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THE SCRIBAL FINGERPRINT: A GRAPHETIC
ANALYSIS OF MS GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
HUNTER 83

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Abstract

This thesis provides a graphetic analysis of the two hands active in MS Glasgow University Library Hunter 83, a Middle English edition of a *Prose Brut* text. It is based on the methodology first put forward by Professor McIntosh in 1974, which uses Graphetic and Linguistic Profiles in order to identify scribal idiosyncrasies. By applying the graphetic element of this theory to MS Hunter 83, the main body of this thesis presents two ‘scribal fingerprints’, ultimately singling out graphetic behaviour characteristic of both hands.

The primary aim of this thesis is an in-depth analysis of the letter forms which will make up the body of the Graphetic Profiles of the two scribes. However, a further research question will be addressed: since the two scribes have been said in catalogues to write in “mixed” hands, is it possible to describe individual hands as “Secretary” or “Anglicana”, or is a more subtle typology, based on “fuzzy-set” theory, needed? By first establishing the characteristics of both scripts and secondly by comparing them to the two Graphetic Profiles, it is possible to establish the degree of ‘fuzziness’ relating to this established palaeographical terminology.

Lastly, and perhaps most interestingly, it may be possible to identify a dialectal difference, since it is said that scribe B wrote in a ‘typical Scottish hand’ (Matheson 1998:205). A Graphetic Profile can shed further light on this assumption and identify the typical Scottish features allegedly present in the hand of this scribe.

In sum, this thesis is an attempt to test the validity and value of McIntosh’s analytic procedure on two complex scribal outputs from the end of the Middle English period.



ye Graunt may you find here ye shall be de adu the full good
 wyse of the hys of Synay you nott lost till ye see the gwy ye
 make so mythe poble and wapping by of slye for a same full
 that I mythe poble to my bryte that mnd called Elynd y that mnd
 to horell hys of Britane and hys lityr the bodye m the folowbe
 that to me wate botalie to mythe poble Bo thyn come a deyll A
 Graunt and yadefred hys and me also and hed ve both allyay
 And he wold hane forlynd y mayde y wote so yong etynd of age
 bot slye mythe nott it suffry so grette and slyngye ye Graunt is
 And he nott come as he wote to do wote he wote you full
 bothe ttebo and slye fast goe ythynus And mayfore the said
 goe the nott hys / Ette slye of slye gwy yot Elynd wate de
 the graunt made me to abide ete deo phantye hys wote od me
 And me must mndye ut suffry And god wote y deo ut nott ut mythe
 for me had hed to be de de yd ut hys de de / so mythe yone I hane
 gwy he me forlynd Wotry hys and Wotry had hane
 all of the wound had told the tynge agayn ete deo hys
Arthure and told hys all yot the had slye and hys Arthure
 onoon toke thyn both de de ut hys and went by mythe y
 noon of the ofte wote ut and some of the morolle ete deo ye
 Graunt and faulst ut hys frangly and at ye last hys
Arthure had Wotry Wotry of hys hys
 byng ut to ye ofte to slye thyn for a wound for ut was
 so grette and slyngye Arthure yot come agayn to ye ofte / the told
 whye for the had been abte / ete slye de de to hys ye hys of the
 Graunt and mnd yot was glade and yot full of the wotry
 de de yot hys Arthure had de de Arthure hys was forlynd
 for hys mnd yot was so lyste and aft he had slye he hys mak
 a faw thapell of one lityr Elynd Wotry Wotry Wotry
A Arthure hys hys to ye Empoyre of Rome Wotry Wotry
Wotry and hys peple had Wotry of ye Empoyre
 had assembled a grette yotrye / as wote of Wotry
 as of Wotry and Wotry and Wotry of ye noumbly wote
 mnd hys Wotry and Wotry Wotry hys peple ordeyne
 fast forlye m the way to wote the Empoyre / ete Wotry Wotry
 and Wotry into Wotry Wotry hys hys to ye ofte
 for mnd told hys yot ye Empoyre ofte wote come to hys Wotry

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1. Introduction; Research Questions, Methodology and Historical Context

1.1 Middle English Dialectology and the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English

The Middle English period (1100 – 1475) is characterised not only by the existence of many English dialects alongside each other but also by their manifestation in the written mode, something which was not the case during the Old English period. One explanation for this difference is that after the Norman Conquest English competed with French and Latin. Written English had a much more local rather than national role and as a result each region – indeed, each parish – developed its own linguistic characteristics. In sum, for much of the English period, written English was “dialectal” in a way which differed from Modern English. Thus, a student of Middle English needs to engage with dialectology.

Dialectology is the study of variation in language and the study of Middle English dialects first started to take shape in the nineteenth century. After 1898 it was generally approached from two different angles (McIntosh 1986:3), namely:

- a. by programmatic descriptions, based on the neogrammarian model;
- b. by research into place-name or other onomastic material.

Both approaches acknowledged that there existed a variety of dialects in the Middle English period; however they did not take into account the fact that many of the texts were copied and often translated from one dialect into the other. As a result, “sometimes this work was flawed because it did not pay sufficient attention to the various copies a text could go through” (Blake 1996:2). Indeed, “until the 1960’s translation between dialects received little attention” (Benskin and Laing 1981:55).

After World War II the study of Middle English improved immensely, for two main reasons (Blake 1996:3):

- a. the growth of modern linguistics, introducing a completely new approach to many areas of historical study;
- b. the establishment of comprehensive national surveys to study modern language and earlier stages of English.

Generally it was agreed that there existed five main dialectal areas in the Middle English period, namely the North, the West Midlands, the East Midlands, the South and the South East. Although the evidence of modern dialectological surveys suggested that this

typology was too crude, it was believed that there was insufficient evidence for a more sophisticated description. However, most scholars agree that the publication of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (LALME) in 1986 meant a turning point in the way this discipline was studied.

When McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin started their research for LALME in 1952, they took a complete new approach to Middle English dialectological research. Previously texts copied by scribes were generally rendered useless since they were supposed to be mixtures of authorial and scribal forms. However, the analytic procedures developed during the making of LALME meant that such “scribal” texts could now be studied in their own right, resulting in an immense amount of research material that could now be used: the fact that scribes worked at texts sometimes many copies away from the original was not perceived as an obstacle but instead created opportunities. “Professor McIntosh was the first to realise the importance of such translation for Middle English philology” (Benskin and Laing 1981:56). Milroy (1998:184) describes LALME as the “most comprehensive study of Middle English dialects” and Riddy (1991:x), terms it “the major research tool for medievalists”.

LALME provides scholars with a tool that can be used to locate a text, in some well attested areas, within a 10 miles radius, much more precise than had been possible before. Its time span covers the period between 1325 and 1425 in the South and from 1350 to 1450 for the Midlands and the North. This geographical division may seem strange: however it must be remembered that the spread of a standard language happened much faster in the south and dialect distinctions started to die out earlier there while a smaller amount of datable source texts from the North and the Midlands before 1350 meant it was difficult to go back much earlier than that.

After the publication of LALME Middle English dialectological research changed dramatically and as a result is now focussed much more on scribal behaviour and translation than before. This thesis aims to contribute to this development by closely examining the handwriting of the two scribes active in MS Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 83 of the *Prose Brut* tradition. The approach taken is that first suggested by McIntosh in the 1970s, viz. the construction and analysis of a *graphetic profile* (GP). The study links linguistic and palaeographical insights, attempting to bring the disciplines of linguistics and palaeography into closed articulation.

Relevant terminology and associated methodology will be discussed in the remainder of this introduction. Since the palaeography of a text (its “form”) is constrained by its socio-cultural functions this is followed by a short description of the contexts for the

manuscript. Chapter 2 and 3 focus on the palaeography of the two scribes in MS Hunter 83. Chapter 4 offers conclusions based on the GPs of the two scribes active in MS Glasgow University Library Hunter 83. In the light of the new approach to Middle English dialectology described above, this thesis will provide a detailed graphological ‘scribal fingerprint’ of the kind called for by McIntosh.

A further research question addressed in this thesis is: since the two scribes have been said in catalogues to write in “mixed” hands, is it possible to describe individual hands as “Secretary” or “Anglicana”, or is a more subtle typology, based on “fuzzy-set” theory needed? In sum, this thesis is an attempt to test the validity and value of McIntosh’s analytic procedure on two complex scribal outputs from the end of the Middle English period.

1.2 The Profiles Explained

McIntosh’s working hypothesis, with which he began the project which led to LALME, was that “no two Middle English scribes produced exactly the same variety of written English in exactly the same hand” (1975:220). In his article “Scribal Profiles from ME Texts” (1975) McIntosh takes this notion and suggests an analytical procedure to enable the structured description of scribal outputs. He identifies two aspects of scribal behaviour that should be studied – language and handwriting - and calls them Linguistic Profiles (LP) and Graphetic Profiles (GP) respectively. Together, according to professor McIntosh (1975:221), the LP and GP make up a ‘scribal fingerprint’ because “every different profile will indicate a different scribe” just as “identical profiles will indicate one and the same scribe”.

The Linguistic Profile

Linguistic data in LALME was assembled by means of a questionnaire, described by Benskin (1991:17) as “a selective index of the forms of the dialect in question”. The outcome of the questionnaire-procedure is a LP “providing information of some kind about the linguistic system of the example of written language under scrutiny” (McIntosh 1975:222). A LP consists of a representative set of word forms, sufficient in number and occurrence to allow for an adequate characterisation of the language of the text being analysed.

The results of a LP can display scribal linguistic behaviour, so detailed that it can be used to distinguish particular scribes from others. This can be invaluable in research on the location and provenance of the MS under investigation and indeed can help identify the

exemplar. Ultimately, a ‘family tree’ can be built from copies of and relationships between different texts and indeed scribal centres, shedding a unique light on for example MS movement. However, because this thesis focuses only on the graphetic idiosyncrasies of the two scribes active in Hunter 83, further discussion on this subject must remain untouched.

The Graphetic Profile; Terminology

When modern children nowadays learn to write in school, they begin by copying from a model example provided by their teacher. However, although everybody has learned to write according to similar templates, nobody’s handwriting is the same.

Scribes also copied from models. Their choice of model depended on the formality of the text being copied or the wealth and status of the customer, but all the time scribes were trying to adhere to the conventions of a *script* that was in fashion at the time. However, their realisation of this script, their *hand*, may be assumed to be unique to the scribe in question, as is modern handwriting. The study of scripts and hands is the realm of the discipline known as *palaeography*. Palaeographers have developed various techniques for assembling data for descriptive purposes, engaging with graphological (script-focused) or graphetic (hand-focused) issues.

For the purposes of characterising an individual scribal hand, McIntosh distinguished the GP to complement the LP. The GP offers an analysis of a scribe’s handwriting, making it possible to identify a set of distinctive idiosyncrasies. McIntosh (1975:222) describes the goal of a GP as: “providing information about those linguistically sub-systemic phenomena in written language which are parallel to phonetic phenomena in spoken language”.

Compared to the construction of a LP, that of a GP is much more difficult to do, mainly because “no systemic attempt has yet been made to characterise the variation in medieval letter-shapes” (McIntosh 1975:223). McIntosh attempted to identify a set of relevant parameters, and these parameters are explored and tested in this thesis. In so doing, he drew on palaeographical research; terminology established by palaeographers is listed below.

Script/hand

The notion of *script* is defined by Parkes (1969:xxvi) as “the model which the scribe has in his mind’s eye when he writes”, in other words, it is the example which the scribe is trying to perfect in his own handwriting. In the fifteenth century, when MS. Hunter 83 was written, two major scripts were used for writing in the vernacular, namely Secretary and

Anglicana. Whereas Secretary was invented in Italy and reached Britain through France, Anglicana was an insular invention. Both scripts have many features in common, mainly due to the fact that they could be written faster in order to meet the increasing demand for vernacular books; they were *cursive* scripts (i.e. “joined up”). The distinctive characteristics of these scripts will be described in detail in a following chapter. It should be noted that many scribes were able to write in more than one script, using different scripts for different purposes.

A notion that goes together with the term *script* and in a way is a result of it is *hand*; the “actual realisation of the script achieved by the scribe” (Smith 1996: 56) or what eventually is being put down on paper. However much a scribe tried to comply with the rules of writing in a particular script, it is the realisation on paper, or in other words the *hand*, that makes handwriting idiosyncratic. Mackenzie (1999: 70) was not the first to conclude that “the study of handwriting can be a valuable investigative tool in the analysis of Middle English manuscripts” and that it, “like linguistics, can provide information unique to individual scribes”. In the case of a GP it is the scribe’s *hand* that is being investigated, not the *script*. However, because each script comes with certain conventional rules, researching the characteristics of the script present in the text that is being investigated is a good starting point for the questionnaire.

Grapheme/allograph

The distinction between grapheme and allograph “parallels the notions phoneme and allophone” (Smith 1996: 57). The definition of the term *phoneme* in spoken language is the smallest unit in speech that distinguishes meaning. Phonemes can be recognized by creating *minimal pairs* described by Smith as “pairs of words in which a difference of a single sound in an identical phonetic environment indicates a difference of meaning” (1996: 79). For example, in the minimal pair *cat* : *hat* /c/ and /h/ are phonemes because changing them changes the meaning of the word. Similarly, a *grapheme* is the fundamental unit in the written language which distinguishes meaning; thus <c> and <h> are distinct graphemes, since replacement of one by the other changes the meaning of the word.

The actual realisation of phonemes differs from person to person simply because our vocal chords are shaped differently. Even though we all attempt to utter the same sound, when analysed in greater detail, no two persons sound the same; moreover, it is well-known that phonemes sound different in different environments. These person- or

environment-specific differentiations of a phoneme are called *allophones*. Allophones are “realisations of phonemes” (Roach 1998:38).

An example, taken from Smith (1996: 16), will illustrate this further. The fact that the words *long* and *song* form a minimal pair proves that /l/ and /s/ are phonemes, simply because exchanging them changes the meaning of the word. But, even though one person might pronounce the word long as [lɔŋ] someone else could pronounce it with a velarised /l/ resulting in the phonetic transcription [lɔŋ]. When replacing the allophone [ɫ] for [l] the meaning of the word does not change and consequently “no orthographic distinction is needed in the written mode” (Smith 1996: 16).

Allographs are the written-language equivalent of the allophone. In medieval handwriting, for example, the grapheme <s> could have been written differently in different scripts or different positions in the word. It is widely accepted that for <s> scribes sometimes used the so called ‘long s’, a ‘sigma-shaped s’ or a ‘modern s’, depending on the environment of the form in question. These different, environmentally-conditioned forms are allographs. Allographs are person-conditioned as well; thus, for example, one scribe may write a <g> with a tail and another may write it with a closed loop. Even though they are both the same grapheme <g> and everyone would recognise them as such, they nevertheless look different. Therefore, allographs are what make one person’s handwriting different from another’s even though all are attempting to write the same grapheme.

Other Palaeographical Terms

Apart from the distinction between script and hand described above, there exist some other palaeographical terms that are relevant and they will be discussed shortly.

A *script* can be either *majuscule* - in capitals; confined between two lines- or *minuscule* –when it is confined between four lines using both capitals as well as lower case letters. A characteristic of *majuscule* is that it does not have any *ascenders* – letters that reach above the general height of other letters (for example b) – and *descenders* – ones that reach below the general level of other letters (for example p).

The *duct* of a *hand* is “the way in which a script is written, its speed and care of execution and formation of letters” (Brown 2002:8). It takes into account for example the angle of the pen and the pressure on the paper. The *duct* can be either *calligraphic* (sometimes also termed *set*) or *cursive* concerning either letters that were well-formed, upright and unlinked as opposed to letters that were “joined together without a pen lift” (Petti 1977:10). A *stroke* is “a single trace made by the pen on the page” (Parkes

1969:xxvi) and a *minim* is the shortest and simplest stroke (traditionally illustrated by such words as ‘minim’ which contains 10 minims).

The different parts of the letters themselves are also named:

- a. the letter ‘h’ consists of an *ascender* and a *limb*,
- b. the letter ‘p’ consists of a *descender* and a *lobe*,
- c. the letter ‘t’ consists of a *head-stroke* and a *shaft*,
- d. the *body* of a letterform is that part that does not include the *ascender* or *descender*.

The Graphetic Profile; Methodology

The means of establishing such a scribal fingerprint is through a GP, defined by Mackenzie (1999:4) as a record of “the idiosyncratic ways in which individual scribes executed letter-forms.

So, what exactly does this mean for MS. Hunter 83 and why does this manuscript lend itself well to making a graphetic profile? The following information, taken partly from the ‘Imagining History Project’ at the University of Belfast (www.qub.ac.uk/imagining-history/wordpress/, accessed 24/08/2008), is only a short summary of its linguistic and palaeographical features, but sufficient to identify why analysis of this manuscript is likely to be fruitful.

The manuscript is said to have been written by two scribes. Firstly scribe A, who wrote folios 15 to 128 in a Secretary book hand with Anglicana features which has been described as ‘a typical Scottish hand of the end of the 15th century’ (Matheson 1998:205). His hand has been dated by the Imagining History Project as possibly late third quarter or fourth quarter of the fifteenth century and his language has been classified as northern. Secondly scribe B, who later added a prologue (probably copied from Caxton’s printed St. Albans edition of *The Chronicles of England* also in Glasgow University Library including a list of kings) and finished with an added continuation to the year 1474. He wrote in a Secretary script also with Anglicana features, dated 1483-1500. Scribe B’s language is also said to be northern.

The above features lend themselves well for a testing the methodologies associated with the construction of a GP. First, the two scribes were copying from the same text, meaning that they can be presumed to be copying for a similar audience. Secondly, although they were both attempting to write in the same script, there are some features

which deviate from that script. Lastly, and maybe most interestingly, it may be possible to identify a dialectal difference in GPs as well as LPs.

There are no commonly agreed analytic procedures for the construction of GPs of the kind established for LPs by Benskin and Laing (1981). Nor are there any particular conventions for presenting the data. Luckily, with simple modern computer-technology, it is possible to present this in a much more comprehensive way than has been achievable in the past.

What is needed is the ability to show clearly the difference between (for example) a ‘flat-topped a’ and a ‘pointy a’ as this is the degree of detail a GP aims to illustrate. It is important to collect as many of these letter-forms as possible and the easiest way of doing this is by studying the manuscript using a graph pad and simply copying the letters from the exemplar onto the pad. What has proved particularly beneficial in this case was the recording of the line and word in which the letter was placed, immediately showing in which positions in a word this letter-form occurs. Figure 1 is an example of such raw data collected for scribe A, folio 136 recto letter a:

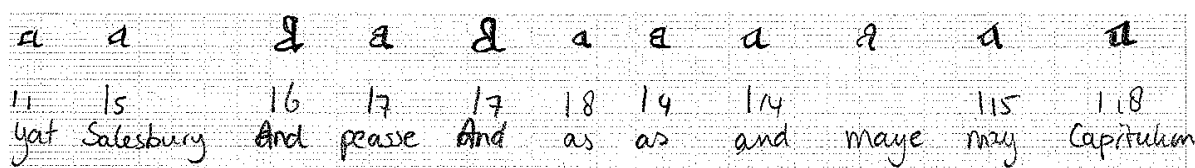


Figure 1: GP fol 136 rec, Scribe A, a unorganised

Once this has been completed for every letter, not forgetting the ‘extra’ þ, þ, ð, æ, ʒ and possibly punctuation marks, this data can be organised. So, in the case of ‘a’, all capitals, flat topped, pointy, square, open, closed, two-compartment and maybe other varieties of the letter will be grouped together. Figure 2 and 3 represent the square and flat-topped a’s of scribe A:

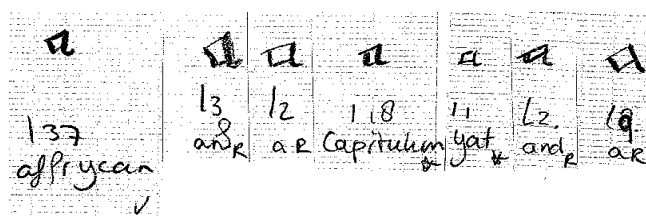


Figure 2: Scribe A, square a

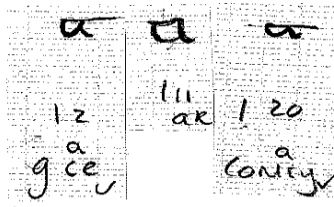


Figure 3: Scribe A, flat-topped a

Once the data have been assembled in this way, it can be analysed to determine “positional and contextual rules which govern, for a particular scribe, the choice of those which he uses” (McIntosh 1974: 617). By identifying these rules it should be possible to predict which letter-forms a scribe uses in which position or context in a word.

The primary aim of this thesis is an in-depth analysis of the letter forms which will make up the body of the GPs of the two scribes. However, before presenting and analysing the research data along these lines, what will follow is a short contextual introduction to the *Prose Brut* tradition.

1.3 Chronicle Writing in Britain and the *Prose Brut* Tradition

Chronicles are the ‘predecessors of modern histories, written accounts in prose or verse, of national or worldwide events over a considerable period of time’ (Abrams 1999:37). Medieval chronicles differed from modern histories in that their main concern was not to give a factual account of what had actually happened. They, on the contrary, often functioned as a means of communicating lessons of faith or mythical stories to the public. Where then, when studying these chronicles, does fact end and fiction begin? And are modern critics correct to dismiss them or should they prevent comparing chronicles to our modern history books and instead look beyond their moral messages?

Fleischman (1983:283) therefore distinguishes two separate functions for chronicles, namely that they have a “commemorative function” as well as an “exemplary function” and terms these “*sensus historicus*” and “*sensus moralis*”. This distinction in history writing is alien to the modern reader. To be able to understand it better, instead of looking at chronicle writing from a modern background, they should be looked at from a medieval point of view. As Albano (1993:23) points out: “history developed not within a scholarly or academic framework, but within a ‘religious framework’ (...) and events were considered as part of the divine scheme of things”. The chronicle tradition, therefore, can be seen as the ‘stage-in-between’ early religious writing on the one side and modern histories on the other. The line between fact and fiction is fuzzy; chronicles were written not only to record historical events but also – and primarily – to teach values and codes of conduct.

The peak in chronicle writing in Britain was during the Late Middle English (c. 1340 – c. 1475). At the beginning of the fourteenth century chronicles were written in Latin or Anglo-Norman but with the growth in books in the vernacular and the English and Scottish people's increasing national sense came a "hunger for a history of their country written in a language they could understand" (Albano 1993:1). Chronicles met this hunger. Four main chronicles circulated in Britain, namely the anonymous *Prose Brut* tradition (from s. xiv¹) and John Trevisa's *Polychronicon* (from s. xiii²) in England and in Scotland John Barbour's *Bruce* (from s. xiii²) and Andrew of Wyntoun's *Orygynal Cronykil* (from s. xiv¹).

According to Albano (1993:2) "all four of these works share a number of features in common". Firstly, some of their main sources being Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1136) and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c. 731) means that they "report on many of the same events" with the political struggle at home and the English wars with Scotland and France functioning as a theme throughout. Moreover "they share a common historical past" and a "common historical tradition" which again explains similar reports on the same events but also gives them their shared knightly and patriotic tone. Lastly, they "all utilise an underlying religious framework" which supports the belief that "medieval history was written to present the lessons of faith" (1993:3). This feature underlies the paradox between *sensus historicus* and *sensus moralis* mentioned above.

The rise of the vernacular chronicle represents the rise in national feeling among the English and the Scottish peoples. By writing a history in English or in Scots, focussing on events such as the war with France, a message was sent out that the nations of Britain were breaking away from the Latin of the church and the French of the Angevin kings. Of the four major chronicles circulating in Britain, the *Prose Brut* was a "major influence in shaping national consciousness in medieval and post-medieval England" (Matheson 1998:9) and soon became the leading contemporary historical authority.

The anonymous *Prose Brut* was the earliest English prose chronicle, surviving in 240 manuscripts in three different languages (of which 180 are in English). It was the standard account of English history in the Middle Ages as well as in the Renaissance, going back to the finding of England by Brutus and describing the reigns of some 100 kings. The work "began as an Anglo-Norman chronicle written in French in the early part of the fourteenth century" (Albano 1998:37), which in turn used the *Historia Regum Britanniae* as its major source. When about 75 years later the text was translated into Middle English, its reputation soon surpassed that of the French version and lasted for several centuries. In

1480 it became the first history to be printed (by Caxton) and its last printed edition dates from 1528.

The contents of the various *Brut* manuscripts can roughly be described as “the history of England from the first discovery and settlement to what were, to its writers, continuators, and audience, modern times” (Matheson 1998:1). It starts with the founding of Britain by Brutus, great-grandson to the Trojan Eneas, who had been exiled from his own country and after a long and eventful journey settles on the island of Albion with his men. After killing the giants that inhabit the island, Brut names Cornwall, Wales and Scotland and divides them amongst his sons. He builds the city of New Troy, which according to the story is now called London, and rules England until he dies. By adding in this lengthy episode Briton’s mythical ancestors are firmly established, and after this the *Brut* gives an account of the reign of many kings, including King Leir, Constantine, Vortiger and the legendary King Arthur. Different versions end at different times and events, mainly depending on when they were written or what their sources were. Moreover, many *Brut* manuscripts have added continuations and prologues. The last version, William Caxton’s *The Chronicles of England*, ends with the death of Henry VI in 1461.

With the *Prose Brut*’s historical background and the relevant terminology firmly established, it is time to advance to discussing the main research subject of this thesis, namely the palaeography of MS Hunter 83. The following two chapters will first define the term palaeography, look at what the theories brought forward in the 1970s by McIntosh mean for this particular manuscript and lastly will demonstrate and discuss the data yielded in an extensive comparison of the two hands present in the manuscript.

2. The Palaeography of MS Hunter 83

2.1 Palaeography; a Short Definition

Palaeography has been defined as “the study of ancient and medieval handwriting” (Lowe 1994:2900). Translated literally, the word means ‘old writing’ and as a discipline it aims to date and localise manuscripts, texts and any other hand-written pieces by taking information from their handwriting as evidence. John (1976:2) distinguishes between *applied palaeography* on the one hand and *theoretical palaeography* on the other, meaning the assignment of date and place to a manuscript firstly on the basis of its script and secondly by establishing rules in scribal behaviour assigned to a certain age and location. However, this distinction never seems to have become established and is not generally in use. In this thesis, John’s distinctions will not be used; the term *palaeography* will be used to cover both areas.

Usually the discipline of palaeography is mentioned in tandem with the discipline of *codicology*, which studies “the physical manufacture of the book” (Lowe 1994:2900), i.e. its lay out, material, compilation etc., rather than its handwriting. Where codicology is said to study the ‘archaeology’ of a manuscript and assigns a date and place through its mainly physical features, palaeography investigates only the handwriting with an aim of dating and describing the script and any peculiarities of the hand or hands in question. An example of such a palaeographical dating feature is the presence of ‘tall e’ in a text, because generally in the eleventh century this letter became out of use. Also, in the case of manuscripts, more general information is helpful, e.g. whether the writing appears above or below the top line; the latter can be seen only from the thirteenth century onwards.

Like many disciplines dealing with issues of categorisation, palaeography has to engage with fuzziness. For instance, two samples of handwriting produced in the same year can look entirely different from each other simply because the writing of an old man will be different from that of a younger one. Palaeography therefore cannot prove when a text was written, it can only date the script. The exception to this, of course, occurs when a reference in the actual text can be used for dating, the simplest example being the mentioning of an actual date which is not uncommon in charters. Texts that do provide such precise evidence are called *dated texts* as opposed to *datable texts* where “the date can be reliably established by external information” (Lowe 1994:2901).

Similarly, the practice of localisation causes problems, mostly because of the damage done to monasteries and their libraries at first by the Viking raids and secondly by the dissolution of monasteries in the Reformation in the sixteenth century. As a result folios of

medieval religious manuscripts were used to wrap soap or butter, sold or even used as toilet paper. In 1500 the library of Christ Church in Canterbury is known to have owned 2100 volumes; nowadays only 300 survive, showing the scale of destruction caused by the Reformation. Other events, like the fire in the Cotton Library in 1731, have in the past caused damage to, and regularly meant the loss of, valuable texts; texts that no doubt would have been of great support for modern scholars in the difficult process of localising and dating.

Not only are palaeographers nowadays faced with a limited body of evidence, it is also difficult to gain access. The surviving manuscripts “are now, for the most part, safely and comfortably housed, in some cases many thousands miles from their original homes” (Petti 1977:2). In order to see a certain manuscript, the researcher often has to travel a fair distance. Because of this, it is significant to mention the importance of digitisation here; it provides easy access to anyone interested without doing any damage to the original and therefore maximising its preservation.

2.2 Anglicana and Secretary; the Scripts of MS Hunter 83

In the twelfth century a calligraphic and elaborate script called *Textura* was the main script on the British Isles, especially suited for display purposes. However, “the increasing demands upon the time and energy of the scribes and the need to conserve space led to the development of smaller, simpler hands” (Parkes 1969:xiii). A distinction arose between the use of scripts in documents as opposed to the use of scripts in books. The aim of the scribe became to raise his pen as little as possible when writing, achieved by changing the duct, and as a result what were once straight strokes became curved ones, letters were connected as much as possible, their size became smaller and in general the scripts were quicker and easier to write, taking up as little space as possible.

Two cursive scripts developed as a response to this situation, namely *Anglicana* and *Secretary*. *Anglicana* was an insular invention, whereas *Secretary* reached Britain through France from Italy. The two scribes in MS Hunter 83 are said to have both written in *Secretary* with *Anglicana* features. It was common for the two scripts to be mixed as they were both so widely in use, especially in situations where speed was more important than appearance and where the backgrounds and with it demands of customers became more widespread and various.

Before examining both scribes’ personal handwriting, it could be interesting to first establish what they should resemble by listing typical *Anglicana* and *Secretary* features. There are also some features of the script for Scribe B which have been considered

distinctively Scottish. From this it may be possible to conclude whether naming scripts means that there exist clear boundaries between them or that there maybe are overlaps, i.e. fuzzy boundaries.

Anglicana

Anglicana, as its name suggests, was in use predominantly in Britain and existed from the twelfth until the fifteenth century. It was a cursive script, characterised in its early stages by the use of forked ascenders to, as Parkes (1969:xv) believes, “achieve calligraphic effect”. The straight strokes characteristic of the Textura script became more curved and significantly more connection strokes caused the script to be a great deal more cursive. However, the distinction between the separate letters meant it was still legible when written quickly.

In the fourteenth century a more elaborate version of Anglicana was developed for the use in formal books called *Anglicana Formata*. It had several characteristics; it was more calligraphic with broken strokes and hooded serifs and bigger bodied but less tall and it appeared squarer and showed thicker pen strokes than the earlier version. It rapidly replaced Textura, which had become “cramped and difficult to read” and was “ripe for replacement” (Parkes 1969:xvii).

The letter-forms traditionally associated with Anglicana (in all its versions) are a very tall two-compartment **a**, a looped ascender on **d**, the 8-shaped **g**, a tall **r** as well as a 2-shaped **r**, a sigma-shaped **s** as well as a tall **s** and **f** with their stems reaching below the line of writing. The crucial letter-form most characteristic of the Anglicana script is the elaborate **w** “either like a circle enclosing a 2 or 3, or like two looped l’s and 3” (Petti1997:14). For examples of these, taken from MS Hunter 83, see figure 4 below:


















Anglicana features	Scribe A	Folio and line	Scribe B	Folio and line
two-compartment a		120 fol 3 rec	X	
looped d		19 fol 3 rec		15 fol 14 rec
8-shaped g		11 fol 3 ver	X	
2-shaped r		110 fol 3 rec		137 fol 14 rec
tall r		117 fol 3 rec	X	11 fol 14 rec
Anglicana w		15 fol 3 rec		124 fol 14 ver
sigma-shaped s		117 fol 3 ver		129 fol 14 rec
tall s		14 fol 3 rec		18 fol 14 ver
tall f		115 fol 136 rec		11 fol 14 rec
forked ascenders		11 fol 3 rec		13 fol 14 ver

Figure 4: Anglicana Features in MS Hunter 83

Secretary

In the last quarter of the fourteenth century Anglicana was joined in Britain by a second cursive script, originating in Italy, called Secretary, which became used in all classes of books and documents and was the most important script in Britain in the sixteenth century. Its main differences from Anglicana “lie in the duct of the script and in the treatment of strokes and letter-forms” (Parkes 1969:xix) which meant it was even easier and quicker to write than Anglicana. “It was a much more angular hand (...) being written with an angled nib with a studied contrast of thick and thin strokes” (Petti 1977:14). Secretary’s angular duct with its broken strokes gave it a horny, prickly appearance with distinctive tapered ascenders and descenders.

Secretary also possesses letter-forms that characterise it and distinguish it from other scripts. It had a single-compartment pointed **a**, a simpler **w** resembling a double **v**, an open looped pointy **g**, a kidney-shaped **s**, a short **r** making the tall **r** completely absent and the tapering ascenders of for example letters **s** and **f** were exaggerated. For examples of these, taken from MS Hunter 83, see figure 5 below:



















Secretary Features	Scribe A	Folio and line	Scribe B	Folio and line
single-compartment a		13 fol 3 rec		13 fol 14 rec
simple w		12 fol 3 rec		131 fol 14 ver
open-looped g		16 fol 136 rec		19 fol 14 rec
kidney-shaped s		12 fol 3 rec		16 fol 14 rec
short r		18 fol 3 ver		12 fol 14 ver
angular broken strokes		141 fol 3 rec		15 fol 14 ver
tapering ascenders		rare, 110 fol 3 ver		116 fol 14 rec
tapering descenders		rare, 124 fol 3 ver		18 fol 14 ver
'horns'		17 fol 3 rec		11 fol 14 ver

Figure 5: Secretary features in MS Hunter 83

Hybrids

Secretary never acquired a formata grade, but to achieve that more formal status scribes crossed both Anglicana as well as Secretary with Textura resulting in two hybrid scripts otherwise known as *Bastard Anglicana* and *Bastard Secretary*. The main reason for doing this was “to effect a union of the best features of Textura and cursive, (...) at the same time producing graphs which were clearer than in either script” (Petti 1977:15). It filled the gap left behind after the decline of Textura which had become increasingly more difficult and

time-consuming to write, making the hybrids *the* scripts employed for *de luxe* texts and manuscripts.

Bastard Anglicana emerged around the middle of the fourteenth century, and was “larger than Anglicana Formata, better spaced and with greater emphasis placed upon its calligraphic execution (Parkes 1969:xviii). A century later, a hybrid version of Secretary appeared, developing a status almost equivalent to that of a formata script. Both hybrids took the parallel lines, the serifs and the uniformity from Textura, whereas the loops on ascenders and descenders and also the linking strokes between letters came directly from the cursive scripts. Again, for both Bastard scripts, a gradation in formality existed where the “relative degree of admixture determines classification” (Brown 2002:81).

Scottish features

When enquiring after the difference between English and Scottish Secretary, no clear answer can be given as no thorough investigation has yet been made. As Simpson (1998:15) indicates: “until we have the results of a close analysis of a large number of examples, there can be no definitive answer to this question”. However, years before Simpson, Parkes already gives an indication of what a typical Scottish hand of the fifteenth century would have consisted of. In his description to his plate 13 (ii) in *English Cursive Book Hands* (1969:13), he indicates influences from French hands, resulting in a **c** made up out of two strokes, an **e** that seems to have come apart and a general horny appearance. The manuscript in question being analysed – Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 24 – is dated 1488 and actually closely resembles certain features also present in Scribe B’s hand in Hunter MS 83.

Simpson does give some further indications as to how to distinguish a Scottish scribe from an English one in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1998:15-16). It seems to have been common for **k** and **p** to be written in one stroke (making the latter difficult to distinguish from **x**), **s** was peculiar in final position and finally **d** as well as **e** seemed to have fallen apart (making them rather similar in shape). Moreover, the Scottish script appears more upright and less angular, with uneven minims causing irregularity. Examples of these can be seen in figure 6 below, again taken from MS Hunter 83:








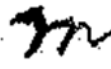




Scottish features	Scribe A	Folio and line	Scribe B	Folio and line
k in single stroke	X			13 fol 15 rec
p in single stroke	X			15 fol 14 ver
e fallen apart	X			11 fol 14 rec
d fallen apart	X			15 fol 14 rec
peculiar final s	X			120 fol 14 ver
open-topped a		rare, 125 fol 136 rec	X	
irregular minims		17 fol 3 rec		120 fol 14 rec
c in two strokes		18 fol 3 ver		14 fol 14 rec
exaggerated hair-stroke		1 37 fol 3 rec		11 fol 14 rec

Figure 6: Scottish features in MS Hunter 83

2.3 MS Hunter 83; its Graphetic Make-Up

Two scribes were responsible for copying MS Hunter 83. The manuscript begins with a list of ‘all the kynge(s) in the worlde’ carefully divided into geographical areas (folios iii recto-iv verso), followed by a carol on the Annunciation including musical score (folio iv verso). Then commences the *Prologue* to *The Brut Chronicle* which has been copied from Caxton’s printed St. Albans edition of the *Chronicles of England* (folios 1-9 recto), carefully reproducing the stencilled pictures present in St. Albans. Following The Prologue another two carols accompanied by their musical scores were recorded (folio 12 recto), one of them “uniquely preserved in this MS” (Imagining History Website). The section mentioned above, i.e. folio iii recto – 9 recto, was written by scribe A.

Scribe B wrote the main body of the text and the *Prose Brut* story, taking up folios 15 recto – 127 verso; unfortunately it is unknown which manuscript was used as exemplar. This is the oldest part of the manuscript, datable to around the last quarter of the fifteenth century, to which Scribe A added the Prologue and the Continuation.

The manuscript ends with scribe A (folio 128 recto – folio 140 verso) again taking material from Caxton’s *Chronicles of England* as well as from Warkworth’s *Chronicle*, “containing the *Polychronicon* continuation from 1419-1461” (Matheson 1998:88). Because Caxton printed his version of the *Prose Brut* in 1483, the hand of Scribe A cannot have been written prior to that, hence it has been dated as the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

Scribe A – Graphetic Description

Figure 7 offers an example of Scribe A’s hand, chosen to demonstrate its general graphetic characteristics:

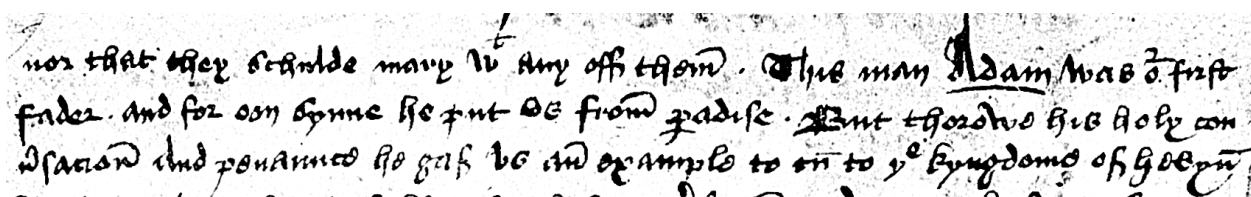
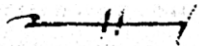


Figure 7: Scribe A, folio 2 verso lines 1 – 3

The hand is clearly cursive. It is compact and irregular, fluent but quickly written and the ascenders and descenders are small; – we might note that the ascenders are sometimes looped and sometimes straight, giving the hand both pointy and round features. These round features are enhanced by attaching strokes to some of a word’s final letters (i.e. line 1 *them*); this feature was both to “achieve calligraphic effect, as well as to signify abbreviation” (Parkes 1969:12) whereas horns attached to letters give the hand a prickly appearance (line 3 *g* in *kingdoms*). Also, for Latin phrases (mostly headers to chapters) this scribe employs a much more calligraphic and formal writing than for his main body of the text and he frequently uses elaborate capitals, especially when writing personal names (line 1 *Adam*).

Both single – as well as double compartment *a* are freely used throughout (e.g. line 1 *that* as opposed to *mary*), tall *s* is mostly situated in the middle of words whereas short *s* is used at the beginning and endings (e.g. line 2 *synne*, *us*, *paradise*) and the descenders of *y* and *x* bend to the right predominantly, whereas all other descenders are either looped or straight. Three forms of *r* are in use - there is no way of predicting when which one occurs – namely 2-shaped *r*, short *r* and ‘modern’ *r*.

The text is highly abbreviated, for example [*w^t*] and [*o^r*] in line 1 stand for *with* and *our*, the *¶* is an abbreviation either for Latin *per* or *par* in this case abbreviating the word *paradise* in line 2, [*y^e*] as in line 3 is a very common abbreviation for *the* and symbols such

as *e* for *and* also frequently appear. Scribe A uses a relatively large amount of punctuation in places fairly similar to our modern system, namely a full stop at the end of sentences and a capital at the start of a new one. He marks the end of his chapters with a decorative sign which can only be described as a 2 with a long tail with two lines through it . Personal names as well as place names are in red ink, written with an enlarged capital and they are underlined probably to keep in continuity with the oldest part of the manuscript written by scribe B.

Scribe B – graphetic description

Figure 8 offers an example of Scribe B's hand, chosen to demonstrate its general graphetic characteristics:

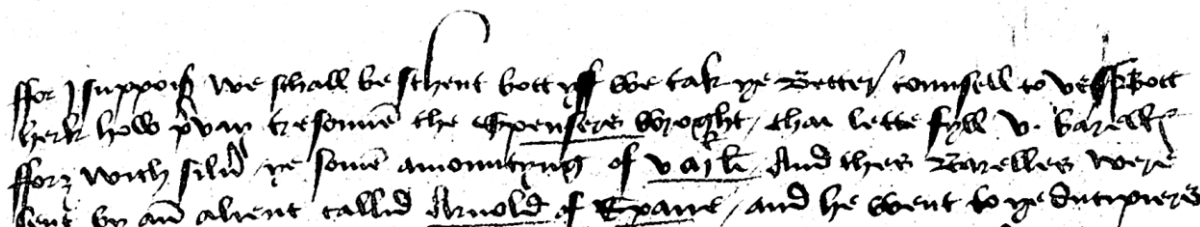




Figure 8: Scribe B folio 88 recto lines 1 – 4

Again, this is clearly a cursive hand, however wider and rounder than that of Scribe A. The ascenders and descenders are longer and expand further above and below the lines making it a more hasty looking script. Despite initial impression, it is much more regular in its usage of letter forms and loops; loops only sporadically occur on descenders whereas for ascenders they are much more common. This feature could be to achieve continuity and make the writing more cursive (compare *s* and *h* in *schall* line 1). Scribe B's only real attempts to make the script look more calligraphic are his use of larger capitals at the beginning of chapters and names and elongated ascenders at the first line of a page (line 1 *schene*).

As suggested in figure 6 above, this hand shows many characteristics that are associated with Scottish handwriting. A peculiar type of short *s* (line 3 *thes*) occurs mostly at the beginning and ending of words, whereas tall *s* (line 1 *schall*) is used at beginnings and in the middle. The use of *r* is quite unpredictable; both tall *r* (line 3 *were*) and short *r* (line 2 *tresoure*) are found in all positions in a word. The *p* is written in one stroke (line 1 *suppos*), as is *k* (line 1 *tak*) and *e* and *d* have come apart (line 1 *we*, line 4 *callid*). Only one compartment *a* is found with the exception of capital letters (line 1 *schall*, line 4 *Arnold*).

Scribe B also makes use of many abbreviations, much the same as the ones in use by Scribe A, presumably to save space. Scribe B regularly uses [w^l] for *with*, [oy] for *other*

and [y^t] for *that*, but Latin abbreviations are a bit rarer. He uses little punctuation apart from a sign that looks like a forward slash for dividing parts of sentences  called a 'virgula', a capital letter to indicate the start of a new sentence and a semi colon followed by an elevated long bar  at the end of chapter headings. Personal names as well as place names are in red ink, underlined and start with a large capital letter.

2.4 Graphetic Profiles

Collecting material for a Graphetic Profile (GP; see chapter 1 for definition) is not an easy task; apart from it being very time-consuming, it is also repetitive and monotonous. However, putting a lot of time and effort into recording the data systematically eventually has major advantages as this type of research always produces results. When it comes down to arranging the allographs and actually presenting them in a thesis like this one, problems arise, not in the least on how to present a large amount of data that seems incoherent and impossible to sort.

In his article 'Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes' (1974), McIntosh first suggests making scribal profiles and in his article he also offers a suggested questionnaire for listing graphetic features. What such a questionnaire needs to show is "information about the presence or absence in a given text of certain letter-shapes and about any positional and contextual rules which govern (...) the choice of those which he uses (McIntosh 1974:617). The following, taken from McIntosh (1974:622) is a list of graphetic features that could occur in a hand and which seemed to him likely to be fruitful to record:

1. Which forms of **a, b, d, f, ft, g, h, k, s, t** and **p** occur in the sample?
2. Which shapes of the following letters are used in which position in the word: **e, r, s** in initial, medial or final position?
3. Is the symbol **p** or **y** used for the fricative /th/?
4. Which abbreviations are used?

This study aims to present the collected data in a much more in-depth manner, ultimately touching on every allograph of a carefully selected range of graphemes. However, answering McIntosh's four questions listed above would already display a significant amount of relevant graphetic material and would give a good first indication of the handwritings of the two scribes of Hunter 83. Therefore, these four questions will first

be answered for each scribe to give a rough indication of possible idiosyncrasies before presenting the actual GP's.

McIntosh feature 1 Scribe A

By looking closely at the different letter-forms that occur for **a, b, d, f, ft, g, h, k, s, t** and **p** McIntosh aimed to show each scribe's particular idiosyncrasies. If it is possible to prove that one scribe only uses tall **s**, for example, a sample featuring sigma-shaped **s**'s cannot be written by the same person. Figure 9 below is a list of these forms found in the hand of scribe A in Hunter 83 and what immediately catches the eye is the diversity of these.

Starting with the letter **a**, the sample produces both single-compartment- and double-compartment-forms. The single-compartments in their turn can be divided into letters with an ascender and ones without. These, then, are separated by being square, flat-topped, pointy or round resulting in a wide array of forms for **a** and no real benefit for proving another text was written by the same scribe.

The **s** appears in sigma-shape and kidney-shape as well as tall, which is hard to distinguish from **f**. The kidney-shaped **s** can either be open or closed or closed with two separate compartments almost like modern day capital **B**. It was not uncommon for these three forms to exist alongside each other and the form of **s** typically adopted was usually governed by a set of rules.

The letters **b, d** and **g** are no different; they are either looped or straight, their bodies can be open or closed, they may appear round, pointy, square or flat-topped and in the case of **d** they can be either upright or at a slant. The diversity in this hand is particularly well illustrated in the representations of the letter **h** which exists of both an ascender and a descender. When looking at figure 9 it becomes apparent that these are found being long or short, looped or straight and even open or closed. The ascenders on **k** and **f** appear both open and closed as well, but apart from that these show little variation.

The last letters left on McIntosh's list are **t, p** and the ligature **ft**. In the case of **t**, there is little variation, but the variation there is shown when investigating the head-stroke which can either go straight through the shaft or occur on the right hand side only. The head-stroke of **t** is sometimes straight and sometimes curly, either to enhance calligraphic effect or to indicate an abbreviation or line-ending.

An allograph resembling the runic letter **p** seems to occur only twice in the folio and a half under examination. Both times it can be seen as the last letter in the word Genep but it is not to be confused with thorn. This allograph is the Latin long **s** + -er abbreviation mark,

sometimes also used as an -es, -is or -ys inflection. The word in question here is Genesis and from this it can be concluded that the runic thorn was no part of scribe A's active repertoire.

The ligature **ft** appears with the **f** attached to the **t** which was very common practice among scribes aiming for cursiveness and speed. The capitals are enlarged and more elaborate and calligraphic than the normal letters, however by no means are they extraordinary or unusual. An example of these can be seen at the end of each letter-row in figure 9:












Scribe A	
letters	letter-forms
a	
b	
d	
f	
ft	
g	
h	
k	
s	
t	
þ	

Figure 9, McIntosh feature 1 scribe A

McIntosh feature 1 Scribe B

The results for Scribe B are shown in figure 10 below. Immediately the differences between the two hands become clear, mostly because of the fact that scribe B's is much more regular. For **a**, only single-compartment **a** is used. These forms can be subdivided into round, pointy or square; however these distinctions are much less obvious than for scribe A. An **a** with a tail occurs quite frequently in abbreviations for, for example, man. Strangely enough, the capital form of **a** shows the most variation, probably because it needed to have more prominence in the sentence.

The looped ascenders and descenders to **b** and **g** can either be open or closed, resulting in different degrees of cursiveness, apart from that, however, they vary little. The looped ascender on **d** only occurs closed as opposed to **k** which is only open. The only variation in **d** is in the open body of the letter, changing in height depending on what letter precedes it. The letter **f** is generally written with a looped ascender functioning as a head-stroke, but it also appears with a forked ascender and no head-stroke.

As was the case for scribe A, **s** can be found either with a kidney-shape, a sigma-shape or in the tall form. As shall be proven in the discussion of McIntosh's feature 2, with this letter it is mostly position in the word which indicates particular idiosyncrasies. The capital **S** is basically a larger and more elaborate form of the sigma-shape.

That leaves the **t**, a very basic letter-form with slight variation only in the head-stroke. Again, the capital-forms occur larger but only a little more elaborate than the regular letter-forms. Figure 10 shows the letter-forms suggested by McIntosh as in scribe B's hand:



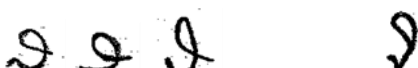






Scribe B	
letters	letter-forms
a	
b	
d	
f	
ft	X
g	
h	
k	
s	
t	
p	X

Figure 10, McIntosh feature 1 scribe B

McIntosh feature 2 Scribe A

Figure 11 represents McIntosh's feature 2 – which shapes of the following letters are used in which position in the word: e, r, s in initial, medial or final position – for scribe A's hand:

Scribe A			
letter-forms	position in word		
	initial	medial	final
tall-s	III	IIII III	
kidney-s			IIII IIII II
sigma-s	IIII IIII		
modern-e		IIII III	IIII III
scottish-e			
circular-e	I	IIII I	IIII IIII IIII IIII
short-r	I	III	I
2-shaped-r		II	IIII
long-r		I	IIII III
modern-r		IIII II	IIII IIII

Figure 11, McIntosh feature 2 scribe A

The most interesting conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that sigma s only occurs in initial position in a word and kidney s only at the end. This could be a powerful characterisation of this hand, meaning that it would be very unlikely that a sample was written by the scribe A if it had tall s in final position.

Apart from these obvious patterns, the rest of the results are quite scattered, giving most letter-forms at least two positions in a word, sometimes three. This coincides with the results of feature 1, where also great variety was shown and not many rules and regulations could be applied. It seems that Scribe A did not stick to many writing conventions and appears to use several letter-forms throughout the text in several positions in the word.

McIntosh feature 2 Scribe B

Figure 12 represents McIntosh's feature 2 for scribe B's hand:

scribe B			
letter-forms	position in word		
	initial	medial	Final
tall-s	III	IIII I	
kidney-s			IIII IIII I
sigma-s			I
modern-e			
scottish-e		IIII I	IIII IIII II
circular-e			
short-r		IIII IIII	I
2-shaped-r		IIII I	IIII I
long-r	II	IIII IIII II	IIII III
modern-r			

Figure 12, McIntosh feature 2 scribe B

This figure looks more organised than that of scribe A, but that could also just be because there are fewer letter-forms to play with in this hand. Apart from the kidney **s** only appearing in final position, and short **r** predominantly in medial position, there is not much else that can be used for identifying this hand. However, it is important not to forget the empty spaces in this figure, identifying where this scribe would *not* use certain forms. For example, this hand only tall **s** in medial and initial position. As soon as a tall **s** is found in final position in a sample it can fairly strongly be concluded that this has not been written by the same scribe.

McIntosh feature 3 and 4 Scribe A

Feature 3 (the use of **p** and **y**) and feature 4 (the use of abbreviations) will quickly be discussed as neither scribe uses **p** and **y** convincingly and the abbreviations used in both hands are systematic and consistent. Scribe A uses only **y** for the fricative /th/ and **p** does not occur anywhere in the folios under investigation, apart from the occasions in the word *genep* discussed above which remains questionable. Scribe A alternates between using **y** and *th*, with *th* being the most common.

As far as abbreviations go, there are many in Scribe A's sample. The most common ones being *oy* for 'other', *und* for 'under', *aft* or *aftr* for 'after', *y* for 'the', *en* for 'any' and *wt* for 'with'. It is no surprise that a large amount of abbreviations exist in this hand as using as little parchment as possible as well as writing as quickly as possible was one of the main aims for scribes at the time this text was written.

McIntosh feature 3 and 4 Scribe B

Thorn does not occur in Scribe B's hand, which is not surprising as thorn became out of use in the north initially. Like for scribe A, here there is alternation between *y* and *th* but in this case *y* is the most common.

The most common abbreviations in scribe B's sample are *wt* for 'with', *fro* for 'from', *togidd* for 'together', *eft* for 'after', *on* for 'one' and *und* for 'under'. The use of abbreviations in both scribe's writing could be a subject for a thesis on its own and apart from mentioning the most common ones, this research will not go into it any deeper.

By completing McIntosh's questionnaire, a general overview has been provided of the two hands active in Hunter 83 making it able to draw some broad conclusions. However, it is possible to offer a much more delicate analysis of the two scribes' hands. What will follow is an in-depth analysis of the 8 letter-forms deemed to most characterise either Anglicana or Secretary or indeed Scottish features.

3. The Graphetic Profiles of MS Hunter 83

What follows are the graphetic profiles (GPs) of MS Hunter 83, based on the principles discussed in earlier chapters. For the purposes of this thesis, and because of the constraints of space, it has been necessary to choose a restricted tranche of text for analysis. The folios under investigation are folio 3 recto and verso, folio 45 recto and verso and folio 136 verso; these folios were chosen since pilot studies and scans showed them to be potentially representative for both hands.

The procedures for the analysis are as follows. Firstly, each letter (grapheme) is investigated separately and the range of forms (allographs) in which the letter is realised are then categorised with increasing degrees of delicacy, using a system of numbering. To give an example: a2 in scribe A's hand, the square single-compartment type of <a>, again can be subdivided into 3 distinct allographs (a2.1, a2.2, a2.3) due to the shape of the compartment (one is rectangular, one is square, etc.).

An attempt will be made at distinguishing rules for the distribution of these allographs, rules concerning for example position (in the word as well as in the line or on the page) and context, so that eventually a unique 'fingerprint' analysis emerges. Each allograph is therefore illustrated by means of a picture of the word, taken from the digital image of the MS, in which the grapheme appears, to help identify any contextual constraints

Unfortunately it would be impossible, because of the constraints of space, to investigate every grapheme in each hand separately. These GPs were created to characterise the hands of the two scribes active in Hunter 83. Since it has been previously established that both hands write in Secretary but incorporate Anglicana features as well, with Scribe B writing in a typical Scottish hand, a selection of letters has been chosen which will be discussed in detail below. The rest of the GP (without notes) can be found in appendices A and B.

The graphemes under investigation are **a**, **d**, **e**, **g**, **p**, **r**, **s** and **w**. These graphemes have been carefully selected for their qualities of characterising both Secretary and Anglicana scripts as well as being used to distinguish a Scottish hand. Each grapheme will first be discussed separately for each scribe and this will be followed by a conclusion, stating generalisations and patterns that occur for that particular grapheme in that particular hand. The discussions of these eight graphemes will then be followed by a general comparison of both hands and a final conclusion.

3.1 The qualities of a

The reasons for choosing **a** are threefold. Firstly, double-compartment **a** is a characteristic letter-form to appear in Anglicana scripts and similarly, single-compartment **a** typically appears in Secretary. Petti (1977:14) describes Anglicana and Secretary forms respectively as “a double-lobed **a** extending above the level of the other linear letters” and a “single-lobed **a** with a pointed head”. Thirdly, as was mentioned before, **a** with an open top is common in Scottish hands. An analysis of this grapheme therefore should in case of Hunter 83 come up with a variety of forms and prove the extent of Secretary and Anglicana usage as well as highlight Scottish features.

Because of the height of some of these letters it is in some situations difficult to establish whether the allograph represents a capital- or a lower case letter and in situations where this is unclear it is assumed to be the latter.

3.1.1 Scribe A: a

As many as thirteen different categories of **a** in scribe A’s hand can be distinguished and they are presented in figure 13:

Scribe A: a

a1	capital A
a2	square a - single-compartment
a3	flat-topped a - single-compartment
a4	pointy a - single-compartment
a5	open a - single-compartment
a6	round a - single-compartment
a7	peculiar a - single-compartment
a8	round a - tall shaft single-compartment
a9	square a - tall shaft single-compartment
a10	open a - tall shaft single-compartment
a11	separated a - tall shaft single-compartment
a12	round a - double-compartment
a13	pointy a - double-compartment

Figure 13, Scribe A:a

A1: capital A

There appear to be 6 different allographs of capital **A** in scribe A's hand and these have been numbered a1.1-a1.6. It should be kept in mind that, because these are capitals, they are mainly meant for decoration and punctuation purposes and are therefore less suited for the purposes of this study. They are generally employed more haphazardly than normal letters and often cannot be given strict rules for when they are used. Moreover, lower-case letters can sometimes function as capitals as well because of their shape rather than their size. Because of this they will not be discussed but are merely included for demonstration purposes, a practice that shall be continued throughout the discussions.



- | | |
|---|---|
|  : A1.1 folio 3 verso line 34, <i>Anno</i> |  |
|  : A1.2 folio 3 recto line 4, (L) <i>Ameth</i> |  |
|  : A1.3 folio 3 recto line 3, <i>Anno</i> |  |
|  : A1.4 folio 3 recto line 22, <i>Anno</i> |  |
|  : A1.5 folio 3 verso line 12, <i>And</i> |  |
|  : A1.6 folio 3 recto, line 11, <i>And</i> |  |

A2: square a – single-compartment


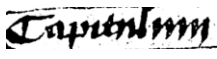
This is the first of the 10 different categories for single-compartment **a** existing in scribe A's hand. There are three allographs for square **a**. Naturally, because of their square appearance, they are more calligraphic than other single-compartment **a**-forms and as a result less cursive.

- : a2.1 folio 3 recto line 9, *a* 

This is a particularly square **a** which seems to be made up out of four separate strokes. Because there are no letters preceding it or following it, its shape is not influenced by its context in a word. Naturally there is a tendency for letters that are on its own to be more calligraphic and as a result are written down with more care. There is no other indication that could explain the square quality of this allograph.

: a2.2 folio 3 recto line 2, *and* (first word of the line) 

Here the square **a** has a more rectangular shape than a2.1 and is characterised by a small stroke at the start. This gives an indication as to how this graph may have been put onto paper. It separates the different lines in the graph and suggests it was made out of a minimum two strokes.

: a2.3 folio 136 recto line 19, *Capitulum* 

This square **a** is placed where it would be most expected. Its context, in a Latin word, suits its calligraphic qualities perfectly.

A3: flat-topped a – single-compartment

The flat-topped **a**-forms in this hand are mostly used when it is situated above the word it should be in, possibly to save room or to correct a mistake. It is less calligraphic and thus more cursive than square **a**, but still carefully written down in order to achieve that flat-top.

: a3.1 folio 3 verso line 2, *g^ace* 

This flat-topped **a** has a round body and large stroke on top, expanding double its breadth to the right. The **a** here indicates a Latin abbreviation for -ra and the word abbreviated is *g^ace*.

: a3.2 folio 3 recto line 11, *a* 

Not surprisingly flat-topped **a** is found for the indefinite article, as well as square a2.1 discussed above. Because there are no influences on its shape or size a more careful, calligraphic letter would normally be found in an isolated situation like this.

: a3.3 folio 3 verso line 20, *cont^ary* 

This graph has a round body and a large stroke on top, expanding double its breadth to the right and is very similar to a3.1 only broader and flatter. It serves the same purpose though, and is positioned above the word it was meant to be in.

A4: pointy a – single compartment

For scribe A, pointy **a** represents a more natural way to write **a** than square or flat-topped, hence it is found in words that serve a normal purpose in a sentence. They do not

occur in Latin headings and they are not written above words. Scribe A's hand generally has a pointy exterior and more importantly, pointy **a** is characteristic for Secretary scripts.

 **a**: a4.1 folio 136 recto line 16, *may* 

This is a typical pointy **a** made up, probably from 3 pen-strokes and what makes it pointy is the diagonal stroke connecting it to the letter preceding it. It continues the up and downwards motion of **m** which points towards this being a more cursive letter than the previous **a**-forms discussed.

 **a**: a4.2 folio 3 recto line 16, *and* 

Like a4.1, this graph forms a continuous line with an adjacent letter. In this case it precedes **n** and it sets off the up and downwards strokes as opposed to continuing them. The shape appears more stretched, higher and therefore pointier than the other graphs in this category.

 **a**: a4.3 folio 3 recto line 4, *was* 

Similar to a4.1, this graph is also in medial position in the word and probably consists of three strokes. However, unlike a4.1, it is rounder and does not seem to be connected to surrounding letters. That may be because it is bordered by a rather precise **w** and a kidney shaped **s**. These are very accurate shapes which require more attention and do not lend themselves as well to be connected to **a**.

A5: open a – single-compartment

The graphs in this category are rare throughout the manuscript and indicate an irregularity rather than regularity. They are likely to be 'mistakes', versions of letters that the scribe did not mean to write. Therefore, in this occasion it is unlikely to act as proof for pointing out a Scottish hand, even though they are open. On the other hand, this scribe is said to have had a northern upbringing and a5.1 is a good example of an open-topped **a**. Could it be that these graphs are remnants of the scribe's Northern roots?

 **a**: a5.1 folio 136 recto line 26, *and* 

This **a** looks like it was intended as a pointy **a**, however the two lines that are meant to be connecting at the top to form the point never meet. Because **a** and **n** naturally connect

well, it probably is not caused by its context. It is more likely just a mistake in the scribe's writing or possibly the result of a faulty pen.

 **A: a5.2 folio 136 recto line 25, and** 



This graph could be intended as a pointy **a** as well, however unlike a5.1 it is at the bottom of the letter where the lines fail to meet. For the same reasons as stated for a5.1, this is probably just a mistake in the scribe's writing.

A6: round a – single-compartment

Round **a** like pointy **a** is arguably more cursive because it can be written in a single stroke. Scribe A writes most of his single-compartment **a**-forms in two strokes and round **a** is no exception.

 **a: a6.1 folio 3 recto line 3, natitate** 

The location is unusual for this particular graph in as it is part of a Latin heading indicating a date. A more calligraphic square **a** would be expected here, however this shape could be the result of this word's decorative emphasis rather than its prominence through writing.

 **a: a6.2 folio 136 recto line 5, Salesbury** 

Here a good example of a standard round **a** is shown, standing on its own in the word. Normally **a** and **l** connect rather well, however here the scribe has left spaces between the first five letters of the word, indicating a more careful mode of writing. A possible explanation for this can be found in the word *Salesbury* as names carried more prominence.

 **a: a6.3 folio 3 verso line 38, dough^as** 

Similar to a3.1 and a3.3, this allograph has been added in later and positioned above the word. Again, a long tail has been added, this time to the bottom end of the letter rather than over the top but the motive for placing it in this position is unclear.

A7: peculiar a – single-compartment

This category consists of only one allograph, one that is rather oddly shaped and does not really qualify for any of the other categories. As was the case with a5, this allograph indicates an irregularity more than regularity.

 **a7.1 folio 3 verso line 16, *Iaphet*** 



Scribe A seems to have inserted an extra stroke to this **a**; maybe it turned out an open **a** and was emended as a correction? Extra attention has been paid to this personal name, it is underlined and each letter is separately written. It could be that in his attempt to write the **a** carefully, the scribe concentrated too hard resulting in a peculiarly shaped allograph.

A8: round a – tall shaft single-compartment

This category also represents a version of single-compartment **a**, however the shaft in the allographs has been elongated and put at an angle sloping to the left. It is not surprising that most of these are at an initial position in the word as they do not lend themselves well to connect to letters preceding them. Surprisingly, this allograph is not characteristic of either Secretary or Anglicana, although with its single-compartment on the one hand and its length on the other, it seems to be a mixture of the two.

 **a8.1 folio 3 verso line 15, *aft*** 

This allograph is bordering between capital and lower case. It functions as the start of a new sentence (it also follows a ‘paragraph’ punctuation sign), however there is no clear indication of height or shape that it was meant as a capital. By putting it as the first letter of a new sentence he uses it to signify the start of a new part in the book without making it overly prominent.

 **a8.2 folio 3 recto line 6, *and* (first word of line)** 

The shaft of this allograph is much longer than the picture of the word indicates. Because it was written on top of another letter this cannot be revealed with a black and white copy. Unlike a8.1, here the word it occurs in is situated right in the middle of a sentence. A reason for the scribe to choose this allograph here could be that it is the initial letter of a new line.

 **a8.3 folio 3 recto line 9, *had*** 

This is the only of the a8 shapes that is situated in the middle of a word and the shaft is not as prominent as for the other examples in this category. Because of the nature of this allograph, and its natural initial position, it is likely an accidental exaggeration of the shaft rather than a deliberate one.

 **a8.4 folio 3 recto line 10, *and*** 



This is the first letter of a word which may have been written without lifting the pen off the parchment. Like pointy **a**, this allograph is easily connectable to **n** which is demonstrated very well in this example.

A9: square a – tall shaft single-compartment

Unlike a8, the tall shafted single-compartment **a**'s in this category have a square and subsequently more calligraphic exterior. Not surprisingly they exist mainly at the start of a word as their tall shaft causes awkwardness when connecting to a letter preceding it.

 **a9.1 folio 3 recto line 2, *as*** 

There is no particular reason for this allograph to be as square and carefully written as it is. It is not positioned at the start of the sentence or the line and neither is it situated in a word carrying special meaning. Maybe because it is followed by a more difficult **s**, the scribe automatically paid more attention to this letter as well (see also a4.3).

 **a9.2 folio 3 recto line 16, *and* (after full stop)** 

This allograph functions as the first letter of a sentence and almost takes over the role of a capital, a similar situation to a8.1. Because punctuation was not as embedded as it is now, there probably were several ways for a scribe to point out this quality.

A10: open a – tall shaft single-compartment

For no clear reason, this scribe has produced a few **a**-forms with an elongated shaft but open bodies. Apart from the situation of a10.3, there is no indication as to why this would have been done. It does not seem deliberate, probably just a slip of the pen.

 **a10.1 folio 3 recto line 18, and** 

This allograph was calligraphic and cautiously written even though it appears in the middle of the sentence and carries no added meaning apart from being at the start of a new clause. There is no clear reason why the scribe produced this form in this position and in this context as there is no indication that it was deliberate.

 **a10.2 folio 3 recto line 9, and** 

Like a10.1 only rounder, this open **a** is somewhat more cursive. Again, the word appears in the middle of a sentence, although it does follow a full stop. However, from the context it appears that this full stop does not signify the end of a sentence. Like a10.1 there is no precise reason why scribe A produced this form in this context.

 **a10.3 folio 3 recto line 1, and** 

Unlike a10.1 and a10.2, this allograph is a lot longer and straighter. Even though it does appear in the middle of a sentence, it carries more weight by not only being the first word of a new line, and it is also the first word of folio 3 recto. It was not uncommon practice to give the letters of a first and last sentence larger ascenders and descenders respectively and this is likely what the scribe has done here.

A11: separated a - tall shaft single-compartment

This category consists of only one allograph which appears to be a separated version of the other tall shafted shapes previously discussed. Although unusual, it may give an indication as to how these were written and it seems this was in one single stroke.



 **a11.1 folio 3 verso line 15, and** 

This is a peculiar form of this allograph which is rare in the folio under examination. However like the a10 allographs it indicates the start of a new clause in a sentence, almost functioning as a semi-capital.



A12: round a - double-compartment

Double-compartment **a**-forms are more difficult to write than most single-compartment **a**-forms and they have a gracious and sophisticated exterior. Normally this is an indication


of words carrying more meaning or weight. At the same time this also means there is room for more variation, hence the round category of the double-compartment **a** features five allographs. The double-compartment **a** is also a feature found in Anglicana scripts; therefore their presence indicate the Anglicana aspects of scribe A's mainly Secretary forms of **a**

: **a12.1 folio 136 recto line 16, and (after paragraph sign)** 

This is a very round representation of the letter, obviously carefully written down and deliberately placed, probably because it is the start of a new paragraph. This graph features in the first word of a sentence but not of a line, functioning as a capital and it is likely the scribe has chosen this letter to indicate just that.

: **a12.2 folio 136 recto line 6, and (after full stop)** 

In this representation of a12, the two-compartment have come apart, but this does not seem to be deliberate. This allograph is the first letter of line 6 but a continuation of line 5 and even though it follows a full stop, it is not the start of a sentence but of a new clause in the sentence.

: **a12.3 folio 3 recto line 20, and (after full stop)** 

A much more diagonal representation of the double-compartment **a**, but again, like a12.1 and a12.2 this letter indicates the start of a sentence and thus functions as a capital. It follows a full stop, but it is not situated at the start of a line giving no apparent reason for the letter to be so slant.

: **a12.4 folio 3 recto line 16, Iabe** 


A12.4 is a representation of two-compartment **a**, with the two sections being the same size, positioned in the personal name *Iabe*. By choosing this allograph here, scribe A gives more weight to the word (in this case a biblical character) and it is therefore not surprising to find it in a personal name. The mentioning of names of people in the chronicle must have added to its credibility and claim of the truth in the days when it was read.

 **a**: a12.5 folio 136 recto line 15 *maye* 

Leaning slightly backward, a12.5 finds itself in the Middle English word for the month May, the indication of a date. Like personal names, dates must have been proof of the authenticity of a certain text and therefore needed to be brought to the readers' attention.

A13: pointy a - double-compartment

There exist four different representations of double-compartment pointy **a** in scribe A's hand and note that none of the examples given are positioned at the start of a word. Its meaning of prominence carries on though, like was the case for the round version of this shape, and there are indications that again the scribe again deliberately chose these positions.

 **a** : a13.1 folio 3 recto line 19, *Noema* 

Similar to a12.4, this allograph is part of a personal name. It is likely the scribe chose to use it here for the same reasons of adding prominence.

 **a** : a 13.2 folio 3 recto line 7, *that* 

Out of all two-compartment **a**-forms featured here, this one seems to be the most random. It is part of the word 'that' which carries no extra meaning, is positioned in the middle of the sentence and does not follow any punctuation mark. There appears to be no particular reason for the scribe to use this letter in this position.

 **a** : a13.3 folio 136 recto line 7, *peasse* 

At first glance there is no apparent explanation for using this form here. However, the whole sentence in which it appears features several personal names of nobility in particular. What scribe A was probably trying to do is add prominence to the whole sentence in the text rather than the word itself.

 **a** : a13.4 folio 3 verso line 14, *a* 

As was the case for a13.2, there really is no reason for scribe A to have used a double-compartment **a** here. The word carries no particular meaning and neither does the sentence. However, as was the case for other allographs appearing in the same word, it stands on its own and is thus not influenced by any letters preceding or following it.

Conclusions for Scribe A: a

The range of allographs for the grapheme **a** is very wide, hence the 13 different categories, and it is difficult to characterise as one script or the other. It seems that the more calligraphic Anglicana-style double-compartment **a** was used in words that needed to express more prominence. However, the double-compartment **a** that is characteristic of Anglicana had “a large upper lobe extending above the general level of the other letters” (Parkes, 1969: xiv-xv) and only a12.1, a12.2 and a12.3 are representations of that.

The pointy qualities of Secretary are also widely represented in this hand in both double-compartment as well as single-compartment **a**. Even though the allographs listed under a4 are typical Secretary forms of **a**, their pointy character seems to also have transferred onto the Anglicana letter-forms, making this automatically the lesser prominent script. Whether this is the case for the rest of the letters remains to be seen.

Although the Scottish character is not under direct investigation in this hand (Scottish features have not yet been assigned to it in previous publications) it is interesting that open **a**-forms do exist in it, namely a5 and a10 with a5.1 being the most closely related form. It remains uncertain whether this was done deliberately by the scribe or whether it was done accidentally. Matheson (1999: 80-1) does point out that the language of scribe B “is the kind of language one might expect of a northerner who had been educated in the south and who had lived in that area for some time”; could it be that this scribe’s Northern roots are coming through and are shown in his use of open **a**?

3.1.2 Scribe B: a

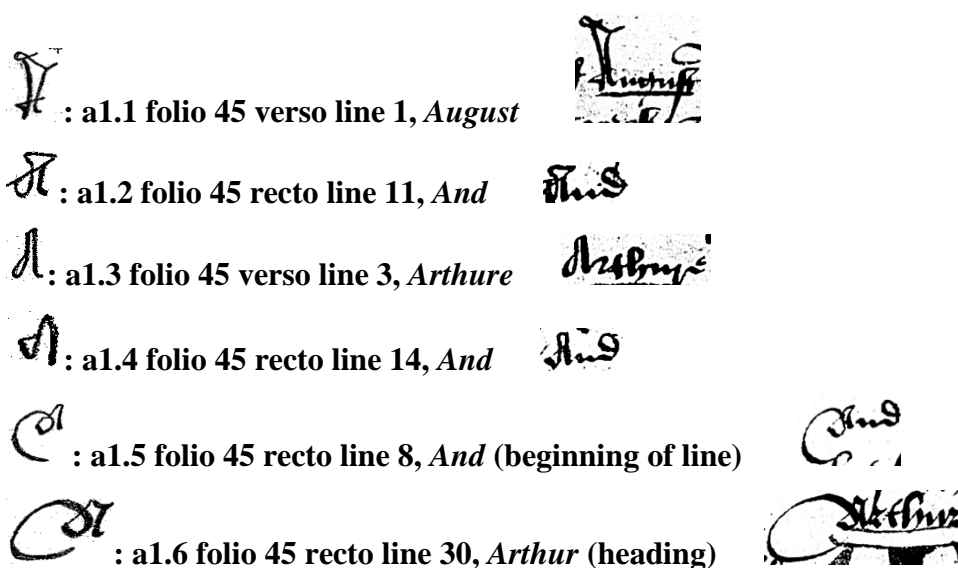
There are only 5 distinct realisations of the grapheme **a** in scribe B’s hand which is not surprising as this hand has already been shown to be less various and more regular than the hand of scribe A. We might note that there are no double-compartment **a**’s in the folios under investigation, so no Anglicana letter-forms for **a** exist here. Figure 14 shows the five realisations for **a** found in the hand of Scribe B:

Scribe B: a

a1	Capital A
a2	pointy a - single-compartment
a3	round a - single-compartment
a4	square a - single-compartment
a5	single-compartment a with attached stroke

Figure 14, Scribe B:a

A1: capital A



A2: pointy a – single-compartment

As scribe B's handwriting is generally round and spread, it comes as no surprise that there is only one representation of pointy **a**.



This is an unexpected form of single-compartment **a** when looking at the overall handwriting of the scribe. However, it exists in a context where it is most likely to appear as it is only a one-letter word and there are no letters preceding or following it that can influence or enhance its shape.

A3: round a – single-compartment

Round **a** is the most common version of **a** and together with some other letters it makes this hand appear so round. It exists in word-initial and -medial position and because it is so

commonly used throughout, as will become apparent below in the discussion, it is difficult to pinpoint certain conventions about it.

a: a3.1 folio 45 recto line 3, *and* 

This is a typical round **a** in initial position and there exist many like this in scribe B's hand. It may be noted that the word appears to be written in one single stroke; a good indication of the cursive character of this hand.

a: a3.2 folio 45 verso line 29, *was* 

This allograph is similar to a3.1, however it appears more spread and exists in word-medial position. It is not connected to the **w** preceding it, the word has been written with a lift of the pen, probably because **w** was a more calligraphic letter to write.

d: a3.3 folio 45 recto line 28, *mak* 


This allograph has a slightly longer shaft, making it appear more calligraphic and as it sticks out slightly, it also seems pointier. This **a** still has that round character though, which is so characteristic of scribe B's hand. Where the word of a3.1 was probably written in one stroke, and the word of a3.2 in two, this word seems to have been written with each letter separately. That could be the reason why this **a** has this particular shape.

A4: square a – single-compartment

Square **a** is rare in scribe B's hand and almost only (as shall be pointed out below) appears in situation where this more calligraphic letter can be naturally expected.

a: a4.1 folio 45 verso line 5, *and* 

This is very square **a**, strangely enough not placed in a heading or personal name, with a very calligraphic appearance. One explanation for its form could be that it follows a common punctuation mark, namely a sign resembling a modern day forward slash. These virgules appear to indicate the end of a clause in a sentence and by writing this letter the way he did, Scribe B almost awards it a capital status.

a: a4.2 folio 45 recto line 30, *bataile* (heading) 

Square **a** appears here where it is most expected, in a heading of a chapter. All headings in the manuscript, both in scribe A's and in scribe B's hand, are written in an almost gothic calligraphic script in order to make them stand out on the page. This is where square versions of letters are mostly expected.

A5: single-compartment a with attached stroke

Although attached strokes appear decorative, they can also function as abbreviation marks standing for one or more letters. Neither of the two words discussed below are positioned at the end of a line, where solely decorative strokes similar to these are often found, so it is likely that they serve a special purpose.

 **a5.1 folio 45 recto line 15, *ya*** 

This is a round version of **a**, with the attached stroke reaching as far back as the letter preceding it. Here the abbreviation is probably for *yai*, meaning they.

 **a5.2 folio 45 recto line 26, *ma*** 

This **a** is similar in shape to a5.1, however the stroke here reaches as far as the middle of the letter **m** preceding it. The word abbreviated here is *man*.

Conclusions for Scribe B: a

Unlike the case for scribe A, scribe B's hand shows many fewer characteristics of either Secretary or Anglicana. Surprisingly, none of the three characterising features mentioned above have manifested themselves in this hand.

Firstly, there is no two-compartment **a** in the folio under investigation, meaning that if there are any in the remaining folios in the manuscript, their occurrence will be very rare.

Secondly, only one pointy **a** was found in folio 45. The general appearance of the hand is round rather than pointy and thus not very Secretary-like. The occurrence of one pointy **a** is not sufficient to pinpoint it as Secretary either. Because no Anglicana and insufficient Secretary features can be found in this hand it is impossible to assign a certain script to it on the basis of the analysis of **a**.

Thirdly, though, there are no examples of "Scottish" open **a** in the text analysed. However, it is common for Scottish hands to have a round and spread appearance and that is certainly the case for all the allographs of **a**. It could be that this Scottish roundness in this particular hand is more prominent than the pointy qualities of Secretary.

3.2 The qualities of d

The second letter that will be analysed is **d**, an important shape in the development of Anglicana and for characterising a Scottish hand. Because Anglicana was created out of the need for a more cursive script, the ascender on **d** became looped to achieve a script that

was quicker and more fluent to write. Parkes (1969:xiv) calls these loops ‘connecting strokes’ and points out that they “came to be accepted as auxiliary features of the letter-forms”. As the script developed and the scribes changed the angles of their pens the ascender of **d** became increasingly diagonal as well. The shape of **d** is important here in order to pinpoint Anglicana features in a script is therefore looped and diagonal.

An analysis of the letter **d** can also be valuable when researching Scottish hands. Its shape is rather different from any others around at the same time, namely it tends to “fall apart and take the form of a curl below with a loop above” (Simpson 1998: 15). Generally **d** is not used to establish if a script is written in Secretary, however because of the script’s purpose and general appearance it is no surprise that the form that can be expected is a “looped **d** with an angular bow” (Brown 2002:106).

3.2.1 Scribe A: d

There are nine different categories for **d** in scribe A’s hand and most of them have straight ascenders rather than looped ones. Many letters are sloping to the left, some to a bigger degree than others. The major variation occurs in the actual shape of the letter, i.e. square, round, open, etc and just like with **a** it should be possible to assign certain rules to when and where these allographs were used. The nine forms of **d** in scribe A’s hand are represented in figure 15 below.

Scribe A: d

d1	capital D
d2	square d - straight ascender
d3	slant d -straight ascender
d4	round d - straight ascender
d5	open d with attached stroke-straight ascender
d6	d with attached stroke - straight ascender
d7	round d - looped ascender
d8	round d with attached stroke- looped ascender
d9	open d - looped ascender

Figure 15, Scribe A: d

D1: capital D



D2: square d – straight ascender

This more calligraphic way of writing the letter **d** generally occurs in headings, Latin phrases or names; in other words, it occurs in situations where for some reason or other the word needs to be emphasised.

 : d2.1 folio 3 verso, *secunde* (heading) 

This word is part of a highly decorated heading announcing the second age of the world and the start of the story of Noah. Because it is preparing the reader for a new part in the book, and because it has been decorated so beautifully, it is only natural that a highly calligraphic script accompanies it. The shape of this **d**, square and straight, is therefore perfectly suited for its context.

 : d2.2 folio 3 recto line 3, *mundi* (Latin) 



Every letter in the d2 category is similar and appears in similar contexts, and so does this one. It appears in a Latin word in a completely Latin heading announcing a new year in the chapter of Noah. Therefore its square and calligraphic qualities are completely as expected here.

 : d2.3 folio 3 recto line 22, *mundi* (Latin) 

This letter is comparable to d2.2 as it appears in exactly the same word in the same context, here heading a new date in the chapter of Noah. Its shaft has been elongated and its body has turned out rather smaller than that of the other **d**'s in this category. However, it is still square and calligraphic to suit its purpose.

D3: slant d – straight ascender

The angle of the ascenders of the following **d**'s is as would be expected in an Anglicana script. These do not have looped ascenders though and are therefore not as cursive as they could be, neither can they be used as proof for Anglicana features.

 : d3.1 folio 3 verso line 7, *lord* (last word of the line) 

This **d** was written in one stroke and has a slant but short ascender. The word it appears in is the last word of the line and it was common to add strokes or decorations to letters in

this position because there was more room to do this. It could be that that is the reason for the extreme angle of the ascender of this allograph.

: **d3.2 folio 3 recto line 33, *floode* (first line of new chapter)** 

This allograph is more slanted than d3.1 and has a longer ascender, nearly spanning the breadth of the two letters to its left. Again, the position of the word in the text could be important here as top lines often had elongated and decorated ascenders. The fact that this is the first line of a new chapter places it in a similar context.

: **d3.3 folio 3 recto line 30, *and* (last word of the line)** 

Like d3.1 this allograph is also positioned in the last word in a line and the explanation for its shape is likely to be the same. Its ascender is slightly longer than d3.1 and shorter than d3.2 and its body is more oval than that of the others, adding to the diagonal appearance of the letter.

D4: round d – straight ascender

Every shape in this category has a slightly diagonal normal sized straight ascender and a round-shaped body. It is one of the most common forms for this letter throughout the manuscript and therefore it is not surprising that it appears both in initial and medial position in the word. There exist four different shapes of d4 and they will be discussed further below.

: **d4.1 folio 136 recto line 19, *lorde* (heading)** 

This is a particularly round **d** to appear in a heading, especially when comparing it to the rest of the letters in the word which are much squarer. It is well proportioned though, and in that respect it suits its context. Its ascender is very straight making it a carefully written letter in keeping with the ones surrounding it.

: **d4.2 folio 3 verso line 22, *distendit*** 

D4.2 is more compact and broad than d4.1; its ascender is shorter and its body larger. It appears in initial position, but actually the second **d** could be in this category as well so it is distributed throughout the word.

 : d4.3 folio 3 recto line 13, *founden* 

Here the cursive aspect of the round **d** becomes apparent. Of course, writing would be more fluent had it had a looped ascender, however note how effortlessly it connects to the **e** following it.

 : d4.4 folio 3 verso line 15, *drunkenness* (first word of line) 

The shape of d4.4 actually shows how the scribe wrote it by leaving a small attacking stroke where the scribe would have started off writing the letter. The reason why this stroke is there is probably because it is the first word of the line.

D5: open d with attached stroke– straight ascender

Not surprisingly both forms of d5 appear in word-final position. They are written with attached hairlines at their ends, something common for Secretary scripts. Naturally, such hairlines mostly occurred at the end of words or on ascenders and descenders. As Parkes points out, hairlines were added “in different diagonals according to the angle of the slanted pen” (1969:xix).

 : d5.1 folio 3 recto line 1, *sayd* 

There is no particular reason why the scribe chose to use an open bodied **d** here; it is likely that the attachment of the hairline caused the open body as it forces the pen in a downwards motion.

 : d5.2 folio 3 recto line 2, *sleped* 

The second open **d** was clearly written in a different manner as the hairline is attached to the ascender and not to the body. Either the scribe wrote the ascender with the hairline and the body separately or he added the hairline later. Whatever was the case, this allograph was written in two strokes, unlike d5.1 in this category.

D6: d with attached stroke – straight ascender

This category is not dissimilar from d5; however the bodies are closed here rather than left open. Not surprisingly, there are more forms of d6 than of d5 because it was more common for the scribe to close the body. Again here the letters are positioned at the end of


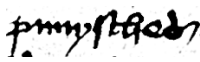
the words and the variation is in the nature of the stroke rather than the shape of the letter itself.

 : d6.1 folio 136 recto line 24, *god* 

The stroke attached to this letter was placed there quite deliberately. It is pointing upwards and has a slight curl, indications that this was probably to decorate rather than for practical reasons. When looking at the word it appears in, it becomes apparent that for its importance the scribe needed to attract the reader's attention and at the same time add more prominence by attaching the decorative stroke.

 : d6.2 folio 3 verso line 8, *comanded* (last word of line) 

This letter features a completely different stroke as d6.1. It seems to have been written with the letter rather than added later on and it points downwards without any special decoration. As it is the very last letter of a line, an attached stroke is not unusual; moreover, it talks about a command from God, making the meaning of this word rather heavy.

 : d6.3 folio 3 recto line 7, *punysched* 

A completely different attached hair stroke again appears here, maybe even more careless than the preceding ones and surely written in one stroke with the letter. This word is the last word of a sentence and it precedes a paragraph punctuation mark. Maybe the added stroke here also functions as punctuation and works as an extra feature indicating the end of a sentence.

 : d6.4 folio 3 verso line 10, *schuld* 

Here a typical feature of Secretary scripts is shown by the stroke added at the end of this word which demonstrates the randomness of how these strokes sometimes were added. Because the word appears in the middle of the sentence and of the line, there is no immediate purpose for the stroke to be there. However, in this script similar strokes can appear anywhere and on any word.

D7: round d – looped ascender

The first in the three categories of the **d**'s with looped ascenders. These are naturally more cursive and fluent to write and may be an indication of Anglicana features if they are written at a large enough slant and of Secretary if they have an angular bow.

: d7.1 folio 3 recto line 19, *and* 

It is this letter-form that maybe points to the existence of Anglicana features in this hand the most when analysing **d**. It has a looped ascender and is slightly at a slant, a more extreme slant would have been better and more Anglicana-like. When looking for a Secretary feature, the bow would have to be angular and not round as in this example.

: d7.2 folio 136 recto line 2, *Normady* 

Here the cursive qualities of this letter-form are shown as it is connected to the **a** preceding it and the **y** following it. It is too upright to qualify as an Anglicana feature and too round for Secretary; nonetheless it is a carefully written and elegant version of the letter.

D8: round d with attached stroke – looped ascender


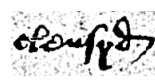
Similar to d5 and d6, these letter-forms have attached strokes however their ascenders are looped. Again, they appear in word-final position, their looped and round quality lending itself well for adding curls in a single stroke.

: d8.1 folio 136 recto line 1, *desired* 

This word does not appear at the end of a sentence, nor is it at the end of a line; the scribe here added the stroke to the final **d** because it was the normal thing to do for the script that he wrote in. This is a good example of Secretary practice.

: d8.2 folio 136 recto line 3, *had* 


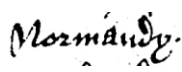
The stroke added to the final letter here is somewhat curlier than the one at d8.1 but the general purpose is the same. Again this word is placed in the middle of a sentence making the added stroke, as was the case for d8.1, a good illustration for Secretary characteristics.

 : d8.3 folio 3 recto line 43, *clensyd* (last word of paragraph) 

Here the added stroke is a little longer, however a similar shape to d8.2. Because this word is situated at the end of a line as well as a paragraph, the scribe had a bit more parchment to play with, hence the longer stroke. Also it functions as punctuation, showing the reader this part of the book is over and a new paragraph is about to start.

D9: open d – looped ascender

This form of **d** in scribe A's hand is extremely rare, and likely not deliberately written this way. It can be argued that this is a Scottish form of **d** as it has come apart, however this is not the common form that exists in Scottish hands and when comparing it to the **d**-forms of scribe B, the difference is clear.

 : d9.1 folio 136 recto line 16, *Normandy* 

Because this form is so rare in this hand, there is not much that can be said about it as no patterns can be shown. Its shape could be explained by the word it appears in, namely a name of a region, only it has not been written any more deliberate than the words around it. Because of this, the conclusion is probably that this letter is an exception and not characteristic for this hand.

Conclusions for scribe A: d

The above data provided an interesting analysis of the letter **d** in scribe A's handwriting. Unfortunately it did not produce much proof for the existence of Anglicana or Secretary features in this hand. When looking at **d** alone, the grapheme we are looking for in both scripts is characteristically looped and only three out of the nine final categories can boast that quality.

For Anglicana this looped **d** should be diagonal and only d7.1 can be described as such. For Secretary this looped **d** should have an angular bow and none of the categories above possess this (including the ones with straight ascenders). We are presented here with a problem then: one allograph of a 23 total is characteristic of Anglicana and none are characteristic of Secretary. What script did scribe A write in?

One explanation for this could be that maybe the classification of scripts is not as black and white as some books portray. Especially in the period when MS Hunter 83 was written, writing conventions were not as important anymore as was speed. Moreover, as

this manuscript can be described as a more ‘workman-like’ copy of the *Brut*, it could be that relatively little effort had been spent on producing it.

It must be difficult for scholars to pinpoint a certain script from this period and attach rules to it to be able to identify it. This becomes more apparent when realising that two scripts were used interchangeably as well as simultaneously in one book at the same time. What we learn when studying palaeography are characteristics of a standard and stereotypical script (i.e. looped diagonal **d** and two-compartment **a** in the case of Anglicana) but in reality these directions are probably not as precise.

There is one conclusion that can be made here and that is the existence of hairlines attached to the letter **d**, a practice that was common in Secretary scripts emphasising the duct as well as the contrast between thick and thin lines.

3.2.2 Scribe B: d

The letter **d** lends itself better for identifying Scottish features than Anglicana and Secretary as the Scottish **d** looks nothing like that found in the other scripts and is very easy to recognize. All the **d**-forms in scribe B’s hand are Scottish in that they have come apart resulting in the absence of a bow. Scribe B is very consistent in writing his **d**-forms as the only variety is in the height of the start of the letter. At a quick glance it can already be concluded that scribe B’s handwriting consistently uses Scottish **d**-forms. The six forms of **d** in scribe B’s hand are represented in figure 16 below.

Scribe B: d

d1	capital D
d2	d come apart with pointy angular bow
d3	d come apart with round bow
d4	d come apart with low bow
d5	d come apart with straight bow
d6	closed d with looped ascender

Figure 16, Scribe B: d

D1: capital D

: d1.1 folio 45 recto line 3, *Damesell* 

D2: d come apart with pointy angular bow

The letters in this category are unmistakably Scottish as they have come apart; however, they also seem to have some Secretary qualities as their bow is very angular. An explanation for this could be that scribe B with his Scottish hand has come into contact with English hands and as a result starts to incorporate English Secretary features in it. The grapheme can be found throughout the manuscript and is fairly common in any word position.

 : d2.1 folio 45 verso line 1, *and* 

It is very hard to recognise the **d** here as its bow seamlessly continues from the **n** preceding it, making the two together look like an **m** with a loop. Here is illustrated a typical case of the letter preceding the **d** influencing its shape.

 : d2.2 folio 45 verso line 2, *and* 

This letter-form is very similar to d2.1, both in shape and in context; the difference is that it's slightly less pointy and a bit broader. Again though, the shape of this **d** has come about because of the letter preceding it, it continues the same lines as the **n**.

 : d2.3 folio 45 verso line 23, *day* 

If one of the letters in this category could indicate Secretary features in this hand it would be this one. The bow of the **d** here has been deliberately made with an angular shape and because it is in initial position it cannot have come about as a result of influence of preceding letters.


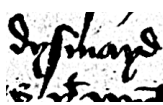
D3: d come apart with round bow

The shape of this grapheme resembles most the shape of an ordinary modern **d**. They both have a round bow, only the difference is that here the bow is open. It can be found in any position in the word and is common throughout the manuscript.

 : d3.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *fynd* 

Because this letter is in a similar context as d2.1 and d2.2 a similar shape would be what is expected here. However, this letter is round and the others are pointy and the

difference can be found in the preceding letters. The shape of the **n** here is a great deal rounder and more compact than the ones in the d2 category. As a result the **d** following takes on the same shape.

 : d3.2 folio 45 verso line 8, *dysmayd* 

What is shown here is a round **d** in initial position in the word, no letters to influence its shape precede it. This proves that round **d** is also written deliberately by the scribe rather than it being a result of other factors and is part of his active repertoire.

D4: d come apart with low bow

What the following letter-forms all have in common is that they start relatively low (just above the height of the line), taking away from that recognisable **d** shape and making them more abstract. What shall be shown is that again the shape of the grapheme is because of influencing letters preceding it, something that seems to be common in this hand. Note that all the letters used as examples here appear in word-final position.

 : d4.1 folio 45 verso line 2, *toward* 

The reason why this letter starts off so low here is due to the influence of preceding **r**. Because the **r** moves from medium height to descender height onto **d**, the start of this allograph is approached from below the level of the line. The result is a shape that starts off lower than for example d2.1 which starts from the level of the line itself.

 : d4.2 folio 45 recto line 5, *and* 

This form of **d** starts a little higher than d4.1 but lower than the forms in d3. Again, probably because the **n** prior to it does not finish at a particularly high or low level, the shape of **d** has been influenced by its preceding letter resulting in a medium high approach to **d**.

 : d4.3 folio 45 recto line 1, *good* 

This is the allograph in this category with the lowest approach coming directly from **o**. As can be seen when looking at the connecting stroke between the two **o**'s in the middle of the word, it is situated low on the line. This is the height at which the **o** approaches the **d** as well resulting in a lower start of the letter as for example for the letters in d3.

D5: d come apart with straight ‘bow’

The two allographs that are part of this category both appear in word-initial position. This is not surprising looking at the straight stroke along the line which starts them off. There are not many letters which could force such a shape were this **d** following them.

: **d5.1 folio 45 verso line 13, *distroye*** 

This letter resembles most d1.1, however there is no indication in the text that this is indeed meant as a capital. There is no immediate reason for this allograph (or d5.2) to be this shape, it is another form of **d** existing in scribe B's hand which is mostly placed in initial position in a word.

: **d5.2 folio 45 recto line 10, *doo*** 

See d5.1; although more upright and less broad in appearance, there also is no immediate explanation for its shape, apart from the fact that it appears in word-initial position.

D6: closed d with looped ascender

Although rare, there are two forms of **d** in this hand which have not come apart like the others in this category. They are not diagonal, so not necessarily indicate Anglicana characteristics but they do not have square bows either so they are not Secretary per se. It does insinuate that there has been some influence from England in this hand.

: **d6.1 folio 45 recto line 15, *dele*** 

This is a round looped **d** in word-initial position. Because closed **d**'s are rare in this hand, and probably not deliberate, there are no real rules that govern their usage. As d6.2 shall show, they can appear in both initial and final position in a word and it is likely they can appear in medial position as well.

: **d6.2 folio 45 recto line 10, *wald*** 

Similar to d6.1, this is a round looped **d** with a closed body, however it is positioned at the end of a word rather than at the start. Again there are no clear indications that there is a pattern for the use of this letter as it is rare throughout the manuscript.

Conclusions for scribe B: d

When looking for Secretary or Anglicana features, the hand of scribe B does not provide many examples. In fact, there is no diagonal looped Anglicana **d** in the folios examined as no looped Secretary **d** with an angular bow was found. Rather similarly to the conclusions drawn from the analysis of **a**, no clear proof of any of the characteristics of the two scripts have come forward yet. However, there are Scottish **d**-forms with angular bows in this hand, which could be an influence from Secretary.

On the other hand, examining this letter has provided ample proof of the Scottish aspects in this hand. Apart from the two allographs in d6 all of the examples shown, including capital **D**, are Scottish forms of the letter. And comparing them to the forms in the hand of scribe A, there is a clear difference in their appearance. Harder to recognise, particularly in a broad script like this, **d** come apart is nothing like our modern perception of the letter. Its shape makes it more cursive and especially easy to connect to **e** following it.

3.3 The qualities of e

With the emergence of Anglicana and Secretary new form of **e** was introduced – here called ‘modern’ – in which “the stem and lobe of the letter were formed in a singular movement” (Parkes, 1969: xv) adding to the cursive quality of both scripts. Although similarly formed, the distinction between the two can be found in the shape of this new **e** as in Secretary scripts often ‘horns’ were added. However, **e** is not a key letter shape used to identify either of these scripts.

The letter **e** in Scottish hands has a very distinctive shape, namely – like **d** – it has come apart “and taken the form of a curl below with a loop above” (Simpson 1998: 15) making it difficult to distinguish between the two letters. This unusual shape should be easy to identify especially in scribe B’s hand and should by means of a discussion help conclude whether his hand is Scottish.

Because here the discussion of **e** has the purpose of identifying Scottish characteristics and not necessarily Secretary or Anglicana features, only the categories in scribe B’s hand will be discussed below. Moreover, the results for scribe A (as can be seen in figure 17) are particularly various and however interesting do not add any value to our discussion of identifying Secretary or Anglicana features. In fact, a discussion would likely confuse rather than clarify. Examples of the forms taken from MS Hunter 83 of the **e**’s in scribe A’s hand can be consulted in appendix A.

Scribe A: e

e1	capital E
e2	round e – modern
e3	round e with attached stroke - modern
e4	square e – modern
e5	pointy e – modern
e6	8-shaped e
e7	kidney shaped e
e8	kidney shaped e with attached stroke

Figure 17, Scribe A: e

3.3.1 Scribe B: e

The discussion below is particularly targeted at establishing Scottish features in the hand of scribe B and the results are plentiful. In fact, the **e** come apart that Simpson describes is the most common version of the letter in this hand and is consistently used by the scribe throughout the Manuscript. As Figure 18 below indicates, there are six shapes of the letter in this hand and only e5 resembles the modern **e** that had entered Secretary and Anglicana scripts. E6 in particular is a good example of a Scottish **e** in that it resembles most Simpson's description and actually is rather similar to Scottish **d**.

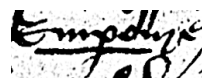
Scribe B: e

e1	capital E
e2	e come apart
e3	e come apart with attached stroke
e4	elevated small c shaped e
e5	pointy e
e6	curled e

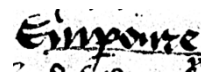
Figure 18, Scribe B: e

E1: capital E

 : e1.1 folio 45 verso line 4, *Empoure*



 : e1.2 folio 45 recto line 30, *Empoure* (heading)



 : e1.3 folio 45 verso line 1, *Empoure*



E2: e come apart

This form of **e** is the most common in scribe B's hand. It consists of a diagonal line with an elevated c-shape above it, typical for Scottish hands. When reading the manuscript at first it is hard to identify these as **e**-forms as they are so dissimilar to what modern readers expect. However, as the scribe is consistent in using them and once accustomed to the hand it is actually straightforward to read.

 : e2.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *here* 

This shape represents the standard form of **e** that is in use in several different allographs throughout the hand. Here it is in word-final position but it also appears in medial position in the word, however it has not been found in initial position in the folio under investigation. We might note its cursive quality with the **r** fluently moving into the diagonal of **e**.

 : e2.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *ye* 

Similar to e2.1, in this letter the diagonal line and the elevated c-shape are a lot closer together. The form also appears in word-final position. Its cursive aspect is lost here as it does not connect well to the **y** preceding it.

 : e2.3 folio 45 verso line 7, *men* 


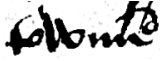
In this example the **e** almost cuts the word in half, its diagonal line being an extension of **m** and its c-shape the beginning of **n**. Its shape is a direct result of that; it looks more finished and carefully written. In a way the diagonal can be treated as a final stroke and that is why it was finished so well. The roundness of the c-shape is a result of the pen going back to the paper to lead in **n** starting the second part of the letter.

 : e2.4 folio 45 verso line 6, *wer* 

Only one instance of this form was found in the folio examined, making its appearance rare in this hand. The two parts of the letter have transformed into two diagonal straight and very angular lines with as a result a very abstract allograph. There is no apparent reason for it to be here as it would be expected in a heading.

E3: e come apart with attached stroke

For all the allographs in this category, the elevated c-shape of the **e** has been decorated with an attached stroke going back over the top of the word. As shall be shown they either function as punctuation, indicating the last word of a sentence, or as an abbreviation mark and for that reason can appear in any position in the word.

 : e3.1 folio 45 recto line 29, *towne* (last word of paragraph) 

This is a beautiful and elegant representation of the letter, functioning as punctuation to signify the end of a sentence and here also the end of a paragraph. As in this part of the manuscript the headings do not start at a new line but continue where last finished, this could be an additional help to show that one part in the story is finished and a new part is beginning.

 : e3.2 folio 45 recto line 33, *men* 

Similar to e2.4, the two-compartment of this allograph have taken the shape of two diagonals as well, however slightly longer and less straight. The top diagonal has the added stroke attached to it and functions as an abbreviation mark for missing **n** to form the word *men*.

 : e3.3 folio 45 verso line 13, *enemies* 

What this form of **e** shows is that it does not have to appear in word-final position only, even though that is what its shape suggests. Because it advises the reader of an abbreviation, actually it could appear anywhere in a word where letters have been left out. Here the letters *ne* are omitted, abbreviating the full word *enemies*.

 : e3.4 folio 45 verso line 2, *come* 


There is no indication that the scribe meant to use this form here as an abbreviation, nor is it at the end of a line, sentence or paragraph. The added line looks somewhat insecure and perhaps the scribe did not mean to write it here but did so by accident. What can also have happened is that it is some form of decoration at the end of a word.

E4: elevated small c shaped e

This form of **e** occurs mostly after the letter **d** and it is hard to distinguish where one ends and the other begins. The end of the stroke of the loop of **d** functions as the diagonal

line of **e** and it can be argued that the only part of **e** that has remained here is its elevated c-shape.

 **e4.1 folio 45 recto line 16, *harde***

The figure of the word *harde* here shows this form well. The letters **d** and **e** overlap, the **e** here has the shape of a half moon hovering over the **d**. Another word that demonstrates this is  where this sequence is repeated twice.

E5: pointy e

The only allographs of this grapheme are, perhaps not surprisingly, found in the more calligraphic writing that sets off the headings in this manuscript. It is, in fact, very like the **e** that is representative of the Secretary script; however throughout the body of the text this letter-form is not used.

 **e5.1 folio 45 recto line 30, *ye* (heading)** 

This is a typical Secretary **e** as it has a prickly and pointy appearance, the ‘horn’ on its top is characteristic for this script. Here it features in the more calligraphically written heading and has this particular shape because of its context and not because the scribe was trying to adhere to writing in a certain script.

E6: curled e

What seems to have been the case for the following two allographs is that the elevated c-shape and the diagonal line below it have somehow connected. The result is a letter **e** that is similar to the **e** come apart, except the two parts are joined so it can be written in one stroke. We might note that the two examples below both occur in final position.

 **e6.1 folio 45 recto line 31, *peple*** 

The cursive quality of this form of **e** is far greater than that of the **e**'s described above and here its connection to the letter **l** is shown forming a single line. This allograph would have been quicker and more fluent to write, although it is rare in this hand.

 : e6.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *Be* 

Similar to e6.1, however more compact, this allograph also appears in final position and was written in a single stroke. Surprisingly it cannot have been used here for its cursive features as it follows a capital **B** and does not naturally connect to this letter preceding it.

Conclusions for scribe B: **e**

The main reason for **e** to be included into the GP was that it should be a good indicator for proving a hand has Scottish origins. And indeed the range of forms discussed here provide ample evidence in the form of eleven out of twelve graphs (capitals not included) which take the Scottish shape of **e**. Scribe B almost consistently uses the **e** that has come apart throughout the text and based on that it can be argued that this definitely is a Scottish hand.

One Secretary **e** was found, namely e5. It is not the shape of this allograph that makes it Secretary - after all, the same shape already occurred in Anglicana scripts – it is the addition of the horn and its pointy, prickly appearance. However, unfortunately here this cannot count as proof of this hand being written in Secretary as firstly it is extremely rare and secondly it appears in a heading and was therefore not representative of the majority of the letters existing in this hand.

Because the inclusion of **e** was never meant to prove either Anglicana or Secretary features, not much can be said about this. However, it has shown that apart from the Scottish form of **d**, this hand also features the Scottish form of **e** in abundance; as a result strengthening the case for scribe B's alleged Scottish background.

3.4 The qualities of **g**

The reason for including **g** in this study is that its shape is quite different in Anglicana and Secretary scripts and is used as an indicator for both. Where Anglicana uses the double-compartment 8-shaped **g**, the Secretary **g** only has one compartment. As Petti (1977:14) points out, it is the letter that varies the most in the Secretary script, on the one hand occurring with “a pointed head and a small tail” and later “its head comes to resemble **u** or **v** with the right limb often higher than the left, and it acquires a very pronounced head stroke”.

Because of these reasons, a study of the letter **g** should yield various results and interesting conclusions. Because the shapes for Secretary and Anglicana are so dissimilar, it should be relatively simple to distinguish one from the other and to prove which script

dominates in each hand. There is no distinctive Scottish form of **g**, therefore a discussion of this letter does not aim to confirm any Scottish features in the hands.

3.4.1 Scribe A: **g**

The ten graphs that this hand produces for the letter **g** shows the variation that Petti also pointed out before. There is a difference in shape of the body (i.e. pointy, round, etc.), a difference in the shape of the descender (i.e. looped, straight, etc.) and as for so many other letters **g**'s with a stroke attached to it also appear. As shall be shown there are many examples of Anglicana two-compartment forms of the letter as well as Secretary single-compartment versions. First though, figure 19 shows the ten categories for **g**, beginning with the capital.

Scribe A: **g**

g1	capital G
g2	pointy g - looped descender
g3	pointy g - open descender
g4	round g - looped descender
g5	round g - open looped descender
g6	round g with attached stroke - straight descender
g7	round g with attached stroke - looped descender
g8	slanted round g - straight descender
g9	flat g - straight descender
g10	open g - straight descender

Figure 19, Scribe A: **g**

G1: capital G


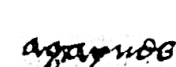
 : g1.1 folio 3 recto line 25, *Genepis* 

G2: pointy g – looped descender

This is the first of four allographs of 8-shaped **g** and thus proof of Anglicana features in scribe A's hand. We might note that in this category the bodies of the letters have a pointy shape, something that was likely caused by Secretary influences creating the 'horns' that can be seen here. Because the looped descender increases its cursive qualities, the letter occurs both in initial as well as medial position in the word.

 : g2.1 folio 3 recto line 14, *granyt* 

All the forms in this category are the same; they have a round loop but a very square and pointy body. They appear to have been written in two strokes, the looped part of the letter was likely written first and the pointy roof-like top of the letter was then added to it. Although common, by doing this the scribe does not make optimal use of the cursive character the 8-shaped **g** can have.

 : g2.2 folio 3 recto line 3, *agaynes* 


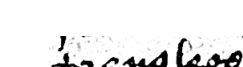
This form is similar to g2.1, however here the horn is very obvious. The addition of this horn to this particular form of letter is rather controversial as it mixes a typical Anglicana letter-form with typical Secretary practice, giving an indication of the degree of mixture that must have taken place between the two scripts.

 : g2.3 folio 3 recto line 18, *organs* 

Together with g2.1 this example shows particularly well how it was connected to the letter following it. The added ‘roof’ of the body moves into the following letter in one stroke. However, with a **g** shaped this way it would be expected that the loop provides the connection and not the body of the letter.

G3: pointy g – open descender

It is likely that the scribe never meant to write an open descender here because its occurrence throughout the hand is extremely rare. Here, as shall be demonstrated below by the two forms presented, there is no real indication as to why scribe A would choose this form in these positions or contexts. We might note, however, that again the cursive character is not expressed through the loop (i.e. it was never finished) but through the body of the letter.

 : g3.1 folio 3 verso line 31, *preualege* 

One reason for a scribe to write an allograph similar to this one would be that it is in the last line of a page as descenders were often exaggerated in that situation. Here, this is not the case. It also does not appear in a heading or personal name, so there is no particular

reason to use a form that is different from the common one. For these reasons it is probable that the scribe aimed for a g2 form of **g**, but wrote it this way by accident.

 : g3.2 folio 3 verso line 2, *g^ace* 

This letter is situated in the same word that features a3.1 and its loop, although open, is much nearer closed than that of g3.1. As is the case for g3.1 there is no indication for the scribe to use an open loop here and because it is so nearly closed it is most likely the scribe unintentionally finished the line just a bit too early.

G4: round g – looped descender

The letters in this category are most representative of Anglicana **g** and especially g4.1. Their round character indicates that a formata grade of the script is definitely not in use here, however they are both 8-shaped and written in one stroke (their bodies do not appear to have been added later as was the case with the previous forms of **g**). Nevertheless writing continues from the upper compartment of the letter, which was common practice in this script.

 : g4.1 folio 136 recto line 4, *gilty* 

As mentioned before, this is the form most characteristic of Anglicana scripts. This allograph appears in word-initial position and rather fluently connects with the letter **i** following it. This feature, together with the fact that it was written in one stroke, makes it more cursive than the previous **g**-forms under investigation. Of course, enhancing cursive qualities was one of the reasons for the development of Anglicana in Britain.

 : g4.2 folio 3 verso line 1, *ryght* (first line of chapter) 

This letter appears in a word that is in the first line of a new chapter, which explains the elongated ascender of **h** and its general size (words in this line are larger than the ones in further lines). However, maybe paradoxically, the scribe chose to use a cursive **g** here, resulting in the form shown above. The triangular shape of the upper compartment and its context makes it less Anglicana-like than g4.1.

G5: round g – open looped descender

As shall be shown later, after the discussion on **g**-forms with straight descenders has taken place, this scribe only really uses either looped descenders or straight descenders and for this reason these looped but open descenders are likely to be accidents. This was the case for **g3** and as shall be shown soon, this will be the case for **g5** as well.

 : **g5.1 folio 3 recto line 23, *leght* (first line of chapter)** 


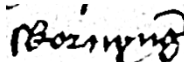
This is a very round form of the letter and would have been good example of Anglicana **g** had its loop been closed. Although this letter appears in the first line of a chapter, there is no real indication of the scribe adjusting his writing to that elsewhere in the word and therefore this open loop is likely to be accidental.

 : **g5.2 folio 3 recto line 6, *gaf*** 

This form is clearly much less round than **g5.1** and this could be because it appears to have been written in three strokes rather than one. One stroke makes up the loop and the body is made out of two, naturally making this a less cursive form. Again, there is no obvious reason for the looped part to be open.

G6: pointy g with attached stroke - looped descender

This is the last of the Anglicana **g**-forms. It is a pointy version of the letter and features an added stroke. Because of the nature of the letter it is almost impossible to be situated anywhere else but in word-final position.

 : **g6.1 folio 3 verso line 18, *skornyng*** 

The shape of this letter is pointier than the allographs featured in **g2** and **g3** and can in fact almost be called triangular. The loop as a contrast is very round as is the attached stroke. It is unlikely that the stroke is there for any other reason apart from decoration as the word does not carry any extra meaning and is not situated at the end of the line.

G7: round g with attached stroke – straight descender

This is the start of the discussion on Secretary **g**-forms with straight and short descenders, here featuring an added stroke. As is natural for all letters with an attached stroke, they are nearly all placed at the end of the word they appear in. Here a more precise

statement can be made, because every form recorded (including g6) and not just the ones featured below is part of the letter-formation –*ying*.

 : g7.1 folio 3 verso line 23, *kyng* 

This allograph has a very round body and a short descender and the added stroke is rather short as well, reaching back nearly the breadth of the letter. We might note how similar this type of **g** is to the letter **a**.

 : g7.2 folio 3 verso line 26, *blyssing* 

The only difference with g7.1 is that the stroke is longer here; it goes back almost as far as the breadth of two letters.

 : g7.3 folio 3 recto line 7, *thyng* 

The shape of this allograph is very similar to both g7.2 and g7.1, only the attached stroke goes back three letters here, making it the longest added stroke found on this letter in the folios under investigation.

G8: slanted round g – straight descender

A rarity throughout this hand, this slanted **g** is the only of its kind found in the folios under investigation. It is unnatural for this scribe to write his descenders at an angle – it involves having to change the duct – however, as was shown in the discussion on **d**, the scribe does produce slanted ascenders.

 : g8.1 folio 3 verso line 28, *vtug* 

This word features in a discussion in the MS on what makes a man either *noble* or *unnoble* and does not represent a form of **g**, but the Latin abbreviation for –us. The word abbreviated here is virtuous.

G9: flat-topped g – straight descender

This is a good example of a graph having a certain shape because it is influenced by one of the letters around it. When studying the words these forms feature in, three are followed by **h** and one by **l**. Of course, in this hand **l** makes up one part of the letter **h**

creating a very similar environment. The flat top on the **g** is caused by the connection to the subsequent letter, effortlessly continuing from **g** to form the looped ascender of the letter following it.

 : **g9.1 folio 136 recto line 14, brought** 


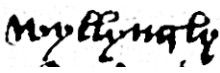
Providing the conclusions about flat-topped **g** in this hand are correct and its shape has been created to improve connections with looped letters following it, the word this letter features in offers a good example of this. It seems like the successive letters *ght* are all connected by the stroke that forms the flat top of the **g**.

 : **g9.2 folio 3 verso line 15, through** 

Here again the sample word is a good illustration of the cursive qualities of flat-topped **g** as the flat top naturally provides the connection with the **h** following it.

 : **g9.3 folio 136 recto line 30, brought** 

Although it features in the same word as g9.1, the shape of this allograph, and the ones following it, is different. The descender is extremely short and when comparing the three letters –*ght*, here the **t** stands by itself rather than being connected to the preceding two. Nonetheless, the link between **g** and **h** is again present.

 : **g9.4 folio 3 recto line 8, wyllyngly** 

Here it can be seen how short the descenders of **g** in scribe A's hand actually are as the word it appears in features three more descenders which are easily twice its length. An effortless connection can be seen again with the letter following it.

G10: open g – straight descender

The shape of this letter can be explained in two different ways. The view that will be followed here is that the body of the **g** is open and was written so accidentally. However, it can also be argued that the horizontal line going from **g**, through **h** and finally crossing **t** is the line making up the flat top of the **g** but has not properly connected to the rest of its lines.

 : g10.1 folio 136 recto line 38, *knyght* 

The reason for the **g** here being treated as open becomes clear when looking at its shape. What might have happened is that the scribe accidentally started to write the **h** early (hence its slightly curled descender) when he meant to write **g** and covered it up by adding the horizontal line. Because scribe A has not produced a curled descender on any of the other letters mentioned here, this becomes a more plausible explanation.

Conclusions for scribe A: **g**

There are five different categories that provide us with Anglicana 8-shaped **g**'s (i.e. g2-g6) and four for the Secretary form (i.e. g7-g10). Petti mentioned that **g** was the letter that varied the most and in the case of scribe A, he was right.

What is apparent from the discussion on **g** is that with the development of the two scripts there were different ways to make it more cursive. Anglicana **g**, on the one hand, could be written in one stroke and connects well to the lower-height letters in particular. Rather surprisingly it was common not to use the loop of **g** to connect to the following letter but the body, sometimes resulting in a pointy shape rather than a round one. This also gives an indication as to how this letter might have been produced.

The Secretary versions of the letter, on the other hand, use the stroke that makes up its flat top to increase the cursive qualities of the letter. The flat top did not come into use until the fifteenth century, hence providing a good dating feature for this hand, and it is obviously for fluency reasons that it was invented. It connects best to letters which feature looped ascenders and in this hand the appearance of the successive letters *ght* is very distinctive.

The discussion of **g** has thus provided proof of both Anglicana as well as Secretary features in this hand and on top of that offered good dating evidence as well as an insight into how the letter was produced.

3.4.2 Scribe B: **g**

Surprisingly there are no 8-shaped **g**'s in scribe B's hand and as a result not as many different graphs can be produced. Apart from the capital **G**'s only 4 different other categories can be distinguished and these are all flat-topped. The degree of variation is in the descenders, ranging from less cursive straight to very cursive looped. Nonetheless, the **g**'s in this hand are beautifully shaped. Figure 20 shows the six categories of **g** featured in scribe B's hand.

Scribe B: g


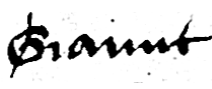
g1	Capital G
g2	flat-topped g with straight descender
g3	flat-topped g with curled descender
g4	flat-topped g with hooked descender
g5	flat-topped g with looped descender

Figure 20, Scribe B: g

G1: capital G

 : g1.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *Gyannt* 


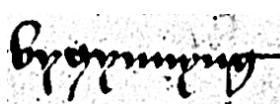
 : g1.2 folio 45 verso line 18, *God* 

 : g1.3 folio 45 recto line 7, *Giannt* (first word of line) 

 : g1.4 folio 45 recto line 21, *Giannt* (first word of line) 

G2: flat-topped g with straight descender



The most remarkable feature about this particular shape of **g** is its ability to connect to the letter following it. Even though its shape prevents it from connecting to preceding letters, this grapheme is written in one single stroke joining naturally with most letters placed after it. Because of this, it is relatively common throughout scribe B's hand.

 : g2.1 folio 45 verso line 1, *bygynning* 

The way scribe B writes this shape is by starting with the descender, actually going back on itself when creating the body with the horizontal top of the letter-forming the joint with the next. Although this cannot clearly be seen here in this particular example, this will become clearer as the discussion moves on. Rapidly written its cursive aspect is highlighted by the seamless connection to the letter **y** succeeding it.

 : g2.2 folio 45 recto line 9, *grete* 

The way the scribe would have written this allograph can be read with more ease from this example than when looking at g2.1. It is clear that it was formed without lifting the pen off the parchment and here this line continues to form the letters **r** and the diagonal line of **e** following it.

 : g2.3 folio 45 recto line 30, *gaff* (heading) 

This is an example of a more calligraphically written version of the same letter, however here the descender points in the opposite direction and for obvious reasons it is much less cursive than the other allographs in this category. It does show what this scribe was capable of by its beautiful execution.

G3: flat-topped g with curled descender

The graphs in this category are not straight, neither are they looped; they show the stages in between. Although the openness of the descender is not clearly shown from the digital copy of the word, the actual drawings of the graphs must here be taken as evidence.

 g3.1 folio 45 recto line 5, *king* 

It is unclear whether the allographs in this category were written from the descender onwards or by starting with the body of the letter. It does appear that the letter **n** preceding it continues its up and down motion of to form the body but this cannot be proven. The horizontal stroke forming the top of the letter was added after lifting the pen so consequently this allograph is less cursive than g2.1 and g2.2.

 : g3.2 folio 45 recto line 17, *king* (end of line) 

This shape is similar to g3.1 only the curl comes up on front of the allograph rather than under it. The character of its distinctive tall stroke can be contributed to positional factors as it is situated at the end of line 17. Again, probably two or maybe even three strokes were needed to form this shape, reducing its cursive qualities and making it more difficult to establish in what order it was written.

G4: flat-topped g with hooked descender

The allographs in this category are very much like g2 only their descenders point in the opposite direction and have slight hooks attached to its ends. Although not entirely certain they appear to have been written starting at the descender rather than at the body, much like g2.1 and g2.2. Is it a coincidence that both letters appear in key religious names?

 : g4.1 folio 45 verso line 21, *holygost* 



This form has a diagonal appearance and it seems that the line of the straight top was created by a continuation of the *y* preceding it. There is no connection between this *g* and the *o* following it suggesting a more precise writing style. This was no doubt caused by the religious annotation of the word it appears in, not only forming a personal name but also a main religious entity.

 : g4.2 folio 45 recto line 14, *god* 

Surprisingly, at the time this Manuscript was written, the word *God* was not always written with a capital and scribe B alternates this as well. Here the word is definitely *God*, appearing in the phrase *And god wott* which is again part of a quote. Maybe because it is not actually an act of God that is being described but a saying, it was not deemed necessary to use writing to emphasise the word.

G5: flat-topped g with looped descender

There exist several different allographs of this highly cursive letter. It appears in every position in the word as well as in many contexts, making this the most common form of *g* in this scribe's hand. Several scribal practices can be demonstrated in this discussion. The way this letter was probably written was by making a body the shape of a *u*, proceeding into writing the descender and forming a loop to go back up and form the horizontal line on top of the body to move into the next letter.

 : g5.1 folio 45 recto line 12, *goo* (start of line) 

Here this allograph is shown in word-initial position and the word it features in seems to have been written in one single stroke, demonstrating the cursive qualities of this letter. Its appearance is round and fluent and shows the characteristics of this hand off very well.

 : g5.2 folio 45 recto line 29, *king* (heading, end of line) 


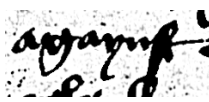
It is surprising to see such a cursive allograph in a heading like this, still, even though it is far more calligraphic, the word would have been written in one stroke had it not been for the **k**. There is more contrast between thick and thin lines, its appearance is less round than g5.1 and the tall stroke at the end gives away its position at the end of the line.

 : g5.3 folio 45 verso line 2, *king* (end of line) 



When comparing the way this word was written as opposed to g5.2 where the same word features in a heading, the difference in writing becomes clear. It is obvious the scribe wanted to make a distinction between headings and the main text so the reader would know when a new section would come up. Still, in this hand the distinction between the two is not as large as in scribe A's hand. We might note the elongated stroke at the end of this allograph, suggesting its position at the end of a line.

 : g5.4 folio 45 recto line 9, *huge* 

Here the cursive qualities of this allograph are shown by its connection to preceding **u** and a following **e**, demonstrating its behaviour in word-medial position. It is likely to have this rather round shape and no flat top because the loop moves on to form the diagonal stroke of the **e**, which requires a downwards movement again.

 : g5.5 folio 45 verso line 7, *agaynst* 

As was the case for g5.4, this letter-form is situated in word-medial position and again shows great connectivity especially with **a** preceding it. Its cursive character is established by the way the letter is written, namely by starting with a **u**-shape.

 : g5.6 folio 45 verso line 37, *amonges* (last line) 

That this word features in the last line can be predicted by looking at its shape only. The long elongated loop is a common feature in hands from the same time when in the last line of the page. The word *among* is followed by an abbreviation mark that was often used for **-s**, **-es** or **-is** to indicate a plural or merely to abbreviate those letters.

Conclusions for scribe B: g

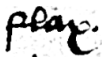
As mentioned above, there are no 8-shaped **g**-forms in this hand and therefore no proof of Anglicana features can be brought forward when examining this letter. However, as Petti pointed out, in the later Secretary period the shape of the letter changed from having a pointy head and small tail to the shape of most **g**'s in this hand, with **u** as its base and irregular limbs. Therefore here this letter could function as a dating feature and proof that this hand was in use in the fourteenth century, g2 being the best example of this.

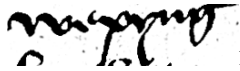
There is no clear evidence that **g**-forms with this particular shape used to have a looped descender, Secretary **g**-forms anywhere are described as having straight descenders instead. However, it is not surprising that we find a looped Secretary **g** because this feature makes this letter particularly cursive. Interestingly, as Petti (1977:17) demonstrates with his figure 20 and 22, later periods do feature letters very much like g5 and maybe in that respect scribe B was ahead of his time. Also, adding the looped descender was of course something that was a common Anglicana practice and could have influenced the way scribe B formed his letters.

3.5 The qualities of p

This letter was chosen to feature in this discussion for the same reasons that the letter **e** was chosen: its Scottish form is rather distinctive and therefore easy to recognise. In Secretary script, **p** has “distinctive ‘horns’ applied at points where strokes cross” (Brown 2002:106) and exaggerated “tapering, sloping descenders” (Parkes 1969:xix).

As figure 6 already showed, the **p** in Scottish hands “is usually written in one continuous action of the pen and can hardly be distinguished from x” (Simpson 1998:15). Unfortunately no forms of **x** were found in scribe B's hand to show as a comparison but

they do occur in the hand of scribe A. We might look at, for example the **x** in *flax* 

in the hand of scribe A and the **p** in *weping*  in scribe B's writing.

Although obviously written by two different scribes, both letters are written in one single stroke and follow the same line, making it easy to see why both would look rather similar when written by the same person.

3.5.1 Scribe A: p

What the following discussion is trying to show is the addition of horns to letters and the treatment of descenders that was so common in Secretary writing. **P** is not a letter that

lends itself for great variation and as a result of that only three categories can be distinguished in scribe A's hand. These categories are illustrated in figure 21 below.


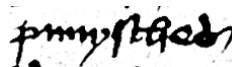
Scribe A: p

p1	closed p
p2	open p
p3	abbreviation p


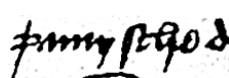
Figure 21, Scribe A: p

P1: closed p

The **p**-forms in this category appear to have been made out of two strokes, one diagonal straight line and a horizontal loop across it. Their descenders occur both short and long, however they are not convincingly tapered and there are no clear indications of horns. All the letters under investigation here do occur in word-initial position and no others like these have been found in other positions in the word.

 : p1.1 folio 3 recto line 7, *punysched* 

This is a very simple **p**, its descender is of a normal length and its shape is common and straightforward. There is a very subtle hint of a horn, but it is unclear whether this is just the tip of the vertical stroke or whether it has been added deliberately. It does add to the prickly appearance that is so common in Secretary scripts.

 : p1.2 folio 3 recto line 6, *punysched* 

Here the allograph shows a longer descender than p1.1, sticking out considerably above the bow and descending lower than the **s** later in the word. This could be what Parkes called an exaggerated descender and surely could function as proof for Secretary features. To add to this, the diagonal line sticks out so far that creates a very pointy look.

 : p1.3 folio 3 recto line 38, *passit* 


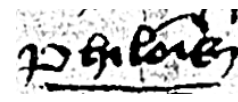
If p1.2 had an exaggerated descender, so does this one as it sticks out more above the letter and the descender appears just as long. In the copy of the word the line does appear slightly tapered but comparing it to, for example, the degree of tapering of **s** *punysched* in p1.2 this becomes irrelevant. Together with p1.2 this letter appears passionately written.

P2: open p

Very surprisingly and unlike p1, the following open **p** allographs appear both in word-initial as well as word-medial position and apart from their open bows, they are not that dissimilar from p1. They were obviously written the same way and because of that there is no clear explanation for this positional characteristic. The open **p** does occur more often and is more common in this hand, which could be the justification for it.

 : p2.1 folio 3 recto line 18, *harpe* 

When looking at this letter the degree of exaggeration in p1.2 and p1.3 becomes clear. Here it does not extend much lower than **h**, and the vertical line forming the descender is topped by a hook rather than extending above the general height of the other letters. This hook could force this letter to be open, as there is no need for the bow to cross with the top of the descender anymore.

 : p2.2 folio 3 verso line 32, *philois* 

The bow of the letter is exaggerated rather than the descender, which in fact is very short. This letter appears in the name of a people though, and it could be that this is actually a capital letter. Again, the diagonal line is topped by a hook rather than an ascender, causing the open character of this allograph.

 : p2.3 folio 3 verso line 26, *respecte* 

This allograph is very similar to p2.1 only it is at a slight slant and its descender is slightly longer. Here it is shown very clearly that this letter has little cursive qualities; however the hooked descender creates more possibilities for this than the straight one of p1.

 : p2.4 folio 3 recto line 36, *represent* 

This allograph has a longer descender than the rest in this category and is at a stronger slant. It has a curvy appearance and comes close to have a tapering descender. It is not exaggerated though, as it goes down to the same level as the **s** in the same word.

P3: abbreviation p

In order to save as much space as possible, it was common practice at the time that Hunter 83 was written to abbreviate as many words as possible. Latin words in particular were highly abbreviated because there was already a system in place taken from earlier Latin manuscripts. Because of this, prefixes like *per-* and *pro-*, also in full English words, were abbreviated with signs that would have been common and thus easy for contemporary readers to recognise.

 : p4.1 folio 3 verso line 6, *profits* 

This very common abbreviation sign for *pro-* is a **p** like p2 with a diagonal stroke through the descender.

 : p4.2 folio 3 recto line 13, *perell* 

Here the scribe uses a more cursive version of p4.1 with a looped descender rather than a straight one. The word abbreviated is probably *per-* however this is not entirely certain. The context does suit a word like *perell* as it features in a passage that describes what will happen after the Flood.

Conclusions for scribe A: p

Unfortunately no clear-cut evidence has come forward out of this discussion of **p** in the hand of scribe A to prove that it was definitely written in a Secretary script or a Scottish hand. There are no particularly long descenders, neither are they especially tapered or do the letters show horns.

It can be concluded that scribe A writes **p** mainly in two different ways and also has a version he uses in abbreviations.

3.5.2 Scribe B: p

As was the case for scribe A, there is little variation in the way the letter **p** is written in the hand of scribe B. There are three categories that all have clear boundaries and because of that there are generalisations to be made for each of them. Because of this characteristic the letter lends itself well for a GP and strict rules can be assigned to when and why certain forms were used.

The letter-form that this discussion is particularly interested in, though, is the Scottish version of **p** which Simpson identified as written in one stroke. It shall be shown below that nearly all the **p**-forms in this hand are written as such. The three categories of **p** in scribe B's hand are represented in figure 22 below:

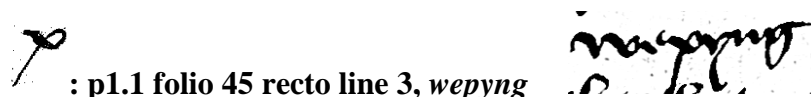
Scribe B: **p**

p1	single stroke p
p2	single stroke p with looped descender
p3	p with head stroke

Figure 22, Scribe B: **p**

P1: single stroke **p**

All allographs featured in this category are written in one stroke. Not all of them, however, are the Scottish **p** Simpson described earlier. It seems that the Scottish **p** is situated mostly in word-medial position, whereas 'regular' **p** can also appear at the start of a word. In reality this is not the case and p1.4 is the exception here as there was only one found in the folios under investigation. Scottish **p** is by far the most common in this hand and occurs in both word-initial as well as word-medial position although the examples here would suggest otherwise.





: p1.1 folio 45 recto line 3, *wepyng*

This is a good example of what Simpson identifies as a Scottish **p** and it is quite different from the ones found in scribe A's hand. The letter is more fluent and cursive as is demonstrated here with its connection to the elevated c-shape of the **e** preceding it. This is the basic form of **p** in scribe B's hand.





: p1.2 folio 45 recto line 29, *chapell*

The allograph presented here is very similar to p1.1 only the body is longer and more oval. It shows its cursive connection to the letter **a** preceding it this time. Note that because of its general shape there will not be an unbroken connection to letters following it as after finishing writing this letter the pen needs to be taken off the parchment.

 : p1.3 folio 45 verso line 7, *espies* 

Here again is an example of typical Scottish **p** in scribe B's hand, this time somewhat smaller than the previous ones in this category.

 : p1.4 folio 45 verso line 5, *panymes* 

The existence of this allograph in this hand is quite surprising as scribe B is rather consistent with his use of Scottish **p** throughout the text. However, when examining the word it features in, it can be that this is actually a capital as it is the name of a country. Maybe scribe B writes this type of **p** only when a capital letter is appropriate.

P2: single stroke p with looped descender

It is not surprising that these allographs feature in the same word. The **p**'s following are more gracious and elegant and actually more cursive although here not used as such. Because this word carries important meaning and signifies a leader in the world, a more elaborate letter is used and the word is underlined. We might note the difference between the plural abbreviation at the end of the word of p2.1 and the **e** at the end of p2.2.

 : p2.1 folio 45 recto line 37, *Empoures* (last line) 

This **p** is more calligraphic and carefully written than the **p**'s in category p1 and suits the word it features in. The looped descender is clearly used for decoration rather than to increase its cursive qualities as no attempt to connect to a letter following it has been made.

 : p2.2 folio 45 verso line 1, *Empoure* 


We might see p2.1.

P3: p with head stroke

Realistically this version of the letter is similar to p2 as it is placed in similar situations and its shape really is a less fluent motion along the same lines. The loop of the descender in p2 crosses the line and here the loop has turned into a stroke that crosses the line as well. Again they feature in the same word, this obviously is no coincidence and p2 as well as p3 are almost certainly used in words that carry importance and meaning.



: p3.1 folio 45 recto line 30, *Empoure* (heading)



Of all the allographs in this and the preceding category, this one is the most calligraphic and because it is situated in a heading and the word was written very deliberately in almost a Gothic script, this does not come as a surprise.



: p3.2 folio 45 recto line 31, *Empoure*



There is not much more to say about this allograph, apart from its slightly different shape its purpose is the same as is for p2. It features in exactly the same context and functions as a means to attract the reader's attention to this meaningful word.

Conclusions for scribe B: p

Unfortunately there are even fewer clues in this discussion as to whether scribe B writes in a Secretary script than came forward when analysing this letter for scribe A. There are no exaggerated descenders – not even on p2.1 which is situated in the last line of the folio – there are no tapered descenders and neither are there any horns. Its distribution throughout the hand is very regular though and because this hand is generally more even than that of scribe A, the lack of elaboration is no surprise here.

The discussion had proven though that this is a Scottish hand as apart from p1.4 all the allographs are written in a similar motion and from the same basis. Together with the evidence gathered for **d** and **e** in this hand a compelling case can already be built regarding its Scottish character.

3.6 The qualities of r

The final three discussions of **r**, **s** and **w** are the letters that can be described as having both the most different and most varied forms.

The distinctive form of **r** in Anglicana scripts was called “long-tailed” by Parkes (1969:xv) but is also often referred to as ‘tall r’ and as having a forked shape. This is a very recognisable form and can very easily be distinguished from the Secretary shapes. Moreover, this is the only characterisation of **r** that can be attributed to Anglicana, making researching it very straightforward.

The distinctive form of **r** in Secretary scripts is a bit harder to describe as different scholars mention different shapes. Petti (1977:14) for example mentions them as being “short, right shouldered and v-forms”, Brown (2002:106) describes them as an “angular

figure-2 form of r”, and Parkes (1969:xix) refers to them both as “short r” as well as “2-shaped r”.

To clarify these different shapes and in an attempt to classify them clearly, in this research the distinction between short **r** and 2-shaped **r** is that short **r** is most similar to the shape of a modern-day **z** and thus more angular than 2-shaped **r**. The form resembling most the modern-day lower case **r** is here referred to as regular **r**. Petti’s v-shaped **r** has not been found in either hand in MS Hunter 83 and therefore will not be mentioned any further.

Scholars have not distinguished a particular Scottish shape of **r** and consequently the following discussion is not aimed at distinguishing Scottish features.

3.6.1 Scribe A: r


The diversity of the use of **r** throughout this hand, and indeed other contemporary hands as well, is reflected in the number of categories that emerge when examining it. There exist 8 different shapes of **r**, including tall, short and 2-shaped, and it would be interesting to see whether the distribution of these forms is governed by certain rules. Figure 23 shows the eight categories of **r** as found in the hand of scribe A.

Scribe A: r	
r1	regular r with long head stroke
r2	regular r with short head stroke
r3	regular r with attached stroke
r4	2-shaped r
r5	short r
r6	short r with attached stroke
r7	tall r
r8	tall r with attached stroke

Figure 23, Scribe A: r

R1: regular r with long head stroke

It could be a coincidence, but throughout the folios under investigation for this hand, the only position where this particular shape is found it after **c**. An explanation for this could be that the horizontal head-stroke of **c** is connectable to the downwards stroke of **r**. Nevertheless, the shape of these forms suggests greater cursive properties as a longer head stroke also invites connections to letters following it.

: r1.1 folio 3 recto line 12, *craftes* 

The surprisingly cursive character of this allograph is shown here quite well as the *c* preceding and the *a* following it are both connected to it. The head stroke is long here probably because of this reason, as a longer stroke is needed to be able to connect it to *a*.

: r1.2 folio 3 verso line 25, *cryme* 

The head stroke for this letter has been elongated for similar reasons as for r1.1, it connects to the *y* coming directly after it. It is rather less calligraphic but unmistakably an *r* of the same shape.

R2: regular r with short head stroke

: r2.1 folio 3 recto line 17, *first* 

This allograph is very similar to the ones in r1.1, however as the name mentions, its head stroke is quite a bit shorter and separated from the shaft. When looking at the quality of the letters following it, it becomes clear that here a connection to tall *s* would be impossible and hence no attempt has been made.

R3: regular r with attached stroke

Naturally the forms in this category are placed at the end of the sentence as they both display an added decorative stroke. There is no indication here that these could have been meant as abbreviation marks, so it is very likely that they only exist here to enhance the attractiveness of the text rather than have a practical function. There are many of these in this hand as the graph ending in mid-height lends itself very well for the purpose.

: r3.1 folio 3 recto line 14, *for* 

In this instance the attached stroke is connected to the allograph without lifting the pen, making this *r* look very fluent and attractive and part of the r1 category. Its context clearly does not suggest that it is part of an abbreviation as it is the last part of the phrase *ther for* and both *r*-forms in these words are enhanced with a decorative stroke.

: r3.2 folio 3 verso line 3, *yer* 

Here the stroke is attached to the separated head stroke of the letter **r**, making this an **r** of the r2 category. Again the whole word *yer* was written down here and there is no reason to think this stroke functions as an abbreviation.

R4: 2-shaped r

In total six of these 2-shaped **r**-forms have been collected from the investigated section and five of these appear in word-final position, r4.1 being the exception. This particular shape is small and fluent to write and would therefore not be expected to be found in highly decorated words or words that carry extra meaning. Because it is such a simple shape to produce, its only variation can be seen in the length of the base-line stroke.

This form is also one of the forms that characterise a Secretary script. However, as Brown stated, although it does signify Secretary features, it is the more angular version of regular **r** which is most valuable for identifying Secretary characteristics.

: r4.1 folio 3 recto line 16, *fyrste* 

This is the only 2-shaped **r** that was collected that appears in the middle of a word and it appears to split the word in two. It is possible that the scribe was used to writing it in word-final position and is unsure how to connect the letter to either the **y** or the tall **s** around it. As a result the word seems to consist of three parts, namely the *fy*, the *r*, and the *ste*.

: r4.2 folio 3 verso line 37, *aft* 

Here the minor role of this allograph is demonstrated as it appears in a superscript indicating an abbreviation. This is probably also the reason why the base-line stroke is slightly longer than the one in r4.1, it needs a feature to set it off from regular **r**-forms.

: r4.3 folio 3 recto line 11, *or* (end of line) 

The long length of the stroke here is obviously caused by its position at the end of a line as there was more space for strokes like this one. It was common practice for scribes to add such a stroke in this position which probably functioned as decoration.

R5: short r

Of the three scholars regularly quoted in this chapter, Parkes is the only one who distinguishes the following letters as a separate category and names them short **r**. He comments that the form has “no counterpart in any other contemporary English script” other than in Secretary [??] (1969:xix) and it is likely this particular shape that Brown also points out as a more angular 2-shaped **r**.

z : r5.1 folio 3 recto line 4, *fyrste* 

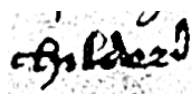
This letter-form can be found in both word-initial as well as word-medial position and although no instance of it was collected, it is likely to exist in final position as well. Here the allograph appears in the same word as r4.1, however it is part of the word rather than splitting it in two. This characteristic indicates that the scribe was familiar with this allograph in medial position.

z : r5.2 folio 3 recto line 15, *breke* 

Of the two shapes in this category, this one is probably the most distinctively Secretary-like as it has horns, it is angular and has a pointy appearance, and it is unlike any other **r** shape elsewhere. It also has a calligraphic appearance but regardless of this its cursive qualities are obvious; it makes the script look good but at the same time it is quick and easy to write.

R6: short r with attached stroke

Only one instance of this form was found in the folios under investigation and the reason for this is easy to point out. As the letter ends at base-line height, there is no fluent way to attach a stroke to this letter. Therefore, this would not involve a fluent movement of the pen but a very deliberate insertion of the stroke would be necessary.

zj : r6.1 folio 3 verso line 33, *childer* (last line of paragraph) 

The position of this word could be key in learning why the scribe would have deliberately added this stroke here. It is completely disconnected from the letter-shape itself and because of this it looks rather in cohesive. However, because of its position in the last line of the paragraph, boasting no less than four such decorative strokes in total, it

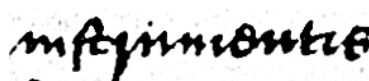
could be that the scribe wanted to decorate this word rather a bit more than he normally would have.

R7: tall r

Even though only one tall **r** was found without an added stroke, its appearance in the hand is an indication of Anglicana features. Because it has no such stroke, it is the only instance where tall **r** is seen in word-medial position. Moreover, its shape also resembles tall **s** and it is crucial not to confuse the two letters.



: r7.1 folio 3 recto line 17, *instrumentis*



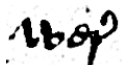
This is a classic example of Anglicana tall **r**. Like r5.2 it possesses decorative qualities as well as cursive characteristics and therefore functions well in scripts of this time. Note here the flawless connection to the **u** following it.

R8: tall r with attached stroke

Not surprisingly again this Anglicana letter-form is only found in word-final position. The interesting part here is the sheer number of these forms found throughout the folios under investigation.




: r8.1 folio 3 recto line 13, *wer*



There seems to be a tendency for this form to come after the letter **e**. Although this is not entirely consistent throughout (they have been found after **o** and **y** as well), it is very common. It is more likely that the scribe favoured half-height letters to precede it as the **r** starts at half-height as well and as a result connects better to these letters.



: r8.2 folio 3 verso line 7, *yer*



This letter combines an Anglicana letter-form with a tapering descender which is characteristic for Secretary scripts. It also gives a good demonstration of how the **r** can be connected to a modern **e** as well as to an 8-shaped **e** as in the other examples in this category.

 : r8.3 folio 3 recto line 15, *graber* 

This is a slightly more angular representation of the letter and it reaches higher than the others in this category. Like with the previous allographs in this category, it is very well attachable to *e* and here the two letters are written without lifting the pen.

 : r8.4 folio 3 verso line 29, *wer* 

Here a narrower allograph is shown, again attached to 8-shaped *e* and very similar to the other letters in this category. It is clear by now that these added strokes did not function as an abbreviation mark here - these words are complete - but rather as decoration and enhancement of the script's appearance.

 : r8.5 folio 3 verso line 17, *ther* 

The ornamental qualities of adding a stroke to a letter like *r* here become clear when looking at this example, which is somewhat more calligraphic than the others in this category. The scribe made an effort with his quill to change the thickness of the line and this stroke was very deliberately placed.

Conclusions for Scribe A: *r*

There are both Secretary as well as Anglicana features to be found in this hand in the examination of the letter *r*. The best example of a Secretary form is probably r5.2, as it has the unusual shape that Parkes talks about, it is angular as Brown indicates and it has a prickly and pointy appearance that is so characteristic for Secretary scripts. There are in reality two forms of 2-shaped *r* in this hand, one having that 2-shape (i.e. r4) and the other having the shape of a modern day *z* (i.e. r5 and r6). Because of the significant difference in shape between the two here it was decided to differentiate between the two and naming them 2-shaped *r* and short *r*.

There are also many examples of Anglicana tall *r*, namely r7 and r8, and it is surprising that most of these forms (in fact almost all recorded apart from r7.1) appear with an added decorative stroke to it. One explanation for this could be that compared to Secretary most Anglicana forms are more decorative and calligraphic; we might compare for instance two-compartment *a*, and 8-shaped *g* with their much simpler Secretary counterparts. The same

is true for **r**, compared to the rather simple Secretary forms, tall **r** appears alien and decorative and a little out of place.

It could be that because the scribe already placed more effort into writing Anglicana letters in a mostly Secretary script, he emphasised this difference by adding a stroke. The tall **r** obviously lends itself well for this, the stroke can be added without lifting the pen and the general direction of the line is also going upwards. Whatever his reasons though, from this discussion it becomes clear that scribe A wrote both Anglicana as well as Secretary forms of the letter **r**.

3.6.2 Scribe B: **r**

There are seven different allographs of **r** in scribe B's hand, including the capitals. As already noted, there seems to be a general difference between the two scribes where scribe A's range of allographs is wider than scribe B's.

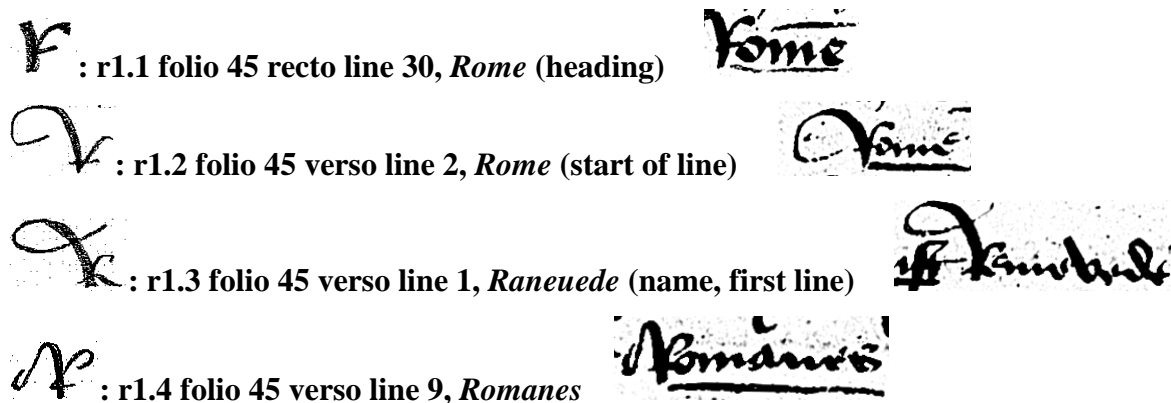
Nonetheless, tall **r**, short **r** and 2-shaped **r** are all found in this hand. Figure 24 represents the seven categories of **r** found in scribe B's hand:

Scribe B: **r**

r1	Capital R
r2	tall r
r3	tall r with hook
r4	tall r with attached stroke
r5	2-shaped r
r6	2-shaped r with attached stroke
r7	short r

Figure 24, Scribe B: **r**

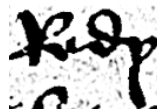
R1: capital **r**



: r1.5 folio 45 verso line 17, *Recorde* (start of line)



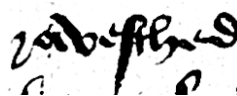
: r1.6 folio 45 verso line 26, *Redy*



R2: tall r

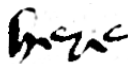
It could be argued that scribe B does not use Anglicana tall **r**. The examples below resemble the shape of a regular **r** with an unusually long shaft. These letters will be treated as tall **r**-forms nonetheless, and the reason for this lies in the writing habits of this scribe. Because the hand is very fluent, round and broad, and appears to be very naturally written, it is likely that the scribe wrote the following allographs with tall **r** in mind.

: r2.1 folio 45 recto line 7, *ravesched*



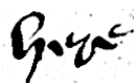
This is an example of tall **r** at the start of a word. It appears that the shaft does not reach particularly far below the line and that overall this is a more rounded and simplified form of tall **r**.

: r2.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *here*



This allograph shows the cursive quality of this letter and the fluency of this hand really well. We might notice how it connects with the Scottish **e**'s around it and how fluently and calligraphically the scribe manages to connect his letters.

: r2.3 folio 45 recto line 5, *here*



That this hand is also very consistent can be seen when comparing the two words that this and the previous allograph appear in. They are the same word and apart from this example being slightly pointier, they could be copies of each other.

R3: tall r with hook

The following allographs resemble tall **r** more than the ones in category r4 in that they are squarer and follow a similar up and down motion as the tall **r**-forms in scribe A's hand. The reason for this is that they all have a hook attached to them and because of this they appear only in word-final position.

 : r3.1 folio 45 verso line 26, *wer* 

This allograph features in the same word as e2.4 and is the squarest of the three forms in this category. The unusual abstract shape of *e* has already been discussed above and this angular quality seems to have continued into the *r* following it. As usually angular shapes appear in headings or personal names, its emergence here remains unexplained.

 : r3.2 folio 45 verso line 31, *Arthur* (end of line) 

The facts that this word is found at the end of a line and that the allograph appears in the personal name of an important historical figure; could together explain why the scribe decided to add a hook in this particular situation.

 : r3.3 folio 45 recto line 3, *Sir* (a quote) 

The word this allograph appears in is the first word of the quote of a *damesell* addressing king Arthur. She is pleading with him and tells him of her afflictions. It is likely that this particular letter-form here adds prominence to the name because of its role in the story.

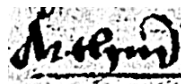
R4: tall r with attached stroke

As is so common for allographs with an added stroke, all three here are positioned at the end of the word. As was mentioned before, the tall *r* particularly lends itself well for strokes like the ones following and that is why as a result categories like this one and r3 emerge. It is likely that these strokes function purely as decoration and nothing else; it is their natural connection to this letter with a fluent movement of the pen that makes them so frequent.

 : r4.1 folio 45 recto line 8, *tendr* 

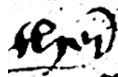
The attached stroke here does not reach back over the letters preceding it, which is uncommon in this hand. Because of this it has a narrow appearance with a hook rather than a curl and its shape does not seem deliberate.

v: r4.2 folio 45 verso line 31, *Arthur*



Compared to r4.1 this curl is a great deal more calligraphic. It reaches back the breadth of half a letter and reaches as high as the capital heading this word.

v: r4.3 folio 45 recto line 6, *ther*

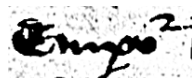


Although finishing a little early, this is also a good representation of a decorative stroke. It appears in proportion with the rest of the letters in the word, and the straightness and neatness of the formation of the letter give it calligraphic qualities.

R5: 2-shaped r

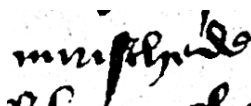
This is where the Secretary letter shapes start, beginning with 2-shaped **r**. Although this has been described as a Secretary letter, it seems too round for being a positive feature in this mostly pointy and prickly script. This hand distinguishes four different forms. A small amount of effort was needed to write this letter and, as was the case for scribe A, it was mostly used in situations where a less calligraphic letter would suffice.

2: r5.1 folio 45 verso line 7, *Empo'*



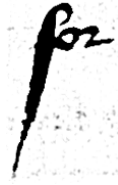
Here a good illustration is given on how this allograph can function as an abbreviation symbol, in this case abbreviating the word *Empour*. It can be compared with the use of flat-topped **a** in scribe A's hand (i.e. a3.1 and a3.3).

2: r5.2 folio 45 recto line 4, *nurischede*



The word this allograph features in appears to be split into two parts, the **s** splitting the word in half. The first part *nuri* seems much messier than the second part which is constant and even and looks like the scribe's hand again. It is hard to distinguish this allograph in the word, indicating the approach to it undertaken by the scribe.

2: r5.3 folio 45 recto line 37, *for* (last line)



This is a typical 2-shaped **r**, this time in word-final position and featuring in the last line of folio 45 recto. Written like this it actually comes across rather calligraphic.

2: r5.4 folio 45 verso line 6, *ffor*



Here the only example is shown of a very round version of the grapheme. Where the preceding three had a distinct point before the pen goes on along the line of writing, this allograph features a bend making it look more like an inverted **s** than a 2-shape.

R6: 2-shaped r with attached stroke

Not many 2-shaped **r**-forms with a decorative stroke attached to them are found in this hand.

2: r6.1 folio 45 verso line 32, *uthyr*

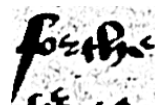


Because this allograph is positioned in the personal name of *Uther*, an important king in the Arthurian legends, the scribe rendered that some decoration was needed. Surprisingly he never wrote the name with a capital. Could it be that he felt that he needed to add prominence to the word some other way?

R7: short r

After tall **r**, this form of the letter appears most often in this hand. There are many examples and variations and hence there are five forms in this category that may be distinguished. This form is, for this letter, the most characteristic of Secretary script in this scribe's stint.

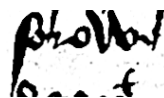
2: r7.1 folio 45 verso line 2, *forthe*



By adding the horn to the top of this allograph, the scribe had to compromise its cursive character. It does not connect to any letter preceding it; however adding horns to

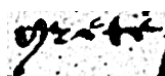
letters is a common Secretary practice making this a good example of a Secretary letter-form.

z : r7.2 folio 45 recto line 3, *sorowe*



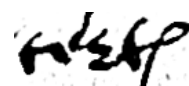
This is probably the simplest representation of all the forms in this category and compared to the *s* and *w* heading and ending the word it appears extremely small. It is not exactly representative for Secretary as it does not have that pointy appearance that characterises that script.

z : r7.3 folio 45 verso line 6, *grete*



Again, here a good Secretary *r* can be seen, this time without a horn but with a very pointy appearance. Also, as can be seen by its connection to *g*, it has still kept its cursive characteristics unlike r7.1.

z : r7.4 folio 45 recto line 10, *certes*



Here a slightly simpler shape than r7.3 and r7.1 is illustrated, rather like r7.2, with no points or horns added to it. This is the most basic shape of short *r* and looks surprisingly like our modern day *z*.

z : r7.5 folio 45 recto line 30, *Arthur* (heading)



The decorative nature of this form is enhanced by its appearance in this very calligraphic word *Arthur* which is part of a heading. The fact that the scribe chooses this shape in this particular setting indicates that it was seen as being decorative and attractive enough to feature in a title.

Conclusions for Scribe B: *r*

As was the case for scribe A, in scribe B's hand we can also find both Anglicana tall *r* and Secretary short *r* and for both scribes they are also equally distributed. What is different is that for scribe A certain rules may be distinguished as to the usage of the different forms in different contexts. What we see in Scribe B's hand is much more haphazard.

Anglicana tall **r**, for example, has been found throughout the hand in initial, medial as well as final position in the word and out of these there is no clear favourite. The fact that tall **r** does exist is already enough to prove some Anglicana features appear in this hand which is something no other letter has been able to do hitherto in this chapter. However, there are no generalisations that can be made with regards to context or distribution.

Secretary **r** is also found and here r7.1 and r7.3 are probably the best examples of this. Their general shape is unusual for the time and their appearance pointy and prickly. The fact that this Secretary letter appears in a very calligraphic heading indicates its role in the scribe's mind.

3.7 The qualities of s

One of the letters characteristic for the Anglicana script was according to Parkes “a cursive version of short **s** based upon the capital form” (1969:xv). If a scribe chose to use tall **s** (as was common in word-medial position) it was general practice for these letters to display long and outstanding descenders. Alongside those two forms, a sigma form of **s** was also in use “both in initial and final position” (Petti 1977:14) and it is interesting to see whether these positional rules also apply to the two hands under investigation here. Later, as Petti points out, a small capital **s** entered the script usually in final position.

In the case of Anglicana it appears from the quotations above that the use of the various forms for **s** is strongly governed by positional restrictions. The letter's distribution through Secretary scripts seems less various as there was a “preference for tall **s**” (Brown 2002:106) apparently in any position in the word. Petti (1977:14) points out that “final **s** looked like a small *B* or a *c* and 3 run together”. The same letter that was earlier described by Parkes (1969:xx) as “two-compartment final short **s**” and shall here be referred to as kidney shaped **s**. Naturally, because of the nature of the script, the characteristic horns were often found on short **s** and as well as clubbing descenders on tall **s**.

By looking at **s**, it should also be possible to ascertain whether a hand is Scottish or not, and although Simpson does not discuss the letter very much he identifies as potentially Scottish a peculiar **s** “which looks like a Greek sigma [and] ends in a rather prominent curl above the line” (1998:15).

From this discussion it appears that tall **s** is used throughout both scripts, albeit sometimes restricted by positional regulations. Therefore, the interesting forms and thus the forms to look out for are Anglicana sigma shaped **s**, Secretary kidney shaped **s** and Scottish ‘peculiar’ **s**.

3.7.1 Scribe A: s


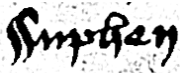
As is illustrated in figure 25 below, the hand of Scribe A displays many forms of s (seven in total, including the capitals) and interestingly sigma s, as well as tall s and kidney shaped s are all represented.


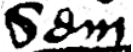
Scribe A: s

s1	Capital s
s2	sigma s
s3	tall s in one stroke
s4	tall s in two strokes
s5	open kidney s
s6	closed kidney s
s7	other s

Figure 25, Scribe A: s

S1: capital S

 : s1.1 folio 3 verso line 34, *Suphen* (last word of paragraph) 

 : s1.2 folio 3 verso line 4, *Sem* 

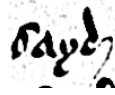
S2: sigma s

Sigma shaped s is common in Anglicana scripts and occurs often in this hand. When looking at the four allographs representing this category it is easy to see how this form acquired its name, resembling the Greek letter σ with its round body and small ‘horn’ added to it. Although here these ‘horns’ are rather long and curvy, and the letter is shaped much like a regular s with a closed body, allograph s2.4 does represent this shape fairly well. Interestingly none of these were found in word-medial or word-final position, meaning that in the folios under investigation they were exclusively restricted to head the word.

 : s2.1 folio 3 recto line 6, *sor* 

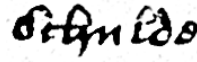
This letter appears to have been written at a strong slant and because of that resembles the sigma shape well. We might note its inability to connect to a following letter; none of the allographs in this category does.

s: s2.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *sayd*



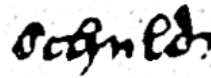
Compared to s2.1 this shape is much more upright and resembles more a hanging balloon than a sigma. In fact, it really is quite similar to the capital s1.2 only straighter. It was more common for this scribe to write his lower case sigma *s* at an angle.

s: s2.3 folio 3 recto line 10, *schulde*



This shape can be placed somewhere in between the straight s2.2 and the slanted s2.1 and again shows no connection to the letter following it.

s: s2.4 folio 3 verso line 10, *schuld*



With its short 'horn' this is the most sigma-like shape and probably the closest approximation to the prototypical Anglicana form of the letter. Its small body, its tiny horn and also its initial position in the word all point to the fact that Anglicana features are definitely present in this hand.

S3: tall s in one stroke

The fact that there is only one representative shape in this category does not mean that this graph is unusual in the hand. On the contrary, many have been found but they do not display a large degree of variation. Its most common position is word-medial but it can also be seen in initial position.

s: s3.1 folio 3 recto line 10, *schoot*



This is a very simple representation of tall *s* and here is shown heading the word. They were a simple shape to execute, written in one stroke with a hook or curl at its top, and therefore functioned as a means to make the script easier and quicker to write.

S4: tall s in two strokes

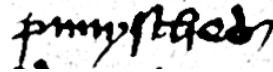
The fact that this category can boast three allographs is also misleading. This particular shape of tall *s*, with its two strokes and thus involving a lift of the pen, is not at all common in this hand but its nature causes greater variation. Two of the words they function in are proper nouns.

f : s4.1 folio 3 verso line 38, *Jerusalem*



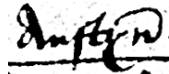
Made up out of one vertical stroke and a second curvy top-stroke, this allograph is the least abstract of the three in this category and looks very much like s3.1. Because it features in the word *Jerusalem*, immediately a more deliberate and precise way of writing is expected and that probably is also why this form is used in this particular word.

f : s4.2 folio 3 recto line 7, *punysched*



The word this allograph appears in is part of a religious didactic passage about sins, telling the reader how to live their life; it is not perhaps surprising that the scribe uses the less cursive form of tall s here for emphasis. We might note the seamless ligature with the t following it: a phenomenon very common in late medieval handwriting.

f : s4.3 folio 3 verso line 19, *Austyn*



This is a very square and abstract form of tall s and these qualities are especially brought forward when comparing it to s3.1, its basic form. Again though, when looking at the word it appears in (a saint's name) it becomes clear that, as was the case for s4.1 and s4.2, it is the importance of the word that caused this shape to appear.

S5: open kidney s

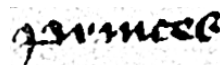
The following two categories both represent Secretary letter-forms and as Parkes predicted, these graphemes have only been found in final position in the word. It is not certain whether this scribe decided to write the graphs in this category the way he did, but no generalisation can be made as to why he used open kidney s in these situations.

B : s5.1 folio 3 recto line 7, *this* (first word of sentence, last word of line)



As the paragraph sign indicates, this is the first word of a paragraph, the first word of a new sentence and also the last word of the line. Could one of these positional rules have anything to do with why the scribe wrote this form here?

B : s5.2 folio 3 verso line 33, *princes*



None of the positional qualities ascribed to s5.1 hold true for s5.2 as this is a word in the middle of a sentence and also of a line. In fact, no features with regard to context can

be assigned to these two forms and therefore it cannot be predicted confidently when the scribe will use open kidney s.

S6: closed kidney s

This is the most regular shape of kidney s and all allographs here represent the Secretary letter. It is this letter that Petti refers to with his description of ‘a small B or a c and 3 run together’ and the scribe uses this form strictly in final position, also common Secretary practice. Something that is also relevant here is that none of the other shapes of s has been found in final position in the folios investigated.

 **s6.1 folio 3 verso line 1, was** 

This allograph demonstrates quite well what Petti meant with his c and 3 run together and modern readers would at first maybe not recognise this allograph as an s at all. Here the two-compartments are not separated and as a result its body is open.

 **s6.2 folio 3 recto line 2, as** 

It is easy to see the similarities with s6.1 only this shape is slightly broader and lower. We might note how the a and s do not connect in the word featuring s6.1 and how they do in this example. Kidney s is not the most cursive Secretary letter, but as shall be shown below the scribe is slightly unpredictable connecting it to other letters.

 **s6.3 folio 3 verso line 13, hilles** 

For some reason the scribe thought it necessary to attach a hooked stroke to the kidney s and as has been demonstrated earlier, these mostly are governed by positional rules. In this case, this is not the last word of a line but it is the last word of a sentence and the paragraph as well. We might note how well it connects to the e preceding it.

 **s6.4 folio 3 recto line 30, was** 

The copied word is somewhat deceiving because the 3-shape of this kidney s is much less defined than the replica suggests. Similarly to s6.2, there appears to be an effortless connection with the a in front of it, and therefore it is likely that the scribe did favour linking a to kidney s.

B: s6.5 folio 3 verso line 1, *thys*



This *s* is part of the first word of a new chapter and appears in the first line of the page. When looking at the manuscript the scribe wrote this line larger than the rest of the text and more calligraphic, almost like an extension of the actual chapter heading. Because of this the *s* here is squarer and separated from its preceding letter. We might note how this letter, because it has two clearly divided compartments, looks more like a *B* than a *c* and *3* run together.

B: s6.6 folio 3 verso line 16, *sons*

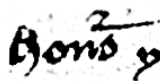


There is no clear indication why the scribe attached a stroke to the kidney *s* here as this word appears in the middle of a sentence and line. What is interesting to see though is how the scribe favoured Anglicana sigma *s* in initial and Secretary kidney *s* in final position, giving an indication of how interchangeable features from these scripts actually were.

S7: 'other' *s*

It is notable that the allographs described in this category have not been found anywhere else in the investigated folios and still they appear one line apart on the same page. These are rare forms of *s* that do not seem to have been described in any previous research.

D: s7.1 folio 3 verso line 17, *hon^rs*



This shape has a very contemporary appearance as it resembles the lower case representation of *s* as some Westerners learn to write it, making this the abbreviated word *honours*. However, with a modern eye it is easy to be confused. Another more likely option is that this is not an *s* but an *o* and the word is *honor*.

G: s7.2 folio 3 verso line 18, *his*



Unlike s7.1, which looks like none of the previously debated allographs, an explanation can be given as to why this shape appears. It could either be a misrepresentation of sigma *s* with a failure to close the circle of the body or an unsuccessful form of kidney *s*, where the

3-shape was left unfinished. Whatever the case, this allograph obviously represents a ‘mistake’ by the scribe who judged by positional rules attempted a kidney s which just never came out as anticipated.

Conclusions for scribe A: s

It has been mentioned before that it was common for Anglicana and Secretary features to exist alongside each other and for them to be interchangeable in this scribe’s stint. What the discussion of s has brought forward was that, although Anglicana and Secretary forms did exist together in one hand, however in the case of s their use was clearly influenced by positional rules. Moreover, these rules also apply to letter-forms realising each script as well as to the choice of script in general.

3.7.2 Scribe B: s

Compared to that of scribe A, B’s use of s is very different. Tall s does exist, and many of them have been found; however Anglicana sigma s is very rare and kidney s does not appear once in the folios under investigation. Instead, the scribe uses a form of s that is like a kidney s but not immediately recognisable as such and very oddly shaped. The question to be addressed is whether this is the peculiar s that Simpson considers characteristic for Scottish hands.

As has been the case throughout, investigating scribe B’s hand yields less varied results compared to scribe A. These results are demonstrated in figure 26 below:

Scribe B: s

s1	Capital S
s2	peculiar s
s3	tall s
s4	tall s with forked ascender
s5	sigma s

Figure 26, Scribe B: s

S1: Capital s

 : s1.1 folio 45 recto line 3, *Sir* 

S2: peculiar s


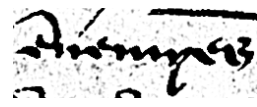
According to Simpson (1998:15), the typical Scottish s was shaped like “a Greek sigma [and] ends in a rather prominent curl above the line”. The following allographs, however, apart from s2.1, all slightly resemble kidney s and appear to consist of Petti’s c and 3 shapes but come apart and sometimes with additions.

 : s2.1 folio 45 verso line 20, *agains* (end of line) 

Of all the shapes in this category, this one resembles the sigma-shape Simpson describes the most. Only one instance, however, was found and it is placed at the end of a line which could explain the added half circle on top. Nonetheless, this particular shape does exist in the scribe’s repertoire and it is possible that this form is a predecessor of the s that Simpson describes as being characteristically Scottish.

 : s2.2 folio 45 recto line 10, *is* 

This is a rather slant representation of the letter and it contains very abstract versions of c and 3. The c has taken the shape of a diagonal line and the 3 appears more like a square zig zag line than an actual 3.

 : s2.3 folio 45 verso line 20, *enemies* 

It is difficult to compare these shapes with anything found in previous research. What is probably easiest to do is stay with Petti’s c and 3 shape but what has happened here is that the c has been replaced by a diagonal stroke similar to the one in e.

 : s2.4 folio 45 verso line 1, *his* 

It is probable that because this word exists in the first line, the shape of this allograph is squarer, slightly more calligraphic and has an extra curl on top of the 3. This added half circle appears regularly on this letter, it was already seen in s2.1 which was positioned at the end of a line.

 : s2.5 folio 45 recto line 12, *hens* 

It is hard to distinguish the 3 shape here as the half circle seems to have taken up some of its space. This s is positioned at the end of a sentence and is followed by a punctuation

mark. It appears very likely that the half circle was added by the scribe to indicate the end of lines and sentences as well as more calligraphic instances.

 s2.6 folio 45 verso line 7, *his* (end of line) 


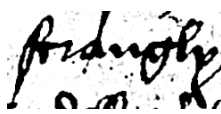
Obviously another way to indicate the end of a line is still the attached stroke, here demonstrated on *s*. This is a very pointy representation of the letter and this would have appeared quite out of place in a hand that is generally broad and round had it not been for the circular stroke around it.

S3: tall *s*

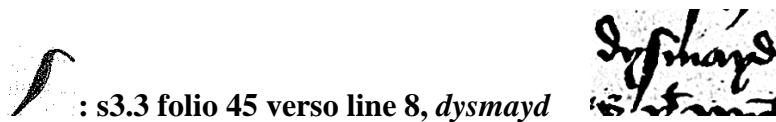
Because final position is taken up by peculiar *s*, and because sigma *s* is very uncommon, tall *s* is found mostly in initial and medial position in the word. Its shape is straightforward and most variation is found in thickness of the lines. Because both Anglicana and Secretary used tall *s*, the following discussion cannot be used to indicate the existence of forms belonging to either script.

 : s3.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *schall* 

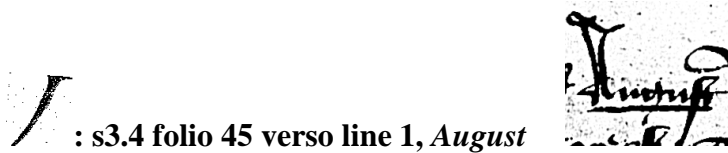
It appears that this tall *s* has been written with an up and down motion of the pen and indeed some of the other examples also suggest this. It is likely that this only occurs in initial position as it would greatly interrupt the flow of the pen was this done in the middle of a word.

 : s3.2 folio 45 recto line 21, *strangly* 

Here again, because of the opening in the downward stroke, this *s* in initial position has almost certainly been written with an up and down stroke. It is difficult to think of a reason why the scribe would do this as tall *s* is a simple letter to write and this makes it more complicated.



This is an example of a tall *s* in medial position and it is unclear if its thicker body has been caused by an up and down motion of the pen or the angle of it. Looking at the smoothness of the lines the latter seems most plausible.



Compared to s3.3, the appearance of this allograph is squarer caused by its flatter top and its position in a personal name. Again though no clear evidence can be found to prove whether it was written with an up and down stroke or not but for the same reasons as for s3.3 it is likely the angle of the pen that has caused the variation in thickness rather than a double line.



This is a good example of an elaborate tall *s*, likely to be in use for calligraphic purposes. There is no clear indication for its use here though, the word carries no extra meaning and it appears somewhere in the middle of a sentence. Another explanation could be that it signifies an abbreviation which could here be for an *e* after *hors*.

S4: tall *s* with forked ascender

This is another version of tall *s* with a forked hairline on top where normally the curl would be which is relatively rare and sometimes also found on tall *f*. We might note the marked difference in the thickness of the lines in this letter.



This form seems to be the result of a scribal mistake, followed by a correction. Because the scribe overdid the top line and went too far across to make a good connection with the *a* after it, he had to take his pen back some millimetres resulting in this shape.

S5: sigma s

The appearance of sigma s is notable here. It is the only instance of the letter found and it is situated at the end of the word which was a very uncommon place for it to take up as previous research proved that sigma s traditionally does not occur in final position. Because of this it is likely to be a mistake rather than deliberate.

 : s5.1 folio 45 recto line 29, *Elyns* 

The only possible reason for the scribe to use sigma s in this position is that it occurs in a personal name of a lady; the use may therefore be emphatic.

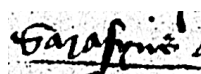
Conclusions for scribe B: s

From the discussion held above it is difficult to draw solid conclusions with regard to scripts as the results yielded are somewhat inconclusive. Tall s is present in this hand but is represented both in Anglicana and Secretary, so cannot be used as proof for the existence of either script in this hand. What the debate has brought forward though is that tall s is positioned mostly in initial and medial position and that in more cursive situations it was written with an up and down continuous stroke to enhance fluency of the pen.

Tall s is common in this hand but the scribe favoured peculiar s in the final position of the word. It is until now unclear whether this peculiar s was written by the scribe with kidney s in mind or that this was a shape common to Scottish contemporary hands. More research would need to be done to rule either of these statements out and apart from it favouring word-final position there is no other conclusion that can safely be drawn with regards to this allograph.

One occurrence of sigma s was found in the folios investigated, making this form extremely rare in the repertoire of this scribe. Its position at the end of the word is extremely unusual practice in Anglicana script.

The following word *Sarasyns* is a good example of the distribution of s in this hand:



; it has capital s at the start, tall s in the middle and peculiar s at the end.

3.8 The qualities of w

The last grapheme to be discussed is w.

One form of w is particularly characteristic for Anglicana scripts. Petti (1977:14) describes its shape as “either like a circle enclosing a 2 or 3, or, more usually, like two looped l’s and 3” which promises a rather elaborate shape. Naturally, the higher the grade

of Anglicana the more elaborate this letter became and because this letter-form does not exist in other scripts it should be relatively easy to point it out and use as proof in the discussion following below.

The Secretary version of the letter is easier, simpler and thus quicker to write. As Parkes (1966:xxi) points out: “the letters **a**, **g**, and **w** were easier to manage than their Anglicana forms when written quickly” resulting in a shape much like modern **w** “resembling double **v**” (Petti,1977:14).

Because there is no particularly Scottish version of the grapheme, the discussion below will not be suitable for proving Scottish features in the hand of scribe B.

3.8.1 Scribe A: w

There are seven allographs of **w** in the hand of scribe A and most variation can be found in the Secretary forms. There are variations with regards to angle, shape and cursiveness. Anglicana **w** also exists in several forms. All categories of **w** in scribe A’s hand are represented below in figure 27:



Scribe A: w

w1	upright sloping w
w2	slant sloping w
w3	sloping w with attacking curl
w4	w come apart
w5	straight w
w6	n-shaped w
w7	anglicana w

Figure 27, Scribe A: w

W1: upright sloping w

The two allographs in this category all start with a straight and tall horizontal stroke but the rest of the letter is of a much lower height resulting in a sloping appearance. They both appear in word-initial position, which is expected as its long first stroke would not naturally appear in medial position when the pen is already on a lower level.

 : w1.1 folio 3 recto line 8, was (last word in line) 

Here is a good example of how high these allographs described above actually set off. This word is at the end of a line, but the shape of **s** is adjusted to that context. Because of

this there is no clear reason for this **w** to be the form it is as it is in the middle of a sentence and it does not occur in a word carrying any particular emphasis.

 **w**: w1.2 folio 3 recto line 10, *wher* 



The shape of this **w** is different from w1.1 because it remains high until the finishing curl, still giving off that sloping appearance but almost resembling a modern capital **W**. This word does follow a punctuation mark that splits the sentence in two and it therefore heads a new clause. It could be that the scribe meant to mark this by writing the letter slightly larger than the ones surrounding it.

W2: slant sloping w

The allographs in this category are different from those in w1 because they do not start with a horizontal stroke but with a slant one. They still slope from left to right (albeit in several grades) but their overall appearance is diagonal rather than horizontal.

 **w**: w2.1 folio 3 recto line 9, *trowed* 

This allograph looks very out of place in this word as it reaches higher than the ascender of **d** and reaches back the full breadth of the **o** preceding it. Its size breaks the word in two and makes the word look odd for modern readers.

 **w**: w2.2 folio 3 verso line 2, *when* (last word in line) 

Here the **w** is smaller than w2.1 and has clearly been written in two strokes as the scribe has failed to connect the two parts of the allograph. Even though it is of a smaller size, it still looks slightly out of place as it has been positioned at a considerable distance from the letters following it.

 **w**: w2.3 folio 3 recto line 2, *wont* 

This is a good example of a typical **w** in this hand. It is relatively simple but still has a calligraphic appearance and it starts as high as the average ascender and finishes at minimum height. It represents a typical Secretary **w** which would have been common in many contemporary hands.

 **w: w2.4 folio 3 recto line 2, was** 

The allograph presented here has the smallest slant of all in this category and it is unusual in this hand for the **w** to be at the same height as the other letters. We might note as well the ‘break’ in the line of the pen towards the end of the letter.

W3: sloping w with attacking curl

For reasons that will become apparent shortly the scribe has considered it important for the following allographs to be adorned with an attacking curl, making them fluent and round in appearance and giving them that extra decorative quality the previous allographs lacked. These particular curls were often added by scribes to letters positioned first in the line; however the examples here show a different function for such curls.

 **w3.1 folio 3 verso, *world* (heading)** 

The word this allograph is taken from is positioned upside down on the page and is part of a heading that is written around a drawing to indicate a new part in the book (in this case the start of the story of Noah). The word appears very calligraphic, as would a word in a heading, and this adorned **w** suits this situation perfectly.

 **w3.2 folio 3 verso line 1, was** 

The sentence immediately following the heading of w3.1 features this allograph. It is larger and more stretched than w3.1 and one could argue that it is grander in appearance. Because the heading was already written around a drawing there was no need to write one directly above the text. For this reason line 1 functions as a semi-heading, hence its larger size and more calligraphic appearance even though it belongs to the main body of text.

W4: w come apart

All the allographs in this category have for some unclear reason come apart. What is obvious is that here, unlike was the case for w2.4, this seems to have been deliberately done by the scribe and as a result these allographs have a very abstract exterior, some only slightly resembling **w**.

 **w4.1 folio 3 recto line 34, *bowe*** 

The whole word this allograph is positioned in has a slightly more calligraphic and pointy appearance, with this **w** as its gracious centrepiece. The only reason for this could be that it appears in a statement of fact about how many primary colours a rainbow has; could it be that the scribe wanted to emphasise this point?

 **w4.2 folio 3 recto line 9, *wylde*** 

This allograph is that straight and high that when only looking at the individual word it would be easy to assume it is a capital letter. The context contradicts this though as the word does not appear at the start of the sentence. The scribe is copying a passage describing a wild beast, and it is possible that he wished to emphasise the wildness of the animal.

 **w4.3 folio 3 recto line 8, *slowe*** 

On its own this version of the letter looks odd, resembling an **l** and a **v** more than a **w**. It does show rather well how the scribe would have gone about writing the letter and it is likely that the forms that have not come apart were also written in two stages.

W5: straight w

Compared to the previous forms discussed, which were round in appearance, this allograph is shaped with straight lines rather than curls. It is not particularly decorative; on the contrary, this allograph deserves its own category because it is extremely simple and plain.

 **w5.1 folio 3 verso line 22, *power*** 

None of the letters in this word has been written with particular effort and all are rather small and simple. No immediate reason can be found for this, although it does appear in a section that has been written smaller than some other parts of the text.

W6: n-shaped w

For lack of a better name, the one allograph in this category has been called n-shaped. Only one has been found in the folio under investigation, making this a rare allograph in the scribe's repertoire.

w: w6.1 folio 3 recto line 1, *wyll*

As can be seen in the example *wyll*, this **w** appears similarly shaped to an **n**, however it turns out that it is actually a **w** that has been slightly tilted to the left which makes it more upright and horizontal.

W7: anglicana w

As Petti pointed out in the quote above, the most common shape of Anglicana **w** is that of two **l**'s closely together followed by a 3-shape. The examples in this category are all, albeit some simpler, forms of this shape and thus good proof of Anglicana features in this hand. There exist five separate versions of this grapheme which because of its difficult shape are all very different but based on the same principle.

w: w7.1 folio 3 recto line 11, *knowe*

The two **l**'s and 3 are clearly visible here and this would classify as an Anglicana **w**. What is unusual though is that the onset of the second **l** is positioned right under the loop of the first and thus at half-height rather than at the base line.

w: w7.2 folio 3 recto line 10, *slowe*

This is a good example of how Anglicana **w** would not normally be written and could indicate that the scribe actually is not very skilful in writing it. The first **l** is significantly smaller than the second and there is a considerable gap between them; this is not how the elegant and elaborate letter was meant to be written.

w: w7.3 folio 3 recto line 5, *wyffes*

Here the Anglicana **w** is placed at the start of the word and out of all examples this is the neatest and best proportioned. It shows that for the untrained eye this letter would be hard to recognise and is in contrast with contemporary tendencies to favour more cursive and quicker to write scripts.

w: w7.4 folio 3 recto line 9, *wich*

This allograph is similar to and as regular as w7.3; however it is taller and seems out of proportion with the rest of the word. It reaches higher than the ascender of **h** later in the

word which causes it to appear so out of place. The final 3-shape is unfinished as well and it looks like this was added at a later stage rather than connected to the rest of the letter.

 : w7.5 folio 3 recto line 40, *world* 

When the 3-shape in w7.4 seemed unfinished, here it has disappeared and taken the shape of a bow rather than a 3. This allograph has more of an **l** and **b** than two l's and a 3 and this is obviously an oversimplified version likely to have been caused by haste and speed of the scribe.

Conclusions for scribe A: w

As was the case with many of the previously discussed letter-forms, the discussion of **w** also provides data for both Secretary and Anglicana script, adding to the conclusion that the hand of scribe A was indeed a mixture of the two.

Starting with the Secretary version, there are many examples and this seems the form favoured by the scribe. Although easy to write, the form can also be executed so that its appearance is still calligraphic. Also, we might note the size of most of the letters in the example-words. Because Anglicana **w** was such a large and prominent letter in the script it could be that the scribe meant to achieve the same effect with its Secretary counterpart.

The Anglicana shapes, represented in category w7, in contrast, are not used decoratively. They are executed in a sloppy, uneven and rushed fashion. Their shape is unmistakably the Anglicana two l's followed by a 3, but they do not have the impact intended by this letter-form. It could be that either scribe A was an unskilled scribe or maybe still a novice unused to this feature of the script.

3.8.2 Scribe B: w

Scribe B's handling of **w** is uncharacteristically various. The two hands in Hunter 83 have several things in common for this item: first of all they both appear to favour the Secretary forms, secondly their Anglicana forms are simplified or clumsy and thirdly their Secretary types are extremely large and calligraphic. Figure 28 represents the six forms of **w** in the hand of scribe B:

Scribe B: w

w1	regular sloping w
w2	regular w come apart
w3	regular sloping w with attacking curl
w4	tall regular w
w5	anglicana w with one loop
w6	anglicana w with two loops

Figure 28, Scribe B: w

W1: regular sloping w

The shapes in this category are all Secretary letter-forms and represent a simpler way to write **w**. Regardless of this, their appearance is still impressive and quite calligraphic with its rounded shapes, irregular thickness of its lines and final curl.

w: w1.1 folio 45 recto line 10, *wald* 

This is the general shape of all Secretary **w**-forms throughout the hand's stint; two up and down strokes with a small serif at the start and finishing in a curl. This particular example is not the most elaborate; however, we might note its height compared to the ascenders of **l** and **d**. As shall be seen, this is a medium size **w** and both larger as well as smaller versions exist.

w: w1.2 folio 45 recto line 25, *wharefor* 

Compared to w1.1, this allograph is in better proportion with the rest of the word it appears in and it eyes pointier and slightly more calligraphic. We might note how the final curl does not close here. This is rare in this hand.

w: w1.3 folio 45 verso line 31, *wer* 

Out of all the allographs in this category this is probably the most commonly used. It is not particularly large or beautiful and it does not appear very carefully written. It is similar to w1.1, and would be almost the same were it not for its smaller size and minim-height.

w: w1.4 folio 45 recto line 2, *qwy* 

Here, a particularly good comparison is brought forward between normal sized letters and the measurements of some **w**-forms. We might note the extreme contrast in dimensions

between the **w** in this word and the letters **q** and **y** around it. In addition, the serif at the start of the letter is missing.

w: w1.5 folio 45 verso line 2, *toward* 

As was the case with w1.4, the letter **w** in is the largest and highest letter in this word even reaching above the ascenders of **t** and **d**. Again, no serif was added at the start making this letter look straighter and more abstract than any of the previous ones.

w: w1.6 folio 45 recto line 29, *how* (heading) 

Because this allograph is situated in a heading its shape is no surprise. Its strong calligraphic appearance coincides with its context and still the **w** is written on ascender height rather than minim-height. We might note how here also the final curl is open or even omitted.

W2: regular w come apart

The two allographs in this category are both made up out of two components because they have somehow come apart rather than forming one single unit. In these cases there does not appear to be a clear reason why this has happened, however it does provide us with information on how scribe B formed his **w**-forms.

w: w2.1 folio 45 verso line 33, *wele* 

By looking at this particular letter shape, which consists of a diagonal stroke followed by another stroke running parallel to it with a curl on the end, it becomes clear that the scribe was writing the letter **w** in two parts. To begin with he would make the first diagonal stroke in a downwards motion, then he would have added the second line with the curl on the end, resulting in two strokes and one pen lift. It is notable to see how the second part of the letter looks remarkably like the **v** and **u** shapes in this hand.

w: w2.2 folio 45 verso line 35, *wolf* 

Although slightly smaller and pointier, this allograph is very much like w2.1 and these are the only two instances found in the folio investigated. There are no clear indications as

to why the scribe would have chosen this particular shape in these two words and it is therefore more likely a scribal ‘mistake’ than a deliberate choice.

W3: regular sloping w with attached curl

This category holds shapes of **w** that have been adorned with a curl at the start of the letter, making these allographs very gracious and round in appearance. These curls were likely to be decorative as another clear explanation for them cannot be brought forward.



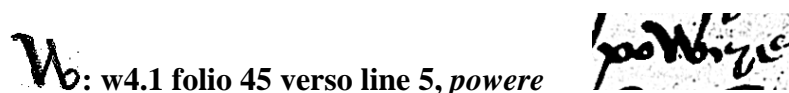
The size and prominence of this particular allograph would suggest that it is a capital, and indeed when on its own that is what it looks like. Its context implies differently, however, and as the word is in the middle of a sentence and not a proper noun, this **w** was intended as a lower case letter. Although it is beautifully written, it is out of place where it is positioned and no reason for its existence here can be suggested.



Unlike the case for w3.1, it is clear that here the scribe wrote a lower case **w** commencing with a curl. It was common for scribe B to start his **w**-forms with either a small serif or just nothing but the diagonal line and this practice that is seen here is actually rather unusual in this hand. Its addition does not make the letter look unusual though, and the curl actually quite suits its round character.

W4: tall regular w

The allographs that are in this category are different from the previous ones because they are unusually tall. They reach ascender level or higher and because of this characteristic are very marked features within the scribe's stint.



Both this allograph as well as w4.2 is positioned after **o** and this could be significant as it could explain its unusual size. Because the letter **o** is so small and not very cursive, the tall strokes of the **w** function as a bridge to the next part of the word, including and connecting **o** to the rest rather than letting it create a gap.

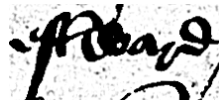
W: w4.2 folio 45 recto line 5, *towmbe* 

The ascender of **t** and the ascenders of **w** here have the same purpose as the **w** had in w4.1. They work together to keep the cohesion of the word for the reason already stated above; **o**'s inability to connect convincingly to any letters following it.

W5: anglicana w with one loop

No Anglicana **w** found in scribe B's hand is a good example of the letter; they lack the 3 shape it should finish with and they are all oversimplified. It can therefore be argued that the following allographs are no clear Anglicana forms, however here they will be treated as such. Because, albeit plain versions, they resemble more the Anglicana than the Secretary **w** and are obviously derived from the Anglicana **w**. The allographs in category w5 below all miss one loop.

W: w5.1 folio 45 verso line 29, *eftward*



The allograph discussed here could just as well be a straight **l** and a **b** close together and it is possible that someone with an untrained eye would classify it as such. Even though it is a far cry from the elaborate Anglicana **w**, it also has a lot in common with it.

W: w5.2 folio 45 verso line 27, *wynges*



There is no rule as to when scribe B used Anglicana or Secretary **w**. In all categories preceding and following this one there have been examples of **w** in initial and medial positions.

W6: anglicana w with two loops

The difference between these forms and the allographs in w5 is that here two loops were formed rather than one, making the following shapes most similar to Anglicana **w**. Had the scribe not substituted the final 3 shape for a bow, they would be very similar to the **w**-forms in w7 in scribe A's hand.

W: w6.1 folio 45 verso line 29, *when*



This is a badly executed and irregular version of the letter, indicating that scribe B, like scribe A, was either not highly skilled with this form.

 **w6.2 folio 45 recto line 8, wold** 

Compared to w6.1, this shape is more regular. Its two loops are more evenly distributed and roughly the same height. It is clear from this example that the scribe did not treat Anglicana **w** as a lower case letter; its loops are the same height as the other ascenders in the word clearly indicating its ascender-like treatment of them.

 **w6.3 folio 45 recto line 22, slowgh** 

Here the Anglicana **w** appears in word-medial position and this particular shape has longer thinner loops than the previous ones and could arguably be considered the best executed example of Anglicana **w** in this hand. It is regular, it is tall and it merges with the rest of the word rather than appearing out of place.

 **w6.4 folio 45 verso line 29, two** 

Where w6.3 seems to unite the word, here the **w** is completely out of proportion and is much too large next to the small **t** and **o** surrounding it. Whilst **w** had the quality to impress and beautify, when used incorrectly it creates odd situations and an irregular appearance.

Conclusions for scribe B: **w**

Together with the discussion of **r**, **w** is the second letter only to provide proof of Anglicana letter-forms in the hand of scribe B. However, although Anglicana **w** is common in his stint, the scribe does seem to favour Secretary **w**, the poor execution of Anglicana **w** may be noted. The great quality of Secretary **w** was its ability to impress, resulting in forms like w3.1 and at the same time be simple, like w1.3.

There seems to be a debate in the scribe's mind as to whether to treat **w** as a lower case letter or a letter containing ascenders. There is no doubt that the scribe saw the loops of Anglicana **w** as ascenders and therefore consistently wrote them at that height. There seems to be a tendency to do the same to regular **w**, however inconsistently, resulting in unusually large letters that appear odd and out of place.

4. Conclusions

This thesis has attempted to test the categorisations of palaeography, using the notion of Graphetic Profiles (GPs). It has demonstrated that the GP is a useful strategy for palaeographical description, but it has also demonstrated that scribal behaviour – in MS Hunter 83 at least – is very various.

As outlined in chapter 1, the term *script* was defined by Parkes (1969:xxvi) as “the model which the scribe has in his mind’s eye when he writes” as opposed to *hand* which was earlier termed as the “actual realisation of the script achieved by the scribe” (Smith 1996: 56). These definitions assume that the scribe would have had an idea in his mind of what he would put onto the parchment in front of him and would try to adhere to this as closely as possible.. However, the scribes who created MS Hunter 83 seem to have had various scripts in their “mind’s eyes”.

Of course, it is important to show students the ‘purest’ forms of the scripts for pedagogic purposes. Petti (1977), for instance, offers a range of alphabets showing for each letter its form in a certain script. More commonly, textbooks display variation in scripts using facsimiles of a folio and a description accompanying it. Parkes (1969) and more recently Brown (2002) both follow this approach.

The student then is equipped with an understanding of prototypical usage, but this understanding is challenged by texts such as MS Hunter 83, where variation between scripts is rife.

Letter-form distribution

Published descriptions of Scribe A’s stint indicated that he wrote in a Secretary script with Anglicana influences. Figure 29, based on the GP presented in Chapter 4 above, shows which categories can be attributed to either script:

Scribe A	Anglicana letter- forms	Secretary letter- forms	other'
a	a12 a13	a4	a1 a2 a3 a5 a6 a7 a8 a9 a10 a11
d	d7.1	x	d1 d2 d3 d4 d5 d6 d7 (-d7.1) d8 d9
g	g2 g3 g4 g5 g6	g7 g8 g9 g10	g1
p	x	x	p1 p2 p3
r	r5 r6	r7 r8	r1 r2 r3 r4
s	s2 s3 s4	s3 s4 s5 s6	s1 s7
w	w7	w1 w2 w3 w4 w5	w6

Figure 29, Scribe A letter-form distribution

What this figure shows is that Secretary forms are commonly used, though not wholesale. There seems to be a general tendency in the hand for Anglicana forms to appear in more decorative situations and indeed, the Anglicana graphs are more ornamental (take double-compartment **a**, anglicana **w** etc.).

What is most notable here, however, is the number of forms not assigned to either of the two scripts, here listed under 'other', especially with regards to **a** and **d**.

Figure 30 shows the results of letter-form distribution in the hand of scribe B:

Scribe B	Anglicana letter- forms	Secretary letter- forms	Scottish letter- forms	other'
a	x	a2	x	a1 a3 a4 a5
d	x	d2?	d2 d3 d4 d5	d1 d6
e	x	e5	e2 e3 e4	e1 e6
g	x	g2 g3 g4	x	g1 g5
p	x	x	p1 (-p1.4) p2	p1.4 p3
r	r2 r3 r4	r7	x	r1 r5 r6
s	s3 s4 s5	s3 s4	s2	x
w	w5 w6	w1 w2 w3 w4	x	x

Figure 30, Scribe B letter-form distribution

Scribe B was also said, in published descriptions, to have written in a Secretary hand with Anglicana features; however this hand has also been described as typically Scottish. The analysis of the features discussed in chapter 4 demonstrates that the typical Scottish letter-forms are definitely present in this hand, **d**, **e** and **p** being obvious examples. This Scottish character caused the hand to be rounded and thus many of the pointy Secretary features are lacking.

Although Secretary forms are dominant, Anglicana forms are mostly used in situations where extra decoration was needed.

Another feature that is quite different from scribe A is the clearly smaller amount of data classified under ‘other’ and when capitals are excluded there are few categories that cannot be classified at all. It was already established that scribe B’s hand was more regular; it seems also that scribe B adhered to a certain script’s conventions more than scribe A did and he must have had a clearer picture in his mind of what he wanted to achieve. It seems likely, therefore, that he was a much more experienced and capable scribe.

Positional predictions

Apart from establishing which scripts these two scribes wrote in and characterising the Scottish features of scribe B, this research also set out to make scribal fingerprints of the two hands active in MS Hunter 83. Figure 36 and 37 show the positional rules that are present in each of the hands, i.e. they predict in which situation the scribe would most likely use which allograph. These rules could be valuable when proving whether texts are written in the same hand. Firstly scribe A is represented in figure 31:

Scribe A	
headings	a2.3 d2.1 d2.2 d2.3 d4.1
elevated	a3.1 a3.2 a6.3 r4.2
initial	a8.1 a8.2 a9.1 a9.2 a10.1 a10.2 a10.3 a11.1 p1.1 p1.2 p1.3 s2.1 s2.2 s2.3 s2.4 w3.1 w3.2
final	d5.1 d5.2 6.1 d6.2 d6.3 d6.4 d8..1 d8.2 d8.3 r3.1 r3.2 r6.1 r8.1 r8.2 r8.3 r8.4 r8.5 a5.1 s5.2 s6.1 s6.2 s6.3 s6.4 s6.5 s6.6
capital situations	a 12.1 a12.3 a12.3
start of line	d4.4
end of line	r4.3
after -yng	g6.1 g7.1 g7.2 g7.3
after looped l-shape	g9.1 g9.2 g9.3 g9.4
abbreviation	p4.1 p4.2

Figure 31, Scribe A positional predictions

The same exercise undertaken for scribe B produces results presented in figure 32:

Scribe B	
headings	a4.2 e5.1 g2.3 g5.2 p1.4 r7.5 w1.6
elevated	r5.1
initial	a5.1 a5.2 12.1 w2.2
final	e6.1 e6.2 g3.1 g3.2 r3.1 r3.2 r3.3 r4.1 r4.2 r4.3 r6.1 s2.1 s2.2 s2.3 s2.4 s2.5 s2.6 s5.1
capital situations	p1.4
end of line	g3.2 g5.3
last line	g5.6
meaningful word	p2.1 p2.2 p3.2
after o	w4.1 w4.2

Figure 32, Scribe B positional predictions

The figures in this final chapter sum up all the research data gathered for the GPs and together pinpoint the difference between the two hands and their specific characteristics. What this exercise has demonstrated is that it is possible to offer a robust categorisation of scribal practice, using the methodology developed by McIntosh and taking on board palaeographical notions developed most notably by Parkes. When doing the same for other contemporary hand it should in theory be possible to establish – with the enhanced functionality which would be possible if this material were to be arrayed in an electronic database -- a typology of scribal practices showing works written by the same scribe, the value of which has been demonstrated by (e.g.) Doyle and Parkes (1978), and Mooney (2006).

APPENDIX A: SCRIBE A GRAPHETIC PROFILE



Scribe A: b


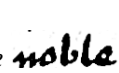
b1	capital B
b2	open b - straight ascender
b3	open b - hooked ascender
b4	closed b - straight ascender
b5	open b - looped round ascender
b6	open b - triangular with looped ascender
b7	closed b - looped ascender


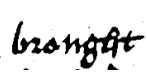
B1: capital B

: b1.1 folio 3 verso line 26, *But* 

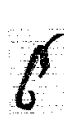

B2: open b – straight ascender

: b2.1 folio 3 verso line 13, *bide* 



: b2.2 folio 3 verso line 27, *noble* 

: b2.3 folio 136 recto line 14, *brought* 

B3: open b – hooked ascender


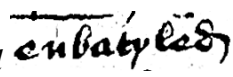
: b3.1 folio 136 recto, *liber* (heading) 

B4: closed b – straight ascender



: b4.1 folio 3 recto line 43, *ab* (Latin) 


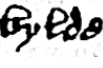
B5: open b – looped round ascender


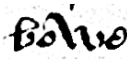
: b5.1 folio 3 recto line 8, *but* 

: b5.2 folio 136 recto line 38, *enbatyled* 


B6: open b – triangular with looped ascender


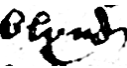
 : b6.1 folio 3 recto line 41, *by* (after full stop) 


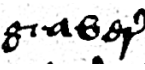
 : b6.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *bylde* 



 : b6.3 folio 3 recto line 34, *bowe* 

B7: closed b looped ascender


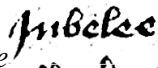
 : b7.1 folio 3 verso line 3, (a number, 50?)


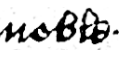
 : b7.2 folio 3 recto line 8, *blynd* 

 : b7.3 folio 3 recto line 16, *graber* 

 : b7.4 folio 3 recto line 4, *bn^e* (a number) 

 : b7.5 folio 3 verso line 22, *unnoble* 


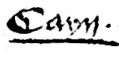
 : b7.6 folio 136 recto line 21, *jubelee* 


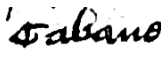
 : b7.7 folio 3 verso line 28, *noble* 


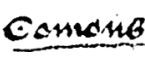
Scribe A: c


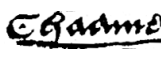
c1	capital C
c2	flat-topped c
c3	round c
c4	square c
c5	c with attached stroke

C1: capital C


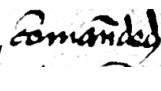
 : c1.1 folio 3 recto line 10, *Cayn* 


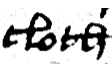

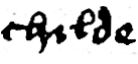

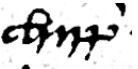


 : c1.2 folio 136 recto line 12, *Cabane* 

 : c1.3 folio 136 recto line 6, *Comons* 


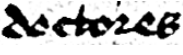

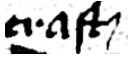
 : c1.4 folio 3 verso line 4, *Chaame* 

C2: flat-topped c



 : c2.1 folio 3 verso line 8, *comanded* 

-  : c2.2 folio 3 recto line 19, *cloth* 
-  : c2.3 folio 3 recto line 9, *childe* 
-  : c2.4 folio 3 verso line 6, *chipp* 
-  : c2.5 folio 3 recto line 31, *clensed* 


C3: round c

-  : c3.1 folio 3 recto line 26, *doctores* 
-  : c3.2 folio 3 recto line 18, *craft* 

C4: square c

-  : c4.1 folio 3 recto line 40, *certainly* 



C5: c with attached stroke

-  : c5.1 folio 3 verso line 5, *comannement*


Scribe A: e

e1	capital E
e2	round e - modern
e3	round e with attached stroke - modern
e4	square e - modern
e5	pointy e - modern
e6	8-shaped e
e7	kidney-shaped e
e8	kidney-shaped e with attached stroke


E1: capital E

-  : e1.1 folio 3 verso line 38, *SEM*
-  : e1.2 folio 136 recto line 23. *Englisch*


E2: round e – modern

-  : e2.1 folio 136 recto line 19, *yer*


 : e2.2 folio 3 recto line 20, *throde*

 : e2.3 folio 3 recto line 9, *ledde*


E3: round e with attached stroke – modern


 : e3.1 folio 3 recto line 22, *naturate* (Latin)


 : e3.2 folio 3 verso line 25, *ydolatre*


 : e3.3 folio 3 recto line 9, *gie*

E4: square e – modern


 : e4.1 folio 3 verso line 19, *cursed*

 : e4.2 folio 3 verso line 4, *Japhet*


 : e4.3 folio 3 verso, *her* (heading)


 : e4.4 folio 3 recto line 13, *y^e*


E5: pointy e – modern


 : e5.1 folio 3 recto line 2, *sleped*


E6: 8-shaped e

 : e6.1 folio 3 recto line 4, *the*


 : e6.2 folio 3 recto line 5, *wyffes*

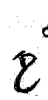
 : e6.3 folio 3 verso, *age* (heading)

 : e6.4 folio 136 recto line 6, *England*





 : e6.5 folio 3 recto line 18, *harpe*

 : e6.6 folio 3 verso line 25, *almoste*



 : e6.7 folio 3 verso line 4, *Chaame*

 : e6.8 folio 3 recto line 28, *y^e*

E7: kidney-shaped e

-  : e7.1 folio 3 recto line 18, *organe*
 : e7.2 folio 3 recto line 10, *hie*
 : e7.3 folio 136 recto line 11, *captayne*
 : e7.4 folio 136 recto line 25, *agayne*






E8: kidney-shaped e with attached stroke

-  : e8.1 folio 3 recto line 29, *manye*
 : e8.2 folio 3 recto line 5, *mane*

Scribe A: f

f1	ligature f
f2	straight f - no head stroke
f3	open f - straight head stroke
f4	open f - curled head stroke
f5	closed f - straight head stroke
f6	closed f - curled head stroke

F1: ligature f

-  : f1.1 folio 136 recto line 19, *ffor*
 : f1.2 folio 3 verso line 14, *aft*
 : f1.3 folio 3 recto line 12, *crafte*
 : f1.4 folio 3 recto line 14, *craftes*
 : f1.5 folio 3 recto line 37, *flood*

F2: straight f – no headstroke

-  : f2.1 folio 136 recto line 19, *ffifty*

F3: open f – straight headstroke



: f3.1 folio 3 verso line 2, *found*



: f3.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *for*

F4: open f – curled headstroke



: f4.1 folio 3 verso line 9, *wif*



: f4.2 folio 3 recto line 6, *gaf*

F5: closed f – straight headstroke



: f5.1 folio 3 recto line 37, *fyer*

F6: closed f – curled headstroke



: f6.1 folio 3 verso line 25, *of*

Scribe A: h

h1	capital H
h2	h - straight ascender straight descender
h3	h - straight ascender curled descender
h4	h - looped ascender
h5	h - looped ascender straight descender
h6	h - looped ascender exaggerated descender
h7	h - looped ascender looped descender

H1: capital H




: h1.1 folio 3 verso, *her* (heading)




: h1.2 folio 136 recto line 20, *this* (heading)


H2: h – straight ascender and straight descender


 : h2.1 folio 136 recto line 13, *his*


 : h2.2 folio 136 recto line 27, *them*

H3: h – straight ascender and curled descender


 : h3.1 folio 3 verso line 2, *when*

 : h3.2 folio 3 verso line 3, *he*


 : h3.3 folio 3 recto line 1, *hegges*


 : h3.4 folio 3 verso line 3, *had*

H4: h – looped ascender

 : h4.1 folio 3 recto line 10, *when*


H5: h – looped ascender and straight descender


 : h5.1 folio 3 verso line 1, *ryght*


 : h5.2 folio 136 recto line 12, *deth*

 : h5.3 folio 136 recto, *thed*


 : h5.4 folio 136 recto line 29, *held*




 : h5.5 folio 3 recto line 5, *that*

 : h5.6 folio 3 verso line 4, *laphet*





 : h5.7 folio 3 recto line 2, *he*

H6: h – looped ascender and exaggerated descender

 : h6.1 folio 3 verso, *gynnyth* (heading)

-  : h6.2 folio 3 recto line 6, *hym*
-  : h6.3 folio 3 recto line 8, *when*
-  : h6.4 folio 136 recto line 38, *knyght*



H7: h – looped ascender and looped descender

-  : h7.1 folio 3 verso line 29, *the*
-  : h7.2 folio 3 recto line 13, *the*
-  : h7.3 folio 3 recto line 6, *they*
-  : h7.4 folio 3 recto line 6, *them*






Scribe A: i/j

i1	Capital I/J
i2	straight i/j
i3	straight i/j with attached stroke


I1: capital I/J

-  : i1.1 folio 3 recto line 15, *Inball*
-  : i1.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *I*

I2: straight i/j

-  : i2.1 folio 136 recto line 20, *this* (heading)
-  : i2.2 folio 3 recto line 3, *this*
-  : i2.3 folio 3 verso line 34, *mundi* (Latin)
-  : i2.4 folio 3 recto line 9, *hie*
-  : i2.5 folio 3 recto line 11, *it*

I3: straight I with attached stroke

 : i3.1 folio 3 recto line 43, *mundi* (Latin extension of abbreviation?)


Scribe A: k


k1	k with straight ascender
k2	k with curled ascender
k3	k with looped ascender


K1: k with straight ascender


 : k1.1 folio 136 recto line 4, *duke*

K2: k with curled ascender


 : k2.1 folio 3 recto line 25, *knawe*

 : k2.2 folio 136 recto line 25, *kent*


 : k2.3 folio 136 recto line 26, *kynge*


 : k2.4 folio 136 recto line 8, *koyanne?*

K3: k with looped ascender

 : k3.1 folio 3 line 15, *drunkenness*

 : k3.2 folio 136 recto line 28, *duke*

 : k3.3 folio 136 recto line 2, *Suffolke*


 : k3.4 folio 3 recto line 11, *knowe*


 : k4.4 folio 3 verso line 18, *skorneyng*

Scribe A: l


11	l with looped ascender
12	l with curled ascender
13	l with straight ascender
14	ligature l

L1: l with looped ascender


 : 11.1 folio 3 verso line 28, *noble*


 : 11.2 folio 3 recto line 2, *sleped*


 : 11.3 folio 3 verso line 20, *nobleness*

 : 11.4 folio 3 verso line 9, *childeryn*


L2: l with curled ascender


 : 12.1 folio 3 recto line 14, *flood*

 : 12.2 folio 3 verso line 35, *flood*


 : 12.3 folio 3 verso, *worlde* (heading)

L3: l with straight ascender

 : 13.1 folio 3 recto line 33, *schuld*

 : 13.2 folio 3 verso line 20, *schuld*

L4: ligature l


 : 14.1 folio 3 recto line 19, *woll*

 : folio 3 recto line 1, *lytyll*


Scribe A: m


m1	capital M
m2	regular m
m3	m with attached stroke


M1: capital M


: m1.1 folio 3 verso line 36, *Melchesdech*

M2: regular m


: m2.1 folio 3 recto line 18, *musike*


: m2.2 folio 3 recto line 2, *tyme*


: m2.3 folio 3 recto line 5, *mane*

: m2.4 folio 3 verso line 37, *Jerusalem*

M3: m with attached stroke

: m3.1 folio 3 recto line 1, *tym*


: m3.2 folio 3 recto line 6, *tym*


: m3.3 folio 3 verso line 3, *gettym*


Scribe A: n

n1	capital N
n2	regular n
n3	n with descender on second minim
n4	n with attached stroke
n5	n with attached curl


N1: capital n


: n1.1 folio 3 recto line 23, *Noe*


: n1.2. folio 3 verso line 1, *Noe*

: n1.3 folio 3 verso, *Noe* (heading)


N2: regular n


 : n2.1 folio 3 recto line 1, *and*


 : n2.2 folio 3 verso line 28, *noble*

 : n2.3 folio 3 recto line 7, *man*


N3: n with descender on second minim


 : n3.1 folio 3 verso line 26, *men*


 : n3.2 folio 3 recto line 5, *man*

 : n3.3 folio 3 recto line 10, *Cayn*


N4: n with attached stroke


 : n4.1 folio 3 recto line 18, *apon*

 : n4.2 folio 3 recto line 5, *mane*

 : n4.3 folio 3 verso line 9, *Childeryn*

N5: n with attached curl


 : n5.1 folio 3 verso line 33, *an* (Latin)

 : n5.2 folio 3 recto line 23, *non*


Scribe A: o


o1	capital O
o2	round o
o3	pointy o
o4	open o
o5	o mistake?

O1: capital o


 : o1.1 folio 3 verso line 24, *of*

O2: round o


: o2.1 folio 3 recto line 1, *so*

: o2.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *for*


O3: pointy o

: o3.1 folio 3 recto line 5, *ordand*

O4: open o

: o4.1 folio 3 verso line 5, *god*


O5: o mistake?


: o5.1 folio 3 recto line 23, *non*

Scribe A: t


t1	Capital T
t2	t with headstroke across shaft centered
t3	t with headstroke across shaft off centre
t4	t with headstroke to right of shaft
t5	t with attached stroke
t6	t with attached curl


T1: capital T

: t1.1 folio 3 recto line 7, *this*


: t1.2 folio 3 recto line 4, *this*

T2: t with head stroke across shaft, centered

: t2.1 folio 3 verso, *the* (header)


: t2.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *tym*


T3: t with head stroke across shaft, off centre


: t3.1 folio 3 recto line 37, *passit*

: t3.2 folio 3 recto line 10, *schoot*

T4: t with head stroke to right of shaft

: t4.1 folio 3 recto line 2, *ther*


: t4.2 folio 3 recto line 43, *creatone*


: t4.3 folio 3 verso line 4, *that*

Scribe A: u


u1	pointy u
u2	round u
u3	n-shaped u
u4	v-shaped u/v
u5	b-shaped u/v


U1: pointy u

: u1.1 folio 3 recto line 35/36, *Jugemente*


: u1.2 folio 3 recto line 10, *schulde*

U2: round u


: u2.1 folio 3 recto line 19, *found*


: u2.2 folio 3 recto line 8, *but*


U3: n-shaped u

: u3.1 folio 3 recto line 33, *schuld*


U4: v-shaped u/v

: u4.1 folio 3 verso line 15, *unto*

: u4.2 folio 3 recto line 19, *weve*

: u4.3 folio 3 verso line 32, *lyve*

U5: b-shaped u/v


: u5.1 folio 3 verso line 13, *a bove*


: 5.2 folio 3 verso line 27, *unnoble*


Scribe A: x


x1	x in single stroke
x2	x in two strokes


X1: x in single stroke

 : x1.1 folio 3 recto line 19, *flax*


 : x1.2 folio 3 verso line 34, a date


 : x1.3 folio 3 verso line 34, a date

 : x1.4 folio 3 recto line 3, a date

 : x1.5 folio 3 recto line 4, a date

X2: x in two strokes


 : x2.1 folio 3 recto line 43, a date


 : x2.2 folio 3 recto line 22, a date

Scribe A: y


y1	closed y with curled descender
y2	open y with exaggerated curled descender
y3	open y with curled descender
y4	open y with straight descender
y5	y with attached stroke


Y1: closed y with curled descender

 : y1.1 folio 3 recto line 29, *by*


 : y1.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *tym*


Y2: open y with exaggerated curled descender

 : y2.1 folio 3 recto line 7, *thyng*


 : y2.2 folio 3 verso line 19, *tyme*


 : y2.3 folio 3 recto line 27, *ordeyned*


 : y2.4 folio 3 verso line 24, *myg*hty


 : y2.5 folio 3 verso line 24, *mi*ghty


Y3: open y with curled descender

 : y3.1 folio 3 recto line 9, *y*^t


 : y3.2 folio 3 recto line 1, *sayd*


 : y3.3 folio 3 recto line 6, *man*y


 : y3.4 folio 3 verso line 23, *myg*hty

 : y3.5 folio 3 verso line 23, *mi*ghty

Y4: open y with straight descender


 : y4.1 folio 3 recto line 1, *lyt*yll

 : y4.2 folio 3 recto line 11, *yat*

 : y4.3 folio 3 verso line 25, *cryme*

 : y4.4 folio 3 recto line 6, *punnyshed*


Y5: y with attached stroke

 : y5.1 folio 3 verso line 37, *broy*


Scribe A: other


other 1	yogh
other 2	thorn?
other 3	and
other 4	eth?
other 5	pro

Other 1: yogh


 : other 1.1 folio 3 recto line 5, *myz*t


Other 2: thorn?


 : other 2.1 folio 3 recto line 25, *Genep*


 : other 2.2 folio 3 verso line 14, *Genep*

Other 3: and


 : other 3.1 folio 3 verso line 2, *and*

 : other 3.2 folio 3 verso line 9, *and*


 : other 3.3 folio 3 verso line 11, *and*

 : other 3.4 folio 3 verso line 16, *and?*


 : other 3.5 folio 3 verso line 18, *and*

 : other 3.6 folio 3 verso line 21, *and*

Other 4: eth?

 : other 4.1 folio 3 verso line 26, *oðer?*

Other 5: pro


 : other 5.1 folio 3 verso line 6, *profits?*


APPENDIX B: SCRIBE B GRAPHETIC PROFILE


Scribe B: b

b1	Capital B
b2	closed b with looped ascender
b3	open b with looped ascender
b4	closed b with curled ascender
b5	closed b with hooked ascender


B1: capital B

 : b1.1 folio 45 recto line 15, *Bedewere*


 : b1.2 folio 45 recto line 22, *Bedwin*

 : b1.3 folio 45 recto line 5, *Britane*


B2: closed b with looped ascender

 : b2.1 folio 45 verso line 8, *bold*


 : b2.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *be*


 : b2.3 folio 45 recto line 11, *bothe*

B3: open b with looped ascender


 : b3.1 folio 45 verso line 14, *be*

B4: closed b with curled ascender


 : b4.1 folio 45 verso line 9, *badely*


 : b4.2 folio 45 recto line 2, *bott*


 : b4.3 folio 45 recto line 32, *assembled*

 : b4.4 folio 45 recto line 30, *bataile* (heading)

B5: closed b with hooked ascender

 : b5.1 folio 45 verso line 13, *be*


 : b5.2 folio 45 recto line 15, *be*


 : b5.3 folio 45 verso line 4, *bott*

Scribe B: c


c1	curled c with head stroke
c2	straight c with head stroke
c3	angular c


C1: curled c with head stroke

 : c1.1 folio 45 recto line 17, *come*


 : c1.2 folio 45 recto line 33, *cristyn*

C2: straight c with head stroke

 : c2.1 folio 45 recto, *mycht*

 : c2.2 folio 45 recto line 9, *Scho*


C3: angular c


 : c3.1 folio 45 recto line 4, *callid*

Scribe B: f


f1	looped long f with head stroke
f2	looped long f with head stroke across shaft
f3	forked long f with head stroke
f4	forked long f with head stroke across shaft
f5	forked long f without head stroke


F1: looped long f with head stroke


 : f1.1 folio 45 recto line 5, *of*

 : f1.2 folio 45 verso line 12, *of*


F2: looped long f with head stroke across shaft


 : f2.1 folio 45 recto line 21, *faught*

 : f2.2 folio 45 recto line 11, *yfore*

 : f2.3 folio 45 verso line 6, *for*


F3: forked long f with head stroke

 : f3.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *hereof*


 : f3.2 folio 45 verso line 18, *fad*


F4: forked long f with head stroke across shaft

 : f4.1 folio 45 recto line 14, *suffre*

 : f4.2 folio 45 recto line 30, *gaff* (heading)

F5: forked long f without head stroke

 : f5.1 folio 45 verso line 1, *ofte*


 : f5.2 folio 45 verso line 1, *frome*


 : f5.3 folio 45 recto line 1, *fynd*

Scribe B: h


h1	h with looped ascender and long descender
h2	h with looped ascender and no descender
h3	h with curled ascender and long descender
h4	h with curled ascender and no descender

H1: h with looped ascender and long descender


 : h1.1 folio 45 verso line 11, *strength*


 : h1.2 folio 45 recto line 3, *sche*

H2: with looped ascender and no descender


 : h2.1 folio 45 verso line 2, *forthe*


H3: h with curled ascender and long descender


 : h3.1 folio 45 recto line 5, *Noell*


 : h3.2 folio 45 recto line 18, *hym*


H4: h with curled ascender and no descender


 : h4.1 folio 45 verso line 4, *had*

 : h4.2 folio 45 verso line 5, *hym*

 : h4.3 folio 45 verso line 14, *haue*

 : h4.4 folio 45 verso line 14, *have*


 : h4.5 folio 45 recto line 30, *Arthur* (heading)


 : h4.6 folio 45 verso line 2, *Than*


Scribe B: i/j

i1	Capital I/J
i2	simple i
i3	i with attached stroke


I1: capital I/J

 : i1.1 folio 45 verso line 12, *In*


 : i1.2 folio 45 recto line 14, *I*

 : i1.3 folio 45 recto line 26, *Joyfull/Ioyfull*


I2: simple i


 : i2.1 folio 45 recto line 5, *Britane*

 : i2.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *still*

 : i2.3 folio 45 recto line 29, *king* (heading)

I3: i with attached stroke


 : i3.1 folio 45 verso line 37, *yai*

 : i3.2 folio 45 verso line 22, *in*


Scribe B: k


k1	k with curled ascender
k2	k with looped ascender

K1: k with curled ascender


 : k1.1 folio 45 recto line 29, *king* (heading)


 : k1.2 folio 45 verso line 2, *king*

 : k1.3 folio 45 recto line 6, *betake*

 : k1.4 folio 45 recto line 16, *key*

K2: k with looped ascender


 : k2.1 folio 45 recto line 17, *king*

 : k2.2 folio 45 recto line 28, *mak* (end of line)

Scribe B: l


11	open curled l
12	l with curled ascender
13	l with looped ascender

L1: open curled l

 : 11.1 folio 45 verso line 11, *oonly*


 : 11.2 folio 45 recto line 4, *Elyn*


L2: l with curled ascender


 : 12.1 folio 45 recto line 7, *led*

L3: l with looped ascender

 : 13.1 folio 45 recto line 21, *last*

 : 13.2 folio 45 verso line 6, *folly*

 : 13.3 folio 45 recto line 30, *bataile* (header)


 : 13.4 folio 45 verso line 21, *holygost*


 : 13.5 folio 45 recto line 7, *also*


Scribe B: m


m1	regular m
m2	regular m with descender on last minim
m3	regular m with descender on first minim
m4	regular m with attached stroke

M1: regular m


 : m1.1 folio 45 recto line 3, *damesell*


 : m1.2 folio 45 verso line 30, *men*

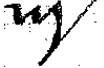
 : m1.3 folio 45 recto line 20, *morrowe*

 : m1.4 folio 45 recto line 30, *empoure* (heading)


M2: regular m with descender on last minim


 : m2.1 folio 45 recto line 19, *hym*

 : m2.2 folio 45 recto line 12, *hym* (end of line)


 : m2.3 folio 45 recto line 37, *hym* (last line)

M3: regular m with descender on first minim

 : m3.1 folio 45 verso line 16, *men*

 : m3.2 folio 45 verso line 30, *mett* (start of line)

M4: regular m with attached stroke


 : m4.1 folio 45 recto line 19, *them*

Scribe B: n


n1	regular n
n2	regular n with descender on last minim
n3	regular n with descender on first minim
n4	regular n with attached stroke

N1: regular n


 : n1.1 folio 45 recto line 29, *king* (heading)


 : n1.2 folio 45 recto line 9, *giannt*

N2: regular n with descender on first minim


 : n2.1 folio 45 recto line 19, *nyght*


N3: regular n with descender on last minim

 : n3.1 folio 45 verso line 19, *amen*


 : n3.2 folio 45 recto line 16, *qwen*

N4: regular n with attached stroke

 : n4.1 folio 45 verso line 22, *man*

 : n4.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *anoon*


 : n4.3 folio 45 verso line 12, *oonly*


 : n4.4 folio 45 recto line 13, *on*


Scribe B: o

o1	simple o
----	----------

O1: simple o

 : o1.1 folio 45 verso line 1, *empoure*


 : o1.2 folio 45 recto line 1, *you*

 : o1.3 folio 45 recto line 29, *how* (heading)


Scribe B: q

q1	closed q with straight descender
----	----------------------------------

Q1: closed q with straight descender

 : q1.1 folio 45 verso line 38, *qwo*


 : q1.2 folio 45 recto line 12, *qwen*

 : q1.3 folio 45 recto line 11, *qwerefore*


Scribe B: t


t1	Capital T
t2	t with head stroke across shaft centered
t3	t with head stroke across shaft off centre
t4	t with head stroke to right of shaft
t5	ligature t

T1: capital t


 : t1.1 folio 45 verso line 25, *The*


T2: t with head stroke across shaft centered


 : t2.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *still*

 : t2.2 folio 45 recto line 5, *towmbe*


T3: t with head stroke across shaft off centre


 : t3.1 folio 45 recto line 30, *Arthur* (heading)

 : t3.2 folio 45 verso line 3, *yat*


 : t3.3 folio 45 recto line 38, *aft*

T4: t with head stroke right of shaft


 : t4.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *gyannt*

 : t4.2 folio 45 verso line 6, *it*

T5: ligature t

 : t5.1 folio 45 verso line 16, *distroyede*


 : t5.2 folio 45 verso line 5, *grete*

 : t5.3 folio 45 verso line 17, *Arthure*


Scribe B: u


u1	pointy u
u2	round u
u3	open v-shaped u
u4	closed b-shaped u

U1: pointy u

 : u1.1 folio 45 recto line 30, *Arthur* (heading)


U2: round u

 : u2.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *you*

 : u2.2 folio 45 verso line 1, *empoure*


U3: open v-shaped u


 : u3.1 folio 45 recto line 7, *us*

 : u3.2 folio 45 recto line 7, *us*


U4: closed b-shaped u


 : u4.1 folio 45 verso line 28, *upon*

 : u4.2 folio 45 verso line 1, *Remeuede* (name)

 : u4.3 folio 45 recto line 2, *us*

 : u4.4 folio 45 recto line 36, *unto*


 : u4.5 folio 45 verso line 32, *V* (start of line)


 : u4.6 folio 45 verso line 7, *50?*


Scribe B: y

y1	single stroke y with curled descender
y2	single stroke y with straight descender
y3	single stroke y with looped descender
y4	single stroke y with attached stroke

Y1: single stroke y with curled descender

 : y1.1 folio 45 recto line 1, *gyannt*

 : y1.2 folio 45 verso line 8, *hym*

 : y1.3 folio 45 recto line 1, *fynd*

 : y1.4 folio 45 recto line 1, *may*

Y2: single stroke y with straight descender



: y2.1 folio 45 recto line 22, *smyte*



: y2.2 folio 45 verso line 19, *thy*



: y2.3 folio 45 verso line 1, *bygynnyng*



: y2.4 folio 45 recto line 37, hym (last line)

Y3: single stroke y with looped descender



: y3.1 folio 45 verso line 4, *besyde*



: y3.2 folio 45 recto line 35, *passyde*

Y4: single stroke 4 with attached stroke



: y4.1 folio 45 recto line 2, *you*



: y4.2 folio 45 verso line 14, *yfore*



: y4.3 folio 45 recto line 11, *yfore*

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