveal different stages of the revision process. Manly and Rickert, in the first extensive study of the Canterbury Tales manuscript tradition, delineated four families of manuscripts. Yet this does not adequately reflect the wide diversity in form and content that can be found throughout these eighty manuscripts. As Owen found, there

> is wide range in the number of independent textual traditions for different parts of the Canterbury Tales
>
> (Owen, 1991: 1)

As in the Piers Plowman tradition, the most pertinent question is whether or not Chaucer himself was responsible for the revisions evident in the work. This issue is further complicated by the fact that it seems certain that Chaucer never placed the Tales in any final order. The layout of the work is, then, the invention of various scribes and editors involved in copying Chaucer's poem, and it is also known that these scribes had, on occasion, to invent linking material to connect the various Tales when no such authorial material was available. As Donaldson observes, the scribes of this period cannot be viewed as one heterogeneous group, but, rather, as a group of 'variously

intelligent and variously interested' copyists. (Donaldson, 1977: 110-111) This in itself will have obvious implications for the care and attention given to both the copying of the material and the production of additional links. Moreover, as the two earliest extant copies of the Canterbury Tales show, the quality of the text produced depended not only on the scribe copying them, but also on external factors, such as the way in which the exemplar text arrived at the copyist's desk and the amount of time available to him for copying of the text.

1.11 'Hengwrt' and 'Ellesmere'

The construction of a 'good' text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales has focused on the earliest examples of the poem, 'Hengwrt' MS and 'Ellesmere' MS. Although produced by the same scribe, the textual status of the two manuscripts belies any such relationship. A disorganised and incomplete version, the 'Hengwrt' MS has links that do not fit the Tales to which they are attached and lacks the additional lines, for example, in the 'Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale' and the 'Nun's Priest's Tale', that are in evidence in the 'Ellesmere' text. Moreover, there are gaps left in anticipation of finding additional links and, elsewhere, disturbances of the quire make-up due to the insertion of later material. Overall the text displays the efforts of a scribe trying to make sense of a text that was arriving on his desk in a piecemeal and fragmentary fashion.

In contrast, the 'Ellesmere' MS is an apparently complete text, with an ordered structure, expanded Latin glosses and an impressive layout and presentation. It is unsurprising, given the aesthetic superiority of this text, that the 'Ellesmere' was for a long time considered the more superior of the two works, and is the base text of Robinson's student edition.

However, close textual and linguistic examination of both texts has led scholars to the conclusion the 'Hengwrt', although a more hurriedly put together text, is the closest text we have to the original work by Chaucer. In his textual analysis of manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales, Pearsall points to passages in which he believes 'Hengwrt' to have the 'better', that is, the authorial reading. Thus, in Book Seven, l. 2853-4, where 'Hengwrt' reads;

> He causeth folk to dreden in his dremes
> Of armes and of fyr with rede lymes
> Of *rede* bestes, that they wot hem byte

'Ellesmere' reads;

> He causeth folk to dreden in his dremes
> Of armes and of fyr with rede lymes
> Of *grete* bestes, that they wot hem byte (Pearsall, 1985: 11)

Using his knowledge of the style, metre and language of Chaucer, Pearsall judges the latter reading to be non-authorial, and the work of an editing scribe who did not understand what he was writing. This phenomenon, *difficilior lectio*, is described by Pearsall;

> In his case to avoid the repetition of *rede,* which (like a modern publisher's copy-editor) he regards as per se a stylistic infelicity, the Ellesmere reviser actually removes the very point of Pertolate's discourse, which is to stress that people with an excess of red choler will dream of red things (like foxes)
>
> (Pearsall, 1985: 11)

In this, and other examples, Pearsall always attempts to support his conjectures with subtle critical argument, although such views have been criticised by other scholars (for example, Blake) for being overly subjective and thus invalid.

Blake concurs that the 'Hengwrt' MS is the archetypal text of Chaucer's text, but unlike Pearsall, rejects all that is not in this text as spurious. Hence, Blake would reject the 'Canon's Yeoman's Prologue and Tale on the grounds that it is not in the 'Hengwrt' manuscript, whereas Pearsall's approach has led him to believe that this part of the poem is probably authorial. Its exclusion from 'Hengwrt', he believes, is as a result of the method by which this manuscript was produced and not to do with the literary authenticity of the piece.

The physical make-up of the text in this manuscript - the disturbances in quire ordering, changes in ink - suggest, as stated before, that the exemplar from which the scribe was copying was reaching him in 'bit and pieces'. In his recent study of the manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales, Owen described 'Hengwrt' as probably the first attempt to place the Tales in any order and that previous to this the Tales had circulated, both individually and in groups, in booklets. The concept of the booklet is intrinsic to an understanding of the transmission and reception of books in the Middle English period. As part of the normal medieval book production practice, a group of leaves forming at least one quire, but more likely several, were gathered together to form one such booklet. It is probable that one booklet would have contained a group of Tales, so that certain Tales had a tendency to stick together- as Cooper has shown, this is reflected in the way that certain groups of Tales are always found in the same order in the various layouts of the Canterbury Tales. (Cooper, 1996: 7)

It is probable that in the initial venture to compile all the Tales in one book there would have been difficulties and delays in getting hold of all the various booklets, delays which are reflected in the various gaps and insertions. The 'Hengwrt' MS appears to have been somewhat of a rushed order, whereas the layout and presentation of the 'Ellesmere' suggests that there was greater time for perusal and organisation of the material. Thus the study of these two manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales affords a useful insight into the way in which scribes received and proceeded to copy medieval books.

1.12 The Confessio Amantis Tradition

Similarly, a codicological and palaeographical study of the 'Trinity Gower' a copy of the Confessio Amantis, and some of the manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales, enabled Doyle and Parkes to produce an in-depth, and invaluable, study of the London Book Trade during the fifteenth century. They identified a small group of scribes in London, apparently engaged in the same kind of copying work, as three of the five scribes in the 'Trinity Gower' have been identified, through palaeographic study, as copyists involved in the production of the work of other medieval authors such as Chaucer and Langland.

The 'Trinity Gower' has evidence of five scribes engaged in simultaneous copying, each scribe receiving his portion of the text in booklet form. Doyle and Parkes were then able to reject the notion of a central workshop in which the scribes produced their work, as analysis of the various stints showed that some scribes had not completed their portions, which then had to be finished by another scribe. This, said Doyle and

Parkes, suggests that the scribes were not working in close proximity of one another, hence mistakes were only found once the copied portions had been put together.

In turn, this evidence suggests a lack of supervision and organisation that would, again rule out the existence of a single workshop. Thus, Doyle and Parkes surmised that these scribes worked as independent craftsmen who were hired either by a stationer or the patron himself to carry out work as necessary. The necessary exemplars were either provided by the patron or a stationer, although Doyle and Parkes concluded that he probably did not hold a definitive exemplar of each work himself, and only 'got hold of' one when necessary. This was, then, a bespoke book trade, and copies were not made in anticipation of an order but only following one.

Doyle and Parkes do point to one manuscript tradition that shows a higher degree of organisation and supervision than the others, and this is the Confessio Amantis tradition. It has been observed that over the years the manuscripts show a purging of their errors, suggesting that the Gower's rolling revision was accompanied by a supervisory role. This led Macaulay to suggest Gower had his own scriptorium but in light of the findings of Doyle and Parkes it is perhaps more likely that Gower hired the scribes who copied his work, and then supervised, as far as he could, their efforts. A close study of the manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis tradition would appear to confirm that Gower was slightly less keen to let his 'litel bokes' go to the 'vagaries of the atelier system' (Smith, 1985: 317) than his contemporaries.

1.13 The single most reliable edition of Gower's Confessio Amantis remains the account given by Macaulay, almost one hundred years ago. As other studies of the manuscript tradition of this poem, as that proposed by Pearsall et al, appear to have come to a standstill, it is again to Macaulay's work that we turn as a starting point to our investigation of the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis.

In his detailed and careful work, Macaulay states that the extant manuscripts, approximately forty in number, can be divided basically into three groups or 'recensions' as he termed them;

> The first recension according to our classification is that in which the conclusion of the poem contains praises of Richard II as a just and beneficent ruler and a presentation of the book for his acceptance. The second has the additional passages of the fifth and seventh books, with a rearrangement of the sixth book.....while the conclusion of the poem has been rewritten so as to exclude the praises of the king, and in some copies there is also a new preface with dedication to Henry of Lancaster. The third exhibits a return to the form of the first as regards the additional passages, but has the rewritten preface and epilogue. (Macaulay, 1901: cxxviii)

Close analysis of the text enabled Macaulay to identify further divisions within these recensions, showing that the first recension contains three classes - unrevised, intermediate and revised - each exemplifying different stages of revision. The second recension can similarly be divided into two groups, a and b.

As Macaulay recognises in his study, however, these groupings, detailed as they may appear, cannot truly reflect the complex nature of the relationships between manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis tradition. Although a useful indication of transmission, the discrete groups do not reflect the connections that exist between manuscripts from different groups. As Macaulay states;

> it must not be assumed that the manuscripts of each recension stand necessarily by themselves, and that no connexion (sic) is traceable between one class and another. (Macaulay, 1901: cxxix)

Thus errors found in first recension texts are also found in copies of the second and third recensions. Macaulay explained this phenomenon by stating that some copies of third recension texts were made from 'partially' revised first recension texts, and so errors would have been carried over to the texts of the other recensions.

That Macaulay's necessarily tentative description of the textual transmission process involved here can be misunderstood is exemplified in the way in which Fisher, in a study of Gower based on Macaulay's work, understands Macaulay's interpretation of how the first recension texts were created. Fisher believes, that they were copied from either three separate exemplars or one exemplar 'in three stages of correction'(Fisher, 1965: 117) This has been described as an 'oversimplification of Macaulay's position' (Smith, 1985: 311) but does indicate that further clarification may be necessary.

1.14 In his study of 1985, Smith shows how linguistic evidence can clarify the process of textual transmission, reconstructing the language of the author and using this as the basis on which to chart the relationships between manuscripts, both within and across the various groups.

The reconstruction of the archetypal language required reliable evidence and in the case of Gower the corpus was limited by his having only two English poems assigned to his canon - the Confessio Amantis and a short poem called In Praise of Peace.

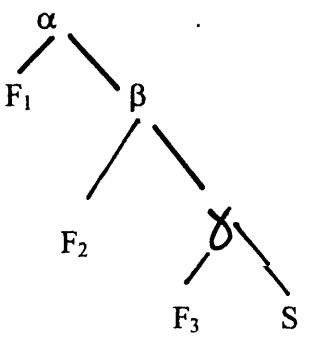
Working upon the principle that the text closest to the original authorial copy should be used as the basis of the linguistic investigation, Samuels and Smith concurred with Macaulay in selecting the 'Trentham' MS (BL Addit. 59495) as the archetypal work of In Praise of Peace. The choice of archetypal text for the Confessio Amantis tradition proved to be a more difficult proposition.

The two earliest extant manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis are the MS Fairfax in the Bodleian Library and the 'Stafford' MS (Huntington Library, California EL26 A17). Macaulay identified the Fairfax copy as the archetypal text and used it as the base text for his edition. The Fairfax MS is the earliest known copy of the third recension text. However, Macaulay showed that the text had originally been an example of a first recension text, and had been converted into a its new form through a process of substitution of leaves and erasure, just as Langland updated his B-version to its C-version form. The text is, as a consequence of this revision, written in three hands - the main copyist and two revising hands.

Smith charts the evolution of the Fairfax MS more fully, establishing the shape of the poem at its various stages of revision. The first form of the poem (F1) has the original beginning and ending. In its second stage of revision (F2), the text retains the older beginning but has a new ending. In its third and final stage of evolution (F3), the text has a new prologue and another new epilogue, with some Latin additions included also.

In contrast, the 'Stafford' MS, an example of a second recension text, is written in two hands, the main scribe and a later hand that wrote one leaf. It has the prologue and epilogue of F3, but also has the revisions at Books five, six and seven that are characteristic of second recension texts.

Through comparison of the contents of the 'Stafford' MS and those of the F1, F2 and F3 stages of the Fairfax MS, Samuels and Smith devised the following stemmatic diagram as probably the best representation of the relationship between the two manuscripts;



S = Elements in S but not in F

F_1, F_2, F_3 = Elements introduced at F_2, F_3 respectively.

α, β and δ = authorial copy undergoing revision, perhaps.

This process enabled Samuels and Smith to isolate the passages in Fairfax and Stafford that could most reasonably be assumed to be both authorial and of independent descent. It was thus deduced that the main text of the Fairfax MS, the additional passages at five, six and seven of the 'Stafford' MS and the 'Trentham' MS could be used to give linguistic evidence of the language of Gower.

1.15 The Archetypal Language

As Samuels and Smith acknowledge at the outset of their investigation, the language of Gower has 'long puzzled scholars' (Samuels and Smith, 1988: 13) and

Macaulay attempts to explain the idiosyncratic language in evidence throughout the Gowerian tradition as a reflection of the English of the court.

As seen earlier in this chapter. the linguistic investigation of Samuels and Smith, however, revealed that the Gowerian language is composed of two distinct dialectal strata, one of NW Kent and the other of SW Suffolk.

As stated above, archetypal forms such as the **gh-type** spellings for 'OWN' and the present participle endings **-ende**, were reproduced throughout the spelling system of the Confessio Amantis manuscripts. The strength of this linguistic tradition is emphasised when compared to the degree of reproduction of the archetypal language seen in the Canterbury Tales;

> We might examine here two forms which seem to have been archetypal in both the Confessio Amantis and Canterbury Tales traditions: bot 'BUT' and s(c)hold(e) 'SHOULD'. In both cases, the advancing form in the fifteenth century differed from these; but and s(c)huld(e). If we include in the total all MSS containing bot, even as a minor variable, then about 44% of Gowers have bot compared with 7% of Chaucers. A similar count for 'SHOULD' shows a similar contrast; about 81% of Gowers have the form with -o- against approximately 43% of Chaucers
>
> (Smith, 1988: 99)

The strength of the archetypal forms may also be reflected in the prevalence of Gowerisms, that is, forms which are obvious attempts to reproduce the archetypal form that do not quite come off. Thus in Glasgow, University Library the form **ougne** is

found. Similarly in Pierpont Morgan Library (M.125) we find **yghen**. This suggests that a copyist was aware of traditional Gowerian linguistic forms and was struggling, perhaps, to reproduce them correctly.

Smith points to a number of possible reasons for the strength of the Gowerian archetypal language. He shows that the high status of the poem, indicated in the Latin glosses and headings surrounding the text possibly impelled the scribes to mimic their scribal behaviour of **litteratim** copying. Thus, in this vernacular text there is more attention given to the minor details of spelling.

A consequence of the substantial presence of the archetypal language and the close examination of the manuscripts that such a study entails is that relict items are foregrounded. Thus, through his investigation of one of the most prolific scribes of the Middle English period, scribe D, Smith discovered a 'Northern' layer in the first and second recensions. More specifically, the forms, isolated to the NW Midlands region, are found in corresponding positions in some of the manuscripts of the following recensions; first recension, unrevised, revised and intermediate and the second recension (b). (It may also underlie the Sidney Sussex MS of the (a) group).

The forms are **-ande**, as the present participle inflection; **þ**-type forms for the 3rd person plural possessive pronoun; **mekil**, **mykil** MUCH and **-us** in **tribus** and **oþus**. These forms are not found in the 'Stafford' MS and indeed 'do not form part of the spelling tradition of the Confessio Amantis.'(Samuels and Smith, 1988: 105)

The explanation for the presence of these relict forms in these recensions may lie in the concept of the booklet. As seen earlier loosely bound booklets that were in circulation, may have been easily disturbed in the rushed process of simultaneous

copying. Booklets may have been split up to facilitate faster copying, and on being placed together again could have easily been mixed up, thus the sporadic appearance of the forms throughout these certain recensions.

It was always known that Gower had produced various editions of his poem, but the linguistic analysis of the manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis has provided insight into the revision process involved. It suggests that Gower was engaged in a process of rolling revision and either produced completely new texts, like the 'Stafford' MS or worked on existing texts and converted them into a different edition, as in the example of the Fairfax MS. The appearance of the 'Northernisms' in texts of the first and second recensions illustrate how the booklet system - where works were divided into booklets for the purpose of copying - essentially made a confusion of these revisions, creating the complex textual transmission process evident here.

1.16 In the light of these insights, we can now turn to our manuscripts, Glasgow, University Library (Hunter S1.7) and Pierpont Morgan Library (M.125). As we have seen, the first recension can be divided into three stages, with the unrevised grouping representing 'more or less accurately' the first form of the author's text, the intermediate group which forms a class in which 'correction has taken place to some extent' and the revised group that 'gives us the first recension text in a much more fully revised and corrected form'(Macaulay, 1901: cxxx)

Macaulay classified the Glasgow Gower as an intermediate text, sharing characteristic features with texts like Harleian 3490 British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries, 134.

An important addition to this grouping, not studied by Macaulay, is the text of the Pierpont Morgan Library, (M.125), which has close correspondences with the Glasgow Gower, having been copied by the same scribe. These two manuscripts have been studied in conjunction, helping to provide a more detailed analysis of the transmission process of the first recension texts.

1.17 Relationship with other Intermediate Texts

In his description of Glasgow Gower, Macaulay notes that the text is 'especially related to X'(Macaualay, 1901: cxlv), the Society of Antiquaries MS. X agrees with variant readings found in Glasgow Gower, most notably in Book 5, where both manuscripts pass over to revised readings at lines 1486, 3582, 3688, 4110 and 684ff (Macaulay, 1901). Macaulay traces the relationship of Glasgow Gower and X and finds that the two do not always agree on readings. Thus, on occasion, Glasgow Gower is viewed by Macaulay to have the better 'corrected' reading, whereas in other instances Glasgow Gower has the 'earlier reading and X the later'.(18) Moreover, Macaulay notes that at certain points throughout the text, Glasgow Gower and sometimes X, shares a 'special connexion of some kind' (19) with Bodley 294, Bodleian Library, a second recencion text.

In an attempt to understand the relationship between these manuscripts and, further, to assess the position of Pierpont Morgan MS within these relationships, I undertook to compare the variant readings, using the textual data provided by Macaulay. This study of the shared non-original readings of the manuscripts revealed that, although there is a connection between Glasgow Gower and the Pierpont Morgan texts, there is a

much closer association, in terms of textual data, between Pierpont Morgan and X. Thus, at Book 2, line 1441, where Glasgow Gower reads;

He caught hir in his arme and kiste.

X reads; He cau3te hir in his arms and kyste.

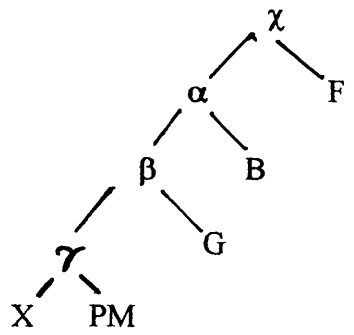
And Pierpont Morgan reads; He caught hir in his armes and kiste.

Similarly, at line 4425 of Book 5, where the Glasgow Gower has;

and take of loue his auantage

both Pierpont Morgan and X read; And take of loue auantage

The textual data enables the construction of a stemmatic diagram, which also reflects the relationship of Glasgow Gower and the second recension text B;



Although a useful indication of the relationship of manuscripts of the intermediate class of the first recension and, indeed, of how a second recension text like B can be related to this class, the stemmatic diagram presents, essentially, an oversimplistic view of a very complex situation. These complexities are touched on by Macaulay when he notes that in Book 5 of Glasgow Gower there is a perceptible shift from unrevised to revised readings, and in Book 6 are seen to concur consistently with readings from the revised work of St John's College, Cambridge, MS B 12 (34). Such shifts in textual

affiliation suggests that there has been a shift in the type of material being copied - that is, there has been, at some point, a change in exemplar.

1.18 This is as far as textual analysis can take us, and is as far as it took Macaulay, but the substantial progress in the studies of medieval literature in recent years enable us to continue our studies. Further investigation can be afforded through a linguistic study of the manuscripts, for if, as the textual analysis suggests there has been a change in exemplar, it is possible that such a change would be reflected in shifts in the language of the manuscripts at these points.

The Language of Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan.

In his study of 1985, Smith notes that there are very few differences between the spelling systems of the two manuscripts in question. A full linguistic analysis of both manuscripts confirms the high level of linguistic correspondence and the main forms in both are as follows;

þese; **þe**; **boþe**; **he**; **his; sche**; **hir** HER; **þei**; **hem** ; **her** THEIR; **such**; **which**; **ech**; **eny** ANY; **ben** ARE; **is**; **doþ, goþ**; **schal, schalt** SHALL(sg) **schul(l)** SHALL (pl); **scholde**; **wolde**; **wol** WILL; **ax-** ASK; **wiþ**; **fro**; **after**; **brenn-**, **renn-**; **-ende**; **þan** THEN; **Þough**; **self**; **þilke**; **a3ein**; **3it**; **togidre**; **er**; **tofore** BEFORE; **were(n)**; **hih(e)**; **yhe** EYE; **þenk**; **litel**; **-es**; **-ed**; **lasse**; **might(e)**; **whan**; **ferst**; **chirch**; **dede**; **cam**; **clepe**; **but**; OE **y - i, u, e, y**; **or.....or, neiþer, nouþer.....ne**, EITHER....OR; **contracted forms of the 3rd person singular appear in all books**.

This dialectal evidence reveals the significant influence of the archetypal language on the scribe of the manuscripts, mirroring the forms found in the Fairfax

manuscript. For example, in Book 5 of the text the following correspondences can be noted;

FAIRFAX	GLASGOW GOWER	PIERPONT MORGAN
it (((hit)))	**it**	**it**
which(e) (((wich)))	**which (((þe which, of which)))**	**which ((þe which))**
schul(l), schullen	**schull**	**schul(l)**
or.....or, (ouþer....or)	**or.....or, nouþer.....ne, nother.....ne**	**or.....or, nouþer.....ne (nowþer...ne, nother....ne)**
3it	**3it**	**3it**
bot	**but**	**but**

Generally speaking, then, the language of Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan can be said on this evidence to reflect the archetypal language of Gower. However, evidence of the influence of another linguistic strand is scattered throughout both manuscripts. Thus, rather than the archetypal **bot**, the table above shows that both the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan have **but**. Similarly, archetypal **myht(e)** is most

commonly written **mighte** in both texts. These items are indicative of the influence of the emerging standard in the 15th century. Interestingly, their occurrence is more marked in some parts of the manuscripts than in others. In fact, the major variant for an item can alternate from archetypal form to emerging standard form in the course of the parts of a manuscript. For example, SAW has two main variant forms, the archetypal **sih** form (or variants on this including **seih, syh(e)**) and the **sigh** form (or its variants **seigh, segh**). The pattern of alteration of these forms in Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan is illustrated in the following table;

	GLASGOW GOWER	PIERPONT MORGAN
BOOK ONE	**seigh**	**seigh**
BOOK TWO	**sih**	**sih**
BOOK THREE	**sih, seih**	**sigh**
BOOK FOUR	**sigh**	**sigh**
BOOK FIVE	**sih, seih**	**sigh**
BOOK SIX	**syhe, seigh**	**syhe, seigh**
BOOK SEVEN	**sih, seih**	**sih, seih**
BOOK EIGHT	**sih**	**sih, seih**

Such changes in linguistic usage suggest that there occurred at some point, for example, between Book One and Two, a change in exemplar, whereby a more archetypal exemplar was exchanged for one written in a dialect representative of the emerging standard of the 15th century. Such a shift can also be seen to occur mid-way through a

book. As in Book Six, where the archetypal form is displaced by the more modern form. This type of pattern is reflected in a number of the items analysed in this study and appears to support the theory that exemplars were circulated in loosely bound booklets that could be divided up when necessary, and at some stage different exemplars became mixed up.

It is interesting to note that the largest number of variant forms for items appears at Books Five and Six, already highlighted by Macaulay as an area of change from the unrevised readings to those of the revised text. Thus the linguistic evidence seems to support the textual analysis provided by Macaulay. The Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan texts show a close correspondence to the extent that it is reflected not only in the major variant forms but also in the minor variants;

PIERPONT MORGAN & GLASGOW GOWER	TRANCHE (500 LINES) - Shared Major Forms	SCANNING - Shared Minor Forms
Book One	**þese ilke, þat ilke**	**tweie, twoo, wilt.**
Book Two		**swich (swych PM.)**
Book Three	**echon**	**geþ**
Book Four	**atuo, tweie, þenne, lesse**	**swiche**
Book Five	**Þat ilk, þilk**	**þise, þeise, geth, wilt, lesse**
Book Seven	**þis ilk, þilk**	**lasse, lesse, geþ**

However, this close correspondence is disturbed at certain points throughout the manuscript (for example at book 5) suggesting that although the scribe

usually received the same portions of exemplar when copying both manuscripts, at other times he may have been given different portions with which to copy each text. Such close correspondence suggests groups of booklets circulating in same 'package'.

2.1 The Handwriting

Palaeography, the study of the evolution of ancient and medieval handwriting has traditionally been regarded as a distinct, and perhaps subordinate, field of study from that of linguistics;

> Many scholars would exclude consideration of writing systems from their discussion of linguistic matters, either ignoring it completely or considering it part of a separate discipline... (Smith, 1996: 55)

However, more recently it has been suggested that the study of handwriting and, in particular, close analysis of the handwriting habits of individual scribes can be a valuable investigative tool in the analysis of Middle English manuscripts.

In his seminal articles on the study of language, McIntosh postulated that handwriting should be viewed as a system of language, related to but separate from linguistics. Thus, whereas traditional palaeography provides invaluable information on the general pattern of handwriting evolution throughout the Middle Ages, McIntosh suggests that a much more specific identification process is possible. Fundamental to this approach is the notion that handwriting, like linguistics, can provide information unique to individual scribes.

It has long been acknowledged in palaeographical studies that there is a difference between the 'script' and the 'hand' of a scribe. The script is the model script that the scribe aims to reproduce, such as Anglicana or Secretary, and the hand is the actual realisation of this attempt. McIntosh's approach rests upon attempting to assess in what precise ways the 'hand' of the scribe differs from the model which is being attempted,

thus distinguishing one scribe's attempt at a mode of writing and another. He suggested that the methodology used to interrogate the text for linguistic information could be utilised in a graphetic analysis, focussing on features such as letterforms and abbreviations to provide the necessary information.

This approach attempts to establish whether the scribe habitually reproduces particular, distinctive letterforms, and if so whether there are any positional or contextual rules governing this choice. For example, in many medieval texts arabic **r** form is restricted to medial and final position within a word because it must follow a letter containing a bowl, such as **p**, **b**, or **o**.

This study will attempt to characterise the handwriting of Glasgow University, Hunterian S.1.7 through the implementation of both palaeographical and graphetic methodology. The script of our manuscript will initially be placed within its particular historical context, through comparison with contemporary hands such as those seen in the Trinity Gower MS. Inevitably this discussion will touch upon the various rules governing the type of script implemented by a scribe in producing particular types of books, and will also attempt to effectively describe the form of the script using the terminology established by Parkes. (1979). Furthermore, it will discuss the features of the Glasgow Gower that suggest that the same scribe was responsible for the production of Pierpont Morgan MS.125.

The graphetic analysis of our script, using the methodology proposed by McIntosh (1974, 1975), will attempt to provide a *characterisation* of the output of our scribe through the close analysis of a number of the letter forms of the script, both in Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan manuscripts. It must be established from the outset, however, that this

study can in no way be considered an exhaustive study, but rather should be viewed as a preliminary investigation. It is, therefore, rather limited in scope and the significance of the study lies not wholly on the results obtained, but more in any refinements or suggestions for future research that may emerge during the investigative process.

2.2 The Traditional Approach

Paleographical study has traditionally been concerned with the identification, description and classification of ancient and medieval scripts. Scholars like MB Parkes have been instrumental in constructing a pattern of script evolution, and moreover, are skilled at identifying particular scripts in diverse documents. This is often a judgement made through specialist knowledge of the way in which a scribe produced a particular mode of writing, isolating features such as aspect, duct, letter size, word spacing and execution of individual letterforms.

Such a study has never been a scientific or objective process of identification, but often a skilled judgement based on the extensive knowledge of the scholar. Although individual hands were identified, their particular characteristics were not classified or categorised in any way other than within the context of the mode of writing in which the text was written. The divergence between the different scripts of each category has been the concern of palaeography, the study of ancient and medieval handwriting. The scripts of manuscripts have been identified, described and such analysis has enabled previously undated manuscripts to be dated and localise to within approximately thirty years.

On a larger scale, palaeography has established hierarchical patterns within the development of scripts, tracing the descent of scripts within certain time periods. The study of the hierarchical development of scripts has been shown to reflect socio-historical

changes within the society, as for example following the twelfth century revival in learning and subsequently increasing levels of literacy put pressure on scribes to produce work more efficiently and expediently. The study of handwriting is, then, an intrinsic feature in the study of medieval society as;

> Together with codicology, palaeography can tell us much about the methods by which a manuscript book was produced and the audience for which it was made, even about the changing role and function of writing itself. (Lowe, 1993: 2)

2.3 The Changing Function of Handwriting in Medieval England

Modern handwriting is defined as the characteristic way in which an individual writes. Although it retains a functional purpose in transmitting and recording thought in a legible way, the written word is today regarded as a more personal means of communication than the more formal context of print. Thus hand-written communication is generally restricted to the private correspondence between two individuals, for example in a personal letter. Prior to the advent of printing in Britain in the fifteenth century, the role of writing was very different.

During the Anglo-Saxon period all official business was undertaken and finalised orally. However, with the growth of literacy in the twelfth and thirteenth century, discussed in the following chapter, the written word became increasingly important in all sectors of society, undertaking as it did many of the official functions of oral communication, for example the authorisation of laws. Furthermore, the increase in literacy among a greater number and more diverse type of people, coupled with the

increase in number of available books, meant that silent reading began to gain popularity as a means of entertainment. This recreational function had previously been fulfilled by public readings.

As time passed, the primary importance of the written word as the main means of communication grew, and is comparable with modern-day print in that it 'served many of the functions of modern print' (Brown, 1994:115). Regardless of the function of a document, that is whether it be government document, liturgical devotional book or a collection of bawdy Chaucerian tales, the written word, by necessity, was the main means of communication.

However, there were distinctions made between books according to the function of the document. This distinction was achieved through the appearance and quality of the book being produced, hence, liturgical books often made for simple display purposes were often large and beautifully decorated books made of the finest materials. As a consequence of function of the book, therefore the form of the item was influenced. An important means of distinguishing types and function of books is to be found in the handwriting used within the document.

Thus the type of script, and care with which it was executed was dependent upon the purpose of the book. For example, the display books of the monasteries are written in an elaborate and highly calligraphic script – in which letters are formed from many straight strokes incurring in the frequent lifting of the pen from the page. In contrast many business and government documents are written in a simple, cursive script – letters are formed by a single curved stroke, which could be written quickly, hence increasing productivity.

2.4 The Scripts

The twelfth century represents a crucial period in the development of scripts, as the hierarchical division between formal, calligraphic scripts and informal, cursive scripts first establishes itself. The increase in learning, reflected in the growth of universities, created an upsurge in the demand for books. This trend soon filtered down through the merchant classes and copyists were under increasing pressure to produce texts legibly yet quickly. In response to this pressure, copyist developed new cursive scripts, replacing the more labour-intensive Anglo-Saxon scripts. The **Gothic cursive system** of scripts developed, a system graded according to the nature of the text to be copied. Thus the highly calligraphic display script, **Textura**, was used in books written for display purposes only. Books of a more practical and everyday nature, such as government documents and wills were written in a cursive script, developed because of its ease of writing and speed of execution. In this small Gothic script the pen was not lifted from the page in the formation of words and straight strokes of calligraphic scripts were replaced by the more easily controlled curved ones, that is, the duct of the script was modified in order to facilitate copying.

It is important to realise that this handwriting of the mid-to-late twelfth century was a transitional script, showing much variation between grades. However, by the middle of the thirteenth century the morphology of the script had changed to the degree that there now emerged a characteristic set of letterforms, known as **Anglicana**.

This script is identifiable by features such as the double compartment **a**, long-tailed **r**, double compartment, 8-shaped **g**, short **s**, **d** with looped ascender and cursive circular **e**. By the first quarter of the fourteenth century, Anglicana was a fully developed

script, achieving what is termed its canonical form. However, the script underwent a number of changes prior to this period, as scribes experimented with the subsidiary strokes in order to make the script appear more calligraphic. This was done because scribes required a script that was easy to write, and therefore speedy in execution, but could be used in more formal texts. Thus, intricate forked ascenders were added to the letters **h, b, l** and **k**. In time, these refinements proved too troublesome to reproduce and were removed in favour of the more simple curved hooks and flat-topped loops. Other refinements were introduced for reasons of legibility. For example, the limb of h was extended below the line in order to distinguish it from the graph **b**. The later Anglicana script developed a more vertical aspect, with tapering strokes added to ascenders and descenders and such features have become essential dating features within palaeographical investigation.

These developments in the Anglican scripts were a reaction to the changing functions of writing during the medieval period and the subsequent pressures on scribes caused by increased workloads.

Anglican was first used in the copying of documents, which were increasing in importance as the older oral system of recording began to be replaced by written records. The growing familiarity and popularity of Anglicana to both scribes and readers instigated the use of the script in both books and documents. Scribes chose script familiar to themselves and also readers. This was, then, a practical decision based on the ease of execution and widespread knowledge of the script.

> It was quicker and therefore cheaper and more familiar to laymen
>
> and to those clergy who saw more of business documents than

of liturgical books...Cursive scripts are thus a product of the shift from memory to written record; the demand was no longer for elaborately copied monastic books, but for documents written economically yet legibly. (Clanchy, 73: 100-101)

In the latter half of the thirteenth century, Anglicana was introduced into cheaper and popular vernacular books as an informal, cursive hand. As such, however, it did not have the necessary qualities for use in the more expensive manuscripts demanded by the more wealthy patrons. Thus a formal more calligraphic variety of the cursive script was created, known as **Anglicana Formata**. The most distinguishing feature of this script is the 'more punctilious formation of the letter' (Parkes, 79: xvii), so that minim strokes are more carefully executed and show a more vertical aspect with feet on the bottom. Other distinguishing features are;

: modern **e** formed by lobe and single stroke in place of the circular form

: more vertical back to the looped ascender of **d**

: elaborate form of the letter **w**

: shaft of **t** extended above the head stroke

: an overall more square and vertical aspect, with larger letters.

This more calligraphic script was implemented in the dignified and more formal texts, and cursive Anglicana was reserved for the cheaper vernacular books intended for the merchant classes, whose increasing literacy placed pressure on the scribes for more

books (See Chapter Three). There developed a hierarchy of scripts, therefore, in order to cope with the changing demands of a growing g readership. An important consequence of the increased importance and prevalence of the more cursive scripts was that by the fourteenth century scribes had become unused to the highly calligraphic decorative script of Textura, and were having difficulty reproducing it. Again they used the script with which they were most familiar to fill the gap in their repertoire, and so added refinements to the Formata script to make it suitable for more prestigious productions. Thus, gradually, there developed **Bastard Anglicana**, a hybrid script consisting of Textura elements in combination with features of the familiar Anglicana script.

The hierarchy of Anglicana scripts that formed the Min repertoire of scribes during the fourteenth century was now in place, ranging from the highly calligraphic Bastard Anglicana, to Anglicana Formata and finally Anglicana. Scribes could draw on these in most cases to fulfil the requirements of different types of texts.

This dominance of Anglicana based scripts was soon to be undermined by the introduction of a foreign cursive script during the fifteenth century, known as Secretary. However, the usurping of Anglicana was very gradual process, and blend texts containing both Secretary and Anglicana features became increasingly common during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It is against this background that we now turn to the script of the Glasgow Gower.

2.5 The Script of the Glasgow Gower

The text of Glasgow, University Library Hunterian S.1.7 is written in the formal cursive script of Anglican Formata. A number of features identify it as this script including the double-compartment form of **a**, looped ascender to **d**, 8-shaped **g** and the elaborate **w** form characteristic of Anglicana Formata (See Plates 1, 2 and 3). The limb of **h** generally extends below the line, and the shaft of **t** extends above the headstroke. The formality of the script is further indicated by the more calligraphic single stroke **e** with lobe. There is no evidence in any of the folios studied in the Glasgow Gower MS. of the circular **e** common in the cursive Anglicana script. The care in execution of minims, with feet on the bottom of the strokes in the letters **m** and **n**, points to the calligraphic nature of the script. The descenders and ascenders tend to be short, and the ascenders generally form a hook stretching to the right in letters like **h**, **k** and **b**. The script displays two forms of **r**; the arabic or 2-shaped r is found following letters with bowls, like **o** and **p**. The second form is the modern **round r**, formed by a minim stroke with a lozenge to the top right. This lozenge is usually detached from the stem, although occasionally it is attached. This round form was gradually reintroduced from the Caroline script (Brown, 93: 96) and in this case displaces the more prevalent long-tailed or v-shaped form of **r** that tends to be found in the Anglicana Formata script in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Indeed, comparison of the script found in Glasgow, University Library with that of near-contemporary manuscripts reveals that there can be many differences between texts that are generally regarded to be written in the same script. Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.2 (581), a fifteenth century copy of the Confessio Amantis, provides

a useful comparison as it is written by five different scribes, each of whose output was analysed in a study by Doyle and Parkes in 1979. Although Anglicana Formata is the preferred script of each of the scribes in this manuscript each provide distinctive features that enabled their different copying stints to be identified. Thus, although the scribes of the Trinity Gower and the Glasgow Gower copyist are attempting the same 'script', each produces a distinctive 'hand'. For example, Doyle and Parkes isolated a number of characteristics that they believed to be idiosyncratic to Scribe A. Thus he has forms the capital **I** with a forked head in contrast to the looped head stroke of this figure in the Glasgow Gower, and scribe A also 'traces the thick headstroke of **f** ' (Doyle and Parkes, 1979: 168). Again, this is a feature lacking in Glasgow Gower. Furthermore, Scribe A shows a preference for long-tailed **r** and circular **e**, neither of which appear in Glasgow Gower. Such distinctions illustrate that the hands of individual scribes can be sufficiently idiosyncratic so as to make identification of particular hands possible. Hence, Doyle and Parkes establish that Scribe B of the Trinity Gower (Plate7) was also responsible for the copying of San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 26 C 9 (Plate 8) and Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 392 (Plate 9).

Pierpont Morgan, M.125 shares the features of Glasgow Gower outlined above, which strongly suggests that the two manuscripts were indeed written by the same scribe. The texts also share other, distinctive features that appear to confirm this conclusion.

The script of both manuscripts has a vertical aspect, typified in the almost straight back of looped **d**, and also has the overall square appearance characteristic of Anglican Formata. The script is written in a regular and neat hand, and is generally even-spaced, although in both the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan manuscripts the scribe can be

seen to misjudge the amount of space his writing will require. Thus, on folio 25v the scribe overrun the marginal boundaries, and is forced to write outwith the framework of the text. (Plate 5). Indeed, in the Glasgow Manuscript the scribe is forced to add 4 lines of text to column b of folio 16v in order to accommodate all the text. (Plate 1)

An interesting shared feature of the two texts is that there appears to be no distinction made between type of script used for the main text, and that used for Latin headings and verses. Indeed it would appear that in both manuscripts the scribe tended to use Anglicana Formata not only for the main text and headings, both English and Latin, but also for the writing of catchphrases, produced for quiring purposes. (See Plate 2). Interestingly, however, the scribe used the more calligraphic Bastard Anglicana in the *incipits* and *explicits* in the text. This contrasts sharply with the practise of contemporary scribes, such as those involved in the copying of the Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.2 (581). Doyle and Parkes found that, for example, Scribe B (Plate 7) used Anglicana in the gloss to the text, reserving the more formal script for the copying of the main script. This practice is seen more explicitly in San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 26 C 9, and a text which Doyle and Parkes believe to have also been produced by Scribe B (See Plate 8). In this, Anglicana Formata is used for the main text and Bastard Anglicana for the marginal headings, explicits, incipits and Latin verses within the text. (Doyle and Parkes: 79: 170)

Another distinctive characteristic of the handwriting of our scribe is the lack of any Secretary forms, either within the main body of text or the catchphrases. Although it was not fully established as a canonical script in England until the sixteenth century, the influence of Secretary can be seen in texts that are more properly described as being

written in Anglicana Formata. For example, Scribe A of the Trinity Gower has 'pronounced horns on **f** and long-**s**' (Doyle and Parkes, 1979: 168), and the marginal glosses of Scribe B's text (Plate 7) show Secretary single compartment **a** alongside the double compartment form of Anglicana. There is no such tendency in either of the texts by our scribe, suggesting a slightly earlier date for his work, perhaps mid to late fourteenth century.

This palaeographical analysis has enabled the description, identification and approximate dating of the script of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7. It has also defined the difference between 'script' and 'hand', and through comparison with contemporary scribes, has isolated the habitual usages of our scribe that differentiate him from other copyists. This has enabled the identification of the Glasgow Gower copyist as the Pierpont Morgan scribe also. Thus, this study has supported the conclusions already reached in the linguistic analysis of the manuscripts.

2.6 The Graphetic Analysis.

The traditional approach offers valuable insights into the handwriting tradition of the medieval period, and is also important in helping to distinguish individual scribal hands. However, the latter application is restricted within paleographical analysis. For, although scribal hands can be identified and described in one scribal mode, it may not recognized when the scribe writes in another 'script'. Thus, a scribe writing in, say, Anglicana Formata may be identified in a number of different manuscripts. However, it would be very difficult to identify this scribe in a manuscript should he decide to write in, say, Secretary. That is, in the traditional approach no characteristics unique to individual scribes have been distinguished that would be identifiable across different scribal modes.

McIntosh proposed that scribal output was as individually distinct as an individual's fingerprint (McIntosh, 1974:34) and that the construction of graphetic profiles, consisting of the detailed analysis of a number of graphetic items, should provide a more detailed and specific characterization of the individual scribal output than previously thought possible.

2.7 The Methodology

In his definition of the term 'graphetic', McIntosh states that it means;

> providing information about those linguistically subsystemic phenomena in written language which are parallel to phonetic (in contrast to phonological) phenomena in spoken language.
>
> (McIntosh, 1974: 35)

As established earlier, McIntosh urged scholars to view graphetic study, not as a secondary and unrelated field of study, but rather as a system of language that can be understood as and hence implemented in the similar ways to linguistic analyses. The search for a useful framework and terminology with which to more systematically discuss the handwriting of an individual has encouraged the establishing of parallels as seen above. The correspondence between phonetics – the realization of sounds in the speech of an individual – and the 'hand ' of a script is a useful illustration of this view of graphetic analysis. Thus, with the phoneme/allophone parallel in mind, scholars have used the terms 'grapheme' and 'allograph' in order to distinguish between the letter shape that the scribe may trying to achieve, and the actual shape that is produced, respectively. Smith explores the usefulness of some of the terminology that has been transferred from the linguistic field to that of graphetics. He concludes that

> The grapheme/allograph distinction works well enough if it is considered that all hands are attempting... to represent one letter-shape; (Smith, 1996: 57)

However, he establishes that a complicating feature in this neat parallel is the factor he identifies as the 'second-order goal' that influences the graphetic choices made by copyists. As seen earlier, medieval scribes were proficient in a number of variant scripts each with their own particular letter-shapes for particular graphemes. Thus the grapheme **a**, for example, is represented in Anglicana Formata by a different letter-shape than that of the Secretary script. Where the general letter aimed at is referred to as the grapheme, the script to which the letter-shape belongs is recognized as this second order level of language. The terms 'script' and 'hand' from the paleographical field remain the most easily and universally understandable terms.

2.8 The Questionnaire

The purpose of the graphetic questionnaire is two-fold; to establish the presence or absence of particular letter-forms in any given text and to indicate the possibility of any contextual rules governing the scribal choices made by the copyist. Following the methodology of the linguistic analysis, McIntosh proposed that the graphetic profile be constructed from approximately fourteen items. As in the linguistic analysis, it is important that the items chosen for this study be sufficiently variable in order to yield enough and diverse evidence. However, as McIntosh recognized, it is difficult to ascertain exactly which items will fulfil these criteria as very few studies of this nature have been carried out before.

The preliminary nature of this study limited the range of items to six. This number will be sufficient to illustrate the implementation of the methodology, and may also indicate areas in which refinements could be wrought. The choice of suitable letterforms was governed by the paleographical study of Doyle and Parkes. Their paleographical studies isolated the letterforms that showed enough variation in form as to enable differentiation between variant scribal hands. Therefore, this study focuses on the items **a, d, e, g, h** and **r**.

As mentioned previously, a lack of research in this field means that there is great difficulty both in choice of informative items, and furthermore, in the best way in which to classify and present this information. However, in his recent study of the handwriting of MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.2, (Head, 1997) George Head outlined an effective classification system. Using the notation put in place by McIntosh, Head classifies his items in the following way.

> Each graph has been assigned to a grapheme. Each realization of that graph found in the manuscript is an allograph of that grapheme (Head, 1997:)

The various realizations of each item, the allographs, were categorized by the allocation of two superscript numerals, the first number 'illustrating the graph type' (Head, 1997:150) and the second the allograph of that graph. The latter information is placed in the appendices, where the positional environment of the allographs is also shown. An important feature of the graphetic study was, not only the identification of letter forms characteristic of the hand of our scribe but also to establish the importance, if

any, of the position of the letter-shape within a word, and consequently its relationship and interaction with other letter-shapes.

This system means that the differences between graph can be understood at a glance, and also establishes a framework within which to describe the differences between allographs. This study shall follow the practice outlined by Head, although on a much smaller scale.

Before the discussion of the letterforms found in our study it will perhaps be helpful to delineate the terminology that shall be used to describe the shapes. A **minim** is the basic upright stroke of a letter. A stroke which extends above the height of other letters is termed an **ascender** those which extend below the base-line **descenders**. The top horizontal stroke of a letter is called the **head-stroke** and the central stroke is the **cross-stroke**. The closed curve of a letter is referred to as the **bowl** or, in the case of the item **e**, the **lobe**. A **lozenge** is a diamond-shaped stroke that, in this case, is used in reference to the item **r**.

The study established the following graphs as the characteristic forms used by the copyist of Glasgow, University Library S.1.7;

a1 – small , double compartment figure, open or closed bowls

a2 – grapheme that functions as a capital, double compartment forms and modern capital form

d1 – looped ascender, with closed bowl, slanting to the left.

d2 – Capital , large bowl, pre-flourish dissecting stem

d3 – unlooped, short ascender, closed bowl

e1 – modern e with lobe

e2 - modern e with open lobe

e3 – single, curved stroke, no lobe

e4 – functions as capital, elaborate cross-stroke with occasional pre-flourish

g1 – double compartment, angled or round lower bowl, closed

g2 – angled bowl with lower bowl open

g3 – 8-shaped, rounded figure, occasional connecting stroke

h1 – curved hook with angled descender

h2 –curved hook with curved descender

h3 – angled hook with angled descender, occasional no descender

h4 – b-shaped figure

h5 – functions as a capital

r1 – modern, short r, minim stroke with unconnected or connected lozenge to the right

r2 - arabic, 2-shaped figure

r3 – capital form, closed bowl with descender slanting left to right

The questionnaire was applied to folios 16v, 40v, 49r of Glasgow, University Library, S, 1.7 and 25r of Pierpont Morgan M.125 [1]. (Plates 1-3 and 5 respectively) It

has been established above that the same scribe produced these two manuscripts. This offers a unique opportunity to attempt a characterization of the graphetic repertoire of a scribe. For example, the analysis could determine if there are any substantial differences in the choice of letterforms, firstly between Glasgow Gower and the Pierpont Morgan MS. and secondly between the folia of each manuscript. This will help establish whether it is indeed possible to create a valid repertoire of letterforms that is characteristic of a single scribe. Further, I intend to offer a description of each allograph, indicating the positional environment of the item in the text, with a view to establishing whether contextual positions are consistent or vary. The study shall assess whether it is possible that inconsistency of this nature could be exemplar driven, in the same way that changes in the spelling system of a scribe can indicate exemplar change.

2.9 For the grapheme a^1 nineteen allographs were found, eighteen in the Glasgow Gower and an additional allograph in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. This grapheme is double compartment, and tends to have a vertical back.

2.10 $a^{1.1}$ This allograph is the dominant initial form on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower, although on the other two folios examined in this manuscript, $a^{1.4}$ is dominant in this position. $a^{1.1}$ is also the dominant medial figure on both folio 16v and 40v. This allograph is never found in final position in Glasgow Gower, yet in Pierpont Morgan, this allograph is dominant in all positions. It is a curved double compartment figure, probably formed from a single stroke. There tends to be an upward kick from the base of the back

– this acts as a connecting stroke to the following letter, although this is not always the case. 

2.11 $a^{1.2}$ This allograph is common in initial position in folio 49r of Glasgow Gower, although it is not found in this position in either of the other two folios examined. It is occasionally found in medial and final position. Interestingly, this allograph is dominant in initial position and common in medial and final position in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. The form is double compartment, with the bowls formed mainly by curved strokes. However, the top bowl exhibits an angled stroke to the left. 

2.12 $a^{1.3}$ This allograph is not a common figure, occurring only four times in Glasgow Gower analysis and not appearing at all in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. It is found only in initial and medial position, and is never seen in final position. The figure is cursive, with a triangular top bowl and rounded lower bowl that extends past the top bowl. 

2.13 $a^{1.4}$ This allograph is dominant in all positions of folio 49r, and is dominant in initial position of folio 16v. The figure is also common in medial position of folio 40v. It is not found in final position of either 16v or 40v however. Although the allograph is found in all positions in Pierpont Morgan, it is not a dominant form. The figure is double compartment, with an angled headstroke to the top bowl, although all other strokes are curved. 

2.14 $a^{1.5}$ This allograph, found in initial position on folio 49r, occurs only once. It does not occur in the analysis of Pierpont Morgan. It is like $a^{1.4}$ except that the lower bowl is open. 

2.15 $a^{1.6}$ Again, this is a rare allograph, occurring only once. It is found in initial position on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower and is not found in Pierpont Morgan. It is a small figure, with an angled top bowl and rounded lower bowl. The latter is angled downwards. 

2.16 $a^{1.7}$ This allograph is found in initial and final position only, and is restricted to 49r of Glasgow Gower – it is not seen in Pierpont Morgan. It has the angled headstroke and rounded bowls of $a^{1.4}$, yet there is no cross-stroke, giving the figure an open appearance. 

2.17 $a^{1.8}$ This allograph is found in initial position on folio 16v. It appears only once. The back of the figure is vertical only in the lower portion, with the upper half angled towards the left. As seen in a number of the other allographs of this grapheme, this figure is very like $a^{1.4.}$ 

2.18 $a^{1.9}$ This is a rare allograph, occurring only twice in the study. It is found in initial position on folio 40v and does not appear in Pierpont Morgan. This allograph resembles $a^{1.9}$, yet the lower bowl is angled downwards.

2.19 $a^{1.10}$ This figure occurs once in Glasgow Gower and once in Pierpont Morgan. It is an initial position form and has an angular appearance. The back has a pronounced left incline and the bowls are cursively formed by a single stroke. There is also an exaggerated upward kick, from the base of the back, connecting with the following letter.

2.20 $a^{1.11}$ This allograph is a common figure in medial position of folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. However, it occurs in no other position, and is seen only a couple of times in initial position in Pierpont Morgan. It is a cursive figure, with rounded bowls. The top bowl has angled stroke at the top right.

2.21 $a^{1.12}$ This figure is rare in the Glasgow Gower, found in medial position on folio 16v occasionally, and in final position on folio 49r only twice. However, it is a dominant figure in final position in Pierpont Morgan, and is also common in medial position.

2.22 $a^{1.13}$ This figure is found only occasionally in medial position in all folios of the Glasgow Gower. This is a completely rounded figure that is very like $a^{1.1}$. However, as seen in $a^{1.7}$, the cross-stroke is lacking in this form, giving it an open appearance.

2.23 $a^{1.14}$ This is a rare figure restricted to medial position in 16v and 49r of Glasgow Gower. It is not seen in Pierpont Morgan. It is a fully rounded, squat double-compartment figure. The lower bowl extends past the top bowl.

2.24 $a^{1.15}$ This allograph is a common medial form on 40v of Glasgow Gower, and is seen occasionally on folio 16v. However, it is not found in any other positions of Glasgow Gower, and is not seen at all in Pierpont Morgan. The top bowl of the double compartment figure is acutely angled towards the left and extends past the rounded lower bowl.

2.25 $a^{1.16}$ This allograph is restricted to medial position of 40v, and is not found in any other position of Glasgow Gower. It is not seen in Pierpont Morgan. There is no distinction made between the upper and lower bowl, as they are formed by a single straight stroke with a right incline.

2.26 $a^{1.17}$ This allograph is found only occasionally, once in medial position on 40v of Glasgow Gower and once in final position of folio 49r. It is a fully rounded figure, with the top bowl much larger than the lower bowl.

2.27 $a^{1.18}$ A small, cramped figure, this form is found only rarely in final form in Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan. It is a fully rounded figure with no upward kick.

2.28 $a^{1.19}$ This form is found only in Pierpont Morgan, and is found on a number of occasions in initial position only. It is a fully rounded figure with an open lower bowl.

2.29 a^{2} This grapheme functions as a capital figure, and has many different forms in Glasgow Gower, ranging from the more rounded cursive forms of folio 49r to the calligraphic, angled forms of folio 16v. This grapheme is characterised by great variation.

2.30 $a^{2.1}$ This form is dominant on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower, although it is also seen once on folio 16v. This is the modern form with a curved approach stroke and upward kick from the base, as a connecting stroke to the following figure. The medial cross-stroke is horizontal.

2.31 $a^{2.2}$ This allograph is found twice on folio 49r only, and is very similar to $a^{2.1}$. The only difference is that the approach stroke is straight rather than curved.

2.32 $a^{2.3}$ This allograph is dominant on folio 40v and is seen four times on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower. It is a 'headless' a, and as such is a single compartment figure. The bowl has an angular appearance, as it is composed of two straight strokes. It has a pronounced left incline.

2.33 $a^{2.4}$ This figure is confined to folio 16v of Glasgow Gower only, where it is seen only once. It is basically like $a^{2.3}$ above, but has an open bowl.

2.34 $a^{2.5}$ This allograph is common on folio 49r, where it is seen four times in all. It is also seen on folio 16v, although only once. It is a flat-topped version of $a^{2.3}$, with a wide bowl and extremely angular upward kick from the base of the back stroke.

2.35 $a^{2.6}$ This allograph is restricted to folio 40v, where it occurs only once. Again, this is reminiscent of $a^{2.3}$, although the bowl is rectangular in shape rather than triangular.

2.36 $a^{2.7}$ This figure occurs on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower three times. This is very similar to $a^{2.6}$, the only difference being in the shape and orientation of the bowl. The bowl is thinner and points downwards, so that it actually sits on the line.

2.37 $a^{2.8}$ This figure is seen on folio 49r twice, and folio 40v once. It is a fully curved version of $a^{2.3}$.

2.38 $a^{2.9}$ This form is restricted to folio 49r of Glasgow Gower, and occurs only once. It is a two-stroke figure, with an overall triangular appearance. It has an elaborate pre-flourish and the bowl is formed by two straight strokes, angled to a point towards the left. The cross-is the lower of these two strokes and dissects the backstroke of the figure.

2.39 $a^{2.10}$ This figure is similar to $a^{2.9}$ above, except the bowl is composed of three strokes, giving a scalloped effect to the lower portion of the bowl. It is seen only once on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower. 

2.40 $a^{2.11}$ This is a rare form, found only once on 16v of Glasgow Gower. It is a curved, double compartment figure. The minim backstroke extends above the height of the upper bowl. The pre-flourish is positioned between the two bowls of the figure, and there is a curved upward kick from the base of the backstroke. 

2.41 $a^{2.12}$ This is a rare form, restricted to a single appearance on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower. This is a highly calligraphic double-compartment figure The upper bowl is triangular in shape and there are two, short strokes meeting the top left stroke at right angles. The lower bowl is wide and angular. The horizontal cross-stroke forming the two compartments is horizontal and dissects he vertical backstroke. 

2.42 $a^{2.13}$ This is the dominant allograph on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower. It does not appear in folio 40v or 49r of Glasgow Gower, nor does it appear in Pierpont Morgan. It is a highly calligraphic figure and is similar to $a^{2.12}$. However, the upper bowl is rectangular in shape and has a curved pre-flourish. The lower bowl is also more rectangular in shape than seen in $a^{2.12}$. There is a double cross-stroke contained within the figure and a second pre-flourish meets one of these interior strokes.

2.43 $a^{2.14}$ This allograph is restricted to folio 16r, where it is found twice. This figure is very like $a^{2.13}$, but lacks the double strokes. It is, therefore, a single compartment form. There is a curved pre-flourish and the backstroke extends vertically above the head of the figure. 

2.44 $a^{2.15}$ This allograph is seen twice on folio 16r of Glasgow Gower. It is a square form, with an elaborate pre-flourish, and has a pronounced right incline. There is also an interior double cross stroke. 

2.45 $a^{2.16}$ A rare figure in Glasgow Gower, this figure is seen only once, on folio 16v. This is a triangular figure, with scalloped base. An elaborate pre-flourish dissects the top portion of the single bowl. 

2.46 $a^{2.17}$ This figure occurs three times on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower, and does not appear elsewhere. The figure is constructed of two curved strokes that are separated by three cross-strokes. 

2.47 $a^{2.18}$ This highly cursive figure is found only once, on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower. It is formed from large minim backstroke with a small triangular bowl, the cross-stroke of which dissects the back stroke. 

The following allographs of a^2 are found *solely* in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript, folio 25r. (Plate 5)

2.48 $a^{2.19}$ This is one of the dominant figures found in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This figure is similar to $a^{2.17}$ the two main strokes are more curved than in the figure above. 

2.49 $a^{2.20}$ Alongside $a^{2.19}$, this is the most dominant figure found in Pierpont Morgan. The allograph is also very like the above figure, the main difference being that the front stroke curls round to connect with the back stroke to form a bowl-shaped lower portion. This figure is a rounded double compartment figure, with two strokes extending above the head line. 

2.50 $a^{2.21}$ This figure is found twice in the Pierpont Morgan sample. It is very similar to the other figures described above. It has a single rounded bowl, but retains the two strokes extending above the head of the figure. 

2.51 $a^{2.22}$ This allograph is seen only once on folio 25r. It is identical to the above figure, although the bowl is more triangular in shape. 

2.52 $a^{2.23}$ An allograph with only a single occurrence on folio 25r, this is a cursive double compartment figure. The lower bowl is rounded, yet the upper bowl has a serrated appearance. This detail is rubricated in the manuscript. 

2.53 $a^{2.24}$ This allograph is seen only once and is similar to $a^{2.21}$, except that the bowl has two internal strokes. 

2.54 a^3 This grapheme is a 'headless a', and is found on only two occasions, on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower.

$a^{3.1}$ This is a cursive figure with no upper bowl, but a rounded lower bowl. 

Although the nature of this preliminary investigation meant that only four folios in total were studied, it is clear from the evidence of this first letterform that this scribe had an extensive repertoire of forms upon which to draw. This variation would perhaps suggest that different scribes were responsible for producing Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan, and there are certainly forms, such as $a^{2.19}$ – $a^{2.24}$, that are found solely in the Pierpont Morgan folio. Indeed, $a^{2.19}$ and $a^{2.20}$ are dominant forms on folio 25r, and it would appear strange that these forms should not be seen in the Glasgow Gower folios.

However, in this kind of study, it is important to view the evidence in its totality, and there are a number of forms common to both manuscripts. Thus $a^{1.1}$ and $a^{1.2}$ are common allographs found in all folios studied. Moreover, Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan are found to share a form that is very rare. Headless a, $a^{3.1}$, has a sole occurrence in each manuscript suggesting that the same scribe worked on both texts. It is important to realise that variation is found not just between the different manuscripts, but also between different folios of the same manuscript. This is clearly evident in the capital forms, a^2, of the Glasgow Gower folios, where there are, for example, much more calligraphic forms like $a^{2.13}$ on folio 16v than the more rounded and cursive forms of folio 49r, like $a^{2.8}$. This evidence indicates that the scribal hand is highly inconsistent and variable.

2.55 For the grapheme d^1 sixteen graphemes, fifteen of which are found in Glasgow Gower and an additional one in Pierpont Morgan. This grapheme has a looped ascender and tends to be upright or to lean slightly to the left.

2.56 $d^{1.1}$ This allograph is dominant in medial position in Glasgow Gower folios 49r, 40v and 16v. It is also dominant in initial and final position in 40v, and in final position of 49r. Although not dominant, this form is common in initial position in 16v and is seen less regularly in this position in 49r. It is dominant in initial and medial position in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. The allograph has a two-angled bowl and a vertical looped ascender. 

2.57 $d^{1.2}$ This allograph is found in initial position of folios 49r and 40v of Glasgow Gower only rarely, and is similarly represented in Pierpont Morgan., folio 25r. It is a wider version of $d^{1.1}$, although it is slightly shorter. 

2.58 $d^{1.3}$ This allograph is found in dominant position in final position in 16v of Glasgow Gower, and is common in medial position on this folio also. However, it is less common in initial position and is seen on folio 40v only in final position. This allograph does not appear in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This form has a curved back, giving the figure a left incline. The loop of the ascender is formed by a straight stroke, giving the loop a pointed appearance. The bowl is square-shaped, and the flat bottom sits on the line. 

2.59 $d^{1.4}$ Although this figure is dominant in initial position of 49r and is common in this position in 16v, it is not found elsewhere in the folios studied of Glasgow Gower. The form is seen in Pierpont Morgan only three times, twice in medial position and once in final position. This is a short figure, with a thin, looped ascender. The bowl has a pointed appearance, and the ascender falls over towards the left.

2.60 $d^{1.5}$ This allograph is rare in Glasgow Gower, as it is found only once on folio 49r. However, this allograph is dominant in initial position on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan, and is also common in medial and final positions in this sample. The allograph has a rectangular shaped bowl and has a wide, looped ascender that curves towards the left.

2.61 $d^{1.6}$ This figure is seen only twice in initial position in 49r and once in final position in 16v of Glasgow Gower. This figure does not occur in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This is essentially a thinner version of $d^{1.5}$.

2.62 $d^{1.7}$ This is a rare allograph and its sole occurrence is in medial position on folio 49r. It does not appear in Pierpont Morgan. The figure is an upright version of $d^{1.6}$.

2.63 $d^{1.8}$ The allograph is common in medial position of Glasgow Gower, folio 40v. It is also seen, though in only a couple of instances, in medial and final positions of 49r. This figure is dominant in medial and final position of Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r.

This is an extremely cursive, single-stroke form, with a rounded bowl and round loop that sits on the bowl. It is probably best described as the 'kidney bean' d.

2.64 $d^{1.9}$ This allograph is dominant only in initial position of 16v, Glasgow Gower. It is not found in any other position in Glasgow Gower and is not in evidence in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This allograph is similar to $d^{1.3}$ and differs only in the shape of the bowl, which is pointed.

2.65 $d^{1.10}$ This allograph is found only once in medial position in 40v of Glasgow Gower, and is similarly rare in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This is virtually identical to $d^{1.8}$, and differs only in its smaller loop.

2.66 $d^{1.11}$ This allograph is dominant in medial position of 49r, yet is found nowhere else in Glasgow Gower. The form in medial position of Pierpont Morgan only once. This figure has a 4-stroke bowl, and looped ascender, with left incline.

2.67 $d^{1.12}$ This allograph is dominant in final position of 40v, and is seen twice in medial position of 49r. It is not in evidence in Pierpont Morgan. This form has an almost flat-topped loop and an angled bowl.

2.68 $d^{1.13}$ This allograph is common in medial position on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower. It is also seen in a couple instances in medial and final position of folio 49r. It is

not in evidence in Pierpont Morgan. This is a more angular version of $d^{1.12}$ but has a vertical, rather than curved, back.

2.69 $d^{1.14}$ This allograph is dominant in final position of 40v and 16v but is rare in this position in 49r. It is not found elsewhere in Glasgow Gower and is not in evidence in Pierpont Morgan. This allograph is an upright version of $d^{1.8}$.

2.70 $d^{1.15}$ This allograph is seen only once, in 49r of folio 49r. It is not in evidence elsewhere. This is an extremely angular, flat-topped figure with rectangular bowl.

2.71 $d^{1.16}$ The sole occurrence of this allograph is in Pierpont Morgan, initial position. This form has an angular bowl, but is characterized by a very large loop.

2.72 d^{2} This grapheme functions as a capital. There is only one occurrence of a capital in this study and this is on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower.

2.73 $d^{2.1}$ This is a modern style capital d, with a vertical back to the left and a curved, wide bowl. A bouncy flourish dissects the back stroke.

2.74 d^{3} This grapheme is rare and is found only twice in the folios studied.

$d^{3.1}$ This form is found on folio 49r only once, in final position. It is found in initial position in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This is a cursive, single-stroke figure, with round bowl and a straight ascender. This ascender has a left incline.

This grapheme reflects the variation discussed with reference to the letterform 'a'. Again, there is evidence in the forms for 'd' to suggest that the same scribe was responsible for both manuscripts. Thus the form $d^{1.1}$ is a dominant form, seen on all folios examined. Furthermore a form found only once in Glasgow Gower, $d^{3.}1$, is found in Pierpont Morgan, again only once. This seems to indicate a large repertoire of forms drawn on by the copyist.

The grapheme e^{1} has eighteen allographs, seventeen of which are found in Glasgow Gower and an additional one in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This grapheme is the round or modern form, with closed lobe.

2.75 $e^{1.1}$ This allograph appears in all positions on every folio studied. It is the dominant form in initial position in all of the folios studied in Glasgow Gower. It is also dominant in medial position in folios 49r and 40v and in final position on folio 49r. It is dominant in initial position in the Pierpont Morgan folio, and is common in medial and final position also. This allograph has a rectangular, 3-stroke lobe and a fully curved back. 

2.76 $e^{1.2}$ The sole occurrence of this form is in initial position of folio 49r. It appears only twice in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r, in initial and final position. This allograph is identical to $e^{1.1}$, the only difference being the length of the backstroke – it is shorter in this figure. 

2.77 $e^{1.3}$ This allograph is common in folio 49r, and also appears in medial position on folio 40v and in final position on folio 49r and 16v. The allograph is also seen twice in the Pierpont Morgan sample, in medial and final position. The allograph has a three-stroke lobe and straight back, which has a pronounced left incline. An angled upward stroke kicks up from the base of the back-stroke, and occasionally connects with the following letter.

2.78 $e^{1.4}$ This figure is found on all the folios studied, although it does not appear in all positions. Its use is infrequent, but it is found in all positions on folio 49r. It is restricted to medial position in both 16v and 40v. It is also found twice in Pierpont Morgan, in medial and final positions. This is identical to the figure $e^{1.3}$, but lacks the upward kick from the base of the back stroke.

2.79 $e^{1.5}$ This allograph is dominant in medial position on 40v and 16v and in final position on all folios of the Glasgow Gower. It is also a common figure in initial position of folios 40v and 16v, and medial position of 49r. This figure is dominant in medial and final position in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. The lobe of this figure is formed from 2-strokes, giving it a pointed appearance. The back stroke is fully curved.

2.80 $^{1.6}$ This allograph common in medial and final position in folio 40v of the Glasgow Gower. It is also seen, though rarely, in medial and final positions of 16v. It is a dominant figure in initial position of the Pierpont Morgan sample. The lobe of this

allograph consists of a single, horizontal cross-stroke moving into a fully curved back stroke. 

2.81 $e^{1.7}$ This figure is relatively common in medial position on folio 16v of the Glasgow Gower. Its use is limited elsewhere to only occasional appearances in medial position of folios 49r and 40v, and in final position of 16v. It is not in evidence in the study sample of Pierpont Morgan. It is a fully cursive, single-stroke figure, in which the lobe points upwards. The back is vertical. 

2.82 $e^{1.8}$ This allograph is common on folio 40v of the Glasgow Gower, although it is only rarely seen on other folios of this manuscript. Thus it is seen in medial positions of all folios in Glasgow Gower, and in final position of folio 16v. It is never seen in initial position. This allograph is not evident in Pierpont Morgan. The figure has a curved back stroke and a slightly angular bowl.

2.83 $e^{1.9}$ This form is rare, with its sole occurrence in Glasgow Gower in medial position of folio 16v. It also appears once in the Pierpont Morgan folio. This figure is fully cursive, with a vertical back and round lobe. It is, then very similar to $e^{1.7}$. However, it has a dramatic upward stroke from the base of the back and this acts as a connecting stroke to the following letter. 

2.84 $e^{1.10}$ This allograph is seen only once, in medial position on folio 49r. This figure has a vertical back and small, rounded lobe. It also has a short horizontal stroke at the base of the back stroke.

2.85 $e^{1.11}$ This figure is found only once in medial position of folio 49r of the Glasgow Gower. It is a rounded figure, with vertical back and rounded lobe. This lobe points downwards, and is almost in contact with the base of the figure.

2.86 $e^{1.12}$ This allograph is dominant in final position of folio 40v, and is also common in final position of 16v. It is a dominant figure in final position of Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r and is common in medial position also. The figure is fully cursive, with rounded, horizontal lobe and curved back. The figure is, then, very similar to $e^{1.7}$, but has a horizontal rather than upward slanted lobe.

2.87 $e^{1.13}$ This allograph is found rarely, in final position only, on all the folios of the Glasgow Gower analysis. It is not in evidence in the Pierpont Morgan sample. The figure is full cursive, with a rounded bowl. However this bowl is slightly angled at the top left.

2.88 $e^{1.14}$ The sole occurrence of this figure is in final position of folio 40v. It does not appear in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. Like $e^{1.13}$, this figure has a rounded lobe, slightly angular at the top left. However, it has a pronounced left incline and angled upward kick from the base of the back.

2.89 $e^{1.15}$ This allograph is found eight times in final position on folio 16v. It is not in evidence elsewhere. It is a small, cramped version of $e^{1.7}$ above.

2.90 $e^{1.16}$ This allograph is found only rarely in Glasgow Gower, in final position of both 40v and 16v. It is also seen twice in Pierpont Morgan, in medial and final position. This figure has a curved lobe. The back stroke is mainly curved, although it is angled at the top left corner.

2.91 $e^{1.17}$ This figure is found in one instance in Glasgow Gower, folio 16, final position. It is also seen in final position, again only in a single instance, in Pierpont Morgan. This allograph has a vertical back with curved lobe to the right. This gives the figure an acute angle at the top left corner.

2.92 $e^{1.18}$ This sole occurrence of this figure is in Pierpont Morgan, in medial position. The figure is curved, with an acutely- angled upward cross stroke.

2.93 e^{2} This grapheme is the round e, with open bowl. There are three allographs of this from, two of which do not occur in the Pierpont Morgan sample.

$e^{2.1}$ This form is common in medial and final position of folio 49r of Glasgow Gower. It is also seen, although rarely, in medial position of both 16v and 40v. There is a single occurrence, in medial position of this form in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This

figure is formed with straight strokes. The back is vertical with a slight left incline and the re is an upward kick at the base of this back stroke. The three-stroke lobe is open.

2.94 $e^{2.2}$ This figure is relatively common in final position of folio 40v, and is also occasionally seen in medial position of folios 16v and 40v, and also in final position of 49r. It is not evident in Pierpont Morgan. This form has a curved back, and a straight, horizontal cross-stroke forms the lobe, although this stroke is incomplete. This results in an open-lobed figure.

2.95 $e^{2.3}$. This allograph occurs in final position twice in the Glasgow Gower, on folios 16v and 40v. It is not found in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This figure has a vertical back and a two-stroke lobe that is open.

2.96 e^{3} This grapheme is a cursive figure, and is characterised by the lack of a lobe. There are two allographs of this grapheme, occurring in both manuscripts, although only rarely.

$e^{3.1}$ This figure occurs sporadically in the Glasgow Gower, appearing in medial position in folios 49r and 40v, and in final position on folios 49r and 16v. The sole occurrence in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r, is in medial position. This cursive, single-stroke figure has no lobe.

2.97 $e^{3.2}$ This allograph is found sporadically in medial and final positions of folios 49r and 16v. It is not found on folio 40v. In Pierpont Morgan, the single occurrence of this form is in final position. It is never found in initial position. This form has a vertical back and slight curved headstroke. There is also an upward kick from the base of the back stroke. 

2.98 e^{4} This grapheme functions as a capital and there are three allographs of this form.

$e^{4.1}$ Found on folio 49r only, this is a cursive figure with a curved back stroke. The cross-stroke dissects the back and has a slight fork midway down its stem. The head-stroke is an elaborate flourish. 

2.99 $e^{4.2}$ This is also found on 49r only, an is a curved figure. The head-stroke is straight and the cross-stroke extend towards the following letter in an exaggerated stroke. 

2.100 $e^{4.3}$ The sole occurrence of this figure in Glasgow Gower is found on folio 16v. This allograph is found in a single instance in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. It is a cursive figure with curved back stroke. It has an extended cross-stroke, and two internal vertical strokes dissect this stroke. 

2.101 This letter-form has a wide range of forms, and many are found in both Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan. For example, the graphemes $e^{1.1}$, $e^{1.4}$, $e^{1.5}$, and $e^{1.6}$

are common to all the folios in the study. There are allographs that are specific to only on manuscript, for example, the grapheme $e^{1.18}$ is found only in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. However, there are many more examples of less common forms being found in both. Thus although $e^{3.1}$ and $e^{4.3}$ make only single appearances in Glasgow Gower, each of these graphemes are also found in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. Again this seems to confirm that these folios, at least, were produced by the same copyist. Interestingly, folio 49r shows a great deal of variety, and contains the sole occurrence of forms like $e^{1.10}$ and $e^{1.11}$. This underlines the fact that variation across folios was a common phenomena.

2.102 g^{1} This grapheme has thirteen allographs, twelve in the Glasgow Gower and an additional one in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This is a double compartment figure, and ranges from a rounded form to the more calligraphic angular version.

2.103 $g^{1.1}$ This allograph is dominant in final position of folio 16v and medial position of folio 49r. It is a common form in medial position of folios 40v and 16v also. The form is dominant in medial position of the Pierpont Morgan folio, 25r. This double compartment figure has an angled, four stroke top bowl, with a following stroke that generally connects to the following letter. The lower bowl is similarly angular, and is formed by four strokes. The figure has an upright aspect. 

2.104 $g^{1.2}$ This allograph is dominant only in medial position of folio 40v. It is seen on one occasion, in initial position, on folio 49r. These are the only occurrences of this figure in Glasgow Gower. The figure is found twice in the Pierpont Morgan folio,

25r, in initial and medial position. It is never seen in final position. This form is a double compartment figure, with a square top bowl and rectangular lower bowl. The lower bowl is angled towards the left.

2.105 $g^{1.3}$ A common form in initial position of folio 49r of Glasgow Gower, this form is more prevalent in Pierpont Morgan, where it is dominant in both initial and medial position. Again, it is never found in final position. This figure is similar to $g^{1.2}$, but the horizontal cross-stroke is replaced by an angled stroke. Furthermore, the lower bowl is wider, shorter and has a more downward angle.

2.106 $g^{1.4}$ This figure is seen on all folios of this study. The allograph is dominant in initial position of folios 49r and 40v. It is also dominant in medial position folio 16v. It is commonly found in final position of folio 16v. It is, however, found only once, in initial position, on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. This is a wide form, with diamond-shaped top bowl and short connecting stroke. The back of the figure is straight with a slight left incline.. The lower bowl is a three-stroke form, rectangular in appearance. However, this lower bowl is placed directly beneath the top bowl, rather than being angled towards the left.

2.107 $g^{1.5}$ This form is dominant in initial position in folio 40v of Glasgow Gower, and is common in this position on folio 16v. It is, however, only occasionally in initial position of folio 49r. The figure is not found in medial or final position in Glasgow Gower, and is rare also in initial and medial position of Pierpont Morgan. The

form has a diamond-shaped, three stroke top bowl, with short connecting stroke. The lower bowl is rounded, and the figure has a left incline.

2.108 $g^{1.6}$ This allograph is found solely in initial position of folio 16v, Glasgow Gower. This is an angular form, with a four-stroke top bowl, that lacks a connecting stroke, despite its appearance in initial position. The lower bowl is wider than the top bowl, and extends further to the left.

2.109 $g^{1.7}$ This allograph is common only in medial position of 49r. It is not found on either of the other two folios of Glasgow Gower in this study, nor does it occur in any other position. It is seen once in initial position in Pierpont Morgan. This form has a round top bowl, with curved connecting stroke. The lower bowl is a three-stroke, triangular shape and has a vertical back.

2.110 $g^{1.8}$ This allograph is dominant in final position on folio 16v only, and is common in final position of this folio also. It is not found on either of the other two folios of the Glasgow Gower, and does not appear in Pierpont Morgan at all. The figure has a square, four–stroke top bowl and a rounded, almost circular, lower bowl.

2.111 $g^{1.9}$ This allograph has its sole occurrence on folio 16v, in medial position. It is not found elsewhere in Glasgow Gower and does not appear in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This form has a rounded top bowl, and rectangular, four-stroke lower bowl. The back stroke is vertical, and the lower bowl is angled towards the right.

2.112 $g^{1.10}$ This allograph appears solely in medial position of folio 16v of the Glasgow Gower, and is seen only occasionally here. It has a curved, yet almost vertical back. The two bowls are triangular-shaped and are of equal size. There is a slight connecting stroke. 

2.113 $g^{1.11}$ The sole occurrence of this form is on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower in final position. It is a very small and cramped form, with vertical back, square top bowl and three-stroke lower bowl. 

2.114 $g^{1.12}$ This allograph is restricted to Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r, and is found in initial and medial position. The form has a diamond-shaped top bowl, and very slim, triangular lower bowl. 

2.115 g^{2} This grapheme has only one allograph and is an open-bowled form.

$g^{2.1}$ This grapheme occurs only once, in initial position on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower. This figure has a rounded bowl with pointed headstroke. There is no lower bowl, rather an angular 2-stroke tail. 

2.116 g^{3} This grapheme has four allographs, and is a cursive eight-shaped figure.

$g^{3.1}$ This allograph is found in initial position on folio 49r and final position on folio 40v. It is not a common form, however, found only once on each folio. It also has a

single occurrence on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. The allograph is largely a curved 8-shaped figure, although the lower bowl has a flat bottom.

2.117 $g^{3.2}$ This allograph is common on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower, in initial position. This form does not appear on any other folio studied. This 8-shaped form is rounded, but has a flat headstroke and short connecting stroke.

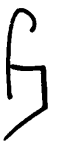
2.118 $g^{3.3}$ This figure is found only once, in medial position on folio 49r. It does not occur in Pierpont Morgan. This shape has both a rounded top and lower bowl, although the back is straight with a left incline. There is a short connecting stroke that meets the following letter.

2.119 $g^{3.4}$ The most angular of the 8-shaped figure, this allograph is found only once, in medial position of 16v. The top bowl is angular and larger than the slim, rectangular lower bowl.

2.120 g^{1} allographs are common to all folios, again confirming that the same scribe is probably responsible for producing these folios , and by inference, the two manuscripts. Although the 8-shaped forms, g^{3}, are more prevalent in the Glasgow Gower folios than in folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan, this is a difference in frequency rather than an indication of differing scribal hand.

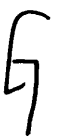
2.121 h^{1} This grapheme has seventeen allographs, fifteen in the Glasgow Gower folios, and an additional two in Pierpont Morgan. A curved hook and angular descender characterize this grapheme.

2.123 $h^{1.1}$ This allograph is dominant in initial position in 49r, and in medial position in 40v and final position in 16v. It is also a commonly used allograph in final position on folio 40v. This allograph, however, does not appeal in Pierpont Morgan. This figure has a vertical back with curved hook. The cross-stroke is horizontal and the leg is vertical to the base-line. The descender is a reverse diagonal stroke, positioned beneath the main body of the figure.



2.124 $h^{1.2}$ This allograph is dominant only in medial position of folio 40v. It is found once in initial position, on folio 49r. It has a single occurrence on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. The figure has a curved hook that curls under more than the hook of $h^{1.1}$. The cross-stroke is slightly angled upwards and the leg is vertical to the base-line. There is no descender in this form, and the back-stroke has an upward kick at its base.

2.125 $h^{1.3}$ This allograph is dominant in medial position of folio 16v, yet is seen only occasionally in initial position of 49r and medial position of 40v. This allograph is not found in Pierpont Morgan. The figure has a vertical back and slightly curved headstroke. The cross-stroke is horizontal and the straight descender is vertical. There is a slight upward kick from the base of the back stroke.



2.126 $h^{1.4}$ This allograph is found in medial position on 49r only, and occurs twice. It does not appear in the Pierpont Morgan sample. This figure has a vertical back and horizontal head-stroke. The leg is curved and has no descender.

2.127 $h^{1.5}$ This allograph occurs once, in medial position on folio 49r. It is not found in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This form has a vertical back, and short, horizontal head-stroke. The cross-stroke is angled upwards and the descender curves slightly towards the left.

2.128 $h^{1.6}$ This allograph is dominant in medial position of 40v and final position of folio 49r. This form is found once in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. The figure has a straight back with left incline and the headstroke is straight and angled downwards. The cross-stroke is angled upwards and the descender curves slightly to the left.

2.129 $h^{1.7}$ This allograph is found once twice in medial position on folio 40v, and is seen twice on folio 16v also, in medial and final position. The figure has a curved hook ascender and a vertical back, with no kick at the base. The cross-stroke is vertical and the leg is a straight, diagonal stroke to the right. The descender is a steep, reverse diagonal that extends past the width of the main body.

2.130 $h^{1.8}$ This allograph is found on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower, four times in initial position and once in medial position. The allograph is similar to $h^{1.7}$, but the head-

stroke is straight rather than curved. The descender is identical to that of $h^{1.7}$, but there is an upward kick at the base of the back, a feature not present in the previous allograph.

2.131 $h^{1.9}$ This allograph is dominant in initial position in folio 16v of Glasgow Gower and is seen in folio 40v in medial position, although only once. The allograph is seen in initial position in Pierpont Morgan folio 25r, although only in a single instance. This form is, again, very similar to $h^{1.7}$, but has a less steeply angled descender and an additional horizontal stroke at the base of the back stroke. This stroke meets the leg of the figure.

2.132 $h^{1.10}$ This allograph is found only once in Glasgow Gower, in initial position on folio 16v. However, this allograph is dominant in initial position in Pierpont Morgan, and is seen in final position once in this sample. The figure is virtually identical to $h^{1.9}$, but has a straighter head-stroke and a downward angled cross-stroke.

2.133 $h^{1.11}$ This form is uncommon , although it ids found in all positions. It is found occasionally on folio 16v in initial position, in medial position on folios 40v and 16v and in final positions on 49r. It is found only once in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This form has a curved ascender that curls round to the back stroke. The cross-stroke is horizontal, and the leg and descender are formed by a single, diagonal reverse stroke. There is also a horizontal stroke at the base of the back stroke, and this connects with the descending leg.

2.134 $h^{1.12}$ This allograph is found only once, in final position of 40v, and in medial position of Pierpont Morgan. The allograph is similar to $h^{1.11}$ above, but lacks the horizontal stroke at the base of the back stroke. Furthermore, the headstroke curves down to meet an angled cross-stroke.

2.135 $h^{1.13}$ This allograph is found only once in Glasgow Gower, in initial position on folio 40v. It is similarly found only once in Pierpont Morgan, folio25r, although in this case it is found in final position. The figure has a vertical back, horizontal cross-stroke and curved descender. The headstroke is an extended and elaborate stroke, and there is an upward kick at the base of the back stroke.

2.136 $h^{1.14}$ This allograph is common in medial position on folio 40v of Glasgow Gower and is also seen, although infrequently, on folio 49r, again in medial position. It occurs once in the Pierpont Morgan in medial position. This figure has a right incline and two-stroke head stroke. It has a horizontal cross-stroke, slight upward kick at the base of the back stroke, and a vertical leg. The descender is vertical and terminates in a horizontal reverse stroke that extends below the main body of the figure.

2.137 $h^{1.15}$ This figure is found only once, in medial position on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower. It is not found in the Pierpont Morgan sample. The form has a vertical back with upward kick and the descender is curved. The three-stroke headstroke has the appearance of an open-ended rectangle.

2.138 The following two allographs are found only in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r.

$h^{1.16}$ This allograph is dominant in medial position in the Pierpont Morgan sample. The figure has a vertical back and a curved headstroke. The leg is curved and there is no descender. The characteristic feature of this form is the extended stroke that dissects the upper portion of the ascender. 

2.139 $h^{1.17}$ This figure is found once in final position in Pierpont Morgan. It is a very slim figure, with a curved ascender, curved descender and an acute upward kick at the base that meets the descender. 

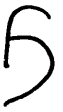
2.140 h^{2} This grapheme has eleven allographs and is characterised by a curved hook and curved descender.

2.141 $h^{2.1}$ This allograph is found on 16v of Glasgow Gower, three times in initial position and once in medial position. The figure has a curved ascender and short, curved, descender. 

2.142 $h^{2.2}$ This figure is common, in initial position, on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower. It does not appear in any other position, or in any other folios of the Glasgow Gower. It is found in all positions in Pierpont Morgan, twice in initial position, three times in medial position and once in final position. This is a cursive figure, with a curved

hook and curved descender. The descender curls under the main body of the figure, meeting the base of the back stroke.

2.143 $h^{2.3}$ This allograph is found, although infrequently, in initial and medial position of 16v, Glasgow Gower. It is also found in final position of 49r, once. The allograph does not occur in Pierpont Morgan. This is a cursive figure with curved hook and descender. This is a wider version of $h^{2.1}$, although the descender curls under the body of the figure.



2.144 $h^{2.4}$ This figure is dominant in medial position of folio 16v, and is also found in initial position of 49r, once. It is infrequently found in medial position in Pierpont Morgan. This form has a curved, short descender. The ascender curves down to meet the cross-stroke of the leg.

2.145 $h^{2.5}$ This allograph is found only once, in initial position of 40v. This is a fully cursive figure, with curved ascender and curved leg. There is no descender.

2.146 $h^{2.6}$ This allograph is found in initial position twice in Glasgow Gower, folio 49r. It is not found in any other folios of Glasgow Gower, or in Pierpont Morgan. This form is very similar to $h^{2.5}$, but the hooked ascender curves down to the cross-stroke of the leg.

2.147 $h^{2.7}$ This figure is dominant in initial and final position of 40v, Glasgow Gower. It is not found on either 16v or 49r. This allograph is dominant in final position of Pierpont Morgan. This is an extremely cursive figure and the ascender has a pronounced right incline. The base of this stroke has a horizontal stroke that dissects the curved descender.

2.148 $h^{2.8}$ This allograph is common in initial position of folio 40v, Glasgow Gower, although it is not seen on any other folio studied. This figure has a curved hook ascender. The curved descender is short and is connected to a curved stroke from the base of the back stroke.

2.149 $h^{2.9}$ This allograph is seen only once, in initial position of folio 40v, Glasgow Gower. It is also seen once in the same position in Pierpont Morgan. This form has a curved ascender that curls round completely. The leg stroke originates from the base of the back stroke, and extends further to the right, forming a wide bowl.

2.150 $h^{2.10}$ This figure is found only once, in medial position of 40v, Glasgow Gower. The figure has a curved, c-shaped back, with horizontal cross-stroke and reverse diagonal descender. The descender has a curved foot to the left.

2.151 $h^{2.11}$ The sole occurrence of this allograph is in medial position of 40v, Glasgow Gower. This tall figure has a curled ascender and a curved foot at the base of the ascender. This stroke meets the curved descender.

2.152 h^3 This grapheme has nine allographs, eight in Glasgow Gower and an additional one in Pierpont Morgan. This grapheme is characterized by and angular ascender and angular descender.

2.153 $h^{3.1}$ This figure is found, infrequently, in initial position of 49r and medial position in 16v of Glasgow Gower. It also appears once in initial position in Pierpont Morgan. This vertical backed form has a three-stroke headstroke, the final stroke of which connects with the horizontal cross-stroke. The back-stroke has a slightly angled, short kick at the base. The leg is vertical, and the descender is a short diagonal extending below the body of the figure.

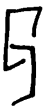
2.154 $h^{3.2}$ This allograph is relatively common in medial position of folio 16v, Glasgow Gower, although there is only a single instance of the figure in initial position on folio 49r. This allograph is dominant in final position of folio 25r Pierpont Morgan. This upright figure has a two-stroke ascender, the final stroke of which meets the uppermost angle of the cross-stroke. The cross-stroke is sharply angled upwards, and consequently has a pointed top. The vertical leg has a diagonal stroke extending under the body of the figure.

2.155 $h^{3.3}$ This allograph is seen only three times on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower, and is not found elsewhere. This figure has a short, vertical back and three-stroke closed ascender, as the final stroke of the ascender meets the cross-stroke. The cross-stroke is angled upwards and the descending leg stroke is vertical to the base-line. The

straight descender is angled below the body of the figure, and there is a short kick at the base of the back stroke.

2.156 $h^{3.4}$ This allograph is found only twice, in initial position on folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. This figure has a two-stroke head-stroke and vertical back. The kick at the base of the back stroke is exaggerated and dissects the descending leg. The cross-stroke has a pointed head as it is formed by two strokes, and the descender is a diagonal stroke, with a left incline.

2.157 $h^{3.5}$ This allograph is found only twice, in initial position on folio 40v, Glasgow Gower. This form is vertical and has a three-stroke, square ascender, although this is open. There is a kick at the base of the back stroke, and the cross-stroke is slightly angled upwards. The descender is vertical and has a horizontal stroke that extends below the body of the figure.



2.158 $h^{3.6}$ This allograph is restricted to two appearances in initial position on folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. This figure is similar to $h^{3.2}$, although its head-stroke is formed from three angled strokes, rather than two. Furthermore, the descender here is a simple diagonal line.

2.159 $h^{3.7}$ This allograph is dominant in final position of folio 49r, Glasgow Gower, although it appears only occasionally in initial and medial positions in 49r and 40v respectively. It is not found in Pierpont Morgan. This figure has a distinctive square

headstroke, seen previously in $h^{3.5}$, although this allograph has an additional stroke that almost connects with the ascender. The cross-stroke is horizontal, and the vertical leg is dissected by a horizontal stroke at the base of the back stroke. This gives the bottom of the figure a square shape also.

2.160 $h^{3.8}$ The sole occurrence of this form is on folio16v in medial position. The figure has a two-stroke head and vertical back. There is a short kick at the base of the back stroke and the descender is vertical.

2.161 $h^{3.9}$ This figure occurs only once in medial position, and is a thinner version of $h^{3.5}$, although it lacks the additional strokes at the bottom of the main strokes.

2.162 h^{4} This grapheme has two allographs, both found in Glasgow Gower. These are cursive, B-shaped figures that are found solely in final position.

$h^{4.1}$ This allograph is found once in final position of folio 16v. This is a very cursive figure, with a loop at the top and a curved descender that forms a loop at the base of the figure.

2.163 $h^{4.2}$ This figure is found only twice in final position on folio 16v. This is similar to $h^{4.1}$, but the loops join in the middle of the back stroke.

2.164 h^5 This grapheme has nine allographs, seven of which are of Glasgow Gower and an additional two in the Pierpont Morgan. This grapheme functions as a capital and as these figures are larger than the other letters following them..

2.165 $h^{5.1}$ This allograph occurs once on folio 49r, Glasgow Gower and once on folio 4ov. This form has a vertical back, with curving cross-stroke originating from the base of the back stroke. The leg is vertical to the base-line and the descender is an exaggerated diagonal stroke that extends below the body of the figure. The head-stroke is curved, and there is a short pre-flourish.

2.166 $h^{5.2}$ This allograph is found once on folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. This figure is a cursive, rounded form with no descender. The curved head-stroke has an elaborate curl at its bottom.

2.167 $h^{5.3}$ The sole occurrence of this form is on folio 49r. This is a cursive figure, with rounded hook and straight approach stroke. This form has a curved descender and an elaborate flourish on the leg.

2.168 $h^{5.4}$ This figure is seen only once on folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. This is a cursive figure with a slightly forked ascender, the only example of this feature in all the folios studied. The right stroke of the fork is exaggerated and extends over the heads of following letters.

2.169 $h^{5.5}$ This allograph is found once on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower. This is a curved ascender with no descender. This figure also has a slight right incline. There is a straight approach stroke on the ascender.

2.170 $h^{5.6}$ This allograph is found only once, on folio 16v. It has a spiky appearance, due to the sharp angle on the diagonal cross-stroke. The figure has a right incline and large head-stroke. This head-stroke has a slight approach stroke and a vertical stroke at its end. This form has no descender.

2.171 $h^{5.7}$ This is an angular figure found only once, on folio 40v. This figure has a vertical back, horizontal cross-stroke and curved descender. The head-stroke of this figure is unusual – it is formed by two strokes. The first of these is a horizontal stroke connected to the ascender. The second stroke is a diagonal line ascending above this first stroke.

2.172 $h^{5.8}$ This allograph is found only in Pierpont Morgan. It is a cursively formed figure, with large, flat-topped head and vertical back. The cross-stroke forms a steep, diagonal curve that reaches a point. The long descender curves down from this point, sweeping under the body of the form.

2.173 $h^{5.9}$ This allograph is found solely on Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This figure is identical to $h^{5.8}$ and differs only in its curved ascender.

This letterform shows the highest degree of frequency, with five different graphemes and forty-nine different allographs. This variation makes classification extremely difficult, and there is a great deal of overlap between the different graphemes. From the evidence of this letterform alone, it would be impossible to prove that one scribe was responsible for all the folios in the study. This emphasises an important consideration in this kind of graphetic analysis, namely that the evidence of individual letterforms can not form the basis of any conclusions. Instead, the information on all the graphemes must be taken into consideration when forming any theories about the production of these texts.

2.174 r^{1} This grapheme has nine allographs from Glasgow Gower and is based on round r.

$r^{1.1}$ This allograph is seen on every folio studied. It is dominant in nearly all positions on every folio studied, both Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan. The only position in which it is not dominant is final position on folio16v, Glasgow Gower – this allograph is still common here, however. The figure is formed by a carefully executed minim stroke, with a diamond-shaped lozenge to the top right of this stroke. This lozenge tends to be disconnected from the minim stroke. 

2.175 $r^{1.2}$ This allograph is seen on every folio studied. It is dominant in initial and final position on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower (in initial position, it is found in equal numbers to the $r^{1.1}$ grapheme). This grapheme is also commonly found in medial position in folio 16v and final position, 40v. The form also appears, though less frequently, in

medial position of 40v and 16v. It is similarly common in medial position of the Pierpont Morgan sample, although it is less evident in final position. This figure is identical to $r^{1.1}$ and differs only in the upward kick at the base of the minim stroke. 

2.176 $r^{1.3}$ This allograph is common only in initial position of folio 40v, Glasgow Gower and is not in evidence on folios 40v or 49r. The figure appears, although rarely, in medial position in Pierpont Morgan. The figure is a smaller version of $r^{1.1}$ and also has a pronounced left incline. 

2.177 $r^{1.4}$ This allograph is common in medial position of folio 49r and final position of folio 40v. It is also seen occasionally in final position on folio 49. This allograph is not found on 16v of Glasgow Gower. This form is dominant in final position on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan, but is rarely found in initial or medial position of this folio. The stem of this form is not the carefully executed minim stroke of $r^{-1.1}$, but is a single, straight stroke with left incline. The lozenge has a less defined shape and is connected to the backstroke in every instance. 

2.178 $r^{1.5}$ This allograph is found only once in medial position on folio 49r. It is not in evidence on any other folio examined. This form is a much more cursive figure, consisting of a straight backstroke, with no foot, and a single stroke to the right replacing the lozenge of $r^{1.1}$. 

2.179 $r^{1.6}$ This allograph is in evidence twice, in medial position of folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. This t-shaped figure is formed by a minim stroke that is dissected by a short stroke, 

2.180 $r^{1.7}$ This allograph is common in medial position of 40v, but is only seen again in folio 49r, in final position - it is not found in initial position at all in Glasgow Gower. This grapheme is not in evidence in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This figure is very similar to $r^{1.2}$, but the foot of $r^{1.7}$ is not angled but curls up vertically, parallel to the backstroke. 

2.181 $r^{1.8}$ The sole occurrence of this form is restricted to folio 16v, where it is found in medial position. This small figure has a short stem, with curved foot. The stroke to the right of the figure is curved downwards. 

2.182 $r^{1.9}$ The sole occurrence of this figure is inn final position of folio16v, Glasgow Gower. This form has a straight stem, with left incline and the lozenge of $r^{1.1}$ is replaced by a curved stroke. The most distinctive feature of this form is the exaggerated upward kick at the base of the stem. 

2.183 $r^{1.10}$ This allograph is found once in final position of Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This figure is formed from a minim stroke, with a horizontal, spiky stroke. 

2.184 $r^{1.11}$ The sole occurrence of this allograph is in final position of folio 25r, Pierpont Morgan. This is formed by a minim stroke, with elaborate flourish as the headstroke. 

2.185 r^{2} This grapheme has ten allographs. It is known as the 'arabic' or 2-shaped r and is, therefore, restricted to medial and final positions only.

$r^{2.1}$ This allograph is common in medial position of folios 49r and 16v of Glasgow Gower, and in final position of all three Glasgow Gower folios profiled. It is also seen, though less frequently, Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This is a z-shaped form with descender. 

2.186 $r^{2.2}$ This allograph is common on folio 49r of Glasgow Gower. It is seen twice in medial position on folio 16v and twice in final position on folio 49r. It is similarly rare on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. This figure is identical to $r^{2.1}$ but has no descender. 

2.187 $r^{2.3}$ This allograph is common in final position in folios 16v and 40v, yet is seen only rarely in medial positions. In Pierpont Morgan this allograph is common in final position, but is less common in medial position. This figure has a curved head and is, therefore, more 2-shaped than the previous figures. 

2.188 $r^{2.3a}$ This allograph is common in final position of folios 16v and 40v of Glasgow Gower. It is only rarely seen in final position of folio 49r. This allograph is

found in folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan, but only once, in medial position. This is virtually identical to $r^{2.3}$ but has a descender.

2.189 $r^{2.4}$ This allograph is found only twice, in medial position on folios 16v and 40v. The figure is common in final position of Pierpont Morgan, although its use is restricted in medial position. This figure is slightly more calligraphic than those already examined. The head-stroke is flat, and the vertical stem has a left incline. There is a short descender.

2.190 $r^{2.5}$ This allograph is found on nine occasions in medial position of folio 40v of Glasgow Gower. However, this figure is found on only one other occasion in Glasgow Gower, in medial position on folio 16v. It is never seen in final position. This allograph does not appear in Pierpont Morgan, folio 25r. This figure is a single stroke with forked ascender, and pronounced right incline.

2.191 $r^{2.6}$ The sole occurrence of this figure is in medial position on folio 16v, Glasgow Gower. It is similar to $r^{2.1}$, but has an exaggerated head-stroke.

2.192 $r^{2.7}$ This figure is found only once in medial position of 16v. It is not found on Pierpont Morgan. This is an elaborately shaped figure firmed by a single stroke.

2.193 $r^{2.8}$ The sole occurrence of this figure is found in final position of folio 49r, Glasgow Gower. This is a hastily drawn, z-shaped figure.

2.194 $r^{2.9}$ This allograph is found only in final position of folio40v. This is a large v-shaped figure, and has a splayed appearance.

2.195 r^{3} This grapheme functions as a capital and has only four allographs in the folios profiled.

2.196 $r^{3.1}$ This allograph is found only once on folio 49r. It is a calligraphic figure with rectangular bowl, and angled approach stroke.

2.197 $r^{3.2}$ The sole occurrence of this figure is on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. This is basically a larger version of $r^{1.10}$, although it has an upward kick at the base of the stem.

2.198 $r^{3.3}$ This allograph is restricted to folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. This is almost identical to $r^{3.2}$ above, but has a vertical stroke descending from the kick stroke.

2.199 $r^{3.4}$ This allograph is found only on folio 25r of Pierpont Morgan. It is basically an r^{1} form with a cross-stroke dissecting the stem.

2.200 This evidence illustrates the importance of contextual influence on the form of specific letters, as the r^{2} grapheme is restricted to medial and final position

because of the way in which it is formed. For, the 'arabic' **r** proceeds from the bowl of the preceding letter, and hence is only found after letter like **p**, **b** and most commonly **o**.

2.201 Conclusions

As established earlier, this graphetic analysis was undertaken as a pilot study, and it was believed that the execution of the questionnaire would prove as interesting as any resulting conclusions. Although the results are inconclusive, I believe that some of the insights as to the implementation of the study in future research may prove useful.

The most important discovery of the graphetic analysis was the wide graphological range of the scribe. There is much variation in allographs of each letterform, and this makes classification very difficult. Thus, although the study eliminated letterforms that were not particularly useful in providing distinctive, idiosyncratic features, there remained still a vast amount of information requiring collation and analysis. In his recent study of 1997, Head introduced the element of frequent in an attempt to discern any patterns within scribal usage that could be used in the identification of single hands. However, as the frequency tables in the appendices indicate, the element of frequency, while useful in helping to determine the more dominant allographs on any given folio, ultimately emphasised the amount of variation within the hand of our copyist. As this study indicates, our copyist was nor consistent in his preferred forms and they tend to alter over the course of a few folios. For example, although our scribe's preferred representation of the grapheme <a> in initial position on folio 49r is $a^{1.4}$, this allograph does not appear at all in this position on folio

40v of the same manuscript. Instead, the scribe uses another of his common allographs, $a^{1.1}$, more frequently in this position on folio 40v.

The cause of this variation in forms is difficult to ascertain. As seen in Chapter One, the exemplar from which the copyist was working can alter the language produced by the scribe significantly. McIntosh, however, dismisses the possibility that an exemplar can affect significantly the letter shapes produced by a scribe;

> The hand of a scribe copying in this way will not normally attempt to simulate that of the exemplar but will 'look' much the same as if he had been setting down a text of his own composition. This is not to say that he will necessarily be altogether uninfluenced, in the way he copies, by graphetic traits in his original. But if he is influenced it will not usually be to such a degree as seriously to mask or disguise his own normal graphetic habits. (McIntosh, 1974: 36)

It is possible, therefore, that the form of the scribes capital letters which show a great degree of variation between folios, may be caused by variant capital forms seen in the exemplar. However, exemplar influence is not likely to have been the primary cause of the vast variation in our scribal hand.

The inconsistency is so prevalent that it can be described as a feature of the hand of our scribe and. This, of course, makes the compilation of characteristic features very difficult. Thus, although there are sufficient shared forms in dominant position to confirm that the scribe responsible for Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian, S.1.7 is

likely to have produced Pierpont Morgan, M.125 too, the evidence of this graphetic profile does not provide conclusive evidence of this.

At this point it should be re-emphasised that this is merely a preliminary study, and fuller graphetic analyses would possibly glean more conclusive results. Thus, for example, rather than studying separate folios in isolation, a fuller analysis could examine folios in succession, which would certainly establish the presence or absence of frequency patterns in the usage of particular forms. This could also discern any evidence of exemplar influence that can not be seen in the analysis of discrete folios.

The objective analysis of individual letterforms is certainly a valuable source of additional information on individual scribes and should not be ignored as a viable tool in the research of scribal output.

Of particular interest is the notion of compiling a database of individual copyist's letterforms. As computer research becomes increasingly important in all field of research, one possible application in graphetic analysis could be in the compilation of individual letterform within a matrix form. The presentation of individual letterforms in this way could make differences in scribal hands more discernible, and thus easier to classify. In the footnotes, I provide hand-drawn example of individual scribal letterforms contained within matrixes, as an example of the effectiveness of this process in highlighting individual differences.

The graphetic analysis in this study has provided further evidence to suggest that the scribe of the Glasgow Gower as was also responsible for the production of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. Although this evidence must be used in tandem with linguistic evidence to confirm this supposition, this suggests that future research should

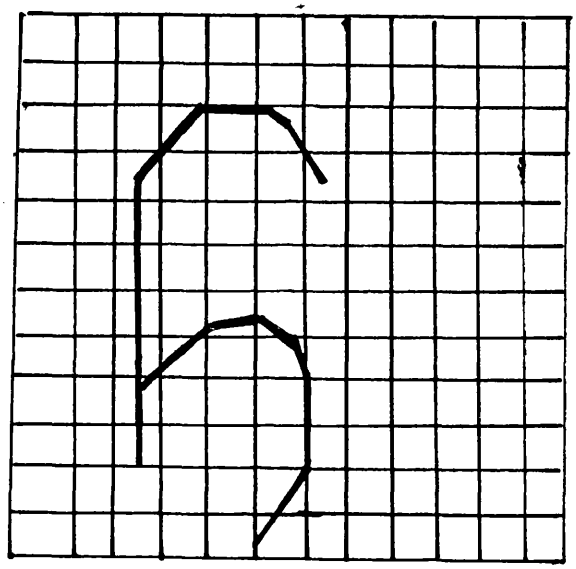
concentrate on the production of LGP, drawing upon both linguistic and graphetic evidence to give a complete scribal profile. I hope my small contribution may be of some use in this undertaking.

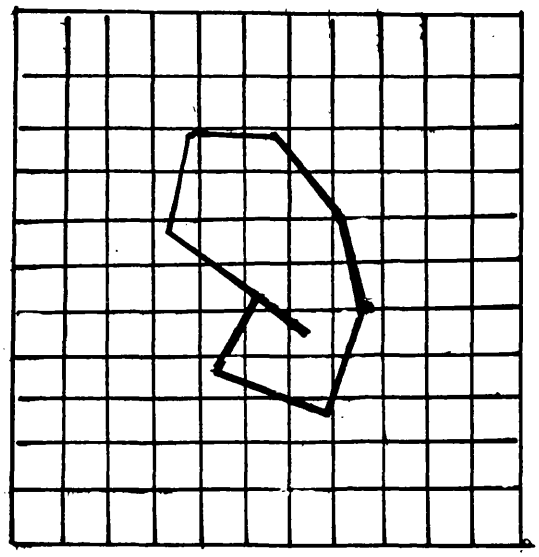
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

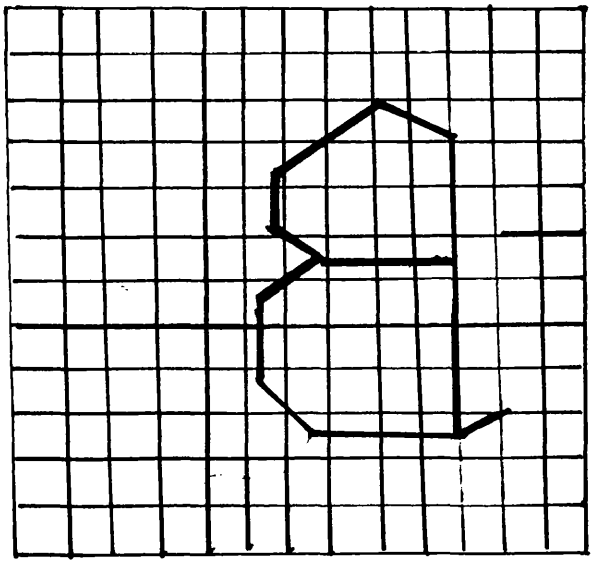
1. My choice of Pierpont Morgan folios for the graphetic analysis was restricted to those that I had requested to be photographed by Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. However, I received these photographs only recently, and, while it was possible to study the letterforms of folio 25r from my microfilm copy, folio 3v proved too illegible in this copy for this kind of study.

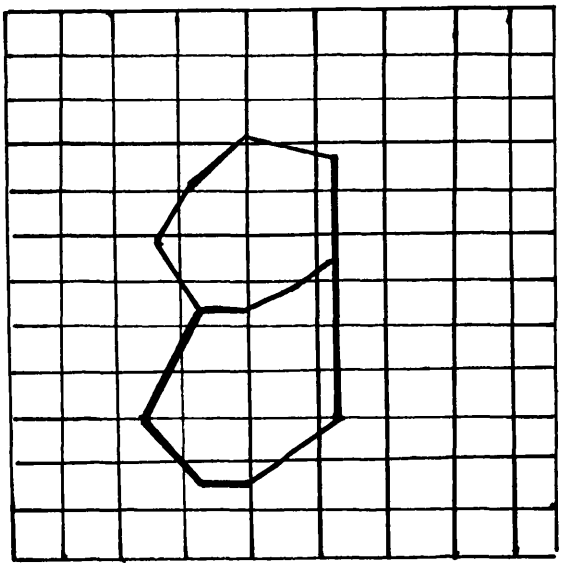
2. One possibility for future research is in computer-aided analyses. On the following page I have produced a number of examples of how matrixes would be a useful framework within which to present and analyse various letterforms. Although this is only a hand-written representation, I hope that this may exemplify the possible uses for this type of development.

LETTER FORMS OF GLASGOW, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, HUNTERIAN
S.1.7









CHAPTER THREE

3.1 In conjunction with palaeographical analysis, the codicological study of a manuscript is an important key to understanding the time, place and method of production of a text. In this chapter, the physical make-up of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian, S1.7 is described, and placed within the wider context of the London book trade of the Middle Ages.

There follows a full description of this manuscript, including details of the opening and closing lines of the text, and also any colophons that may be indicative of date.

Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS. S 1.7.

The text of the Confessio Amantis opens with the Latin introduction: 'Torpor hebes sensus scola pua labor minimusque. Causant quo minimus ipse minora canem.'

The English text begins: Off hem þat writen us tofore

The book dwelle and we þfore

Ben taught of þ^{t} was writen þo

The text of the Glasgow Gower closes with the lines:

Singing he harpeþ forþ with al

Þat as a vois celestial

Hem þought it sowreþ in here ere

As þough þat it an aungel were.

An indication of the date of composition of the text, as opposed to the manuscript itself, is found in the following lines;

In oure Englisch I þenke make

A book for Kinge Richardes sake

To whom bilongeþ my ligeance.

This inscription dates the composition to the reign of Richard II, in the period around 1390. (Thorpe, 1987: 88) This dedication has proved to be pivotal in the reconstruction of the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis, as in the later versions of the poem Gower used this inscription to signal his change of allegiance to Henry of Gloucester.

3.2 Provenance

An inscription on the opening pages of the manuscript indicates previous ownership of the manuscript. In this it is suggested that the book was once held at the Abbey at Bury St Edmunds, and if this was indeed the case, Macaulay believes Lydgate would have read the text there. The inscription also tells us that the text was imprinted at Fletstrete in London on the 22nd of March 1554. The work of Gower was produced in printed form from the late fifteenth century onwards. Thus, it would appear that this text was collated with an early printed book. The inscription reads;

John Gower

De Confessione Amantis

Imprinted at London in Fletstrete

By Thomas Berthelette the

Xii. daie of Marche An: MDLIIII

Cum Privelegio .

This book, as I was told by the Gent who presented it to me,

did originally belong to the Abby of Bury in Suffolk.

3.3 Physical Characteristics of the Manuscript.

Material The main body of this text is written on parchment, although various additional leaves are written on vellum. It is important here to draw attention to the distinction between these two materials, as much literature uses the term

'vellum' indiscriminately for both types of media. Parchment is produced from the skin of sheep, cows and occasionally even rabbit. Vellum, on the other hand is produced specifically from the skin of calves and this material tends to be whiter and thinner than the parchment, which is more yellow, thicker and coarser. The finer quality of vellum meant that it was more highly sought in the production of higher-class manuscripts. The distinction between the media is, then, an important one.

In his description of the Glasgow University MS S1.7, Thorpe states that the manuscript is comprised exclusively of vellum. (Thorpe, 1987: 7) A close study of the manuscript shows that the main body (iii – fol. 179) is parchment, suggesting that Thorpe used the term 'vellum' in its more general sense. The manuscript is incomplete, having lost the final folia. However the endleaves, the blank outer leaves preceding the written pages, are comprised of both paper (leaf i) and vellum (leaf ii). In general, the material written upon in this manuscript is of high quality and has been treated in such a way that the leaves are smooth and made as easy to write on a possible. They are so well prepared that it is difficult to make the distinction between hair and flesh side, a distinction that is usually indicated by the relative coarseness and darkness in colour of the former.

Yet, a number of pages that appear to have been inserted in order to replace missing material have not received such careful preparation. Such an insert leaf is folio 4 and the distinction between hair and flesh side is easily discernible, as the former is very much yellower and thicker on the hair than flesh side. This leaf is also thicker than the majority of leaves in this manuscript. A similar insert leaf is seen at folio 7 although this example is thinner than the other leaves of the manuscript. This folio, in fact, has clearly visible vein lines covering the entire page. Similarly, the insert leaf of folio 9 is so thin as to show through to the text contained in the

following leaf. It would appear that material of inferior quality was used to replace missing text in the manuscript. These insert leaves are also characteristically cropped approximately 3mm shorter than the surrounding original leaves. The manuscript has been maintained not only through the insertion of such pages, but is evident also in the repairing of torn leaves. Thus, a tear that is from folio 8 to folio 27 in the top right hand corner of the manuscript is repaired by the addition of pieces of parchment where needed. A binder carried out this latter repair work in 1966. However, the insertion of blank leaves cannot be restricted to any specific period.

As noted above, the manuscript dimensions are variable, as certain of the leaves are cropped shorter than others. However, the manuscript dimensions are approximately 275mm x 417mm. The written space, of course, is not affected by cropping and measures approximately 190mm x 284mm. The text is written in double columns, of forty-six lines in each. This was a layout common to the manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis. (Edwards and Pearsall, 1989: 264) However, Pierpont Morgan M.125 deviates from this presentation, and the columns are generally written in double columns of forty-nine lines.

Arrangement. (ii) ii 181 (i). The folios are ordered in the traditional insular fashion of FHHFFH. This is disturbed only once when an insert leafs at fol. 28, whose reverse insertion upsets the distinctive ordering pattern and instead has FHFHFH.

Collation. The quires are composed of eight leaves in the following arrangement.

Quire 1^8 (1 blank, 1 in later hand), 1-8

Quire 2^8 (1 blank), 9-16

Quire 3^8, 17-24

Quire 4^7 (1 blank), 25-32

Quire 5^8, 33-40

The quiring continues in the same manner until the twelfth gathering;

Quire 12^8, 89-95 (94 numbered twice)

Quire 14^8, 96 –103 (106 numbered twice)

Therefore collation follows the pattern of **Quire n^8.**

The lettering of quires, a common feature of medieval manuscripts, is not in evidence in Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS S 1. 7. It *is* in evidence in the sister text of this work, Pierpont Morgan, M. 125. Thus, on the bottom right corner of folio 29r, for example, the letter D1 is found. Six folios later, on folio 35r E1 is written in the same position. It must be assumed that this was used for the purpose of collation.

Another practice used for the purpose of the arrangement of quires was catchwords. In this, the first few word of the next quire was written at the end of the preceding quire. In Glasgow Gower, most of these catchwords have been cropped off. However, a few have survived, as on folio 40v (Plate 2)

As literacy levels grew, readers demanded more accessible books, resulting in developments like foliation and later pagination. These arrangement systems provided convenient reference points for the reader. The Glasgow Gower exemplifies the system of foliation, in which each folio is numbered as opposed to each page. Thus, the individual leaves are numbered according to the Arabic system – individual pages are not numbered.

Ruling and Pricking. This feature, that provides the framework for the writing space, is a useful dating feature.

During s. xiii[1] adherence to the frame became increasingly

> important to the *mise-en-page* and from c1220-40 an important development occurred, with the top line of text moving from above the first ruled horizontal line to 'below top-line'.
>
> (Brown, 1993: 4)

The scribe of Glasgow, University Library, S.1.7 writes below the top line, instead of the practice of writing on the top line. This format is in evidence throughout the whole manuscript. The various methods of **ruling** are similarly indicative of date.

> Until the introduction of lead point or plummet (the predecessor of the lead pencil), generally from s. xi^{ex}, ruling was executed by hard point (probably a metal stylus), producing a 'ridge and furrow'. From s. xiii^{ex} ink was also used (following the reintroduction of a thin pointed pen for cursive script which was also suitable for ruling).' (Brown, 1993: 4).

As there are no furrows and hollows evident on the folios, it would appear that hard point ruling was not used when creating the framework. Instead, the Glasgow Gower manuscript is ruled in lead, that is pencil. This dates it, at the earliest, to the thirteenth century. Unlike the hard-point ruling, this method required that pages were ruled individually.

In most instances, any indication of **pricking** has been cropped off. However, on folio 4 (an insert page) there is pricking up the fore edge of the leaf. Pricking is also slightly in evidence along the bottom edge.

Script.

The text is written in a regular and well-written hand, as described in Chapter Two. There are occasional changes in the colour of the ink between folios. For

example, there is a shift from brown to black on folios 95r to 95v, and this may indicate different stints by the scribe. A later hand is in evidence on folio 4r, and the language indicates that this is produced by a later scribe or reader who wished to restore the poem to its original complete state. It also appears that a later corrector may have revised the punctuation.

Punctuation and Abbreviation. The punctuation in Glasgow Gower is minimal and shall be described briefly here.

Pauses at the end of each line of text are indicated by the symbol • or less commonly •. The letter 'i' is distinguished from other minims by the addition of a stroke across the top. Occasionally, this mark is the shape °, for example at 164v col a, line 45. This mark is written in different ink and, indeed, is probably the work of a later scribe or corrector. This hand also adds the mark / after the letters 't' and 'g' in end-position. There is one instance of a colon mark (:) on folio1,col.b, line 41.

Abbreviation is very limited in the English text, although it is usually evident in the rubricated Latin text, where examples of abbreviation are ñ , g^t The rubricated Latin text was undoubtedly added *after* the English text and therefore at times had to be crammed into the designated space. That this space was not always of sufficient length is evident in the over-running lines on folio 16v of Glasgow Gower (Plate 1) and 25r of Pierpont Morgan (Plate5). This suggests that the format was uniform and strictly adhered from folio to folio.

The first phrase on the second folio of the text reads 'With al his herte'

Erasures The sole occurrence of erasure is found on folio 48v, col. b, line 24 where the word 'pope' is written in over an erasure. It is likely that a later reviser removed a Protestant referenced at this point.

Decoration Although a vernacular work, the Confessio Amantis was presented as a high status work, as is evident in the physical form of the text. Like many copies of the poem, the Glasgow Gower is a large book, written on good quality vellum. The handwriting is formal and as previously noted, the Latin summaries, although included in the main boy of the text, are written in red ink. However, an important indicator of the high status of the text is in the decoration and illumination.

Decoration, such as floral and leaf motifs, is used to differentiate each book of the text. This blue, green and red spray-work fills the margins and borders of the text, and illuminated *litterae notabiliores* indicate new paragraphs.

The Pierpont Morgan manuscript shows that at the beginning of certain of the different 'chapters', there was included a miniature depicting a scene from the text, for example, at Book One, folio 3v. In the Glasgow manuscript of Confessio Amantis these miniatures have been removed, and so we have no examples of this form of decoration in this manuscript. It appears that the letters were initially drawn out by the same hand responsible for the spraywork, and then filled in with a combination of gold-leaf and blue and red ink

Binding The Glasgow Gower has been rebound and the binder provided the following information about the physical make-up of the manuscript.

'Mottled calf, rebacked brown sheep, paper layer boards, dark blue lettering piece, sides badly barked and pitted, rebacking leather rotten and broken. Book sewn on six cords, slips broken, spine heavily glued, marbled paper paste down and fly-leaf at each end. Vellum in good condition, some staining and damage to the text, colours badly rubbed on first page, numbers of leaves cut and damaged with parts missing. The last quire n° 24 of 2 leaves and 2 stubs, was part of the 23rd quire see catalogue.

Book taken down, margins cleaned with india rubber, damaged leaves repaired with vellum and paper. The 24th quire incorporated with the 23rd quire. The book resewn on 8 double cords to an old marking up with a free paper guard round the back of each gathering, handmade paper ends, linen joints, thread headbands, covered red native morocco, black lettering piece. Previous lettering pieces and sample of the marbled paper ends mounted on inside of back board'.

3.4 The London Book Trade Recent studies have attempted to assess the type of environment in which manuscripts, like Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7, were produced;

> ....virtually all direct evidence of London's early book commerce, which began in the 14th century has long since disappeared.....
>
> (Christianson, 1990:1-2)

The study of the London book trade during the Middle Ages has been impeded by a lack of explicit evidence referring to the organised production of manuscripts. There is a lack of records pertaining to an organisation central to the production of book during the latter part of the medieval period, the Mistery of Stationers. Although guild records enable us to chart the development of this organisation, and mention is made in similar civic records to the Wardens of this Mistery, the records kept by, and pertaining explicitly to, this guild are no longer extant. This paucity of documentary evidence has necessitated the development of different approaches to the subject.

The studies of Doyle and Parkes, for example in 1978 and1991, focus on the actual products of the trade, the manuscripts, the physical make-up of which provide many clues as to the way in which they were produced. This approach can

assess the extent to which the apparent collaboration of a number of different scribes on one work can be used to illustrate the medieval production process.

One consequence of the use of manuscripts as the main source of information is a necessary concentration on the patrons and owners of the manuscripts. The book producers, themselves, tended to remain anonymous and it is often the situation that there is extant more evidence concerning the history of ownership of the manuscript than the circumstances of its production. However, the character of the book trade in medieval London ensured that the patron was a central figure in the production of books.

For the commerce in books was of a bespoke nature, and thus manuscripts were produced following an order rather than in anticipation of one. As the Medieval period progressed, the nature and size of the audience changed significantly. In his study of literacy within the secular classes, Parkes charts this evolution of the literate audience. He outlines the ways in which the book artisans dealt with the increased demand for books, and the consequences of such developments, both palaeographically and codicologically. Interestingly, the findings of Meale and Harris complement the conclusions of the research undertaken by scholars Graham Pollard and C.Paul Christianson.

Pollard and Christianson have studied the civic documents of the medieval administrative process in London. Drawing on the archival evidence of the Close rolls, memoranda, plea rolls, property leases and, in the case of Christianson, the accounts and records of Old London Bridge, they construct a compelling picture of the location, size and organisation of the London Book trade in the Medieval period.

3.5 Background; The Beginnings of Book Production

In the history of manuscript production, from its inception in the religious establishments to its growth and establishment in the economic centres of Europe, the influence of external pressures, historical and sociological changes, can be shown to be the driving force and impetus behind the evolution of the book trade. The correlation between external factors and the development book production processes established by Parkes, in his discussion of the development of scriptoria during the Middle Ages;

> A scriptorium where scribes worked under supervision in close proximity is not merely a palaeographical phenomenon, but also a historical one, which is governed by different local circumstances. (Parkes, 1995:81)

As we shall see in the following discussion, changing local circumstances is a major factor in the development of the book trade in London during the medieval period.

In the early Middle Ages, books were produced in Christian communities, as learning and literacy was largely confined to such institutions. Secular production during this period is generally restricted to court and governmental contexts, although there is evidence of more diverse secular activity in an isolated number of instances, particularly St Gall in Switzerland. (Brown, 1994:116). Brown suggests that secular itinerant artisans were hired occasionally by Christian establishments to carry out specialised work such as illumination, rubrication, and bookbinding. More commonly, however, scribes and artisans were drawn from the monastic community, who executed their work in the scriptorium, often under the guidance of a supervisor.

The beginning of the 13th century is traditionally acknowledged as the turning point in the history of book production, the period at which manuscript composition left the confines of the monastery and became a secular, and hence commercial pursuit. The catalyst for this development was the rise of the universities and the extensive demand for books that this incurred. This movement from the religious to the secular sphere is reflected in the widening of the meaning of the term 'clerk'; previously used to denote a member of the religious orders, this term now became widely used in reference to the students of the new centres of education, the universities. Thus the student, Nicholas, in The Miller's Tale is identified as a clerk by Chaucer.

In cities and towns throughout Europe, like Paris, Bologna, Cambridge and Oxford, there now existed a secular literate audience who required inexpensive and accurate books. The university practices that evolved to fulfil these requirements were to prove highly influential in the later development of the book trade when it, inevitably, moved into the larger economic centre, London. For example, the pecia system was introduced in universities to ensure that each student had a copy of a particular work. In this, an approved exemplar of a text was copied and divided into sections by a stationer or 'exemplatores', who then hired out the portions to the students. The student repeated the hiring and copying process until he had a complete and accurate version of the text required for studying. These procedures, in a refined format, were to be implemented in the London book trade, in order to satisfy the ever-increasing demand for books that developed as levels of literacy and, conconsistantly, the audience changed and grew.

3.6 The Changing Audience; The Wealthy and their Books.

Book production during the medieval period was a skilled, labour intensive and time-consuming process. As a result, the cost of commissioning a work was very high and, therefore restricted to the nobility or, as Wace writes, to;

> those who have the incomes and the cash, because for them
> are books made. (Le Roman de Rou, Vol 1, Pt3:164-5.)

This observation is indicative, not only of the audience for whom books were produced, but also of the bespoke nature of the book trade throughout the course of the Middle Ages. The lack of an established audience base meant that books were produced following an order, rather than on a speculative basis. It is difficult to assess the exact nature of the process by which manuscripts were produced at the patron's request, but a number of possibilities are credible.

Patrons could hire an independent craftsman to complete a single commission or, occasionally, on a more permanent basis - a number of wealthy families are known to have had copyists attached to their household. The question of how they attained a copy of the work which required copying is more difficult to assess, although it is probable that the exemplar was either borrowed from a friend, or hired from a stationer, a commercial lender of books.

Occasionally, in order to avoid the expense of a professional scribe, the borrowed exemplar was copied by the patron himself. Thus a copy of the Canterbury Tales, Glasgow University Library, Hunterian, U.1.1, was written in 1476, by the son of a prominent burgess of Norwich, 16-year-old Thomas Spirleng.

> Books were always a luxury in the Middle Ages, but the
> production of cheaper books meant that they could
> become a luxury for poor people. (Parkes, 1976: 564)

Similarly, in the 13th century, Matthew Paris translated and copied works himself, and then disseminated these books among aristocratic women. The practice of authors copying works for circulation in their own hand, as exemplified by Hoccleve and Christine de Pizan was probably not uncommon during the Middle Ages, although few autograph copies have survived. It is thought that having produced a text of their work, the author would then circulate this work for copying among his friends.

The circulation of texts is an aspect of book production for which little evidence survives. In her study of book ownership by medieval women in England, Meale demonstrates from testamental data that familial and relationship ties were a useful means of circulating books, noting the centrality of the mother-daughter relationship in this process;

> The extent to which these networks are based on family relationships .... is clearly another question to be considered.... Joan Beaufort, for instance, was the mother of Anne and Cecily Neville, both of whom are significant figures in the history of piety and book patronage in the 15th century. (Meale, 1993: 144)

Parkes agrees with this assessment of the circulation of books, describing how manuscripts would be exchanged by 'groups of connoisseurs'(Parkes, 1991; 277). Thus once produced for a wealthy patron, the books moved out of the control of the producers. The main fact to be drawn these examples is that in the 12th and 13th centuries, the responsibility for book production during the medieval period did not lie solely with scribes and artisans. The authors of texts, and consumers also played an active role, sometimes drawing on the aid of the professionals for only the more

specialist tasks, such as bookbinding. Consequently, the book trade in London was not an organised and structured body, but probably consisted of a number of disparate craftsmen, who relied on the spontaneous requirements of wealthy patrons.

3.7 The Books

The necessity of 'incomes and ....cash' in the production of manuscripts, inevitably meant that books became synonymous with wealth and prestige. The fine, deluxe manuscripts of French romances, typically produced for the Anglo-Norman audience, were designed, then, to confer elevated status on the owner, and could be better described as primarily display texts than reading texts. This desire for self-promotion through books is also exemplified in the types of works commissioned by the families of the aristocracy and the gentry. During the 13th century there is an upsurge of the ancestral romance, a pseudo-historical commemorative work composed to bestow honour and prestige on the great families of the period. As Meale writes;

> A comparable understanding of the value of deluxe books for self-promotion or even propagandist purposes can be found in the celebrations of the lineage and achievements of individual families. (Meale, 1989: 213)

Thus, a prominent ancestor is placed in a mock chivalric romance setting, as seen, for example, in a work commissioned by the Beauchamp family, Beauchamp Pageants (British Library, MS Cotton Julius E iv. art. 6). In this work, the central figure is their ancestor, Richard Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick, whose chivalric exploits and achievements denote him as a romantic hero. The work, then, acts as a celebration of the venerable past and noble lineage of the family.

However, although books clearly had a secondary purpose as an expression of self-elevation, it is clear from surviving manuscripts of this period that individuals of the higher social classes were actually reading certain of the texts produced for them. For example, in her study of female patronage in the medieval period, Meale cites an early 14th century didactic treatise, questioning the morality of allowing women to read, as evidence of the establishment of a female readership in medieval society. She writes;

> ...such a discussion would be pointless if by that time reading had not already become something of a habit. (Meale, 1993: 133)

In his work on the spread and development of literacy, Parkes established that the aristocratic class during the 13th century displayed a 'cultivated literacy', characterised by the reading of recreational and edifying material. This signalled a move away from the traditional orally transmitted forms of entertainment and education, provided via the scop and the priest respectively. Thus, there is a steady increase in the number of translations of romances, histories and chronicles into the vernacular, a development seen to grow as the literate public increases. (Parkes, 1976: 557)

Despite the rise in the production of secular works, the evidence of extant wills suggests that the taste of individuals of the aristocratic class, and in particular women, tended towards religious and didactic works. Thus the testament of a wealthy aristocratic widow will characteristically list bequests off service books, bibles, Psalters or missals.

However, as Meale and Harris assert in their studies on book ownership, the evidence of wills and testaments must be treated with caution. They suggest that the

formal and solemn context of the testament provides an opportune format for an individual to demonstrate their piety, thus explaining the focus on the religious, rather than secular books, in their possession. Moreover, testaments cannot, in general, be taken as comprehensive guides to trends of book ownership in the Middle Ages, as often manuscripts were not listed among the possessions of the decease, the most notorious instance of this probably being the exclusion of his vast library from the will of Petrarch. (Parkes, 1977: 568)

An interesting indication of the expanding readership is witnessed in the physical form of the books themselves. The manuscripts tend to be smaller and less finely decorated than the deluxe manuscripts, suggesting that they were produced for practical rather than decorative purposes. The corpus of surviving manuscripts of this type is small, yet this has been explained by the fact that many of the less impressive manuscripts, firstly, would not have been conserved with the same degree of care as the deluxe manuscripts, and, secondly, their more practical use ensured that such manuscripts were probably 'read to pieces' (Harris, 1989: 166)).

The ability both to commission and read books is the defining difference between the landed nobility and the middle classes in the early part of the medieval period. For the merchant and tradesmen, reading remained a business necessity rather than an alternative form of entertainment. However, as the influence of the business class, the merchants and traders, in the metropolis of London steadily grew throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, so too the desire to emulate their perceived social betters instigated an upsurge in the literacy of the middle classes, and, in turn, changes in book production.

3.8 The New Reading Public

The growth in secular literacy from the 12th century is witnessed not only in the recreational reading habits of the aristocratic classes, but also in the administrative documents recording the increasingly complex business transactions of the expanding merchant classes. The traders required a more permanent record of their business and, thus, they were required to develop a certain level of literacy in the vernacular, which Parkes defined as 'Pragmatic Literacy'.

> As the transaction of business grew more complex, there was an increasing reliance upon the written record. Pragmatic literacy is implicit in the mass of documents that survives from all aspects of medieval administration. (Parkes, 1973: 557)

The extent of pragmatic literacy is difficult to assess because of the ephemeral nature of commercial documents; contracts and bills quickly lose their worth once a transaction is completed. The evidence for pragmatic literacy in the 13th and 14th centuries is extant only if the participants became involved in a lawsuit or if 'the property of a merchant is sequestered to the Crown' (Parkes, 1973; 558). There survive more permanent records from this period, in the form of, for example, Public Records recording the accounts of merchants, memoranda, Close Rolls and, interestingly reference books. The latter often detail matters of law and administration and suggest that lawyers and clerks, at least, had developed an increasing reliance on the book in the execution of their everyday business.

The 15th century witnesses a growth in both the number and variety of extant documents, suggesting that, by this time, literacy was well established in the operation of the business interests of the merchant classes. In terms of the developing book trade in London, manuscript evidence of this period demonstrates that an ability

to read was not confined only to their business interests but also extended to recreational usage. The dual interests of the merchant are witnessed in such compilations as Bodleian Library, MSS Douce 137 and 132. Once forming a single book, these manuscripts contain treatises on laws and accountancy alongside translations into English of the romances Horn and Le Chasteau d'amour, the Fables by Marie de France and Guillame le Clerc's Bestiary. Such material was designed to increase his sock of useful, even cultural, information. It reflects the pragmatic taste of the middle class, and his desire to rise through the classes.

Parkes has commented on the practical nature of these works, signalling the merchant's desire to better himself culturally, as well as commercially. (Parkes,1991: 285). Moreover, the codicological evidence of these manuscripts exemplifies one of the ways in which this broadening of the readership was to affect book production practices. Examination of Bodleian Library, MSS Douce 137 and 132 demonstrates that the single book they had once formed, had been compiled from six separate booklets. This use of booklets was a development from the university pecia system, although in this case the motive for this practice was borne primarily for reasons of economic necessity and taste rather than a need for accuracy. Thus the booklets were smaller, and often lacked the elaborate, and expensive, illumination of large-scale books. Their pragmatic function and necessarily cheaper format overruled the need for any elaborate or extensive and intricate decoration. Moreover, the discrete booklets enabled patrons to obtain a diverse selection of works in one manuscript rather in a number of different books. A couple of extant manuscripts suggest that the patron even copied the work himself, as in Bodleian Library MS. Digby 86 and British Museum MS Harley 2253, and this was undoubtedly undertaken in order to avoid the added expense of a hired copyist. (Parkes, 1973; 562).

The evidence for this booklet method of production survives in such compilations rather than the booklets themselves, whose size and extensive use made them more vulnerable to damage and loss.

Many of the English romances that survive from the medieval period are to be found in such collections like that of the Auchinleck manuscript (National Library of Scotland, 19.2.1), a book that has elicited much discussion on the nature of the book trade in the early fourteenth century. Palaeographical evidence dates this manuscript to 1330 - 1340 and although the manuscript, is plain with decoration limited to only a few crude illuminations' (Bliss, 1954; ix), it is one of the largest extant collections of Middle English romances. As is characteristic of such compilations, the Auchinleck Manuscript contains a diverse range of works of both a religious and secular nature;

> There are.....18 romances; one chronicle and a list of Norman barons; two pious tales of the Miracle type; 8 legends of saints and other holy legends; one Visit to the Underworld; one humorous tale; two debates; one homily; two monitory pieces; 3 works of religious instruction; three of satire and complaint.
>
> (Loomis, 1942: 605-606)

Of the forty-four items, however, the romance genre forms the largest section of the book, reflecting the recreational use for which this manuscript was produced. More relevant to this discussion, perhaps, is the codicological evidence this manuscript presents. Close examination of the book has led many scholars to believe that the Auchinleck manuscripts was produced in a centralised workshop, citing the evidence of the five hands involved in the copying process as proof of such a method of production. Moreover, Loomis suggests that, rather than the works being

commissioned on a bespoke basis, collections such as this could have been produced speculatively;

> In the very scope and variety of the Auchinleck texts, we discern something about the alert and practical intelligence of the compiler, the editor who may well have been the Master of the Shop. (Loomis, 1942: 626)

This speculative production is a compelling scenario, and has been suggested for another work, an early fourteenth century translation of Brut d' Engleterre. The surviving manuscript evidence indicates this to have been a commonly sought text in the medieval period. (Meale, 1989: 215), leading to the proposition that works could have been produced, as it were, 'on spec'. However, the establishment of a suitably solid readership, especially at the relatively early date in which the Auchinleck manuscript was produced, is doubtful and Loomis shows no evidence in support of her claim.

The main thrust of the argument presented by Loomis focuses on the existence of a central commercial workshop, under the supervision of the 'Master of the Shop', probably the stationer, a figure who regulated both the content of the work and the format in which it was presented. She cites the collaboration of the five scribes in the writing of the work as the basis of her conclusion. However, although she asserts that the copyists worked on a collaborative basis, Loomis does not make the assumption that they worked under the same roof;

> For convenience, this hypothetical lay center where went on, whether under one roof or not 1, the necessarily unified work of compiling copying, illuminating and

binding any book, is here called a book shop. (Loomis, 1942: 597)

This suggests that the increased demand, incurred through the development of the literacy of the merchant classes, necessitated the organisation of a more structured book trade, whereby one figure, the stationer, was responsible for the hiring of craftsmen, who were probably located in close proximity to each other. She avoids any firm conclusions on the location of scribes in one shop, mindful of the work of Pollard, referred to in her study. However, others see collaboration only as evidence of a central establishment, as exemplified by Barren in his work English Medieval Romance. He understands the Auchinleck manuscript to be 'the product of a London Bookshop engaged in the copying of material likely to appeal to the newly literate bourgeoisie' (Barren, 1987: 54).

This identification of collaboration with the existence of a single scriptorium is a common phenomenon, as Parkes asserts in his study of the revisions of Gower in the Confessio Amantis. In his edition of this work published in 1900, Macaulay proposed that some of the earlier manuscripts of the work, such as the Fairfax manuscript, might have been produced in the author's scriptorium. (Macaualay, 1901: cxxx) He believed the evidence for this conclusion could be seen in the revisions that this work underwent, apparently under the immediate supervision of Gower, himself.

> The introduction of the additional passages in the 5th and 7th could not have been effected without a process of recopying the whole book, which would have called for much additional labour of the nature of proof-reading on the part of the author, in order to secure

[1] My Italics

its correctness. This argument would apply to a book which was intended to remain in the hands of the author or rather of the scribes whom he employed..... (Macaulay, 1901: cxxx)

In a later study, Fisher went so far as to place this scriptorium at Gower's residence, at the Priory of St. Mary Overeys in Southwark.

....if the Trentham, Mirour and six manuscripts of Confessio and Vox Clamantis, so identified by Macaulay, can be taken as products of Gower's own scriptorium (that is, surely, the scriptorium of St Mary Overeys)

(Fisher, 1965: 117)

Parkes, however, found no documentary evidence that such a workplace ever existed at this location, and indeed, in a separate study carried out with Doyle, questions the assertion that the copying of these manuscripts took place in a single workshop.

In the study of the Trinity Gower (Cambridge, MS R. 3.2), a second recension copy of the Confessio Amantis, Doyle and Parkes examined the relationship of the works' five scribes, whom palaeographical evidence located as working in London during the first quarter of the 15th century. They identified five separate hands in this manuscript, whom they identified as scribes A-E. Doyle and Parkes observed that each of the scribes worked on a particular portion of the work. They, therefore, inferred that the exemplar of the work had been divided into portions, with each given to one of the scribes for copying, probably in order to speed up the production of the work through the resultant simultaneous copying. Through examination of the beginnings and endings of each of their stints, Doyle and Parkes concluded that the

copyists could not have been working in the same scriptorium or under any supervisory guidance. For, there are instances where another scribe has to complete the unfinished stint of another, described by the scholars as 'awkward transitions'.

Thus, for example, Scribe C is required to complete the stint of Scribe B, who ends his copying prematurely. Apparently, Scribe B was commissioned to copy eight quires, therefore he left off copying when he had completed this amount. However, he had mistakenly ruled his folio in lines of forty-four rather than the necessary forty-six, and, therefore, Scribe B had not copied sixty-four lines of his stint. These missing lines were subsequently supplied by Scribe C. This shows that more speedy production was being facilitated through simultaneous copying and, moreover, that the level of collaboration between scribes was not sufficient to correct such obvious errors in format - they certainly would not have been working under the supervision of an editor in a single workshop;

> the extent and form of the supplement to quire four indicates that C must have been working, not only simultaneously with but also independently of B: he had at least commenced his stint and probably finished it , since B's mistake was discovered only when the two stints had been brought together.
>
> (Doyle and Parkes, 1978: 165)

Other examples of such anomalies occur at areas of transition between scribes are evident in this manuscript, supporting this view of the copying process.

Further, Doyle and Parkes have been unable to find another example of two of these hands working in a single manuscript, although scribe B and D are found in a number of other works. Scribe B is known to have copied, among others, what are arguably the earliest manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales and scribe D has been

identified as one of the most productive scribes in Middle English, working on texts by authors like Chaucer, Langland and Trevisa. It would appear, then, that these men were professional copyists, and had they worked in a single workshop it would be expected that there would be extant some more examples of collaboration similar to that seen in the Trinity Gower.

The craftsmen working on this manuscript appear to be independent craftsmen, although at least two, C and E appear to have worked only on a part-time basis. Scribe E has been identified as Hoccleve, an author whose main profession was as Privy of the Royal Seal. This identification of Hoccleve enabled Doyle and Parkes both to more accurately date this manuscript to before 1426, the year of his death, and also enabled them to locate the production as in the area of London or Westminster. The appearance of non-professional scribes in this work indicated that this was probably a commission that required rapid completion. Yet it also suggests something of the character of the London Book trade in the early fifteenth century.

The book trade in the 15th century remained of an essentially bespoke nature, as exemplified in the practices employed in order to ensure the speedy production of the 'Trinity' copy of Gower's Confessio Amantis. The number of extant manuscripts of works in English by authors such as Gower, Chaucer and Langland suggest that these would have been frequently requested items. Yet the manuscript evidence suggests that even these were not produced on a speculative basis, and commissions continued to be processed following the placing of an order by a patron.

Doyle and Parkes, having dismissed the notion of central workshops of various craftsmen, suggest instead that the commercial stationer became the intermediary figure between producers and patrons. Thus, his role as bookseller and hirer of exemplars was extended as he now participated in the hiring of necessary

scribes, illuminators, and binders to work on each commission as it came in. The stationer was probably ultimately responsible for providing the exemplars used to copy works, although it is questionable as to whether or not he actually retained these or merely attained them as necessary. He was also probably supervised the collation of the work, which he then sold on to the patron.

However, the lack of centralisation of the book trade is reflected in the manuscript versions of texts like the Confessio Amantis. This text is extant in a number of different forms, a consequence of the continual rolling revision undertaken by Gower. Macaulay classified the manuscripts into different recensions, yet these do not represent essentially clear-cut stages of revision. (Macaulay, 1901, cxxviii) Smith has shown that the exemplars of, for example, unrevised texts and revised texts were sometimes mixed up, possibly during a process of rapid copying. (Smith, 1985: 317) Thus a number of manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis reflect, for example, an unrevised beginning and a revised epilogue. As Smith asserts, such confusions in the process of production resulted in versions of his text that the author had not intended.

Manuscript evidence, then, reveals many facets of the developing book trade in London during the medieval period. The increase in the number of works, both composed in and translated into the vernacular, and the extension of the cursive script from solely documentary records to the finest literary works illustrates the effect of the of the new merchant audience who demanded more and cheaper books. Similarly, manuscripts like the 'Trinity Gower' reveal the methods of production introduced by the craftsmen as they attempted to supply this increase in demand.

Having established that scribes were not necessarily at work in the same workshop it is now necessary to turn to the question of where they actually carried out their trade. The collaborative nature of the production of some of the extant

manuscripts would seem to suggest that craftsmen were located in close proximity to each other, as Doyle and Parkes suggest. Yet manuscript evidence can provide only limited evidence of the physical location of the London book trade, mainly because of the anonymity and reticence of their scribes. At this point it would seem appropriate to turn to the research of Pollard and Christianson, whose separate studies of the various records of medieval administration in London provide fresh insight, not only into the location and size of the book trade, but also the growing affiliation between independent craftsmen as their audience widens.

3.9 Archives and the London Book Trade

The population of Early Medieval London has often been described as 'floating' (Robertson, 1968: 27), with much population movement to and from the metropolis. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the early book trade is characterised by a similar fluidity. The independent craftsmen hired to carry out work were often peripatetic, travelling between the provincial towns of England and London itself. However, as a more permanent audience base was established, with the development of the merchant classes as a reading group, so the artisans began to locate themselves in important commercial sites throughout London.

However, although the evidence of manuscripts produced during the mid and later Medieval period strongly suggest the development of a more structured and organised book trade, there is extant no documentary evidence relating directly to this trade in the period before the advent of printing. This scarcity of book trade records necessitated the study of more indirect sources, as found in archival records like wills, property leases, Memoranda and Close Rolls. Such records have proved invaluable in the augmentation of knowledge about Medieval London, and more recently the

London book trade, providing 'novel evidence as well as supplementary data about London's social, economic and cultural history' (Christianson, 1987: 1)

Thus, the incidental details provided by such archival sources can provide invaluable information as to both where the artisans chose to practice their trade, and also the development of a more structured and specialised book trade throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. For example, Pollard notes that the first instance of the term 'stationer' in the city of London, and hence outwith its university context, occurs in 1311 / 1312. At this time, William de Southflete, a stationer, is recorded as supplying the parchment, and making and binding the four volumes in which the Wardrobe accounts of Edward II were to be written, now Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 197.

This record suggests that William de Southflete acted not only in the capacity of stationer, supplying materials, but was also the 'maker' and binder of the book. Similarly, another individual, John de Grafton is alternatively described as a stationer in 1360, and a 'parchmener' in 1353, (Hist. MSS. Com. 9th report, Pt. 1. Col 27a). Pollard suggests that the term 'stationer' was use to denote any member of the book trade in London before the end of the 14th century. (Pollard, 1937-1938 : 4). Moreover, as the stationers became increasingly involved in the hiring of various craftsmen to carry out commissions, it is not surprising that such figures should become associated with and, hence denoted, as bookbinders, scriveners and lymners. This tendency was undoubtedly strengthened by the development and specialisation of the guilds related to the artisans of the book trade.

Guild records are an important source of information about the growth of and increasing structure within the book trade. Thus as the demand for book grows, as is witnessed in the manuscript evidence, so new guilds are formed as the distinction

between those involved with court and legal business and those practising within the commercial book trade increases.

The first formal recognition of the London Book Trade comes in May, 1357, when the City Legislation records the exemption from jury service of the guilds of Writers of Court Hand and Text, Illuminators and Barbers. It appears that, at this point, scribes were possibly involved in copying both legal texts and more commercial works. However, in September 1373, the Writers of Court Letter Guild is established, signalling a division from the commercial aspect of book production. This specialisation of work is confirmed by the affiliation of the scribes of commercial books with the illuminators, when the single guild of Text-writers and Limners is formed in 1390. This guild went on to be named the Stationer's Guild in 1441 and it is following this innovation that the trend for calling all book artisans stationers is firmly established. (Pollard)

The development of these guilds reflects the growing recognition among the members of the need for a regulatory body to control standards within their profession. Thus, the guild enabled the craftsmen to monitor the encroachment of, for example, foreign scribes on their trade;

> Foreigners, not members of the gild, were to be prevented
> from setting up open shop for they were held to be ignorant
> of the science of the craft and sent to pillory for their errors,
> to the great slander and shame of all the good men enfranchised
> of the said craft' (Coleman, 1981: 56)

Guild records are, thus, a useful record of the evolution and increasing influence of the book trade in London during the 14th and 15th centuries.

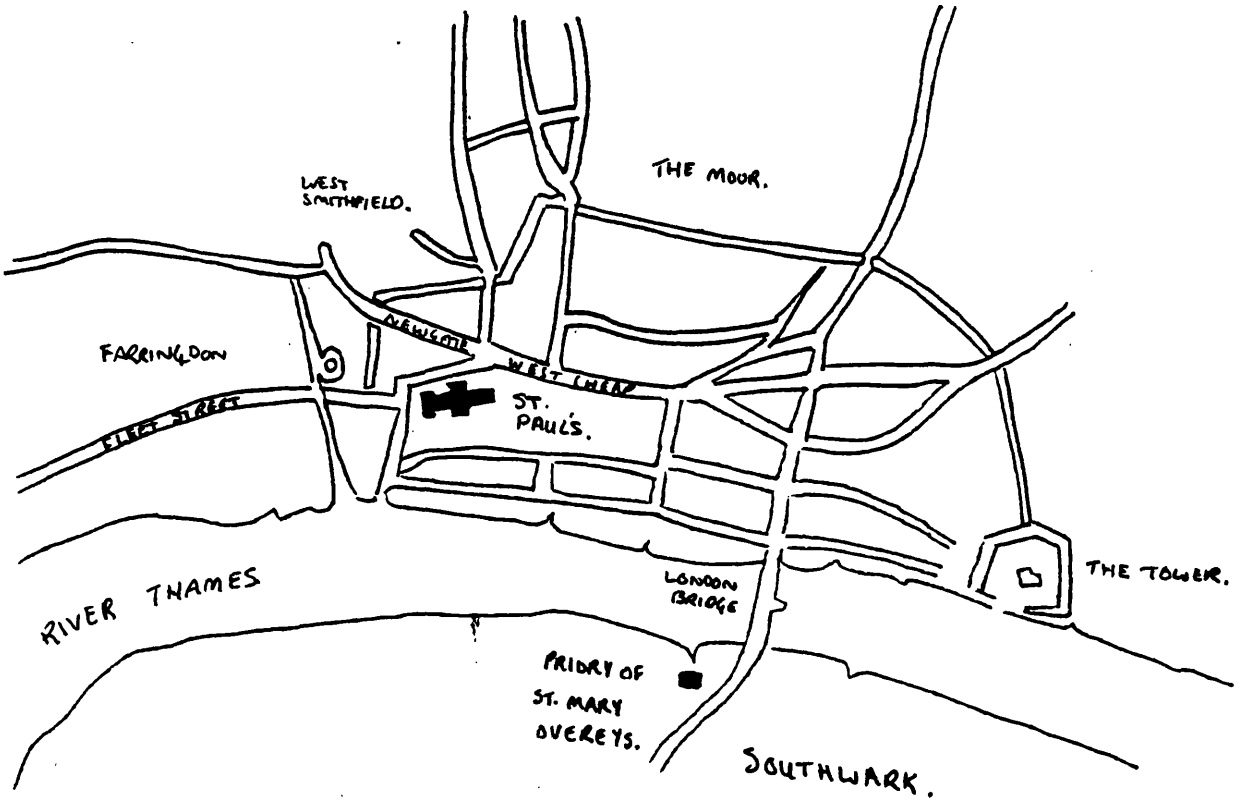
3.10 St. Paul's and the Old Bridge Records

The location of the London book trade during the medieval period has been, until recently, difficult to assess in any great detail. The evidence has largely been restricted to details of the properties owned or rented by known artisans, although these properties are rarely identified as the locations from which they carried out their trade. Thus, the will of Nicholas the Bookbinder, who died in 1306, states that he owned a tenement near St. Paul's Gate, either in Watling Street or the churchyard itself. Similarly, the stationer and 'parchmener', John de Grafton is recorded as living, and thus possibly working in St. Paul's. In his study of the trade in printed books in the later 15th and early 16th centuries, Blaney notes that the 'most striking feature of the Cross Yard was its large and varied collection of bookshops' (Blaney, 1990: 5)

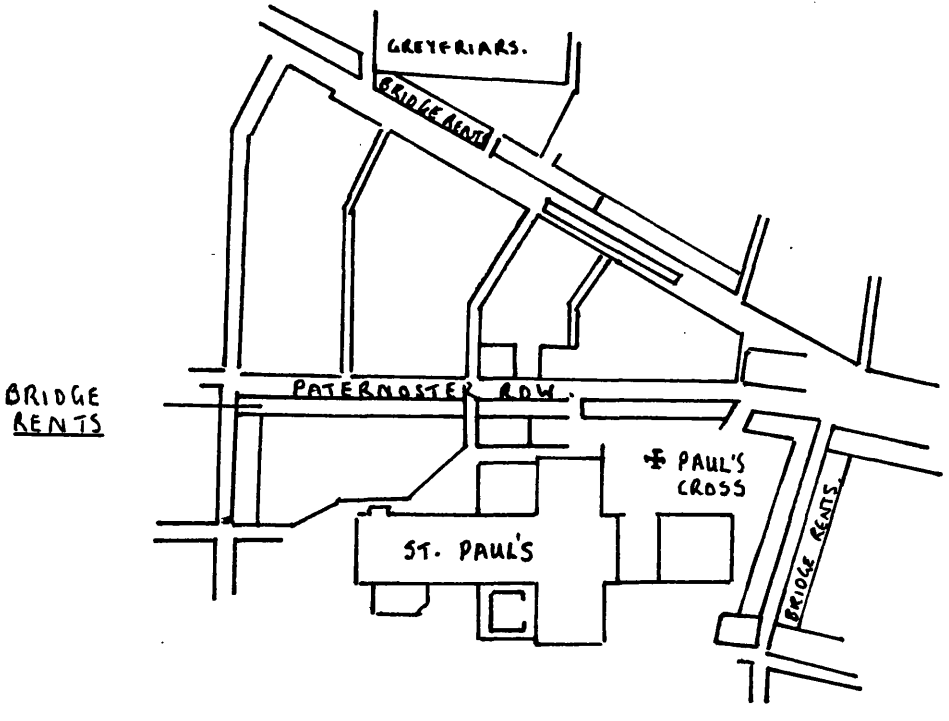
It would appear from this evidence that St Paul's was, traditionally, an important centre for the production of books, and this is unsurprising considering its status as an important ecclesiastical centre. The cathedral was the central location through which people had to go every day in order to carry out their business. (See Maps 1 and 2). As Robertson writes;

> The busy life of Cheap and Newgate spilled over into the nave of St. Paul's which, like the naves of other English was thought of as 'belonging to the people' and was used by them fully on weekdays. (Robertson, 1968: 26)

The rental records of the Old London Bridge Trust are a unique record of the book trading activities carried out in the area of St. Paul's Cross, and more specifically Paternoster Row. Listing the tenants renting shops in this area, as well as specific commission for the making and repairing of books requested by the Wardens



Mediaeval London. (Reproduced from Robertson, 1968: 14)



St Paul's Cross - Area of book-trade activity in the fifteenth century.

(Reproduced from Christianson, 1989: 90)

of the Bridge. These archives have enabled Christianson to portray, in compelling detail the location of various artisans, the possible size of their premises and the operation of the book trade in the area of St. Paul's Cross.

The records of the property transactions enable Christianson to surmise that of 254 book artisans working in London, 136 were located,

> in parishes whose churches stood within five hundred yards of the crossing of St Paul's (including sixty-one craftsmen who rented one or more shops from the wardens of London Bridge, fifty-six craftsmen working out of shops in Paternoster Row alone).
>
> (Christianson, 1989: 89)

Such a concentration of artisans in one area, as found in Paternoster Row, inevitably suggests that the craftsmen would have been engaged in collaboration on some level in the production of books. In order to assess the extent of this collaboration, that is, whether the artisans were working in large, supervised workshops or working independently from smaller shops, Christianson attempted to deduce the size of premises in Paternoster Row. He concluded that;

> if one estimates the distance available along Paternoster Row for these shops *(about 900 feet)*[2], one discovers that the frontage could not have been more than about 160-5 feet. Given this restricted site, there could not have been thirty shops in a row, for that would make each of them five feet wide. But thirty shops could have been accommodated on two storeys, if each shop was ten to eleven feet wide... (Christianson, 1989: 94)

This evidence suggested to Christianson that the premises would not have been large enough to house a scriptorium or workshop situation. Rather, he believes that Paternoster Row housed a 'neighbourhood of independent craftsmen', in which many artisans worked together on a single book but not in a single location. This conclusion, then, complements the manuscript-based findings of Doyle and Parkes as to the collaborative process involved in the process of book production.

Moreover, in discussion of Gower and the production of works like the Confessio Amantis, it would seem appropriate at this point to note the relative proximity of the author's residence at St Mary Overeys to the postulated locality of atelier activity in St. Paul's Cross and Paternoster Row. (See Maps 1 and 2)

It would seem, then, plausible to assume that the textual tradition of a work like the Confessio Amantis can, at least in part be attributed to this system within which it the manuscripts were undoubtedly produced.

[2] My Italics

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Conclusions

This study combines linguistic, palaeographical and codicological approaches in an attempt to describe the language of the scribe of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian, S.1.7 and to establish its relationship of this text to other manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis tradition. The latter investigation of the textual transmission of the manuscript elucidates the possible methods used in the production of this and, indeed, other manuscripts of the Middle English period.

4.1 The linguistic approach in this study implemented those procedures of investigation produced by McIntosh et al in the Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English. Therefore, a linguistic questionnaire, consisting of approximately sixty items, was used to interrogate the scribal output of the Glasgow Gower scribe. This involved the analysis of both Glasgow Gower, and the Pierpont Morgan MS 125, a text long understood to have been produced by the same scribe. The results of this study proved that the same scribe was indeed responsible for both these texts, as there is a close linguistic correspondence between texts. The texts share the same linguistic forms, although not always in identical distribution.

The dialect of the scribe was identified as mainly Gowerian, that is, reproducing forms that have been ascribed to the author himself. Samuels and Smith reconstructed his dialect through the analysis of the archetypal Fairfax manuscript and the Trentham manuscript, and his orthography remains a strong influence throughout the reproduction of texts of the Confessio Amantis. The study of Samuels and Smith identified two strata of language in the language of Gower, and these forms are present in the output of the scribe of the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan. Thus, Gowerian forms like **oghne**,

soster, contracted third person singular (**takþ** and so on), **-h-** as in **myhte** and **or....or** are common in the language of this scribe. However, despite the strength of this orthographic tradition, the scribal language is not restricted to solely Gowerian forms, and there are a substantial number of colourless dialectal forms found in the manuscripts also. These are forms that were widely distributed throughout the country in the later mediaeval period, and acted as an important step in the process of standardisation in the late fifteenth century. Thus, forms such as **owne, two** and **eihe**, for example, are minor variants for the Gowerian forms **oughne, tuo**, and **yghe** respectively.

Such shifts in usage are important when attempting to describe the scribal behaviour of our copyist. Again McIntosh provides a framework within which we can adequately explain the scribal choices of our scribe. He established that scribes behave in one of three ways; they copy the exemplar in front of them word for word (*litteratim* copying); they impose their own dialectal forms throughout the copying process, or they do something in between. The evidence of this investigation would seem to suggest that, like many copyists of the Middle English period, our scribe did the latter.

According to the notation of McIntosh the copyist of Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan is best described as a **constrained** copyist. Thus this scribe is influenced by his exemplar to reproduce forms *insofar as they are recognisable to him.* This description of the behaviour of the Glasgow Gower scribe is indicated by a variety of evidence revealed by this investigation. For example, he reproduces many of the forms of Gowerian tradition but rejects certain others. Rather than reproducing the form **mykel** MUCH, this scribe writes **mochil,** and **but** BUT rather than the Gowerian form **bot**. It

must be assumed that these Gowerian forms were alien to this scribe, not forming part of the scribe's repertoire of forms.

This notion of a scribal repertoire is an important concept in describing the behaviour of a copyist. For a scribe's usages tend to fall in to two categories; the active and the passive repertoire. The active repertoire is made up of those forms that constitute the scribe's spontaneous usage. Thus in his copying of exemplars, the active repertoire is often the one that is suppressed by a constrained copyist. The passive repertoire is made up of those forms that are recognisable to the scribe, but which in composing of a text he would not habitually use.

It is notoriously difficult to distinguish between the two repertoires, and in the case of the Glasgow Gower scribe it cannot be said with any certainty that the Gowerian forms were not part of the scribe's habitual usage. This is made particularly complex by the fact that a number of the Gowerian forms, like **such**, **hem** and **it** were actually widespread forms during the Middle English period. As such, it is more likely that these forms were apart of the active repertoire of the scribe. The scribe's rejection of **mykel** and **bot** would suggest that these forms were unacceptable within his usage, and it is interesting that he chooses to replace these forms with those of Type IV, the emerging standard language.

Indeed, this study establishes that forms of the emerging standard did, indeed, form the active repertoire of this scribe. This study successfully isolated a number of instances in which the scribe had reproduced his habitual forms, by accident, and then altered them to reproduce the forms found in his exemplar. Thus, in Book Seven, for example, the scribe alters the form **schulde** to read **scholde** by means of a stroke across

the top of the letter u. This is important in that it reveals explicitly that this scribe is, indeed, a constrained scribe, and also that his habitual forms were, certainly in this case, those of the emerging standard.

Another important concept in understanding the language of the Glasgow Gower is that of relict usage. These are forms that are reproduced by the scribe, despite the fact that they are alien to his dialect. As a constrained scribe, this copyist tends to reject such alien forms, as seen in the case of **mykel**. However, there are a couple of instances of relict usage present in the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan texts, for example the user of Northern forms **mon** and **hit**, which are usually represented in the text by **man** and **it**. Their presence is an interesting indicator of the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis manuscripts these are important in understanding the transmission of the texts of the Confessio Amantis tradition.

For, in his study of the manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis tradition, Smith established that some time during the transmission of the manuscripts, scribes were copying from a Northwest Midland exemplar. The influence of this exemplar survives in the **-ande** forms common to particular lines of Books 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8. The appearance of **mon** and **hit** could also be relicts left over form this now lost exemplar.

This feature appears only in particular manuscripts, namely those of the first and second recension, and within these manuscript the Northern features appear inconsistently. Thus, for example, all the Northern forms do not appear in the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan, rather only in Books 1 (**and(e)**, 2 (**mykel**) 3(**and(e)**) and 7(**-us**). This indicates the importance of linguistic evidence in the assessment of the textual transmission of texts. For, as Smith established, this evidence suggests that exemplars

were divided into booklet form and circulated in this form. This resulted in the mixing up of booklets and hence the various textual states of the Confessio Amantis manuscripts.

4.2 Macaulay's investigation of the textual transmission of the Confessio Amantis remains the most comprehensive representation of the situation. He concluded that the manuscripts of the Confessio Amantis tradition could be divided into three separate recensions, with subdivisions within these classes.

This investigation further explored the relationships of the manuscripts, in particular the relationship between the Fairfax archetypal manuscript and the two texts produced by our copyist. It was found that there was close correspondence in certain instances in the manuscript. In Books 2, 3, 4 and 5 the consistently Gowerian language of the Fairfax archetype is disturbed on a number of instances and, for example, the archetypal form **whanne** is replaced in lines 1147, 1583 and 3135 of Book 2 with the form **whenne**. This shift in usage is mirrored in both the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan manuscripts and in the course of this investigation, a number of these instances were found, as outlined in Chapter Two. This established the close relationship of these manuscripts to the third recension text of the Fairfax manuscript, and suggests that these intermediate texts of the first recension may have been the basis of the later third recension manuscripts.

This study also further elucidated the relationship between the Glasgow Gower manuscript and the Pierpont Morgan text. It was found that the text of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript is more immediately related to another first recension intermediate manuscript, the Society of Antiquaries text (X), than the Glasgow Gower manuscript. This was established through an analysis of the shared readings of the manuscripts, a

traditional process in the investigation of textual relationships. The relationships between the text produced by this scribe and other manuscripts of the first and second recension is given in stemmatic form in chapter Two.

The Confessio Amantis tradition, like other manuscript traditions studied in Chapter Two, has a complicated textual history that is probably best explained in terms of the method of production of the manuscripts. The shifts in language exemplified in Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan indicate that there were changes of exemplar introduced during the copying process. The evidence of the Northern exemplar suggests that loose booklets circulated, initially in books, but ultimately these probably ended up being separated incurring in the many different textual states of the various manuscripts. A further complicating feature is that, like Piers Plowman, it is likely that the text was undergoing consistent revision – rolling revision. However, the various revisions were undoubtedly confused by the booklet method of production.

4.3 In Chapter Three the book trade of mediaeval London is examined, based on the research of Pollard, Christianson, Meale, Coleman and Doyle and Parkes. Initially, this study charts the development of the book trade, and its growth and establishment as witnessed in the documental evidence of mediaeval London's administration. The greater organisation and co-operation of disparate book production guilds is evidenced in the documentation of various guilds. These disparate guilds gradually amalgamated throughout the mediaeval period, and although this period did not see the establishment of a completely centralised book trade in London, it appears that the growing demand for books necessitated the development of a more efficient production system.

Doyle and Parkes elucidated the nature of this production method in their study of the Trinity Gower manuscript, and various manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales. Their work established the importance of simultaneous copying in the mediaeval book trade, in which exemplars were divided up among a number of scribes and copied concurrently in order to speed up production. They also established that the book trade was of a bespoke nature, with books produced on request, and not in anticipation of an order. The lack of supervision in the Trinity Gower led Doyle and Parkes to the conclusion that the scribes did not work in centralised workshops but in separate shops in close proximity. This notion was further examined by Christianson who asserted that scribes were probably gathered in the same area of London, around St. Paul's church, and he goes so far as to determine the number and size of shops in this area.

The evidence of previous research, and the resulting elucidation of the process of exemplar division into booklets, is important in understanding the nature of the changes in language of the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan manuscript. This production process explains the variant textual states of the Confessio Amantis in a way in which the previous assumption of a scriptorium under the direct supervision of Gower, as postulated by Macaulay and Fisher, does not. Thus, although the strong orthographic tradition indicates the authoritative influence of Gower, it would be wrong to understand this as indicative of direct scribal supervision.

4.4 The codicological and palaeographical evidence of Glasgow Gower is important in establishing the type of audience for whom this manuscript might have been produced. As Meale establishes in her work, the audience of manuscripts changed considerably following the revival in learning in the twelfth century. As the Middle Ages

progressed, so the readership developed and merchants became increasingly interested in owning books. Books were a status symbol and the manuscript of the Glasgow Gower, although written in the vernacular in terms of presentation can be described as a high status book, that was possibly intended for an aristocratic audience. Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian, S.1.7 is a large, decorated manuscript written in a formal hand, and the format of the book, described in detail in Chapter Three, was of the type more usually afforded to Latin texts. Thus, the Latin text of the summaries and headings is rubricated, although it is written in the same script, Anglicana Formata, as the main body of English text. The similar treatment of both Latin and English texts suggests that there was an attempt made to elevate the status of the vernacular and this theory is supported by the fact that the format of many of the texts of the Confessio Amantis mirrors that of the Glasgow Gower. The author, Gower, might well have devised the uniform presentation of the text in this format.

4.5 Having produced a linguistic profile of the scribe of Glasgow, University Library, S.1.7 and Pierpont Morgan, MS 125, this study also attempted to compile a graphetic profile, consisting of the handwriting features of this copyist. McIntosh postulated that scribal hands are sufficiently idiosyncratic that it would be possible to produce a scribal profile of the handwriting of the copyist. He intends that such scribal profiles could be compiled in a central database of scribal hand that could then be implemented in the identification of unknown hands. This study was undertaken in order to test the application of the methodology seen in linguistic analyses to the more complex and variable field of graphetics.

This was a preliminary analysis, the results of which are in no way comprehensive or conclusive. A graphetic questionnaire, consisting of six items, was compiled and used to interrogate three folios of the Glasgow Gower and two folios of the Pierpont Morgan text. Primarily, it must first be acknowledged that this study, although relatively small, produced a vast amount of information because the study uncovered great variation between forms of the same letter. Thus one grapheme, a^1 representing the letter **a** had nineteen different allographs in the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan. Some differentiation between the forms was afforded by the analysis of positional rules affecting the use of certain forms. Thus, this study established that arabic **r** was used only after the bowls of **p, b** and **o**. However, this is a fact that has long been established in traditional palaeographical study.

The volume of information proved difficult both to compile and analyse, yet a number of conclusions can be drawn from this experiment. Firstly, due to the number of shared items between the two manuscripts, this analysis would suggest that the scribe of Glasgow Gower also produced the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. However, I would suggest that this conclusion could not be made without the additional, and substantial, evidence of the linguistic analysis.

As seen in the more comprehensive study of graphetic analysis provided by Head, greater differentiation is required between forms than is offered in the simple reproduction of forms to be found in manuscripts. He, therefore, introduced the element of frequency, and when implemented in this study, it made it possible to establish the more preferred usage of the scribe. This did not prove to be a particularly defining feature however, again because of the inconsistency of the scribal hand. Thus, where one

form could be dominant on one folio, on the next, a different form could be dominant in that position. The inconsistency of the hand makes it difficult to see how it could be used to identify with any certainty the hand of this scribe outwith the Glasgow Gower and Pierpont Morgan manuscripts. However, it might prove to be a useful supplementary tool to linguistic analyses and as such should not be dismissed as a useful area for future research.

This study has revealed the complexity that underlies the textual status of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.1.7. and I hope that it has provided a useful insight into the various circumstances that shaped the final form of the text.

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The Linguistic Profiles of Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7 and Pierpont Morgan, MS 125.

The brackets in the profiles have the following significance:

(((...))) - Three Brackets = rare form

((...)) – Two Brackets = up to approx. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the forms for a given item.

(...) – One Bracket = up to approx. $\frac{1}{3}$ of the forms,

No Brackets = Main or usual form

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Prologue, Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE	þese
'THE'	þe, ((the))
'TWO'	two, (tweye)
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his
'SHE'	
'HER'	hir, hire
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, ((þey)), (((þay, They, Thay)))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	here, (her)
'SUCH'	such, ((suche))
'WHICH'	which, Which
'EACH'	ech
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, mannes, men, (((noman)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, Ben
'IS'	is, Is, (((be)))
3rd person sg. contr.	leyth, seyth, stant, makþ (but groweþ, takeþ, expoundeth, preiseth etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ, Doþ : goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, Schal
SHOULD	sg: scholde, ((schulde)) pl:scholden
'WOULD'	sg: wolde pl: wolden (wolde)
'WILL'	wol, ((wil, wole, wile))

'ASK'	axe-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenne-
'WITH-'	wiþ-, with, (wiþ)
'FROM'	fro, (Ffro)
'AFTER'	after, After
'THEN'	þanne, þo, ((Tho)), (((þane)))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough, Alþough
'IF'	if, If, (((Iff)))
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	or....or
'SELF'	self, ((selue))
þilke	þilke
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, ((þer whiles, Therwhil))
'TOGETHER'	
'BEFORE'	tofore, er
'WERE'	were, weren (pl)
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, (not)
'HIGH'	hihe, ((high))
'EYE(S)'	y3e
'THINK'	þenk-, ((þinke-, þynke-))
Pres. part. ending	comende, preyende, flowende, rowende, belongend, touchende.
'LITTLE'	
-es	-es
-ed	-ed
'MIGHT'	sg: mighte, (might) pl: mighte
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse, lese
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst, ((firste))

'CHURCH'	chirche, (cherche), ((churche))
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	3af
'GIVEN'	3iue
'SAW'	sigh
'CAME'	cam
clepe	clepe, cleped
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English **y**	synne, mynde, fire

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book One. Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	þese,((Thes, These))
'THE'	þe, (((The)))
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir, (hire)
'IT'	it
'THEY'	þei, ((þey))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her, (here)
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((þe which, whiche)))
'EACH'	eche
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, (men)
'ANY'	
'ARE'	ben, (art), (((are)))
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	leyth, stant (but likeþ, comeþ, hiereth etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ, ((doth)) : goþ
'SHALL'	schal, schalt
'SHOULD'	scholde
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, (((woldest))) pl: wolde
'WILL'	wol, ((wil, wiln, wile))

'ASK'	ax-, ask(-)
'BURN', 'RUN'	
'WITH-'	Wiþ-, wiþ, with
'FROM'	fro, (from)
'AFTER'	after, (((afte)))
'THEN'	þanne, ((þo, Tho))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	or....or
'SELF'	self, selue
þilke	þilke, ((þese ilk, þat ille))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, agen
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	er, ((beforn, tofore))
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, (not), (((noot)))
'HIGH'	high, ((highe, hihe))
'EYE(S)'	yhe, (y3e), (((i3e, i3en, yhen)))-
'THINK'	þenke-, þinke
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but stoppid, preyd)
'MIGHT'	sg: mighte ((might)) pl: mighten
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse, (lesse)
'WHEN'	whan
'FIRST'	ferst
'CHURCH'	cherche

'OWN'	owne, oughne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was, (((wa)))
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	saugh, ((seih, seigh, si3e))
'CAME'	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	but
'SISTER'	suster
Old English **y**	merþes, mente, gilty, fyry
	synne,

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Two, Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	þese
'THE'	þe, (((the)))
'TWO'	tuo, ((two))
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir, ((hire)), (((her)))
'IT'	it
'THEY'	þai, ((þei)), (((Thei, Thai)))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, (((suche, swiche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which
'EACH'	ech, ((eche))
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, men, ((noman, mannes))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((art))
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	þinkþ, takþ, makþ, arist, stant (but fleeþ, seeþ, taxeþ, etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHOULD'	scholde, ((scholdest))
'WOULD'	wolde
'WILL'	wol, (((wole, wille, wolt)))

'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenneþ : renneþ
'WITH-'	Wiþ-, wiþ, with
'FROM'	fro
'AFTER'	after
'THEN'	þanne, þo, ((þan, Tho))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If, (((Iff)))
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	neiþer....ne, nouþer....ne
'SELF'	self, ((selue))
þilke	þilke, þilk
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, a3einward
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	oþ while
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	before, er
'WERE'	were, (weren)
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, (((not)))
'HIGH'	hihe
'EYE(S)'	yhe, ((yhen))
'THINK'	þenke-, þink-. (((Thenkþ)))
Pres. part. ending	Touchend
'LITTLE'	litil
-es	-es (but yhen)
-ed	-ed (but fulfilde, lovede, spilde)
'MIGHT'	sg: mighte, (might)
'THROUGH'	þurgh, Thurgh
'LESS'	
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst
'CHURCH'	chirche, chirches

'OWN'	oughne, (owne)
'DID'	
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sih, ((sihe, syh, sigh))
'CAME'	
clepe	cleped
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	mente, kiste, fyre

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Three, Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	This
'THE'	þe, ((the))
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir, (((hire)))
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, þai
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, ((suche))
'WHICH'	which, Which
'EACH'	ech, echon
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, ((mannes, men, noman, mennes))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	spekþ, takþ, brekþ, bringþ, þinkþ, makþ (but stereþ, forbereþ, þenkeþ)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ : goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHOULD'	sg: scholde pl: scholden
'WOULD'	sg: wolde pl: wolden
'WILL'	sg: wol, (((wile)))

'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenne : renneþ
'WITH-'	wiþ-, wiþ, (((with)))
'FROM'	fro, Ffro
'AFTER'	after
'THEN'	þo, ((þanne, tho))
'THAN'	þan, Than
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough, ((Alþough))
'IF'	if, If, (((Iff)))
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	Or.....or
'SELF'	self , ((selue, seluen))
þilke	þilke, þilk, ((þat ilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, ((a3einward))
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, (þe whil)
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	tofore, er, ((erst))
'WERE'	were, pl.: weren
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, ((not))
'HIGH'	hih
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenk-, ((þink-))
Pres. part. ending	walkende, swounende, bityng, baþing
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but pleide, preide)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, ((mighte))
'THROUGH'	þurgh, (þurghout)
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst
'CHURCH'	

'OWN'	oughne
'DID'	
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sih, ((sihe, sighe, segh))
'CAME'	cam
clepe	clepe, cleped
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	soster
Old English y	fyres, fyr, gulteles, kisse, buried

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis**

SECTION: Book Four, Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, (((the)))
'TWO'	tuo, atuo, tweie:deie
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir, (((hire, Hire, Hir)))
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þai, (þei), (((Ha)))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	Which, which, (((þe which, for which)))
'EACH'	eche
'MANY'	many, (((manyfold)))
'MAN'	man, (((noman, mannes, men)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((art))
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	þenkþ, makþ, stant, 3ifþ
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ : goþ
'SHALL'	schal, schalt
'SHOULD'	sg: scholde, (((schold))) pl: (((scholden)))
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, (((wolden))) pl: (((wolde)))
'WILL'	wol
'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brent

'WITH-'	Wiþ-, wiþ, ((with))
'FROM'	
'AFTER'	after, After
'THEN'	þan, þanne, (þo), (((þenne)))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough, Alþough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	nouþer.....ne, or.....or
'SELF'	self, ((selfe, selue))
þilke	þilke, ((þis ilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, A3ein, a3einward
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, ((while, oþerwhile))
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	tofore, ((er, ar))
'WERE'	were, (((weren)))
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought
'HIGH'	hihe
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenk-
Pres. part. ending	Touchende, sprentlende, compleignende, spekende, liggende, touchend.
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but destruid, preide, spilt, kiste, brent)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, mighte, (((mightest))) pl: might, mighten
'THROUGH'	þurgh, ((þurghsesed))
'LESS'	lasse, lesse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst, (ferste)
'CHURCH'	

'OWN'	oughne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sigh, (sih)
'CAME'	cam
clepe	clepe, cleped
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Five, Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, ((The)), (((the)))
'TWO'	two, atuo
'BOTH'	boþe, Boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, (þai)
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((þe which)))
'EACH'	
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, (((mannes, men, aman)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((art, be))
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	makþ, berþ, comþ, takþ, kepþ, þenkþ, stant, (but kepeþ, þenkeþ, excedeth etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ : goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, (((schalt)))
'SHOULD'	sg.: scholde, ((schold, schulde)) pl: (((scholden)))
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, (((wolt, woldest)))

'WILL'	sg: wol, (wil), (((wilt)))
'ASK'	ax-, ask-
'BURN', 'RUN'	
'WITH-'	Wiþ-, wiþ, (((with)))
'FROM'	fro
'AFTER'	after
'THEN'	þan, ((þanne, þo))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	Or....or, nouþer.....ne
'SELF'	self
þilke	þilke, þilk, þat ilke
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, (agein)
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, Whil
'TOGETHER'	
'BEFORE'	tofore, ((afore, er))
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, ((not))
'HIGH'	hihe, (hih)
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þink-, (þenk-)
Pres. part. ending	Touching, walking
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but answerd, preide, despende, clipte, skipte)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, (mighte)
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan

'FIRST'	ferst, ((first))
'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	oughne, (((ougne)))
'DID'	dede, did
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	3iuen
'SAW'	seih, sih
'CAME'	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	gilt, kyste

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Six. Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, (((the, The)))
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe, Boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir, hire
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, ((þai))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, Such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((The which, þe which)))
'EACH'	
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, men, ((mannes)), (((aman)))
'ANY'	
'ARE'	ben, ((are))
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	drinkþ, makþ, takþ, knowþ, wepþ, þenkþ (but drinkeþ, þenkeþ, semeþ etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ : goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHALL' (pl.)	schal
'SHOULD'	sg: schulde, (((schuld, schuldest)))
'WOULD'	sg: wolde
'WILL'	sg: wol, ((wil, wolt))

'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenne- ; renne-
'WITH-'	Wiþ-, wiþ, with
'FROM'	fro, ((from))
'AFTER'	After, after
'THEN'	þan, ((þanne))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	If, if
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	Or.....or, Ne.....ne, nouþer.....ne
'SELF'	self, (seluen), ((selue))
þilke	þilke, ((þat ilke, þis ilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, A3ein, a3einward
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, þer while, þe while, oþerwhile
'TOGETHER'	
'BEFORE'	er, (tofore)
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nou3t, ((nought)), (((not)))
'HIGH'	highe, (((heigh)))
'EYE(S)'	yhe, yhen
'THINK'	þenk-, ((þink-)), (((Thenk)))
Pres. part. ending	musyng, carolinge, þenking, blenching, tasting, waiting
'LITTLE'	
-es	-es (but yhen)
-ed	-ed (but preide, destruid)
'MIGHT'	sg.: might, mighte pl.: mighte
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lesse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst, ferste

'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	owne, ((oughne)), (((owen)))
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	3af
'GIVEN'	3iue
'SAW'	syhe, sigh
'CAME'	cam
clepe	cleped
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	mirþe, merþe, fyr, firy, gultif, mende

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Seven. Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	þese, ((These))
'THE'	þe, The, the
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe, Boþe
'HE'	He, he
'HIS'	his
'SHE'	
'HER'	hire
'IT'	It, it
'THEY'	þei, ((þai)) (((Thei))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	here, Here ((þair))
'SUCH'	such, ((suche))
'WHICH'	Which, which, ((þe which)) (((whiche, þe whiche)))
'EACH'	ech, (eche)
'MANY'	many, manyfold
'MAN'	man, ((men)), (((mannes, aman, mennes)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, (((been)))
'IS'	is, Is
3rd person sg. contr.	makþ, þenkþ, brekþ, spekþ, takþ, stant (but commandeþ, likeþ etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ ; geþ:breþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal
'SHALL' (pl.)	schal, schul

'SHOULD'	
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, ((wold)) pl: wolde
'WILL'	
'ASK'	ax-, (ask-)
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenne- : renne-
'WITH-'	Wiþ-, with, (wiþ)
'FROM'	fro, Fro, ((Ffro))
'AFTER'	after, After, Affter
'THEN'	þanne, ((þo, þan))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	nouþer
'SELF'	seluen, ((self, selue))
þilke	þilke, ((þis ilke, þilk))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	tofore, ((er))
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nou3t, nought
'HIGH'	hihe, ((hih, heih))
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenk-, (þink)
Pres. part. ending	Begynnyng, skippynge, semynge, brennyng, touching
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but preide, answerd)
'MIGHT'	mighte, might
'THROUGH'	þurgh

'LESS'	
'WHEN'	Whan, whan
'FIRST'	first, firste, ((ferste))
'CHURCH'	chirche
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	
'WAS'	Was, was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	
'CAME'	
clepe	clepe
'BUT'	But
'SISTER'	
Old English y	fir, fyr, Ffyr, fyry, fyres, hulles

TEXT: **Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Eight. Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	þese
'THE'	þe, ((The))
'TWO'	two, ((tweie))
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	He, he
'HIS'	His, his
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir
'IT'	It, it
'THEY'	þai, (þei)
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her, ((here))
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	Which, which, ((þe which)) (((The which)))
'EACH'	ech
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, (aman) (((amon, noman, men)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben
'IS'	is
3rd person sg. contr.	takþ, stant (but likeþ, sikeþ, harpeþ, etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ : goþ, (gooþ)
'SHALL'	schal, (((schalt)))
'SHOULD'	sg: schulde, (((scholde*))) pl.: schulde,((scholde))
'WOULD'	wolde

'WILL'	sg: wol
'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	
'WITH-'	Wiþ-, with, (wiþ)
'FROM'	fro
'AFTER'	after, After, afterward
'THEN'	þo, þanne, (((þan, Tho)))
'THAN'	
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	If, if
'(N)EITHER...(N)OR'	
'SELF'	self, ((selue))
þilke	þilke, ((þilk, þat ilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	while
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	tofore, er, ((Byfore, bifore, afore))
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** , (wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nou3t, (((nought)))
'HIGH'	highe, hiheþ
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenk-, ((þunk-))
Pres. part. ending	wepyng, weeping, telling, þenking.
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but answerde, þonkid, preide, preid, pleid, pleide, spilt)
'MIGHT'	sg.: might, (((mighte))), pl.:mighten, ((might, mighte))
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	

'WHEN'	Whan, whan, (((whenne)))
'FIRST'	ferst, (((ferste, first, firste)))
'CHURCH'	chirche
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	Was, was
'GAVE'	3af
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sih, ((seih, sihe))
'CAME'	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	soster**
Old English y	merþe, synne

*scholde - scribe changed u to o in one case by the addition of a line across the top of the letter

**soster - scribe changed u to o (as above).

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book One, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	Thes
'THE'	þe, (((the, The)))
'TWO'	two, (twoo)
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir, ((hire))
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, (((þai, þey)))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	here, (her)
'SUCH'	such, ((suche))
'WHICH'	which, Which, ((The which))
'EACH'	ech
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, aman, men, ((noman))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((art)), (((be)))
'IS'	is
3rd person sing. contr.	comþ (but teueþ, toucheþ etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ, ((dooþ)) : gooþ

'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	sg: scholde, (schold) pl: scholde
'WOULD'	sg: wolde pl: wolde, woldest
'WILL'	wil, ((wole))
'ASK'	ax-, ask-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenneþ : renneþ
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ-, wiþ, with, With
'FROM'	fro, Ffro
'AFTER'	after, After
'THEN'	þanne, ((þo, þane, þan))
'THAN'	
'(A)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	
'SELF'	self, selue, ((selfe))
þilke	þilke, ((þat ilke, þese ilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	
'TOGETHER'	
'BEFORE'	er, ((tofore, toforn))
'WERE'	sg: were pl: were, weren
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, ((not, nou t))
'HIGH'	high, ((hihe, highe))

'EYE(S)'	yhe, (((yhen, y3e, i3en)))
'THINK'	þenk-
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es (but yhen)
-ed	-ed (but answerde, Biclypt, kiste, pleide)
'MIGHT'	sg.: mighte, (might) pl.: might, mighten
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan
'FIRST'	ferst, ((fferst, first))
'CHURCH'	cherch
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	seigh
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	but, But
'SISTER'	suster
Old English y	merþes, fyry, gilty

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Two, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	þese
'THE'	þe, ((The)), (((the)))
'TWO'	tuo
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir, (hire), (((hyre)))
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, ((suche))
'WHICH'	Which, which, (((þe which, The which, whiche)))
'EACH'	ech, ((ėche))
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, ((mannes)), (((aman)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((be)), (((art)))
'IS'	is, Is

3rd person sg. contr.	takþ, makþ, comþ, stant, þenkþ (but toucheþ, redeþ etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ : goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHALL' (pl.)	schal
'SHOULD'	scholde
'WOULD'	wolde
'WILL'	sg: wol, ((wolt))
'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenneþ ; renneþ
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ-, wiþ, with, With, (((w'Inne)))
'FROM'	fro, (Ffro)
'AFTER'	after
'THEN'	þanne, (þo), (((þan, Tho)))
'THAN'	þan
'(A)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	Neiþer.....ne, Or.....or
'SELF'	sg.: self, selue, (((selfe, seluen))) pl.: selue
þilke	þilke
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, a3einward
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	oþerwhile, þe while, (((þat while)))
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	er
'WERE'	sg: were pl:were, weren
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-

'NOT'	nought, (((nou3t)))
'HIGH'	hihe
'EYE(S)'	yhe, yhen
'THINK'	þenk-, ((Thenk))
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but ferde)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, mighte pl: mighte
'THROUGH'	þurgh, Thurgh
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst
'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	
'WAS'	was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sih, ((sigh, sihe, sygh, syhe))
'CAME' (sg.)	
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	fire, fir

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Three, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, ((The))
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He, (((Ha)))
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir, ((hire))
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, ((þai))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	
'SUCH'	such, Such, ((suchon, suche))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((The which, þe which)))
'EACH'	ech, echon
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, ((aman, noman, mannes))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben
'IS'	is, Is
3rd person sing. contr.	takþ, makþ, bringþ, lith, stant (but þenkeþ, knoweþ, sheweþ etc.)

'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ ; goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	scholde
'WOULD'	sg: wolde pl:wolden
'WILL'	wol
'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenne ; renneþ
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ, wiþ, (((with)))
'FROM'	fro, ((ffro))
'AFTER'	after, (((afte)))
'THEN'	þo, ((þan, þanne))
'THAN'	þan
'(A)THOUGH'	þough, ((Alþough))
'IF'	if, Iff
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	
'SELF'	self, ((seluen))
þilke	þilke, ((þat ilke, Thilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	A3einward, a3ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, (while)
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	er, ((tofore, erst))
'WERE'	sg: were pl:were, weren
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, (((nou3t, not)))
'HIGH'	hihe, (high), (((highe)))

'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenk, (þinkeþ), ((þenke))
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but preide, answerd, answerde)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, ((mighte))
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst
'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	oughne
'DID'	
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sihe, ((sigh, segh))
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	soster
Old English y	fire, fired, byried

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Four, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, ((The)), (((þ^{e})))
'TWO'	tuo, (((atuo, tweie))) (tweie:deie)
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir, ((hire))
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, þai
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her, ((here))
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((þe which)))
'EACH'	eche
'MANY'	many, manyfold
'MAN'	aman, noman, ((man, mannes))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((art))
'IS'	is, Is
3rd person sing. contr.	comþ, spekþ, makþ, stant (but takeþ, likeþ etc.)

'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ ; goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, ((schalt))
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	sg: scholde pl: scholden
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, wolden pl: wolden
'WILL'	sg: wol
ASK'	ax-, ask-
'BURN', 'RUN'	renne
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ-, wiþ, (((with)))
'FROM'	fro
'AFTER'	After, after
'THEN'	þan, þo, ((þanne)), (((þenne)))
'THAN'	þan
'(A)THOUGH'	þough, Alþough
'IF'	If, if
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	noþer.....ne, Ne.....non, Or.....or
'SELF'	self, ((selfe))
þilke	þilke, ((þis ilke))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, A3ein, a3einward
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil, (while)
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	tofore
'WERE'	sg: were pl:were, weren
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nou3t, (((nought, not)))

'HIGH'	hihe
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenke-
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but preide, answerde, likede)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, (mighte), (((mightest))) pl: might, mighte
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse, lesse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst, (ferste)
'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	oughne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sigh
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	kiste

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Five, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, (((The)))
'TWO'	two, (((atuo)))
'BOTH'	boþe, Boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, ((þai))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((þe which)))
'EACH'	
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, aman, ((mannes)), ((noman))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, ((art, be))
'IS'	is, Is
3rd person sing. contr.	comþ, takþ, makþ, berþ, stant, lith (but liueþ, dwelleþ, armeth)

DOES', 'GOES'	goþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, (((schalt)))
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	sg: scholde, ((schuld)) (((schold))) pl: scholde, scholden
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, ((wold, woldest)) pl: wolde
'WILL'	wol, ((wil))
'ASK'	ax-, ask-
'BURN', 'RUN'	
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ, wiþ
'FROM'	fro
'AFTER'	after
'THEN'	þan, ((þanne)), (((þo)))
'THAN'	þan
'(A)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	Or....or
'SELF'	self
þilke	þilke, þilk, þat ilke
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	whil
'TOGETHER'	
'BEFORE'	tofore, ((er, afore))
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nought, ((not)), (((nou3t)))

'HIGH'	hihe, high
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þinke-, (þenke-)
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but answerde, answerd)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, (mighte)
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan
'FIRST'	ferst, ((first))
'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	oughne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sigh, (seigh)
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	kiste

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Six, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, (((The)))
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe, Boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his
'SHE'	sche
'HER'	hir, hire
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	her
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, ((þe which))
'EACH'	
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, ((mannes)), (((aman)))
'ANY'	
'ARE'	ben, ((art, are))
'IS'	is, Is
3rd person sing. contr.	berþ, wexþ, makþ, knowþ, þenkþ, takþ, comþ, drinkþ, wepþ
'DOES', 'GOES'	doþ ; goþ

'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, (((schalt)))
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	sg: schulde, ((schuld, schuldest))
'WOULD'	sg: wolde
'WILL'	sg: wol, ((wole, wil, wolt))
'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenne- ; renneþ
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ-, wiþ, ((with))
'FROM'	fro, ((from))
'AFTER'	after, After
'THEN'	þan, (þanne)
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	or....or, ((ne.....ne)), (((nowþer.....ne)))
'SELF'	sg: self, ((selue, seluen)) pl: seluen
þilke	þilke, þilk, þis ilke
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein, a3einward
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	while, ((whil))
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	er, (tofore)
'WERE'	sg: were pl: were, weren
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nou3t, ((nought)), (((not)))
'HIGH'	high, (highe)

'EYE(S)'	yghen, ((yhe, yghe))
'THINK'	þenk-, (þink-)
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	
-es	-es (but yghen)
-ed	-ed (but preide)
'MIGHT'	sg:mighte, (might)
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lesse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan
'FIRST'	ferst, ferste
'CHURCH'	
'OWN'	owne, (((oughne)))
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was
'GAVE'	3af
'GIVEN'	3iuen
'SAW'	syhe, seigh
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	mende, merþe, mirþ, synne, gultif

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Seven. Lines 1 - 500

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	þese, ((these))
'THE'	þe, The
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe, Boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	
'HER'	hire
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, ((þai))
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	here, Here
'SUCH'	such, (suche)
'WHICH'	which, Which, ((þe which)), (((þe whiche)))
'EACH'	ech, (eche)
'MANY'	many
'MAN'	man, aman, mannes, ((noman))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	ben, (been), ((are))
'IS'	is, Is

3rd person sing. contr.	Takþ, spekþ, kepþ, brekþ, 3ifþ, makþ, stant (but glideþ, telleþ, semeþ etc.)
'DOES', 'GOES'	dooþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, (((schalt)))
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	
'WOULD'	sg: wolde, ((wold))
'WILL'	
'ASK'	
'BURN', 'RUN'	brenneþ ; renneþ
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ-, wiþ
'FROM'	fro, (Ffro)
'AFTER'	after, After
'THEN'	þan, ((þanne, þo))
'THAN'	þan
'(A)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	
'SELF'	self, (seluen)
þilke	þilke, ((þis ilke)), (((þilk)))
'AGAIN(ST)'	
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	
'TOGETHER'	togidre
'BEFORE'	tofore, (Tofore)
'WERE'	were
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-

'NOT'	nou3t, (nought)
'HIGH'	hihe, ((hih)), (((high)))
'EYE(S)'	yhe, ihe
'THINK'	þenk-
Pres. part. ending	
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed
'MIGHT'	sg: might, (mighte)
'THROUGH'	þurgh, (((Thurgh)))
'LESS'	
'WHEN'	whan
'FIRST'	firste, ((ferste)), (((first, ferst)))
'CHURCH'	chirch
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	
'WAS'	was, Was
'GAVE'	
'GIVEN'	3ove
'SAW'	
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	
Old English y	hulles, fir

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Eight, Lines 1 - 500.

ITEM	FORM
'THESE'	
'THE'	þe, (((the)))
'TWO'	two
'BOTH'	boþe
'HE'	he, He
'HIS'	his, His
'SHE'	sche, Sche
'HER'	hir, hire
'IT'	it, It
'THEY'	þei, þai
'THEM'	hem
'THEIR'	here
'SUCH'	such, (((suche)))
'WHICH'	which, Which, (((þe which)))
'EACH'	ech
'MANY'	many, manye
'MAN'	man, aman, ((mannes)), (((manne, mon, noman)))
'ANY'	eny
'ARE'	been, Been
'IS'	is, Is
3rd person sing. contr.	takþ, comþ, makþ, berþ, stant (but þonkeþ, torneþ, declareþ)

'DOES', 'GOES'	gooþ
'SHALL' (sg.)	schal, schalt
'SHALL' (pl.)	
'SHOULD'	sg: schulde, ((scholde))
'WOULD'	wolde
'WILL'	sg: wol, ((wolt))
'ASK'	ax-
'BURN', 'RUN'	
'WITH(-)'	Wiþ-, wiþ, Wiþ, (((with)))
'FROM'	fro, ((fram))
'AFTER'	after, afterward
'THEN'	þanne, (þo), (((þan)))
'THAN'	þan
'(AL)THOUGH'	þough
'IF'	if, If
'(N)EITHER....(N)OR'	Or.....or, Ne.....ne
'SELF'	self, selue
þilke	þilke, ((þis ilke)), (((þilk)))
'AGAIN(ST)'	a3ein
'YET'	3it
'WHILE'	while, whil
'TOGETHER'	
'BEFORE'	tofore, er
'WERE'	sg: were pl: weren
Old English **hw-** ,(wh-)	wh-
'NOT'	nou3t, (((nought)))

'HIGH'	hihe, hih
'EYE(S)'	yhe
'THINK'	þenk-, ((þink-))
Pres. part. ending	þunkynde, comforting, stonding, liking, musing, weeping
'LITTLE'	litel
-es	-es
-ed	-ed (but preide, answerde, answerd)
'MIGHT'	sg: might, (mighte) pl: mighten
'THROUGH'	þurgh
'LESS'	lasse
'WHEN'	whan, Whan, (((whanne)))
'FIRST'	ferst, ((firste, first))
'CHURCH'	chirche
'OWN'	owne
'DID'	dede
'WAS'	was
'GAVE'	3af
'GIVEN'	
'SAW'	sih, seih
'CAME' (sg.)	cam
clepe	clepe-
'BUT'	But, but
'SISTER'	soster, sostres, sosterhode
Old English y	firy, kiste

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Prologue. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þise
THEY	þey
AGAINST	a3eins
WHILE	þerwhiles
BEFORE	biforn, byfore, ar
THROUGH	þorough
SAW	seigh

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book One. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	Thes, þese
TWO	twoo, tuo, tweie
SUCH	suchoon
ARE	art
SHALL (sg.)	schul
SHALL (pl.)	schul, schull
SHOULD	schulde-
WILL	wilt
ASK	asking
AFTER	afer
THEN	þoo, Thanne
(AL)TOGETHER	togedre, togider
BEFORE	bifore
NOT	nou3t
DID	dide
GAVE	3af, 3oue
GIVEN	3ouen
SAW	sihe, sih, sey3en, syhen

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: BookTwo. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
TWO	tweie
IT	hit
GOES	geþ
ASK	askeþ
BEFORE	bifore, tofore, ar
HIGH	hih
LESS	lasse
WHEN	whenne, whanne
FIRST	ferste, firste
GAVE	3af
SAW	sihen, seigh, syhe, segh, saugh

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Three. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
TWO	tuo
ARE	art
GOES	geþ
ASK	axe, axing, askeþ
NOT	nou3t
HIGH	hihe
-ed	answerd
FIRST	ferst
OWN	owne
DID	dede
GAVE	3af
GIVEN	3euen
SAW	sigh, seh, sygh, saugh

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Four. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
TWO	two
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nouþer...ne
NOT	nou3t
HIGH	high
EYE(S)	yhen
THINK	Thenkende
THROUGH	Thurgh
WHEN	whanne
SAW	seigh

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Five. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese, þise, These
TWO	tuo, twey
ARE	are
DOES	doth, doþ
GOES	goth, geth
SHALL (sg.)	schull
SHALL (pl.)	schall
WILL	wilt
ASK	axeþ, axed, axeth
(N)EITHER....(N)OR	nother...ne
þilke	thilke
(AL)TOGETHER	tigidre, togedur, togidre, togider
BEFORE	bifore
NOT	nou3t
HIGH	heigh, high, highe
EYE(S)	yhen, y3en, yen, eihe
LITTLE	litil
WHEN	when, whanne
FIRST	ferste, first
OWN	owne, owen

DID	dide, dedest, deden
GAVE	3af
SAW	sigh, saugh, seigh, sighen, sihe
SISTER	suster, soster

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Six. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese, These
TWO	atwo
GOES	gooþ, goth
SHALL (pl.)	schul
WHILE	þe while, oþerwhile
HIGH	high, hihe, hih
THROUGH	Thurghout
LESS	lasse
DID	deden
SAW	seigh, seih, sih, segh

TEXT: **Glasgow University Library, Hunter S.1.7. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Seven. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
TWO	tweie
ARE	art
GOES	gooþ, geþ
WILL	wol, wolt
THEN	þoo
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	or....or
BEFORE	bifore
NOT	not
HIGH	highe, high
EYE(S)	yhen
LITTLE	litul, alitel
LESS	lasse. lesse
WHEN	whanne
-ed	cride, þeide
-es	-us
FIRST	ffirst, fferst
DID	dede
GAVE	yaf, 3af
GIVEN	3iuen, 3iue, 3ouen
SAW	seih, sigh, sih, seie

SISTER	soster*

*u was changed to o by the addition of a top stroke.

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book One. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þise
TWO	tuo, tweie
BOTH	boþen
THEY	Thei, þay
SUCH	suchon
ANY	ony
ARE	are
GOES	goþ
SHALL (sg.)	schull
SHALL (pl.)	schull, schullen
SHOULD	schuld(e), schulden
WOULD	wold, woldest
WILL	wilt, wile
THEN	þoo, thó, þenne
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nouþer...ne, noþer....ne
WHILE	oþerwhile
(AL)TOGETHER	togidre, togider
BEFORE	byfore, bifore
WERE	weren
HIGH	hyhe, hih

EYE(S)	ye
pres. part. ending	-ing
LITTLE	litil
-ed	answerde, preyde
LESS	lesse
WHEN	whenne
OWN	oughne
DID	dide
GAVE	3af, 3oue
GIVEN	3ouen
SAW	sygh, sigh, si3e, syhen, seighen, sihe

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Two. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	These
TWO	two, twoo
IT	hit
THEY	þai
SUCH	swych
GOES	goth, geþ
BEFORE	before, tofore, bifore
NOT	not
HIGH	high, hih
pres. part. ending	-ing(e), -ynde, -inde,
WHEN	whenne, whanne
OWN	oughne
GAVE	3af, 3oȝe
SAW	segh, seigh, sihen, syh
Old English y	synne, gilt, gultif

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Three. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese
TWO	tuo
ARE	are, art
SHOULD	schulde
WILL	wolt, wile
THEN	þen
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	or....or
(AL)TOGETHER	togedre
BEFORE	afore
HIGH	hihe, highe
pres. part. ending	preiande, -inge
-ed	preide, pleide
CHURCH	chirche
OWN	owne
DID	dede, dide
GAVE	3af, 3oue
GIVEN	3euen
SAW	sawh, seih, seigh
Old English y	gulteles, sennes, sinnes

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Four. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese, þise, These
TWO	two
SUCH	swiche
SHALL (sg.)	schulle
SHOULD	schulde
THAN	than
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	ouþer.....or, nouþer....ne
WHILE	oþerwhile, þerwhil, þe whil
BEFORE	er
HIGH	high, highe, hih
EYE(S)	yhen, yghen
LITTLE	litil
WHEN	whanne, when
OWN	owne
GAVE	3af
SAW	seigh, sygh, sih, sihe, syh, sihen

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Five. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese, þise, þeise, These
TWO	tuo, tweie, twey
BOTH	both, bothe
THEY	thei
SUCH	suchon
ARE	are
GOES	goth
DOES	doþ, doth
SHALL (sg.)	schul, schull
SHALL (pl.)	schull
SHOULD	schulde
WILL	wilt
THEN	þen
(N)EITHER...(N)OR	nouþer...ne, nowþer...ne, nother...ne
þilke	thilk
WHILE	oþerwhile
(AL)TOGETHER	togider
BEFORE	before, biforn
HIGH	hih, highe
EYE(S)	yhen, ey3en

pres. part. ending	-ing
LITTLE	litil
LESS	lesse
WHEN	when, whanne
CHURCH	chirche, chirch, cherche
OWN	owne, owen
DID	did, dide, ded
GAVE	3af, 3oue
GIVEN	3iuen
SAW	sihe, syhe, seih, saugh, syhen, sihen, seighen
SISTER	soster, sostres, suster
Old English **y**	hulles, hell, synne, gult, gilt

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Six. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese
TWO	tuo
THEY	thei
GOES	gooþ
SHOULD	scholde
(N)EITHER....(N)OR	nouþer...ne
(AL)TOGETHER	altogidre
BEFORE	byfore
HIGH	hihe, hih, heih
EYE(S)	yhen
-ed	answerde
LESS	lasse
WHEN	when, whenne
SAW	segh, sygh, sigh, seih, sihe, sihen

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Seven. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
TWO	twei
SHALL (pl.)	schull
pres. part. ending	-ende
EYE(S)	yhen
LESS	lasse, lesse
WHEN	whanne
DID	dede
-es	-us
GAVE	3af
GIVEN	3ouen
SAW	sih, seih, sihe, seigh, sigh, syghe, sighe

TEXT: **Pierpont Morgan Library, M.125. John Gower's Confessio Amantis.**

SECTION: Book Eight. Items not found in the original 500 lines studied.

ITEM	FORM
THESE	þese
TWO	atwo
ARE	art
DOES	dooþ
WHILE	oþerwhile, þerwhiles
(AL)TOGETHER	togidres
BEFORE	byfore, bifore
NOT	not
HIGH	high, heih
EYE(S)	yhen
WHEN	whenne, whañe
OWN	own, owen
GIVEN	3ouen
SAW	sihe, seigh, sigh, syghe, sighe
Old English y	firy, kiste

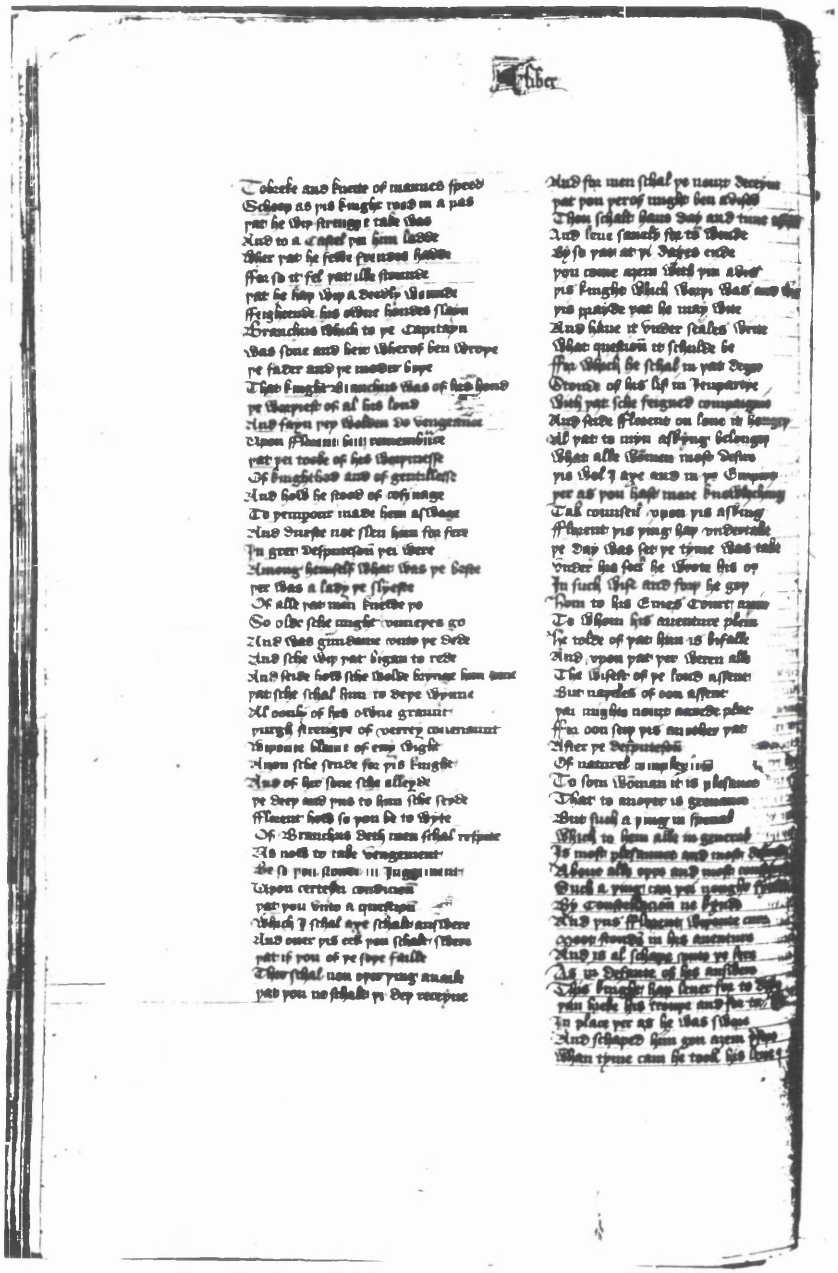


Plate 1. Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7, folio 16v

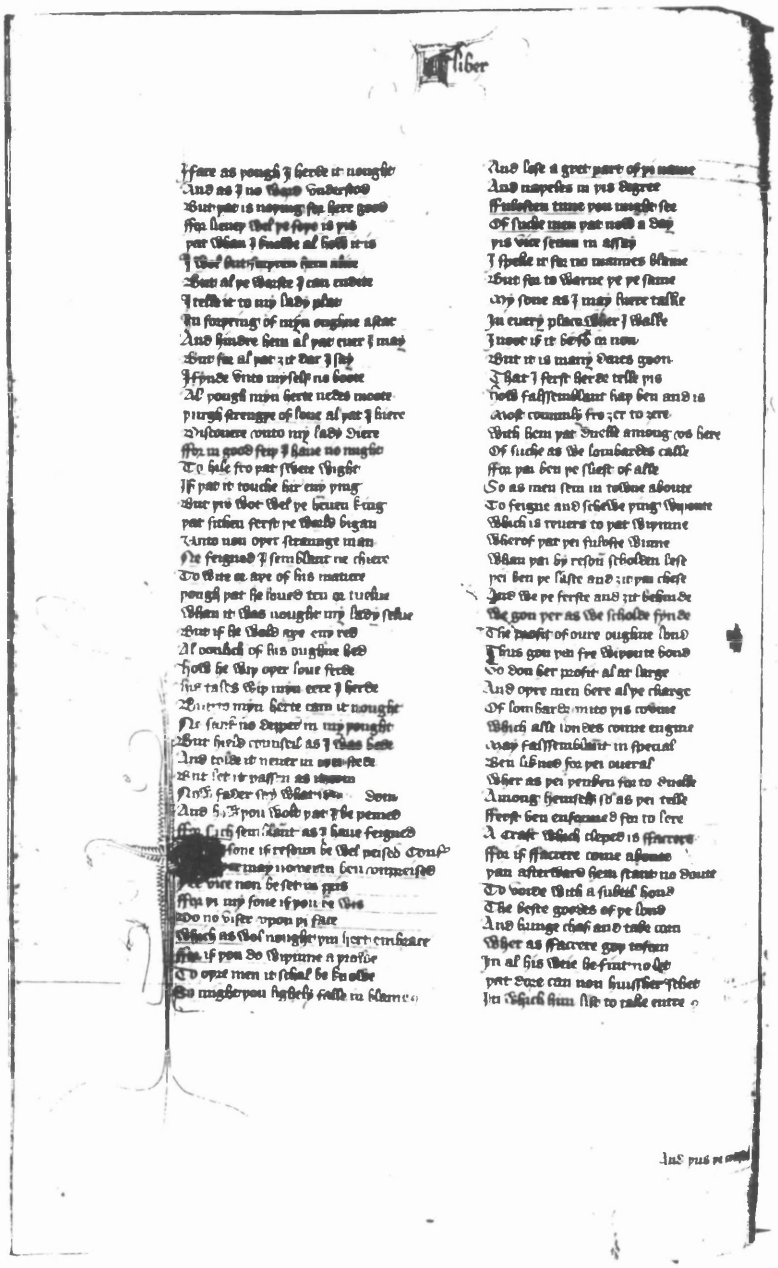


Plate 2. Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian S.1.7, folio 40v

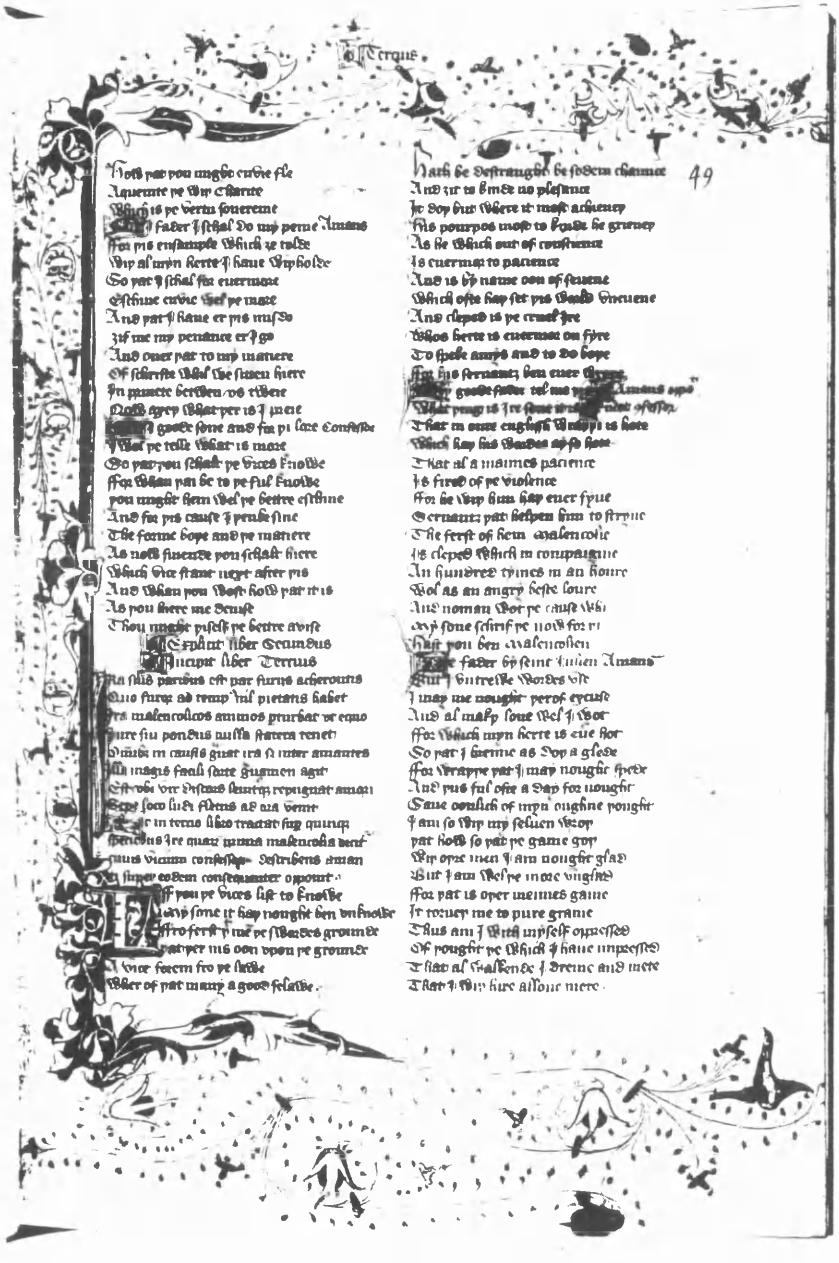


Plate 3. Glasgow, University Library, S.1.7, folio 49r

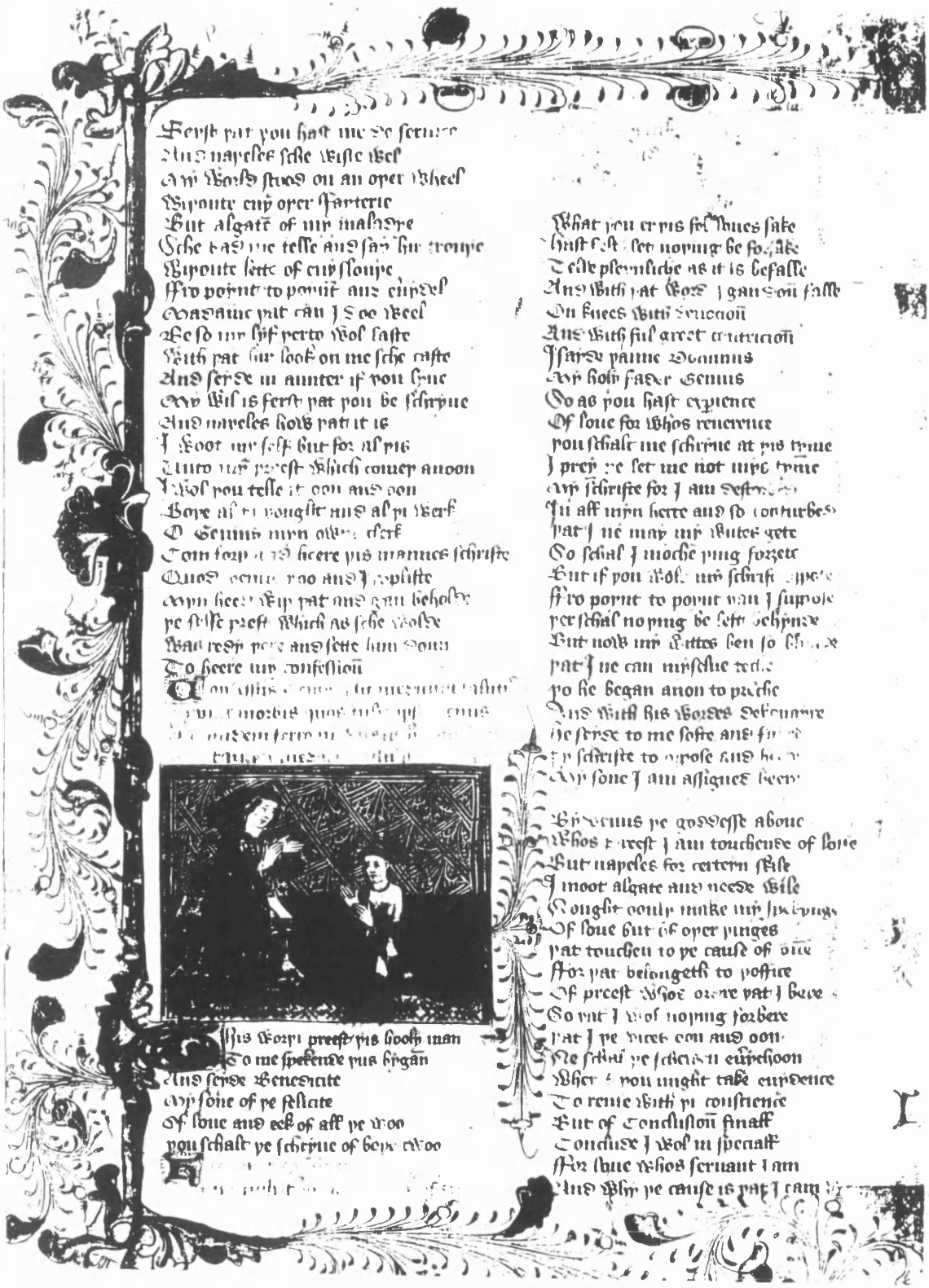
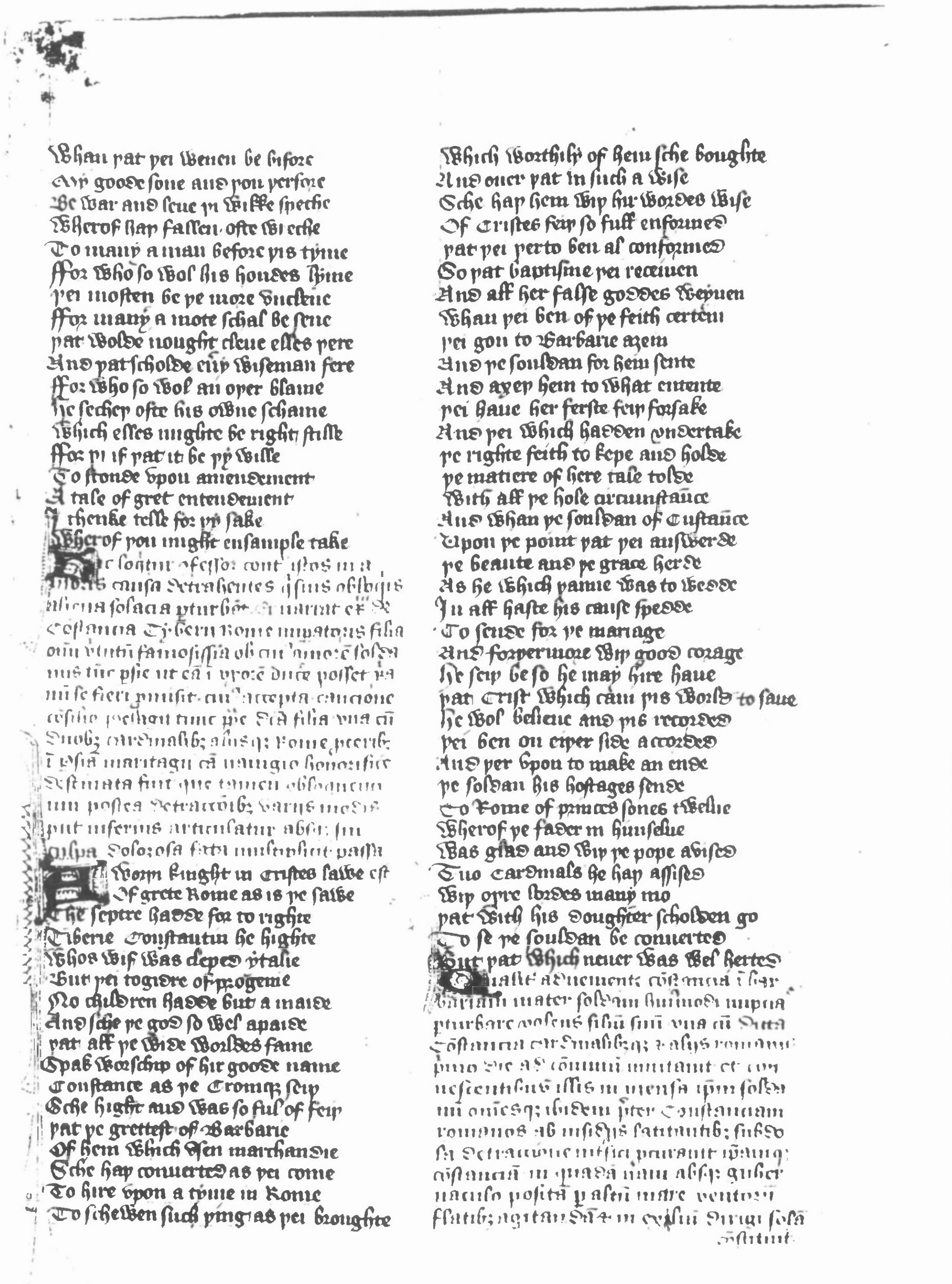


Plate 4. Pierpont Morgan, MS.125, folio 3v


Whan þat þei wenen be bifore
My goode sone and þou þerfore
Be war and leue þi wikke speche
Wherof haþ fallen ofte wreche
To many a man before þis tyme
ffor who so wol his hondes lyme
þei mosten be þe more vnclene
ffor many a mote schal be sene
þat wolde nought cleue elles þere
And þat scholde eury wiseman lere
ffor who so wol an oþer blame
he secheþ ofte his owne schame
which elles mighte be right stille
ffor þi if þat it be þy wille
To stonde vpon amendement
A tale of gret entendement
I thenke telle for þy sake
Wherof þou mighte ensample take

Hic loquitur confessor contra istos in ea parte causa detrahentes qui suis obloquiis aliena solacia perturbant. Et narrat exemplum de Constancia Tiberii Rome Imperatoris filia omni virtutum famosissima, cui Amor Soldanus tunc persie vt eam in vxorem ducere posset Christianum se fieri promisit, cuius accepta caucione ex consilio pape tunc temporis dicta filia vna cum duobus Cardinalibus aliisque Rome proceribus in persiam maritagii causa nauigio honorifice destinata fuit, que tamen obloquencium postea detraccionibus variis modis, prout inferius articulatur, absque sui culpa dolorosa fata multipliciter passa est.

A worþi kinght in Cristes lawe
Of grete Rome as is þe sawe
þe septre hadde for to righte
Tiberie Constantin he highte
Whos wif was cleped ytalie
But þei togidre of progenie
No children hadde but a maide
And sche þe god so wel apaide
þat all þe wide worldes fame
Spak worschip of hir goode name
Constance as þe Cronique seiþ
Sche highte and was so ful of feiþ
þat þe grettest of Barbarie
Of hem which vsen marchandie
Sche haþ conuerted as þei come
To hire vpon a tyme in Rome
To schewen such þing as þei broughte
Which worthiliche of hem sche boughte
And ouer þat in such a wise
Sche haþ hem wiþ hir wordes wise
Of Cristes feiþ so full enformed
þat þei þerto ben al conformed
So þat baptisme þei receiuen
And all her false goddes weyuen
Whan þei ben of þe feith certein
þei gon to Barbarie ayein
And þe souldan for hem sente
And ayeþ hem to what entente
þei haue her ferste feiþ forsake
And þei which hadden vndertake
þe righte feith to kepe and holde
þe matiere of here tale tolde
With all þe hole circumstaunce
And whan þe souldan of Custaunce
Upon þe point þat þei answerde
þe beaute and þe grace herde
As he which þanne was to wedde
In all haste his cause spedde
To sende for þe mariage
And forþermore wiþ good corage
he seiþ be so he may hire haue
þat Crist which cam þis world to saue
he wol believe and þis recorded
þei ben on eiþer side accorded
And þer vpon to make an ende
þe souldan his hostages sende
To Rome of princes sones twelue
Wherof þe fader in himselue
Was glad and wiþ þe pope auised
Tuo Cardinals he haþ assised
Wiþ oþre lordes many mo
þat with his doughter scholden go
To se þe souldan be conuerted
But þat which neuer was wel herted

Qualiter ad instanciam matris Soldani in conuiuio, in quo filius suus Soldanus Constanciam cum Romanis ad mensam tunc inuitauit, et eam nescientibus illis in mensa ipsum Soldanum omnesque ibidem preter Constanciam Romanos ab insidiis latitantibus subito detraccione interfici procurauit, ipsamque Constanciam in quadam naui absque gubernaculo positam per altum mare ventorum flatibus agitandam in exilium dirigi sola destituit.

Plate 5. Pierpont Morgan M.125, folio 25r

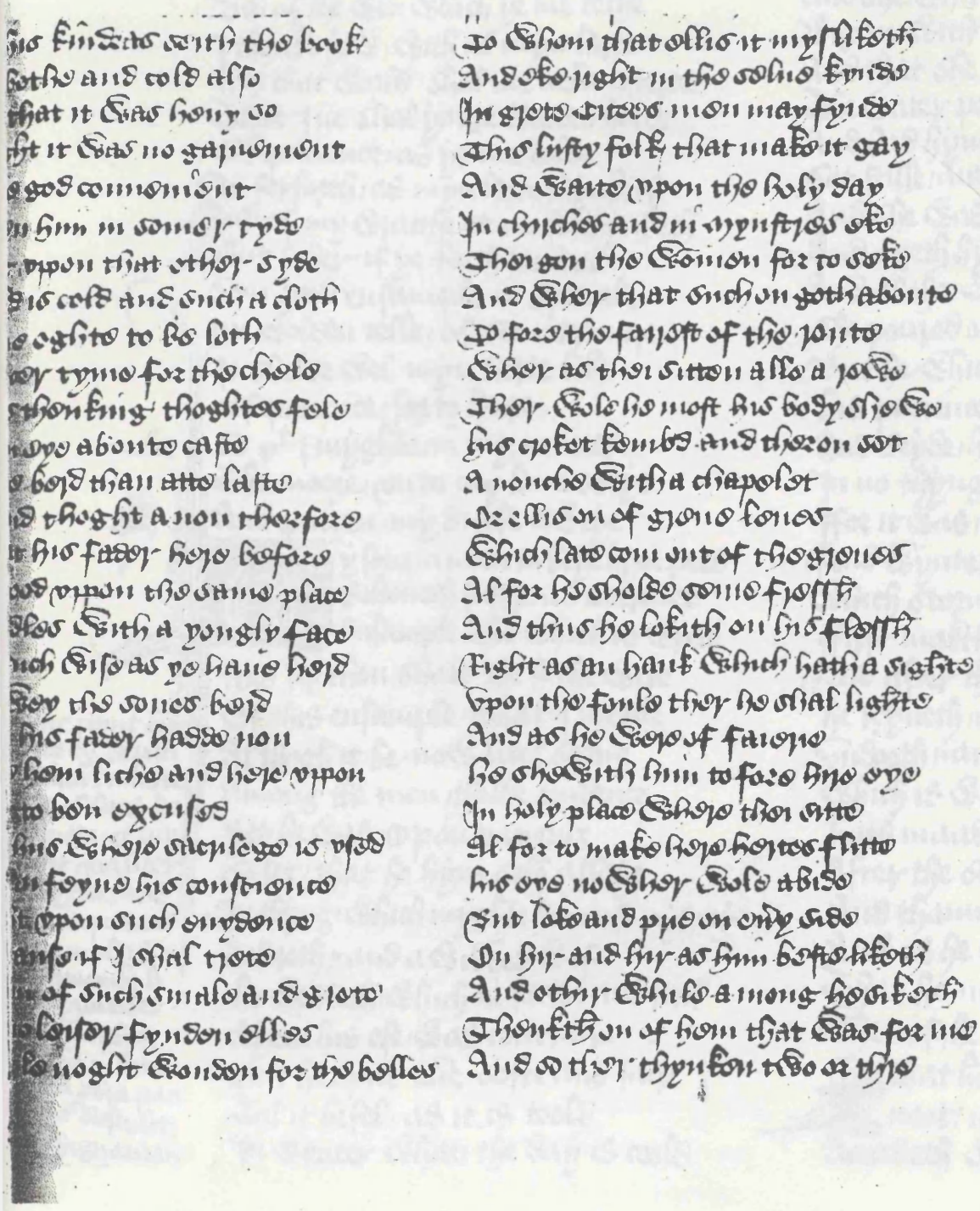


Plate 6. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.3.2, folio 8_1v, Hand A

(Reproduced from Doyle and Parkes, 1978: 169)

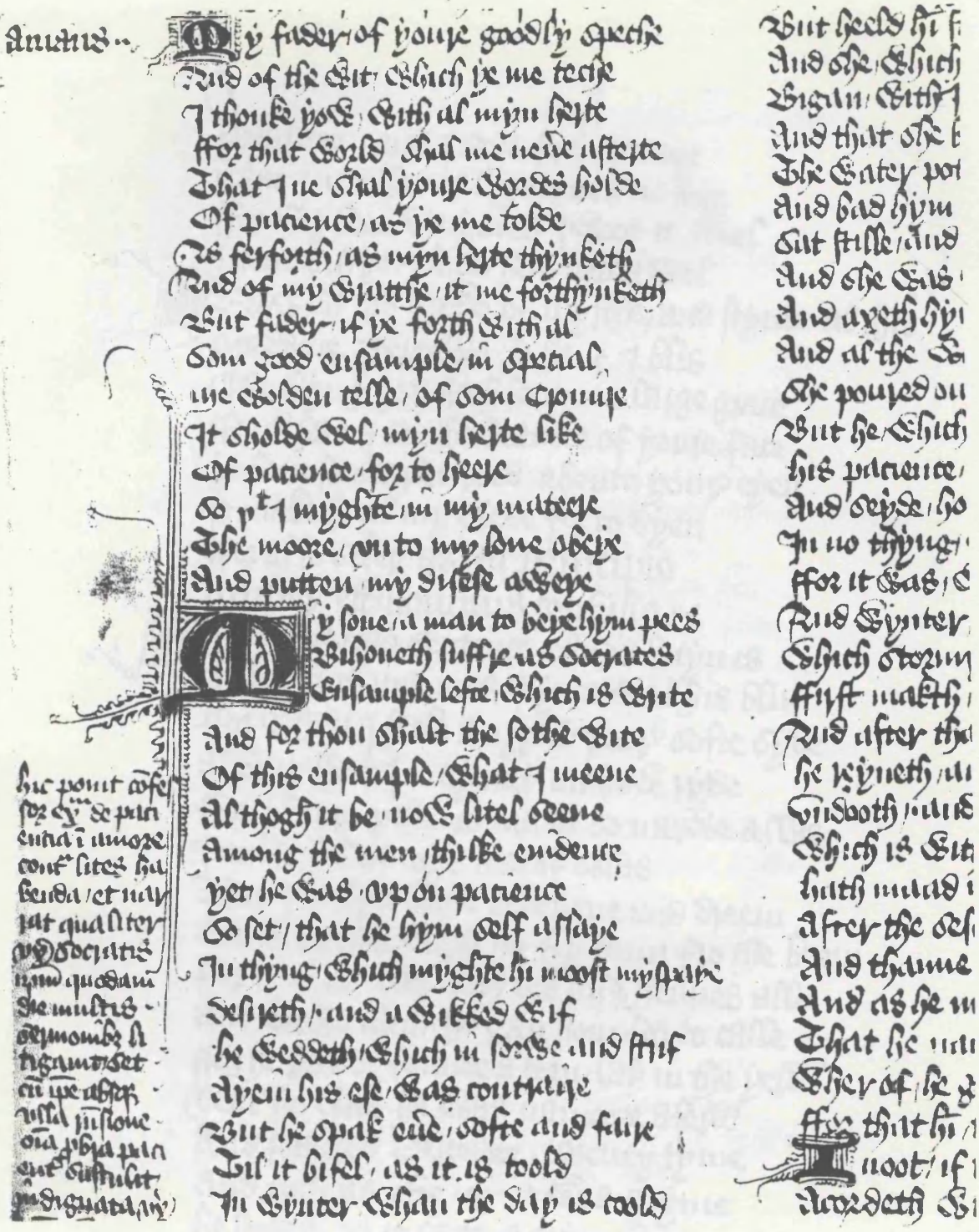


Plate 7. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS.R.3.2, folio 9. Hand B

(Reproduced from Doyle and Parkes, 1978: 171)

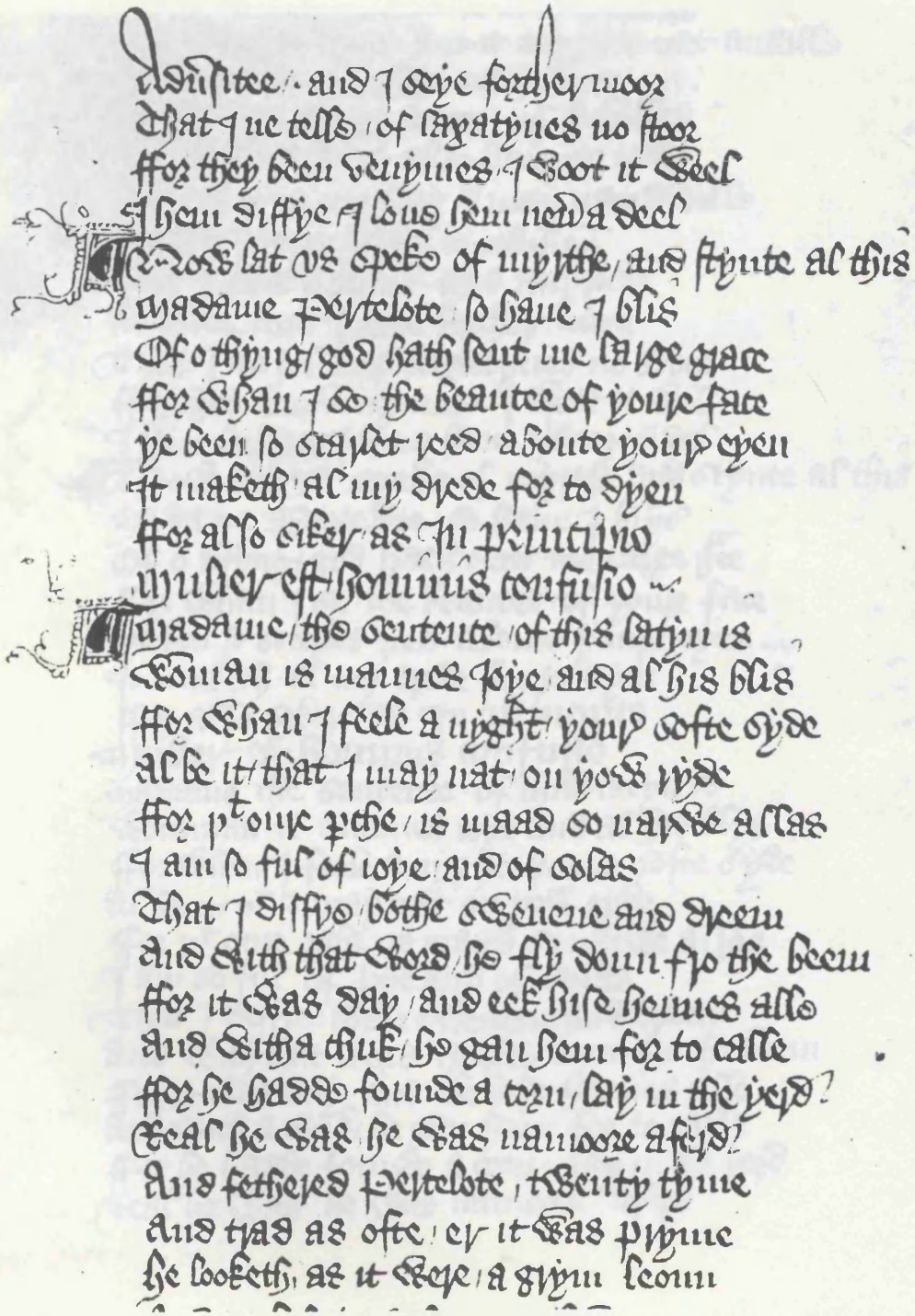


Plate 8. San Marino, Huntington Library, MS 26C.9, folio 182v.

(Reproduced from Doyle and Parkes, 1978: 172)

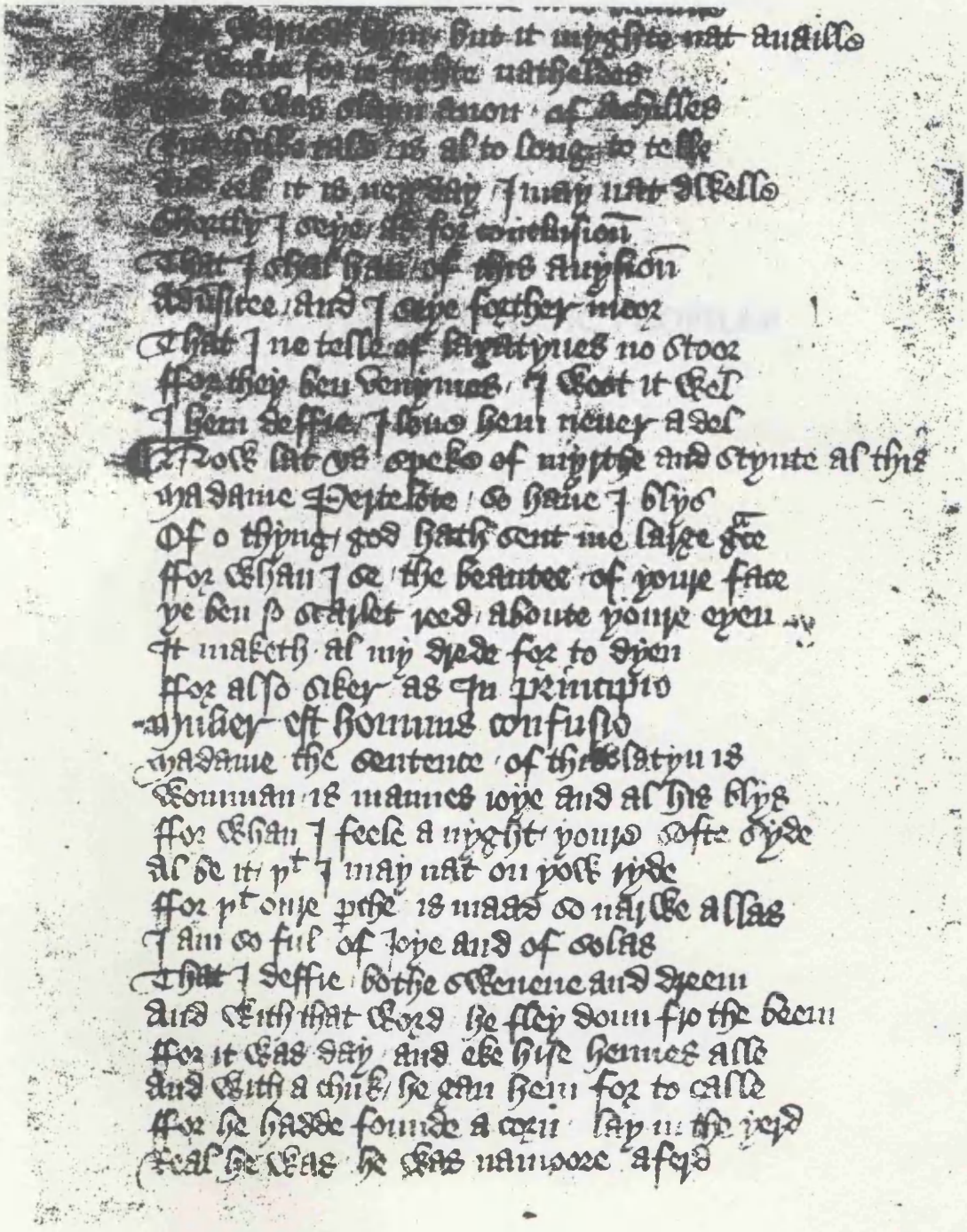


Plate 9. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 392, folio 103v

(Reproduced from Doyle and Parkes, 1978: 173)

THE GRAPHETIC PROFILES

HUNTERIAN S.1.7 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 49r

	Initial	Medial	Final
1. **a**	$a^{1.4}$ (($a^{1.2}$, $a^{1.1}$)), (((($a^{1.5}$, $a^{1.3}$, $a^{1.6}$, $a^{1.7}$)))	$a^{1.4}$ ($a^{1.11}$, $a^{1.1}$) ((($a^{1.4}$, $a^{1.2}$, $a^{1.3}$, $a^{1.13}$ $a^{1.14}$)))	$a^{1.4}$ ($a^{1.13}$), (((($a^{1.17}$, $a^{1.2}$)))
	$a^{2.1}$, ($a^{2.3}$, $a^{2.5}$), (($a^{2.2}$, $a^{2.8}$)) (((($a^{2.9}$, $a.^{2.10}$)))		
2. **d**	$d^{1.4}$, (($d^{1.1}$, $d^{1.2}$, $d^{1.3}$, $d^{1.5}$, $d^{1.6}$)	$d^{1.11}$, $d^{1.1}$, (($d^{1.9}$, $d^{1.7}$)) ((($d^{1.17}$, $d^{1.13}$)))	$d^{1.1}$, (($d^{1.13}$, $^{1.8,}$ $d^{1.4}$, $d^{3.1}$, $d^{1.15}$))
3. **e**	$e^{1.1}$ ($e^{1.3}$) ((($e^{1.4}$, $e^{1.2}$))) $e^{4.1}$, $e^{4.2}$	$e^{1.1}$, ($e^{2.1}$), (($e^{1.5}$)) ((($e^{1.4}$, $e^{1.9}$, $e^{1.7}$, $e^{1.8}$ $e^{3.1}$, $e^{3.2}$, $e^{1.10}$, $e^{1.11}$)))	$e^{1.1}$, $e^{1.5}$, ($e^{1.12}$) ((($e^{1.3}$, $e^{3.2}$, $e^{3.1.}$ $e^{2.2}$, $e^{1.13}$ $e^{2.1}$, $e^{1.14}$)))
4. **g**	$g^{1.4}$, ($g^{1.3}$), ((($g^{1.1}$, $g^{1.2}$, $g^{1.5}$, $g^{2.1}$, $g^{3.1}$)))	$g^{1.1}$, ($g^{1.7}$, $g^{1.8}$) (($g^{1.4}$, $g^{1.3}$, $g^{3.3}$, $g^{1.9}$))	$g^{1.4}$

HUNTERIAN S.1.7 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 49r

	Initial	Medial	Final
5. h	$h^{1.1}$, ($h^{2.4}$), ((($h^{1.3}$, $h^{3.1}$, $h^{3.2}$, $h^{3.3}$, $h^{3.4}$, $h^{3.7}$, $h^{1.6}$, $h^{1.2}$, $h^{2.6}$)))	$h^{2.4}$, $h^{1.6}$, (($h^{3.4}$, $h^{1.14}$)) (((($h^{3.6}$, $h^{3.1}$, $h^{2.5}$, $h^{2.7}$, $h^{3.3}$, $h^{1.1}$, $h^{2.1}$, $h^{3.7}$, $h^{1.4}$, $h^{1.5}$)))	$h^{3.7}$, $h^{1.6}$, ($h^{1.11}$, $h^{2.3}$) ((($h^{3.3}$, $h^{1.18}$))
	$h^{5.1}$, $h^{5.2}$, $h^{5.3}$, $h^{5.4}$		
6. r	r^{1}	$r^{1.1}$, ($r^{2.1}$), (($r^{1.4}$, $r^{2.2}$)) (((($r^{1.2}$, $r^{1.5}$, $r^{1.6}$, $r^{2.3}$)))	$r^{1.1}$ (($r^{2.1}$)) (((($r^{1.4}$, $r^{1.7}$, $r^{2.2}$, $r^{2.3}$, $r^{2.8}$)))
	$r^{3.1}$		

HUNTERIAN S.1.7 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 40v

	Initial	Medial	Final
1. **a**	$a^{1.1}$ $((a^{1.9}, a^{1.10}, a^{3.1}))$ $a^{2.3}$ $((a^{2.7}))$ $(((a^{2.6}, a^{2.8}\ a^{2.18})))$	$a^{1.1}$ $(a^{1.16}, a^{1.15})$ $((a^{1.4}))$ $(((a^{1.2}, a^{1.13}, a^{1.17},$ $a^{1.18}, a^{3.1})))$	
2. **d**	$d^{1.1}$ $((d^{1.2}, d^{1.3}, d^{1.4}))$ $d^{2.1}$	$d^{1.1}$ $(((d^{1.2}, d^{1.9})))$	$d^{1.1}, d^{1.12},$ $d^{1.14}$ $(d^{1.3})$
3. **e**	$e^{1.1}$ $((e^{1.5}))$	$e^{1.1}, e^{1.5}$ $(e^{1.6})$ $(((e^{1.7}, e^{1.3}, e^{1.4},$ $e^{1.8}, e^{3.1}, e^{2.1}, e^{2.2})))$	$e^{1.5}, e^{1.12}$ $(e^{1.1})$ $((e^{2.2}, e^{1.6}))$ $(((e^{3.3},$ $e^{1.13}, e^{1.14}, e^{1.16})))$
4. **g**	$g^{1.4}, g^{1.5}$ $(g^{3.2})$	$g^{1.4}$ $((g^{1.1}))$ $(((g^{3.1}, g^{3.3})))$	$g^{1.10}$

HUNTERIAN S.1.7 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 40v

	Initial	Medial	Final
5. **h**	$h^{1.3}$, h2.7 (h2.8) (($h^{1.1}$, $h^{3.3}$, $h^{3.1}$, $h^{3.5}$, $h^{2.8}$, $h^{2.9}$, $h^{1.13}$))	$h^{1.2}$, $h^{1.1}$ ($h^{1.5}$) (($h^{1.3}$, $h^{1.9}$, $h^{1.11}$, $h^{2.10}$, $h^{1.7}$, $h^{3.7}$, $h^{2.11}$))	$h^{2.7}$, ($h^{1.1}$) (($h^{1.4}$, $h^{1.12}$))
	$h^{5.1}$, $h^{5.7}$		
6. **r**	$r^{1.1}$ ($r^{1.13}$) (((($r^{1.2}$, $r^{2.3}$, $r^{2.4}$)))	$r^{1.1}$ ($r^{1.7}$) (($r^{2.5}$))	$r^{1.1}$ ($r^{2.3a}$) (((($r^{1.4}$ $r^{1.2}$, $r^{2.3}$, $r^{2.1}$, $r^{2.9}$)))

HUNTERIAN S.1.7 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 16v

	Initial	Medial	Final
1. **a**	$a^{1.4}$ ($a^{1.1}$) (($a^{1.3}$, $a^{1.8}$))) $a^{2.13}$ (($a^{2.17}$)) (($a^{2.5}$, $a^{2.4}$ $a^{2.1}$, $a^{2.12}$, $a^{2.13}$, $a^{2.14}$, $a^{2.15}$, $a^{2.16}$)))	$a^{1.1}$, $a^{1.16}$ (($a^{1.11}$)) (($a^{1.14}$, $a^{1.15}$, $a^{1.16}$, $a^{1.19}$)))	
2. **d**	$d^{1.9}$ (($d^{1.1}$, $d^{1.4}$)) (($d^{1.3}$)))	$d^{1.1}$ (($d^{1.13}$))	$d^{1.9}$ (($d^{1.1}$, $d^{1.4}$)) (($d^{1.3}$)))
3. **e**	$e^{1.1}$ (($e^{1.5}$))	$e^{1.5}$, (($e^{1.1}$, $e^{1.7}$)) (($e^{3.2}$, $e^{1.4}$, $e^{1.6}$, $e^{2.2}$, $e^{2.1}$, $e^{1.11}$)))	$e^{1.5}$ (($e^{1.12}$, $e^{1.1}$)) (($e^{1.6}$, $e^{1.3}$, $e^{3.1}$, $e^{3.2}$, $e^{3.3}$, $e^{1.13}$, $e^{1.15}$, $e^{1.16}$, $e^{1.7}$, $e^{1.17}$)))
4. **g**	$g^{1.1}$, $g^{1.6}$ ($g^{1.4}$)	$g^{1.4}$ ($g^{1.1}$, $g^{1.7}$) (($g^{3.4}$ $g^{1.8}$, $g^{1.9}$)))	$g^{1.7}$ ($g^{1.4}$)

HUNTERIAN S.1.7 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 16v

	Initial	Medial	Final
5. **h**	$h^{1.9}$ ($h^{2.2}$) (($h^{2.1}$, $h^{2.3}$, $h^{1.11}$)) (($h^{2.4}$, $h^{1.10}$, $h^{3.1}$, $h^{3.4}$)))	$h^{1.7}$, $h^{1.3}$, $h^{2.4}$ (($h^{3.2}$)) (($h^{2.7}$, $h^{3.5}$ $h^{1.11}$, $h^{2.1}$, $h^{2.3}$, $h^{3.1}$)))	$h^{1.1}$ ($h^{3.6}$, $h^{3.2}$) (($h^{2.7}$, $h^{3.1}$))
	$h^{5.5}$, $h^{5.6}$		
6. **r**	$r^{1.1}$, $r^{1.2}$	$r^{1.1}$ ($r^{1.2}$, $r^{2.1}$) (($r^{1.8}$, $r^{2.2}$, $r^{2.6}$, $r^{2.7}$, $r^{2.4}$, $r^{2.5}$)))	$r^{1.2}$ (($r^{1.1}$)) (($r^{2.3}$, $r^{2.1}$, $r^{2.3a}$, $r^{1.9}$))

PIERPONT MORGAN M.125 Graphetic Profile Questionnaire

Text: Confessio Amantis folio: 25r

	Initial	Medial	Final
1. **a**	$a^{1.1}$, $a^{1.2}$ (($a^{1.4}$)) (($a^{1.18}$, $a^{1.19}$, $a^{1.10}$)))	$a^{1.1}$, (($a^{1.2}$)) (($a^{1.4}$, $a^{1.2}$, $a^{1.10}$)))	$a^{1.1}$, (($a^{1.4}$, $a^{1.2}$)))
2. **d**	$d^{1.5}$, $d^{1.1}$ (($d^{3.1}$, $d^{1.16}$, $d^{1.2}$)))	$d^{1.8}$, $d^{1.1}$ (($d^{1.5}$)) (($d^{1.11}$, $d^{1.10}$, $d^{1.4}$)))	$d^{1.8}$ (($d^{1.5}$)) (($d^{1.4}$, $d^{1.1}$)))
3. **e**	$e^{1.1}$, $e^{1.6}$ (($e^{1.7}$, $e^{1.16}$, $e^{1.11}$)))	$e^{1.5}$ ($e^{1.1}$), (($e^{1.12}$)) (($e^{1.3}$, $e^{1.8}$, $e^{1.16}$, $e^{1.18}$, $e^{2.1}$, $e^{2.2}$, $e^{3.1}$)))	$e^{1.5}$, $e^{1.12}$, (($e^{1.1}$, $e^{1.18}$, $e^{1.16}$)) (($e^{1.3}$, $e^{1.4}$, $e^{1.7}$ $e^{1.17}$, $e^{1.2}$, $e^{3.2}$)))
4. **g**	$g^{1.3}$ (($g^{1.2}$, $g^{1.1}$, $g^{1.4}$, $g^{1.5}$, $g^{1.7}$)))	$g^{1.1}$, (($g^{1.2}$, $g^{1.3}$, $g^{1.5}$, $g^{1.12}$, $g^{3.1}$)))	
5. **h**	$h^{1.10}$, $h^{3.7}$ (($h^{1.5}$, $h^{1.6}$, $h^{1.9}$, $h^{2.2}$, $h^{2.9}$, $h^{3.1}$, $h^{3.3}$)))	$h^{1.10}$ (($h^{1.14}$)) (($h^{1.11}$, $h^{1.12}$, $h^{2.2}$, $h^{2.4}$, $h^{3.8}$, $h^{4.2}$)))	$h^{2.7}$, $h^{3.2}$ (($h^{1.2}$ $h^{1.10}$, $h^{1.13}$, $h^{1.17}$, $h^{2.2}$)))